

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF
ROMAN POWER IN
ASIA MINOR

BY

SIR WILLIAM M. RAMSAY

D.C.L., LL.D., ETC.

PREPARED FOR THE PRESS

BY

J. G. C. ANDERSON

Sometime Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford

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FOREWORD.

In his later years Sir William Ramsay had planned an extensive work on the Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor, which was to be published in a number of parts. At Miss A. M. Ramsay's request I have prepared for publication the material that he left behind for this work.

The first part was complete in paged proof. A certain amount of material for the second part was already printed in Sections, several of them plainly incomplete, and to some extent on separate slips. With some arrangement and revision it has been possible to incorporate this material in the present volume. In general my function has been limited to correcting the proofs, eliminating mistakes and redundancies, amending references and supplying missing ones, so far as possible. But here and there a note or an additional reference seemed to be called for; these have been enclosed within square brackets. Square brackets have likewise been used to indicate that certain references supplied may not have been those intended by the author. I have also added to Part I. a few notes which could not be inserted in paged proofs (p. 222); they serve to elucidate certain statements in the text and to call attention to some facts which appear to have been overlooked.

The reader will observe a lack of uniformity in the spelling of proper names. This was intentional on the author's part, his purpose being to indicate that each mode of spelling is right. The same practice was adopted by Lawrence of Arabia in transliterating Arab names.

Owing to war conditions it has been necessary to limit the Index, for which Miss Ramsay is responsible, to names of places from which inscriptions come or which receive special mention in the text.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

PREFACE.

This book treats one side of a subject stated in a lecture at Cambridge in 1889, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 448: "the cause of the Catholic Church was involved in Basil's election as bishop in 370: without the hand of a vigorous organizer Eunomianism or Arianism might triumph in Cappadocia. We wish to learn what this means to the student of society. Did Catholic and Heretic differ only in points of doctrine, or in private life, in political feeling, and in church organization?" The Empire had revived itself by a mighty change of religion about 312-23; but it was the same Empire, stronger than before.

Very few Anatolian epitaphs are of the simple Athenian type. Generally they are specifications of ownership and right of inheritance of the nature of a testament: hence a second exemplar is often said to be deposited in the archives or *χρεωφυλάκιον*. The archives had nothing to do with history directly; they were registers of ownership facilitating transfer of real estate (see *C.B.* pp. 368 f.). The grave was the family sanctuary, and the epitaph could be cited as legal proof; one of the first duties of marriage was to provide a grave for the bride, unless she was brought to the family mansion, in which case she shared the family right of inheritance; but if the husband became *οικοδεσπότης*, a special grave for his family must be created. The property was guarded by law; but as a prosecutor must come forward, some public body, or the *fiscus* or the Roman treasury, was promised a reward for prosecuting a violator of the ownership.

A fault in publishing an inscription is often a step towards a correct text (unless it arises from false assumption of knowledge). For example, in *Addenda*, p. 217, I accept Professor Calder's criticism of his own text in *M.A.M.A.* iv. 286: the restoration he suggests is not acceptable, but his idea opens the way to a better text. In that difficult place there are three steps each better than the preceding: in part of the text we all agree.

Not merely once have I been saved from error by a suggestion which I could accept only as a starting-point. I shall be grateful to any one that suggests a better way at any point than I have found.

We do not use the "reformed spelling" of local names, because it destroys historical continuity. Indeed it was intended to break with the past, to give a fresh start to the Turks, to put a new soul into them and make them a new people. Sometimes a new name was devised, as Seldjuk for Ayassoluk (Ayo Theolog, St. John the Apostle); Nouri Bey for Mikhayil (a great church of Michael the Archistrategos); Şohut Kassaba for Shehut Kassaba ("Arbiter" for "Jew," in distinction from many other towns called Kassaba). Sometimes the spelling was modified apparently from desire for a more simple name: Ankura, Ankyra developed naturally to Enguri or Engyuri (A becoming E, surd becoming sonant); but Ankara is remote from the natural line of development.

The recent change of name has betrayed Dr. E. Honigmann. He finds a name Sipsin near Afion Kara Hissar in a new map of Asia Minor containing the modern names. There was no Sipsin there in former times; I knew the district well. From this modern Sipsin Dr. Honigmann infers that Ipsos was situated there; but the new name proves nothing.

Whether Göcherli in *M.A.M.A.* iv. is "reformed spelling" I do not know; but the old Geuktché-ler mirrors the dislike between villages in a valley where Yuruks, Turkmen, and other nationalities were all settled, not quarrelling but not intermarrying. Turk policy beginning with Abd-ul-Hamid has gradually made all into Osmanli or Turks, by whom Geuk, "blue," especially blue-eyed, was disliked as ill-omened. Dislike of a rival village is a strong force.

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PART I.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AA.SS.	Acta Sanctorum.
Abhandl. Preuss. Akad.	Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
A.E. Mitt. Oest.	Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.
A.M.J. } A.J.A. }	American Journal of Archaeology.
Anz. Ak. Wiss. Wien.	Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.
Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.	Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
Ath. Mitt.	Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
Berl. Akad. Sitz.	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Berl. Gr. Urk.	Aegyptische Urkunden aus den k. Museen zu Berlin.
B.M. Cat.	Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum.
C.B.	W. M. Ramsay, <i>Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia</i> .
C.I.A.	Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Const. Adm. Imp.	Constantine, <i>De administrando imperio</i> .
C.R. Acad. Inscr.	Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
C.Th.	Codex Theodosianus.
Forsch. Ephes.	Forschungen in Ephesos.
H.G.A.M. } H.G. }	W. M. Ramsay, <i>Historical Geography of Asia Minor</i> .
I.G.R.R. } I.G.R. }	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.
Itin. Ant.	Antonini Augusti Itinerarium.
Jahreshefte (Oest. Inst.).	Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archaeologischen Instituts in Wien.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies.
J. Theol. Stud.	Journal of Theological Studies.
M.A.M.A. } M.A.M. }	Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua.
Not. Dig.	Notitia Dignitatum.
Nouv. Rev. Hist.	Nouvelle Revue historique du droit français et étranger.
Num. Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle.
O.G.I.S.	W. Dittenberger, <i>Oriens Graecae Inscriptiones selectae</i> .
P.I.R.	Prosopographia Imperii Romani.
P.W.	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
R.E. } R.-Enc. } Real-Enc. }	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-encyclopädie</i> .
Rev. Arch.	Revue archéologique.
Rev. Et. Anc.	Revue des études anciennes.
Rev. de Phil.	Revue de philologie.
Rev. Num.	Revue numismatique.
Rh. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Sitzungsb. Akad. Berl.	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Sitz. Bayer. Akad.	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
St.E.J.	Sterrett, <i>An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor</i> .
St.W.E.	Sterrett, <i>The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor</i> .
Stud. E.R.P.	<i>Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces</i> , ed. by W. M. Ramsay.
Z. f. Num. }	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.
Zft. f. Num. }	

PART I.

I. THE ROMANIZATION OF ASIA MINOR.

In the history of Asia Minor the importance of certain great families is everywhere and always a striking fact. In Byzantine and in Turkish time, they stood between the Emperors or Sultans and the peasantry in the fields or the demos in the cities, protecting them and guiding them. Sometimes they aspired to Empire; generally they were content to live quietly among their own people. The head and patriarch of the Kara-Osman-li at Manisa (Magnesia ad Sipylum) said that he could ride from Manisa to Baghdad and sleep in his own house every night, adding "All that I have is at the service of my friends, except my horse, my gun and my wife." My old friend, Mr. James Whittall, the numismatist (d. c. 1884), had visited in his youth the last great chief of the race. His son, Sir Wm. Whittall, told me that he had seen the last survivor of the family living in great poverty at Bergama. A "reforming" Sultan, Mahmud II., the same who ordered the massacre of the Greek population of Scio,¹ swept away those local nobles, and the centralization of authority ruined the Sultans, who were not educated to use their power.

Those great families have been, so to say, the unifying chain in the history of all past ages in Asia Minor. They came into the land usually as conquerors; and exercised their power as priests of the local pagan sanctuaries; for a century after A.D. 323 they were Bishops and Presbyters: "new Presbyter was but old Priest writ large." In Byzantine history the Comneni (Italians from Crete?), the Palaeologi, the Nicephori, Bardae Skleroi and Phokai; under the Turks the Dere Beys (lords of the Glen) and Emir Kadi. In the last two centuries the Whittall-Giraud clan guided the power of commerce, as did also two Franco-English families, Charnaud and La Fontaine, Huguenots who retired to Constantinople and Smyrna and were made British subjects by a special Act of Parliament without having ever been in England.

Those great families adapted themselves to every change in circumstances, floating on the currents of world history. Under the Roman

¹ A little Greek boy was saved from the massacre by a Turk officer, and brought up as a Moslem in his own family. The sons of that boy were Hamdi, the artist (trained

in Paris), who created the Museum at Stambul, and Halil, his successor as Director of the Museum.

Empire they were magistrates in "autonomous" cities so-called, which maintained the outward forms of Graeco-Roman democracy. Later they were merchant princes in such trading concerns as the Levant Company, or such semi-piratical adventures as the Grand Catalan Company.

Italians, great in the middle ages and the 18th century, when Italian was the language of trade in Smyrna and Scala Nova, had ceased before my time, and remain an unwritten history, though a few Maltese families, their successors, still survived about 1882.

Not only conquest, but commerce also, produced great families in Roman or earlier time. M. G. Radet has described the importance of the trade of the old Lydian Empire in the brilliant pages of his *Lydie et le Monde Grecque*: the name of the city Hermokapelia speaks for itself; kapelos was the trader of that early time. In Celaenae-Kibotos there were merchant kings, like Pythios, whose son was so brutally murdered by Xerxes (*Herod.* vii. 28). The Lydian kings hated and put down the Greeks of the coast cities as trade competitors quite as much as they detested the Greeks as foreigners.

Pythios had a vast fortune in money gained by trade, and large estates cultivated by his slaves (*C.B.* ii. pp. 416 f.). The whole of Phrygia Magna was ruled by the Mermnad kings of Lydia at that time, and Pythios was of the conquering race.

We catch a glimpse of the rich Lydian merchants, dwelling in their great tetrapyrgia¹ in patriarchal fashion, in the time of Eumenes (*Plut., Eum.* 8); this adventurer sold the fortified country houses (tetrapyrgia) of the wealthy landowners to his captains, and allowed them to besiege and loot those mansions (*C.B.* 419 f.), a plan of making money for the government by "flaying the rich" which has its analogies in modern times. Eumenes trusted to the support of the natives.

Those great landowners did not conduct their trade by personal work as travelling merchants (*κάρπηλοι*), like the merchants of the Arabian Nights. They acted on a grand scale: their agents and slaves did the hard work, and they stayed at home. We should think of them as resembling that great Armenian at Sivas in 1878, who owned the entire trade with Central Asia: every camel and horse and man was his: the men were no longer slaves in name, as in the time of Pythios, but they were absolutely ruled by him, and all that they carried was his.² He knew always where each one ought to be and when they ought to arrive at Trebizond for sea transport or at Sivas for inland trade. In one point the old system was more advanced, viz. in the use of writing. The Armenian of 1878 kept all the details of that vast business in his memory and had no books. Pythios, we may be certain, had bookkeepers and strict accounts. When

¹ Tetrapyrgion and Tetrapyrgia (sing. fem.) are both used. Plutarch has both.

² He did not, however, scorn to make a few pounds by selling bad carpets to the deliverer of his people.

Pythios offered to Xerxes all his money, and told him that he would henceforth live on his land and the work of his slaves, he was not really giving up all his fortune, but only his accumulations of capital. His real estate remained.

John Giustiniani was a Genoese, who died at Constantinople resisting the final attack of the Turks in 1453, marking by his death the collapse of the defence; after that there was no resistance, only slaughter. Perhaps the great Venetian family of Dandolo, one at least a Doge, have left their name in the river and district and bridge Tantalos or Tandola (which replaced the name of the Carian river Morsynos and lasted to the present day).¹ Descendants of the Palaeologi and other great Byzantine families adorned older English history; and representatives of the later families played their part in recent history of England and of Europe.

Few recognize in Venizelos the Venetian of Crete. Hardly any one sees in Saint Aberkios Isapostolos of Phrygia the romanized Celt of Narbonensis or Lugudunum. In Ourselios, who perished first in the great defeat of 1176 trying to introduce some sense and order into that medley of frenzy and stupidity, one hardly recognizes Russell Balliol. In Mohammed II. who captured Constantinople and created Stambul, one cannot recognize the Frenchman till one has seen his portrait by Gentile Bellini, at Constantinople.²

Here we try to trace the history and origin of some romanized Anatolian families, *periculosae plenum opus aleae*. Augustus perceived this law of Anatolian society, and linked the Roman organization to the great local families. From him begin the Gaii Julii, Ti. Julii, Ti. Claudii, T. Flavii, M. Ulpii, P. Aelii, T. Aelii, M. Aurelii, and the few Septimii, the last flickering of a dying flame. The Aur(elii) were a different class, when the praenomen, losing its prestige, ceased to be used, and only the nomen was generally used and abbreviated after 212.

In Greek and Roman time those great families sprang from conquest. Successive invasions swept over Asia Minor; and the conquerors found that the easiest way to exercise their power was by identifying their chiefs with the priests of the local hiera. That is best seen at Pessinus, where chiefs of the Gauls constituted half of the priestly college, and in Cappadocia, where the gods of ten great hiera controlled their people through the priests. As Cappadocia was gradually hellenized, and kings ruled, the ten hieratic centres remained under priests who ranked next to the king, Comana being first; conquering families gradually made their way into the priesthoods; and some facts and dates are attested in the process, which was later there than at more westerly hiera (Section XIII.). The ten priestly divisions of Cappadocia became Strategiai in the procuratorial province, 18-70.

In those conquests no attempt was made to exterminate the

¹ I speak of 1884, when A. H. Smith and I rode by Antioch to Aphrodisias.

² There is a replica in London in the National Gallery.

conquered people. The old race submitted quietly ; there was no "Nationalism" as in modern time to prolong resistance. In modern time Austria was the sole modern exponent of the ancient style, ruling many diverse races, and gradually overcoming the nationalism that resisted the unification of the Austrian Empire. The British Empire works on a different system, based on republicanism and universal voting of all equal individuals, educated or uneducated.

The chief opponent of Imperial unity was not Nationalism, but tribal feeling. This was a unity contrary to the imperial system ; but each tribe was small and weak, and combination of various tribes was impossible, as tribes were hostile to each other, and hardly ever adjacent. Isaurioi and Moxianoï and Oroandeis, etc., had no common basis on which they could unite. They gradually acquiesced under the imperial unity, and developed a certain emotion of patriotism, which could grow only through a common religion, and this common religion was the worship of the living Emperor and the deified Emperors.

The succession of conquests ceased under the Roman Emperors, who barred out the Parthians and other invading races, from east and north. In the growing disorganization of the third century, while religious strife raged in the form of spasmodic persecutions, invasions from the east and north became a danger again in Asia Minor ; but Constantine conquered and the Empire recovered its strength and increased its power. The way in which the Empire succeeded in effecting the change from Paganism to Christianity without destroying itself, but even strengthening itself, is an extraordinary proof of the vitality and sanity of the Roman system. This is the subject of the following sketches, fragments of one great process, which began consciously in the organizing genius of Augustus.

Augustus broke the political power of the great families in so far as their power rested on their priesthood ; but he did not impoverish them. He saw in them a support of the Empire ; they were the educated and influential class ; he provided for their dignity, and enabled them to retain their honours and wealth in the service of the Empire.

The typical example is found in Strabo's description (577) of his treatment of the great priestly families at Colonia Caesarea Antiochea. Their priestly power could not be suffered as a rival to the imperial power. An *arca sanctuaria* was created to maintain the ritual and splendour of Men *πάτριος θεός*. The priestly families were made *cives* of Rome and became local dignitaries, whom we can with difficulty trace in the next two centuries, but who reappear when the Empire was dying, and who are spoken of in terms that almost suggest the awe and divinity of kings.

As priest dynasts, however, they were done away. The supreme god was the Emperor ; and the power and lands of the local god belonged to the Emperor, who was the manifestation of the divine power. The procurator of the Emperor was his priest.

No ancient Empire except the Roman essayed the problem of making itself unified and permanent. All others were built on conquest, and cemented by fear; and all fell to pieces when the fear inspired by their power was no longer maintained. The Romans conquered by discipline and tactics, obedience to officers and confidence of soldier in his neighbours. Rome produced few great generals, but an extraordinary number of good officers competent to organize the means of victory; and it held in readiness a large number of disciplined regiments, trained to act in combination; yet the total number of soldiers under arms was small in comparison with modern armies, though it guarded most of Europe, and part of Asia and Africa. That power in war gained victories, but did not achieve permanence. The provinces created by the arms of the Republic contained all the seeds of decay. It was the Empire that found the way to permanence; it united the provinces in a common loyalty; it changed the older patriotism of narrow city union into a patriotism of loyalty to the great Empire that was built up out of autonomous cities. There were in the Empire, besides cities, also tribes (*ἔθνη, δῆμοι*), living in villages (*οἰαί, κῶμαι*); these tribes the Emperors sought to make into cities, for tribal unity was a danger to imperial unity; an outline of the process is contained in a masterly article by Rostovtzeff (*Oesterr. Jahresh.* iv. 1901, Bb. col. 38 f.). We attempt here to show how the emotion and patriotism of the provinces were roused and marshalled into imperial loyalty. This process went on in the tribes and the cities alike. It was inaugurated by Augustus, but completed and systematized by later Emperors, especially Claudius and Vespasian, and was most active under the Antonines.

In 31 B.C. the unity of Empire was achieved after the old fashion and was maintained by strength and by terror, based on military power; but Octavianus was not satisfied with an ephemeral Empire; he deliberately and consciously sought a more lasting unity; he transformed himself into Augustus, groping after a new name which should have a semblance of religious awe and thereby grip the minds of men; only through its hold on the mind and the imagination of its subjects could the Empire become Eternal. He fashioned step by step from 27 B.C. onwards an unity which lasted in a definite fashion from 23 B.C. to A.D. 1453, an Empire which even solved the religious problem, and transformed the pagan Empire to a Christian power. The imperial unity was held together for 340 years by a common religion, the cult of the majesty of Rome embodied in the imperial god-Emperor; this cult was at once the basis and the keystone of the imperial arch, but it was a sham by which the subjects expressed their devoted loyalty in religious forms. Mankind demanded a real religion; Christianity arose to destroy this pseudo-religious idol (*εἰκῶν*); but it respected the imperial unity, as the apologists of the second and third centuries always urged. The solution of the problem gave new life to the Empire.

The aim of Augustus was to create loyal citizens who should serve and strengthen the Empire. The priest aristocracy had been shorn of its power. The lower classes were uneducated, accustomed to be ruled, unfitted to be actively loyal or exercise authority; they were useless for the imperial purpose, unless they were educated to the standard at which they could become useful to the Emperors; army service educated them.

NOTE.—On Epilaidai, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἄρδουοι Ἡρακλείδαι, etc., see *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 146–7.

II.

NAMES OF NEW ROMANS.

Civitas was bestowed on provincials in various ways.

(1) Occasionally an Emperor in person bestowed civitas on some one in the public eye, e.g. an athlete, whose victory roused applause, as P. Aelius Amyntianos, πόλεων πολεΐτης . . . ὃν τε γονεῖς κίκλησκον Ἄμυντιανὸν πανάριστον, Αἴλιον Ἄδριανὸς αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ὄνομα (brackets omitted).

A good soldier, an entire regiment, thus gained civitas. The new civis took the Emperor's nomen and praenomen, retaining his original name as cognomen.

(2) Young men of good families, born to rank and educated to use their opportunities and to exercise their influence, were recommended by the governors of provinces as likely to be useful in promoting the imperial policy. They were created cives; they took the nomen and praenomen of the Emperor, and cognomen (or cognomina) from the governor; they generally retained their native name as a cognomen, but sometimes they (or descendants) disused their former name (a family name), and became completely Roman. Sometimes their native name was translated into Greek or Latin (Longus or Δολιχός, Andragathos and Hieruus are examples).

(3) In preparation for the organization of a province, or immediately after, civitas was given to several selected persons: e.g. Cappadocia was transformed about A.D. 72 from a procuratorial to a consular province (united with Galatia): many Flavii occur in inscriptions (Comana).

(4) It was sometimes necessary to confer civitas on some person whom a city or province wished to nominate Archiereus (or Hieruus) in the imperial cult. Such appointment, though honourable, entailed much expenditure; and it was not always easy to find a qualified person. Imperial priests must be cives and their wives must be cives; for the wife was officially ἀρχιέρεια (or ἱέρεια). In such circumstances, the Emperor conferred civitas on persons who were no longer young; for priests were generally persons who had grown into general recognition. Often municipal priesthoods were held by soldiers; but veterans were not, as a rule, rich enough for provincial priesthoods (though imperial policy endowed them well). *Addenda*, p. 209.

One apparent exception to the rule that an ἀρχιερεύς of the Emperors (so also ἀρχιέπεια) must be civis is Sterrett, *W.E.* 180,¹ Ὀρέστου Τιβερίου ἀρχιερέως; perhaps he was Ti. (Claudius?) Orestes.² He superintended the erection at Isaura of a statue of M. Aurelius 175–80, on the west side of the Arch of Hadrian. The Arch of Marcus Aurelius was erected 166–9, and is certainly not connected with a visit; but it may have been prompted by the fact that L. Aurelius Caesar was in the East at the time, and that a certain L. Aurelius Orestes, father of Orestina, was made civis at this time. Marcus was in the East, 175–6.

It is possible that some great cities may have tendered prayers to the Emperor in favour of a special citizen; but I have not observed such a case in the Orient; and, mainly, the Emperor depended on his legati, or on provincial governors, for information (commendatio) about suitable persons. They gathered opinions from cities and localities (μαρτυρίαί) and sent them to Cæsar.³

The purpose of Augustus was aided by distributing the honours on great imperial occasions.

(a) The accession of a new Emperor was celebrated throughout the Empire; oath of allegiance was tendered in every province; inscriptions and statues were dedicated; issues of coins were made, "festival coins" as Mr. Head used to call them (see Introduction to his *Cat. Phrygia, passim*); new cives were created in many cities (in each city only one, in some cities none) judiciously and carefully. [See Section XLIX.]

(b) Perhaps at the ἀπογραφαί κατ' οἰκίαν 8 B.C. (6, 20, 34, 48, 62, A.D., etc.) some new cives were created; but such cases are difficult to prove: I know no example. Decennia were celebrated: e.g. 90, 147.

(c) On some public holiday declared by the Emperor, new cives were perhaps created (e.g. on the τακτὴ ἡμέρα, *Act. Apost.* xii. 21, when Claudius returned from the conquest of Britain in A.D. 44). This is hard to prove, as exact dates are rare: one case seems certain.

Inasmuch as the great local families were conspicuous in Anatolian cities, and built the largest and most permanent grave monuments, the impression might be created that Roman civitas was widely given in the cities, for it was precisely those great families which got civitas before 212 from the Emperors. We know about the wealthy cives from the monuments; but the mass of provincials remain unknown, unless they became soldiers.

¹ Also *Denkmäler aus Lycaonien Pamph. Isaur.* by Keil and Knoll, no. 148.

² No other case of civitas conferred in Isaurica so early as Claudius is known, which may cast doubt on this suggestion, but that Orestes was civis seems certain.

³ Equestrem militiam petentis ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat (Suet., *Aug.* 46); the recommendation

of the city was required for admission to the equestrian order; this applied to Italy; but see Domaszewski, *Rangord.* pp. 124 f. In Greek μαρτυρεῖν, μαρτυρία, are used in similar fashion. Any commendation by a city would, as a rule, be tendered through the provincial governor. A special Embassy direct to the Emperor was not encouraged on such a matter.

Three Flavians cause an exceptional number of T. Flavii. Ti. Claudii are also common ; some Ti. Claudii are Neronian creations.

M. Aurelii (and even Aurelii simply) took their name from Emperor Marcus (perhaps some from Commodus, who changed his praenomen in 180 from L. to M.). These Aurelii are often confused with Caracallan cives who always are called Aur. ; e.g. Calder in Index to *M.A.M.A.* i. (and elsewhere) classes Aurelii and Aur. under one heading ; also Keil, *Denkm. Lykaon. Pamph. Isaur.* p. 53.¹

Quite as important as the conferring of civitas on leading provincials was the custom that provincial soldiers who served their time and received *missio honesta*, retired with civitas and a considerable sum of money and even a gift of land. The Roman army was a long-service army ; soldiers in praetorian cohorts served 16 years, in legions 20, and in auxiliary cohorts and *alae* 25.² Usually they were recruited young, and could retire at an age of vigour as men of rank and comparative wealth, respected and honoured in their homeland. They became all loyal Romans, entering the service at an impressionable age, and owing to the Empire their education, experience, skill in the use of weapons, discipline, amusements. Some did not care to retire, serving even 45 years. Others came home with rank and honour, and served their city. A new social class was created gradually by Rome for Rome.

The account given in *Script. Hist. Aug.* xxviii. 16 can be generalized : (Probus) *veteranis omnia illa (in Isaurica) quae anguste adeuntur loca privata donavit, addens ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo, mares dumtaxat, ad militiam mitterentur, ne latrocinare discerent.* The parts of Isaurica, that picturesque and hardly accessible land, which were most difficult of access by narrow paths, were given to soldiers on retirement ; thus natural strongholds were peopled by loyal Romans ; the retired soldiers tamed their own country and countrymen. I write Isaurica advisedly, not Isauria : Isauria was a province or Eparchia from A.D. 138 onwards, separated by a wide extent of country from Isaurica. The two are confused sometimes by the ancients and almost unanimously by moderns. Strabo's Isaurica became Isaura,³ but never Isauria ; Isaura or Isaurica was a part of province Galatia, never at any time of province Isauria. Isaura was a district, reckoned as a single *πόλις* and bishopric ; and its two chief *κῶμαι, παλαιά* and *νέα* (each with its subordinate villages) were called sometimes Isauropolis ; the last term is used only four times about A.D. 350-450. See Section XXXV.

It was a passport to dignity to have been connected with the imperial service. Even slaves of Caesar ranked in Asia with the local aristocracy, married noble ladies, and their children were free. Similarly veterans on their return home were of the local nobility.

¹ Caracallan cives were first noted in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 30, imperfectly. Many apparent exceptions are due to confusing Aur. with M. Aurelii (as was actually done

by me there).

² Changes omitted.

³ The tribe was made polis Isaura by Vespasian.

Praetorians do not enter into the subject. One Pisidian has been claimed as a praetorian soldier by Weber in his commentary on Rott's inscription, on p. 352; but on this see p. 111.

Legionary soldiers were theoretically cives; the old rule was maintained fictitiously by conferring civitas on any non-cives who were admitted in case of need, as when Marcus Aurelius was hard pressed to find soldiers in his German wars, and enrolled slaves and gladiators (*Hist. Aug.*, v. Ant. Phil. 21, 6-7).

Auxiliary soldiers got their Roman name from the officer who had admitted them to the service. This rule may be accepted as fundamental; Mommsen and Domaszewski independently agree. Their Roman name did not become known generally till their 25 years' service was finished, and the Emperor formally conferred civitas on them with their wives (*dumtaxat singulas singulis*) and children; but probably they bore the Roman name on the lists of their regiment, as appears from many cases: ¹ (α) Γ. *Ιούλιος Ἀπολινάριος στρατιώτης σπ[είρης πρώτης] Ἀπαμηνῶν, ὡς δὲ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας κεχηρημάτ[ικε Νέων β'] τοῦ Μύστου.* (β) Isidoros enters in A.D. 115 *σπείρη πρώτη Θηβαίων*, but becomes *Ἰούλιος Μαρτιανός* (Pap. Cattaoui 3). (γ) *Ἀπίων Ἐπιμάχου* (100-150), soldier in the fleet at Misenum, writes to his father, signing as *Ἀπίων*, but he adds *ἔστι δέ μου ὄνομα Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος*, and some time later he writes to his sister signing only *Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος*; in the interval he had learned to spell his name; and his wife and children bore Greek or Roman names (*Berl. Gr. Urk.* 423, 632; Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*,² pp. 120 ff.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, 1881, p. 466). (δ) Soldiers at Ancyra, brothers from Savatra Lycaoniae, of only 21 and 13 years' service, and therefore not having as yet received civitas, are buried with their Roman names (*J.R.S.* 1928, p. 181). The names are often arbitrary.

The strange result emerged that, while retired auxiliaries could prove their rank and rights by producing their diploma,² retired legionaries had no documentary proof. Some modern scholars did not accept this result, as stated by Mommsen, Cagnat, and Carcopino; but it was proved by a papyrus mentioned in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad.* 1932, p. 311, where twenty-two veterans of Leg. X. Fretensis request Vilius Kadus, legatus of Palestine in A.D. 150, to certify that they had received from him honourable dismissal, so that his signature may serve as a legal document (*instrumenti causa*). The legatus replied *Veterani ex legionibus instrumentum accipere non solent*; but he promises to write to the praefectus of Egypt to make the facts known. They had civitas when they were enrolled in the legion; and they could not now get any more formal document (*instrumentum*).

¹ The first three are quoted from Lambertz in *Glotta*, v. pp. 108, 153. His text in (α) we correct, because *Νέων τοῦ Μύστου* is not an admissible form.

² The auxiliary received a diploma, a copy extracted from the register, containing the occasion and manner in which he obtained civitas: the register was kept in Rome.

Liberti are distinguished from new cives by the servile cognomen, though this is sometimes disregarded by moderns, e.g. in *M.A.M.* i. 156 (titulus dated rightly by Calder), a family of Julii are libertine, for Crescens, Stoikos, Karpos, Nana (Latin "dwarf," not Anatolian Nana for Nanna), Cheios (lowest throw at dice), are all servile names; these 3rd cent. Julii were imperial slaves emancipated under Maximin. Hence the further suggestion in *M.A.M.* i. l.c. that these Gaii Iulii were of local rank, and that "the titulus may commemorate relatives of Bishop Eugenios" (who evidently belonged to the native aristocracy, and married a lady of wealth and rank), is improbable.

Most of the slaves mentioned in tituli of the plateau are imperial; but a few are owned by private persons.

No case is known certainly in Asia Minor where a woman personally received civitas; but if a man was made civis, his wife and children shared in the honour. Accordingly, if a woman bears a Roman name and is civis, her father was civis.

Many tituli, with events and persons mentioned, can be dated approximately, and in some cases exactly, by the names that they contain; but it is sometimes hard to determine whether a provincial civis got personally his Roman name or was descendant of the original civis. The father's name, if mentioned in the titulus, affords good evidence; and the lack of the father's name often proves that the civis was *nullo patre* (in Roman sense). Again, if two brothers are cives, it is practically certain that their father must have been civis.

In some cases a romanized family in Anatolia bears an imperial name without a governor's name as cognomen, although it is not probable that the original civis was of (1), p. 6. Where several generations have elapsed since the first civis of the family was created, it may be presumed that the original cognomina have worn away or been changed, as will appear in the following Section III. In other cases we must plead ignorance.

There are also some cases where a romanized family bears the name of a governor alone. That was the case, if a soldier was admitted to the service by a governor; but one would hardly expect that a noble and wealthy family would gain civitas through an auxiliary soldier; and we ask whether a proconsul of Asia or a legatus Augusti was permitted to grant civitas in some cases without recourse to the Emperor. In one case certainly civitas was granted by Domitian; perhaps the Emperor's name was disused sometimes when he was damnatus; but in other cases the nomen got from him was not disused; no one was likely to ask whether the name came from Vespasian or Domitian.

Much remains obscure; more comprehensive collection of the evidence is needed. *Addenda*, p. 210.

Auxiliary soldiers from Asia Minor were chiefly of peasant rank; artisans were more valuable in their occupation than as soldiers; an

artisan was a man of higher rank and education ; the ordinary uneducated peasants gained education in the army and gradually increased the number of the educated class all over Asia Minor.

At Trèves, on the principal altar of the temple of Mercury (Rostovtzeff, *C.R. Ac. Insc.* 1930, p. 253), we have an example of an artisan soldier :

— mi]les clas|sis Germanice <Domitianaē p.f.> neg|otiator cervesa-|
rius artis offec|ture ex voto pro| meritis posuit.

This soldier was a seller of beer, and a dyer.

Epitaphs containing the statement *artis vitriae, lintiariae*, or many others, are really intended to define the social position. A man belonged to a trade by right of birth : in the west these trades were probably organized as in the East, especially Egypt and Asia Minor. This soldier defines his rank by his trade. (Other explanations less probable are stated by Rostovtzeff ; we omit them.) The epitaph was a sort of legal document, almost a will, and usually defined the legal name and position of the deceased, sometimes even the right of inheritance (though that was fixed by recognized custom), and the maker of the grave was the heir, or the owner making it for himself and wife (and children). Trades soon became strictly hereditary.

The pages of this collection contain many examples of the principles just stated ; a few are placed at the outset to illustrate difficulties, several being taken purposely from published inscriptions.

III.

CAREERS OF NEW CIVES.

1. Konia (R. 1904), text published by Wiegand in *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, p. 326, on basis of a statue (bust photograph, Buckler, *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 46). The statue belonged to the basis : I saw them excavated.

M. Ulpio Pom
ponio Superst
ti, principi col.
ñ. M. Ulpi Pomp
Valentis sac. Au
g. fac. f. sac. Aug. f
act. II vir primo
col. irenarch
sebastophant
entissimo

M. Ulpio Pom-
ponio Superst[i-
ti, principi col(oniae)
nostrae, M. Ulpi Pomp[oni
Valentis sacerdotis Au-
gusti facti filio, sacerdoti Augusti f-
acto, duumvir(um) primo
coloniae, irenarch[ae,
sebastophant[ae,
munific[entissimo
[patrono ? Col(onia) Ael(ia)]
[Hadr(iana) Aug. Icon(iensium) ?]

M. Ulpius Pomponius Superstes was first duumvir of Colonia Aelia Hadriana Aug. Iconiensium; the names determine the situation. His father M. Ulp. Pomponius Valens was honoured with civitas, taking his name from the Emperor Trajan, and from the governor of Galatia, T. Pomponius Bassus, leg. Aug. of the province for two terms, 95–100.

II vir primo cannot mean first (or chief) of the duoviri (on the analogy of *πρῶτος ἀρχων*, first in the board of archons), for the duoviri were, like the consuls, equal in rank; it must mean one of the first pair of II viri in the colonia.

The names show the date. In 98, on the accession of Trajan, civitas was conferred on an Iconian, who became M. Ulpius Pomponius Valens; his native name, translated Valens, was a second cognomen. Valens was about 20 years old in 98; his son, born c. 108, was 30 years old in 138. The family was noble, and he was princeps civitatis.

This inscription in unidiomatic Latin is a slavishly literal translation of correct technical Greek. The formula sacerdos Augusti factus was not used in Latin; the technical expression was sacerdos Augusti simply; the added word factus is a verbal rendering of the technical Greek *ἱερεὺς Σεβαστοῦ γενόμενος*. The titulus was composed by a person who was accustomed to speak Greek, and wrote Latin as a language new to him; he translated out of his own Greek idiom. This was the natural result in Iconium when it was transformed from a Graeco-Asiatic πόλις Κλαυδεικονιέων into colonia Aelia Hadriana Iconiensium in A.D. 137–8.

On Sept. 23, A.D. 137,¹ M. Ulpius Pomponius became first archon in the πόλις Κλαυδεικονιέων; on Jan. 1, A.D. 138, he became one of the duumvir(um) of the Colonia, and, so to say, superstes, who had survived from the πολιτεία to the colonial magistracy. He abandoned any native cognomen, and became pure Roman, styling himself (or styled by general consent) Superstes.²

We have no certainty about the name; but we venture to state the exact date, Jan. 1, 138, for the transformation from city to colonia. The city Claudiconium struck coins under Hadrian. The colonia began to strike coins under Pius; and the cities of the Koinon Lykaoniae (which was in the Eparchia Lycaonia, part of the new province Tres Eparchiae) began to strike coins under Pius or later. This date is hypothetical, but highly probable; certainly the change was made near the end of Hadrian's life; and the hypothesis will be strengthened in later Sections. The Metropolis of Lycaonia from 138 to c. 295 was Palaia Isaura. No province Lycaonia existed from c. 295 till 373.

In the city Claudiconium Phrygian was the native language³ still; but it was spoken only by the uneducated and the vulgus; all educated

¹ IX. Kal. Oct., birthday of Augustus, first day of the year in Asia Minor generally since 8 B.C.

² Flavius Superstes in *I.G.R.* iii. 203,

got his name from a legatus Galatiae under a Flavian Emperor.

³ See *Bearing of Discovery on Auth. of N.T.* p. 65.

persons spoke and wrote Greek ; officials tried to use Latin. The colonia abandoned the name Claudiconium, and used the official name Iconiensium colonia. In one private Greek inscription the term Colonia Klaudivonion is used ; but never officially.

2. Phocaea (Th. Reinach in *B.C.H.* 1893, xvii. p. 35). Date *c.* 120-9. I found no inscription there in 1880.

	[Φωκαίων ?]	10	νοφόρου, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσί- ας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέ- σω, πρύταν[ιν], στεφα- νηφόρον καὶ ἱερέα τῆς Μασσαλίας δῖς, ἀγω-
	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τίτον Φλάουιον Οὐάρον Καλουσησιανὸν Στρατο- νεῖκου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Ἑρμο-		
5	κράτη, ἔπαρχον τεχνει- τῶν ἐν Ρωμῇ δῖς, ἔ- παρχον σπειρῆς Βοσπο- ριανῆς πρώτης, χειλίαρ- χον λεγιῶνος IB' κεραι-	15	νοθέτην, βασιλέα Ἰ- ωνων, ἀναθέντων. τὰς τειμὰς τῶν τε οἰκείων καὶ τῶν ἀ- πελευθέρων

In l. 14 δῖς goes with ἱερέα, not with ἀγωνοθέτην : the priesthood of Massalia at Phocaea was annual, not permanent (*C.I.G.* 3413). Relatives and freedmen bore all expenses.

The Phocaeans honoured Hermokrates, whose father was granted civitas¹ by Domitian on the commendation of P. Calvisius Ruso, proconsul of Asia about 93 (Dessau, *J.R.S.* 1913, pp. 301 f.). The son was praefectus cohortis I. Bosporianae, trib. mil. leg. XII. Fulm., high priest of the temple of province Asia in Ephesus. A second temple of the imperial cult in Ephesus was dedicated by Hadrian to himself in 129, which gives a date ante quem for the inscription.

He served his militiae in Cappadocia, where leg. XII. Fulm. had been stationed since about A.D. 70 ; and probably Coh. I. Bosp. had been stationed at Arauraca at the same time. Arrian mentions among the troops of Cappadocia *c.* 133 Βοσπορανοὶ πεζοί, and Coh. Bosporianorum miliaria was stationed at Arauraca about 400 (Not. Dign. Or.).²

We may assume that a high priest of Asia at Ephesus originating from Phocaea could hardly have gained the respect of the whole province before he was 45 years of age. If he was high priest about 120 to 125, he was born about 78, and about the age of 18 was praefectus fabrum.

Calvisianus implies here probably, as very often in Anatolia (see Keil, *Denkm. Lykaon.*, no. 109, p. 52), "son of Calvisius." The father's name was T. Flavius (Varos ?) Calvisius Stratoneikos. The son Hermokrates inherited civitas, and was recognized as equestrian on reaching manhood (praef. fabr. II.). For the Asiarchate a wife possessed of Roman citizenship was required ; Flavia Ammion, who was daughter of a civis honoured by Vespasian, was found suitable.

¹ Elderly to qualify for some priesthood.

² -ιανός for -ανός was τύπος Ἀσιανός (Blass, *Hermes*, xxx. 1895, p. 466).

2A. Phocaea (C.I.G. 3415).

ἡ Τευθαδέων φυλή
 Φλαουίαν Μόσχο[υ] θυγατέρα Ἀμμιον
 τὴν καλουμένην Ἀρίστιον, ἀρχιέρειαν
 Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρύτανιν, στεφανηφόρον
 δις καὶ ἰέρειαν τῆς Μασσαλίας, ἀγωνοθέτην, τὴν
 Φλαουίου Ἑρμοκράτου γυναικα κ.τ.λ.

This is not strictly a companion to no. 2. Hermokrates is priest of Massalia twice, Flavia once.

Flavia holds the same priesthoods, even πρύτανις and ἀγωνοθέτις; but a woman was not βασίλεια Ἰώνων. Moschus was T. Flavius Moschus, and Stratoneikos was T. Flavius (Ouaros ?) Calvisius Stratonicus. Long names were shortened in ordinary use; Flavia Ammion was wife of Flavius Hermokrates; the rest was omitted. Even the nomen was often omitted, e.g. in a later Section T. Flavius Praxias was designated as Titus Praxias. Ouaros is Anatolian. *Addenda*, p. 210.

3 and 4. Attaleia Pamphyliae, now Antalya, Adalya (Radet-Paris, *B.C.H.* ix. 1885, p. 436; *I.G.R.R.* iii. 776). 3 is explained by 4.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος	ἐπαρχε]ίας Λυκίας κὲ
Π. Αἴλιον Βρούττ[ιον	Παμφυλίας κ]ε Ἰ[σ- ¹
Λουκιανόν, τὸν [λαμπ-	αυρίας]
ρότατον ἀνθύπ[ατον	

4. Ambararasi or Serpek, Sidamaria (R. 1901; *Rev. Et. Anc.* 1901, p. 279). The double modern name is Turk and Kurd.

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραιανῶ]	4	καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸ βαλανε]ζιον
Ἀδριανῶ Σεβ[αστῶ θεοῦ Τρα-		καθιέρωσαν ἐπὶ Βρουττίου Πραι-
ιανοῦ υἱοῦ (!), θεοῦ Νερού[α υἱο-		σεντος πρεσβ. καὶ ἀν[τιστρατή-
νοῦ, (!) Σιδαμαριωτῶν ἡ [βουλὴ		γου Σεβ. ἐπιμεληθέντ[ος οἱ [ων . . .

Sidamarya, mentioned only here, Arabic Szabarla, was the capital of Archelaos, king of Cappadocia and most of Cilicia Tracheia (36 B.C. to A.D. 14), built by him as Kadena (Strab. 537) to connect the two parts of his double realm. Kadena had its acropolis on the hill called Kale Keui, 2 or 3 miles west of Serpek. Callander alone has seen Kale Keui, and says "the two sites may be classed together," *Stud. E.R.P.* p. 164.

P. Aelius Bruttius Lucianus is mentioned only here. He governed Lycia-Pamphylia after 161, in which year Marcus gave it over to the Senate in exchange for Bithynia-Pontus, which henceforth was governed by legati (Brandis). His father was equestrian (unless he was clarissimus, which is improbable); and the son was eligible for senatorial honores,² and was now serving praetorian offices. The father doubtless

¹ Copy *ET*, probably *T* is error for *I*.

² The regular course was that an eminent λαμπρότατος, if he showed ability and provincial was made civis and equestrian; energy.

bore the same name, for the son rarely changed the honoured name except to eliminate a non-Roman cognomen.

The names show that the father was an Oriental, who got civitas from Hadrian, on the recommendation of C. Bruttius Praesens (cos. ii. 139), legatus in Cappadocia. As [T.] Flavius Arrianus was legatus of Cappadocia for two terms, probably 131–137, Praesens must have preceded him in the years about 120–131. Praesens cannot be placed after Arrian, as L. Burbuleius L. F. Optatus Ligarianus was legatus in 138 of Hadrian and of Pius and was almost certainly successor of Arrian in 136. Cappadocia was usually governed by a consular legatus shortly after his first consulate and before Syria; Burbuleius was therefore consul shortly before 136, and quaestor of Bithynia-Pontus (probably later than Pliny's administration, 111–113, perhaps under Hadrian).

Difficulty has been caused by an error about the position of Ambararasi or Serpek. It is in Cappadocia, but has been assigned wrongly to province Galatia by some moderns.¹ It lies quite near Kybistra, a considerable distance east from the extremest bounds of Lycaonia (i.e. of province Galatia): the western limit of Cappadocia lay along the long line of Karadja Dagh, Kara Dagh. Laranda was the eastern city of Lycaonia, Kybistra the western city of Cappadocia. Between them the last king Archelaos founded his new city Kadena-Sidamaria to be the capital of his realm of Cappadocia. The old name Sidamaria lasted, and was pronounced Szabarla by the Arabs: *sza* representing *σιδα* and *barla μαργα*.

The probable sequence of events is: Bruttius Praesens was cos. suff. under Hadrian, c. 118; he governed Cappadocia c. 122,² and in his period a rich young Cappadocian, Loukianos, was made civis, taking the name P. Aelius Bruttius Loukianos; his son was senatorius and became proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia about 162–4. It is possible that the Cappadocian who was made civis by Hadrian was grandfather of the proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia, and the date of the proconsul would in that case be later. The rude coarse letters of the titulus from Ambararasi perhaps favour the later date, but may be sufficiently explained by the lack of culture in this rustic *πολιτεία*. See Section 32, with Callander's account of Kale Keui-Ambararasi (one city): he alone has seen Kale-Keui: I visited Ambararasi in 1882.

The name of the province was triple after 161; it was not increased in size; part of Isauria (not Isaurika) is included by Ptolemy in Pamphylia; but it became customary to emphasise the extent of provinces by enumerating the parts. The province is called Lycia Pamphylia Isauria in inscriptions of Carminius Athenagoras (Clerc in *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 349; *C.I.G.* 2782, 2783). The added name Isauria

¹ *I.G.R.R.* iii. 776; *P.I.R.* ed. 2.

² He or his son C. Bruttius Praesens (cos 153) was proconsul of Africa.

does not imply that a share in the defence of the province Cilicia-Lykaonia-Isauria was borne by Lycia Pamphylia Isauria, for the latter was inermis and senatorial (though there were some auxiliaries in it). The problem about Cilicia-Lykaonia-Isauria after 138 is that the consular legatus should have command of two legions at least; but no mention occurs of any legions in the province, until two legions Isaurae are mentioned, *c.* 400. According to Ritterling in *Real-Enc.*, they were organized by Probus or Diocletian. Were they of earlier origin?

5. Lanckoronski, *Villes de Pamph. et Pisid.* ii. no. 200, published the dedication of a temple at Sagalassos Ἀπόλλωνι Κλαρίῳ καὶ Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. The makers of the temple were T. Φλ. Κολλήγας and his wife Fl(avia) Donilla. The date is added, "when Cornelius Proculus was hegemon of Lycia-Pamphylia," *c.* 140-142 (*P.I.R.*¹ i. p. 141). In this dedicatory inscription Σεβαστοῖς is divided between ll. 1 and 2. Cn. Pompeius Collega was legatus in 76, or possibly from 71 to 76 after (Nonius) Calpurnius Asprenas, who was appointed by Galba in 69 (*Tac., Hist.* ii. 9). A term of 3 years was probable.

Donilla is Domnilla, shortened by assimilating M to N; compare the Pisidian town Pro-sta-mna, modern Egerdir, Turkish pronunciation of ἀκρωτήριον, the Greek translation of Anatolian Prostamna, which becomes usually Prostanna, but sometimes Prostama.

The father of T. Flavius Collega got civitas from Vespasian and Pompeius Collega. He omits his original native name and appears as purely Roman, making a dedication to the native god Apollo Klarios and the Gods-Emperors, who are probably to be understood as the Augustan gods manifested on earth, Antoninus Pius and M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar (who was adopted Dec. 5, 139). The dedication was probably composed when news of his adoption reached Sagalassos early in 140.¹ This interpretation is more probable than a dedication to the deified Emperors generally. Sagalassos claimed to be a Lacedaemonian (or Dorian) foundation under the guidance of Apollo from his oracle at Klaros.

When the father of T. Flavius Collegas was made a civis by Vespasian, Sagalassos was in provincia Galatia; but in 139 or 140 it was part of prov. Lycia-Pamphylia. Between those years Sagalassos was transferred from Galatia to Lycia-Pamphylia; the latter was constituted by Vespasian, and the exact date was fixed as 73-74 by an inscription of Palaiapolis near Lysinia with the double date βρ' ρν' (eras of Kibyra and Lycia-Pamphylia), see *Am. J. Arch.* 1888, p. 19.

We add here the text of the inscription to make this important date quite clear. All Vespasian's changes are usually attributed to the year 70: some were of 72,² some of 73-4.

¹ Marcus was, indeed, only Caesar, not Augustus, but he was (colleague and) successor, which was enough for the Sagalassians.

² That is true of the changes in Cappadocia, which arose out of the Jewish war and pressing frontier need.

6. Ak Euren (R. 1886), altar dedicated to ———, and to the demos of the Makropedeutai, a tribe inhabiting a long glen along the course of the Lysis above the site of Lysinoe or Lysinia. It is a conjecture to place Palaiapolis of Hierocles in this glen. Lysinoe of Livy, which was near the route of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C., must be the same place as Lysinia, which is surely connected with the Lysis. Olbasa, Palaiapolis, Lysinia, then come near each other in the order of Hierocles' list. Order of sides uncertain : perhaps B last.

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| <p>A. ἔτους βρ' ρν'
tracery : no letters¹
καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Μα-
κροπεδειτῶν
defaced relief</p> | 10 | <p>Ἵσσαι καὶ Τατεῖς Ἄγα-
θείνου ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
καὶ Τρωῖλος δις καὶ Ἄ-
γαθείνος Ἵσσαι τὰ τέ-
κνα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-
ων κατασκευάσαντες</p> |
| <p>5 Τρωῖλος Ὠφελίωνος</p> | | |
| <p>B. Horseman with radiated head to left ; horse lifts right fore-
foot ; broad garland hangs across the stele left side of stone.</p> | | |
| <p>Χρυσοκό[μ]ην Παιᾶνα
ὄν ἠύκομος τέκε Λητώ
Ἡέλιον φάεθοντα λελου-
μένον ὠκεανοῖο εἶλε-</p> | | <p>ὄν ἀνθρώποισιν οἱ ἐν-
θάδε ναιετάουσι.
Σέλευκος Κιβυρ[άτης]
ἔποιε</p> |
| <p>C. μέλωμεν ?] — βασιλῆ
θιασώτην ?] — χρυσεομί-
την] Ἐρ- — μῆν τε κλυ-</p> | | <p>[τόβουλο]ν ἀπαγγέλλοντα βρο-
τοῖσιν] ὄσσα Ζεὺς φρονέ[ει
[τε κὲ ἀθάνα]τοι θεοὶ [ἀλ]λοι</p> |
| <p>D. Μῆνα φιλάν[θρωπον πο-]</p> | | <p>λυάρητον [σεβόμεσθα ? finis.</p> |

The stone was at the left front corner of a fountain. Sides C and D were inside the masonry ; but by digging out the mortar the nearer letters were revealed. Relief C1-3 not visible.

The altar was built and dedicated by Troilos, son of Ophelion, his wife, daughter of Agathinos, and their two sons, Troilos B', and Agathinos ; the latter was adopted by Osaeis (the uncle ? of Troilos). The reliefs (only one of which could be interpreted) and the letters were carved by Seleukos of Kibyra, who carved the date according to the era of his city and by the provincial era ; the year 1 of Kibyra began 23 Sept., A.D. 25 ; the era of Lycia-Pamphylia was 73-4 ; and the date of this monument was 175-6. Before 73-4 the Lysis valley was in prov. Galatia, like Sagalassos. It would be possible to restore Seleukos, son of Kibyr[as] ; but Kibyras was a mythical figure, founder of Kibyra, as Kidramas was of Kidrama, and Marsuas of Tabai.² Both Kidramas and Kibyras were personal names in the

¹ We should expect this line to contain some dative, e.g. *Ἄυτοκράτορι Ἀπόλλωνι*. There was probably no boule in this ethnos.

² Robert, *Villes de l'Asie Min.* p. 216. Marsuas did not originate the name Tabai (rocks), but *Μαρσίου Τάβας*.

district ; but artisans and artists often in Anatolia designated themselves by their home, as *Δοκιμεύς*, *Λυστρεύς*.

Side B mentions the sun-god as Paian, Helios, Phaethon (epithet ?). Paian is an enigmatic figure ; here he is the golden-haired sun-god. In a Myso-Phrygian inscription (Munro, *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 283), *Κυντιανή Κυντιαν[οῦ] | ὑπὲρ τέκεως ἀνέθηκε| [τ]ᾶ Ἑκάτα καὶ Μανι τὸν υἱέα τῷ Παιᾶνος*, Quintiana dedicated her new-born son to Hekate and Manes, son of Paian ; Manes seems to be called son of Paian.¹ The sun-god is Paian, or the son of Paian. Compare Hannah dedicating Samuel.

Side C is not devoted to [Zeus] Basileus, for *χρυσσομίτρη* is not an epithet suited to Zeus ; but the three sides are probably given to Helios, Bacchus with Hermes, and Mên-Manes. Zeus is peculiarly king of all, or king of the gods *βασιλῆ[α θεῶν]*. *χρυσσομίτρης* is an epithet of Bacchus in Sophocles, *O.T.* 209, and *χρυσσομίτρης* of Dionysos, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, where he is called *βασιλῆα*. Perhaps this verse should be restored in a Phrygian style as *[Θρηκιον] βασιλῆ* ; but epithets are uncertain. *λελουμένος ὠκεανοῖο* is applied to the autumn star in *Iliad*, v. 6. *κλυτόβουλος* is an epithet of Hermes (O. Crusius in letter).

The exactness of the date for such a hymn as this is perhaps intended to connect it with the return of Marcus Aurelius to Rome from visiting the Orient in 175-6.

7. Ahat-Keui-Acmonia : Le Bas alone saw this titulus "sur une base presque illisible" ; badly treated in *C.I.G.* 3858c ; Wadd. 756 repeats *C.I.G.*, adding "plusieurs des suppléments sont très douteux." Le Bas's copy is easily restored, but *C.I.G.* began by altering the name *Λαρκία* to *[Μ]αρκία*, which was fatal. *ΑΕΣΩ* are the forms.

C.I.G. 3858c.

Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ-
 μος ἐτίμησαν
 [Μ]αρκίαν Σεκούν-
 5 διλλαν θυγατέ-
 ρα Μ[αρ]κίου [Φ]ίλ[ω]-
 νος στεφανηφό-
 ρου καὶ γυναικα
 Τ[ιτου] ΑΝ[τ]ωνιανοῦ
 10 [γρ]α[μμα]τ[έ]ως τῆς πό-
 λεως, ἀπὸ γενν[α]ιοτ[άτ]ω[ν]

Restitution Proposed.

Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ-
 μος ἐτίμησαν
 Λαρκίαν Σεκούν-
 διλλαν, θυγατέ-
 ρα [Λαρ]κίου [Σ]ίλ[ω]-²
 νος στεφανηφό-
 ρου, καὶ γυναικα
 Τ. [Φλ.] Ἄ[π]ωνιανοῦ
 ἀ[ρχιερέ]ως τῆς Πο-
 λεως, ἀπ' ἀ[ξιω]τ[άτ]ω[ν]

¹ *Μανι* dative is a link between *Μάνης* and *Μηνι*. *Βασνης*, personal name, is *Μασνης*, *Μαννης*, *Μανης* (St., *W.E.* 117).

² *Σειλωνιανός* in *C.I.G.* 3860d : *σιλο* at Col.

Antiochea indicates long I. Le Bas has *MIK*, i.e. *ΛΑΡΚ* : *Μ* and *ΛΑ* often are confused.

C.I.G. 3858c.

Restitution Proposed.

προγόνων καὶ τὰς
 [λειτο]υ[ργ]ί[α]ς καὶ τὰς
 [ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀ]φιδῶ-
 15 [ς ἐκτελ]έ[σ]ασ[α]ν καὶ
 [σ]ω[φ]ροσύνης ἔνε|κα

προγόνων, καὶ τὰς
 ἀρ]χ[ᾶς καὶ πάσας
 λειτουργίας ἀ]φιδῶ-
 ς ἐκτελέσασαν, καὶ
 σω]φροσύνης ἔνε|κα

L. 1, Le Bas has *ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ*, careful and correct ; 1. 4, *ΛΑΡΚΙΑ*, Le B., [*M*]APKIA, C.I.G. and Wadd. ; 1. 6 (see note 2, p. 18) ; nomen as in l. 4 ; Le B. has *Τιλο* (for *Σιλω*) ; *Τιλω* and *Φιλω* have been suggested ; 1. 9, uncertain reading : *Τ[ίτου] Ἀν[τ]ωνιανοῦ*, C.I.G. ; *T. [Φλ.] Ἀ[π]ωνιανοῦ* is probably the true reading. In Sterrett, *E.J.* 198, *Ἀ[π]ωνιανός* is falsely restored ; *Ἀπωνιανός* is clearly right. L. 10, [*γρ*]α[μ]ματέ[ω]ς is wrong ; the first letter is *A* ; ἀ[ρχιερέ]ως τῆς Πόλεως is high priest of Rome ; urbs in Latin meant Rome ; other cities were called civitas, municipium, oppidum, etc. ; cp. *δυνασταὶ τῶν προυχόντων κατὰ τὴν Πόλιν* (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 419, emended by Rostovtzeff). Ll. 11-14, C.I.G. is obviously wrong. The formulæ are common, and the general order puts ἀρχάς before λειτουργίας.

Larcia inherited name and civitas. Her father took the name from M. Larcus Magnus Pompeius Silo (cos. Sept. 82), and became M. Larcus Silo, disusing his native name (as was usual with soldiers). He had not an Emperor's name ; he was a soldier, received into the service by Larcus Magnus at some stage of his (unknown) career ; probably the consul of 82 had been legatus of a proconsul of Asia ; other legati are mentioned at Akmonia, that great fortress (*J.H.S.* 1883, p. 415 ; *C.B.* p. 622) ; and in this capacity he received into the service a young Akmonian who became father of Larcia. If the enlistment was about 76, his missio honesta was c. 100 ; and like many retired soldiers he became priest in the imperial cult and therefore stephanephoros,¹ about 105-110, at the age of 45-50. The daughter Larcia was born after A.D. 100.

This high priesthood is mentioned on Acmonian coins under Nero, defined by Θεὰν Ρώμην on obv.

The most interesting feature is ΠΟΛΙΣ, meaning Rome (so urbs). The priest and his wife must both be cives. ΠΟΛΙΣ on coins of Prostanna of Pisidia may mean Rome.²

Larcia, as born civis, was a suitable wife for T. Flavius Aponianus, who was honoured, probably by Vespasian and Aponius Saturninus proconsul of Asia, about 74-6. His son, Aponianus, was scion of a great Acmonian family ; and about A.D. 100-5 he became ἀρχιερεύς of Rome in Akmonia with his wife Larcia as ἀρχιέρεια. *Addenda*, p. 214.

¹ Sir G. Hill in *Jahresh.* ii. p. 246, and my *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 397 ; *C.B.* i. p. 56 ; Malalas XII, pp. 286 f.

² Mr. Head at one time thought so, but changed his opinion ; Sir G. Hill, *Cat. B.M.*, does not think so.

8. Colonia Alexandria Troas (Sayce, *J.H.S.* 1880, p. 82 ; hence *C.I.L.* iii. 7071 (wrongly restored) ; R. in *Class. Rev.* 1934, pp. 9-13).

This we dedicate to the memory of a scholar who roamed far and wide, from Japan to Casa Blanca in Morocco, and who may safely be called happy at the end of a long and busy and fortunate life.

[Imperatori Caesari di-]	pontif. max. trib. p[ot. cos. T.
vi Hadri[ani f., divi Traiani Pa-	Flavius
rthici nepot[i, divi Nervae pron., T.	NeryllInus flame[n Aug. IIvir quin-
Aelio Hadriano [Antonino Pio Aug.	q . aedilis con . sec[ravit. D. D.

Sayce has rightly preserved the tall I for i long in Parthici and NeryllInus (I do not add it in other cases, as probably the original was irregular in preserving such an archaism), con and secravit are written as two separate words. Both spellings are used throughout the *Res Gestae et Impensae D. Augusti* ; and occasionally in Colonia Caesarea Antiochea as late as Cent. II. Coloniae sometimes preserved linguistic usages from the date of foundation, after they had become generally obsolete. African Latin kept some early linguistic forms to a late period.

The fragment is obviously an honour to Antoninus Pius by a certain Neryllinus, who represented the Colonia as flame[n Aug(usti), duumvir(um) quin]q(uennalis), (formerly aedilis). The date is fixed by the titulature (*v. infra*) between 10 July and 10 Dec., 138. The lost top line was, as usual, engraved in larger letters than the rest, and contained 19 letters ; the others have 26, 26, 27, 27, 28, which is quite normal. The edition in *C.I.L.* iii. 7071, contains various faults.

In the restoration the limits of abbreviation are sometimes uncertain, e.g. the concluding formula may have been con-secravit.

The titulature cannot well be restored in longer form with P.P. and with numbers after trib. pot. and cos. In 139 Pius assumed the title Pater Patriae and was cos. II. : on 10 Dec., 138, he became trib. pot. II. When news reached Troas that Hadrian had died at Baiae on 10 July, 138, the new Emperor was honoured by Colonia Alexandria Troas with this titulus on a basis supporting his statue.

The interest of this document lies in the name Neryllinus. Y is not Latin (*Cic., Or.* 48), and is used only in writing words taken from Greek ; but this is a Latin inscription, and the name is a Latin name misspelt. Why is Y used ? The Latin name Nerullinus is known only in one consular Roman family¹ (mentioned often by Tacitus, *Ann.* 4, 31 ; 11, 1 f. ; 13, 42 f., etc.), and used only of one individual in that family.

Nerullinus (from Latin Nero, Nerullus) was the cognomen of M. Suillius, son of P. Suillius Rufus. The father, proconsul of Asia about

¹ Suillii : infamous for vices and delatio.

53 (Waddington, *Fastes*, no. 83), was *relegatus in insulam*. The son was consul in 50, and should have come up for *sortitio provinciarum* under Nero, but was evidently barred out by that Emperor.¹ The bar was opened at Nero's death, and Nerullinus was admitted to *sortitio* in 69 (as Waddington and Dessau, *P.I.R.*, and Fluss in *Real-Enc.*, ed. II., *s.v.*, agree). Dessau does not mention a date, but this hangs along with the rest of the theory. It has been suggested that Nerullinus as a name was intended as a compliment to Nero, eldest son of Germanicus, born probably A.D. 6; and this date would suit the circumstances, placing the consulship of Nerullinus in his forty-fourth year.

The only evidence that M. Suillius Nerullinus was proconsul of Asia is a coin of Smyrna under Vespasian (Mionnet, *Supp. Ionie*, no. 1661). The coin has been seen by no one but Vaillant, a poor authority, who made many errors; ² and Pick, an excellent authority, hesitates to accept the legend *ἐπι Μ. Συλλίου Νερουλίνου ἀνθυπάτου Σμυρ*.³

We follow Waddington (*Fastes*, 95), who regards the coin as good evidence, and places Nerullinus procos. Asiae in 69–70. Dessau in *P.I.R.* accepts this judgment, but records Pick's dissent; Fluss in *Real-Enc.* iv. A, 719, *s.v.* Suillius, follows Waddington; Sayce's inscription now confirms them.

Under Nerullinus procos. Asiae a young Greek incola at Colonia Troas was honoured with *civitas* by Vespasian in A.D. 70, taking the name T. Flavius Neryllinus. He should have used the cognomen Nerullinus; but his Greek race and speech betrayed him and he made it Neryllinus; the analogy of *Βάθυλλος*, *Θράσυλλος*, *κτλ*, guided him. His grandson, a hereditary *civis*, was appointed *duumvirum* in the colonia, and used officially the Latin language; but doubtless he spoke Greek in ordinary life, especially as the imperial policy encouraged the use of Greek in the Asiatic provinces, and made it a second official language. Even in trials before the governors of provinces Greek was used throughout the proceedings though the decision was pronounced in Latin. There can be no doubt that the speech heard by St. Paul in the streets of Colonia Troas and Colonia Caesarea (Antioch) was Greek, probably also in Colonia Philippensium streets; perhaps in the trial there before the *duo viri* Latin was used at least partly, but Paul and Silvanus must have pleaded in Greek, for they did not reveal themselves as Romans until later. The humorous picture of the attitude of the *duo viri* towards the two apostles as Greeklings, and of their humble apologies to them as *cives Romani*, is the best among many proofs in literature and history and epigraphy of the deep respect for the Latin name in the Oriental world at that time, A.D. 51.

¹ That the Emperors possessed this power is stated by Mommsen, *St. R.* II², p. 253; Grogg, *Jahresh. Oest. Inst.* 1919, Bb. 326; Chapot, *Prov. d. Asie*, pp. 288 f.

² *Σμυρ* for *Ζμυρ* is an error of Vaillant

(Wadd.): *λίνου* for *λλίνου* may be an error of the Smyrnaeans or of Vaillant.

³ Dessau quotes the coin as giving *Σουίλλιος Νερούλιος*; Waddington, as above, probably rightly. Was the accent *Νερουλίνος*?

A proconsular libertus is mentioned on coins of Hierapolis (Waddington), M. Suillius Antiochus as magistrate and eponymos. He was unmitted doubtless in A.D. 69–70, as the praenomen shows; the father (procos. A.D. 53) is not to be thought of here. There was money to be made at Hierapolis, a wealthy city; and the Suillii, infamous for vice and delatio, were skilled in the art. Probably the freedman of a proconsul (especially such a corrupt one as M. Suillius) seized some of the privileges of imperial slaves and liberti, who ranked with and married among the provincial aristocracy. The children of imperial slaves married to free provincial women were free and often held magistracies in their city.

9. In a titulus of Synnada (*M.A.M.* iv. 64), the restoration Οὐ[αλερι|ανόν ?] is suggested doubtfully by the editors; but a longer restoration is more probable; we find no suitable Valerianus; P. Delphius Peregrinus Valerianus, etc., cos. suff. Oct. 138, cannot suit the conditions.

M.A.M. iv. 64.

κ]ατὰ τὰ δόξ[αντα τῆ
κ]ρατίστη βου[λή καὶ τῶ
δήμῳ Τ. Αἴλ. Οὐ[αλερι]-
ανόν δις, χει[λί]αρχον

Suggested.

κ]ατὰ τὰ δόξ[αντα τῆ Συνναδέων
κ]ρατίστη βου[λή καὶ τῶ φιλοκαίσαρι
δήμῳ Τ. Αἴλ. Οὐ[ενουλήμιον Ἄπρωμι-
ανόν, δις χει[λί]αρχον

L. Venuleius Apronianus was consul in 123, and proconsul of Asia in 138 (*Wadd. Fastes*, no. 136), the first year of Emperor Pius. A citizen of Synnada was honoured with civitas. His Roman name unites the Emperor and the proconsul; a coin of Smyrna also unites the names

Obv. : AY · KAI · TI · AIAIOC · ANTΩNEINOC

Rev. : ΕΠΙ · ΑΝΘΥΠΙΑΤΟΥ · ΑΙΠΟΝΙΑΝΟΥ · CΜΥΡ

It was struck in the early months of the reign of Pius, before he had assumed the name Hadrian regularly. The false *TI* for *T* is used also in a coin of Pius at Smyrna, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, nos. 342, 343.

The Venuleii were a Pisan family (*Groag, Wiener Studien*, xlix. p. 157).

In *M.A.M.* δις in l. 4 is connected with Ἄπρωμιανόν (*Οὐαλεριανόν* in that text); but this can hardly be justified; when the Roman name of an Anatolian civis was expressed in Greek, filiation was usually stated after the Roman fashion, υἱὸς τοῦ δεινός, very rarely in Graeco-Anatolian style by using δις, and then only when the name preceding δις is Greek. Exceptions to this rule are rare, and have usually an obvious explanation. Ἄπρωμιανόν δις, while possible, is highly improbable. δις χει[λί]αρχον is a known formula, meaning χει[λί]αρχον λεγεώνων δύο (names of legions follow). Here mutilation prevents certainty. The father's name is not mentioned here, because the new citizen was, in Roman sense, nullo patre.

Another restoration is possible. If this citizen of Synnada had a

native name, for example Arouianos, when he became civis, he might be named T. Aelius Venuleius Arouianos *δῖς, χειλίαρχος*.

The name Arouianos is rare, but is good Anatolian (see *M.A.M.* i. 109), and Arueis occurs (cp. Latin arum).

φιλόκαισαρ is here correctly used of the Demos of Synnada, which was strongly philoroman.¹ T. Aelius Venuleius served some equestrian militiae. The inscription was erected to him after his career, perhaps about 160-70; probably on his tomb.

The restoration in *M.A.M.* has the merit of being the shortest possible. Koehler at the German Institute of Athens in 1881-2 used to emphasize this principle rightly; but it must not be pressed to defend a restoration that is on other grounds impossible or improbable.

Our proposed restoration is preferable as showing that the stone was roughly cut in half by modern masons; this often happens, as masons find it useful to make two good stones out of one, and the fact is often useful in restoration.

10. Hieron, 4 M.P. S. of Col. Antiochea (R. 1912; Calder, Anderson).

dedication to Men by M. Ulpus | Pudens | Pompeianus

M. Ulpus Pudens Pompeianus dedicates to Mên, doubtless thanking the god for civitas. Pudens was the name of a legatus iuridicus (praetorius) in 98 under Pomponius Bassus legatus consularis of Galatia-Cappadocia (see no. 1). He is otherwise unknown; but the name was well known and noble. Pompeianus was assumed as a family name, because this child was born while Cn. Pompeius Collega was legatus consularis of Galatia-Cappadocia about 76: such a name did not imply civitas, but only loyalty to Rome. The family was the wealthiest in Neapolis of Pisidia, and the son of Pompeianus was Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus, who was Galatarch and Agonothetes at Ancyra in 127 (*J.H.S.* 1924, p. 162); the second imperial name was given by Hadrian on account of his liberality in the office.

This Neapolitan, aged 22, was made civis in 98, the first year of Trajan. The name C. Julius Pomponius Pudens Severianus, vir clarissimus, praetor, probably in Cent. III., indicates that some relation was established, perhaps by marriage between a Pomponius and the family of Pudens; but the indications are too scanty to be interpreted with present knowledge.

The name Pompeianus persisted as a family name in the district. Basil, *Ep.* 138 (date 374), speaks of a presbyter Euagrius, son of Pompeianus (Bishop) of Antiochea. Basil does not call Pompeianus Bishop, but his custom makes the meaning certain.

The name of one dedicator with the ethnic *Κιλαρεύς* (!) has survived at the Antiochean hieron. In later time Calder expresses the opinion

¹ Coins of Synnada show *ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ*: *ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΘΕΝ · ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΝ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC*: *ΘΕΑ · ΡΩΜΗ: ΔΗΜΟC · ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ: ΑΠΟ· ΙΕΡΑ · CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC*, etc.

that a Killanian hieron was built on a peak above Anaboura (Enevre) (*A.J.A.* 1930, p. 454); but no dedicatory inscriptions have been found as yet to make this hypothesis certain. The little temple on the peak may serve other purposes. The hypothesis is plausible, and may hereafter be proved correct.

Neapolis was the centre of the Tetrapolis of the Killanian plain, the other components being Anaboura, Altada, and perhaps Piliganon. The Tetrapolis was transferred to Pamphylia in 138, having previously been in Galatia (Ptolemy); hence in 127 Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus was Galatarch (Buckler, *J.R.S.* 1926, p. 246).

Neapolis was about 18 M.P. S.S.E. of Antiochea, in a very fertile plain on the great Via Sebaste (Pisidica); and the trading connexion was close. Neapolis supplied the corn needed in Antiochea, which devoted its fertile territory to the growing of opium and became rich and populous.

Fish of large size, caught in Lake Karalis at Parlais Colonia and Pituassos-Tituassos (at S.E. and S.W. corners of the lake), were cured and exported to Antiochea along Via Sebaste. Parlais placed on its coins a fishing boat, as a recent acquisition in Br. Mus. shows.¹ Tituassos had a harbour on the lake called Iskeles (*εἰς τῆς σκάλα*);² Tituassos was a komopolis (city composed of a union of villages); Titua or Tetoua was probably the chief *οὐά* (village centre), and is mentioned in the Tekmoreian lists; another was Armatazon. This subject is treated in a later section more fully.

The name and date of Pompeius Collega are fixed epigraphically by the following:

11. Colonia Caesarea Antiochea: the name is written Caes. Ant. on coins of Vespasian (Sterrett, *E.J.* 125; R., Calder, Anderson): very large letters. *C.I.L.* iii. 6817.

CN · POMPEIO
COLLEGAE
PATRONO · COL
D D

His date is fixed by an inscription in Armenia Minor; one of his years of office was 76 (Cumont).

The titulus at Antiochea does not call Pompeius Collega legatus. That is inferred from the miliarium in Armenia published badly in *C.I.L.* iii. 306, and correctly by Cumont, and also from the preservation of the names Pompeianus and Collega in the district until the fourth century (see *Class. Rev.* 1919, p. 1). There has been some reluctance to admit that Romans in tituli of the province were legati Augusti, if the title

¹ I owe this to Mr. Robinson's courtesy.

² Badly represented in the spelling

Ueskeles. Askara of the Tekmoreian lists is Eskil near the S.W. end of Lake Tatta.

was not added to the name ; but other tituli corroborate, and the names passed into the nomenclature of the province. Moreover, Roman nobles did not travel in Galatia for pleasure, but only for duty ; and there was no officer of senatorial rank except the legatus in the province.

12. Nysa ad Maeandrum (Clerc, *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 347), marble cippus. The restoration before l. 1 is ours, uncertain, but probable. This titulus is given as an example of difficulty and uncertainty, due to want of information : perhaps *T. Φλαούιον* in 1A, 2A : *Addenda*.

1A	[Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τι.]		ανὸν Φιλομήτορα
2A	[Κλαυδίου Σακέρδωτος]		ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ
	'Ι]ου[λι]ανου̅ χειλιά]ρ-	10	καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ
	χ]ου καὶ στεφανη-		οἱ νέοι ἐτείμησαν
	φόρου καὶ γραμμα-		νεανίαν ἐπιφανῆ
	τ]έως υἰὸν καὶ 'Ιουλί-		γένους τε ἔνεκεν
5	ας 'Ηλιοδωρίδος		καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἡ-
	τῆς ἀρχιερείας	15	θεσι σεμνότητος
	Σακέρδωτα 'Ιουλι-		

One or more lines are lost at top, containing at least praen. and nomen and father's nomen. The father was of equestrian rank, and did military service ; but only tribunos of a legion is mentioned. His mother was Julia Heliodoris "the Highpriestess," a remarkable expression (St. [*W.E.* 187, 409]). The father was ἀρχιερεύς in his city, the mother was civis and ἀρχιέρεια. The son was probably [Ti. Claudius] Sacerdos Julianus Philometor, and the father was [Ti. Claudius] Julianus, tribunos and garlanded priest and secretary of the city. The militiae equestres of the father are dismissed in a word ; probably he was tribunos merely to make him eques, like the poet Martial.

The inscription is possibly as early as A.D. 90 ; it is hardly possible that Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Julianus, cos. suff. Dec. 100, was the son of this Nysaeian, admitted as son of an eques to the senatorial career. Orientals attained the consulate in 92 and 93 and 105 ; Caristianus was legatus of Lycia-Pamphylia 81-83 ; but was not allowed by Domitian to attain higher rank.

The Gerousia of Nysa and the Neoi joined with boule and demos in the honour. The father was evidently a member of the Gerousia, and the son of the Neoi. The son was entering a municipal career at the age of about 20, when this titulus was engraved ; his son was admitted to the senatorial cursus honorum, as we suppose ; but he himself in A.D. 60 was barred from army command (see Dessau, *Hermes*, xlv. p. 1, and Domaszewski, pp. 83 ff., 132).

The cognomina of the second civis were Sacerdos Julianus Philometor, but the last is only a personal epithet implying affection to his highborn mother ; Julianus may be derived from an official, who was concerned in the honour paid to the father (p. 26) : Sacerdos is probably

a translation of a native name, e.g. Pappas. The same name is translated Hiereus in Sterrett, *E.J.* 41. Iulianus was a name of the father and the son, assumed by the family in general.

The honour was intended more for the father and mother than for the son himself, who was still only *νεανίας*: hence both the Gerousia and the Neoi share in it.

We assume as quite probable that the father, the first civis, had the personal cognomen Sacerdos, but the mutilation prevents certainty; the father was made civis to qualify him for the garlanded priesthood at a mature age. He as equestrian served a militia which was practically nominal.

Such honorary inscriptions were all, probably, bought by the recipients of the honour except when the contrary is stated. *Add.*, p. 214.

13. Dorylaion (R. 1906) on architrave of elaborate herōon in two lines.

*Π. Αιλίωι Σαβεινιανῶι Δημοσθένει στεφανηφόρῳ καὶ κτίστῃ τῶν
Θερμῶν καὶ φιλοπάτριδι
Π. Αἴλιος Σαβεινιανὸς Τίμαιος ὁ ἀδελφός.*

Thermaï must mean the bathing establishment as a whole. On these springs (which are very hot) of sweet water, dedicated to Kybele Kranosmegalene, see Cox and Cameron, *M.A.M.* v. no. 8. They were called Kranos Megalon; the Anatolian *κρανος* corresponds to Greek *κρήνη*, *Κράννων* (in Thessaly); it occurs in *Κρανο-σαγα* (cp. *Σαγονα*, i.e. *Σαγ-ουά*—*ουά* means village), in the Tekmoreian lists.

The two brothers are probably sons of a civis of Hadrian. No Sabinus (or Sabinianus) is known as proconsul or legatus of Asia under Hadrian; the inscription seems not to be later than Cent. II.; but the first civis was honoured with a second name taken from the Empress Sabina by Hadrian, who perhaps visited Dorylaion and bestowed civitas on the father in 124; and the titulus is about 160. At Bithynion-Claudiopolis, visited by Hadrian and Sabina, two phylai were called Hadriane and Sabeiniane.

The name Demosthenes was probably favoured in Dorylaion. The Emperor Hadrian observed that a leading citizen bore the Athenian orator's name, and made him civis and "partisan of Sabina." Demosthenes, the Bithynian historian, spoke about the city (Steph., who often quotes him).

14. Dorylaion (Callander, 1906), the end of a titulus (rest lost),

[ὁ δεῖνα]
*Δορυλαεύς στεφανηφόρος τὰς κίο[νας
τῇ π]ατρίδι*

Perhaps the dedicator was the same person that made the bath-house; but the title often occurs.

15. Konia (R. 1910 with Calder) on shaft of a bomos, one line above shaft. The lettering gives no clue to the date, being of the rounded form which has wide date. (*J.R.S.* 1924, p. 47, Calder.)

Π. Αἴλιος Μακε- δὼν τὴν λάρνα- κα καὶ τὸν βω- μὸν ἑαυτῷ 5 καὶ τῇ συνβί- ω καὶ τέκνοις ἐποίησα καὶ Καλπουρνίω Πο-	10 15	υτιλιανῷ καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνοις εἰάν δέ τις ἐπιβί- ἀσηται εἰσενεν- κείν, ὑποκέισε- ται τῷ φίσκῳ ¹ * ββ'
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P. Aelius Macedo or an ancestor was granted civitas by Hadrian in A.D. 122, when Larcus Macedo was legatus Galatiae. Calpurnius Rutilianus derives his name from one of the various Calpurnii who governed Galatia, one in A.D. 15, one in 69, one Arrius Calpurnius c. 190. Rutilianus means "son of Rutilius." When a recruit was enrolled, he got a Roman name on the roll (p. 9); the new name depended on the choice of the officer, but was often taken from some Roman connected with the enrolment, or an officer of State.

It was rare to reserve room for a friend and his wife and family. In *J.H.S.* 1883, pp. 401 f., room is granted to a soldier friend, Aur. Mannos; the titulus is printed later among Christian inscriptions; the date is about 270–280, before Diocletian's reorganization c. 295, when prov. Asia was being divided into several parts, one being Karo-Phrygia under a consular legatus (Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1932, p. 32).

The arrangement seems of late character² and Calpurnius Rutilianus perhaps derived his name from C. Arrius C. F. Quirina Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus (consul c. 193 or 194), who must have governed Galatia about 190; he is not called legatus in tituli dedicated to him at Col. Antiochea (*C.I.L.* iii. 6810–12); but the dedication was made to him later as consul in Rome and patronus.³

The inscription perhaps was engraved about 218. Calpurnius Rutilianus got his name when admitted to military service as an auxiliary c. 190; he retired c. 215 and returned to his native town, where he became acquainted intimately with P. Aelius Macedo, grandson of the Hadrianic civis (who was born c. 100); the grandson was born about 165, and his daughter, born about 195, married Calpurnius Rutilianus, and a place in the family tomb of her parents was the dowry which she brought. She is not mentioned by name; but native custom survived for centuries in these new Roman families, and she was counted a member of her new family (Sect. V).

¹ Some letters transgress the bounds, and were written on the margin.

² The strict Anatolian custom was that the grave is a purely family sanctuary.

³ He was probably proconsul of Africa

later, as he is mentioned in his son's epitaph at Thuburbus Major. His wife Oscia Modesta [—]ia [—]ia Cornelia Patruina Publina survived him long.

16. Ancyra (*C.I.G.* 4035 ; Mordtmann, *Marm. Anc.* p. 7 ; Cagnat, *I.G.R.R.* iii. 184). Date 159–60.

<i>Π. Πομπώνιον Σε-</i>	<i>στράτηγον</i>
<i>κουνδιανόν πρεσ-</i>	<i>Αἴλιος Μακεδών.</i>
<i>βευτήν Σεβ. ἀντι-</i>	

The dedicator was not the first civis, who would be less likely to omit his praenomen, but rather the son. In that case Pomponius was legatus probably c. A.D. 160. The date 160–3 is proved by the following inscription.

A. Larcius Macedo as legatus inscribed miliaria near Ancyra in 122 (*C.I.L.* iii. 310),¹ in one of the three (?) years of his legatio. He was cos. suff. with Verres in an unknown year. Henzen, on no sufficient ground, placed his consulate in 122 (May), see *P.I.R.* That date is impossible ; but the consulate very often followed immediately on the Galatian legatio ; and it is probable that Macedo and Verres were coss. shortly after 122.

17. Ancyra (R. 1881 in part ;² *C.I.G.* 4031 from *Ham.* no. 118). High in the castle wall. My text differs much from *C.I.G.* Date 161–3.

<i>Ἀγαθῆι Τύχη,</i>	<i>βίου τῶν θεῶν Σεβασ-</i>
<i>Π] Αἴλιον Μακεδόνα ἀρχιε-</i>	<i>τῶν, ἄρξαντα ἀγνώως καὶ</i>
<i>ρέα [καὶ ἀγωνοθέτ]ην</i>	<i>ἰ]σοσίμως ταμίαν ἀν[α]-</i>
<i>τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν</i>	10 <i>δεδειγμένον ἀγωνοθέτην φυλῆς Σεβασ-</i>
5 <i>Γαλατάρχην Σεβαστο-</i>	<i>τῆς τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην</i>
<i>φάντην ἱεροφάντην διὰ</i>	<i>κατὰ ἀναγόρευσειν βουλῆς καὶ δήμου.</i>

Hamilton shows a lost letter at beginning of l. 2 ; *ἱεροφάντην* (omitted in *C.I.G.*) in l. 6 ; ἀν[α] not ἀπο (as *C.I.G.*) in l. 9. Probably ἀποδεδειγμένος (designatus) was reserved for Roman official ; here ἀναεδ. is connected with ἀγωνοθέτης, meaning that he was proclaimed agonothetes at the beginning of the games. Hamilton shows some further lines unintelligible.

My copy suggests in l. 2 ἀρχιερέα (with an epithet), but I could not see. Hamilton's copy is bad ; his *ΕΡΑΕΛΕΘΟΗΝ* omits *ΕΑ* after *ΕΡ* before *ΑΕ* ; his *ΑΕΛΕ* is false reading of *ΚΑΙ ΑΓΩΝ* ; *ΘΟΗΝ* is false for *ΟΘΕΤΗΝ* ; he found the inscription as difficult as I did, but his eyes were better. Probably Hamilton has slumped together two lines in his l. 2 ; and *ΤΩΝ* in l. 5 belongs to l. 4. My bad copy is of some slight help here.

P. Aelius Macedo was made civis by Hadrian in 122–3 and A. Larcius Macedo legatus. The provincial offices could be held by any member of the province, but only an Ancyran could be archon or tamias. As ἀγωνοθέτης he was president of Ancyran games. The Divi Augusti are Marcus and Verus, not the divi generally.

¹ Also Anderson, *J.H.S.* xix. pp. 93, 103.

² I found the lines often difficult, being

high in a wall, but not high enough to make a glass useful.

18. In a Pisidian rock sanctuary described by A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 227 (prov. Lyc.-Pamph, before 73 prov. Galatia), the most conspicuous dedication is :—

(R. 1884) carefully engraved in large bold letters in a marked space.

Τι. Κλ. Ρούσων Ἀπόλλωνι Περμυνο-
δέων εὐχὴν

Ruso belonged to a family that was honoured with civitas by Claudius, and was therefore of high local rank. He derived his cognomen from P. Calvisius Ruso, legatus of Galatia Cappadocia, c. 106; it was given to him at his birth by his father, grandson of the first civis, mindful of the old connexion of his family with the legati of Galatia (?).

The framing of the titulus shows that Perminodeis is the name, but Perminoundeis occurs (p. 179). The long name was shortened δῆμου Μενδενέω(ν) in Hierocles (perhaps corrupt). The names Perminoda and Perminounda are varieties of formation, suffix -da with nasalisation -ounda, cp. Homana—Homanada, Oureis—Oroandeis—Orondeis.

19. Thessalonika (Groag in *Jahresh.* 1913, Bb. 211 f. from *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1912, p. 360, with his correction). Quoted as independent example of our method.

τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον πρεσβ[ευτὴν καὶ
ἀντιστράτηγον Μ.] Οὔλπιον Ἀσ[τεῖον

Groag rightly interprets this as a memorial of M. Ulpius Astius, frater Arvalis and praetor in 183, who was legatus of the proconsul of Macedonia, and grandson of a libertus of Trajan. One of the Arval pueri patrimi et matrimi was M. Ulpius Boethus, doubtless a son. The name Ἀστειῶς is servile; the nomen servile lingered still in the third generation, though a senatorius; Groag quotes Pliny, *Paneg.* 88, “tu libertis summum quidem honorem . . . habes.” The supposition that Astius here was the rare Latin nomen used as cognomen may be set aside as quite improbable. The son Βοηθός also has nomen servile; the pueri p. et m. were often sons of fratres Arvales. Astius lib. at Ancyra, *C.I.L.* iii. 255.

20. Konia, in a foundation wall of the Seldjuk palace, excavated 1910 (R., Calder who publ. *Rev. de Phil.* 1912, p. 61); bomos with lion above.

Ἀῦλος Εἰούλιος
Ἐρμῆς ἐαυτῶ ζῶν
καὶ Σωτείρη γυναικὶ
ἐαυτῶ (!) καὶ Αὔλω Ἐ-
5 ορτικῶ καὶ Αὔλω Πρω-

τέα υἱοῖς· εἰσοί-
σει δὲ οὐθεῖς (!) νεκρὸν
ἀλλότριον, ἐπεὶ ἔ-
νοχος ἔσται τῷ
10, 11 φύσκωι δηναρίοις Α.

Hermes was libertus of C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Quadratus. Hermes and Soteira are slave names, taken from (foreign) gods.¹ The sons inherited the nomen Julius. The freedman takes the proper family name of his patronus, who probably derived Antius from his mother (see p. 45). Quadratus was legatus iuridicus of Galatia, Cappadocia,² etc., probably 90–92, immediately before his consulship (93). Praetorian legatio of Galatia often led to the consulship directly. [See pp. 116, 222.]

Lion or eagle on a tomb has no connexion with Mithraism, traces of which are very rare in Asia Minor, chiefly at Tarsus and at Abbassos near Amorion. The lion was a protective animal, terrible to enemies of the deceased, but kindly towards friends; he has two aspects. The eagle symbolized that the deceased was transported to his home among the gods, among whom he now ranks (see later Section).

The lion as friend of the goddess Mother and of her protégés (the dead who come back to the mother that bore them, *Il.* ii. 865) is shown on a sarcophagus at Barata (*Thousand and One Churches*, p. 517 and fig. 377). Sitting lions, guardians of the grave, are photographed by Dr. Buckler in *J.R.S.* 1924, Plates III., IV.; see his remarks, pp. 31 f. Sitting lions in old Ionian art in frieze at Assos. These lions in Lykaonia might almost be taken for Seldjuk work; but Greek inscriptions occur at Barata and at Iconium. An Anatolian myth connected with the lion in its friendly attitude gradually developed into the tale of Androkles and the lion (placed in the reign of Tiberius, *Aul. Gell.* v. 14). A similar development from the birds flying over Lake Tatta, which cannot fly and are caught if their feathers touch the water (*Strab.* 568), appears in the nursery saying that you can catch a bird if you put salt on its tail. Apion saw the man and lion in the streets of Rome!

21. Konia near no. 20 (R. with Calder, 1910; publ. by Calder, *Rev. de Phil.* 1912, p. 66). New civis:

Αἰλος Ἰούλι-	δικήση τὴν σ-
ος Φιλήμων κ-	τήλην ἢ ἄ-
αὶ Ἰουλία Μά-	10 ποκόψει, ἕξει
μα θία Δάφν-	τὸν Μῆνα κε-
5 ω υἱῶ	χολωμένον
μνήμης χά-	τὸν καταχθόνι-
ρν. ὅς δ' ἄν ἄ-	ον

Calder formerly printed κ(αὶ)|Ἰαπουλία, but on re-examination with Buckler and Cox preferred κ|αὶ Ἰουλία, which is evidently right (*J.R.S.* 1924, p. 47). I take κεχολωμένον from Calder-Buckler: I read at first κεχλωμένον with compensatory lengthening and shortening; compare Φαλκῶννιλα in *M.A.M.* i. 191 (so my published copy, and the photograph), where Calder prints with single *N* in text and index.

¹ Soteira, or Σατειρα, epithet of Kybele.

² Cappadocia omitted by mistake once.

Philemon also was libertus of A. Julius A. F. Quadratus. The son Daphnos was probably born before the parents were manumitted; Philemon was set free along with Mama thia. Dr. Buckler prefers Mamathia as a single word; but we are sceptical about creating an unknown Anatolian name, when it can be resolved into two words. Did Philemon marry his aunt? Such marriages were in certain cases legalized by Claudius, and seem to have been permitted by Anatolian custom. Basil proscribed them.

A senatus consultum was passed in 49 under Claudius permitting marriage of an uncle with niece daughter of brother, but maintained the existing prohibition against niece daughter of sister, and aunt amita or matertera; cp. no. 22.

22. Near Selge (Ormerod, *J.R.S.* 1922, p. 53).

<p>ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σελεγέων ἐτείμησεν Ὀπλωνα Μουσαίου Ἐρμογένους καὶ Κασσιαν Ἐρμο- γένους τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ</p>	<p>5 καὶ Κωνιν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἀέστη- σεν ἡ Κασσία μνήμης καὶ φιλαν- δρῆας ἔνεκεν</p>
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Hoplou, son of Mousaios, and grandson of Hermogenes, married Kassia, his aunt. Ormerod avoids this obvious record by a complicated and improbable theory (which we need not recapitulate). In the large households in which those great families lived together (*τετραπυργίαι*, *C.B.* ii. pp. 419 ff.) and probably married within their own circle to keep the property in the family, examples are not wanting.

ἡ Κασσία in l. 7 refers back to the mention of Cassia in l. 4; this is a good classical Greek usage found in other Anatolian tituli, "the above-mentioned Cassia."

In such marriages there was nothing inconsistent with social ideas either under the Empire or in the primitive Anatolian period. They were condemned by the Church in the fourth century; but probably pagans never forbade them, and they were practised probably in the pagan villages which survived till quite recent time; I have known several of those villages.

There are also some topographical judgments in Ormerod's useful article, which can hardly be accepted, e.g. that Servilius Isauricus did not enter the province Asia; he has not taken into consideration that Ephesus instituted a cult of Servilius, and that Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. imposed a huge indemnity on the Oroandeis. After that Servilius marched to the Aegean coast and Ephesus along the central Trade Route, which touches their land at Laodicea Katakekaumene (Ladik). It may be said confidently that Ephesus would not have created a cult and a priest of Servilius unless he had actually visited the city. If mere gratitude prompted a cult of the saviour power, the cult would have been that of Rome; but when Servilius came with his triumphant army to Ephesus, the cult was created for him personally.

P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus was commander in the war against the Pirates 78–74 B.C. He captured Olympos and Phaselis in Lycia, organized Cilicia as a province, crossed Taurus by the Cilician Gates, captured Derbe¹ and Isaura Nova, made the Oroandian territory ager publicus, which implies that he went as far north as Laodicea Katakekaumene on the central Trade Route (Strab. 663 f.). Ormerod has been misled by the traditional deep-seated error about Isaura and Isaurike and Isaurioi, on which see a later Section.

Ormerod has introduced Cicero, *Leg. agrar.*, as an authority; that had escaped me; but the fact that Servilius went as far north as the Oroandeis and Ladik implies that he did not return thence to the south coast.

The Oroandeis were Highlanders; *orou* in Phrygian meant *ἄνω*; Oura in Isauria (capital of Kiêtis, Kêtis), Zeus Ouru-dam-enos (*dam* still means house in Anatolian Greek and Turkish), Oureis at Ladik and Sizma, *οὐρανός*, are all connected with this Phrygian word.

23. The Lycians were left free by Augustus. In 43 they rioted, killed some Romans,² and lost freedom; Lycia was then made a province by Claudius. Dion, 60, 17, 3, says: ἐδουλώσατο καὶ ἐς «τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας» νόμον ἐσέγραψεν;³ the words bracketed are a foolish explanatory gloss that has crept into the text; cp. Dio 53, 26, 3, τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε, . . . τὰ τε χωρία . . . τῷ ἰδίῳ νόμῳ ἀπεδόθη.⁴ Lycia was under a legatus Augusti of praetorian rank pr. pr. from 43 to 73, when a double province Lyc.-Pamph. was made.

Marquardt is wrong on this matter, *Organ. d. Reich.* (also in the improved French). Cagnat, *I.G.R.*, repeats the same error in his note on III. 507: *R.-Enc.* is not much better.⁵

The known legati of Lycia are: (1) Q. Veranius, cos. 49; perhaps legatus in 43–46. (2) M. Plautius Silvanus (date?), named on a Lycian stone that was carried to Attaleia in A.D. 912–916. He is identified by some with M. Plautius Silvanus, cos. A.D. 6, and transformed into a legatus Galatiae et Pamphyliae. [See p. 222.]

(3) T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (cos. 61, cos. II. 74), 56, was prosecuted for extortion in 57, acquitted by lavish bribery. (4) and (5) C. Licinius Mucianus, 53–54, and S. Marcius Priscus, 69–70. (4) was famous in 69; (5) was evidently a partisan of Vespasian and carried the Lycian cities to that side (see *P.I.R.*).

Two distinguished Lycian families acquired civitas as Licinii and Marcii at Termessos Minor (Benndorf-Niemann, *Lykien*, nos. 226–228, 233, with genealogical stemma).⁶ C. Licinius Thoas was in his prime

¹ Derbe, on its isolated great rocky tumulus, was peculiarly open to capture by thirst. Neighbouring cities on the march were less exposed, Laranda, Ilistra, etc.

² Probably negotiatores, who were practising extortion in Republican style.

³ Suet., *Claud.* 25, Lyciis libertatem ademit; the similarity shows that words of

Claudius are quoted by Suetonius and translated by Dio: cp. *Vesp.* 8.

⁴ Mr. R. Syme alters arbitrarily to τῷ αὐτῷ νομῷ (i.e. Galatia), *Klio*, 1934, p. 125.

⁵ The glossator explained that the new provincia of 43 was the double provincia formed by Vespasian in 73.

⁶ See also Heberdey, *Opramoas*, better.

about 156-166; he entertained as host and friend legati (*ἡγεμόνες*) before 161 and proconsuls after; in 161 proconsuls were substituted for legati as governors of Lycia-Pamphylia;¹ his grandfather and grand-uncle, brothers, were made cives, named Licinius Mousaios and Marcius Thoas. In the tituli the full names are shortened to contain a Roman and a native name. In later generations the names Aelia and Antoninus occur. The Roman tribe of the Lycian Licinii was Sergia.

In earlier generations both families bore non-Roman Termessian grecized names, Tlepolemos, Kroisos, Polykleia, Ammia, Thoas, Mousaios (grecized from native Mous(s)is). Kroisos points to Lydian rule. The native names are aristocratic; the families are priestly; like priest-families everywhere they intermarried. Their patria is named as *Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Οἰνοανδεῖς*; Termessos *πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις* was the full name, and Oinoanda was the central township of a *τετράπολις* (i.e. four villages (*οὐαί*) united to form a single *πόλις*). Sex. Marcius Priscus was legatus in 69-71, perhaps longer; C. Licinius under Nero *c.* 54.

24. Akmonia, Ahat Keui (*C.I.G.* 3858e and Wadd. 755 from Le Bas). Too late I saw *Forsch. Ephes.* II, 61 (same restoration); see no. 158, also no. 66.

<p>Ἄγα]θῆ Τύχη (<i>sic!</i>) <i>T. Φλ]άουιον Ἰέρω[γ- ο]ς υἰὸν Κυρεῖνα Μ]οντανόν, δις ἔπα[ρ- 5 χ[ο]ν τεχνειῶν, ἀρ- χιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσω κοι-</i></p>	<p>νοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας, Σε- βαστοφάντην καὶ 10 ἀ]γωνοθέτην διὰ β]ίου <i>vac.</i> ἡ τῶν γνα- φέων συνεργασία τ]ὸν αὐτῶν εὐερ- γ]έτην</p>
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Date between 100 and 129. In l. 2 Wadd. restores [*M. Σά]λουιον or Φου]λουιον, but A is clear on the stone and Le Bas's copy suits. Flavius Montanus was a member of the gild of Gnapheis (Knapheis, wool cleaners). He was appointed high priest of Asia provincia, an honourable and expensive position. He also held a local priesthood, which was doubtless permanent;² he was Agonothetes for life in association with the local cult; *σεβαστοφάντης* flamen divi Augusti is Akmonian. Fl. Montanus was made civis in 96 to qualify; he was high priest of Asia about 12 years later (p. 34).*

We know little (see p. 35) about the flamines divorum in Asia Minor. There was in Rome a college of flamines divorum; each divus had his special flamen; they were appointed by the Emperor as pontifex maximus; they must be patricians; they were appointed for life and they might be pontifices at the same time (*Real-Enc.*).

His native name is omitted; he was thoroughly Roman in the

¹ Brandis in *R.E.*, *s.v.* Bithynia, 529, and *Hermes*, 31, p. 161.

² He would have to reside at Ephesus while acting as high priest of Asia; but

would retain the title Asiarches permanently. He was made flamen Augusti in the local cult; in Akmonia there were few persons able to hold such an office.

imperial cult. Apparently he became rich through trade, and not as a member of an old noble family ; he held no municipal office ; his phyle does not appear as concurring in the compliment.

The precise sense of the *titulus* is not free from difficulties, but I state my opinion without discussing them in detail. Montanus was the first *civis* of the family ; Hiero, his father, was not *civis*. There is some carelessness in expression, which was frequent in Graeco-Anatolian cities. The *proedroi* of the *Gnapheis* were not masters of Greek style ; they knew the circumstances and wrote for a public that knew the situation. He served no *militiae equestres*.¹ Hiero family name.

His Roman tribe was *Quirina*, to which the *Flavii* belonged.

The inscription was erected in *Akmonia* when Montanus was made *Asiarch* at *Ephesus* ; how long after A.D. 95 that was is quite uncertain. It was before 129, when a second temple of the imperial cult was dedicated by *Hadrian* to himself in *Ephesus*, probably *c.* 105-108.

These priesthoods imply that he was a man of mature years. The office of *Asiarch* or *Sebastophantes* required *civitas*, and the priest selected must be made *civis* before he entered on his duties. This man took his name from Emperor *T. Flavius* and Montanus, *proconsul* of *Asia*. Two *Montani* are known as *consuls* under the *Flavii*.

(1) *T. Junius Montanus*, *cos. suff.* 81 (May-June, 3rd *nundinum*), would in due course be *proconsul* either of *Africa* or *Asia* about 96 ; he is not known in *African fasti* ; probably he came to *Asia*, 96.

We note that *Heberdey* considers the interval between *cos.* and *procos. Asiae* was about 17 years at this time ; and that *Premmerstein* takes this interval quoting *Heberdey* in *Jahresh.* 1905, p. 231 ; but many examples seem to show 15 years as the interval, e.g. *Venuleius cos.* 123, *procos.* 138.

(2) *L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus*, *cos.* 92, cannot have been *proconsul* of either *Asia* or *Africa* under *Domitian*, and therefore does not come into the question.

It is not known that *Junius Montanus* was *proconsul* of *Asia* ; but the frequent occurrence of *Montanus* in *Asian nomenclature* suggests that he was. The *cognomina* used by new *cives* in *Asia* are almost all of *Roman governors* of the province A.D. 44 to 212. We take it as a rule that the *consulate* conjoined with use of the name subsequently in *Asia* in the families of new *cives* points to the *proconsulate* of *Asia* ; *proconsulate* of *Africa* would constitute disproof.

T. Junius Montanus was identified by *Borghesi* (*Opp.* iv. p. 523) with the *Montanus* of *Juvenal*, iv. 136 f., *noverat ille luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis*. *Juvenal* parodies the *Consilium Principis* supposed to be held in A.D. 83 to discuss the *German War*. *Montanus* had taken part in *Nero's midnight revels*. The identification is highly probable ; the dates suit. *Junius Montanus* was born *c.* 40, in youth

¹ Military command was rarely permitted to special ability from *Domitian* onwards. to *Oriental equites* before *Severus* ; only

was boon companion of Nero about A.D. 58–64, was 41 years old as consul in 81, member of the *Consilium Principis* in 83, and went to Asia about 95, at the age of 55. He was a friend both of Nero and Domitian, and was made consul by Titus. There is nothing inconsistent in such friendship with diverse Emperors, if we take him as an easy-going person, fond of good cheer (Juvenal so describes him), with sufficient sense to be a member of the *Consilium Principis* under Domitian and sufficient tact to accommodate himself to Nero's revels and to Domitian's suspicious temper, and apparently to make himself popular in the province, as the name Montanus became rather common in Asia during the second century.

Little is known of Montanus, founder of the Phrygian heresy, except that he began to teach about A.D. 160. One of his prophetesses Maximilla died c. 179, according to Anon. ap. Euseb., *H.E.* v. 16, 19 (Opitz in *Real-Enc. s.v.*); she was doubtless younger than her leader. He is said to have been a priest of Cybele or of Apollo; the apparent contradiction really argues the truth of both statements. Pepouza was the cradle of the heresy; and it lies near the middle Maeander adjoining the Pentademitai, the people of Leto-Cybele and Apollo-Lairbenos. Tumion was modern Duman. Waddington (Lebas no. 755) speaks of Montanus as a favourite Phrygian name, which is true if we understand that this Roman name was adopted in Phrygian nomenclature.¹ On our hypothesis it began from the proconsul of 96. Montanus belonged to a priestly family, at a second-rate sanctuary, where *civitas* was delayed later than at the greater shrines (for example, at Col. Antiochea). The heresiarch may have been son of the first *civis* of the family. Montanus was not Anatolian name.

NOTE.—Sebastophantes in Koinon Gal., *J.R.S.* 1922, p. 166.

25. Colonia Antiochea (R. 1911; *C.I.L.* iii. 6847). The first two lines are in slightly larger letters than ll. 3, 4.

T · FLAVIO · T ·]F · SER	COHORTIS ·] QVARTAE
G · FRONT]ONI · DEC	gallorum ? ei]VS · GENER

The tribe was abbreviated Ser. or Serg. The letters are good; dating by form of letters is precarious on the plateau, but we should be unwilling to place the *titulus* much after 100.

The *nomen* is lost; the deceased was *civis* of Sergian tribe, son of an *incola* who had acquired *civitas*; the families of the original *coloni* were of various Roman tribes; *incolae* who got *civitas* were placed in Sergia. We restore T. Flavio as an *incola* enfranchised by a Flavian Emperor, in preference to Ti. Claudio, because *oni* points to Rusoni or Frontoni, both of the Flavian period. Rusoni fills too little space; and we restore Frontoni.

¹ See *Real-Enc.*, *s.v.* Montanus: Waddington, *Fastes*, 154.

T. Flavius Fronto, the father, bears the name of a Flavian Emperor and of M. Hirrius Fronto A. Neratius Pansa, who was *legatus* in Galatia-Cappadocia, c. A.D. 81. The name is restored from coins and from our no. 104, except Aulus, which is attested in a dedication to Mên from a board of magistrates, published by Mrs. Hasluck in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 121. The son, T. Flavius Fronto, was *decurio* either in Colonia Antiochea or in the Roman army. If he were colonial *decurio*, the restoration would be *tribus quartae*; but among the many inscriptions of the colonia no allusion occurs to numbered tribes.

Tribus was used at Antiochea only in the sense of Roman tribes, as befitted a colonia. *Decurio* therefore must have the military sense. Now T. Flavius T. F. Fronto must have been a legionary, not an auxiliary soldier. He could not be *decurio* in a legion, because the horsemen attached to a legion were not commanded by a *decurio*, see below.

There were *decuriones* in *alae* and in *cohortes equitatae*; but, inasmuch as no *ala quarta* is known to Cichorius in *Real-Enc.*, or to Cheesman on Auxiliaries, *cohortis* is inevitable; and *cohortis* suits better, as *alae* is too short.

There were no *decuriones* of the horsemen attached to a legion (which were commanded by a *tribunus*), see Mommsen on iii. 7449, who corrects Marquardt's contrary statement on this point. T. Flavius T. F. was therefore promoted from soldier of a legion to *decurio* of a *cohors eq.*, like the soldier, no. 75, in iii. 7449. *Cohors IV.* must be followed by the title, which cannot be restored; the title was probably written at full length: *IV. Gall. in Moesia Inferior, Hisp. in Dacia, Raet. in Cappadocia, Thrac. in Syria*, would suit.

As the name of the cohort was presumably written in full, there is not room for the name of the son-in-law. The dedicator usually likes to immortalize himself, but the gener may have been only an *incola* who felt it incongruous to add a non-civis at the end of such a *titulus*.

26. Pass of Tchalam Bel above Lystra towards Konia (Sterrett, 269, hence *C.I.L.* iii. 6793); R in 1890 compared Sterrett's text with the stone and found it correct except in a few badly formed letters. The writer was a Greek-speaking inhabitant of Colonia Felix Gemina Lustra; Latin was no longer spoken or understood in that Colonia, as official Latin inscriptions show (Sect. XXXIII). Bad Latin, see pp. 111, 164, 166.

The writer T. Flavius Gabinius dedicated the tomb to his grandfather and father, T. Flavii Sospites;¹ he tried to write Latin, but he did not know the alphabet. We give the text on the stone, and the text which the writer tried to engrave; probably he might have said (as some dedicators do) *ἔγραψα τῆ ἐμῆ χερσί*. For Latin F he wrote PH; L is usually right but misplaced; V often stands for L²; in S he is unerring; in l. 3 he wrote his own praenomen C (for Greek Γ), and

¹ The names in ll. 3, 5, 6 assure the nomen of avus and pater; praenomen of pater is stated in l. 2; his cognomen must

be that of his father; the honoured name was not changed.

² V reversed is lambda, Latin L.

engraved over it strongly T ; he calls his avus C. Phulvius, and his pater Phulvius Titus ; but in his son of the same name (PHVT) he became conscious of error, and broke off, beginning again PHLAV. There can hardly be a doubt that in writing PHVL in ll. 1, 2, he was trying to spell FLA, and in calling his avus and himself C, he was confusing Greek Γ with Latin T ; this he corrected in l. 3, but forgot to correct in l. 1. In l. 2 he has the praenomen TITO, but puts it after the nomen. He gradually improved in knowledge of Latin letters, and finally discarded the stone, which was used in the ancient road to Konia to mark the top of the pass. In l. 5 PHVT perhaps was for filiis or filio.¹ The idea that V represented Latin L came to him because A represented Latin L, and V to him was Greek Λ and Latin L. We add the intention of the composer.

C · PHVLVIO · SOSPITI · AVO	T. Flavio Sospiti avo
ET · PHVLVIO · TITO · PATRI	et Flavio Tito patri
T · PHLAVIVS · GAVINIVS · PA	T. Flavius Gabinius pa-
RENTIBVS · DVLCISS[IMI]C	rentibus dulcissimis
ET · PHVT PHLAV // // // // LA	et phil (i.e. fil.) Phlav[. . . F]la-
VIO · TITO . . . EIV . . . C	vio Tito veivos m.c.

He could not write his name ; his cognomen was Gabinius, Greek Γαοίνιος. He calls his avus and pater parentes. His father Titus Flavius becomes Flavius Titus, as if Titus were cognomen. For his son's cognomen Mommsen suggests Flavus needlessly.²

This inscription must be taken in connexion with the following, which has been perhaps oftener copied and commented on than almost any other in Asia Minor, on account of difficulties in text and interpretation ; it has been placed at dates widely discrepant.

27. Colonia (Caes.) Antiochea (R. 1882, 1912, with Calder and Anderson); Sterrett, *E.J.* 98, and R. 1886, with Sterrett's proofsheets in hand ; Hamilton, 178; *C.I.L.* iii. 6818; Wadd. 1816; Dessau 1017; Henzen 6912 and *Add.* p. 521. Borghesi conjectured So[ll]er]ti and Bellicius Sollers, but Sterrett saw that the stone has SOS̄P, which is confirmed by impressions and by all observers. In l. 16 XXII is needed.

[L. Caesennio ?]	10 cor. mur. cor. vall. cor.
P. F. Stel. Sos̄[pi-	aur. hast. pur. trib. ve-
ti fetiali, leg. Aug.	xill. trib. curat col[o
pro pr. provinc. Galat.	niorum(!) et municipior prae[f.
Pisid. Phryg. Lyc. Isaur.	frum. dand. ex s.c. praetor
5 Paphlag. Ponti Galat.	15 aed. cur., q. Cret. et C[yr.
Ponti Polemoniani	trib. leg. XXIII(!) Primigen.
Arm. leg. leg. XIII. Gem.	III vir(um) A.A.A.F.F.
donat. don. militarib	18 Thiasus lib. <i>Finis.</i>
expedit. Suebic. et Sarm.	

¹Mixed up with PHVLV. Greeks rarely understood the mystery of the Roman triple name. ²*C.I.L.* iii. 6793.

The family of T. Flavius at Lystra for 3 (or 4) generations affords definite proof that Sospes was legatus under a Flavian Emperor, and antiquates Domaszewski's opinion (*Rh. Mus.* 1893, p. 247) that the Suebic Sarmatic expedition in which [—] P. F. Sospes gained *dona milit.* took place under Pius about 140.¹ Mommsen (*Berl. Akad. Sitz.* 1903, p. 823) dates the expedition after Bell. Dac. I., before Bell. Dac. II. c. 86–87, almost agreeing with Brandis (quoted below).

Caesennius (?) Sospes of tribe Stellatina was of praetorian rank, legatus iuridicus. The date is after 70, and before 114–115, when Cappadocia with Armenia was made a separate consular province. The omission of Cappadocia is accidental; both Armenia and Pontus are mentioned. Polemoniachus Ptolemy; both forms are good.

Sospes was praefectus frumenti dandi, an appointment extra ordinem (ex senatus consulto); his other duties are of the usual type and order. He gained *dona milit.* as legatus of leg. XIII. Gemina stationed in Pannonia, and employed in Domitian's wars on the Danube.

The *dona militaria* are those of his rank, gained in expeditione Suebica et Sarmatica (which Brandis dates 88–89, *Real-Enc.* iv. 2248) as legatus legionis XIII. Geminae; his nomen perhaps was Caesennius (*P.I.R.* iii. p. 256). The name Caesennius lasted at col. Antiochea long, especially in one priestly family. The origin is uncertain. A. Caesennius Gallus was consular legatus of Galatia-Cappadocia c. 80–82, after 72. A. Junius P. F. Pastor L. Caesennius Sospes, cos. ord. 163, shows the cognomen Sospes joined with the nomen; his father's name was P. Junius (Pastor?), probably his mother was Caesennia; the name So[phitilla] at Konia should probably be So[s]pitilla (Calder, *Rev. de Phil.* 1912, p. 58). L. Junius Caesennius Paetus cos. suff. 78 or 79 (with P. Calvisius Ruso) was proconsul of Asia after (or before) Ruso between 93 and 95; the nomina Junius and Caesennius are here connected. Caesennius Gallus, 80–82, may have granted civitas, or [Caesennius] Sospes, c. 90, and the name of T. Flavius might be disused by the Antiochian Caesennii at Domitian's death. [See p. 222.]

Whether [Caesennius] Sospes or some other nomen is to be restored is uncertain, but Sospes and his achievements are certain. He was legatus of Galatia about 90–92, and this incola of col. Lustra took his name, no. 26. Domitian's triumph in 90, the tenth year of his reign, was made an occasion of granting civitas at the colonia.

28. As Bellicius Sollers was suggested by Borghesi in the above titulus, we quote the career from *P.I.R.* Ti. Claudius Augustanus Alpinus (Bellicius Sollers), son of Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Quir. Augustanus, began equestrian career as praefectus of cohors pr. . . . (not Praetoria),²

¹ His argument was that cura civitatum did not begin before Trajan. This duty became common under Trajan, but may be

earlier in origin. It suits Flavian policy.

² Cohors I. Aug. praetoria Lusitanorum equitata is probably meant.

tribunus legionis II. Aug. (in Britain from 42), praefectus alae Gallicae ; he was adopted by Bellicius Sollers, was perhaps procurator of Dalmatia ;¹ adlectus in senatum ; consul (under Trajan). His wife was Claudia Marcellina. There is nothing in this career to suggest that he was ever employed in Asia Minor. His son was L. Bellicius Marcellinus Claudius.

He was probably adlectus inter praetorios, as no lower senatorial office than consul is mentioned, and Pliny, *Ep.* v. 4, calls him *vir praetorius* (dated by Mommsen A.D. 105). He was of mature age, after three equestrian militiae (and perhaps procurator of Dalmatia), 40 or 45 years. In our view Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Quir. Augustanus Alpinus must have been of a family admitted to *civitas* by Claudius, and enrolled in his tribe ; but the circumstances cannot be elucidated, only guessed.

Probably the name Augustanus was given by Claudius himself. The new *civis* and his son were equestrian as usual. The son was advanced to senatorial rank. The family was wealthy and probably of high local rank. One might conjecture that the father of the first *civis* was a prince or noble to whose support Claudius attached importance ; his son was educated in Rome from an early age and made *civis* on assuming *toga virilis*, and the grandson, born about 60–65, had the career described. This guess is mentioned only as a possible example of the romanizing process, which was characteristic of the imperial policy. On princes in exile in Anatolian cities, see p. 44 : the brother of Arminius was educated in Rome, and Augustus, in his *Res Gestae et Impensae*, mentions several.

29. Pergamos, excavated by Wiegand (*Abh. Akad.* Berlin, 1932, 39 f.). Commentary by A. von Premerstein, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, iii. p. 1 (text on p. 40). *Addenda* : also no. 30 and p. 117.

In l. 36 *θεοῦ* does not imply that Hadrian was dead ; it is merely conventional in an inscription emanating from the Syrian city.

In l. 9 the restoration *Ἰσαυρίας Πισιδίας*] cannot be justified. In 73–74 Vespasian disjoined a large district on the south from prov. Galatia, and incorporated it in Pamphylia (no. 1) ; this district roughly was Pisidia. The name and entity Isauria did not exist until it was made a political fact in 138 as one of the *Tres Eparchiae* under one consular legatus ; no part of Isauria was ever included in prov. Galatia. Isaurika (Strabo 548) means only the half-organized land of the tribe Isauri ; the tribe as a whole formed one unit (city) of prov. Galatia.² Similarly the Trocmi as a whole formed a unit of the province and ranked as a single city Tavium till Cent. V. The two large *κῶμαι*, Isaura Palaia and Nea, with lesser villages subject to each, constituted

¹ So O. Hirschfeld ; but the name there is Augustianus Bellicus (Dessau 5968).

² Each polis and each tribe or *ἔθνος* was a constituent unit of the Empire. Ptolemy's *Ἰσαυρία*, vv. ll. *ἡ Ἰσαυρία, Κισαυρία*, v. 4, are

all false readings for *Ἰσαυρικὴ* or *Ἰσαυρα*. Later *Ἰσαυρόπολις*, equivalent to *Ἰσαυρα ἡ πόλις* designated the whole land of the *ἔθνος Ἰσαύρων* reckoned as one unit-πόλις. K in Ptol. is dittography (1C)1CAYPA.

a single πόλις. The reading is probably Ἰσαύ[ρας Πισιδί]ας. Isaurike (not after Vespasian) was sometimes used to denote a much wider range of country ; in Cicero's *Letters* forum Isauricum was the conventus

- (I) Γ. Ἰούλιον Κουαδράτον Βάσσον ὕπατον
 ποτιφίκα στρατηλάτην γενόμενον
 Δακικῶν πολέμων καὶ συνκαθελόντα τὸν ἐκεῖ
 πόλεμον αὐτοκράτορι Τραιανῶ τιμηθέντα
 5 θριαμβικαῖς τιμα[ῖς] (II) πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστρά-
 τηγὸν ἐπαρχείας Ἰουδαίας πρεσβευτὴν καὶ
 ἀντιστράτηγὸν Καππαδοκίας Γαλατίας
 Ἀρμενίας Μικρᾶς Πόντου Παφλαγονίας Ἰσαύ-
 10 ρας Πισιδί]ας πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτη-
 γὸν ἐπαρχ]είας Συρίας Φοινίκης Κομμαγη-
 νῆς πρεσβ]ευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγὸν ἐπαρ-
 χείας Δακί]ας (III) χειλῖαρχον λεγιῶνος ΙΓ, ἐπιμελη-
 τὴν χαλκο]ῦ χρυσοῦ ἀργύρου χαράγματος,
 πρεσβευτὴν Κρή]της καὶ Κυρήνης, ἀγορανόμου
 15 κουρουλήν ? στρ]ατηγὸν δήμου Ῥωμαίων
 ξενικόν ? (IV) ἡγησάμενον λεγιῶνος ΙΑ' Κλαυδίας Εὐ-
 σεβοῦς Πιστῆς καὶ λεγιῶνος Δ' Σκυθικῆς καὶ λεγι-
 ῶνος ΙΒ', Φλαουία]ς καὶ λεγιῶνος ΙΒ' κεραυνο-
 φόρου καὶ λεγιῶν]ος Γ' Γαλλικῆς καὶ λεγιῶνος
 20 Α' Βοηθοῦ καὶ λεγιῶνος ΙΓ' Γεμίνης καὶ λεγι-
 ῶνος Ι' Φρητησίας ἀ]νδρα εὐγενῆ καὶ ἐκ
 τετραρχῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ γένος] κατάγοντα νακ.
 [τὸν ἴδιον κτίστην καὶ προστ]άτην Σελευκῶν
 ἢ πόλις τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ζεύ]ματι διὰ πρεσβευτοῦ
 25 τοῦ δεῖνα —]νου
 V οὗτος ἔτι στρατευόμενος ἐν
 Δακία καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διέπων
 τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν ἠνέχθη βασταζόμενος ὑπὸ
 30 στρατιωτῶν τεταγμένων ὑπὸ σημεία
 ἑκατοντάρχου
 πρεμοπειλαρίου Κυντιλίου Καπίτω-
 νος γεινομένης αὐτῷ προπομπῆς
 κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ παρεμβολὴν
 35 οὕτω διατάξαμένου αὐτοκράτορος
 θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ μνήμα αὐτῷ ἐκ
 τοῦ φίσκου κατεσκευάσθη

which met at Iconium, consisting of civitatium XIII., urbe celeberrima Iconio ; Ptolemy defines the same region as Isaura, including Savatra, Lystra, Isaura ; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 95, evidently includes Thebasa in Tauro and Ide (Hyde) ; ipsa Lycaonia is the same region, taken from a

different authority ; in the Isaurican colonia Lystra the language was Lycaonian (Acts xiv.). All Pisidia is in Taurus.

This inscription reveals a unique historical figure, most remarkable of the new Oriental cives, and clears away errors universally accepted.

The career of this distinguished soldier has been treated by A. von Premerstein with his usual ability ; there are still, however, some points calling for elucidation. Premerstein sketches the career of C. Julius Quadratus : c. 48 birth, c. 70–74 trib. mil. leg. XIII. Gem. in Pannonia, c. 74 IIIvir AAAFF, c. 75 quaestor in Bithynia, accused of *repetundae* ; no trial ; this long hindered promotion, c. 76 legatus pr. pr. Cretae et Cyrenarum,¹ c. 79 aedilis (curulis ?), c. 82 praetor (peregrinus ?), c. 83 legatus leg. XI. Claud. P.F. in Upper Germany, 86–89 command extra ordinem in Dacian war, c. 90–92 ?, legatus pr.pr. in Judaea, c. 93 relegatus by Domitian, 96–97 recalled by Nerva, 98 proconsul by lot in Bithynia (arrived summer), 100 summer, trial for *repetundae* begins, 100–102 collection of evidence and documents in Bithynia, acquittal, 105 consul May-June (or May-August ?—desig. 9 Jan., 105), 105–107 comes ? et legatus of Trajan in Bell. Dacic. II., ornam. triumph. and statue in Rome,² c. 108–112 legatus in Cappadocia and Galatia, 114–115 command extra ordinem in Parthian war of four legions (including vexillationes), dona militaria, c. 116–117 legatus of Syria, before Hadrian, autumn 117 legatus of Dacia after C. Avidius Nigrinus, death, honorary State funeral, Q. Marcius Turbo eques succeeds.

Mommsen dates the Bithynian proconsulate 102–103, and the trial 103–104. Premerstein points out that the trial could not be finished so quickly and a *reus* could not be designated on Jan. 9, 105, as consul for May : he puts the proconsulate in 98–99.³ Quadratus was recalled from exile by Nerva and (immediately) admitted to *sortitio* probably in Jan., 98. The trial began probably in 100 : three stages, trial allowed (in Rome), gathering evidence (Bithynia), final in Rome.

This is the sketch of a remarkable career, almost unique under the Empire, the career of a *novus homo*, a soldier who rose by sheer military talent, rewarded by exceptional honours, allowed by Trajan to be called his partner in victory, carried in State funeral by soldiers from Dacia to Pergamos by permission of Hadrian. The career justified and confirmed the rank of provincial cives in the Empire. The man himself appears as a rude soldier, who excited strong feeling generally against his personality, but was admired and trusted by those who appreciated his genius in war ; the triumphal statue in Rome of an Oriental excited no approval and was satirized by Juvenal, i. 130, in scathing terms (dated by Friedlaender c. 112–116).⁴ The repeated

¹ Legatus of the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene.

² See Premerstein, l.c. pp. 65 f.

³ The proconsul would reach the province

towards the middle of the year, leaving Rome on April 15.

⁴ See p. 46.

accusations of extortion in peaceful Bithynia are suspicious; in his other provinces his attention was occupied with wars.

The titulus is arranged in five divisions. The exceptional honours of his life are summed up in I. and of his funeral in V. on another side of the stone. His commands in the great provinces of the east, Judaea, Cappadocia, etc., Syria, Dacia, are recapitulated in II. The ordinary senatorial career below consul is stated in III. As befits a soldier, the eight legions which he commanded in actual wars are enumerated in IV. In this list Premerstein's restoration leaves three blanks; the list includes legions which he commanded as legatus, and those which he directed as commander-in-chief of an army in battle, issuing orders to the legati in command of each corps.

The mention of consulship and higher priesthoods at the beginning of senatorial *cursus honorum*, is usual; such cumulation of exceptional honours in a titulus is rare, mainly because they were uncommon in real life.

He was legatus of Crete and Cyrene; this was not enumerated among his provincial commands in II., because he was only legatus of the proconsul, not supreme in the province. He was *monetalis aedile* and praetor (perhaps peregrinus). His exile, his quaestorship and proconsulate in Bithynia, his trial and acquittal, were unfortunate incidents not mentioned.

C. Julius Quadratus Bassus¹ commanded eight legions at different times. These commands are enumerated in a special group; four names are lost. We cannot take the order as chronological. One or more were commanded by him as legatus praetorius: (a) As praetorius he was legatus of leg. XI. Claudia P. F. in Germania Superior, this comes first; but for a short time in 101-106 the legion was transferred to Pannonia.² (b) About 108-111 as legatus of Cappadocia he was consular commander-in-chief of two legions XVI. Flavia Firma and XII. Fulm., directing over the legati the operations of some frontier war such as frequently occurred *propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus* (as Tacitus says): these come [third] and fourth.

(c) As legatus in Dacia (116-117) he was engaged in war (*ἔτι στρατεύόμενος*), and had supreme command of leg. XIII. Gemina and [I. Adiutrix]. Two legions must have been stationed in a consular province. Ritterling thinks that the second was I. Adiutrix (*Ἀ' Βοηθός*).

(d) As legatus praetorius? (c. 90-92?) in the province Judaea, he was legatus of leg. [X. Fretensis]; in a province where only one legion was stationed, the commander of the legion was also legatus of the province. This legion comes eighth. See pp. 45 f.

(e) He commanded four legions in the Parthian war, but these cannot be determined; they were not all Syrian.

The formation of Legio XVI. Flavia Firma is attributed to Vespasian (Dion Cassius, iv. 24, 4), *συνέταξεν τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ*,

¹ He was of tribe Fabia.

² After 106 it went to Moesia Inferior.

evidently in spring, A.D. 70; this statement of station is true to Dio's time; ¹ Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8, says "Cappadociae legiones addidit consular-
emque rectorem imposuit"; and a consular governor must have an army
of two legions or more (Ritterling, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Legio*, 1765).²

Legio XIII. Gemina was stationed in Pannonia, and was convenient
for a Dacian war. In no. 27 the legatus of this legion [Caesennius ?]
P. F. Sospes, was decorated for service in the Dacian war about A.D. 90,
and Trajan stationed it in the new province. Julius Bassus therefore
must have used it in the Dacian wars, as commander-in-chief directing
it through its proper legatus. It is mentioned seventh.

Legio IV. Scythica was sent from Moesia to Syria, c. A.D. 56-57;
it was under Corbulo in Armenia, 62-63, but was in Syria continuously
afterwards, stationed near Antioch. Premerstein, however, argues that
this legion (and others) were withdrawn from Syria for the Dacian war
in 86, though this is not otherwise recorded.

Legio III. Gallica was in Syria from 70 onwards, it was still at
Raphaneae in Cent. II. Here Quadratus Bassus commanded it in
Trajan's Parthian war.

As no mention is made of his father, we must infer that C. Julius
had an equestrian father, and was admitted (as was often the case) to
a senatorial career. It is noteworthy that he was not tribunus lati-
clavius; probably he was equestrian tribune; the term angusticlavius
was never used in epigraphy; there lies behind this omission a story
of equestrian service which is passed in silence. His senatorial cursus
begins at this point, and all lower service is omitted. His father and
grandfather were assuredly C. Julii Quadrati: continued p. 45.

30. About the same time as C. Julius Quadratus another Perga-
menian, C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Voltinia Quadratus, rose to the highest
Roman distinction, cos. II. A.D. 105, the same year that C. Julius Quad-
ratus was cos. suff. It is probable that C. Julius was of the same age;
his advancement was slow owing to many obstacles, interposed by fate
or by his own faults of character. There are many similarities between
the two careers, for both Julii were Pergameni, and therefore suited to
eastern duties. Aulus Julius was legatus procos. in Bithynia, legatus
twice and proconsul in Asia, legatus Augusti in Lycia Pamphylia, pro-
consul in Crete, legatus iuridicus in Galatia Cappadocia. Like C. Julius
Severus of Ancyra (procos. As. 154-155), who was descended from kings
and Galatian tetrarchs, C. Julius Quadratus Bassus was called *ἄνδρα εὐγενῆ*
for the same reason. Still the family was only equestrian till he rose.

¹The meaning is "legion XVI. which is
now in Syria," not "which he stationed in
Syria." It was taken to Syria by Trajan
for the Parthian war, 114, and remained
there.

²An exception, however, is allowed by
Ritterling in the Tres Eparchiae, where no

legions are known except the late legiones
II., III. Isaurae, attributed by him to
Probus or Diocletian (see our no. 4). The
exception can hardly be admitted; the pro-
vince was too near the eastern frontier. A
different view of its equipment will be pro-
posed in the Section on Isauria and Isaurika.

Weber (in *Abhandl. Preuss. Akad.* 1932, pp. 57-95) actually identified the two Pergamenian Julii Quadrati; and it is true that if one cuts off Antius A. from one name and Bassus from the other, their mutilated Roman names are the same. It is also true that A. Julius began as equestrian, and we have argued that C. Julius began as equestrian; but that is fully explained by the fact that each family was equestrian. Their careers became senatorial at different stages. A. Julius fortasse a Vespasiano adlectus est inter praetorios; no earlier steps are mentioned. C. Julius was promoted from equestrian tribune to vigintivir.

Externally the careers are similar, being mainly in Eastern provinces; both were Orientals. In essentials the two careers are quite different. The career of C. Julius was a soldier's; his life was spent in wars in various quarters, and he died *ἐν στρατεύομενος*, while A. Julius Quadratus had a great career of peace with the minimum of military experience; he was legatus iuridicus in the same province where C. Julius Quadratus commanded two legions, and conducted a war. The Empire had openings for many different kinds of talent.

Weber, loc. cit., argues from *ἄνδρα εὐγενῆ* in the titulus that C. Julius was a patrician of Rome; but he was only of the local Oriental nobility, an example of the importance of such families in the history of Asia Minor (Section I.). If they were of the same family (Premenstein), the civitas of this family was evidently old, given by one of the Julii, Augustus probably. The family had been cives for several generations, doubtless of equestrian rank; military commands, even of cohorts, at that time were rarely given to Orientals. The diversity of the names, however, disproves Premenstein's hypothesis that Gaius Julius and Aulus Julius were relatives. C. Julius was born not later than 50; his grandfather, born about 10 B.C., may probably have received civitas from Augustus about A.D. 10; Premenstein has noted the probability that the family was Galatic. We add that an ancestor was one of the Galatic chiefs (tetrarchs) who had fled when Deiotarus made himself king and killed all tetrarchs whom he could get hold of. It was the policy of Augustus to welcome all such semi-royal refugees and give them rank and wealth and often civitas. Many of them are known in Asia Minor, Zmertorix 40 B.C. and Valerius Zmertorix (Tiberius) at Eumeneia; Antonia Tryphaina and C. Julius Philopator at Colonia Antiochea; the Ebureni at Iconium had probably changed a Celtic name Eburacus to the Anatolian Eburenus through Ebourianos¹: the name was derived from the Celtic word for ivory.

It is impossible with the known evidence to determine how and when the families of the two Julii at Pergamos attained civitas; but Premenstein's theory cannot be reconciled with present knowledge.

¹ Ebourianos is known in 101; Eburenus occurs in Latin tituli, Ebourianos only in and Eburena from 118 to 150. Eburenus Greek.

Aulus was a praenomen unknown in the Roman gens Julia : A. Julius was the consul of 93 and 105, A. Julius A. F. ; his other name, C. Antius, probably comes through marriage ; his mother was Antia, and probably had wealth which passed to her son. The name Bassus also probably came through marriage.¹ The origin of the name Quadratus is obscure.

The difficulty remains about the theory of a single family of C. Julii and A. Julii. A. Julius, twice consul, was of Voltinia tribe. The tribe of C. Julius is not mentioned ; but his great grandson is stated as being of tribe Fabia. It may be that the civitas of the A. Julii was given in an unknown way at a different time, while the C. Julii came as described. The two families, however, had both noble ancestry, and belonged to the Asian aristocracy, confirming our thesis, that the provincial nobility was the basis of Augustus's Anatolian Empire. We shall present a hazardous theory on p. 117.

The Galatian noble Gaius Julius Severus is mentioned in many inscriptions : Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 543, 544 ; Cox-Cameron, *M.A.M.* v. no. 60 (confirming praenomen Gaius). He is described as a cousin of Julius Quadratus ; and this Julius Quadratus has been unhesitatingly identified by Mommsen, Dittenberger, etc., as C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Volt. Quadratus, which seemed necessary so long as C. Julius Quadratus Bassus was unknown. It is now evident that the cousin of C. Julius Severus was the cos. of 105, the great general who was partner of Emperor Trajan and honoured by Hadrian with a unique funeral.

31. The gathering into a separate group of all the great provincial legationes has its analogies in cases where consular offices are selected and enumerated apart in a titulus (see no. 147).

This order for the consular legationes of Cappadocia and Syria was regular under Trajan and Hadrian (see no. 147). The placing of Dacia as a climax after them is due to the state of war which still continued ; the presence of the best Roman general was required, when the urgency of the Parthian war had withdrawn some troops from the Danube frontier. Later Dacia was under praetorian rule with a legion.

Weber thinks that Judaea was consular at this time, owing to some urgent need ; Premerstein points out that no urgency is proved. Doubting, we follow the latter ; Judaea was a praetorian government ordinarily ; and was ruled by the legatus of legio X. Fretensis, which was stationed there ; in that case C. Julius must have governed it before his consulship in 105 ; Premerstein places this legatio in the

¹ Bassa, wife of Julius Kleon, high priest of Asia, called ἀρχιέρη on Eumeneian coins, may show that some Roman Bassus was connected with the province about A.D. 50.

Βάσσα Κλέωνος in Greek usually means daughter ; here Latin custom is followed, as both were cives and imperial priests, cf. Σαβείνα Σεβ. Ἀδριανού Σεβ. on coins.

interval 90-92, before Domitian exiled him in 93, possibly because the success of C. Julius had roused jealousy. This point is, however, difficult and uncertain. No urgent need in Judaea for a consul with two legions at this time is known; but we know little about that unruly province; and C. Julius may have been sent with a consular army (so Weber).

Editors of Juvenal, i. 130, assume that he refers to Ti Julius Alexander, son of the Arabarch Alexander Lysimachos, the rich brother of Philo. This man was a renegade Jew (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 100), procurator of Judaea about 44-46,¹ praefectus of Egypt in 67-70. Friedlaender, who accepts this identification as inevitable, points out that Ti Julius, though evidently a good general, was never Arabarch, and never had triumphal honours or statue in Rome (so far as evidence goes, except in Juvenal, i. 130 as interpreted). It is not characteristic of Titus to associate this man with himself in his victory, and it is utterly improbable that he did so. We can imagine Trajan doing so to C. Julius Quadratus; but in intellect and sympathies Trajan was a far greater man than Titus, as every reader of Pliny's letters must feel. In i. 130 Juvenal hides the Oriental personality whom he satirizes under the misleading "nescio quis Aegyptius atque Arabarches." Egypt was Oriental, not African nor Libyan. A few lines below, i. 155 ff., the satirist says that he dares not write about men who are living, for the penalties would be too terrible; he will speak only of the dead. He has just spoken about the living C. Julius Quadratus, but veils him under those misleading words; Egypt had been of old the most hated and even feared nationality; it was still hated and despised (see *Satire XV.*).

Ti Julius Alexander was created civis by Tiberius, who gave civitas very rarely; this rich Jew attracted notice and his wealth placed him in equestrian rank. Tiberius seems to have granted civitas and name chiefly to foreigners in outstanding position.

According to Kiepert "Seleukeia at the Bridge" was in Osroene on left bank of the Euphrates, at the bridge leading to Samosata. C. Julius Quadratus had probably saved or aided it in his wars, and its people sent this titulus to Pergamos; it gives a clue to some operation at the bridge. It is to be distinguished from Zeugma, opposite Biredjik, at a crossing lower down the river. [See, however, *Syria*, vi. 1925, 253 ff.]

The account of the public funeral of C. Julius was added in different writing on another side of the stone. Probably Seleukeia sent this inscription to be engraved in Pergamos as an honour to the general while he was living; when he died part V. was added not long after Hadrian's accession: that Syrian city did not use θεός as divus.

32. Kiosk between Tralleis and Nysa; carried from Tralleis (Fellows, Salvetti, Sterrett): varying copies; stone injured.

¹ The famine in Jerusalem (Acts xi. 29 f.) occurred in his procuratio.

<p>Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα] Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Ἀυτοκράτορα θεὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καισαρέων καθιέρωσε 5 ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου</p>	<p>Τιβ]ερίου Πλα[ντι]ου Σιλουανου Αἰλιανου ἐπιμεληθέντος Τ]ιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἱεροκλέους υἱοῦ Κυρείνα Ἱεροκλέους Φιλοκαίσαρος 10 Ἄρε]αγνου, υἱοῦ πόλεως</p>
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The doubt is about [Ἄρε]αγνου : we accept partly Salvetti's Σ ΑΡΝΟΥ (Sterrett ΑΓΝΟΥ) ; Waddington rightly queries Σαρνου (?) ; the personal name Ἀριάγνη occurs ; and St. Areadne was confessor at Prymnessos. The masculine form must have existed, if the feminine was used as a personal name.

Silvanus was consul in 45 ; and in 54 the official statue of Nero as Emperor was erected with this inscription (p. 7). Silvanus therefore was procos. Asiae in 54-55. Ti. Claudius Quir. Hierocles Philokaisar (the epithet as in no. 9) was made civis by Claudius and enrolled in his tribe Quirina.

With Sterrett's reading ἀγνός was epithet ; but Salvetti's Σ is perhaps right. Salvetti has some errors ; yet this half of E seems to be right ; philokaisar is an epithet that has become a personal name. Sterrett's ἀγνός as an epithet is in place ; but the traces of E had worn away in the interval : ἀγνός suits a governor or a procurator but hardly an ἐπιμελούμενος.

This is a certain case of civitas and tribe given by Claudius in (41 or) 44. He added epithets like Augustanus and Philokaisar making them into personal names or signa, as Augustus conferred on the eques C. Caristianus Fronto Caesianus the name Julius for his services, 8 B.C., with large estates.

Another certain case of a Claudian civis is in Wadd. 600, engraved under a statue of Claudius by Ti. Claudius Quir. Diogenes, son of Artemidoros.

Tralleis was devastated by an earthquake in 26 B.C., and aided liberally by Augustus. It took the name Kaisareia, and its coins bear the legend Καισαρέων till Nero, under whom Καισαρέων Τραλλιανῶν was sometimes used ; this lasted till Domitian, under whom both legends appear. Later only Τραλλιανῶν is found, with some rare exceptions. Augustus sent new population, which Head and Buresch, *Ath. Mitt.* xix. 108, consider to be equivalent to making it a Roman colony, as a colonus of Roman type appears sometimes on late coins ; but that is not strictly the case. It remained a πόλις always, and was not a colonia, but the new population introduced by Augustus were flatteringly glorified as coloni. Similarly, Apollonia of Galatia speaks of its Lycian and Thracian ἄποικοι as coloni on its coins ; but it was always and only πόλις ; whereas Antiochea, its rival, was colonia and used Latin till about 295 it became metropolis and ceased to be a colonia.

IV. RECAPITULATION

From the examples given we can gather some indications of wider purpose in the imperial outlook maintained by Augustus, always watching and trying to anticipate what the Parthians, the Scythians, and even the Chinese were planning on the east and the north-east, and what the Germani, the Dacians, and the Sarmatians on the north were doing. A frontier was wanted; a frontier of knowledge and intellect, not merely of rivers or mountains.

(a) To enlist the local aristocracy as helpers in the imperial policy was made by Augustus the first urgent work in Anatolia.

(b) The creation of an educated middle class gradually became more important as the ignorant peasants of Phrygia came in disciplined army service to see the outer world. Under the Flavians (Italians) this work was enlarged; equites of Anatolia became more numerous, and excited the satire of Juvenal about 110. Trajan and Hadrian, both of Spanish descent, transformed the Roman or Italian Empire into a world Empire. Claudius had been dimly conscious of the change impending and was feeling his way towards it; Domitian, in his narrow and suspicious nature, also was conscious of it. The Spaniards, Trajan and Hadrian, worked definitely towards it. Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius of the old Roman aristocracy made it the guiding principle of a kindly and wise administration; the indulgentia of the Emperor was always on the outlook to benefit his people. Soldiers could rise from the ranks to high position. Anatolian consuls were admitted by Domitian and Trajan.

(c) Severus emphasized the military side of the imperial policy, the peasant privates and under-officers, up to centurions, were advanced and favoured; the local and the Italian aristocracy was no longer preferred in promotion, their position as *cives* and equites was less advantageous.

(d) Caracalla intensified the Severan policy and destroyed the value of *civitas* by making it universal. The *prænomen*, once valued as badge of Roman citizenship, went out of use except in families which possessed *civitas* previously, Greek nomenclature revived in Cents. IV.-V., and the triple name gradually disappeared.

(e) Provincial soldiers returned home as *cives*, and were men of good position, based on riches and experience and knowledge of the world: they often married into the local aristocracy.

(f) The suffix *-anos* in Anatolia often means "son (or descendant) of" (see Keil, *Denkm. Lykaon.* etc., no. 109); but sometimes "admirer or friend of." The germ of a family noble by descent and title became apparent.

(g) Sections II., III. describe the two most important ways of creating new *cives* in Anatolia; and may open the way to understanding some other ways. There are other new *cives* whose names are not as yet explained; sometimes they are sprung of older times; sometimes perhaps they have the name of a provincial governor and suggest that some or all governors may have been permitted in exceptional cases to create *cives* who bore only the governor's name; sometimes they imply that the name derived from an Emperor was deliberately dropped.

(h) Notice is rarely (or never) taken of the native population of Asia Minor in Hellenistic marches and battles. They provided the grain and the straw which was needed by marching armies; they were the fellahin of the country, dull, unresisting, serfs of the soil, used by the warriors and despised for their abject submission. Yet they were the same that, after submitting long to the Arab raiders after A.D. 640, supplied the new armies which stayed and rolled back the waves of conquering Orientals; and remade the Byzantine Empire. They needed only officers and leaders; these were supplied by the great territorial families. The earlier Roman policy used those Anatolian peasants in auxiliary cohorts and *alae*, trained them, and made them the strongest support of imperial peace and order.

(i) It was a general principle (at least in Cent. I.) to enrol a new *civis* in the Roman tribe of the Emperor who honoured him. Quirina was the tribe of Claudius, Nero and the Flavii, Fabia of Julius, Fabia (and Scaptia) of Augustus (Octavius), Arnensis of Nerva, Papiria of Trajan, Sergia of Hadrian . . . of Pius (Mommson, *Observat. Epigraph.* XX.; Kubitschek, *de*

Roman. trib. orig. et propag. pp. 199 f.). Cives created by Trajan and later rarely mention their tribe; the tribe of Marcus is uncertain. In colonia Caesarea Antiochea, however, new cives were enrolled in Sergia, the tribe of the colonia.

(j) The imperial principle was to restrict positions of value in honour and salary to cives; e.g. the head of the Epicurean School in Athens must be civis; and doubtless the same rule applied to the other Schools; but Plotina Augusta, mother of Hadrian, in A.D. 121, wrote to him asking that the present Diadochos, Popillius Theotimos, and his successors, should be permitted to nominate a peregrinus as head of the School. This position (which carried a salary) was opened equally to cives and Hellenes by the letter of Hadrian granting his mother's request. See Wilhelm in *Jahreshefte*, 1899, p. 270, correcting in details Cumanudis and Diels in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.* iv. 487 f., and Dareste, *Nouv. Rev. Hist. de Droit*, 1892, p. 622.

(k) Cives Romani consistentes negotiantes in Asian cities had full rights of military service in Roman armies. Such cives over the whole world were numbered separately from the ordinary provincial census by Augustus; *Res Gest. et Imp.* mentions that cives were numbered in 28 B.C. and A.D. 14, which were not years of provincial census. Evidently the numbering of cives was for a time a separate operation from the census of provincials; the latter being largely for purposes of taxation; cives were not subject to direct tax. Their privileges decreased as civitas was widened, and they ceased in 212.

(l) Coins were often struck in the first year of a governor at the metropolis of his province (or of a section of his province); this custom is specially evident in Judaea under the procurators, and Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy, who pointed it out to me first, ascribed it to the scarcity of coined money and the energy of a new governor trying to overcome this impediment to trade. This custom may generally be assumed (though there are exceptions); it was designed in compliment to the governor, suitable at his entry or on some special occasion.

(m) Civitas could be bought; (Ti.) Claudius Lysias paid a large sum for his

civitas (Acts xxii. 28), and Dion Cassius, lx. 17, says that the wife and freedmen of Claudius sold civitas. Lysias was tribune of a cohors auxiliaria miliaria equitata, and therefore of equestrian rank. We cannot expect to find epigraphic evidence of such purchase. This weakness would have been fatal, if it had been common.

(n) The durability and strength of the Empire lay in its power to take into itself and to utilize for its own purposes the ablest of provincials. It opened to them all the honours of the Empire. Trajan's recognition of the generalship of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (*v. p.* 41) is a noble example both of personal generosity with perfect freedom from jealousy and of the highest statesmanship. Satirists like Juvenal and narrow Roman chauvinists disliked and ridiculed this imperial liberality; but in this lay the greatness of the Empire: it opened the way to merit, and it on the whole made for justice and equity. The damnatio of bad Emperors did no good to their victims, but it tended to purify the Empire.

(o) As the new Romans increased the Anatolian aristocracy was gradually equipped with imperial and noble Roman names. Among those great local nobles each new civis took his Roman name from senatorii, rarely or never from an equestrian; even procuratores cum iure gladii were avoided. Soldiers often acquired Roman names from men of lower rank.

(p) While the Roman army was a wonderful machine, elaborately organized, so that various duties were apportioned in each body of troops to many soldiers, whose disciplined co-operation kept the machine in good trim, society in Anatolia was formed into an ordered system; personal names in the same way altered step by step. Thus any long list of names can be dated with great exactness according to the growth of society.

Several lists are known, one at Sebaste of Phrygia, 98-99, two at Ancyra, 14-15 to 37, and 23 Sept., 101 or 102.

(q) When a new Emperor came to the throne, the cities took the oath of loyalty and generally erected a statue of the Emperor with inscription. Many such inscriptions can be dated exactly, e.g. Diocletian was honoured when he suc-

Note to p. 50 (r). I cannot agree with Calder on his no. 170. Maximin forbade abandonment of *στρατεία*. To abandon military service was desertion, and always a crime: Maximin forbade abandonment of civil service. But, *ibid.* 306, military

service is meant: the father was a soldier and trained his son for the army: the word is *στρατιά* (gen. *στρατιῆς*). Here Calder is right, but accents wrongly *στρατιῆς*: κάλλος error of scribe for gen.: it means honour, not beauty.

ceeded, Maximian was added in 286, Constantius and Galerius in 293. Coins also were often struck at the accession of Emperors. Head often mentions that most coins of Phrygian cities are "festival coins." There are, however, also cases where a statue of an Emperor was erected, if he visited the locality or conferred some benefit on it. Statues of Trajan in accordance with a will and a bequest are frequent in the early second century.

(r) In the centuries after Diocletian sons of veterans followed the profession of their fathers, with the alternative of being enrolled as *curiales*. The sons of civil servants, too, were expected to follow the career of their fathers (*C. Th.* vii. 22, 23); the career was called *στρατεία* (*M.A.M.* i. 170 and see note, p. 49). In general, provincials followed the profession or trade of their father; and this later became compulsory, unless they became soldiers. Note p. 49.

(s) Centurions usually have a cognomen: that became universal during Claudius's rule (Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.* 1893, pp. 344 f.). Hence when we find a *titulus* in Britain Eph. Ep. vii. 903 [. . .] Pub. > leg. V. Maced. et VIII. Aug. et II. Aug. et XX. V. V. vixit ann. LXI., we know that the centurion died in the earliest years of the occupation of Britain.

(t) Native Anatolian names mostly fall into a few classes.

(1) Many are names of occupations (agricultural or pastoral) or of relationships in the family or in the village (*οὐά*); they are often reduplicated: *ma*, *mamas*, *nonna*, *babas*, *guna*, *aba*, *nupha*, *numpha*, *nusa*, *threptos*, *patra*, *patéras*, *ouar*, *ouas*, *métrôn*, *bratar*, etc. Members of the same village (*ὄά*, *οὐά*) are all known to one another; all are acquaintances, neighbours, friends, relatives. Marriages were much commoner between people living in the same village than between people living in separate villages or in a *πόλις*: *παρθένος ἡθιός τ' ἀριζέτον ἀλλήλοισιν* (*Il.* 22, 127). All *οὐαρες*, *δαρες* talk to one another; a maid and a youth sat on the protruding root of a large tree or on a rock, and chaffed or flirted with one another (as one used to see in a Kurd but never in a Turkish village of the nineteenth century). Obvious opportunity made such marriage usual. *δαρες* were also *γυναί*, *γυναίκες* (wives); this hardened into fixed custom, but originated naturally. There is a tendency in modern research to regard the fixed custom with its prohibitions and commands as primitive and original. In Anatolia there is no justification for that view. The fixed custom and taboo

are later developments, fostered by desire to keep the village land or property to the villagers, and sometimes by difference of religion (as in Egypt, Persians in Lydia). Aristophanes uses *κωμῆρις* in the sense of *γέτρων*. Abraham and Isaac, nomads in Palestine, sent to their original home for wives for their sons; strangers, they held themselves apart from the natives; Jacob's sons mated in Palestine or Egypt. Abraham came from a land of old civilization, and was a nomad in Palestine; he deliberately abandoned city life and its civilization; and kept aloof from the natives of the land and its cities. The early Anatolian civilization must be studied with the growth of the village. Palestinian development was centuries earlier than Anatolian.

Anatolia under the Turks fell back to the old double life, Turks in the cities, nomads in tents or in villages. The nomads, Yuruk, Turkmen, etc., rarely intermarried with Turks; I knew only of one case. They were quite ready to carry away a woman as a slave in Homeric fashion.

(2) Many Anatolian personal names are names of a deity or an attribute of a deity, Apollo, Arara (Aroura, the fertile land), Hermes, Mousis, Mona (Mouna Mōna), Ge.

(3) It was perhaps intercourse with Hellenes or Aramaic Semites that introduced a new class of compound names. The long list of priests on the anta of the small temple at Korykos and other inscriptions preserve two classes of names. (i) Monosyllabic, *Mos*, *Glous*, *Zas*, *Plôs*, *Knos*, *Lous*, *Plous*, etc. *Mos* and *Zas* are commonest. *Dazas*, son of *Zas*, exemplifies reduplication, like *Ma*, *Mamas*, *Pa* and *Papas*, *Tas Tetes*. These are often in reality cases of class (1). (ii) Compounds generally with names of deities, *Trokoarbasis* (*Troko* = *Tarku* and *Tarkum*), *Pω-ν-δβιας* (*τβιας*), *Pω-σγηρις*, *Pω-ν-δβερπας*, *Pω-ζαρμας*, *Τροκο-μ-βιγραμυς* (*Pigremis* occurs), *Τβερπασ-ητας* (cp. *Ητασ-λουτσοσ*: *Τβερπας*) (Homeric *τέρας* [*σέλας*]), *Pω-ν-δβερπας* (i.e. *τβερπας*), *Ταρκν-μ-βιας* (the *βια* of *Tarku*), [*D*]ογρ[ο]-πας (*Δογλασατον* in Sterrett), etc. The lists name many gods or epithets of gods. Anatolian customs and words carry us back to Homer.

(4) A large and widespread class is connected with names of towns, villages, rivers, mountains (which are generally divine names). Kretschmer has described these; but much remains unobserved.

(u) Spelling with double or single consonants was irregular in the Greek of Anatolia.

V. FAMILY SACRA AND ADOPTION.

32. Tchukludja (R. 1881; *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 25). Mr. R. Campbell Thompson kindly sent me his copy; he also published it. The Greek is so bad that I could hardly trust my copy if it were not confirmed by Mr. Thompson. A few letters had perished in the interval of 40 years. The village lies in Suleimanli Ova, about 9 M.P. south of Ancyra. On the south road to Tavium I diverged to east from the party, and rejoined it at Tcheshnir Keupreu, about 30 M.P. from Ancyra, where the road crosses the Halys. The titulus shows how incorrectly Greek was spoken and written by the natives, probably not Gauls at this village, but Phrygians.

<p>Ἄριστοκλῆς Στατί- ου [Σ]τα[τ]ίαν Στατίου γ]υνα[κ]ι ἰ[δ]ίαν ἀνάστ- η]σεν μνήμης χάριν β ζήσαντα μεθ' αὐ[τοῦ] οἱ -τῆς</p>	<p>γνησίως, τελευτ[ή]- σαντα αὐτῆ[ν] ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ὀκτώ · ἐ[γε]- 9 νετο ἔτους δι[ρ]οῦ σ' ? 6-7 τελευ[—]σαντα (R.C.T.)</p>
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L. 3, γυναικι ἰδίαν; *ν* is treated as *ephelestikon* and removable; ζήσαντα may be either accus. for nom., applying to Aristokles; in that case μεθ' αὐ[τῆς] is necessary (*θ* is often used for *τ* as *χ* for *κ*, *φ* for *π*, even before smooth breathing); or it may refer to Stasia, as τελευτήσαντα does, regardless of gender, in which case μεθ' αὐ[τοῦ] must be restored. The composer felt uneasy about grammar, and added αὐτήν to show that τελευτήσαντα meant Stasia. ἐγένετο probably refers to the monument (τὸ μνημεῖον understood), not the birth of Stasia. The stone is large and expensive; and the family must have possessed money. The date can hardly be δι = A.D. 34; but 234 is to be preferred, if the original text was δι[.]; I saw no sign of a lost letter,¹ but the later date suits the bad Greek; that language was introduced slowly, and in the fourth century Celtic was still spoken by Gaulish families (as Jerome tells from personal experience). This family, however, was doubtless native Phrygian, and its home language was Phrygian. Gauls would probably have some signs of Gaulish origin.

This seems to be a marriage of brother and sister; but many tituli discovered later show that Aristokles must have been adopted by Stasia and was married to the heiress daughter. The daughter could not inherit or transmit the family religion; only a son could perform the sacra; and as nature had denied a son, he was got by adoption; the daughter married the adopted son and inherited the property, and thus property and sacra were kept together.

¹ Mr. Thompson's copy indicates loss. The era of Galatia prov. is now proved to be 20 B.C.

The native Anatolian form of adoption was through exposure ; the son was a *θρεπτός*, who lived in the home of his adoptive father and of his bride ; the exposure was merely fictitious, arranged between the two families. A similar system existed in China till the present century and is perhaps still usual among high-class families, where it is combined with concubinage. The analogy in this respect between the family system of the Chinese and among the early Hebrews in the households of Abraham and Jacob (Gen. xvi. and xxx.) is noteworthy (see p. 54).

The following epitaphs are examples of the marriage of daughter and adopted son.

33. Amorion (Calder, *Klio*, x. p. 238).

Πατροεΐνα Ποντικο-
ὑ Δημητρίου Μάνου
τῷ ἰδίῳ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀ-
νδρὶ ἀνέστησα μνή-

μης χάριν. Ἄτταλος
Δημη[τ]ρίου υἱὸς θετ-
ὸς καὶ γ[α]μβρὸς ἀνέσ-
τήσαμεν.

Patroeina set up the monument to her husband Demetrios, son of Manes. Attalos, adopted son and son-in-law of Demetrios (we) set up (i.e. the son joined with her in the act).

Δημητρίου is attracted to the surrounding genitives (error of lapicida ?). Attalos was adopted evidently in order to be married to the daughter of Demetrios. She is not even named ; the whole matter is arranged in a routine process. The discord in construction is due to the composer.

34. Asha (lower) Piri-Bey-li,¹ the site of Pissia, a late bishopric, under Amorion, in Galatia Secunda, at the north end of a pass over Emir Dagh (R. 1883).

Ἀνρ. Κύριλλα Μύρωνος
σύμβιος Ἀνρ. Παπα Μενέ-
ου τοῦ καὶ Κυρίωνος, καὶ Ἀπ-
πας γαμβρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ Τάτ-

5 α ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ζῶντες
κατεσκεύασαν τῇ μητρὶ τὴν
σορόν· ἰος σα σοροῦ κακε
αδακετ με ζεμελω ετιτεττι|κμενος ειτου

The entire household, *οικοδόσποινα*, husband Papas,² son-in-law and his wife (daughter of the lady) prepared the sarcophagus for the mother of Papas. The son-in-law lives in the home of his wife ; in ordinary course the wife went to the home of her husband, but in this case she was an heiress-daughter, and he was taken in to be her husband ; he must assuredly be adopted : his mother by nature is buried by all.

Μενέου was usual. *κακε* for *κακῶν*, *κακῶν*. We suspect that Kyrilla also was an heiress-daughter ; she controls expenditure. Late Phrygian curse of third-century against violators. Priest-families.

¹ At the highest point of the pass is the village Piri-Bey-li ; the pass leads from Amorion to Philomelion which was also

subject to Amorion in late time.

² Papas, otherwise called Kyron.

35. Dedeler (R. 1905 ; copied, photographed, and published by Calder in *M.A.M.A.* i. 232) ; in tabula ansata on a limestone block which was part of a herôon. The text was published from my copy by Callander in *Stud. E.R.P.* p. 176, agreeing exactly with Calder's independent copy.

+ ἄνερα κυδάλιμον ἀγανόφρονος ἠδ' ἀγαθοῦ
 ὀλβίου πατέρος γαίης τ' ἐριβύλου ἀρούρης
 σῆμα τόδε κεύθι φιλήν ἐνὶ πατρίδι γαίῃ
 Οὐαρελιανὸν κλυτὸν ἄνδρα βροτῶν ἀγαθῶν τε τοκῆων,
 5 εἰρέων ὄχ' ἄριστον ἐῆς ἐνὶ πατρίδι γαίῃ,¹
 τοῦνεκά οἱ τόδε σῆμα ἐῆ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀκοῖτις
 ἔστησαν μνήμης ἐπιτύμβιον ἐκτελέσαντες.
 γαμβρὸς δ' ἦτοι πάντα τελέσσατο, ἢ τάχα πάντες,
 Ἀφθόνιος ὧ τοκέει γλυκερῶ ἀμοιβῆς δῶρα τελέσσασ.

The father was rich in money and in fertile land. Respect for wealthy families, as of old (Section I.), continued in Cent. IV. (see *Class. Rev.* 1919, pp. 1 f.). Name in 4 extra metrum.

Valerianos, adopted in Galatian nomenclature from Emperor Valerian, 253-9, had become corrupted to Varelianos in this inscription (about 350-400). That Valerian was a persecutor had been forgotten. One would expect *Βαρελιανός* in the fourth century, but Valerius and Valerianos retained *ου* for Latin V long after A.D. 200, when in most words *B* represented Latin V. Varelianos was buried by his wife and his daughter and her husband, son by adoption of Varelianus, as Calder, *ad loc.*, says.

"His daughter and wife set the memorial on the tomb, completing the rites. Verily the daughter's husband completed the duties (or perhaps all did them), Aphthonios, paying to his dear father the gifts of requital." The son could perform, as religious heir, duties that no one else could do. Only father and son are named ; they alone transmit and inherit the family religion. Christianity had not yet expelled the old pagan ideas. This epitaph must be placed about 350 in the sequence of Christian inscriptions.

The epigram is full of Homeric words :—

ἄνερε κυδαλίμω (P 378), ἀνὴρ ἀγανόφρων, ἐριβύλος ἄρουρα, ὀλβίου ἀνδρὸς γόνον (wealthy), γαίῃ (dat.), γαίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος, τόδε σῆμα, κλυτός, μακάρων ἐξ ἔσσι τοκῆων, (σκυτοτόμων) ὄχ' ἄριστος ἐν Ὑλῆ οἴκια ναίων, ἐκτελέσωσι, τελέσαι, ἢ τάχα χήρη, δῶρα φέρουσα.

It was composed in a mind saturated with Homeric rhythm and phrases. I quote from the *Iliad*, which I know far better than the *Odyssey*. ἀμοιβή in a 318, γ 58, μ 382 has caused much discussion. *Add.*, p. 215.

It is characteristic of the Church in Cent. IV. that the wealthier families, which continued to be leaders in its development, based their

¹ Callander remarks that *ς* in ἐῆς in l. 5 is inserted to avoid hiatus.

education on knowledge of Homer. The metrical Christian epitaphs of the period are full of words and metrical phrases derived from Homer, sometimes quoted without proper construction (e.g. *M.A.M.A.* i. 382). Basil and Gregory Nazianzen studied in Athens, and chose the Church as their department of work. The Anatolian Christian metrical epitaphs are much more Homeric in language than the pagan, though the pagans of that period were on the whole better educated as a class. Hence I write ἡ τάχα πάντες rather than τάχ' ἅπαντες (so Calder), remembering Homer's ἡ τάχα χήρη. Aphthonios was a name used often in Cent. IV.; and the initial cross makes the religion certain.

This old pagan family custom evidently still persisted in Christian time, when the religious reason had disappeared; but the date must be kept as early as other considerations allow. The prefixing of + can hardly be proved earlier than A.D. 350. Basil and Eusebius, doubtless, included this among the wrong marriages which they denounced as criminal, and it passed away.

In Anatolia epigraphy reveals a certain system of household concubinage, though monogamy is the system generally shown by inscriptions; and Church historians commend this Phrygian morality (e.g. Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 8). On the other hand, the following inscriptions belong to secluded and backward regions.

36. Euren, between Alikel and Baghlija (R. and St. separately, 1883).

Αὐρ. Μηνόφιλος Οὐενούστου
 κ]αὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Μανία Ἄντι-
 ? ὄχ]ου ἑα[υ]τοῖς μνήμης χάριν.
 ἐὰ]ν δὲ παρα[γ]ένηται αὐτῆς ξένη ὁ υἱὸς ἡ-
 τοι] ιδιογενῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔξει τῶν ἡρώων

Ll. 4, 5 are added by a later hand, squeezed into narrow space in smaller letters. The construction and the exact meaning of this addition and the restoration, ἦτοι or ἦτω, are not clear. We prefer ἦτοι, used often in *Notitiae Episc.* to express change of name, e.g. ὁ Τυάνων ἦτοι Χριστουπόλεως, ὁ Σπανίας ἦτοι Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως;¹ here "the son who is actually born in the household." The clause was added to the epitaph when it proved that Mania was not likely to produce an heir, and some provision must be made to secure an heir to the property and the family sacra by introducing a strange woman belonging to her;² the arrangement was evidently approved by Mania, and was similar to that practised by Rachel and Jacob in Genesis xxx. 3 f.³ The ξένη was the servant in the household, who in accordance with Anatolian custom was a *θρεπτή*, Mania's personal maid, not a slave but intermediate between free and slave (a status not recognized in Roman law). This arrange-

¹ Tyana which is actually Christopolis, Spania which is actually (as events have proved) Justinianopolis.

² παραγ. brought in to aid. Perhaps ξε(ι)νη is personal name (as often).

³ One may feel sure that the son had already been born, and acknowledgment of him as son in the household is thus made at the sanctuary of the family tomb.

ment was made in preference to the commoner plan of adopting a son through the fiction of exposure, because Mania had no child, and the adopted son could not be married to the heiress-daughter. The son by Mania's maid was (in a sense, ἦτοι) *ιδιογενής*, and thus the property and sacra remained in the family.

Adopted girls are less frequent than adopted sons. The former were probably adopted as personal attendants and maids of the lady of the household (*οἰκοδέσποινα, οἰκοδεσπότις*); they were introduced into the home through the same fiction of exposure; thus they became real members of the household (*ιδιογενεῖς*).

37. A similar status is implied in the following epitaph at Silikli near Vetissos (R. 1905, more complete Calder, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1932, p. 462), between Amorion and Seivala. Sinanli¹ was certainly an ancient site, viz. Vetissos; Sari Kaya was Andeira. Numisios buries his wife Am(m)ia, daughter of Domnos: her threpte took part.

<i>Νουμίσιος</i>	<i>ι καὶ Δόμνος</i>	<i>ἰδία θρεφτῆ²</i>
<i>ἰδία γυναικὶ Α-</i>	<i>5 ἰδία τυγαθερῆ</i>	<i>Ἄμίας</i>
<i>μία μνής κάρ-</i>	<i>μνής κάρι σὶν</i>	<i>(κάρι = χάριν)</i>

The personal maid of Amia is not named in our text; but she was doubtless suited to be a secondary wife of Numisios according to the type of polygamy practised in the household of Jacob, or of Menophilos. The father of Amia co-operates with her husband in making the grave. The spelling is poor. Calder takes Amia gen. for dat. as name of the threpte. Numisios and his father-in-law act together.

Numisios was adopted in Galatian nomenclature from L. Cossonius Gallus Numisius leg. Galatiae 116-118, cos. suff. 119 (?). The use as a personal name does not imply civitas. See *Addenda*, p. 216.

In the household of Abraham and of Jacob if the wife's maid bears a child to the husband by arrangement it is reckoned as the wife's child. So both Rachel and Sara say emphatically. The wife's maid is her own personal property, and also the maid's child; she can do what she pleases to the maid (Gen. xvi. 6). This may be taken as the primitive Asiatic custom; it reigned also in Asia Minor, but there it was moderated by the principle of adoption by arranged fictitious exposure. Sara's maid was her slave; in Anatolia the wife's maid was her adopted child. The term adoption is unfortunate; it carries ideas derived from formal law, which were not really present in Anatolian custom.

There was no statute law in Anatolia before Greek law began to affect the country; custom, i.e. the will of the god or gods at the local sanctuary, as interpreted by the priests, was supreme; law as interpreted by the Seleucid kings (none of the other dynasties lasted long

¹ Sinanli, Silikli, Besh Ishekli, and Sari Kaya form a group of villages, the last 6 M.P. to S. The inscribed stones 8 ft. high at Sinanli show that it is an ancient

site; see Calder, l.c.

² *θρεφτῆ* was well read by Calder, and agrees exactly with the traces of the letters in my copy. π, φ, and θ, τ, interchange.

enough to do anything in this line) was almost entirely a systematization of local custom. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, and other works opened up this subject; Mommsen, to whom it was new, was (I believe) much impressed by Mitteis's early work, but it was too late for him to use (I speak from a late letter in which he mentioned Mitteis).

Roman law began to change the system; some change was necessary, as the number of *cives* continually increased; *cives* and soldiers possessing Roman names but not *civitas* must not suffer loss through absence in service or other reasons. Hence the Roman idea of a will (*testamentum*, *διαθήκη*) was introduced, first probably in the way of ordering a statue of the Emperor to be erected by the heir.¹ But the law which was administered in Roman courts by provincial governors was mainly according to native custom. I have protested often for 30 years against the idea that Roman law in Anatolia was the law as administered in Rome; but it is vain to struggle against a fixed idea. St. Paul did not know Roman law in the strict Roman sense. In writing to the Galatians, the Churches of Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lustra (two *coloniae* of Latin right, two cities with title *Claudiconium*, *Claudio-derbe*), he speaks about the law affecting inheritance. His words are irreconcilable with real Roman law, and their effect is hidden from writers who try to interpret them as referring to Roman law.² Inheritance was still a matter of local custom, except where the rights of *cives* and soldiers were concerned; and *legati* and *proconsules* decided accordingly.

Thus the old customs in regard to family and inheritance and adoption lasted through the centuries, and here rule in a Christian household about A.D. 350 or a little later.

Ordinarily a bride went to the home of her husband; she ceased to belong to her family by birth and became a member of her new family, but not fully so till after she had borne a child (preferably a son). She became really important as the mother of the heir. Before she had performed this duty to her new family her lot was a poor one; she was a servant living on sufferance. The lot of such a girl is the subject of an epitaph near Ladik (*Laodicea Lycaoniae*) at a village *Atlandi*, published by Calder (*Mon. As. Min. Ant.* i., no. 301); who has read a really difficult text correctly, but without comment.

38. Calder, *M.A.M.* i. 301. Date very uncertain.

ἐγγόνη ἐνθάδε Παύ-
λου καὶ Αὐρηλίου κατὰ-
κεῖται, νύμφη Μαρκι-

ανοῦ, σύγκοιτος γὰρ
5 Ὀρέστου, ἧτις βίον
οὐκ ἐτέλεσεν, ἀλ-

¹ Three inscriptions to Trajan before 114 mention that the statue is according to *testamentum*, and that word is used in one of the Greek texts. Perhaps this indicates the time when *testamenta* began in central Anatolia. The bequest for a statue ensured that the rest of the provisions of the will

were obeyed; see a later section.

² Calder, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 1930, p. 373, rightly contrasts Seleucid law (as a systematization in Anatolia of Anatolian custom) with Roman law; but some of his statements we cannot accept, p. 58.

	λά πόσιν προλιπού-		νεσσι λιπούσα αὐ-
	σα θάνεν τίκτου-	15	τῆ τοὺς ἰδίους κακῆ
	σα θυγάτρα · ἦν γὰρ		δίψη κατέκαυσεν.
10	αἰτῶν (i.e. ἐτέων) δεκάπεντε		Μ]αρκιανὸς τῆ ἰδίῃ ν-
	καὶ ἡμισίου, πλέον		ύ]μφη Ματρῶνῃ
	οὐχί, δόμον ἡμιτε-		α]νέστησεν μνή-
	λή καὶ τέκνον λαγό-	20	μης χάριω.

Early marriage of girls, cp. no. 54. She was 15½ years, πλέον οὐχί, not more ; the usage (like non plus decem millia) is not imitation of Latin, but expresses the same thought.

The girl, called Matrona, died aged 15½ ; her female child died unborn. The husband had not made a grave for her and her children at marriage, which was the first duty of a husband ; but even pagans did not always do their duty. The patriarch of her new family made her grave, her grandfather Paulos, also called Aurelius, acting through her father-in-law Markianos, whose νύμφη she was, as σύγκοιτος of his son Orestes. She did not achieve the duty of life (βίον οὐκ ἐτέλεσεν), for she died trying to give birth to a mere daughter. The husband Orestes, a priest's name in an eminent family, is mentioned only incidentally ; he took no part in the burial. The date is perhaps about A.D. 200. The names of this sacerdotal family are not very late. Paul(1)us doubtless came into the family from the legatus Galatiae of 68-9 ; Markianos perhaps from the sister of Trajan made Augusta 100-105, indicating that the patriarch Paulus—also called Aurelius—got civitas not by the Constitutio Antoniniana in 212, but from M. Aurelius. The use of the Roman names (without civitas) implied loyalty to the imperial policy (perhaps rewarded by the honour of civitas in 161 with name M. Aurelius).

Marriage was closely connected with the family religion. It is not possible to prove from mere epigraphic records either the ritual or the conditions resulting from the marriage ceremonial. We must depend on analogy and historical records ; we state the opinions thus reached as tentative and not susceptible of proof with the available evidence, premising that Calder in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 1930, pp. 372 f., should be consulted (also *Real-Enc.*, s.v. confarreatio, conubium, etc., and a hundred other authorities).¹

Marriage in Anatolia in primitive times was a religious ceremony ; it is the connecting link between the old Roman patrician marriage by confarreatio and the Asiatic marriage in India and China, where it hardened direct from the pagan primitive type without undergoing modification from a higher religion such as Zoroastrianism, Buddhism or Islam ; Confucianism did not seriously affect it. The woman gave up her property and family, and almost her individuality ; she was merged in her husband's family. The tie that bound her was indissoluble except

¹ Also *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*, pp. 227 f.

by her death. In widowhood she lived in and for her children. Second marriage was unthinkable; in India the tie hardened into the Hindu Suttee, Sati (the existent, the real), the principle which authorized a widow to immolate herself on her husband's pyre; the force of custom in India made her self-sacrifice compulsory; in China the sacrifice was honourable but voluntary.

This marriage was modified in Rome by the creation of other forms of marriage which did not inflict such hardship on the female partner, *coemptio* and *usus*. The woman in them retained her property, and a widow was free to marry again. This was complicated by facility of divorce, which was not checked by any force of opinion or custom, and the imperial family often was foremost in trampling on any slight restraint of that kind. The long domination of Rome and the growing numbers of *cives*, who gradually acquired Roman freedom and made light of old custom as slavish and vulgar, where their acquired freedom and caprice was concerned, must have affected Anatolian society, and the only thing strange is that the change was so slow and has left so few traces in epigraphy; but several epitaphs mention second marriage of a widow.

Calder (p. 56, n. 2) holds, as we do, that the marriage of a daughter to an adopted son was "old Anatolian custom," forbidden by Roman law though allowed in some forms of Greek law;¹ but he differs in his explanation of the fact that *πρόγονοι* of the wife in a second marriage call the step-father father: that was a matter of affection, not due, as he says, to "a local law of inheritance."

39. Kunderaz, one of the villages into which Turaion has dissolved: others are Duraghan (retaining the ancient name) and Tahsin (*τάξιον*); inscriptions rude (Hogarth, 1887; R. 1890; Calder in *J. Theol. Stud.* 1930, p. 374); stele with columns in relief on each side.

<i>Ξενικός κέ</i>	3	<i>όγονι έστησα </i>
<i>Μακεδών πρ-</i>		<i>Μάνη πα[τρὶ] πο-</i>
		<i>τητῶ μνήμης χάριν</i>

Hogarth (*J.R.S.* 1890, p. 164) has *έστησα|*(ν) *Μ[α]νη πατ[ρὶ] πο[ι]|τητῶ*; Calder reads *έστησα|*(ν) *Μάνη πατροπο|τητῶ*. The faint bad writing accounts for the divergence in reading. I thought that the letter after ρ in l. 4 was Α badly shaped, which might be Ο of Calder: P was to me quite illegible. Calder reads *μνήης*, we both *μνήμης*; probably Calder is right.

Xenikos and Macedo were sons by a first husband; Manes, the second husband, was buried by his stepsons, as their "beloved father."²

¹ Seleucid law did not and could not condemn nor seek to condemn Anatolian custom. Perhaps Kimon and Elpinike, children of Miltiades, who were said to be married, were not *δμομήτριοι*, and considered that old Attic custom permitted; but the

facts and the old custom or law are obscure and uncertain in this case.

² I at first misunderstood this titulus, supposing *προγονι*(κόν μνήμα). I had a proof of Hogarth's copy in my hands in 1890.

There is tracery on the pillars ; and τ , half concealed in the tracery on left of l. 5, was not observed by Hogarth nor by Calder ;¹ and they read $\rho\sigma[\iota]\eta\tau\omega$, adoptive father. ν in $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ was treated as *ephelkystikon* and removable (no. 32).

In Anatolian society hospitality was regarded as a prime virtue, and caused several personal names, Euxenianos, Euxenion, Philoxenos, Xenikos (found only here), etc.

40. At Emirler, on the estate of the family of L. Sergius Paullus in prov. Galatia, Calder found the following titulus (*Klio*, xxiv. 1930, p. 61):—

<p><i>Σεργιανὸς καὶ</i> <i>Σέργιος μητρὶ Λικι-</i> <i>νία καὶ Μενάνδρω</i></p>	<p><i>πατροφουήτω μ-</i> <i>νήμης χάριν</i></p>
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Two brothers to their mother and their adoptive father Menandros. Likinia's first husband must have been named Sergius, a *libertus* of the Roman owner. *πατρὶ ποιητῶ* becomes a single word *πατροφουήτω* (Calder).

This is a slight foundation for a "provision of the local law of inheritance." The author of the epitaph probably scratched it rudely on the stone with his own hand, and his education and cutting are poor. We look to the future explorations of *M.A.M.A.* for a good photograph or a squeeze or a careful revision, and further evidence.

VI.

SCRIBAE QUAESTORII. CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

Horace found employment as a *scriba quaestorius*. They occur in prov. Asia inscriptions occasionally, having usually come in the service of governors.

41. At Hierapolis ad Lycum (R. 1882 ; Judeich, 1887) on a block of white marble : it is classed by Judeich (*Alt. von Hierapolis*,² p. 177, no. 353) among "Unbestimmbare Fragmente" : conjectures of Cichorius are added on the right.

My copy was made in 1882 on a first visit to Hierapolis with some friends as a tourist. Hoping to return³ I copied only this stone and some graffiti in the theatre. I thought this was a graffiti, but a graffiti would not be incised on a marble stele.

¹ Perhaps the error was mine, reading τ for ι , hidden in tracery ; at any rate ι (or τ) belongs to l. 5, not l. 4.

² Humann, Judeich, Cichorius, Winter, co-operated in the work of 12 days at

Hierapolis, June, 1887.

³ The hope was not fulfilled till May, 1887, when Hogarth, Brown and I spent two days there : we did not see this stone.

Judeich.	Cichorius.	R. 1882.	R. Transcription.
ΠΙΚΑΛΠC ΟΝΙΟΤΑΙ ΝΟΝΣΚΡΕ≡ ΑΙΣΤΩΝΡΙC ΕΙΟΛ ΤΕΣΤ	[Τ]ΙΚΑΛΠΟ[ΥΡΝΙ ΟΝΠΟΤΑ]ΜΙΑ ΝΟΝ [ΚΡΑ ΤΙΣΤ[ΟΝ	≡ΤΙΚΑΛΠC≡ ΟΝΙΟΤΑΝ≡ ΝΟΝΣΚΡΕ≡ ΑΙΣΤΩΡΙC≡ /////////////// ///////////////	Π? Καλπο[ρνιαν?]- ὄν Ποτά[μωνα? νον σκρε[ιβαν κυ- αιστώριο[ν λειβρά- ρ]ισ[ν τὸν κρά- τιστ[ον

Judeich's suggestion "Ehrendekret?" is confirmed.

The name of the scriba cannot be restored. Cichorius's conjecture makes l. 2 too short. No letters in l. 5 were read by me: [υῖόν] | Εἰόλ[λα is inadmissible: the father's name should come earlier. λειβρά|ριον τὸν κρά|τιστ[ον] would complete the titulus and suit Judeich's ΕΙΟΛ. Eiollas is a slave name. In a faint titulus C and P are often confused, and A is part of N.

The scribae librarii quaestorii ab aëratio were the highest and best paid class of the apparitores magistratuum; there were equites among them.¹ They were incorporated in three decuriae; and a scriba quaestorius was employed for various purposes by the higher magistrates, when they needed such help. The proconsul of Asia, or his quaestor, took with him to his province two scribae quaestorii; and one of them, evidently a man of importance (κράτιστος often points to equestrian rank) visited Hierapolis alone or with the proconsul or quaestor. They were evidently "Chartered Accountants," hence their importance. Calpurnianus may have reported on the finances of Hierapolis to the proconsul, and been honoured accordingly.

Members of the corporation of scribae librarii quaestorii mentioned in other towns of Asia, e.g. Ephesus.²

42. Sultan-Hissar, Nysa of Lydia (R. 1880; *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 275); Πό(πλιος) is written Π with small o above.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ- μος ἐτείμησεν Μᾶρκον Σερονίλι- ον Πο. υῖόν Παλατεί- 5 να Εὐνεικον ἰππέα Ρωμαίων ἱερέα Λαυρεντίνου	10	ἔπαρχον σπέίρας Σάρδων σκρεῖβαν κυ- αιστώριον λιββάριον, ἀναστήσαντος τῆν τειμήν τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ αὐ- τοῦ Πο. Αἰλ. Θεοπόμπου
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¹ According to Mommsen there were 36 scribae quaestorii, from Sulla's time onwards; 11 quaestors, each with 2 scribae,

went to the provinces, and 14 remained for duties in Rome.

² See p. 62.

M. Servilius Eunikos probably had a libertine father,¹ like Horace. He was equestrian like Horace, and passed through the earliest steps of that career, praefectus Coh. Sard. and Laurens Lavinus (a minor priesthood mentioned in remote parts of the Empire, and, if we may judge from this case, given as an honour to young equites, Philipp in *Real-Enc.* xii. 1011); the name goes back to the obscure beginnings of Roman history, and was revived under the Emperors. M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus, cos. 158, legatus Asiae c. 150, perhaps aided the career of this young eques, whose father (or grandfather?) had been a freedman of his house. Eunikos was one of the two scribae quaestorii who aided the quaestor of Asia; he inspected the accounts and expenditure of Nysa about 150-160. Nothing can be learned from his militia; there were three Cohortes Sardorum: Coh. II. is known in proconsular Africa and afterwards in Mauretania Caesariensis; Coh. I. Sard. and Coh. I. Gem. Sard. et Cors. are mentioned only in the province.

This career does not suggest that Eunikos was a provincial; P. Aelius Theopompus, his cousin (?), was perhaps a companion visiting claras Asiae urbes. There is no reason to think that he was a native of Nysa; he was probably son of a libertus of Hadrian. The State of Nysa lent only its name. Theopompus erected the monument; a dedicatator was often quite as eager to make himself known as to glorify the recipient of the honour; sometimes he engraved his own name in larger letters than the rest of the titulus.

This titulus shows the character of honorary inscriptions; it is merely an official acknowledgment that Eunikos had performed the duty assigned to him at Nysa (and that no complaint against his conduct had been lodged with the boule and demos). Such transactions were liable to abuse; perhaps the payment came from the auditor in the last resort.

43. Colonia Caesarea Antiochea (R. 1914; *J.R.S.* 1916, p. 90).



L. Pompo|nio Ni[g]ro | vet(erano) | leg V Gal(licae) | scribai
q(uaistorio) | Urbanus l(ibertus) | et Viviai.

This man was one of the original band of Coloni (probably 1000 veterans) who were sent in 25 B.C. to found the colonia. The spelling with *ai* in the declension of nouns in *-a* is a proof of age.

¹ Eunikos is nomen servile.

Dessau has devoted an article, *Anatolian Studies*, pp. 135 f., to this scriba, whom he considers to have been, not an accountant in Colonia Caesarea (as I had assumed), but an accountant from Rome. If so, he must often have regretted his change of scene, for the colonia was at that time a singularly uncomfortable abode on the north edge of a ridge of hills stretching N. to S. (a spur of the lofty Sultan Dagh); the site slopes to north and west, and is exposed to bitter north winds from the snowy mountains and to frequent heavy rainstorms, which blow up across a pass of Taurus to Egerdir lake and thence to the peak of Sultan Dagh.¹ Soldiers were needed at the colonia, which was a garrison fortress, against raids of the Homanades. Large expense, however, was needed from the imperial side in founding a colonia, and settling at least 1000 soldiers and their families; this accountant's services were urgently needed; and his presence is a reminder that the business side of Augustus's work was never neglected. His account of his services to the State is labelled rightly *Res Gestae et Impensae*.

With slight modification Dessau's view may be stated in the form that Q. Pomponius Niger was sent with the commissioners in charge of the foundation; but he died at the colonia, and was buried by his freedman Urbanus, not by any of his own family, who lived in Italy, probably in Rome; Vivia was presumably his wife.

This tombstone belongs to a very early time in the colonia; the foundation was officially dated 20 B.C. This little monument is modified from a native form (an example, *C.B.* ii. p. 661), and the lower and larger part is suppressed. The sword and shield is a native idea, but the form of both is Roman, *scutum* and short sword. The work-basket of Vivia is native, and her (distaff and) spindle hang over the shield. The caps of documents of the scriba is closed for ever. The drawing is reproduced by courtesy of the Council from *J.R.S.* 1916, p. 90. The scribe had been a soldier in the Civil War, and found a place in the quaestor's office, like Horace.

The Greek *lagicida* did not know the Latin G, and substituted C.

43A. C. Stertinus C. Stertini Maximi consularis [cos A.D. 23] *libertus* Orpex, quondam scriba librarius, settled at Ephesus, a rich benefactor. St. Maximus was perhaps proconsul of Asia, c. 30. (Groag, *R.E.* from *Forsch. Eph.*) It is unusual that a *libertus* is scriba quaest.

43B. Stertinus Maximus Eutyches, eques (*ἑπτικός Ῥωμαίων*), *haruspex*, scriba librarius quaestorius, at Ephesus, was of the same family (Dessau, 8833, Groag., loc. cit.).

¹ The rains make the plain fertile. We saw the plain flooded like a sea with islets late in June, 1912; and the spring is always very rainy.

VII. AUGUSTALES AFTER CONSTANTINE.

Augustales was the name of various institutions, honourable and connected with the worship of Augustus.¹ Sodales Augustales were a priestly order founded by Tiberius to maintain the worship of Divus Augustus and the gens Julia (and Venus as goddess ancestress), 21 nobles, Livia, Tiberius, etc. (increased to 28). Municipal Augustales are mentioned often in inscriptions, but never in literature except Petronius and Scholia to Hor., *Sat.* ii. 3, 281 (erant libertini sacerdotes qui Augustales dicebantur; the rest dubious). They were mainly in Italy, sometimes in the West and in coloniae of the Orient, Patrae, Corinth, Philippi, Antiochea, Troas. Mommsen (who had differed) shows that the institution was devised to open honours and titles to libertini, a class of men often able and wealthy, who suffered from the disability of slavery. They were attached to the Empire because these distinctive titles and this sort of career were inextricably involved in the cult of Augustus. The institution appears quite early in the reign of Augustus; the Augustalia of 12 Oct., 19 B.C. ordered by the Senate and maintained later was perhaps connected with the Augustales, but was not their origin. Augustus forbade the worship of himself in Italy (except to libertini), but allowed it in the East, where flamines and sacerdotes Augusti are known. A libertus could become Augustalis and magister (in a sort of club or sodalicium), rising to sevir Augustalis; the collegium could own property, celebrate games, etc.; there was an entrance fee which was paid to the municipium. In such an institution changes were inevitable. Evidence must therefore be estimated according to place and time; ingenui were sometimes admitted. The filling up of vacancies was probably by co-optation. See note at end of this Section.

As Mommsen pointed out, there is no evidence that those pagan Augustales ever existed in the Greek cities of the East (as distinguished from coloniae, which maintained Italian customs). Those cities were free to worship Augustus; in Italy, the original home of the Augustales, his worship was not permitted except to libertini. The πολῖται in the East preferred to develop the cult in different forms, and had no need for a cult restricted to freedmen.

In *M.A.M.* i. 216, Calder dissents from Mommsen's opinion, and finds three examples of municipal Augustales at Laodicea of Lycaonia.

¹ As a public institution the pagan Augustales could not survive the pagan Empire. The worship of Augustus was of its essence; without that cult it was

naught. M. Humbert in *Daremborg-Saglio* thinks this self-evident. Augustalis as a title of honour to soldiers survived, as not implying worship.

None of these, however, are earlier than the triumph of Christianity; the municipal Augustales were cultores domus divinae and such associations could not survive as public institutions. It is true that pagans survived in large numbers (though only a minority); Constantine did not persecute them or interfere in their private life and faith; but they had no power. All public institutions were Christian. Yet Augustales are mentioned in documents of the fourth century; and the three cases quoted in *M.A.M.* i. 169, 216, and 283 deserve careful examination.

44. Ladik (Calder, *M.A.M.* i. 169), the epitaph (very difficult) of a soldier: his decipherment is a triumph of skill (though I venture to suggest improvements in ll. 5 and 7). The Greek is soldier's speech, very illiterate; he intended to say:

Φλάβιος Εὐάνδριος Αὐγουστάλιος ἀρι-
 θμιοῦ τῶν γεννεοτάτ[ω]ν λαγκιάρης ὄρ[θ]ωσεν
 τὰ] πέλτ[α ταῦτ]α εἰαυ[τῶ και] τῇ γαμετῇ μου Μαρ-
 ῖα μνήμης χάριν· και μετὰ τὴν κατάθεσιν ἡμῶν
 5 μηδι (!) (ἐξ)εῖναι βάλ' ἕτερον πτώμα μήτε ¹
 μεταθῖνε τὸ χαμαισόριν μετὰ τῆς ὑποβάθρει·
 εἰ δέ τις τολμήσειεν (!) τοῦτο ποιῆσε, ἔσχει πὸς <ος> τὸν
 μέλλοντα κρίν(ειν) ζῶντας και νεκρούς +

κρίνειν of the composer was written *κριν* by the lapicida, whose eye passed from *N* to *N*; but this cannot be applied to *βαλ(εῖν)* as is suggested in *M.A.M.* It is preferable to regard *βάλ(ε)* as a bad first aorist used by the soldier. It is common in these epitaphs to engrave only once a letter which is final and also initial; e.g. *καιδια* may be *καὶ ἰδία* or *καὶ διὰ*. “*ὑποβάθρει* is a blend of *ὑποβάθρω* and *ὑποβάσει*” (Calder); it is false Greek used by the soldier, who served probably on the Danube frontier. *ἔσχει* for *ἔχσει*, i.e. *ἔξει*, *πὸς* for *πρός*, are vulgarisms of soldiers' Greek. *ος* doubled is a fault of engraver. This is a late form of the curse on violators, which came into use c. 260–300.

Soldiers, whose native speech was Phrygian, picked up military Latin if they served on the Danube frontier, and Greek of a sort if they served where Greek was the language of the country. In the former case they often had to learn Greek when they came home *ἀπὸ στρατείας*.

The expression *Αὐγουστάλις λαγκιάρης* occurs *I.G.* xiv. 157. *Lanciarrii Augustenses* in the army under the disposition of the *magister militum per Illyricum* (*Not. Dign.* ix. 36) must be *Lanciarrii* stationed at *Augusta* (cp. *Not. Dign. Or.* viii. 52, and *Real-Enc. s.v.*).

Augustalis was a term of honour used in the Roman army and surviving in the post-Diocletian army (see *Real-Enc. s.v.*). The

¹ *M.A.M.* prints *μηδι(ς) εἶναι βαλ(εῖν) ἕτερόν [τε](ν)α εἰ δέ τ(λ)ολμή τις*. Errors of composer, and engraver, and copyist are com-

bined in this medley: it is hard to set limits to bad Greek. In l. 5 *μηδι* for *μηδε*, cp. *Nade* dative: *εἶναι* in sense of *ἔξεῖναι*.

occurrences accessible to me are not sufficient to make its nature clear ; but this inscription is obviously a case of a military, not of a municipal, *augustalis*, a soldier settled in Laodicea. The title was given to lower officers (Domaszewski). [Cf. Grosse, *Röm. Militärgesch.* 127.]

45. Ladik, stele, blue limestone (Calder, *M.A.M.* i. 216, impression and drawing). Lettering *ÆEOLIC*.

+ Φλάβιος Παῦλος Ζήν- ωνος αὐγου- στάλιος καὶ 5 ἀπὸ μαγίστ-	ρων καὶ Σωτη- ρίης τῆς ἐμῆ- ς συνβίου ζῶ- ντες ἀνέσ- 10 τήσαμεν μ.χ.
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Date soon after 400 (350–500, Calder).

In ll. 6–7 the construction is awkward. According to Calder it is “a blend of *καὶ Σωτηρία* and *σὺν καὶ Σωτηριη(ς)*.”¹ We make a slight change, *μετὰ καὶ Σωτηρίης*,¹ and agree with his explanation, putting it in the form that the composer wrote correctly and the lapicida omitted the word *μετὰ*. The soldier was Christian and used the Christian spelling Paulus. His period was probably about 400. He names his wife Soteria, here Christian, also used by pagans.

Calder interprets *Augustales* as the term was used under the earlier Empire ; “the *Augustales* were wrongly said by Mommsen (*Staatsr.* iii. 454) not to be found in the Greek-speaking provinces ; . . . Paulus had been a *magister augustalis* (president of the college) ;” but *Augustales* of that kind should not be forced into a Christian inscription of this period.

Late date is proved by the confusion of inflections, by the use of *η* for *α*, by the cross at the beginning, by the nomen *Flavius*.² The *Augustales* appear here as a corporate body with a *magister* ; *Flavius Zenon* was a past master of the incorporated society. The cross initial in epitaphs was hardly used before about A.D. 350 ; but the incorporated society proves the date here later than A.D. 391, as we shall see. *Zenon* practised in the province Galatia. A *terminus ante quem* is not evident, except that nothing suggests a very late date.

To take the name *Σωτηριης* as nom.³ conflicts with *τῆς ἐμῆς*. We agree with Calder’s opinion.

Here we have a clear case of a civil *Augustalis* at Laodicea, resident there with his wife Soteria and preparing a grave for his family, and evidently exercising his business or profession at that important city. The old *Augustales* had ceased to exist about A.D. 324 ; and

¹ We assume that *Σωτηρίης* for *Σωτηρίας* was admitted in the confusion of inflectional forms that characterized this period, when a divergence between the vulgar and the educated speech was growing. Epitaphs often were monuments of the vulgar speech.

καὶ was often strengthened into *σὺν καὶ* or *μετὰ καὶ* and construed with a plural verb or participle (as here).

² Here Constantinian.

³ The addition of sigma in nom. to noun stems in *α* and *ι* was an Anatolian custom.

here about a century later are Augustales. The difficulty is solved by a passage in Joannes Lydus, *De Magistrat. Pop. Rom.* iii. 35–36 (pp. 228 f., Bonn),¹ speaking of a class called *scriniarii*, who were not known in Roman history before Constantine. They were a species of accountants, connected with the tribute paid especially by tribes on the north banks of the Danube; and they were at first merely private citizens who appeared at trials (ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ) to give expert opinion about the account-keeping of tribute to the Empire; they had no official training; they were not recognized in the civil service (στρατεία). Changes were introduced by Theodosius I. (A.D. 379–95); they were admitted to a place in the officium (τάξις) of the court and were styled *adiutores* (βοηθοί) and a fee was charged² for admission to the body and they were now styled Augustales, a name which apparently had no application from 324 to c. 384. In the time of Leo I., 457–74, when the magistrate and his train proceed to the tribunal (βῆμα), the *scriniarii* Augustales follow in the rear. In Laodicea and in all cities where there was a tribunal there were Augustales. In *Real-Enc.* there is no reference to this class of Augustales, to which Flav. Paulus evidently belonged. Joannes came from Lydian Philadelphia to Constantinople in 511, got an appointment in the civil service (στρατεία) as a reporter (memorialis), was appointed an official notarius, and wrote his account of the Roman magistrates after a lifetime of experience.

The later Augustales filled a want felt after 324. The official auditors were found to be incompetent; they had not the needed training or experience; they were new men, Christians; the old auditors, etc., had been pagans and were not now employed. The *scriniarii* took the title of the old pagan officials.

46. R. 1882, publ. *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 236; Calder, *M.A.M.* i. 283. Lettering ΑΕΟC.

Φλ. Ἀφιανὸς³ ἀνέστησα τὸν τὸν μνήμης χάριν
ἀγουστάλιος 4 τίτλον τοῦ-

Aphianos may have been a soldier like *M.A.M.* i. 169, or a civilian like i. 216 (nos. 44, 45).

There is reason to place this epitaph along with the preceding. Agoustalios is a late form; but Aug. and Ag. were used contemporaneously; and educated persons doubtless wrote Aug., after the vulgar pronunciation was Ag.⁴ The name Flavius points to a similar date under the later Flavians.

The religion is not clearly marked in this case; but the general principle is that an epitaph of this date is Christian. There were still

¹ Ed. Wuensch, p. 123.

² This is implied, τὸ δὲ Ἀγουσταλίῳ ὄνομα πριάμενοι τιμίως.

³ Iota in l. 1 is nearly hidden by a crack, and was recovered by Calder.

⁴ Ἀγοῦστα for Ἀγούστα is common. Ἀρελία, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 122 (also Ἀρελλία elsewhere) has been quoted as a vulgar form of Ἀρρηλία; but it is probably Latin Arellia.

many pagans in the cities, and they were an educated class ; but they were in a minority, and the problem of distinguishing the two religions takes the form of "find the pagan." Epitaphs after 350 which are either markedly philosophical or emphasize markedly the old pride of citizenship are likely to be pagan.

47. Kaisari Caesarea Mazaka (R. 1890; Grégoire, *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 58): published in *Rev. Et. G.* 1895, p. 87, as from Dorylaion. At modern Kaisari the site of the ancient city is called Eski Sheher, Old Town ; this caused the error in *R.E.G.*

Ἰουλία μήτηρ φὸς Αὐγουσταλί-
καὶ Κλήμης ἀδελ- ω Λόγου μνή|μης χάριω

The name *Λόγος* is well known, but the text is not certain ; the copy is undoubtedly correct, but *Λόγγος* or *Λόνγος* is possibly meant : single consonant for double was frequently written ; and nasalization in Anatolian pronunciation was in Greek writing sometimes omitted, sometimes rendered by *N*.

The names in the family are Roman, which suggests military service. Augustalios is used apparently as a personal name ; Julia, wife of Logos, was mother of Clemens and Augustalios ; probably this son was a soldier who attained rank and title as Augustalis, and became known to his friends as Augustalios, while his personal name was dropped.

Note.—In *C.I.L.* iii. 6830 Mommsen finds an Augustalis at colonia Antiochea ; but it depends on a fault in Sterrett's copy. Anderson and I copied the titulus again in 1912 ; and I confirmed in 1927. The surface was worn. Read suo for Aug. An Augustalis in the colonia (*J.R.S.* 1913, p. 258.)

VIII. DEMAKELLON DEMOUSIA DEBALINIA.

Consideration of this small group of names points to the solution of a serious topographical problem.

In Phrygia Salutaris it is extremely difficult to equate the list of Hierocles with those of the Notitiae Episc., as the names were changed so much. The great city of Kotuaion is omitted by Hierocles, though it was put first in rank after metropolis Synnada in the early Notitiae, and was soon honoured as metropolis with three subordinate bishoprics. It was a bishopric at Chalcedon in 451. Its three bishoprics as a metropolis lay on or near the road to Afium Kara Hissar-Leontokephalon-Nikopolis-Akrun, a great road in Byzantine time, and now a railway route from the Bosphorus. This omission must be explained before any further step can be made.

Δεμάκελλα was a *χωρίον* near Caesarea of Cappadocia, where Gallus and Julian were sent by Constantius to be educated (Theoph. p. 35); De Boor, with his usual discernment, refused to alter the text to Makellon (as in Sozomen, v. 2);¹ it was an imperial estate with baths and fountains, and the tomb of St. Mamas (*AA.SS.* Aug. 17, pp. 423 ff.) of Caesarea, about whom much story and legend gathered. There is not enough evidence to place this villa exactly; but as an imperial property it must have been fertile and should be discoverable.² The double name implies that *De* was a separable element (Sozomen is a good authority); compare *Δεμουσία* in Pamphylia, and *Debalikia* in Phrygia Salutaris; Cedrenus, i. 521, says *ἐν χώρᾳ καλουμένην δὴ Μακελίω*, the correction *Δημακελίω* is necessary. The first element is *Δε* or *Δη*; the meaning is *χωρίον*, estate, land; the word Makellon or Makelion is derived from Makelas, which occurs in *Anth. Palatina*, vii. 709, denoting a priest of Kybele, a native term corresponding to Archigallos. The variation in the quantity of the penultimate syllable Makella-Makelion shows that *βάκηλος* (*ὁ μέγας. ἢ ἀνόητος. ἢ ὁ ἀπόκοπος, ὑπ' ἐνίων γάλλος* ap. Hesych.)³ is another form of the same native word. Names or epithets of deities were frequently used as personal names; *Οὐακλος* (or *Aouaklos*), which occurs in an epitaph at Kuyulu Zebir (near Gdanmaa) is another form of the same word.

Δεμακελλα, therefore, is the *κτῆμα, κλήρος, χωρίον*, of the priest of Kybele, and appears in the fourth century as an imperial property, in accordance with the general principle that old religious properties were seized by Greek kings and Roman Emperors, being often given to supporters and favourites (*C.B.* ii. pp. 419 f.).

One of the groups into which the Phrygian list of Hierocles is divided contains three names: Kleros Or(e)ines, Kleros Politikes, Debalikia.

Parthey has Debalakia (with Bekker); Burckhardt has Debalikia; neither mentions any difference in MS. authority; but we may assume that the later corrects the earlier reading. Neither, however, is quite accurate. The word is corrupted; but a popular name, such as Hierocles uses in many cases, shines through the change. Such popular names occur in Konioupolis, and Sitoupolis, peculiar to Hierocles, formerly condemned as corrupt by general consent (including myself), but now recognized as real names, showing a knowledge of local conditions.

De is equivalent to *κλήρος* in Hierocles and in Cappadocia; and Debalikia was originally De-Balinia, "Land of the King": it is the territory of the Midas city, called Ballenaion, in a Pseudo-Plutarchian

¹ Many have done so, including my *Hist. Geogr.* p. 307, and Ruge in *Real-Enc. s.v.* Makellon.

² I should begin to look for it between Caesarea and the Halys.

³ *ἀνόητος; ὁ μέγας* wants a word "priest" after it; Makelas was the great priest at Sardis and in Cappadocia. *ἀνόητος*, maddened, god-possessed.

Treatise de Fluviis. Ballen or Balen means king in Hesychius and Aeschylus Persae; and Ba(1)lenaion is related to Balinia as Soublaion to Siblia, or Bindaion to Vindia.¹ *De* is the Phrygian form of *δα*.

For many years I worked with Bekker's arbitrary "correction" *Δεβαλακία* (made without any authority) until Burckhardt's edition came to my hand, and the true reading was obvious; the letter *K* is a misreading by a scribe for *N*, and the name is Debalinia, fifth century spelling of *Δεβαληνια*, with which we compare *Δεμακελλον*, *Δημακελιον*, *Μακελλον* and *Δεμουσια*. Hesychius explains *βαλῆν· βασιλεύς· Φρυγιστί*. The name in the list of Hierocles means land of the king, viz. Midas, whose great rock tomb looks over that upland valley. The adjectival form is Ballenaion. The name was applied to a large stretch of mountain land and saltus, including Kumbet (a site of some importance). It can be restored in no. 48.

One asks at first sight why a Traveller's Companion should omit the Midas city, the most wonderful place in Phrygia, and indeed in the whole of Asia Minor. The answer is that Hierocles mentions the Midas city, and reveals in the name a page of history. Again, why does Hierocles omit Kotyaion? The answer is that Ballenaion was in the territory of Kotyaion (as is still the case); and that the one or the other is sufficient. The two great difficulties are eliminated by the change of *K* to *N*.

The name was for a time banned, because Kotuaion was heretic and unruly, and had murdered several orthodox Bishops. Hierocles veils it under the name Ballenia, which was in its territory; but the banning, or the veiling, of the name could not last long; the city could not be destroyed. In 451, the year after the death of Theodosius II., the Bishop of Kotuaion was present at Chalcedon, and it appears regularly in the early Notitiae (veiled as Komition and Kutimion).²

Demousia, an unexplained name, wrongly taken as corrupt, in Hierocles's list of Pamphylia II., is the land or property of Mousis, Moussis, a common Phrygian or Lycaonian name, which was often grecized as *Μουσαῖος*. This personal name was assuredly a divine name or epithet, but its meaning is obscure.

This interpretation enables us to correct another error; either in print or in conversation I have proposed to place Metropolis at Kumbet, four or five miles west of the Midas city, abandoning the site assigned in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 486. I must recur to my original view. Kone-Demetrioupolis, a double Bishopric, united the two townships: Conna (Tab. Peut. has Nacolea XL Conni(s) XXXII Eucarpia),³ was evidently

¹ *Δεβαληκία* MS. Hierosol. (courtesy of Honigmann). Also *Δοκίμαιον* to *Δοκίμια*.

² The real period to which the lists of Hierocles belong was rightly placed by Le Quien 450-500, though one Justinianopolis was incorporated about 530 in a revised

edition.

³ There was no direct road Nakoleia-Conna. I went to find the road during 1883, 1884, 1888; lines in the table are wrongly drawn. Connis ablative. *Kônê* on road Kotiaion to A.K.H.

in the Kaystros (Kestros ?) valley, near Kara Hissar, and could hardly be united in a bishopric with the Midas city far away across a high watershed. Metropolis, like Kone-Conna, was not far from Ambanaz, in which we recognize Ambason,¹ Metropolis τῆς Φρυγίας (Steph. Byz., see *H.G.A.M.* p. 139). The position of Conna can be determined. Surmene is a site of importance about twelve miles east of Afion Kara Hissar ; Ambanaz was probably joined with it in a double bishopric. Ambanaz is on a great road leading through the Kara Hissar valley, branching to Eukarpia and Eumeneia, and must be taken as the site of Kone-Conna ; while Metropolis, the other part of the double bishopric, became Demetriopolis, the town of St. Demetrios, a Christianization of Meter-Kybele-Demeter.

48. Kumbet (R. 1881 and 1888), a difficult and much worn fragment. The stopmark is unusual but clear. Personal names *exempli causa*.

<p>ΟΥΓΑ ΜΑΝΙΚΟ ΗC'ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΥΝΑΚ[Ο]/ ΑΠΠΑΜΙCΘΩΗ ΟΥΚΑΙCΑΡΟCΘΕΑΥ ΔΩ'ΗΚΑΤΑΚΕΥΗΝC ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗ ΠΟΗCΕ·ΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΔΙΟC ΤΟ ΟCΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΚΩΜΑΡΧ</p>	<p>ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὔηρου ΜΑΞ Γερμανικοῦ ἢ Καρματικοῦ αἰδίου διαμον]ῆς' καὶ [δήμου Κοτυ- αέων' καὶ] δήμου Νακ[ο]λ[έων' Αὐρ. Ἐρμῆς ? Π]απᾶ μισθωτῆ[ς Βαλ- ηνίου χωρί]ου Καίσαρος τῆ ἑαυ[τοῦ συμβίῳ Ῥό]δω' τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ μνημείου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθη[κεν]. τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν] ποήσεται τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ να- οῦ ? Νέαρχος Ἀλεξάνδρου κωμάρχ[ης].</p>
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Two demoi (one Nak[o]leia) came into relation with the imperial estate at Kumbet, which we know to be Balenia or Ballenaion ; and the contractor for the produce of the estate dedicates the tomb of his wife in the form of a temple (?) of Zeus as a vow and prayer for the prosperity of the Emperor Maximin I., 235-8, and of the two adjacent City States. The charge of this temple (?) is entrusted to the chief of the village. There were usually two village chiefs ; *πρωτοκωμήτης* is another equivalent term ; the *komarchai* were usually not merely chiefs, but also priests representing the village in its relations with the gods and the Empire ; and they were often charged with the superintendence of grave monuments (i.e. their erection in form and style suited to the village and the surroundings and according to the promise of the donor).

Note.—Das, Zas, personal name at Korykos ; redupl. Dazas : element in das-tarkon (land of Tarkun), dasmenda (tzamando ?) daskulion (Na-kolia), dasteira (teira element

in personal names at Korykos). Das (Dasa) is masc. personal name, fem. Ge, Arâra (*ἄρουρα*). *Addenda*, p. 217.

¹ Transpositions are not rare, Kapatiana for Pacatiana, Rege-nagalia for Lagania, etc. ; they are due to popular pronuncia-

tion. Ambanaz is about eight miles north of Kara Hissar (Afion).

IX. HYRGALEIS AND PELTAI.

M. Waddington, in *Mél. d. Num.* i. p. 104, points out that Plin., *Nat. Hist.* v. 113, should be read "Maeander . . . Apamenam primum pervagatur regionem, mox Eumeneticam, ac dein Hyrgaleticos campos, postremo Cariam."¹

49. Kavaklar, pp. 73 f. (Sterrett, 1883). Date *c.* Sept. 1, 138.

<p>Ἀτοκράτορα ☿ Καίσαρα ☿ Ἀδριανὸν ☿ Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν ☿ Εὐσεβῆ Ἀπολ- λ[ο]δότο(ς) Δ[ιο]δώρου ☿ 5 σ]τρατηγῶν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τοῦ πατρός ☿ ἐκ τῶν</p>	10	<p>ιδίῶν ἀνέστησεν ὑπὲρ εὐ- σεβείας ☿ τῆς ἰς τὸν Κύριον καὶ φιλοτειμίας ☿ τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ☿ κόψας καὶ [γο- μ]ίσματ[α] Coins, p. 78.</p>
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In l. 4 the engraver cut *N* and changed it to *L* by adding two strokes ; he also cut *ἰς* in l. 8, *εἰς* in l. 9. The omission of *v* in *αὐτοκράτορα* is unique in such a title, but common in *αὐτός*.

The last three words were added later (doubtless in different style of writing, but St. has no note of this). The inscription was engraved in honour of Pius after Hadrian died on 10 July, 138 ; it was the official recognition of the new Emperor ; and it must have been expressed in the form *αὐτοκρ. καίσα. Τ. Αἴλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ*. The only case in *C.I.L.* iii. where the Emperor was styled Hadrianus Antoninus without T. Aelius is 6885, which depends on my copy ; the basis was thickly covered with hard grey lichen, which had to be cleaned with a knife before a letter could be seen ; I did not clean the capital which must have contained Imp. Caes. T. Aelium ; the inscription continued on the shaft Hadrianum Antoninum, etc.²

Apollodotos carved the proper title as it was in autumn, 138 ; in the official profession of loyalty to the new Emperor the strict official title must be stated ; but the inscription was not completed till afterwards, when Pius assumed the name Hadrianus. The delay was perhaps due to the fact that the matter was left over carelessly for a year ; but a different hypothesis seems more probable. *Τ. Αἴλιον* is omitted ; and it is probable that the original inscription contained those words, and that they were changed to *ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ* later, when the reference to the coinage was added. Apollodotos was strategos in the Asian year, 23 Sept., 137, to 23 Sept., 138. He made the official statue and inscription to Imp. Caes. T. Aelius Antoninus Pius. Then he

¹ Mayhoff in 1906 reads Hyrgaleticos from good MSS., so also Jahn.

² It contained nothing important ; and

cleaning had already taken fully two hours. Dedications to Hadrianus Antoninus simply are rare and exceptional (see *Real.Enc.*).

thought of coinage ; this needed time ; as no coins of the Hyrgaleis had ever been struck, he applied to a neighbouring city for materials and equipment, or perhaps he got them struck at that city. The nearest with abundant coin material were Laodicea, Dionysopolis, Hierapolis, and Eumeneia. The two types which Apollodotos used were Zeus Laodikenos and the rider-god with axe on shoulder ; the former type was used at Laodicea, Dionysopolis, Hierapolis ; the latter at Dionysopolis, Hierapolis, Eumeneia. We may presume that he resorted to Dionysopolis, with which the Hyrgaleis were closely connected by religion and history as well as by race. Accordingly it was not till 139 or later that the coins were struck, and the last three words added. Meantime Pius had assumed the name Hadrianus ; and space was got for this by cutting out *T. Ἀλιον*, and incising the new title. Sterrett copied what he saw ; substitution was novel to him. (*Add.*, p. 211, contains inscriptions, which have been published by distinguished modern scholars without perceiving that Domitian was erased and *Θεὸν Οὐεσπαιανόν* substituted.)

These coins were of Hyrgaleis (Macdonald, *Class. Rev.* 1907, p. 58 ; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 677). It is not admissible to conjecture that the stone was carried across the hills from Tchal to Kavaklar. Its origin is proved by the following inscription which was found on the site of an ancient township 3 M.P. west of Kavaklar (where the hill-road from Tchal reaches the Peltenon Pedion, Eumenetica regio, well represented in Kiepert's map) ; and the two tituli prove that the ancient site was the chief village (*οὐά*), called Hurgala, of the Hyrgaleis. Custom has chosen Hyrgaleis ; but Hurgala would be better ; in Anatolian, as in Latin, *Y* was exotic, and *v* or *ov* indicated English *u*. *LA* was a suffix, like *RA* ; dissimilation demands *LA* in this case. 'Υργαλλέων on one coin is an error. See also pp. 75 f.

Apollodotos was of an old priestly family, such as are described in Section I. ; and he is mentioned in other inscriptions. One of these was found on the site of the chief *οὐά* of the Hyrgaleis 3 miles west of no. 49, and can be restored now.

50. Inscription found by Hamilton, no. 347, restored by Waddington in ll. 1-3 (half), enabled him to place the people called Hyrgaleis. Sterrett's inscription makes further restoration easy. Date 125-35.

HBOY
 AI . O . ΔΗΜΟ
 ΛΕΩΝ . Τ Ν . . .
 THE
 5 ΦΙΛΛ ΙΔΡΙ
two lines
lost
 IOΔ

ἡ βου[λή
 κ]αὶ ὁ δῆμο[s
 'Υργα]λεων τ[ὸ]ν [ἀεὶ
 ἀρε]τῆς [τε καὶ δημο-
 5 φιλ[ίας κα]ὶ [ἀ]ρι[στου-
 [ργιῶν ἔνεκεν ἀξι-
 [ιον τεμῆσαι θέλων,]
 ἐπειδὴ Δ]ιόδ[ωρος ὁ

H A
 10 ΔΟ Ο
 ΙΕΡΕΩΝ
 ΤΑΙΕΡ
 ΗΩΝ

πατ]ή[ρ κ]α[ι Ἀπολλό-
 10 δο[τ]ο[ς υἱὸς ἱερεῖς ἐξ
 ἱερέων [ἐποίησαν
 τὰς ἱερ[ὰς ἐορτὰς ἡ-
 (μ)ῶν (?) [μεγαλοπρεπεῖς

In l. 5 Hamilton has Δ for A once (ἀρι), in l. 9 twice (καὶ and Απολ); this shows that on the worn surface Δ and A were liable to be confused by him. In 13 he has H for M (?). In 5 IΔ stands in the copy for IA; in 5 ΙΙΑ for ΙΑ . Α.

The meaning intended is: "Senate and People, [seeking always to honour] men that have done great deeds of virtue and friendliness-to-the-commons [— lost —], inasmuch as Diodorus the father and Apollodotus the son, sprung from a family of priests, have made our (ἡμῶν) holy [festivals ?] splendid, resolved that [—]."

While the names [D]iod[oros] and Δ[pollo]dotos are clear (as in the following inscription), and [ἱερεῖς ἐξ] ἱερέων is equally certain, also τὰς ἱερ[ὰς] (or ἱερ[ομηνίας]), yet the same meaning could be got from a different restoration, 3 f. τὸν [ἐπὶ] ἀ[ρε]τῆς κτλ. | ἀεὶ ἐπαινούμενον | τιμᾶν βουλόμενος.

Apollodotus and his father Diodoros are well-known personages, as now appears. That Apollodotus was a priest and of priestly family might readily be inferred from what is related about him in the sequel. That leading families in those Anatolian cities were usually priests is a phenomenon of great importance in the history of the country, and much will be said on this point in many places. They evidently used their position and hereditary wealth liberally, and were rewarded by the popularity which they acquired. They very frequently held magistracies in their City State.¹

This stone was found in 1837 by Hamilton going from Tchal² to Eumeneia-Ishekli "in a small graveyard." My wife and I went in 1888 to this graveyard in a deserted spot, travelling by the same important road from Tchal to Ishekli. We crossed "the summit of the ridge," enjoyed the beautiful view which he describes, "descended from those hills" into the great Maeander plain; as we entered the plain we found the small burialground, but found nothing inscribed. In the interval of 50 years the inscribed stone had disappeared. There must have been a town near; the cemetery is unmistakably Turkish.

The locality is well described in *M.A.M.* iv. no. 327, "site of an ancient township 3 miles west of Kavaklar on the road from Süller³ to

¹ Examples: *Ath. Mitt.* 1883, p. 71, the family is not stated to be priestly; but the fact that they are descended from the god of the country ὄντες ἀπόγονοι Μάνου Οὐραμμόου is conclusive proof; *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 148.

² Tchal is the general name given in modern time to the Kaza of Demirdji Keui

(containing Dionysopolis and Mossyna).

³ Süller of *M.A.M.* iv. is Seurler as I caught the name in 1883 and later; Sevliler in Kiepert. The difference is like Bekirli in Tchal Ova, which is Bekilli in *M.A.M.* iv. Sevli-ler is the high-class form as in Salname, the loving (hospitable) ones.

Tchivril. The site lies around and behind a hillock in a vale running into the hills which bound the Maeander valley on W." ; and is there called Peltae with interrogation. We differ, p. 79.

An hour further on the road to Ishekli Sterrett copied inscription 49 at Kavaklar, a statue of Antoninus Pius dedicated by Apollodotos, son of Diodoros, strategos of the *πατρίς*, who also struck coins. The date is as above. It was a custom in the Anatolian cities to make some dedication to an Emperor on his accession: statue, inscription, or coinage. Here all three were united. Coins of an Emperor may frequently be dated by this custom, As Mr. Head often mentioned, "a large proportion of Phrygian coins were struck on some festival or other special occasion." Coins were also struck or inscriptions dedicated, when an emperor visited or passed near a city; such was the case with Gordian III. at Nakoleia, who is represented on a coin waving a salute as he passed some miles away on his march to the East.

Buckler speaks of the road to Tchivril: roads now go to the railway station; the road is the same as the road to Ishekli till it descends to the old graveyard, where it turns left. His party did not visit Kavaklar, which is not in their map. Ishekli has not increased since the railway came in 1884 to the valley; Tchivril, the terminus, has grown from a tiny village in 1883.

Another mention of this Apollodotos adds much local history.

51. Sazak on a square marble altar (R. and St. in part 1883; 1888 complete; *M.A.M.* iv. 265 with photograph; *C.B.* i. 33). Texts agree. Date c. 130. Stone carried.

*Διὶ Μοσσυνεὶ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Γ. Νώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
υἱὸς Ἀνηγησία Διόφαντος ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς τὸ
ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν σὺν τῇ ὑποσκευῇ πάσῃ ἀνέσ-
τησεν δούς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων * vac. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οἱ ἐπαν-
γυιλάμενοι καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται Ἀπολλώνιος β'
τοῦ Φιλοξένου ἀν(γυιλάμενος) δῖς * ἰ' Ἀπολλόδοτος Διοδώρου ἀγορα-
νόμος * κε' Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπελλίδου σὺν Ἀπελλίδῃ καὶ Ἀπολ-
λωνίῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς * λ' Δαμᾶς Παμφίλου * λ' Ἀντίοχος Γλύκωνος
* ἰ' καὶ οἰνοπόσιον Τι. Κλ. Ἑρμογένης * ἰ' Ἐστιαῖος Ζωσίμου
10 * ἰ' Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀπολλωνίου * ἰ' Ἀπολλωνίδης β' Ἀλεξιδίων
* ἰ' Τ. Φλ. Ἀγαθήμερος * ἰ' Ἀπολλόδοτος Ζωσίμου Γάλβας * ἰ'
Ἀπολλόδοτος Σελεύκου * ἰ' Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίδου * ἰ'
Ἀγαθόπους Μενεδήμου * ἰ' Ζώσιμος Μενεσθέως * ἰ'.*

Many names in the list belong to a priestly family descended from Zeus Apollo.

The total subscription was 205 denarii; the priest promised to pay the deficit, but there was no deficit; he gave the ground, which belonged to the god, and the feast of the dedication (except the wine, contributed by Antiochos). Considering the value of money then,

there was plenty at Dionysopolis ; the statue and altar and substructure formed a stately monument.

The stone was partly hidden under the floor of a mosque ; in 1888 my wife and I paid to extract the stone. The origin is unknown ; but doubtless it belonged to Dionysopolis (of which Mossuna was a demos) ; *M.A.M.* classifies it rightly. The stone was put back upside down after we departed (see *M.A.M.* l.c.). In l. 6 the reading is *ANAIC* or *ANAIC*, perhaps a *signum* of Apollonios Apollonii Philoxeni, or perhaps as above.

Apollodotos Diodori is here named in the ordinary fashion by his father. In the three tituli the form changes : Diodoros pater et Apollodotos filius in no. 50, Apollodotos cum patre Diodoro in 49. The change fixes the order of time ; no. 50 is earliest, then 49 ; 51 is latest, Diodoros has died and Apollodotos is head of the family and agoranomos of the common market and festival of Dionysopolis and Hurgala, an important position. See p. 6.

From no. 53 in the longer restoration we may gather that he was called at Dionysopolis Apollodotos Asklepiades ;¹ also that he was made a civis in 138-139 with the name T. Aelius Apollodotos (omitting the Roman cognomen) ; but all this is practically certain from other evidence.

There was a common festival of Dionysopolis and Hyrgaleis, conterminous states (see *Jahresh.* Bb. 1932, pp. 250 f., also our nos. 52 and 53A), and there is a probability that the festival was decennial,² in 141 [151, 161, 171], 181 (Okoklia as alternative of Hyrgaleis, see Sect. XI.), [191, 201], 211,³ 221, [231], 241 (Okoklia). We restore some intermediate years not certainly attested.

The celebration in 221 was the most splendid and coins of both Hyrgaleis and Dionysopolis are numerous ; perhaps the cities had unusual wealth or a great harvest ; in lean years the festival was omitted or undistinguished. The part played by Dionysopolis is not always clearly marked on its coins ; nos. 24 to 27 in B.M. are of A.D. 221-222, 21 and 22 of 211, 19 of 141 or 151, 6 of 201, 10 (with 12-17 of Hierapolis),⁴ of some celebration about 141-201 (perhaps 161). Head often said that most Phrygian coins are " festival coins."

We regard the festival as the survival in modified form of the original cult feast of the population of Leto and Lairbenos (the

¹ Descendant of Asklepios, under whose auspices the Pergamenian kings Eumenes II. and Attalos II. founded Dionysopolis. Priestly families claimed descent from the god. Cf. 53A, p. 83.

² Mr. Head was in search of such a decennial festival in *Cat. Phr.* p. lxxii ; he makes it of Dionysopolis and Laodicea, but Laodicea would not unite with a small

place like D.

³ Coins, *Br. Mus. Cat.* Hyrg. 1, 2, 9, perhaps 8 (or 8 may mark 201). Sir G. Hill many years ago noted the alternation of Okoklian and Hyrgalean coins, but is not responsible for the hypothesis here stated.

⁴ Hierapolis may have taken part, as placing Lairbenos and *AHTΩEIA · ΠΥΘΙΑ* on its coins of this period (autonomous).

“Workers,” Hurgaleis) at their hieron in the Maeander gorge south of Motella. After Dionysopolis was founded, the festival continued at Kai Bazaar near Bekirli as late as c. 1820. It was shared with Hurgaleis in their narrower form, with whom Okoklia alternated. Other cities probably participated, if they had in earlier time recognized Leto-Lairbenos as their lords, e.g. Hierapolis.¹ The ancient religious unity survived in some form throughout the Roman period and was perpetuated in the organization of the Christian Church soon after 400, when Hierapolis became metropolis of a group of Bishoprics comprising Mossyna, Motella, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, etc.

The term *ἀγορανόμος* proves that a market, which was held along with every great religious festival from the earliest times of Aegean history and played an important part in the development of civilization (as E. Curtius best described), was under municipal regulation in imperial time. *Addenda*, p. 217.

Wilhelm (*Beiträge*, p. 196) has described this arrangement in respect of a Pamphylian inscription, see *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 260.²

The freedom from duty which was allowed there on merchandise for 10 days was perhaps allowed also in the Maeander valley, as imperial policy encouraged those interprovincial markets. Such markets elsewhere survived till A.D. 1850 and even later (*C.B.* i. pp. 128, 168, 254; *Ath. Mitt.* 1885, p. 341, and A. H. Smith in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 227).

Apollodotos Galbas was born in 69, and was now about 70; T. Flavius Agathemeros was probably procurator of the imperial estates and freedman of Domitian; Ti. Claudius Hermogenes was son of a libertus of Nero. The civitas of the hereditary priest has not been explained, C. Nonius Apollonii filius Ani. Diophantos; he possibly took his name from M. Nonius Mucianus cos. suff. Oct. 138, legatus Asiae some years earlier.³

This inscription, found at Sazak, must imply that Apollodotos was able to serve as agoranomos at Dionysopolis: he must have been citizen of Hurgaleis and of Dionysopolis; Mossyna was a village of Dionysopolis then, but became later a bishopric.

This situation which we assign to the Hurgaleis is confirmed by the following epitaph.

51A. Kizildje Suyut, Red Willow, N.E. from Kavaklar, S.E. from Tchivril, on west side of Glaukos (Paris, *B.C.H.* 1884, p. 248; R. 1888). *ΑΕΟΣ*.

¹ Mossyna, Motella, had no coinage, being merged for a time in Dionysopolis; on Lounda, see Section XI.

² The tall thin letters and the lozenge-shaped omikron point to a date c. 220-240. The letters were very faint; the stone has

not been seen by explorers though many have been there, the stone was certainly carried.

³ Some Nonii were of Fabia, some of Velina, none are known of Aniensis.

Παπίας Ἀττάλου
 Ὀργαλεὺς Τάτα τ[ῆ]
 ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ Ἀμμ[ί]-
 ας θυγατρὶ ἐποίη-

5 σεν μ(ν)είας [χά]ριν.
 χαίρετε παρ-
 οδεῖται

Ὀργαλεὺς is Ὑργαλεὺς; spelling due to pronunciation of *υρ* like *ορ*. M. Paris suggests that Papias belonged to a *petite ville riveraine* beside Orgas, one of the river sources of Maeander, now Norgas Tchai at Apamea Kelainai.

The word Hyrgaleis is probably akin to ἐργάζομαι and Eng. 'work'; the Hurgaleis were the workers, the peasant servants of the gods, Apollo Lairbenos and Meter Leto. Dionysopolis, between Hurgala and the Hieron, was made a πόλις by Eumenes II and Attalos II (having been originally a village Konion, a name which lingered as late as Hierocles, see *Jahreshefte*, 1932, Bb. 253).

When a man made a tomb ἐνδοθὶ πατρὸς, as Papias does here, it was not usual to name the πατρίς,¹ except in the case of athletes, who were almost international personages, but their fame belongs to their πατρίς; excepting also some special reason, which is often recognizable. In this case the doubtful status of Tata, daughter of Ammia patre ignoto, was the reason. An Anatolian epitaph was a valid document (guaranteed by the sanctity of the tomb), here equivalent to a certificate of marriage.

Papias declares here that Tata is his wife; her children, in case of question about inheritance of sacra and property, could appeal to this public attestation.

In *C.B.* 266 the suggestion was made that Papias was a settler at a Eumeneian village. That is impossible; the formula indicating a settler is not used, Ὀργαλεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Εὐμενεΐα or Ὀργ. καὶ Εὐμενεύς. There is no reason to think that the territory of Eumeneia extended west of the Glaukos; in *M.A.M.* iv. pp. 126-32, it is extended over Garib Hassan, Sirikli and Dumanlu,² which are outside of the regio Eumenetica and can only belong, as I think, to Pepouza, which *M.A.M.* places between Dionysopolis and Hyrgala, certainly wrongly, as L. Robert points out (*Villes d'Asie Min.* pp. 134 f.).

There was doubtless a village (οὐά) Hurgala at the site described west of Kavaklar. *M.A.M.* iv. 327, p. 121, suggests Peltai? We prefer a different situation for that city.

It is doubtful what was the status of Tata in the Anatolian social system in default of acknowledgment by a father. Society knew no

¹ Sterrett carried that principle too far in *W.E.* p. 283: no. 420 "mentions a man as citizen of Timbrias and of Adada; that would seem to prove that neither of these towns was located here." The site is certainly Adada; the man was an athlete.

² I was informed in 1883 that the right name was Duman, a cloud, as was suggested, pointing across to it high at the crest of a slope. Garib (Stranger) Hassan, pronounced Garbasan, cp. Kolb (dog) Hassan, pronounced Kilbasan. Duman is the Montanist Tumion.

law, only custom, which rested on the decision of the priesthood of the ruling hieron. That requires a special investigation; public declaration under direction of the god through his priests determined.

Two varieties of the coins in no. 49 are mentioned by Mr. Head; one ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοῦ στρα,¹ the other ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδότου ἄρχ. The equivalence of ἄρχων and στρατηγός in the epigraphy and coinage of Anatolia is demonstrated in *C.B.* ii. p. 600. The type on the former coin is the Rider-god with battle-axe on shoulder, on the latter Zeus Laodikenos standing; both were struck under Pius, and probably at the same time.

The Hyrgaleis were at first not a unified people, but they were made a πόλις and struck coins. An inscription (*J.H.S.* 1883; below, p. 80) describes the State as τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Ἵργαλέων πεδίου; we may speak of it as Hyrgala, with a frequent ending *la*. The spelling with double lambda occurs once on coins. These two tituli constitute a conclusive proof that the villages of the Hyrgalean plain had their centre about this point, stretching along the hillside and adjoining plain towards the Glaukos and on south to Maeander.

The Hurgaleis were only a koinon under Claudius; but at some later time they were admitted to the rights of πόλις, and began to strike coins; the two events probably occurred together, and the date is proved to be about 138–141 by these two inscriptions. The transition from the lower to the higher rank, common under the Antonines, but occurring from Augustus onwards, was an aim of the imperial policy; the intention was to make the empire a construction of which the units were municipia, civitates, πόλεις, administering their internal affairs, while inter-municipal and imperial matters were managed by the Emperor and his legati or by proconsules.

Hyrgala² was really the principal village of a group of villages, whose δμόνοια is celebrated on a coin of Julia Domna.

The inscriptions at Tchivril and the villages near are in most cases carried, and do not prove that a city was situated there in old time. Since Tchivril was selected in 1883 as the terminus of a branch of the railway, it has grown at the expense of Ishekli and its group. Little has been found there, and any inscriptions that have not been carried since 1883 must be classed to the κοινὸν τοῦ Ἵργαλέων πεδίου, a union of κῶμαι; two right hands clasped symbolized on coins the unity of the villages.

We have now to find the site of Peltai. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, mentions it on the march of Cyrus, 2 days' journey, 10 parasangs, from Celaenae-Apamea, and 3 days, 12 parasangs from Keramôn Agora, the extreme city towards Mysia.³ Peltai at the beginning of Century IV. B.C. was a πόλις, synoikismos of (two) villages.

¹ Mr. Head (p. lxxii) treats Ω as an error for O as published *Zft. f. Num.* xvii. 22.

² Upsilon was a sound and symbol strange to Anatolian ears; sometimes they repre-

sent by Greek υ the sound u or ou in Anatolian names, sometimes by ου; Latin Burrus for Pyrrhus is similar.

³ Temenothyrai Flaviopolis, now Ushak.

Hierocles in place of Peltai names *Μόλτη*.¹ That this is a corruption of *Πέλται* is improbable, even impossible: it is a popular name (like Konioupolis, Sitoupolis, long taken for corrupt). *ΜΟΛΓΗ* is the local name, preserved in the modern name of the site, Mouglicht, in which *tch* is an ending tacked on to give Turkish appearance to an old form Mulge (or Mugla). Stephanus mentions *Μόκκλη · κώμη Φρυγίας*, which may safely be taken as another form, very much closer to Hierocles's *μόλγη*. These various forms, *Μόκκλη*, *Μόλγη*, Mulga, Mugla, Mugli(tch), are forms of a native name, distinct from Peltai, whether of different language or a village close to Peltai but not coinciding with it. The modern villages Mouglicht and Kara-ishlar,² contain relics of Peltai. The Notitiae mention only Peltai, never Molga Mokkla.

The addition of *k* or *tch* at the end of an ancient name is extremely common. Yallowatch, Geumenek (Komana Pontica), Seuerek (Sebila, Psebila, Pegella), and many others. Mouglicht is like Mahalitch, the great peak of Kara Dag, 50 M.P. from Konia, S.S.E.: the mount of the Great (Mother). Pegella is an error for P(s)ebella.

Peltai was a *katoikia* of warriors (perhaps from Mysia, or even from Europe), who used a shield called Pelta.³ These *katoikoi* had entered the Maeander valley and given name to the joint city before 394; evidently they had been long settled there and constituted a polis.

Sterrett and I went carefully over the great valley (Eumenetica regio, *Πελληνὸν πεδίων*). The villages where inscriptions were found are three groups: (a) Ishekli, Aidan and Dedekui (which are not far from each other) and several other villages; these form a pair, and they are the two ancient cities Eumeneia and Attanassos; (b) Mouglicht and Karayashilar, a clearly marked group; (c) Kavaklar and a cemetery of a village, the central *οἶα* of the Hyrgaleis.⁴

In the time of Xenophon Peltai and Molga were, assuredly, two parts of one *πόλις οἰκουμένη*, organized City-State (not *μεγάλη*, as Celaenae is called by Xenophon); the older native population and the new settlers dwelt perhaps in two quarters of the same city (or in two *κῶμαι* close to each other). The name Peltai was applied to both parts, and the name is plural, like *Ἀθῆναι*, city in two parts. The oldest name has survived, that of the later settlers has disappeared, a common fact in Asia Minor.

¹ Difficulty about this name has long been felt. Wesseling suggests *Μολπη*, which replaces one difficulty by another.

² I found it difficult to catch the name; it sounded like Karayashilar (not Karagatchlar); I take the form above from the Ottoman Railway Survey.

³ Pelta (neut. plur.) was the flat surface of a rectangular heroon, generally about 4 or 5 ft. high, on which stelai or sarco-

phagi were placed; this heroon resembled a flat shield, hence the name. *βωμός* in the Hierapolitan epitaphs seems to be used in the same sense, see the illustrations in Humann's *Alt. v. Hierap.* pp. 22 f.

⁴ I sent to a friend a map showing the results obtained by Sterrett and myself, before he started on his expedition to Ishekli and Tchali, with the three groups marked.

X. DIONYSOPOLIS.

Conclusive evidence about the site of Dionysopolis is in the inscription of four associated States which united in a compliment to Plautius Venustus. An antigraphon of this honorary inscription was placed in due course at each of the four States, Hierapolis, Dionysopolis, Blaundos, and the Koinon of the plain of the Hyrgaleis.

52. Bekirli Dionysopolis (R. with Sterrett, 1883; Buckler with Calder and Guthrie, *M.A.M.* iv. 315):—

<p>ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεραπολειτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διονυσοπολειτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Βλαυνδέων</p>	<p>καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Ὑργαλέων πεδίου ἐτείμησαν Κόιντον Πλαύτιον Οὐενοῦστον</p>
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In 1883 I was told that Demirdji Keui was a modern town founded after a fire had destroyed the former government centre of Tchal Ova, which was down in the valley on the right side of the river; Demirdji Keui was the capital of Tchal in Hamilton's time and in Arundel's time. There seemed good reason to accept the story. The above inscription was doubtless erected in one of the places mentioned; as the other three are fixed elsewhere, it remains that the site is that of Dionysopolis. We found the titulus at Bekirli in a mosque wall, hid by stones and mortar; but Buckler et comites¹ cleaned it and read it complete. The titulus was brought from Kilisse, a mile south, on the slope of a hill called Kale; the names suggest that this was the earlier governing centre of Tchal, successor to Dionysopolis, which probably was never a fortress-city, but a synoikismos of several villages in a πόλις. The Maeander flows nearly due north through the middle of the oval Dionysopolitan plain. A fair annually was held beside Bekirli, as we were told, as late as c. 1820, see p. 76.

53. Two or three miles north by east of Bekirli, where the hills begin to rise from the plain near Ütch-Kuyu,² we found another inscription; this short restoration not satisfactory, *v.* p. 83:—

Πηγεῖν]ος ζ *Ἀσκληπιάδου* Δ[ι-
ονυσοπολ]είτης ζ *καὶ Τάτα* [ἡ
γυνὴ αὐ]τοῦ ζ *Πηγεῖνω* ἰδίω τ[έκ-
*νω] μνήμης χάρις*³

¹ Their text confirms my restoration except in the word *Οὐενοῦστον*. He was a freedman of Plautia Urgulanilla, wife of Emperor Claudius. I copied *OYENCI*≡.

² Ütch Kuyu-lar with plural element was used in common speech; I supposed that it was an archaism.

³ Δ clear in l. 2, not Δ.

Δ for Λ in l. 2 is engraver's error. νημη in l. 4 is a ligature, made by spirals between Ν and Μ. Such curved ornaments are often found in inscriptions about 140 to 190.

The consensus of these two inscriptions places Dionysopolis beyond question near Bekirli, the capital of the district until about 1800. The editors of *M.A.M.* iv. place Pepouza here for no satisfactory reason. Pepouza was not one of the Pentademitai; and to put it between the conterminous Hyrgaleis and Dionysopolis is impossible. (Robert, *Villes*, pp. 134 f.).

Pentademitai are mentioned only by Ptolemy after Mysia Major, before Lydia-Maeonia. His words apply to a large district stretching from Mysian Olympus to the Maeander, and especially to the great plain called Banaz Ova (Byzantine Panasion). The demoi of this huge district are Olympeni north, evidently between Olympos and Murad Dagh, Grimenothyritai west (defined by their city Trajanopolis), Pentademitai south, Mysomakedones in the middle. No demoi on the east are mentioned; but the cities Bria, Sebaste, Akmonia (all mentioned by Ptolemy) held that side. Ptolemy does not name any of the "five demoi" separately; they were Dionysopolis (Konion), Hurgaleis, Motella, Mossuna, and Lounda; they will be described in a later Section. Dionysopolis instituted a loyal era in 152 (p. 82); but several Confessions after A.D. 152 are dated by the usual Sullan era; e.g. *C.B.* 37 in 208-209; *C.B.* 38 in 231-232; *M.A.M.* iv. 275A in 175; 275B in 177-178; 275Π in 225-226; 277B in 204-205; 278I in 239-240; 278II in 226-227; general and hieratic dating continued according to the old fashion; there can hardly be any doubt that the priests controlled the system and the expression of these Confessions. Moreover, several epitaphs, also later than A.D. 152, are dated by the Sullan era, e.g. *C.B.* 60 in 237-238, and our no. 54 (*M.A.M.A.* iv. 319), published without transcription of the date expressed in Greek and Latin: I restore σ in l. 1, as the titulus is probably of the second century; ρ, which would imply A.D. 90, is not probable; nor τ, implying A.D. 290.

54. Dionysopolis (Buckler, Calder, Guthrie, *M.A.M.A.* iv. 319).

<p>ἔτους σ]οδ', [μην- ὁς Δαι]σίου πένπητη, πρ]ὸ ε' Καλ. Μ<ι>α[as</p>	<p>έκ]καιδεκετῆ Τάταν ἐν τῶδ ε τύνβω θῆκα γονεὺς ὁ λυγρὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ βαρυ πενθής πέντε δὲ μῆνας ἀνδρὶ συνοικῆσασαν νέαν νέω ἔφθασε μοῖρα</p>
<p>4 [μνείας] χάριν</p>	<p>τοὺς τε [συν]αίμους ἐπὶ ὄν θάνατον [λύ]πησεν</p>

Date, A.D. 190. *μνείας χάριν* is sometimes placed before the epitaph proper, or at the side as here, or below.

The copyist or the lapicida has C for Ε in l. 3; and Zingerle quotes many examples of false I in *Jahresh.* xxx. Bb. 144 f. *Addenda.*

Daisios began 23 April. Daisios, fifth (day), was the fifth before the Kalends of May. The writer apparently tried to write hexameters; though it is not easy to separate his verses as he intended. ἐν τῶδε is a dactyl, as ω had by this time become indistinguishable from ο; σαῶν νῶν νῶ is also a dactyl, νν gives position length in one place and not in the other. ἔφθασε μοῖρα, a half verse, may indicate knowledge of the half verses in the *Aeneid*, or may be part of the last verse.

The era used in the coin of Dionysopolis, beginning from the restoration of the city by Pius in 152,¹ was an ingenious flattery to the Emperor, used only by the State, and not by private persons; it served to introduce Rome into the picture portrayed in the coin type: on obv. the Emperor; on rev. the era of imperial re-creation of Dionysopolis along with the god of the land, the god of the city, and the god of its first creators, the Pergamenian kings. This coin, described in *Cat. B.M.*, no. 24, p. 186, shows Zeus Laodiceus, Dionysos and Asklepios, and pictures the 400th anniversary of the foundation of Dionysopolis, and the 70th of its second foundation by Antoninus Pius.

Dionysopolis and the Hyrgaleis both place a river god *MAIANAIPOC* on their coins. In the former case the reason is obvious; the Maeander runs direct north through the oval Dionysopolitan plain; but that river does not touch the plain of the Hyrgaleis, except below its junction with the Glaukos. Pliny agrees, saying that the Maeander traversed the Eumeneian region and then the Hyrgaletici campi. It is therefore evident that Hyrgaletic territory stretched far down S.W. towards Lounda; while the territory of Lounda was Baklan Ova; Dionysopolis and Lounda both adjoined the Hyrgaleis and each other. Okoklia has no river type.

Proof is published in *Jahresh. Oesterr. Instit.* 1932, Bb. 245 ff., that the Hyrgaleis adjoined Dionysopolis, and that the two States united in a common festival, A.D. 222; the festival coins are dated at Dionysopolis anno 70 (the era being reckoned from the relief given by Pius to that town after it was destroyed A.D. 151 by an earthquake, proconsule Albo), and among the Hyrgaleis, anno 306 (era of Sulla, 85-84 B.C.).² The common frontier was the range of hills that bounds the regio Eumenetica on the west (running parallel to the river), and divides it from the rich plain of Dionysopolis. The existence of the city Lounda is proved only towards A.D. 200. At some time it had been given city rank by an Emperor, perhaps Pius when his attention was directed to the district in 152.

In *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 387, I erred about Dionysopolis and Hyrgaleis, assuming that the latter, being so closely connected with Dionysopolis, must be placed west of the hills which separate the two plains Eumeneian and Dionysopolitan; hence I proposed to divide the fertile little plain

¹ The year A.D. 152-3 was year 1 of the era (Asian year began on Sept. 23).

² The time was 151, before Sept. 23 (New Year).

of Dionysopolis, assigning the east side to the Hyrgaleis, and the west to Dionysopolis. That division contradicts epigraphic evidence, and is open to other obvious objections. Inscriptions place the Hyrgaleis east of the hills; and others place Dionysopolis on the east bank of the river. The entire plain on both sides of the Maeander where it flows north was the territory of Dionysopolis; and its extraordinary fertility was the reason that Attalos and Eumenes placed a city there about 178 B.C.

The restoration of no. 53 is not quite satisfactory: (1) patria is mentioned without apparent reason; (2) masons in Turkey¹ did not usually break a stone in this way. A longer and bolder restoration may be mentioned,

53A. *T. Αἴλιος Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀσκληπιάδου Δ[ιοδώρου Ὀργαλεὺς καὶ Διονυσο]πο(λ)είτης καὶ Τατα [Πη- γείνου ἢ σύμβιος αὐ]τοῦ Πηγείνω ἰδίω τρέκ- νω τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ] μνήμης χάριν*

The son is named after the mother's family. It was a frequent custom (perhaps introduced under Roman influence) to name the second son after the mother. Sometimes he inherited the mother's estate by some special arrangement.

This restoration, though longer, divides the inscription between two parts nearly equal; and many examples occur of such cutting by modern masons to get two stones for a wall; and the advantage of making Apollodotos a citizen of two conterminous cities is great. He was actually Dionysopolitan (no. 51) and Hurgalean (nos. 49, 50); he was entering public life in 138 in a position both priestly and municipal, responsible for peace and fair dealing at the god's festival and market (see section Prymnessos).

He, a leading man of a great priestly family, actively aiding the imperial policy, appears in many inscriptions, while the Commons that were led by him are not recorded (see p. 6). Such a man was wanted for civitas, as young, energetic, and wealthy; his father was not civis; yet priestly families had generally got civitas by this time. The reason for the lateness in conferring civitas is indicated in the inscriptions. Diodoros was of the old native style, divine in origin, called in Dionysopolis "Asklepiad," descended from Asklepios,² whereas Apollodotos was progressive, philo-roman, philo-demos.

The date (civitas in 138-139) agrees with all other evidence. The origin of the Latin name Reginus is obscure (see later section).

¹ Good Turkish houses were all built by Greeks until the war.

² Names derived from Asklepios are found among the Pentademitai only at Dionysopolis.

XI. LOUNDA-OKOKLIA

Lounda is known from Hierocles and Byzantine Notitiae Episc., c. 740, including Not. De Boor (if *ΑΡΔΙΔΩΝ* is a corruption of *ΛΟΥΝΔΩΝ* as seems certain). It is not mentioned in the early Notitiae nor in Basilii Not. (c. 720). These facts show that it was either destroyed by the early Arabs,¹ and restored as a bishopric after 720 and before 740, or disjoined from the rest of the province Pacatiana for some unknown reason, placed in a separate group, and afterwards reunited with the rest of the province. The former alternative is more probable. The remains of Lounda are scattered widely through Seid, Mahmud Gazi, Hadjilar Mahalesi, Issa Bey, etc., but our very cursory examination produced few inscriptions.

The Notitiae place Lounda next to Attanassos; Hierocles places it in the middle Maeander valley after Dionysopolis and Hyrgaleis (Konioupolis, Sitoupolis) and the other Pentademitai; his order is Krasos, Lounda, Mol[g]e,² Eumeneia, Siblia. Krasos is either a secondary name for Attanassos, or a corruption.

The correct form of the name is *Λούνδα*, *Λούνδων*; *Εὐστάθιος Λούνδης* occurs at the Council of 879 with variety *Λιβάδων*³; Bishop Nikephoros represented Lounda at Concil. Nicen. II. in 787. It had in Cent. II. (perhaps in I.) a college of Neoi for higher education in Mousike and Gymnastike; and it commanded the whole Baklan Ova, a district evidently fertile, but little cultivated in 1883, when the villages seemed rather Turkmen (*Τουρκόμανοι*, Anna ii. p. 284; *Νομάδες*, Cinn. p. 295), than Turk. Despite its advantageous situation, no coins of Lounda have ever been found.

Seid is 2 hrs. S. of Demirdji Keui Tchal, on the road to the upper Lycus valley through Baklan Ova. The village overlies the very sharp bend of the Maeander, where the river turns suddenly direct north after flowing S.W. through the regio Eumenetica (Pliny, *N.H.* v. 113; *Πελληνόν πεδίων* of Strabo). Seid is high above the river on the left bank, but the natives pointed to Eski Seid low down on the right bank, about a mile higher up stream from the sharp bend, as the place whence this and all other *antika* came. I did not visit Eski Seid, as the natives said that the river in a narrowed bed was not fordable there, though it can be crossed with some difficulty lower down.⁴ The site has never been examined by any explorer.

¹ It was more exposed to the early raids by way of Apamea-Celaenae than neighbouring cities, Dionysopolis, Peltai.

² Molge Molga is part of the double city Peltai, Section IX.

³ β takes the place of ου; the text of the Acta of 879 is not in a good state.

⁴ Buckler crossed it 10 miles lower down to north; and my wife and I crossed it about 18 miles lower down; but the water was very deep, and we were told that people have often been swept away.

55. Issa Bey (Sterrett, 1883 ; *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 395), on Byzantine capital carved out of an inscribed basis.

[<i>Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα</i>]	4	<i>Ἄρα</i>]βικὸν Ἄδιαβητικὸν
<i>Λούκιον Σ</i>]επτίμιου[<i>ν Σε-</i>		<i>ἢ β</i>]ουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ[<i>μος</i>
<i>β</i> ? <i>ἦρ</i>]ον <i>Περτίνακα Σ</i> [<i>ε-</i>		<i>ὁ Α</i>]ρουνδέων
<i>βασ</i>]τὸν <i>Αὐγουστ</i> [<i>ον Π. Π</i> ?		

Date after 195 (*Ἄδιαβητικὸν*) and before the end of 198 (*Παρθικόν*). The use of both *Σεβαστὸν Αὐγουστον* shows ignorance ; *C.B.* i. p. 245 avoids it by omitting *Σ* at end of l. 2, and reading *Περτ. [ἀνίκη]τον* ; but St. has *Σ* clear in l. 2, and this must not be ignored ; *ΠΠ* (or *ΠΜ*) is a guess to fill a gap.

56. Seid (Hogarth, 1887 ; *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 398). Lettering *ΑΕΟΩΕΘ*. Date, Cent. I. or II. In ll. 6, 7, *κηδεύθη* with augment omitted ? or *κηδευθή(σεται)* ? There is no indication of a lost line, and the arrangement of l. 7 suggests that it was the last line.

οἱ νέοι
Διονύσιον
τὸν γραμμα-
τοφύλακα
5 *ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς*
ἕτερος κη-
δεύθη

There was a college of Neoi at Lounda, a mark of Hellenization.

57. Seid (Sterrett, 1883). Date, Cent. I. (or II). •

C . APLAsius. c. f.
ANI · ΓΑOC · ΑΠλάσιος γ.
ΥΙΟΣ · Ανήσις

C. Aplasius c. f. was evidently a Roman trader settled at Lounda. The spelling *Γᾶος* for *Γάιος* is unusual.

58. Mahmud Gazi (Sterrett, 1883). Date, Cent. II.?

ΑΡΙΠΑΛΟΣ · ἰκε- ?
ΕΙΟΥ · ΠΑΠΑΕ · οὐ ?
ΑΡΙΑ · ΤΗ · ΕΑΥΤου ·
4 *ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ · ΜΝΗμη*
Ε · ΕΝΕΚON

O for *E* in l. 5 is a scribal error ? Harpalos is a Macedonian name ; but the local name Harmala in this neighbourhood (*C.B.* i. p. 186) suggests that it may here be a local Phrygian name. The name of the woman is uncertain, *Ἰκαρία, μαρία, οὐαρία*. *Ἰκέσιος*, if rightly restored, is epithet of Zeus ; the dedicator was probably of sacerdotal family.

59. Tchitak (R. 1883).

Γάιος καὶ Κό-
ιντος οἱ ἀδε-
λφοὶ Στρατ[ο
νεΐκη τῆ [μ-
ητρί.

Two brothers with Roman praenomina were probably sons of a Roman soldier. Perhaps this inscription should be classed among Hyrgalean inscriptions.

60. Beylerly (Sterrett, 1883), very rude.

ΜΟΙΣΠΟΙΗCΕΝΓΥΙΩΝ . . . ΩΝΠΙΡΟΕΟΔΩΝ
οἱ κληρονό]μοι ἐποίησ[α]ν ἐκ τῶν [ιδί]ων προσόδων

The copy has ἐποίησεν (error of lapicida ?).

In *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 397, it was suggested that Lounda was also named Okoklia, and under that name struck coins like all the towns around—Peltai, Eumeneia, Sanaos,¹ Kolossai, Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleis, Bria, Seiblia. A coin, bought in fair condition, but a good deal used, at Eumeneia, led to this search for the coins of Lounda (Br. Mus. Cat., no. 1)²; it “probably belongs to some city connected by trade with Eumeneia”; but all the cities round have their own coinage except Lounda.

We can now resume that suggestion, and reinforce it. I was tempted for a time away from it by Imhoof’s observation in *Kl. Münzen*, p. 280, that the obverse of one coin of Okoklia is from the same die as a coin of Lysias, and that this proves that they were “Nachbarstädte”; after we found Lysias in Oinan Ova,³ the only site that seemed to fulfil the conditions was in the Metropolitanus Campus, at the site called Euphorbium in Peut. Table and Ptolemy. Euphorbium is an enigma. Tab. Peut. places it beside Metropolis in the Campus; Pliny, v. 106, *Geogr. Rav.* ii. 18 vaguely, and Ptolemy all agree. No other mention of Euphorbium is known. The site was perhaps at Nemrud Euren about three miles west of Metropolis, in the middle of the valley on the direct trade route⁴; Metropolis was at Tatarli, in a corner

¹ Sanaos struck coins in Cent. II. B.C., and was merged in the large territory of Apamea (Head *HN*).

² ΚΑ ΚΑΛΩΒΡΟΤΟΥ is on the coin; but Καλωβροτος is probably an error. Perhaps Κλ. <Κ>Λαώβροτος is the name; cp. Λεωχάρης.

³ Lysias was placed there in *C.B.* ii. p. 754, confirmed by the much more thorough researches of Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 107.

⁴ *M.A.M.A.* iv. p. xii denies that this

was a site; I differ. I placed Metropolis at Tatarli in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 55; Euphorbium was at Nemrud Euren; neither is Okoklia. There was an imperial estate round Horru (found by Anderson). Nemrud was on the line of the great road, and the wide remains are of a caravan town. Near Ginik and Nemrud is a site, probably Dinae. On Gini-k, cp. p. 79. All are very near; and I have called Nemrud Metropolis wrongly (*H.G.* p. 142).

of the Campus, up a little glen, and trade would not go through it in ordinary course. Euphorbos was a figure in the Trojan War, a Dardanian, with hair *Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι*; he killed Protesilaos as he sprang on Trojan land, and inflicted the first wound on Patroklos; his shield was hung in the Heraion at Argos by Menelaos, who slew him; and was there recognized by Pythagoras (who had in a previous incarnation been Euphorbos). Euphorbos was also a Phrygian herdsman, who in a famine sacrificed fox, *οὐραοῦν*, and hedgehog, *ἔξιν*, and caused the name *Ἐξουανονν*, Aizanoi, *Αἰζανοί* (Steph. Byz.); also a herdsman on Mt. Ida in the Troad. Late legends tracing the origin of Phrygian cities to Homeric heroes grew especially in the second century A.D.; but Euphorbium as a town must have been in the Survey of Agrippa, the common source on which all the four authorities in the last resort depend.

About Okoklia the second hypothesis fails. It has caused no progress and solved no difficulty in 40 years, which in a progressive subject like Anatolian topography amounts to practical disproof. Moreover, Imhoof's principle of "Nachbarstädte" needs wide interpretation, for he mentions Smyrna, Kyme and Erythrae as using the same die; and a wide interpretation would include Lounda and Lysias. The first hypothesis solves several difficulties, illumines the coinage, and explains the name Okoklia.

The exact sites of Hurgala and Lounda are practically certain. The central village (*οὐά*) of the Hyrgaleis was probably Hurgala; Greek upsilon was an exotic symbol in Anatolian; like Latin *u*, *ou* was the native vowel, though *υ* was sometimes used with the Anatolian value *ou*. Hyrgaleis, as custom has fixed the spelling, were the workers (akin to 'work,' *ἔργον*), who served the two gods Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos of the central sanctuary, tilled their land, cultivated their vines, and made their wine. The name was originally applied to the whole people of the two gods' country; but Dionysopolis was founded by Eumenes II. and Attalos II., who, according to a foundation legend, saw there a xoanon which they understood to be Dionysos, *καθηγεμών*, their guide and leader in the foundation. This was undoubtedly one of the earliest Pergamenian apoikiai in their enlarged Empire, and a great city festival in A.D. 222 celebrated the 400th anniversary of the foundation in 178 B.C. That this was the central fact in the celebration is proved by a coin (Br. Mus. no. 24, dated year 70, i.e. A.D. 221-222),¹ representing the three gods, Zeus Laodikenos, Dionysos, and Asklepios; the last, as god of Pergamos, introduces Dionysos Kathegemon to Zeus as god of the land. In the local Pantheon, Zeus Laodikenos was the central figure; but in the cult, Apollo Lairbenos and Kybele Leto were the principal figures.

At the west end of the Lycus valley the explorer looks up eastwards

¹ It is the largest coin of Dionysopolis in B.M. collection.

to Kotchelek or Tehukalek Dagh (5871 ft. railway survey), a rounded hump, rather than a peak, on the rim of the central plateau; the variety of pronunciation is a sign that the modern name is a survival of an ancient name, with *k* tacked at the end to give a Turkish appearance to the word (compare on this p. 79 above). The structure of the ancient name was evidently kokala or kokhala or kokhila, the general type is evident; *κόκκαλα*, "bones," in Anatolian modern Greek, offers no help; but Hesychius and modern lexicons have *κοχλίας*, a snail, and L. and S. has also *κοκάλια*, a land snail. The appearance of Kotchelek on the rim of the plateau is like the shell on the back of a snail crawling along the ground; the ancients observed this and called the mountain *Κόχια*, *Κόχαλα*. I observed this often after 1925, looking up from the west side of the Lycus valley, but did not connect it with Okoklia. The descriptions of the valley in *C.B.* i. pp. 3 f. and 236 f. mention Kotchelek.

Now on the plateau one is struck with the remarkable course of the Maeander in its sudden sharp turn up to the north at Lounda. That sudden turn is caused by Kokhala mountain, which rises right above Seid and Demirdji-keui, and throws off the river to the north. Lounda was the town of Mt. Kokhila, and Okoklia was a secondary name or epithet, indicating its situation. The mountain is a centre round which the Maeander flows; the Baklan Ova water runs north into Maeander opposite Eski Seid,¹ and south from the watershed to the Lycus valley. The Tchal region, now a kaimakamlik, was in rain an island surrounded by Maeander, Lycus and tributaries, except at the watershed at the south end of Baklan Ova.

Lounda Okoklia (with prefixed vowel) struck coins under the second name. They range from Commodus to Gordian III.; Sir George Hill pointed out to me long ago that coins of Hyrgaleis were struck under Pius, Caracalla (with Julia Domna) and Alex. Severus, while coins of Okoklia alternate under Commodus and Gordian III. Whether this is mere coincidence, or is the result of an arrangement between two neighbouring States, is hard to say; the Hyrgaleis certainly made an arrangement with Dionysopolis in 221 to strike coins at a common festival. The arrangement (?) with Lounda Okoklia would imply festival coins in 141, 161 (none), 181, 211, 221, 241; there is some dislocation of the times (due to poverty?).

But why should Lounda strike coins thus and avoid its own proper name Lounda, which it uses in an inscription and by which it was known later as a bishopric? The name *ΛΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ* was avoided as liable to be confused with *ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ* (under the Flavians), *ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ*; coins were used more widely; inscriptions stayed at home.

Again, whence comes the prefixed vowel in Okoklia? A similar

¹ There is little water now.

case justifies this. Kharax means a palisaded camp, or a village fortified by a palisade, an evident Anatolian word, widely used, cp. Kharax Alexandri near Sanaos (Ἄνανα Sanab-en-sis), which also appears in Ἀχαρακοκώμη, with the prothetic vowel as in Ὀκοκλία; the river which flows past this village was Χαρακωμῆτης ποταμός, where the derived adjective has been shortened and has lost the prothetic vowel (Athen. ii. 43); Kharax also appears in Otourak, for Atiokharax, Asiokharax, Siokharax, Iokharax.

The coins of Okoklia, Hyrgaleis and Dionysopolis should be compared with each other; they form a numismatic group; several of the types are, so to say, details from the sculptural group representing the pantheon, of the Pentademitai (see no. 53, and *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilis.* pp. 196 f., figs. 1 and 2). The resemblance in the coinage is sufficient to suggest that they were adjoining and closely related politeiai, and confirmatory evidence is not lacking.

Lounda was important as situated near the only road for wheeled traffic from the Lycus valley to Dionysopolis, forking to Peltai and Eumeneia. The situation and remains at Seid and Mahmud suggest that Roman Lounda was situated there, while Eski Seid was a pre-Roman township.

The preceding argument has shown that there were three neighbouring States, Dionysopolis Lounda Hyrgaleis; the coin types demonstrate a numismatic group Dionysopolis Okoklia Hyrgaleis. The group is best studied by comparing the Pantheon of the Pentademitai with the coins of this group. I cannot state the numismatic argument properly without many photographs of coins; I state only an outline of the argument.



In centre, Zeus stands a stately figure in the type called Laodicenus, holding eagle on r. hand, grasping with raised left a long sceptre. At the left of the scene Helios, with radiate head, drives his quadriga with four-spoked wheels, the morning sun rising on the scene. Before the quadriga is Good Fortune, rudder in r. hand, and cornucopiae over left shoulder, looking towards Zeus; Good Fortune is a specialized form of Kybele, as giver of all good. On the other side of Zeus, also looking towards him, stands Hermes nude, of Roman type, purse in

r. hand, and caduceus on l. shoulder. At the extreme r., plodding his weary way homeward, is an agriculturist, standing on an ox-cart with long goad; the cart wheel has four spokes.

Zeus Laodiceus and Kybele Leto are characteristic types at Okoklia, and both are common on coins and monuments of Dionysopolis (*M.A.M.* iv. pp. 96 f., 110).

Coins took a single figure of the Pantheon as a type; Hermes st. with caduceus and purse at Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleis; Zeus Laodikenos st. at Dionysopolis, Okoklia; Agathe Tyche st. usual type with rudder and cornucopiae at Dionysopolis, Hyrgaleis, Okoklia. Nowhere Helios-Apollo with radiate head; the divine pair Leto-Meter-Kybele and Lairbenos-Helios-Apollo, the gods of this whole region (Pentademitai) appear on the coins only as Artemis Apollo at Hyrgaleis (several types); but a pair, god and goddess, are typical also at Okoklia. Asklepios of Pergamos is, naturally, only at the Pergamenian colony; so also Dionysos. Demeter-Kybele with Telesphoros is specially appropriate to Hyrgaleis-Sitoupolis; she occurs also at Dionysopolis and without Telesphoros at Okoklia (where Kybele in one form or another is a nearly universal type). Artemis-Ephesia, a conception nearly related to Mother Leto Kybele, occurs at Dionysopolis and Hyrgaleis.

The type of Zeus Laodikenos is characteristic of Okoklia and Dionysopolis; but the Hyrgaleis preferred to hellenize the two gods of the common sanctuary, Apollo-Lairbenos and Meter-Leto-Kybele, as Apollo and Artemis. The gods of this region are represented in a form struggling towards Hellenism; Hellenic art is trying to establish itself in an Oriental land; the Pantheon as a scene is modelled in a conscious yet rude way on the scene on Olympus in the East Pediment of the Parthenon. Anatolian conceptions are shown in a form different from the native, striving towards Hellenism; a certain dignity in the Anatolian scene comes from the Greek side, yet there is a native rustic simplicity that is not without charm.¹ Coins are not very trustworthy as indications of Anatolian ideas.

I regret that a photograph was not made. I found the two stelai by chance on a report by a wayfarer, and went four hours' ride in search of them far down a gorge, and had to copy and draw them hurriedly, late in the evening. My wife with photographic apparatus was six hours away at the camp.² The horseman god with battle-axe was the most characteristic impersonation of Helios Lairbenos; it appears at all Pentademitai States, and at Hierapolis and Eumeneia; the two Kabeiros were a duplication of the rider god (as the two Nemeseis at Smyrna and Dionysopolis doubled the usual single Nemesis). The two Nemeseis were a local feature, and native to Anatolian ideas, twin peaks reaching

¹ This is more conspicuous in a lower zone, reproduced in a later section.

² I hoped that Dr. Buckler and his party would make a photograph; but they did not see the stelai.

high up to the sky ; at Smyrna they are now a familiar feature, the Two Brothers, to which every one looks for signs of weather : at Dionysopolis they are the peaks of Kadmos and Salbakos (both 8000 ft.), seen above the high rim of the plateau across the deep chasm of the Lycus valley (*Asiatic Elements*, pp. 54 f.);¹ at that distance they seem to be twin peaks ; but in the Lycus valley they are seen as single mountains far apart, and usually the nearest fills the whole picture (loc. cit., p. 55).

Two examples of the following coin of Okoklia are known : Imhoof, *Kl.M.* i. p. 281, and H. Weber in *Num. Chron.* 1892, p. 208 ; obv. *Αὐ·Καῖσαρ Κόμμωδος*, rev. *Οκοκλιέων·Βρουζηνῶν ὁμόνοια* ; Kybele-Demeter and Zeus Laodikenos stand facing each other ; between them flaming altar. The coin was struck at Okoklia (Imhoof). Practically the same reverse occurs on coins of Okoklia (Br. M. no. 6² ; *Num. Chron.* 1873, p. 38 ; Loebbecke, *Zft. f. Num.* xii. 346 ; *Rev. Num.* 1892, p. 86, 55 : the descriptions need some modification after Imhoof's coin) ; but these are not alliance coins. Zeus represents Okoklia ?, Kybele Brouzos ?, yet the alliance coin is simply an Okoklian type modified by the inscription to signify an alliance. Zeus in various forms is the most characteristic type of Brouzos, but never as Laodikenos ; Kybele is hardly used as a type there, but she can represent any Phrygian city.

Two types of Hyrgalean coins were struck with the name of Apollodotos (our pp. 71 f.), the Rider-god with bipennis (*Z. f. Num.* xvii. 22) and Zeus Laodicenus (Wadd., *Inv.* 6201) ; both are typical of the Hieron of the Pentademitai.

XII. TROCMI AND TAVIUM (T)ROGMOR(UM).

The site of Tavium, much discussed and placed variously at Tchorum, Nefez Keui,³ Boghaz Keui and Yozghat, was proved by Sterrett in 1884. He says : " Those best entitled to judge had settled on Nefez Keui. But Prof. G. Hirschfeld published an article in Nov., 1883 (*Sitzungsb. Akad.-Berlin*), in which he declined to accept any of the sites hitherto suggested.⁴ He tried to show that Tavium must be sought on the left [western] bank of the Halys at Iskelib, a whole degree north of Nefez Keui. In Jan., 1884, H. Kiepert published in that periodical *Gegenbemerkungen* to this hypothesis . . . though loath to give up the site at Nefez Keui, he finally suggests Aladjá, or a point immediately S.E. of Aladjá." At Nefez Keui the remains are not imposing, but they are enough to prove a site of considerable importance ;

¹ Where a misprint on p. 55 obscures the sense.

² Br. M. no. 5 is similar, except that instead of an eagle Zeus holds phiale.

³ There are two villages, Big and Little Nefez Keui.

⁴ Many good remarks about the interpretation of the Peutinger Table gave value to the article, though his main thesis is wrong.

and Sterrett says, "the villages round are full of architectural fragments, and the cemetery has scarcely any other stones except cippi, columns and fragments of epistyles." M. Perrot, *Galatie et Bith.* i. 288 f., and *Gal. Prov. Rom.* 12, describes it rightly as a city of the second century A.D. It was not a place of such importance as Ancyra and Pessinus; it never became a metropolis, but was only a bishopric under Ancyra; and it is not named on the antae of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra among the donors of gifts to Augustus; only Ancyra and Pessinus are named; and two tribes are often mentioned, never three.

The form *Tabia* or *Attabia* is almost universal in Byzantine documents; Strabo has *Ταούιον*.

A tribe *Διὸς Ταηνοῦ*, i.e. *Ταῦηνον*, existed at Ancyra; but it had no probable connexion with the city of the Trocmi. Both *Ταούιον* and *Ταηνοῦ* point back to some native Anatolian word; and the Lycaonian personal name *Ταβεις*, *Ταβεις*, has been suggested (Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 343); personal names and local names stand in close connexion with each other. After c. 200 the letter *B* was generally used to represent the spirant indicated by *OY* in Greek and *V* in Latin. The original word contains *Ταῦ*.

Strabo, 567, calls it *ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη*, and *Tab.* Peut. represents it as a meeting-place of five roads.¹ It was therefore an important township (*κώμη*, *οὐά*) at an early time, which became a city. It was striking coins *Σεβαστηνῶν Τρόκμων* under Vespasian and Titus, and *CE . Τρο . Ταουιανῶν* under Severus and Caracalla.² It dated from 20 B.C. as era (foundation of province Galatia): The name *Ταυίων* occurs on autonomous coins placed by Wroth as pre-Imperial (B.M. Cat. Galatia).

The era of province Galatia was long doubtful, but 25 B.C. (death of Amyntas) was generally accepted as legally correct, though it could not be practically true. I was long doubtful about the correctness (*J.H.S.* 1930, p. 263); and Dessau confirmed the doubt in a letter; but a bust of Augustus mourning (23 B.C.), found in the Synagogue at Antiochea, seemed at first to prove the date 25 (*J.H.S.* l.c.).

Coinage as usual determines chronology. A coin of Caracalla, when he was still Caesar, bears the date 218, i.e. 198 A.D. reckoned from an era 20 B.C.² The bust of Augustus mourning for Marcellus was placed in the Synagogue before the province was created; the Jews displayed their characteristic foresight, and hailed their future Emperor. Augustus during his residence in Asia 21-19 investigated the situation in Asia Minor, and in 20 founded Colonia Caesarea and the province. If the era was 25 B.C. the coin mentions Antoninus Augustus in A.D. 193; but Caracalla was renamed Aurel. Ant. only in 196, and became Augustus in 198. As we have stated on p. 49 *q*, it was usual to strike coins and

¹ Compare *Itin. Ant.* 201-205.

² The coin (B.M. no. 23) was struck be-

fore his title Augustus 198 was known in Tavium.

erect statues of each Augustus at his accession. The coins of Severus and Julia Domna, struck on the same occasion,¹ do not bear a date. I consulted Mr. E. S. G. Robinson about this coin; he guaranteed the reading, but doubted the correctness of the era. Sir Charles Newton used to say that coins were the grammar of archaeology; and Mr. Head often said that in Phrygia coins were generally "festival coins."

The sermon of St. Paul in the Synagogue, Acts xiii, rebuking the nation's sins, becomes much more effective when we read it as spoken with the bust of a pagan Emperor there. The Synagogue was transformed into a church in the fourth or fifth century; the memory of that sermon remained there.

Local names on the roads near Tavium are:—

(1) Korniaspa and a village, Oltiseris, near it in Cappadocia, but close to the Galatian frontier, E.S.E., c. XX. M.P.

(2) Severias, Serias (= Siboron?, Sibora) XXV? (bishopric under Caesarea in late Notitia).

(3) Basilika Therma (Terzili-Hammam) or Aquae Sarvenae due south.

(4) Tomba or Tamba, distance false (now Tamba Hasan), lies north, but is misplaced on eastern road.

(5) Euagina, Eugonia, Aegonne (now Geune or Keune, XXXVI? M.P., identified by Anderson also as Mithridation (*Studia Pontica*, i. pp. 28 f.). It was perhaps renamed Verinopolis? from Empress Verina, wife of Leo I., 457-474, which was a Bishopric under Ancyra.² It was an important fortress in the Buccellariot Thema, and afterwards in the Kharsian Thema (or Kleisoura or Tourma, *Const. Adm. Imp.* ii. 50, p. 225, etc.).

Mithridation was a fortress of Pontus given by Pompey to Brogitaros when he made him king of the Trocmi in 65 B.C. (*H.G.* p. 452); it is evidently on the border between Pontus and Galatia, and could be transferred from one to the other. Euagina became (or was misread) Fuagina in some Latin document (perhaps Agrippa's Survey), and thus appears in Ptolemy as *Φουβαγίνα* (where β represents a spirant developed between two vowels). It may be suspected that Eudagina on the road from Caesarea to Sebasties (Sivas) is the same name transferred to another road.

(6) Myriokephalon was in my *H.G.A.M.* p. 220, placed (doubtfully) on the Byzantine Military Road between Saniana and Euagina, and distinguished from Myriokephalon on the north shore of the Limnai. The latter is near the foot of the ascent to the Kleisoura Tzyvritzi (Bridge Pass), where Manuel Comnenus was defeated in 1175. This was one of the most important passes in Asia Minor, called in earlier times the Pisidikan Aulon, and the scene of many battles. The other

¹ Perhaps they were struck at the accession of Severus in 193.

² Anderson, loc. cit., is disposed to accept it; better may be proposed.

Myriocephalon is mentioned only in *Const. Adm. Imp.* ii. 50, p. 225. The topoteresiai of Myriocephalon and Timios Stavros and Verinopolis were disjoined about 890 from the Thema of the Boukellarior and transferred to the Charsian Thema, and constituted the Turma which is now called Saniana. If Constantine is right in saying that Myriocephalon was in Boukellarior, it cannot have been the castle on the Limnai, which must have been in the Anatolic Theme. This northern Myriocephalon depends solely on the authority of Constantine (who sometimes makes a slip in the topography of the eastern parts). Myriocephalon of the "Bridge Pass" was the tower of 10,000 kephaloi, and lay beside the lake full of fish. A Myriocephalon in the north is difficult to comprehend, although the authority is good.

There seems to be no titulus at Nefez Keui earlier than A.D. 97, and the earliest is a milestone. The inscriptions confirm that there was a *πόλις* and *caput viarum* at Nefez Keui during the second century; and about 230 a special legatus (praetorian) was sent to reorganize the Trocni (not the province), whose one city had probably been spending too much in building and decoration.

Tavium supplied an unusually large number of soldiers (*Real-Enc. s.v.*); but this was fallacious. Tavium was a fictitious *origo* (Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.* 1891, p. 602). All soldiers of the Trocni were registered as of Tavium. After the same fashion Thracian soldiers were registered as of domus Claudia Aprum, the only city possessing Roman rights before Vespasian. There was no polis among the Trocni except Tavium till Verinopolis received city rights. The weakness of the Trocni arose from their situation exposed to attack from Pontic and Cappadocian kings.

61. Near Nefez Keui (St. 1884; *E.J.* no. 356).

Imp. Nerva Caesar Au[g	5 per Pompon[iu]m
Pont. Max. Trib. Potes(t) II	Bassum leg. pro pr.
Cos III P.P. restituit	PM I A.

Date, A.D. 97, between 18 Sept. and 10 Dec.

In l. 3 V for T is an error of engraver or copyist. This miliarium I from a *caput viae* fixes the site of Tavium, as there was no other *caput viarum* in this region which could give meaning to the measure. T. Pomponius Bassus was legatus (consularis) of Galatia-Cappadocia from c. 94 to 100.

62. Nefez Keui (R. 1881; St. 1884; *E.J.* 357).

[im]perator VI cos.

This would suit any emperor that was saluted by his army for the sixth time; the inscription makes the impression of being comparatively early, and may be assigned to Trajan between A.D. 106 and 113. In 114 he was Imp. VII., VIII., IX. The two following inscriptions may be compared with this:—

63. Nefez Keui (Sterrett, *E.J.* 376)

princi]PI O[ptimo.

This is perhaps a part of the following ; both are in dative, whereas the preceding is in nominative.

64. Tamba Hassan, Tomba (published by Sterrett, *E.J.* 377, from copy of Haynes, who often needs correction) ; of the same Emperor.

	[Imp. Caes.]
IA	Nervae Tra]ia[no Aug.
ENE O	Germa]n(i)[ç]o
O	Dacic]o [patri patriae
C · POT	tribuni]c. pot[est—
O	principi] o[ptimo

Coins give the title Optimus princeps to Trajan from 105 onwards, inscriptions occasionally from 103. The title Optimus was not formally adopted till 114. We suppose that these inscriptions belong to the same year, probably 112 or 113, when Trajan was preparing for the Parthian war of 114, and was strengthening the frontier farther north against a possible attack from the barbarians there while the Roman army was engaged further south. These would be cases where princeps optimus was used before the assumption of Optimus in 114.

65. Nefez Keui (R. 1881 ; St. 1884).

<i>Pο]υφίνα Ἀσκλη[π-</i>	<i>θο]υργῶ Νικομηδῖ</i>
<i>ια]δη συνβίω λι-</i>	<i>μνή]μ]η s χάρι</i>

My copy gives sigma in l. 2 and *Ni* in l. 3 twice. St. has both single ; he gets the text right, but I spent some time puzzling over the duplication, a novel phenomenon to me and certainly real. The date is probably second century. Masons were brought from afar to help to build the city, which had grown rich and was spending money freely during the prospering times of the Antonine Emperors.

66. Tavium (T)rocmor(um) ; Nefez Keui (R. 1881, published *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 26). Lettering tall narrow angular type, tall apex to *A* and *λ* ; well cut.

*Μ . Αντ . Μέμ]μιον . Ἰέρωνα
τὸν . λαμπ]ρότατον . βιόκουρον ? ¹
χειλί]αρχον . [λεγ]εῶνος) —
κουαί]στορα . [ἐπαρ]χειίας . Λυκί-
ας . Παμφυλ]ίας, πράξ]εις . συν-
κλη]τοῦ . εἰλη]φότα . αἰδῖ]λιν
κουρού]λην . πρ[εσβευ]τήν . Ἀσίας*

*στρατηγὸν . δῆμ]ου . Ῥωμαίων . ἔ-
παρ]χον . αἰραρί]ου . Κρόνον . ἐπαν-
ο]ρθωτήν . Γαλα]τῶν . Τρόκμω]ν . ἐπ-
ισ]τατεύσαντ]α . κέ . ἐπι]μελησάμε- ?
νον . α]ὐτῶν . καί] . ἡγ]ησάμενον ὡς
τόπ]ω . Καί]σ[αρος . Σεβασ]τοῦ . καὶ ?
ε]ὐε]γέτην . γενόμε]νον*

¹ βιόκουρον (IV vir viarum curandarum), as shortest, seems to be in place here.

The restoration of 11-13 is uncertain; but that does not affect the career. In 10 f. perhaps $\pi\rho|\omicron\sigma|\tau\alpha\tau.$, in 9 $\delta\iota\omega|\rho\theta.$

L. 1 is the beginning of the titulus, and the name of the dedicator must have been at the bottom of the stele. There are several faults in the previous publications. The chief mistake has been to regard Antonius Memmius as consul. $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ only implies senatorial career. Cagnat, in *I.G.R.* iii. no. 238, guards against the error in a note, but admits it in the text. In 12 $\eta\gamma\eta\sigma.$, acting for the $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ legatus Aug. of the province.

The date of the titulus was c. A.D. 230-240; Antonius was probably suffect consul c. 244; and he was made legatus in Cappadocia c. 246. As to the date, the tall, carefully cut, narrow, pointed letters are of A.D. 220-240. I have seen many similar of this period. Letters are coarser after 250 and even about 200.

Antonius's career is normal; XX virate, trib. leg., quaestor under the proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia (implying date after 161), ab actis senatus, curule aedile, praetor ($\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu$ 'Ρωμαίων in distinction from $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ of a πόλις or civitas). Then he entered on praetorian duties, (α) praefectus aerarii Saturni ($\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ would be too long), (β) special mission ad corrigendum statum Galatarum Trocmorum (the plural is required by $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ following). Such a mission to a province was always entrusted to a consular (e.g. Pliny in Bithynia in 111-113); but the Trocmi were not a province. They were regarded always as equivalent in standing to a single city-state, one of the units out of which the Empire was composed. In the Christian empire Tavium was a bishopric of Galatia Prima, subject to Ancyra; and there was at first no other bishopric¹ among the Trocmi. Moreover, the legatus of Galatia was praetorius, and it would be irregular to send a consular to regulate a part of a praetorian province. Tavium [T]rogmor[um] is the name of the city in the Peutinger Table.

In l. 7 $\Lambda\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ is preferred, as a short name is wanted. The rest of the career of Antonius was spent in Asia Minor, and it is possible that his tribunate was in one of the Cappadocian legions (XII. Fulm. or XV. Apoll.).

The praetorian career of M. Antonius Hiero was rapid. This must be connected with his name; he was a supporter of M. Antonius Gordianus, A.D. 238-244, and was promoted by that Emperor. We may safely date his consulship in 243 or 244, before the treachery of Philip, who did not interfere with his further course, though he was not likely to promote him so rapidly. Antonius Hiero was evidently an Asiatic, probably Anatolian; his career lay in Asia Minor. Dessau has observed that the career of senatorial Orientals was confined to the Orient. The name Hiero may serve as a link to connect this senatorius

¹I have advanced the conjecture that Verinopolis, re-named in honour of the Empress Verina, was made a Bishopric,

but that was much later (c. 457). *H.G.*, pp. 247, 345; Anderson, *Stud. Pontica*, p. 29.

with a great family of Akmonia and Ephesus (no. 24); the history of the Akmonian family between 110 and 230 is unknown; but this theory agrees with the rest of the scanty evidence. We know that in general those great families lasted long, and by liberality and public spirit deserved to retain their influence in the Empire and among their own people. Their Roman nomen and their cognomina changed with the fashion and the Emperors of the time. In this case Hiero, native, and T. Flavius, Roman nomen, changed to M. Antonius; Hiero was disused when pure Roman names were fashionable; native cognomina became fashionable under the Antonines, and Hiero returned. Memmius was introduced in some unknown way, perhaps taken from some Roman officer. This speculation may be proved by further discovery; inscriptional evidence is needed at every stage; but the mere theory is instructive as regards the possible lines on which history developed in Asia Minor. Thus was knit the framework which held together the old Roman social system and made it strong to resist and survive the fiery assault of the Arabs from 642 to 960, when they captured almost every city in Asia Minor, but could not break the close-knit fabric of Roman society with its law and its justice amid many faults.

His government of Cappadocia (c. 246) is mentioned on many miliaria, the first known of which was the following. Many were found afterwards similar.

67. Durd Keui (Kurdish name) or Keklik Oglu (Turk name), 4 hrs. N.W. from Guksun-Kokussos (Sterrett, *E.J.* 292). In l. 11 the second G was added by a different hand.

Imp.] Cae[s-	vilas et pontes vet[us-
ar Marcu[s Iul(ius)	ta]te conlapsas res[titue-
Philippus Pius Felix	runt] per Antonium Mem-
I]nvincius Aug(ustus) et	10 mium Hieronem
5 Ma]rcus Iul. Philipp[us]leg. Augg. pr.
no]bilissimus Caes[ar	pr.

Date, probably 246. The titles of Philip Germanicus Carpicus, assumed in 247-8, are not used. His son is still only Caesar, but two Augusti (246) are mentioned in l. 11; other miliaria of the two in this region have only Aug.; the second G was added later.

68. Nefez Keui (St. 1884; *E.J.* 375), epistyle of a heroon; white marble.

φιλο]σόφου ἀπό Μουσειῶν

a philosopher member of or trained at the Alexandrian (or some other) Museum. On Museia, see *Real-Enc.* and *O.G.I.S.* ii. 712, 714.

This epitaph probably was of the fourth century when rhetorical studies were flourishing in Asia Minor; and the deceased was a philosophic pagan under the early Christian Empire about 350.¹ Galatia

¹ Philosophy and love of the Greek idea of πολιτεία were the marks of pagan society in Cent. IV., V.

(as known to the Cappadocian Fathers) was an illiterate land ; Gregory Nyssen sneers at the home of the uneducated Eunomios, Corniaspa, as being near Galatia.

Short Christian inscriptions are numerous at Tavium. They seem to belong to the period 323 to 360 or 400. I arrange them according to a theoretic plan, which may hereafter be proved to be approximately chronological : (1) $\acute{\omicron}$ θεός, τοῦ θεοῦ, used simply ; (2) similar with χριστός for θεός ; (3) $\theta\upsilon$ contracted ; (4) $\chi\upsilon$ contracted ; presumably all before c. 350 ; (5) + at beginning or end or both, date presumably after 350 ; (6) inscription written about (on all sides of) a large cross ; (7) use of the Byzantine ligature of ου.

69. Nefez Keui (St. 1884).

[ἐνθα κατά-]	τοῦ θεοῦ	ρος ὁ
[κιτε ὁ]	Θεόδω-	Ζουβλος
[δοῦλος]		

Ζουβλος unexplained epithet (signum).

70. Nefez Keui (Haynes, 1884 ; St. *E.J.* 371).

ἐνθα	η	ῦ Ἰωαν-
κατάκιτε	τοῦ Θεο-	ία
ἡ δούλ-		

Ἰωαννία unusual form of the fem. ; Ἰωαννου also occurs.

71. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 362).

+ ἐνθα κατά-	τοῦ θεοῦ
κιτε ἡ δούλ[η]	Θεωδότη[η + ?]

ω for ο favours a date in the fifth century, but occurs earlier.

72. Nefez Keui (R. 1881).

Ἀνάπαυ-	γονος	ου δο[υ-
σις Θεμισ-	Γριγορί-	[λου θεοῦ]
τίου ἐν-		

The spelling is bad ; and perhaps ἐγγονος is taken for genitive of a noun ἐγγων or ἐγγον (or it may be κατὰ σύνεσιν, "here is laid to rest Themistios," or to avoid conflict of genitives as if "of Themistios (who is) grandson of Gregorios"). δοῦλος θεοῦ is possible. Is the slave of God the grandfather ? The grandfather is mentioned and the father omitted ; because either Gregory was famous as a Christian leader, or his son had yielded during the persecution of 303-312. The latter would favour δούλων. The epitaph is probably about 330-350.

73. Nefez Keui (St. 1884).

ἐνθα κατά-	λη τοῦ Χρισ-
κιτε ἡ δού-	τοῦ Ἀλυπία

74. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 364).

ἐνθα κα-	τοῦ ΘΥ
τάκιτε	Γεόργις (!)
ὁ δοῦλος	

75. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 366).

ἐνθα κα-	λος προ- (!)
τάκιτε	τοπρεσ-
ὁ δοῦλος	βύτερος
τοῦ ΘΥ Πα[ῦ-	

Chief presbyter ; the sense of various ecclesiastical terms was not definitely settled in the 4th century ; and some failed to gain general acceptance (*e.g.* χωρεπίσκοπος, προιστάμενος, both used by Basil and sometimes in inscriptions).

76. Nefez Keui (St. *E.J.* 361).

ἐνθα κατά-	τοῦ Θυ
κιτε ἡ δούλη	Πελαγία.

Pelagios, Pelagia, Christian names, hardly found among Pagans. Pelagia was a martyr (*Acta Sanctt.*, 4 May).

77. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 367).

+ ἐνθα	ΘΥ Γ-
κατάκ-	ερμ[α-
ιτε ὁ δοῦ-	νός ?]
λος τοῦ	

78. Nefez Keui (R. 1881).

ἐνθα κα-	λος τοῦ	πρ ^s δομ[^s
τάκιται	Θυ ὁ λαν-	Ἰωάν[νης
ὁ δοῦ-		

John clarissimus domesticus was a leader in the Arab (or earlier) wars ; the form *θ* with a line crossing horizontally both sides of *O* indicates a date later than most of the other Christian inscriptions.

79. Nefez Keui (St. *E.J.* 368), lettering ΛEOC : ου never in ligature.

ἐνθα	ὁ δοῦ-	Cτέ-
κατά-	5 λος	φανος
κιτε	τοῦ ΘΥ	

In l. 7 *€* is on the stone, for *C*.

80. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 370).

ἐ]νθα κα-	δ]οῦλος τοῦ	? ὁ]μυς
τ]άκιτε ὁ	Θ]εοῦ Εὐ[ν- ?	+

ΛEOC, ου in ligature.

Sterrett restores *Εὐ[δα]μης*, unknown name,¹ but possible. *Εὐ[νό]μης* for *Εὐνόμιος* is a common name among Christians of the 4th century, among them the Arian heresiarch, Bishop of Kyzikos, c. 360–393. Orthodox Christians would probably avoid the name after him.

81. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 369).

+]? ἔν	τάκι-	λη τοῦ
θα κα-	τε ἡ δού-	ΘΥ Στε-
		φανίς

ΑΕΠ : ου never in ligature.

The lacuna in l. 1 seems to demand the restoration +; but Sterrett does not think so. Stephanis is not quoted as a woman's name; but is quite possible. The use of initial cross determines the date, and the contracted *θυ* favours a date after 350.

Sterrett has several other mutilated epitaphs of the same type,

82. Nefez Keui (St. 1884 ; *E.J.* 363).

+	3 Ἀλυπίας
Κύμησις	δούλης ΧΥ

ις; iota small inside large C.

83. Nefez Keui (R. 1881 ; Le Bas, 1186), an instructive text.

R. 1881.	Le Bas.	Resultant.
ἐνθα κατά-	+ ΕΘΑΚΑΤΑ	ἐνθα κατά
κίτε ἡ δούλι	ΚΙΤΕΙΓΔΟΥΛΙ	κίτε ἡ δουλι
τοῦ θυ	ΤΚΘΥ	τοῦ ΘΥ
4 Ἀναστασία	ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΑ	Ἀναστασία
σύνβιως	ΚΚΝΒΙΩΚ	σύνβιως
Γαβριήλου	ΤΑΒΡΙΛΗΟΥ	Γαβριήλου
μη. Ἰουλίω ἐν ἔ-	ΜΙΘΛΙΩΕΗΕ	μη. Ἰουλίω ἐν ἔ-
8 τ ? ει	ΧΕΙ	τι] ΧΕΙ'

In ll. 7, 8, Waddington reads *μ(ηνι) Ἰουλίω. ε[ϛ] | ἔχει, or ε[ν] ἔ[τει] χεί.* The latter gives the date 615, i.e. A.D. 595, and is probably right. The one important question is about *T* or *X* in l. 8. The symbol on the stone was like a lopsided cross, + falling over to one side. Le Bas's copy contains many errors, but is right in this; my reading interprets the mark wrongly, as I recognized when I saw Le Bas's copy. The interpretation made doubtfully before the stone in 1881 is improved by comparison with a worse copy.

The date *χει* is the latest known case of dating from a provincial era established at the beginning of the Roman Empire. Other cases of dating in prov. Galatia are counted from the same era (20 B.C.), whereas in prov. Cappadocia dating is always by regnal years of a king or emperor.

¹ *Εὐδάμας* and *Εὐδαμος* are quoted in P.B.

The text, as recovered from comparison of two copies, gives a precise date, A.D. 595, for a form of epitaph and lettering; it justifies the general chronological scheme stated above, which places this inscription among the latest of all the Tavium epitaphs. The better copy in other respects of the inscription is wrong in this detail; but it is wrong only in interpretation; the original copy is right here. The ligature υ above O , a common Byzantine form, is dated 595 in this example.

84. Nefez Keui (R. 1881).

ἔν	θα
κα	τά-
κιτε	ὁ δ-
οὐλ	ος
τθ	Ϡυ
Δα	μι
ηλ	.

XIII. COMANA OF CAPPADOCIA.

Comana lies in a glen (*αὐλών*) of the Antitauros mountains (Str. xii. 2, 3, p. 535). Strabo uses the term *αὐλών* frequently, distinguishing it from a glen which is narrow at one end and opens out at the other (*dere*). An aulon is open at both ends. This applies to the aulones of Lake Trogitis, the Pisidican Aulon (Tzyvritzi Kleisoura, p. 158) and all that I have seen; sometimes the aulon slopes only in one direction; sometimes it crosses a pass and slopes on both sides; but it is usually narrower in the middle and broader at the two ends. The Antitauros contains "many" deep and narrow aulones,¹ "in which are situated Comana and the Hieron of Enyo, whom the Kataones call Ma," and *Νικηφόρος θεά* in an inscription. The words of Strabo seem almost to distinguish Comana the town or city² from the Hieron of Enyo-Ma-Bellona; he had been struck when he visited Comana with the distance between them; the township extends over a large area, the city lies down by the stream, the sanctuary is on higher ground; "the river Saros flows through the middle of the city." The inhabitants are Kataones, who in most matters obey the priest, but in some things are subject to the king.³ The priest holds authority over the Hieron and

¹ βαθεῖς καὶ στενοὶ εἰσὶν αὐλώνες ἐν οἷς ἴδρυται τὰ Κόμανα καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐννοῦς ἱερόν.

² It was a large Anatolian *κώμη* in his youth, when he visited it (on his way to Tarsus?); it was constituted a *πόλις* before 19 A.D.

³ The ancient obedience to the god and priest in a theocracy continued to be the main factor in the life of the people of Comana in Strabo's lifetime (and even later under the Romans; but we see that it wears thinner by lapse of time).

the temple servants (hierodouloi), who numbered about 6000 at the time when Strabo visited Comana, men and women together. Adjacent to the Hieron is large property, whose proceeds the priest enjoys; he is second in dignity to the king; and as a general rule the priests are of the same family as the kings.

This passage, xii. 2, 3, is highly instructive in regard to the primitive theocratic system in Asia Minor. Comana was the greatest and wealthiest theocracy of Cappadocia; the priest was not owner (dominus) of the land; he enjoyed and used for life the revenue, but was only a sort of trustee; the god was the owner: "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof: the world and they that dwell therein" (Psalm xxiv). The people of the god obeyed the priest as speaking the will of the god, who was remote and personally unknown to his people except through the priests; Psalm xxiv declared that a pure heart and life opened the way to know God: the Psalm shows the moralized theocracy of the Jews.

The priest of Comana was second only to the king. This was an innovation; there was originally no king; the first dynasty in Diodorus, fr. xxxi. 19, was only an interpretation of tradition and mythology (Th. Reinach, *Numism. des Rois de Capp.* p. 10), in which names of Persian kings, Persian satraps and native kings are mixed up. The kings represented Greek or Macedonian conquering power; they allied themselves with the priests, and an uneasy compromise resulted, in which the royal and priestly families intermarried, and the priests were of the royal family. We add to Strabo's account of the situation at Comana that the priests originally claimed to be descended from the god and goddess. No coins are known.

In 537 Strabo says that there were only two poleis in Cappadocia; but in 535-536 he calls Komana πόλις. The former was true when he knew the country, the latter was due to modifications later.

The ruins are extensive¹ and scattered in more than one aulon (ἐν οἷς ἴδρυνται τὰ Κόμανα, Str.). The river Saros (Seihun) flows "through the mountains in many curves," as Sterrett says; he "ascended Kulek Dagh on which we found a large and impregnable fortress of great antiquity."² No other traveller has seen this fortress. Saros means king (κοίρανος; v. Steph. s.v. "Αδανα).

Strabo had been at Comana³ and learned that there was a direct path to Kastabala and Tarsus. This road was the cause that Kastabala was made part of an added Strategia XI., tacked on to Cappadocia by

¹ Sterrett, *E.J.* p. 239, says they "are not extensive"; but he refers to the fact that they are not numerous,—considering the space that they cover.

² φρούρια ἐρυμνά ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων, Str. xii. 2, 6.

He mentions Azamora and Dastarkon.

³ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιδημίαν (xii. 2, 3), and as to the Pyramos καθορᾶν ἔστι and εἶδομεν (xii. 2, 4). The description of the whole scene shows an eye-witness.

Pompey, 65 B.C. The added *Strategia* (ἐπίκτητος) included also Kybistra and Laranda and Derbe on the south-west. Part of it, including Kybistra, Laranda, Derbe, but not Kastabala, was given to King Polemon along with Ketis and a large part of Tracheia Cilicia in 36 B.C.

Comana is now Shahr-Deresi, "town of the glen." In 1882 I was told that the site was uninhabited for a long time until some Armenians settled there about 1840. Hadjin, 8¼ hrs. south of Shahr, was purely Armenian in 1890.

There are no obvious signs of divine power, such as hot springs, to account for the selection of Shahr as a Hieron and theocratic centre; but the situation is wonderfully picturesque and impressive, and this may be reckoned a sufficient reason among a people sensitive to the influences of nature (as the pagan Anatolians were).

We place first inscriptions of 36 B.C. to 17 A.D., and 17 to 72.

85. Shahr (Yorke, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 317). Lettering ΑΕΩΩΣ.

Βασιλέα Ἀρχέλα[ον	κτίστην καὶ σωτήρα
φιλόπατρων τὸν	ὁ δῆμος

Archelaos was the son and grandson of Archelaoi, the priests of Ma at Comana and strategoi of Kataonia. His father was deposed by Caesar in 47. The son was, in 36 B.C., made king of Cappadocia by Antony, who deposed and killed Ariarathes X. In 20 B.C. Augustus, who had left him in power, though he adhered to Antony, added to his kingdom part of Cilicia (Dio Cass. liv. 9, 2): Strabo says this part was Tracheia Cilicia (except Seleukeia) with Elaioussa, where he built his palace (βασιλειον).¹ Gutschmid wrongly interprets the cognomen Philopatris (*Kl. Schr.* iv. p. 116) to mean that he approved a nationalistic policy. Archelaos depended entirely on Roman favour and protection, and was not popular with his Cappadocian subjects, who had not supported him in 41 B.C., when he was first made king by Antony as a favour to his mother Glaphyra: the former king Ariarathes X. refused to give way, and fought against him till 36. He changed the character of the coinage, and substituted for the old type of Pallas Nikephoros the attributes of Herakles, club and lion's skin. He was an innovator rather than a nationalist. He claimed descent from Temenos, son of Herakles (Josephus, *B. Jud.* i. 24, 2); the names Dorylaos and Neoptolemos (his great-grand-uncle) suggest Macedonian descent. After a time the land of Armenia Minor was added by Augustus to his Cappadocian kingdom about 20 B.C.²

¹ Elaioussa, an island, μετὰ Κώρυκον: it lies close off Korykos, and in a Stadiasmos it would naturally be mentioned after the place on the mainland. No ruins are mentioned; the palace was built of mud-bricks, a cool material in hot weather, but

warm in winter.

² Archelaos, son of Archelaos, last in the list of priests on the temple at Korykos, was his son (Tac., *Ann.* VI, 41 [47], in A.D. 36).

This king seems to have taken *φιλόπατριν τὸν κτίστην* as a permanent cognomen (used on his coins). Athenian inscriptions show only *φιλόπατριν*.

C.I.A. iii. 1, No. 545: [ὁ] δῆμος [βασιλέα Καππ]αδοκί[ας καὶ τῆς Τραχεία]ς Κιλικίας Ἀ[ρχέλαον Φι]λόπατριν ἄρε[τῆς ἔνεκα].

C.I.A. iii. 1, No. 546: [ἡ β]ουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρ[είου πά]γου βασιλέα [Ἀρ]χέλαον Φιλό[πατριν εὐεργεσίας] ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς [ἑαυτήν]; see Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* i. 278.

The epithet *κτίστης*, which appears on coins of Archelaos, is explained by Eckhel, as referring to the fact that he founded Elaioussa Sebaste on the island off Korykos. The coins have *βασιλέως Ἀρχελάου Φιλοπάτριδος τοῦ κτίστου* in the years 20 to 42 (i.e. 17 B.C. to A.D. 6); but any one may call himself *φιλόπατρις*.

Th. Reinach remarks that it would be necessary before accepting this explanation to be certain that the title does not occur earlier than 20 B.C. In inscription 85, which is probably not later than 20 B.C., the same epithets are used. Accordingly *κτίστης* in all probability refers to his great work in founding Kadena as his capital (see no. 4).

The first wife of Archelaos is unknown; but their daughter was Glaphyra (same name as Archelaos's mother), who played a great part in the history of Herod the Great and his family. Th. Reinach suggests with much probability that she was a sister of Ariobarzanes III. and Ariarathes X., and grand-daughter of Mithradates VI. Eupator, who called himself a descendant of Darius. Hence her daughter Glaphyra boasted to be descended from Darius on the woman's side.

The second wife of Archelaos was Pythodoris, widow of Polemon king of Pontus (died 12 B.C.).

The *demos* alone acts in this *titulus*. Comana was not as yet a city, and therefore had no *boule*; it was made *πόλις* c. 17 (pp. 101-2).

Th. Reinach maintains that Sisines was not the same as Archelaos (as Appian expressly states, and as is generally accepted), but an otherwise unknown brother of Ariarathes X., 41-36 B.C., who resisted Archelaos and tried to make himself king of Cappadocia. It is true that Strabo mentions Sisines, xii. 2, 6, without saying that he was the same as Archelaos (whom he often mentions elsewhere). But Strabo was actually remodelling that passage when he died (as stated above); and one is loath to abandon the one direct positive statement on the point and to introduce a purely hypothetical brother of Ariarathes. A brother of Ariarathes X. would naturally aid his resistance to Archelaos. This Sisines was trying to make himself king of Cappadocia, as Strabo says,¹ and had a treasure fortress Nora-Neroassos, and Kadena, a capital with the equipment of a city. An unsuccessful pretender would not have such permanence and such ambitious surroundings.

Α βασιλειον, α γαζοφυλάκιον, 15 or 20 miles distant, and a capital city

¹ τοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τῇ Καππαδόκων ἀρχῇ. Th. Reinach makes a trio all struggling to be king.

as centre of the kingdom, imply a settled and recognized king, not an adventurer claiming the throne, who would naturally have his treasure in his immediate possession (see later Section,¹ Kadena). The words quoted from Strabo suit Archelaos, because he was at first (41-36) trying to make himself king, while his predecessor Ariarathes was still maintaining his rights and was probably supported by the Cappadocians generally. Kadena, Kale Keui: Nora, peak high over Emir Gazi north.

Kadena was near the borders of Roman territory at that time, in the new *Strategia* XI. created by Pompey in 65 B.C. to be an adjunct to Cappadocia. Archelaos, who was not popular with his people, made himself a new capital where he was close to Roman protection, hoping to be in this way independent of the old Cappadocian capital, where opposition naturally was concentrated.

Sisines was the Cappadocian name of Archelaos (a Greek and Macedonian name); it occurs in two inscriptions of Comana. The spelling *Sisinnēs*² suggests that the second vowel was long (see Kadena, no. 4). *Sisines* (or *Sisinos*) occurs in *M.A.M.* i. 325; also *Σησίσιος*, *ibid.* 256, *Σισίννος*, *ibid.* p. xxv, all from the neighbourhood of Laodicea of Lycaonia: *Sisines* at Sebaste Phr. (dated A.D. 98-99). The others are Christian, of Cent. IV. The variation in quantity is characteristic of the Greek rendering of Anatolian words; cp. *μακελας βακηλος* (Section VIII).

86. Comana-Shahr, published by me in *Journ. of Philology*, xi. 1882, p. 147, from copy of Sir Ch. Wilson; by M. Waddington in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 127, from M. Clayton "artiste Français" and my report³; by Sterrett, *E.J.* 263, from his own copy; and by Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 364, using all previous publications. Faults in all are exaggerated in Dittenberger's text, which is here given on left as authoritative formerly for this important document.

Sir Ch. Wilson had two copies, one in a notebook, 1878, another carefully drawn later on paper with *NI* for *M* (top lost in l. 1). The difference is important. I received his second copy after his death by the courtesy of Lady Wilson.

The lettering is *AEOΩΣΘ*. The forms are taken from the type used by the printers in Athens (and London), and are merely approximate.

MHI
καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ
Ἀρσάμην Ἰαζήμιος τὸν
ἱερέα τῆς Νικηφόρου θεῶν
καὶ στρατηγὸν Καταονία[s
ἡ]γῆσάμενον αὐτῶν ἐπιεικῶ[s
καὶ εὐεργετικῶς.

[οἱ Κατόνες οἱ ἐ]γ [τ]ῆ ἱ[ε]-
ρᾶ Κομάνων πόλ]ει Τ[ρ]ι[ταν]-
ταιχ]μην Ἰαζήμιος, τὸν
ἱερέα τῆς Νικηφόρου θεῶν
καὶ στρατηγὸν Καταονία[s,
ἡ]γῆσάμενον αὐτῶν ἐπιεικ[ῶς
τε] καὶ εὐεργετικῶς⁴

¹ [Not written.]

² It is used by Appian, *B. Civ.* v. 7.

³ M. Waddington wrote me that he was writing this article from M. Clayton's

copies, whereupon I sent him everything that I had.

⁴ In l. 4 if *ἀρχιερεὺς* was used the odour of Rome would hang about it.

Κομάνων is genitive of (τὰ) *Κόμανα* used by Strabo ; compare on coins *μητροπόλεως Ἰσαύρων*, which as Waddington and Sir G. Hill (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. xxvii) state, is genitive of the place-name, not of the people *Isauroi*.

The copyists would permit the change of *—ITEI* to *πολEITPI* ; but it is possible that there was a Cappadocian name *Τει μην* ; *Τειταν* is a god (obscure, but ancient).

The letter before *MHN* in l. 3 was much defaced in part ; Sterrett saw \, the others saw nothing ; Dittenberger made \ part of A, and thus went astray. Sterrett saw that the inscription contained only 7 lines, which suits all copies. In l. 6 Sterrett has Γ, confirming Waddington's restoration. *O.G.I.S.* rightly points out that *αὐτῶν* in l. 6 requires *Κατάονες* in l. 1, but does not use it. Sir Ch. Wilson's careful lection *NIHI* (tops of all letters broken) gives [έ]ν τῇ ἰ[εραί]. *O.G.I.S.* also neglects the base of *E* before *ITEI* in l. 2, which gives ἐν τῇ ἰε|ραί *Κομάνων πόλι*. The introduction of *Ἀφροδίτει*, and the use of dative in *EI* by Dittenberger are unfortunate.

The title of *Ma* or *Bellona*, *Νικηφόρος*, is used also of *Athena* in her warlike aspect, and of *Kybele-Ma* at *Dionysopolis*.

In l. 1 the interpretation of *MHI* as [έτ]ιμη[σαν] is disproved by the *I*, as Σ is the form used, not *L*. *Ἰαζημις* in *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, no. 137, *Μιθριδάτην Ἰαζήμιος* (Ditt. : also our 87 f.).

87. *Caesarea Cappad.* (Mordtm., *Ath. Mitt.* 1884, p. 204 ; R. 1890).

Εὐβουλος καὶ
Λικίνιος Ἰάσωνα
Ἰαζήμιος τὸν πατέρα

Euboulos perhaps is a translation of a Cappadocian name, as *Longus* and *Δολιχός* translate a Phrygian or Pisidian name. At *Magnesia Mae.*, *B.C.H.* 1894, p. 10, *Μιθριδάτην Ἰαζήμιος*. The name *Ἰαζημις(?)* is rare. *Ἰαζήμιος* at *Chersonesus Cretae*.¹

Iason is often used as a personal name in *Comana* and *Cappadocia* ; *Iason*, the healer, was a son (i.e. a personification of the power) of *Asklepios*.

88. *A. H. Smith*, 1884, has a better copy of the inscription published *C.I.G.* 4366, x. (*Schönbörn*), and *B.C.H.* 1878, p. 262, by *M.M. Duchesne* and *Collignon* from the *Ormelensian* district.

οἱ ἐ]ν Ἀ[λασ[τ]αι παραφυ- καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων
λ]ακίται Σαουν Ἰάσων[ος] Ἰαζή- διατελεῖ εἰς [α]ὔτους
μιος ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν

Alastos and *Alasta* and ethnic *Ἀλάστεος* (ε for ι) are all used.

From the script *M. Waddington* ascribed inscription 86 to the time of the kings. The earliest possible date is under *Augustus*.

¹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1896, p. 563 ; is the form certain ?

I am sceptical about the value of script alone in dating Anatolian inscriptions of the Roman period. Tituli which belong to the same year and occasion and city are written in totally different lettering; yet script is useful in conjunction with other evidence, and certain classes of lettering are characteristic of certain periods.¹ Especially difficult is it to date by script alone copies made by non-epigraphists.

Dittenberger agrees with Waddington as to date. He was deceived by the form of sigma in Sterrett's book (as Professor G. Hirschfeld was in respect of an inscription belonging to the same time, see later no.). In both cases the early form of sigma is due to the printers in America, who everywhere represent Sterrett's Σ by a much earlier form Σ. Sterrett sent me a tracing. In judging the age of tituli from the lettering, one is too ready to apply the rules gathered from Athens, whose inscriptions have been studied most carefully, and are made the beginning of epigraphic study by all moderns. The lapicidae of central Anatolia did not begin from Athenian custom, nor apply rules learned in Athens.

I cannot doubt that no. 86 belongs to the period which began in 36 B.C., and that it should be dated about 20 B.C.

The best commentary on this text is Strabo's account of Comana and the Cappadocian Strategia in XII. 2, 1-5, quoted already. Kataones inhabited the city Comana, as he says, and as the inscription emphasizes, and as Dittenberger repeats.

Comana is distinguished as *ἱερά Κομάνων πόλις* from Comana of Pontus, which is *ἡ Ἱεροκομανέων πόλις* in a fragmentary inscription, which I got from the copy of an Armenian priest at Pilkirik, near Sivas in 1882. This Pontic Comana retains its name to the present day at Geumenek, with *k* added to give it a Turkish appearance (cp. Seuerék, the ancient Psibela, Seiouala, in Lykaonia).

89. Shahr (Wilson, Clayton, Waddington, loc. cit., p. 128), *AEOΩΣΘ*.

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν]	<i>εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ λαμπρῶς</i>
[τὴν δεῖνα ἀνεπι-]	<i>φιλοτιμηθεῖσαν εἰς</i>
<i>λείπτως</i> ε[ὔ]σεβήσασαν	<i>τὴν πατρίδα</i>

Date: 1st century.

This inscription was dated by M. Waddington in the kingly period, like no. 60. It has been assigned to a priestess, wife of a priest of Ma and strategos of Kataonia; but there is no proof and no probability that in pre-Greek and pre-Roman time the wife of a priest of the great goddess shared in the honour and duties of her husband. We hear much about the priest, nothing about the priestess. This titulus belongs to Roman time, when priest and priestess were required in the cult of the Emperors. The glorification of a woman and her liberality

¹ Koerte has shown a good example from Dorylaion in *G.G.A.* 1898.

with regard to honores in the *πατρις*, and the democratic idea of *πατρις* ranking along with religious observance are developments of later time than the old Cappadocian.

It may be doubted, therefore, whether the inscription was dedicated to a priestess. A lady who gave her time and attention to our Hieron and our *patris* was probably the wife of the Roman eques-procurator in charge of the province. The Boule and Demos of Comana erected two tituli to the governor and to his wife; they were probably on a single stone, with Boule and Demos of Comana above both, but only the right-hand lower corner has been preserved.

Next in order we place the miliaria found at Comana or in the glen in which it lies, because it is an important fact that soldiers of legion XII. at Melitene (or auxiliaries) often made a visit (or "pilgrimage"?) to Comana; and the inclusion of that great Hieron in the system of military roads, though it is off the main natural line, in a glen of the Antitaurus, shows that the policy of the Empire encouraged relations with the native religion.

On these roads in Cappadocia the miliaria were usually placed in groups. As repairs were made, other cippi were dedicated bearing the name of the reigning Emperor. The earliest milestone is of Vespasian; almost all Emperors to Severus and his family, and later to Gallienus, appear on miliaria of Galatia or of Armenia-Cappadocia. There are probably also many in Cilicia Tracheia; but that country has had few travellers; and these were as a rule not epigraphists. It is generally not an easy matter to copy a milestone, or to make a successful squeeze of the rough surface. Archaeologists are attracted to the great sites, where nobler spoil awaits them. The few known Tracheiotic miliaria were also placed in groups; they seem to begin with Septimius Severus. We have seen none earlier.

Emperors later than Gordian contented themselves generally with using old miliaria, often obliterating the former names to make room for their own, and mentioning only their names, hardly ever giving any further information. Numbers and distances and *caput viae* were often recorded earlier; these were allowed often to stand, but sometimes were obliterated to make clear space for the later names, Carus, Diocletian, Constantine, etc.

Our miliaria at Comana probably represent two groups, incomplete; no. 90 and 91 belong to a group 152 M.P. (from Melitene); and 92-93 a group 153 M.P. from Melitene, 3 m. from Comana. The relation between these groups and their exact position I cannot specify. I found them on an excursion apart from the line of march with a native guide, to whom I could not speak; two were in a house where we took refuge from a bad storm. The fifth in Comana has been often seen; it was 15[.] M.P. from Melitene.

Only one of the five has been used again by a later Emperor, Diocletian with Maximian.

In Galatia proper I know no place where a group has been found except in the cemeteries at Obruk and Seuerek to which they may have been carried; these are not real groups. They are often found at bridges.

We do not indicate lost letters; but give what can be assumed as certain; expense is the master. The actual record legible on the stone can be found elsewhere.

90. (R. 1882; *C.I.L.* iii. 6952): beside No. 91, found in a house in an Avshahr village 4 or 5 M.P. from Comana to N.N.E. Date *c.* 235.

[Imp.]	potest.
Caes Gaio	p.p.
Julio ♀ Vero	per erasure
Maximino	erasure
Pio ♀ Felici	leg. Aug. pr. pr.
invicto Aug.	M · PNF
♀ p ♀ m. ♀ trib	

The name of Licinnius Serenianus is erased; elsewhere it remains except in *C.I.L.* iii. 6933, where the legatus is lost, as most of that inscription was destroyed to make room for Diocletian, etc.; but the name Maximinus remains at the top. Serenianus is mentioned by Firmilianus, Bishop of Caesarea, in a letter to Cyprian (*Ep.* 75, 10) as a cruel and bitter enemy of the Christians.

91. (R. 1882; *C.I.L.* iii. 6950): found in the same house as No. 90. A sudden thunderstorm caused the find; situation described by R. in *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 120. Date 202 (!): other mil. date 198.

Imp. Caes. L. Septimius	M. Aurel. Antoninus
Severus Pius Per-	Aug. et P. Septim. Geta
tinax Aug. Arab.	Caesa(r) resti-
Adiab. Parth. Max.	tuerunt per C. Iul[ium]
pontif. max. trib. pot. iii (!).	Flaccum Aelianum
imp. xi., cos iii. (!) p. p.	leg. pr. pr.
pro cos et Imp. Caes.	

92. (R. 1882; *C.I.L.* iii. 6953): between the Avshahr village and Comana; found along with no. 93. Date *c.* 238.

Imp. Caes	M. Antonius Gor-
erased	dianus nobilissimus
—erased	C]aesar restituit
—erased	per Cuspidium [F]l[a]mini-
—erased	um Severum leg. [Aug.
—erased	pr]opretorem
	iii. m.p.

In ll. 2-6 the names of M. Clodius Pupienius Maximus et imp. Caes. D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus pii felices Augusti were erased

without orders by provincials who were ignorant of the happenings in Rome: Wadd. quoted by Mommsen (who compares *C.I.L.* viii. 10342, 10343, 10365). Restituit was substituted for restituerunt.

Propretor is declined as a single word on Gordian's miliaria: fault of a centurion who knew little Latin.

93. (R. 1882; *C.I.L.* iii. 6955). Date *c.* 246.

The two	per Antonium
Philippi erased	Memmium
vias et pontes	Hieronem v. c. leg.
vetustate	Aug. pr. pr.
conlapsas	PNB
restituerunt	

(Diocletian and) Maximian and the Caesares were substituted.

94. (R. 1882; Clayton; Karolides; *C.I.L.* iii. 6951):

imp. caes	invicto ♀ Aug.
C. Iulio ♀ Ve	♀ P ♀ M ♀ trib
ro ♀ Maximino	♀ potest ♀ PP
♀ Pio ♀ Felici ♀	

Near the place where the Roman road entered Comana. It is possible that much of the inscription was illegible or erased, and that the copyists have missed this.

95. On the shore of Lake Egerdir (*λίμνα*),¹ between the town and the railway station (R. 1924 with D. M. Robinson, who published in *J.R.S.* 1925, p. 254; Rott, *Kl. Denkm.* p. 352, commentary by W. Weber).

* Ἀρη Ἐννιαλίω	ωρίου Αὐγούσ-
Λούκιος Καλπο-	του [Δομιτιανο-
ύριμος Α · Υ · Κολλε-	8 ὦ] καὶ θεοῦ Τίτο-
4 ἵνα Λόνγος οὐε-	υ καὶ θεοῦ Οὐεσ-
τρανός ἐκ πραιτ-	πασιανού

The date is any year between 82 and 95. L. Calpurnius, the father, was probably a soldier, who served 25 years in a cohort or ala, and retired as civis. If the son received *missio* in 95, he enlisted in 75, and was born about 57. The father may have been made a soldier at the compulsory levy under Corbulo; and was named after some officer at that time. Spelling *Λούκιος* antiquated, *c.* 50.

This inscription is a good example of the way in which a soldier's career determined his subsequent life. An Anatolian provincial served either in the East (Egypt, Cyrene, Euphrates frontier), where Greek was the language of general intercourse, and where he learned and used

¹ Egerdir, Eyerdir, Turkish pronunciation of ἀκρωτήριον, promontory, translation of Pisdian Προσταμνα, standing forth. G. Hirsch-

feld recognized that the lake is *Λίμνα*, bishopric *Λίμνα*.

Greek, or on the Danube frontier where he learned Latin. A soldier's Latin was poor and ungrammatical, but it proved his Roman civitas; he was proud to be a Roman, and he used Latin in every known case. When he came home he found that Greek was the language of the higher classes, of which he was now a member. Yet he clung to his Latin, and his children even knew a few words of Latin (as will be shown later). Calpurnius learned Greek, not Latin.

L. Calpurnius was son of a civis and was qualified as a legionary. Returning after 20 years' service to his Pisidian home, he paid his vow for safe return to the war-god pictured on many Pisidian rocks: he calls him Ares Enualios, which he doubtless pronounced Enuyalios. From the name we gather that he had served in legio XII. Fulminata, stationed at Melitene from 70 onwards, that he had gone to Comana (p. 108), where he had made his prayer and vow to the goddess of war and victory, *Νικηφόρος θεά*, Ma-Enuo, or her male companion called Ares Enualios in Greek. He had been promoted to personal attendance on the legatus in his praetorium. There was a praetorium wherever the Emperor or his legatus was. Domaszewski even says that there were two praetoria in Dacia where the consular and the praetorian legatus were together at Apulum.

Professor Weber of Berlin makes this man a soldier of the Praetorian Guard in Rome. A soldier who had served in Rome for many years would have learned some Latin and used it. We ask how a Pisidian soldier in 70 could be admitted to serve in the Praetorian Guard, which ranked highest in the army and was recruited from Italians, and later also from some western coloniae. It is explained that when Vespasian appointed trustworthy officers instead of those whose loyalty was doubtful, he also promoted good soldiers from Moesia to the Guard; but that is an addition made by Professor Weber, and is devoid of authority. In Moesia and in Rome the soldiers used Latin.

We do not enter on the question whether *πραιτώριον* could be used in the sense of Praetorian Guard at Rome. Mommsen denied this; but Dessau and others quote Claudius's words "qui militaverunt in praetorio meo" as meaning service in the Guard. The case is different; soldiers of the Guard were in attendance on the Emperor in his praetorium or that of his legatus wherever he went.

L. Calpurnius was a soldier of Domitian when he paid his vow, and names Domitian first; then he adds that he had done the same service under three Emperors, an unusual event. Cp. tit. at Col. Cremna.

πραιτωρειανός or *πραιτώριος* means a soldier of Ala Praetoria stationed at Karape,¹ in Armenia Minor, on the Euphrates frontier (called in

¹ Corrupted canuper in *Not. Dign. Or.* 38 Armenia Minor, where canupe in text was corrected in margin R. (intending carupe), and R was inserted wrongly, making canuper. Strabo, 537, 539, 663 puts *Ἑρπα*, *Ἑρφα*, at

the crossing of Karmalas, Zamanti Su, in Sargaurasene (so rightly: cp. Gauraina). *Καράπη*, *Ἑρπα*: cp. *Κατενα*, *Ἐτενα* or *Ἐτ.* (*H.G.* p. 418): π and φ interchange in Anatolian pronunciation.

Itin. Ant. Ad Praetorium).¹ The praetorian cohorts were composed of Italians ; and western soldiers were admitted after a time. They were all cives. A soldier of Cohors Praetoria V., who died at Nysa on Maeander (*C.I.L.* iii. 5337), was marching to Trajan's Parthian campaign in 114.

96. Shahr (Hogarth, 1890 ; Yorke, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 316), "finely engraved on marble mural tablet." ΑΕΟΩΣ.

θεᾶ μεγάστη	τὰ εὐ]χαρισ[τίαν
τῆς χώρας κα-	Μ]ιθρατώχμης

O for Θ in l. 4. The goddess is certainly Ma-Kybele. The inscription is early, perhaps before A.D. 14, as there is nothing in it distinctively later than the time of the kings. The name is Cappadocian (Persian origin). Mithratochmes was a noble or a priest minister of Ma-Nikephoros. The inscriptions of Comana are almost exclusively records of nobles and priests, who were grecized by education, and often assumed Greek names, though probably they often had also native names ; and in dedicating to the great goddess of the land Mithratochmes would use a native name.

He was not the chief priest of the goddess, for the father and grandfather of Dorylaos (born about 61 B.C.) were priests of the goddess, and this inscription cannot be pushed back into the second century B.C. ; but there were priests ministri of Ma-Bellona-Nikephoros. Before the Dorylaoi the priest of Ma was of the blood royal, and second only to the king.

The name Mithratochmes occurs in no. 112, but is not quoted elsewhere. It is (as Waddington says) correctly formed ; (cp. Tritantaichmes, no. 86, and Herodotus), and the failure of attestation is accidental. The later and western form Mithra is used, not the old Ario-Persian Mitra.

On τωχ for the older ταιχ, compare βωζανης for βαρζανης, no. 109.

97. Seraidjik-Hutchbil. Turk and Kurd names of a village (Clayton, 1881 ; Munro, 1891, better copy), quadrangular altar adorned with wreaths ; Yorke in *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 319. ΑΕΟC.

μέγας Ζεὺς οὐ-	ος κατὰ κέλευ-
ράνιος Εἰούλι-	σω wreath θεο[ῶ

The inscription is probably a prayer or adoration. Julius was perhaps a soldier and civis from Melitene (*leg. XII. Fulm.*) ; see no. 95. The god had ordered him. The invocation of a god as great was frequent in antiquity ; and the early Christian formula μέγας χριστός is due to persistence of the old form, and is usually (or always) Heretic.

The Cappadocian inscription, *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 322, should be compared ; delete ἴσθι in transcription. See also Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη Μήλου

¹ Also Praetorium.

εἰλεως Ἀλεξάνδρω κτίστη εἰρῶν Μυστῶν, *Ath. Mitt.* 1890, p. 246; Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις Θερμιά, Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, μέγας Ἀπόλλων (Therma in Lesbos, Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 117; *B.C.H.* 1880, p. 430; Acts Apost. xix. 23-41; *J.H.S.* 1930, p. 282).

MHEIAAE dialectic Pamphylian for *μεγάλη* was the Queen of Perga (*Φανασσας Πρεϊας* gen., i.e. *Πρεγίας* and *Περγίας*), *J.H.S.* 1880, pp. 246, 253. At Sillyon a tribe, *Μεαλεῖτις*, was named from the *Μειάλη* goddess (*B.C.H.* 1889, p. 486). Kybele was the "Great Goddess." The great peak of Kara Dagħ on the east frontier of Lycaonia is still called Mahalitch (where *tch* is added to give a Turkish appearance), mountain of *Μεγάλη θεά*. Kybele and Artemis are forms of the same goddess. The mob in the theatre at Ephesus invoked loudly the great Artemis; they did not shout for two hours that "Artemis is great" (*μεγάλη Α.*, not *μεγάλη ἡ Α.*); text right in A. C. Clark's edition. I find *μέγας ὁ Ζεὺς* in Aristides once. *Addenda*, p. 219.

The nature of the Cappadocian deities is illustrated by the following two inscriptions.

98 and 99. Yarzowat in Cilicia, between Missis-Mopsouestia and Osmanié (Yorke, from his own copy, 1894, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 310); on two cippi (in the cult at Hieropolis-Kastabala):

θεῶν Θεῶν	Ἄθηνᾶ
Δί	/
Μεγίστω	

Companion dedications to the god and goddess (in her Greek rendering as Athena, the warlike power). The Semitic (Aramaic?) and Oriental "god of gods" is identified with Zeus Megistos, who is very frequently a Greek rendering of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Cilicia and Cappadocia were in close relations with each other in early time and the regal period, especially Kastabala on the Pyramos. This caused Pompey to include Castabala in *strategia XI.* which he attached to Cappadocia. This inclusion seemed so strange to Dittenberger, and to me in *H.G.A.M.* p. 342, that both invented another Kastabala near Kybistra.

100. Shahr (R. 1882; Clayton, 1881), on a column in the low ground; broken on right. *AEOGOC.*

Ἀσκληπιῶ σ[ωτη]ρι	Γ. Ἐλούιος Καπρέο[λος]?
κατ' εὐχὴν	Ρ' λεγιῶνος [δ]ω[δεκ[άτης] κεραυνοφόρου

Date, probably 70-100. Perhaps nothing is lost in l. 2.

C. Helvius Capreo[us?], centurion of legio XII. Fulminata, stationed at Melitene from 70 on, visited Comana on duty or pleasure, and made his vow and prayer to Apollo-Asklepios-Saviour *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας*. This legion is called Moderatiana in a late document (Section 28).

C. Helvius was civis, as a legionary. He was probably son of a soldier who had been admitted to the auxiliary service when Helvius Basila was legatus Galatiae under Tiberius, c. 37, and retired as civis, c. 63; his son served in legio XII. at Melitene. Helvius Pertinax imp. is later.

101. Shahr (R. publ. *Journ. Philol.* xi. 159, from copy of Mr. Christy,¹ American missionary); Waddington, l.c. p. 133. AEOGOC.

Cωτῆρι Ἄ-	KANZA[. . ?]	ὑπὲρ [Ç]ισίν-
σκληπιῶ	ΠΑΙΛΑΡΟC	ου τοῦ υἱοῦ

PA error for φα as tribus Fabia ?

In l. 3 probably a letter or two are lost at end, but there is no indication in copy. Κανζα|ρα? Wadd. "mal copié." Κανζω or Κανζος may be suggested (no. 205) with hesitation. Only another copy, or another occurrence of the same name can give assurance. If the name is Latin, Hilarus was a soldier exauctoratus.

In l. 5 copy and Waddington read ΕΙCΙΝΟΥ.

Sisines (or Sisinas) bears the name of the last king of Cappadocia, Archelaos Sisines (36 B.C. to 14 A.D.). On p. 104 f. Reinach's contrary opinion is discussed.

102. Shahr (Clayton; Waddington, l.c. p. 140), in the Armenian church; large letters on broken stone.

[ὁ δεῖνα] | CΙCΙN|ΟΥ. ΛΑ|[ομεδοντι?] [οδίκη? γυναικί?]

Sisines in no. 101. The copy does not say whether a line is lost above or below; but a line is certainly lost below, and a line is required above.

103. Shahr (R. in *Journ. of Phil.* xi. p. 146, from Sir Ch. Wilson, 1878; M. Clayton, 1881; Waddington, l.c. p. 132), round altar. AEOGOL.

Κυρίω Ἀπόλ-	4	σωτῆρει (!)	τοῦ Ἄ
λωνι ζ		Ἀὐρ. Κύριλλος	8 πόλλ-
κὲ Ἀσκληπιῶ		β', νεωκόρος	ωνος

Last three lines in a wreath of laurel. β' refers, not to νεωκόρος, but to the father of Kyrillos. If we could assume that the father was named Kyrillos without Ἀὐρ, the father died before 212, and the son was (priest and) neokoros of Apollo about 220; but this is uncertain and the date may be later. Kataonian Apollo is mentioned by Strabo, xii.

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Christy were very dear friends of ours; he was a graduate of Beloit University, a soldier in the Civil War; as a missionary he opened the

mission at Tarsus; portrait of Mr. Christy at a monument north from Tarsus in *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 96.

2, 6, as widely worshipped in Cappadocia, and having a specially great Hieron in Strategia Melitene, which was revered through the whole of Cappadocia, as the people made for themselves new foundations modelled on it (ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἱερόν τὸ τοῦ Κατάονος Ἀπόλλωνος καθ' ὅλην τιμώμενον τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ποιησαμένων ἀφιδρύματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ).

It is apparent here how narrow a line separates a god from an aspect of his nature personified; the Lord Apollo is only slightly differentiated from Saviour Asklepios. According to the common Greek mythology Asklepios was son of Apollo and Koronis (whom Artemis or he slew at her home Lakereia in Thessaly). Asklepios was closely connected with fire and lightning, and with the serpent. He restored the dead to life, out of which idea grew his medical skill. Here at Comana the Lord Apollo and the Saviour Asklepios are united in the same dedication, as if Asklepios was a manifestation of Apollo. The children of Asklepios, e.g. Hygeia, Alexenor, Aigle, Panakeia, Iason, Aratos, etc., are personifications of his powers.

The close relation between Apollo and Asklepios, and between Apollo and the Nikephoros goddess, is illustrated at the Hieron of Dionysopolis (later Section ¹), where Mother Leto and Apollo Lairbenos were adored on the same altar and in the same dedicatory inscriptions.

104. Shahr (R. 1882; Clayton; Waddington, l.c. p. 128), much worn. ΑΕΠΩΣ.

Ἰεροπολι[τ]ῶν ἡ βουλή [κ]α[ι] ὁ [δῆ]μος
 Μᾶρκον Ἰρριον Φρόντωνα Νερά[τιον]
 Πάνσαν πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντι-
 στρ[ά]τηγον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸν π[ά]τρωνα?
 5 ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως Ἰου. Αν[τ].
 Μίτρα Ἀππᾶ τοῦ πρυτάνεως, ἔτους [α']?

Clayton alone saw Ἰου Ἀν in l. 5 and Μ in l. 6. The last two lines are in smaller letters than ll. 1-4.

This Roman consular governor of Galatia and Cappadocia is known from an inscription of Pessinus and from coins of Ancyra and Caesarea. He is attested in the first half of 79, and also after the death of Vespasian. He is sometimes called M. Hirrius, sometimes Neratius Pansa. In this inscription both names are used, and also on a coin of Ancyra, ΜΙΡΦ . ΝΕΡΑΤΙΟΥ . ΠΑΝΣΑ . ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ . ΑΝΤ.

πάτρωνα, restored by Waddington, is probable.

As Waddington says, this titulus first revealed the double name of the legatus, and cleared up an apparent contradiction in history.²

¹ [Not written.]

² I mention this (from Waddington), because the history of imperial Roman families (A.D. 160-220, C.B. ch. viii) re-

vealed in a group of south-west Phrygian inscriptions, has been treated as improbable because it is attested only by epigraphic allusions in a Phrygian glen.

A broken inscription of Pessinus (see Perrot, *Expl. de la Gal.* p. 209), in honour of Vespasian Titus and Domitian Caesar in first half of A.D. 79 mentions M. Hirrius as legatus. Neratius Pansa was legatus under Titus (as coins of Ancyra show). The legend should be divided *M. IP. Φ. ΝΕΡΑΤΙΟΥ. ΠΡΕΣΒ. ΑΝΤ* (as Waddington pointed out; the first four letters are not divided). The second praenomen is revealed in an inscription at the Hieron of Men Askaenos over Colonia Antiochea (see Miss Hardie (Mrs. Hasluck), *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 121 f.). The full name was M. Hirrius Fronto A. Neratius Pansa.

Mitras was the original Cappadocian name of the prytanis before he became civis, and was in the regular order retained as his last cognomen. Such native cognomina were often dropped as the family became romanized. The Aryan spelling Mitra instead of the Greek and Latin Mithra is characteristic of Cappadocia, where Persian names abound.

The date was, according to Cappadocian custom, reckoned according to years of the Emperor, Vespasian or Titus or Domitian. Probably it was either α' or γ' of Titus. Mitra is genitive of a supposed nom. Mitras. Julius Antius Mitras, priest, prytanis, superintended the erection.

By the senate and people of the Hieropolitai there was made a (statue? with) inscription to Marcus Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa, legatus Augusti pro praetore, their patron? the erection being under the charge of Jul(ius) An[t(ius)] Mitras, the prytanis in the year (of the Emperor) [I?].

The date is either in 79 or in 81. Prytanis is the only magistrate of Comana that is mentioned. The senate and people ordered: the prytanis directed. He takes the place which in most cities was filled by the first (eponymous) archon.

The prytanis derived his name from C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, legatus iuridicus of Cappadocia, etc. (who was present at Rome among the Arvales Fratres in 78 A.D., probably as praetor). While he was at Comana the prytanis was granted civitas, and took the name (T. Flavius) Julius Antius Mitras. [But cf. pp. 30, 222.]

As civis he was in Roman sense *nullo patre*; *appas* was the title of a subordinate priest, as Buresch first pointed out (*Aus Lydien*, p. 131), who was *ex officio* prytanis. The elaborate name was too great a change from the simple Mitras and has been shortened. As a whole this inscription has a mean look, and is evidently cut by a poor lapicida. As I copied it, I had no conception of its importance.

Quadratus became proconsul of Crete and Cyrene, and legatus of Lycia and Pamphylia, 90-92. The latter office preceded the consulship immediately. His consulship was held with M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus in June-July, 93 (*secundo nundino*). Thereafter he was governor of Syria, *cos. (ord.) II.* in 105 with Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus, and proconsul of Asia about 106.

His inscriptions, mainly found at Pergamos, show ignorance of Roman procedure in some points, and contradict each other (one mentions Cyprus instead of Cyrene). No Roman officer is more elaborately and often mentioned in authors, coins, and tituli; yet from carelessness or ignorance of Roman rules and order, etc., his career is difficult to trace. The inscription of Comana gives welcome help. It may be dated A.D. 81, thus fixing several connected events.

C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Voltinia Quadratus, cos. 93, II, 105, was a considerable figure in Roman history about 100. Numerous inscriptions have magnified to us his importance. The recent discovery of a more remarkable figure, C. Julius C. F. (Fabia) Quadratus Bassus, no. 29, shows that Antius Julius has been credited with some of the services of Bassus. Mommsen and all moderns regarded Antius Julius as cousin of C. Julius Severus¹: even Premerstein, who first disentangled the personality of C. Julius Bassus, repeated that error: Professor W. Weber held that Antius and Bassus were one and the same person. C. Julius Severus was of tribe Fabia, like all Anatolian C. Julii² who owed civitas to Augustus, and his cousin C. J. Q. Bassus was of the same tribe; and both were of Galatian origin, descended from kings and tetrarchs. Antius Julius Q. seems to have no Galatian connexion. We hazard a conjecture that he came from Nîmes or other city of Gallia Narbonensis; all were of tribe Voltinia; and that his family had migrated to Asia, like Avircius Marcellus or his father.

The statue (?) was probably decreed by Boule and Demos on the occasion of a visit made by M. Hirrius Fronto (A.) Neratius Pansa to Comana. At Colonia Caesarea Antiochea it was apparently customary to erect an inscription or statue of a legatus when he visited the Colonia; and we may apply the same rule generally.

It is probable that the consular legatus nominated his iuridici legati (subject to approval by the Emperor), and therefore the term of C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus coincided with that of Hirrius Neratius Pansa. The visit of the latter to Comana was late in his term of office, for the prytanis at Comana was created civis before his visit, probably by Titus in 79.

Antius Julius Quadratus (of Pergamos, where almost all the inscriptions mentioning him were found) had his official residence probably at Comana, and he would report directly to the Emperor from there, as we may gather from this inscription. If Hirrius Neratius had forwarded the commendation for civitas, the prytanis would have taken his Roman cognomina (or cognomen) from him. Comana was the third city of Cappadocia; suited for the legatus iuridicus. Melitene was a rival for this dignity, but the legion stationed there was commanded by

¹ They did not observe the difference of tribe. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 543 f.; Mommsen, *Berl. Akad. Sitz. Ber.* 1901,

pp. 25 f.

² Cp. C. Julius C. F. Rufus, *C.B.* I. no. 118.

a praetorian legatus and Roman principes kept separate the two praetorii.

C. 72-115 the consular legatus had his official residences at Ancyra and at Caesarea (on whose coins the legati are often mentioned), but he made an official progress through the province, and commanded the two legions of Cappadocia in case of war. It can hardly be doubted that the three legati iuridici were nominated by him (subject to the Emperor's veto); and their term coincided with that of the consular legatus.

In the career of C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Volt. Quadratus, it is noteworthy that he held no military command except Syria. The legatus Asiae had no direct power over the auxiliary cohorts and alae stationed in Asia, though doubtless he could call on their commanders for help in any case of need: so in respect of any such legatio as Lycia-Pamph. Quadratus was never legatus legionis, though that was usually one of the earliest praetorian offices in the career of a Roman in the cursus senatorius.

Owing to doubt about reading and to possible errors, the precise date when Pansa was succeeded by A. Caesennius Gallus is a matter of controversy.¹ *P.I.R.* i. 265, places Gallus 80-82.

A. Caesennius Gallus was legatus at Caesarea Cappadoc. in the third year of Titus,² A.D. 81, according to coin 27 in Br. Mus. Cat., ετ . γ'.³ The titulus, *C.I.L.* iii. 12218, mentions the year 80 (trib. pot. X. of Titus): but 81 (cos. VII. desig. VIII.) of Domitian is right; read XVII. in l. 4,⁴ Gallus was legatus 81-83, and *P.I.R.* should be corrected on this point. Correcting X at the end of a line to XI this milliarium must be dated in 81, and the only evidence that Gallus was legatus in A.D. 80 disappears. The omission of I after X is either an error of the lapicida, or due to complete decay of the last letter; we saw no trace of I. [See p. 222.]

105. Shahr (Clayton, 1881; Wadd. l.c. p. 134), broken column. ΑΕΕΟΩC.

Φιλοπάτωρ ζ	ἀδελφόν ζ
Ἀπολλωνίου	χρηστότητι καὶ
Τι. Κλαύδιον Αἰλιανόν	φιλαδελφία ζ
Cώσανδρον ζ	διενέκκαντα
τὸν ἀσύγκριτον	

Date, first century under Claudius. Philopator derived his name not from the dynasty that ruled Kastabala Hieropolis under Augustus,⁵

¹ Assuming that these legati ruled for three years. Coins were often struck in the first year of a legatus to welcome his arrival.

² All dating in Cappadocia was by years of King or Emperor.

³ No. 23 (Titus) has Pansa ετ . Ι, an error which the Cat. explains as year ten

of Vespasian (i.e. A.D. 78); read Γ for Ι.

⁴ We read XVII in 1904. Cagnat, p. 190, attributes imp. XVII to A.D. 80 in ed. 4, but to A.D. 80-1 in ed. 3; here it was used in 81.

⁵ See Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, pp. 28 f.; Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 105.

but from Cappadocian kings, Ariarathes V. Philopator (163–130) and Ariobarzanes II. Philopator (63–52 B.C.). Names of kings and queens were long popular in Cappadocia. Philopator and Sosandros were sons of Apollonios. The latter (doubtless the elder and richer) got civitas from Claudius, and did not take his Roman cognomen from a Roman governor of Cappadocia (as was usual in Galatia and Asia where the governor was *legatus Augusti*, or proconsul sent by the Senate).¹ We find hardly any cognomina assumed from procuratores by new cives in Asia Minor. Perhaps Sosandros took his Roman cognomen from Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, cos. 45, a *legatus* and comes of Claudius in Britain, 44. In that case civitas was conferred on this Cappadocian in 44 on the public holiday celebrating the return of the Emperor from the conquest of Britain (*τακτηῆ ἡμέρα*, in Acts xii. 21; Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 6, 7; xix. 8, 2). His brother congratulates him on civitas.

Ti. Claudius Aelianus Sosandros is not called Ti. F. He had no Roman father, having been made *civis* by Claudius. We learn from his brother Philopator that his father was Apollonios. The names of father and son suggest that they were priests. Sosandros was perhaps an epithet of Ma Kybele as the Saviour goddess, and certainly of Apollo-Asklepios-Zeus Soter, the Theos Sozon.

106. Shahr (R. 1882; Clayton, 1881; Wadd. l.c. p. 133), broken column. ΑΕΘΩC.

]ανον	5 Φιλόλογος Φι[λο]λόγου
Ἀπολλώνιον,	τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον
τὸν [δ]ιὰ βίου ἀρχιερέα,	καὶ εὐεργέτην
καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος	

Date probably early second century. The loss of the first name is unfortunate. Apollonios was perhaps priest at Comana in a gre-cized or romanized form; but more probably he was *ἀρχιερεύς* in the imperial cultus,² in which case he must have been *civis* (*T. Φλάουιον*?). His name was possibly [*T. Φλάουιον Μοντ*?]ανὸν Ἀπολλώνιον according to the strict rules of nomenclature for new cives. Montanus was consul in 81, and possibly was governor of Cappadocia and Galatia shortly after, and proconsul of Asia about 95–6 (?). The name Montanus, Mountanos, occurs in Anatolia often (no. 24).

107. Shahr (R. 1882; *Journ. Philol.* xi. p. 160; Wadd. l.c. p. 135). AEO and Π III and ΩΗ.

Φλ. Ἀσιατικὸς	τάτῃ κὲ μόνῃ
καὶ Ἰουλία Ἀθη-	ἀσυνκρίτῳ θυ-
ναῖς Παπῶν Φλ.	γατρὶ προμοί-
Νύση τῇ γλυκυ-	ρω.

¹ I recall here the rules of naming new cives in Section II.

² *ιερεύς*, priest of Comana, *ἀρχιερεύς*, high priest in the imperial cult.

The date is probably A.D. 100 to 120. The lettering seems later, but that is a fallible criterion in Cappadocia.

(T.) Flavius Asiaticus got civitas from a Flavian Emperor; his cognomen comes from a legatus or leg. iuridicus; he has disused his native name. His father is not mentioned, as not being civis. Julia Athenais names her father, who must have been Julius Papas. She could not be Julia except by inheritance from her father who had been civis. Their daughter is, according to rule, Flavia Nysa, taking the nomen from her father. Nysa was the mother (also the daughter) of Ariarathes VI. "Her grand-daughter inherited her name (as was a common practice). As queen mother she ruled and struck coins, and was the guardian and adviser of her son." It was a common practice in the East that the mother of the king ruled practically.

108. Shahr (*Journ. Phil.* 1882, xi. p. 150: stele: pointed pediment). AEOIIIΘ.

Τ. Φλάουιος Κολε-
ς Φλαουίω Ἀπόλλ-

ωνι τῶ ἰδίῳ θρεπτῶ
μνήμησ ἔνεκεν

Waddington reads Κολε[α]ς and Ἀπολλωνί[ω]. The latter is certainly wrong, as in Anatolia names (or epithets) of gods were commonly used as personal names. Kole[α]ς may be right, but I find no authority for such a name. If it be necessary to make a name, Κολε[νι]ς, i.e. Κολαινις, might be suggested, but I would take refuge in ignorance and retain Κολες (as an error? of lapicida). Βολεας occurs.

109. Shahr (R. 1881, publ. by Waddington, *B.C.H.* vii. p. 130, from Clayton).

[αὐτοκράτορα]	ὁ δῆμος ἐπι-
[Κα]ί. Τραιανόν.	μελεία Μαιβου-
Ἀδριανόν Σεβασ-	ζάνου β' πρυτ.
τὸν Ἱεροπολει-	8 ἔτους δ'
4 τῶν ἡ βουλῆ καὶ	

Date, A.D. 120. In l. 7 PYT is in ligature.

In Euseb., *H.E.* vi. 46, *Μερουζάνης* is false lection for *Μεβουζάνης*, i.e. *Μαιβουζάνης* (Wadd.). M. Cumont, "Mon. Mithr.," regards -βουζ- as a local pronunciation of -βαρζ-¹; *Μαι-βουζάνης β'* (son of *Μαιβουζάνης*) compares with *Μιθροβουζάνης*, the general who commanded the Cappadocian troops at the battle of the Granicus; the MSS. of Arrian, i. 16, 3, and Diodorus, xvii. 21, give both *Μιθροβουζ-* and *Μιθροβαρζ-ανης*, as Waddington says; and he concludes that the former is correct, but that depends on whether the general was a Persian or a Cappadocian. In *Μαιβουζάνης* the first element is *Μα*, the goddess of Comana. Cumont, loc. cit., quotes Mithrobouzanēs, king of Sophene, c. 160-130 B.C. (men-

¹ The soft R (or L) disappeared through OU, cp. Talbonda-Tumandos.

tioned by Diodorus, xxxi. 22); *Σαθραβουζάνης*, Esdras, *Graec.* i. 6, 3; *Σαραβαζάνης*, Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 104; Schulze, *K.Z.* 1893, p. 215. Soft Anatolian ρ was often dropped. Compare *Μαιφατης*, *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 317, a Galatian slave, Wescher, *Inscr. Inéd. Delph.* no. 189. ΟΥ and Α interchange readily in Anatolian pronunciation, as Arara-Aroura, name of the Earth goddess used as a woman's name, like Ge.

110. Shahr (R. 1890; Hogarth, 1891; Yorke, *ibid.*). ΑΕΟΩC.

<i>Πούβλ. Λικίνν. Κορνήλιον</i>	<i>τατον Καίσαρα Ίεροπολει-</i>
<i>Ουαλεριανόν τόν έπιφανέσ-</i>	<i>τών ή βουλή και ό δήμος</i>

Elder son of Emp. Gallienus. The two sons of Gallienus and Salonina are hardly distinguishable, and were probably often confused by provincials. The form here used appears in *C.I.L.* iii. 4646, 4647, 4652, 7971.

111. Shahr (R. 1882; Sterrett, 1884; also Clayton, 1881; Wadd. l.c. 131).

<i>Αυτοκράτορα</i>	<i>Πρό[βο]ν εύσεβ.</i>
<i>Καίσαρα Μ. Αύρ.</i>	<i>εύτυχ. σεβ. μέγ.</i>

The name of Probus was erased, but part is legible. Probus was not usually erased, but two cases at least occur in Africa, and one other in provincia Galatia at Kanna.

The names at Comana are an interesting study; and I arrange the inscriptions of Comana according to the predominance of purely Cappadocian names (including names of former kings and queens). Greek names become gradually more common, and in the inscriptions later than A.D. 212 they are almost universal. This order, therefore, is nearly chronological. Inscriptions relating to Roman affairs can generally be dated exactly, and are placed accordingly, but the introduction of Roman names can rarely be traced, because the names of the governors of the province are generally unknown.

112. Shahr (*Journ. Phil.* xi. p. 148, from Sir Ch. Wilson, Clayton, Waddington, l.c. 134). ΑΕΟΩΣ.

<i>Ήθηναις Σπίτου ή</i>	<i>άνεψιδόν τιμητικώς</i>
<i>και Βάζεις Σπίτην</i>	<i>πρός αυτήν διατε-</i>
<i>Σπίτου του Μιθρα-</i>	<i>θέντα εύνοίας κα[ι]</i>
<i>τώχμου τόν έατής</i>	<i>φιλοστοργίας ένε[κα]</i>

Date, early Roman period (lettering early). Placed by Waddington before the Roman period. The names are Cappadocian (Athenais, Cappadocian queen, from Athena Nikephoros, a form of Ma as the warlike goddess). It is difficult to determine the relationship: probably Athenais Bazeis was daughter of Spites, and Spites, son of Spites, was her nephew. Probably this is a case of marriage in a patriarchal

household between a pair who were too close in blood relationship (Section V.). Athenais was married, as was the universal custom (unless she was serving as *παλλακή* at the Hieron); this young Spites was probably the son of her brother Spites.¹

What was the relationship between the brother and the husband of Athenais Bazeis remains uncertain. Did she marry her adopted brother, as in Section V. ?² Spites is probably a familiar form for Persian Spitamenes.

Bazis was a place in Tyanitis (Ptolemy, see *H.G.* 347). It was probably the strange pool a little south from Tyana, with a temple. *Apud Asbamaei quoque Iovis templum . . . prope oppidum Tyana stagno effluens fons cernitur qui . . . nunquam extra margines intumescit, Amm. xxiii. 6, 19 ; v. Strabo, 537 ; Philost. V. Apoll. 1, 4.*

The close relation between personal and place names is well established. Bazis³ is evidently derived from Persian *baga*, god, Slav. *bogu*, Phrygian Bagaios Zeus. Athenais Bazeis is a union of Greek and Cappadocian synonyms ; Bazeis, goddess in Cappadocia and Athenais in Greek, which is naturally connected with Athena as the usual Greek rendering of Ma-Bellona-Nikephoros in her warlike character.

Athenais Philostorgos was the name of two successive queens of Cappadocia, married to Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos (96-63) and to Ariobarzanes II Philopator (63-52),⁴ Th. Reinach, loc. cit. The younger was daughter of Mithradates VI., who perhaps gave her the name in memory of the staunch support which the Athenians gave him in the long siege by Sulla in 87-86.⁵

113. Shahr (Hogarth and Munro ; Yorke, *ibid.*), stele. *ΑΕΘΩΕ.*

Τιαραβης | και Μιθρης Τιαρα|βει τῶι πατρί |

Date, first century. Tiarabes is equivalent to Tiarabis, as the dative shows ; compare *Ἰαζημις*, gen. *Ἰαζήμιος* in no. 87 f. The name seems to be Persian in origin, "wearing a tiara."

114. Shahr, carried to Hadjin (Hogarth, Munro, 1891 : publ. by Yorke, *ibid.*). *ΑΕΠΠΠΕ.*

Σεμείραμις

Ἀρι|οβαρζάνου

Ἀπ|ολωνία (!) τῆ ἀ-

γαπ]ητῆ θυγα-

τρὶ ἰδία ΠΠΠΕ

¹ Perhaps Mithratochmes had two sons Spites (with cognomina), one father of Athenais, the other of her cousin Spites.

² Marriage of uncle and niece is not unexampled in the Roman Empire.

³ Is Bagis in Lydia (Mæonia) connected ?

⁴ There is some doubt as to the queens

or queen. For our purpose here, it is enough that the name of this lady was taken from a queen of the land. I repeat M. Reinach's view.

⁵ As Reinach suggests ; the name, however, is as old as the beginning of Greek influence in Cappadocia.

In l. 5 the last symbols may mean *πνε[υματικός]*, which would imply Heretic, or *πνεῦμα Κυρίου*, beginning of a quotation that has perished ; but the epitaph has no appearance of Christianity. Semiramis was a familiar figure in half-mythical Cappadocian history. Tyana was built on a *χῶμα Σεμιράμιδος* (Strabo, 537), a large mound from which "Hittite" work of Assyrian type has been excavated. Zela in Pontus also stood on a *χῶμα* of Semiramis : v. Strab. 559, who says that she founded Babylon and conquered from India to central Anatolia. Three kings of Cappadocia from 96 to 42 B.C. were named Ariobarzanes.

115 and 116. Shahr (R. in *Journ. of Phil.* xi. p. 148 ; Sterrett, no. 266 ;¹ Waddington, l.c. p. 138, from Clayton). ΑΕΘΩC.

4, 5 μνήμ' Ἀσκληπιάδ[η] | Πυλάδου τόδε | τεύξεν Ἀρείων | .
 πρῶτος καὶ φιλή[η] | καὶ γένει ἐγγύτ[ατος]
 δεύτερος αὐθ' ἐτάρων | προφέρων | Ἀσκληπιόδωρος |
 οἰκέιος φιλήν | [ῆ]δὲ παρωνυμίν |
 14-5 Φαῖδρος δ' [α]ὐτ' | ἐπὶ τοῖσι τρίτος, | φιλήν δ' ἄρα πρῶτος |
 δείματ' αἰμίμηστον | σῆμα φίλω ἐτάρω. |
 τέτρατος αὐ Μέμφις ; | οἶτοι τάφον | ἐξετέλεσαν |
 τέσσαρες ἐκ πολλῶν | μνήμονες εὐσεβίης |

In ll. 1, 6, 14 a dot represents the elided vowel *α* or *ε* ; this was noticed only by Sterrett ; the same is possible in l. 11. This convention is not observed in l. 13, ΔΑΡ. The name Pylades, in a region where Orestes was one of the most frequent priestly names, probably marks a priest. To the same family belong Asklepiades (son), Areion (*γένει ἔγγυς*), Ἀσκληπιόδωρος (*οἰκέιος*, of the same household). Phaidros, an acquaintance, may bear a mythological name.

Memphis seems an Egyptian slave name, a valued slave of the household, mindful of pious duty.

117. Shahr (R. 1882 ; Wilson, Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 135). ΑΕΘΙΙΕ.

Ἀντίγονος	Φαρνάκο[υ
Ἰάσονος καὶ	Ἰόλυμψω τῷ
Ἑρμοδώρα	ἀσυνκρίτω

Date, early 2nd century. The names are of two non-Cappadocian kings, with Hermodora and Jason ; Olympos is rather common in Anatolia generally.

118. Shahr (Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 136) ; on a tomb in the mountain. ΑΩΘC.

Ἀθηναῖς Ἀγρίπ|πα τῷ γλυκυ|τάτω πατρί

¹ Most of Sir Ch. Wilson's I saw in 1882. Many disappeared before Hogarth and I were at Comana, 1890. In 1891 Yorke, Hogarth, Munro were there.

The Roman name probably was not taken from the famous Agrippa, who died when a king was still ruling Cappadocia, but from Herod Agrippa, king of Palestine. The daughter Glaphyra of the last king of Cappadocia became wife of Alexander, son of Herod, and mother of a line of kings named Alexander.

119. The grave was used in violation in Christian time :

$\frac{O}{\text{Κυρακς}}$	$\frac{II}{\text{Κυρακ' for Κυριακ(ου)}}$	τ]οπ[ος or ό τ(όπος) ?
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120. Shahr (R., *Journ. Phil.* 1882, p. 150, from Wilson). ΑΕ and ΕΟΓΟC.

[ό δεινα] | Μιθρέους | έαυτῶ κατεσκευασ[ε | τὸν τάφον

.Second century ? Mithres was a familiar form of *Μιθραδάτης* or other compound with Mithras. The western form is used, not Mitras (as in no. 104).

121. Hadjin, an Armenian town in a deep hole in the mountains, on right side of the Saros ; it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ days (Clayton), $8\frac{1}{4}$ hours (Sterrett) south of Shahr. Clayton saw here an inscription said to have been brought from Shahr, which its character confirms. Hadjin is a purely modern town.

N[ουν]ας 'Ιάσονος	5 κεί ζώση και φρονού-
ζ]ῶν και φρονῶν ¹	ση και Λαομέδον-
έ]αυτῶ ανέστησα	τι τῶ νιῶ μνήμης
κ]αί [N?]ανακη τ[ῆ] γυναι-	χάρην

Date, late 2nd century ?

In l. 1 the name Nounas fits, as three letters are indicated in the gap ; the name is common in Anatolia : masc. Nounas, fem. Nonna, Nouna, Nônilla. Laomedon was used at Dionysopolis and evidently had mythological intention (see a later section). In l. 3 Wadd. reads [έμ]αυτῶ, but variation between first and third person is frequent in Asia Minor. If a letter is lost [έ]αυτῶ should be restored. In l. 4 Wadd. reads *Ἀνάκη*, but Clayton marks a lost letter, and *Νανακη* is feminine of Nannakos, the old Phrygian king who lived at Iconium in the time of the great flood. Annakos was the Cappadocian form, seen in the village Inegi, Greek *Ἀνακου*, *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 324. Wadd. is perhaps right with *Ἀνάκη*.

122. Shahr (Sterrett, *ibid.* 267), stele .72 by .30 m. ΑΕΠΠΗΕ.

'Ιάσων 'Απί-	κυτάτη μου
ωνος 'Αθη-	γυνεκι και
ναίδι γλυ-	έαυτῶ μνή μης χάρην

¹ ωIN in the copy ; this is an error probably of the lapicida, not of M. Clayton, whose copies are generally good ; a false

I is often found in these inscriptions, due to a bad stroke of the chisel or the dikella.

Date, late 2nd century ?

Iason occurs several times at Comana. Iason the Healer was a son, i.e. personification of an aspect, of Asklepios.

123. Shahr (R. 1882 ; Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 136) ; broken column. AEOGΩE.

Μά[ρ]κελλος Ἀμφι-
λόχῳ τῷ ἀδελ-
φῷ καὶ Κλαυδιανῇ

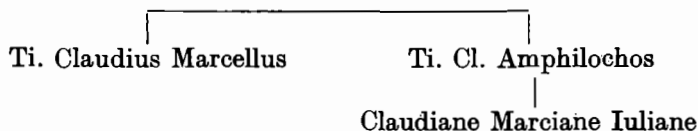
Μαρκιανῇ Ἰουλι-
ανῇ [τῷ] π[ατ]ρ[ί]

Date, late 2nd century ?

The names are all Roman except Ἀμφίλοχος, the prophet of the Klarian Apollo, who with Mopsos, a second prophet, led the colonization of Cilicia. They quarrelled and fought (Lykophron, *Alex. schol.* and *R. E.*).

Amphilochos married a Roman civis, and their daughter takes purely Roman names ; it is probable that Amphilochos was Roman like his brother. All idea of Roman nomenclature is lost. In Claudiane the suffix means daughter of Claudius.

The relationship is perhaps



124. Shahr (Hogarth, 1890), stele. AOGOC.

Ἡδύβιος ἀρνα τῷ
Δαμά Οὐ- πατρὶ μνή|μης χάρις

Date, 2nd century ? Ἡδύβιος translates a Cappadocian name ? Οὐαρνα would be written Βαρνα after the middle or end of 2nd century. The name sounds oriental (Aramaic ?) and is evidently a shortened form of Βαρναίος, as in the following inscription.

125. Marash Germanicia (Munro, 1891 ; Yorke, l.c.) lettering. AEPΩEH.

Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ	Συρων ¹ ἀνέσ-
Ζαρηις	τησεν ὑπὲρ τ-
Βαρναίου	[έκνου ?
στρατηγός	

The names are Aramaic or Syrian. The termination *αιος* occurs in [M]αββογαίος, servant of goddess Mabbog (or native of city Mabbog, now called Minbitch). The modern nasalization appears in the form Μαμβογεω (dative) in an inscription of Perre (now Perrin) in Commagene ;

¹ Copy has EYPΩN ; Yorke, εὐρών.

see Yorke, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 316, who quotes [M]αββογαιος as restored (Wright and Souter in *Pal. Expl. Fund Quart.* 1895, p. 58). Zarieis wanted an heir.

126. Shahr (R. 1882 ; St. 1884 ; Clayton, 1881). Sterrett alone has l. 1 complete. AEOC.

Ἱεροπολειτῶν	4	Θεμιστοκλέα
ἢ βουλῆ		Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ ὁ δῆμος		τὸν φιλόπατριν

Date, c. A.D. 200.

φιλόπατρις here (compare Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 317, and φιλόδημος, φιλότιμος, φιλόδοξος, adjectives approximating to a title) refers to the career of service to the city performed by Themistocles. Here the idea of devotion to public service in a self-governing City-State is as prominent as in a Greek πόλις. The Roman Empire, especially in the 2nd century, represented the ideal of a united whole composed of autonomous πόλεις, bound together by a supreme Emperor; sovereign head of a unifying cult of the god-emperor and a final court of appeal in law. This gave place to a purely military Empire of Severus in the third century.

127. Shahr (Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 137), tablet. AEOIL.

Ἀὐρ. Ἀρχέ-	σέως Ἡλι-	. . . κέ
λαος Περ-	οδώρα τῆ ε-	[γλυκυτάτη ? γυναικί ?]

Date, after A.D. 212. Perseus,¹ the hero of Tersous—Tarsus. In ll. 4, 5 W. leaves E|ΧΡΙΠΗ unexplained.

Pegasos, the winged horse of Perseus, type on a coin (Th. Reinach, *Rois de Capp.* p. 52) on which opinion differs widely. It bears the name of Ariarathes Eusebes IX., son of Mithridates Eupator of Pontus; the types are those of Mithridates. Perseus was the mythical ancestor of the Persians.

128. Shahr (R. 1882), tablet cut in the rock beside a tomb. AEOC and L.

Ἀὐ. Ἀρσινόη	ἀντῶ τῶ ἐγ-
Ἱλι τῶ ἀνδ-	γόνῳ μνήμ-
ρί κέ Ἀβασκ-	ης χάριν

Date, after A.D. 212. Arsinoe of Cappadocia is not known: daughter of Lysimachos, two Egyptian queens, name applied to Ephesos.

¹ Perseus bears the same relation to Tersous (still called Tersous) as Pityassos (in Artemidorus and Strabo) does to

Tityassos of coins; he was the hero of the settlement of Tarsus, as Mopsos and Amphilochos were of Magarsos and Mallos.

The name *Ηλις*, *Ηλει*, common in Anatolia, is taken from the god Helios Apollo; Heliodoros and Heliodora were common names at Comana (no. 129 f., 133).

129. Shahr (R. 1882; Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 137), on a tomb cut in the rock. ΑΕΘΩC.

Αὐρ. 'Ηλιόδω-	βία τῆ γυναικί
ρος Τιλλεους	καὶ Τιλλει υἱῶ
Οὐαρεννία Βαι-	

Date, after 212. Tilles, Tilleous, Tillei, usual Anatolian declension. Tilliboros or Tilliboras was a robber (Cappadocian?); Arrian is said to have written an account of his life, which he probably based on the knowledge of Cappadocia gained as consular legatus about A.D. 135. Claudius Varenus cos. anno incerto; Varenus Rufus procos. Bith. c. 100.

130. Shahr (R. 1890); large letters published (Yorke, *ibid.*). ΑΕΠΠΠΠ.

Αὐρ. 'Ηλιοδώρα	χρηστῶ ἀδελ-
Γο]ρδιανῶ τῶ	φῶ μνήμης χά-
ἀ]σुकρίτω καὶ	ρην

Date, after A.D. 212. [Go]rdianos, though not certain, would point to a date later than 238; the brother was born under Gordian III. The same name occurs in *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 369 (Savatra of Lykaonia).

It is also possible that Gordianos here is derived in native fashion from Gordios, a native name: Gordios, a Cappadocian noble, murdered Ariarathes VI. in 112 B.C.; but considering the late date this is less probable.

131. Shahr (Sterrett, *ibid.* 268).

Αὐρ. Ὕδ-	υκντάτη
ιστος Ὕ-	θυγατρί
δίη τῆ γλ-	

Date, after A.D. 212. Ὕδίη for Ὕδεία suits 4th century (no. 45). Sterrett quotes Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. pp. 265-72, who mentions that the first crusade passed by Comana; and that it is called opima and pulcherrima.

132. Kokusos Guksun (Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 146). ΑΕΩΩ.

Αὐρ[ήλιοι Ρωμα-	γλυκ[υτάτ]ῶ υἱῶ
vac. νὸς [κὲ Κε]λιαν-	καὶ ἔμαντοῖς (<i>sic.</i>)
ῆ Ἀ]σκληπι[ά]δη τῶ	μ[ν]ήμης χάρην

There is room for several letters between *Ρωμα* and *νος*, and the name is therefore doubtful. *K]CACAN|[O* is also doubtful. “*ἐμαντοῖς* est un barbarisme pour *ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς*” (Wadd.). [*Kε]λσιαν|ος*, with Wadd. gives no sense.

133. Guksun (Clayton, Waddington, l.c. p. 147).

σῆ]μα τόδε Στατία μνημήιον Ἑλιο[δάρω
τεῦξα πόσει γλυκερῶ δύσμορος [ὠ]κυμ[όρω

134, 135. Guksun (Clayton); Wadd. *ibid.*

<i>EN . . . S . . . P . . . 'E</i>	ἐν[θάδε σπείρομε] ἐ-
γῶ Θεόδ[ω]ρος <i>ENEI</i>	γῶ Θεόδ[ω]ρος ἐν εἰ[ρήνη
θ]εου <i>vac.</i> [ἄ]ν[α]γνό[σ	Θ]εοῦ <i>vac.</i> ἀναγνώσ-
[τ]ε]ς	της

Π for *ΙΙΙ* in l. 2, *Δ* for *A* in l. 3, *ΓCC*. *C* for *η* in l. 4. *S* in l. 1 is stop mark miscopied.

σπείρομαι is used as in the great passage 1 Cor. xv. 36–43; ἐν εἰρήνῃ, James ii. 16, iii. 18 (ἐν εἰρήνῃ σπείρεται); ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, Philip. iv. 7. The spirit of various passages in N.T. is felt in this inscription; but there is no direct quotation. The inscription is early; there is no + at the beginning, as was usual after 350; and such references to passages in N.T. without quotation began about 270–300, and are hardly found after Constantine. Theodoros violated a pagan tomb inscribed as follows:

Ἄπαλος Μά-	τῆ θυγατρὶ[δ]ι ἐ-
να Νύση ἀγαπη-	4 αὐτῷ ζ

There may be letters lost in l. 1 after *Ma*. *Υ* at the end of l. 4 is probably a leaf miscopied. Dative for gen.

Ἄ[ττ]αλος is probable. Waddington reads θυγατρὶ [κ]αὶ [ἐ]αὐτῷ or *Caύτω υ[ίῳ]*.

XIV. SALT ROADS FROM LAKE TATTA.

The first time that I noticed one of these roads was in 1905, going from Dedeler to Kara Bagh I crossed a road E.W.; it was described as the road by which salt was carried from the lake to Ak Sheher (Philomelium). Ainsworth, an old traveller, mentions the salt pans by the lake.

While salt roads were not included in the general system of communication (and found therefore no place in the Peutinger Table), they must have been important in the economy of the cities

which used the salt in ancient times. Anderson found an inscription at Insuyu near the lake shore (*J.H.S.* 1899, p. 129) :

136. [Ἰ]λαρος Λαγεινά[τ]ης Διὶ Μεγισ[τ]ῶ | εὐχὴν.

Anderson (as a makeshift) used [Κλ]ᾶρος ; but a slave name is needed. Calder found in 1932 an inscription showing that Lagin-a was the ancient name of Ilghin, and rightly inferred that the words are identical, through Ilagina, Ilghin. The name Lagounia occurs among the Tekmoreian tituli.¹ If we cut off the grecized suffixes -ιον or -α, the Anatolian name is Lagoun, Lagon, Lagin, which are obviously identical with the modern Ilghin. Turkish avoids initial L and R. See no. 139.

[Hi]laros was, doubtless, a slave of Caesar from the estate at Ilghin, buying salt at Insuyu for use or sale. At Insuyu was the central establishment for storing the salt and selling it. It belonged, of course, to the Emperor, and was managed by his slaves or freedmen. Calder and I in 1910 copied several inscriptions at Insuyu (*M.A.M.A.* i. p. xiv).

<p>137. Αὐρ. Ἐπάγαθος Σεββ. ἀπελεύθερος ἰστρου- μεντάριος ταβουλα[ρί]ων Αἰλία Τερψιδι γλυκυτάτη</p>	<p>5 καὶ σεμνοτάτη συμβίω αὐ- τοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῶ ζῶν μνή- μης αἰδίου ἔνεκεν.</p>
---	---

Calder dates this inscription 161–9 or 176–80 : we prefer 161–9. Epagathos married Aelia Terpsis, whose father was freed under Hadrian or Aelius Antoninus (137–61). Epagathos and Terpsis are slave names. The household of Caesar at Insuyu was large. In the sale of the salt a good deal of accountancy by tabularii was needed. Epagathos was in charge of the documents of the tabularii, and must have been himself a tabularius. (*Instrumentum*, p. 9.) Tabularii were liberti.

<p>138. Ἐρμῆς Καίσαρος δοῦ- λος Ζμα[ρά]γδω καὶ Τερτία · τοῖς ἰδίους τέ- (sic!)²</p>	<p>4 κνοῖς εὐνοίας καὶ φ- λοστο[ργίας ἔνε]κεν</p>
--	---

The names are all servile.³ Calder considers that “the central bureau for the management of all these estates, and of others not yet located, was maintained in Laodicea Combusta.” His words in the immediate sequel show his belief that imperial estates were managed from some autonomous city in the neighbourhood. This seems hardly correct. The making and selling of the salt were managed at Insuyu, vicus Caesaris, not at Laodicea forty miles distant.

¹ The copies have everywhere ΛΑΓ. Sterrett and I made this into Alg., but Calder's discovery proves ἐν Λαγουνι(οι)ς.

² The point indicates apposition.

PART I.—9

³ Hermes is a slave name, as a foreign god. Yet Hermes was also used in Anatolian fashion as a personal name. In one case (*Sect.* 26) it means a herm (altar).

139. A third inscription copied by Calder and me in 1910 at Insuyu :—

<p>Ἀὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Δαδεῶς Πιλλι- τοκωμήτης ἰδίῳ πα-</p>	<p>3 τρὶ Δάδη Πιλλιτοκωμ- ήτη ἔνεκεν μνήμης χάριν (!)</p>
--	---

This cannot mean that Appas had come from his home to buy salt (as no. 136). He buried his father there : that was his home, and Calder rightly says, "the name of the ancient κώμη Καίσαρος at Insuyu was Pillitokome." Hilarus (136) was at Insuyu on business far from home when he made a dedication to Zeus Megistos, praying for safe return and good business (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας is understood). Being a slave of Caesar he makes his vow to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (grecized as Μέγιστος), and not to the native deity. See no. 140.

140. Insuyu : bomos, published by Anderson from copy by Crowfoot (*J.H.S.* 1899, p. 130).

<p>Αἰλία Γε- μίνη θυ- γατρὶ Αἰ- λιος [X]ρύ-</p>	<p>5 σαν[θ]ος πατ[ήρ μνή- μης εἴ[νε- leaf κεν leaf</p>
---	--

Aelius Chrysanthos was a freedman of Hadrian or Pius, a member of the household of Caesar at Pillitokome. Gemina is a slave name here.¹ A deaconess Nonna, a presbyter Alexandros, her son, and a deacon (διάκων) Menneas, are mentioned by Anderson.

Plitendum (*Livy*, xxxviii. 18) is the town of the Pillitai or Plitai. In *Pliny*, *N.H.* v. 95, two names are concealed in Leucolithi, Pelteni, one of which is Pillitai or Plitai. When Manlius in 189 B.C. crossed Emir Dagh and came to Abbassos, he halted for some days, as he had just crossed the border into Galatic territory. Then he marched by Lalandum flumen and Tyscon (Atyos come ? Calder)² to Plitendum along the salt road leading to the salt pans ; thereafter to Alyatti and Cuballum (a name connected with Phrygian Kubile ?) ; these are north of Plitendum, on the direct road against the Tectosages. This detour³ was made to skirt the land of the Tolistobogii, who were allies. The army reached the Sangarios and made a bridge across the river, keeping up the left bank to Gordium on the north trade road, where was a bridge. This part of the march was in Tolistobogian territory, avoiding a surprise attack by the Tectosages.

¹ Chrysanthos was set free : his wife also was set free as Aelia Gemina.

² Tyscon, cp. Lat. Tuscus Etruscus, Etru(s)ia (Tekmoreian) Τυρσηνός.

³ This great detour has always been a puzzle. Koerte supposes that it was a zigzag to waste time. It was a warning to the Oroandian priests to pay up.

XV. GALLUS (cos. secundo nundino, A.D. 119).

141. *C.I.L.* iii. 13639 (cp. *P.I.R.*² i. p. 39, no. 232) was copied by Dr. Saba Diamantides, who gave it to Dr. R. Heberdey in 1891. It was found at Zengen, a village about 50 M.P. N.N.E. of Konia, and about 20 M.P. north-east from Ladik. In *C.I.L.* no explanation is stated, except that quaest(or) and LEGAT can be detected.

Dr. Saba was a not insignificant figure in the exploration of Asia Minor; he saw much about 1880–1900, and copied as he could some important inscriptions which will never be seen again. He was faithful, but hasty; and he had little time on his official journeys as medical officer of health (*ἀρχιατρός*) for the province of Konia, which at that time included Adalia (Attaleia) on the south coast, Sparta and Yallowadj on the west. He rarely copied Latin inscriptions, and was not used to Latin letters. It is necessary to modify his copy of the Latin letters; but this implies no doubt of his honesty and good faith.¹

Mommsen perceived this dimly, and points out that IECATI must be LEGATI; he should have carried the principle further and corrected to LEGAT Leg(ionis). He also detected QVAEST in l. 3 (and we add quaest A[siae] or A[chaiae]). The words Legat and quaest show that this fragment is part of a senatorial cursus honorum.

We proceed on the same principle. D was strange to the doctor, he made it B, Q becomes C, L becomes I, R becomes P. Substitute these letters, and the copy becomes:

AELIVMPC	P]AELIVM . P . C
VMANCH	. VM . ANCH
CVAESTA	. QVAEST . A
BICETIECATI	. DIC . ET . LEGAT . Leg
ITICPVNCV	. IT . L . ORVNCV

One letter is lost at the left of every line.

In l. 1 P . C is perhaps an error of Dr. Saba for P . F . C (F being blurred); but more probably the composer, to whom Latin was a foreign language, used P as equivalent to P . F (see p. 164). C begins a Latin nomen or cognomen.

In l. 2 um ends a Latin cognomen, -[c]um or -[n]um. ANCH is

¹I emphasize this, as Iconium is rather infamous for shams. An example is furnished by Wadd. no. 1188, a copy shown at Iconium to Le Bas by a Greek. Waddington remarks that about half of each line is lost. I long tried to work it out as a series of fragments of seven distinct inscriptions, which the Greek had copied. Professor Calder solved the difficulty, pointing out that

the lines must be read from below upwards; and that it seems to be a "practical joke." Perhaps the Greek amused himself by this "joke" on Le Bas, and thereby on Waddington and us in the distant future. Cicero in a well-known letter speaks of the Greeks as *perversum genus hominum*. Perhaps Alexander of Abonoteichos or Apollonius of Tyana left progeny at Iconium.

obviously Anch[arenum], a Lycaonian name known at Savatra, Iconium, Lystra, Laranda¹; also as ANCHAR in a native inscription at Lystra.

In l. 3 Quaest(or) A[siae] (Mommsen).²

In l. 4 DIC is part of legat[(um) Gal(atiae) iu]ri]dicum; and the line continues et legat. l[eg].

In l. 5 IT, after legatum l[eg(ionis)] and before the name of the dedicant, is the stativa of the legion, [me]l]it(ene). The only legion that ever was stationed at Melitene was XII Fulm. C.C. from 71 onwards; and [legat. iu]ri]dic. et legat. l[eg. XII Ful. Mel]it. gives the number of letters in the line, about 24.

The names fix the date approximately; civitas was granted at the beginning of Hadrian's reign to the father (eques) of this senatorius.

Again, the language is Latin, a rare phenomenon in Central Anatolia at that period, and never without significance. In this case Aurunculeius was an Iconian; for Iconium became Colonia Aelia Hadriana Aug. Iconiensium in 138, and used Latin officially for some time in inscriptions and permanently in coinage. The uneducated in Iconium spoke Phrygian or a mixed Graeco-Phrygian patois. The educated spoke Greek, which was strongly encouraged by the Emperors from Augustus onwards, and was the official language.

Coloniae tried to maintain Latin, but it languished and died out from actual use. St. Paul heard only Greek in Col. Antiochea (A.D. 45) and in Colonia Lystra (46), apart from Lycaonian in the latter on an occasion when the native gods were concerned and the native speech was appropriate. Moreover, the crowd at Lystra was the uneducated mob of the *ἑρὸς θίασος* (Sect. XXVI).

It would be a probable estimate that the attempt to use Latin in Iconium lasted about twenty years. One official titulus in Latin (no. 1) reads like a translation from Greek, not free use of Latin. Latin was dead as a speech before 160. Now P. Aelius P. F. was a novus homo, whose promotion in the senatorial career would not be very rapid; he had already held two praetorian offices, both in Anatolia; and he was perhaps about 35 in A.D. 160, his father being made civis about the age of 18 to 20 in 117. This calculation is only loose and approximate, but it adds to the probabilities in favour of 117 as the year when civitas was granted to the young and wealthy Ancharenus,³ who could rank equestrian, and strengthen the hold of the Empire during a long life. The son, homonymous, was admitted to senatorial career.

¹ Perhaps aNCHarenus at Colonia Antiochea.

² Achaiae is also possible, but with Asiae the entire cursus is served in Asia Minor, and there was a tendency to keep new Anatolian cives in Oriental service

during the second century (contrasting with Statius Silv. v. 3, 185 ff., where he describes the future career of the boys at his father's school).

³ The Emperor granted civitas only to scions of rich and loyal families.

The son kept the father's name, [P.] Aelius P(F) . . . Ancharenus. All his duties were connected with Asia Minor except, in l. 3, aedile(?) and praetor which were compulsory (unless he had been adlectus inter praetorios). He was therefore of Oriental (and doubtless Lycaonian) origin, and a monument is erected to him at his native town. The father was made civis by Hadrian, and the son did not change the honoured name,¹ retaining even the native Ancharenus. The father must have been equestrian; perhaps his name and career may be found. An equestrian father, according to a common practice, is needed for a senatorial son. Hadrian succeeded on 10 Aug., 117.

The ordinary senatorial course of honores can readily be restored for the son: vigintivir: trib. leg.: quaestor (here of A[sia]): aed. or trib. pleb: praet.; he held two praetorian offices successively, which are connected by et. Iuridicus usually is defined, but here we may (as often in other cases) understand the province where the monument stood, or we may read [leg. Gal. iuri]dic, abbreviating more than elsewhere. He was legatus iuridicus (in Galatia) et legatus legionis XII Fulminata. The inscription is now so far restored that we may venture to complete the restitution by adding cognomina taken from a known official, who was legatus of Galatia in 117.

P] Aelium P(F ?) C[ossonium Crispin]um Anch[arenum (XX vir) trib. mi-
l.] quaest. A[siae, aed. ? pr., leg. Gal. iu-
ri]dic. et legat. [leg. XII Fulm. Me-
l]it. L Oruncu[leius II vir(um) Col.
[Ael. Hadr. Aug. Iconiensium ?]

In some of the abbreviations and offices alternatives are possible; especially in l. 2. Ordinarily legat. legionis came before legat. Galatiae; but legatus iuridicus came early in the cursus after praetor, and even before legatus legionis. Dessau has observed that those oriental senatorii held only eastern provincial offices. Perhaps the praetorian legatus of Galatia appointed a legatus iuridicus: perhaps the humbler name lingered; the consular legatus of Galatia-Cappadocia appointed three iuridici.

P. Aelius Cossonius Crispinus Ancharenus and his father belonged to Gdanmaa (see later Section²).

There is no apparent reason why Iconium should honour him; perhaps his father had been archiereus in Iconium (see later Section²). There were high priests of the Emperors from Augustus onwards at Iconium, and neighbouring cities sometimes supplied them.

¹ This was natural (examples in Sect. III.). Grandsons and later descendants often changed the cognomina, and even the im-

perial nomen and praenomen, and often a second son changed the praenomen.

² [Not written.]

ICPVNCV is Dr. Saba's rendering of L. Orunculeius, where AV has been changed to O (as in Clodius, Plotius). The nomen was used by a great Iconian family (Cronin in *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 352).

We add the epigraphic evidence for Cossonius Gallus.

142. Missirli near col. Antiochea (St., *W.E.* 365; R. 1906; completed from no. 143: top 3 lines large letters. One letter lost in l. 1 (R. 1911).

[Lucio Coss-]	[l]eg(ato) legionum Italicae et
o]nio L. F. Stel.	10 [l] Traianae fortis, praefecto frum.
Gallo Vecilio	dandi, curatorii viar. Clodiae,
Crispino Mansuanio	Cassiae, Anniae Cimintiae, Tra-
Marcellino Numisio	ianae Novae, praetori, trib. pl.,
5 [S]abino, leg. Aug. pro. pr.	[q]uaestori provinc. Ponti et
provinciar. Galatiae Pisid.	15 [B]ithyniae, leg. Asiae, IIIvir. cap.,
[P]aphlagoniae, sodali fla-	tr. milit. leg. XXI Rapacis.
viali, proCOS prov. Sard.,	

Ritterling (*P.W.* XII. 1485-90; *Rh. Mus.* LVIII. 478 f.) has placed his career (without knowing his nomen) under Trajan; he was legatus of leg. I. Italica and leg. II. Traiana together during the second Dacian war, 105-7; proconsul of Sardinia, legatus (praetorius) of Galatia. Even though he may have remained in the double legionary command for some time after 107, the succession of offices hardly allows us to place his duty in Galatia earlier than 115,¹ when Trajan dissolved the union of Galatia and Cappadocia under a consular legatus, and placed Galatia under a praetorian, Cappadocia with Armenia, Pontus Galaticus, and Pontus Polemoniacus under a consular legatus.

L. Cossonius Gallus Crispinus etc. governed Galatia Pisidia Paphlagonia, 116-18, including Hadrian's first year. He left Galatia to be consul suffectus, the titulus writes him PROCOS SARDINIAE, a unique feature which can only mean that he was already cos. designatus. He is doubtless the Gallus whose name is mentioned as consul in summer 119. In that case he left in time to be in Rome for the consulship (secundo nundino, either March-April or May-August, according to the arrangements of the year); but he knew that he was designate.

It was customary to intimate designation to the legatus in his province (as Domaszewski has shown), and not to let him wait for the regular intimation in Jan., 119. The case of Agricola furnishes a parallel in Aquitania.

The precise term of Cossonius in Galatia is not known; neither the length of his term nor the exact year when Trajan made his change in the provinces is known. The fact that his names Numisius and Crispinus and Sabinus passed into the nomenclature of the province suggests that he governed in an Emperor's first year (i.e. 117).

¹ The exact year is uncertain; it was either 115 or 116.

143. Iconium (R. 1914).

Clodiae · Iatr-
inae · uxori · L ·
Cossoni · Galli

leg Aug pr · pr ·
Eburena · Ma-
xima F C Ebure|ni Maximi.

The letters continued on a lower stone, where ni Maximi, etc., were engraved. On the Ebureni at Iconium see p. 44 and note. This lady received Clodia Iatrina, wife of the legatus of the province, talked to her in Latin, a relief to the Roman lady, whose Greek was probably not fluent, and made this memorial in the language in which they had conversed. Tat- might be restored in l. 1, but Patruina is not possible.

Groag and Stein maltreat the text of nos. 142, 143 in *P.I.R.*²

XVI. POMPILII IN ASIA AND GALATIA.

144. Alikel (R. 1883); basis of statue; slightly injured in ll. 1-6, otherwise perfect.

<p>Αὐτοκράτορα [Καίσαρα Μ]άρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀν- τωνεῖνον Σεβ[αστόν Ἄ]ρμενιακὸν Παρ[θικὸν 5 Γερμανικὸν ἀρχ[ιερέα μέγιστον δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ΟΡΚΙCΤΗΝΟΙ εἰσηγησαμένων Ἑρμοκρά- 10 τος Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μαρίωνος</p>	<p>Ἀσκληπιοδώρου καὶ Εὐπολέμου Διοκλέους καὶ · Μ · Αὐρηλίου Εὐδή- μου καὶ Μηνοδώρου · γ' · τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἐ]πιμεληθέντων Μαρίωνος Ἀσ- 15 κ]ληπιοδώρου, καὶ Διοτρέφους τρις τ]οῦ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Πομπλίου Πομ- π]υλίου Κλαυδίου Ῥούφου καὶ Εὐπολε- μ]ου Μόμμωνος ἀρχόντων καὶ Π]ομπλίου Πομπυλίου Κλαυ- 20 διου Ρουφείνου</p>
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Date: probably 172-4. In ll. 12 and 13 · *M* · and · *Γ* · are marked off by points. The same device occurs in *M.A.M.* i. 3, where Calder quotes another case. The device seems intended to call attention to, or to lay emphasis on, the words or letters marked. Five men introduce the proposal. At a careless glance there seem to be in ll. 14-18 four archons; in another titulus Orkistos has only three.

Five persons superintend the erection of the statue, viz. Marion Asclepiodori, Diotrophes τρις τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, P. Pompulius Claudius Rufus, Eupolemos Mommonis, archons, and P. Pompulius Claudius Rufinus. The inscription was complete at the end; no description or

office was mentioned after the name of Rufinus in l. 20 ; evidently he was son of P. Pompilius Claudius Rufus, one of the archons. The first name is Marion, one of the introducers of the proposal, whose presence ensured that the proposal was executed as intended ; with him were joined the three archons, and one ordinary *δημότης*.

There is no civis of the Caracallan type ; the date is before A.D. 212. In the Orkistene titulus of 237 all the persons mentioned are Caracallan cives and sons of non-Romans. Buckler in *J.H.S.* 1937, pp. 1 ff.

To what Emperor was the inscription dedicated ? The titles do not correspond exactly to those of any Emperor, but they suit better Marcus (161–80) than any other M. Aurelius ; he took these titles with others¹ ; and one of the five that introduced the proposal, M. Aurelius Eudemos, confirms, as he received civitas from Marcus in 161. Probably Caracalla was not the Emperor here honoured, though perhaps supported by the name of Hermokrates, son of Menodoros, one of the introducers, perhaps father of Aur. Antonius (son of Hermokrates), archon in 237 ; otherwise the families mentioned in 211 and 237 show less resemblance than might be expected in a village.

Marion, son of Asklepiodoros, in this titulus is perhaps the grandfather of Marion in 237 (called *Μαρίων Ἀλε[ξάνδρου Μαρίων]ος*)² ; that would confirm the date 173–4 ; it is uncertain ; but the restoration is highly probable ; names in family descent very often alternated so ; (perhaps Marion of this titulus was grandson of an older Marion). The interval of 66 or 67 years suits excellently ; and it is possible that the same interval might separate Antonius, son of Hermokrates, in 237, from his father who introduced the proposal in 174. Antonius was an archon, and archons were probably elderly men in a village, where magistrates were dependent not on the caprice of popular election, but on the quiet deliberation of the village in council. If Antonius was 60 in 237, his birth was in 177, and his father, Hermokrates, was then about 30, and might be one of the proposers to erect a statue of the Emperor. In a village council the active work was left to the *νεώτεροι* and the advising and discussion and deliberation to the *γέροντες, πρεσβύτεροι*. Probably Hermokrates, though young, was of a rich and eminent family ; the rich had influence in villages and cities alike.

These reasons are not conclusive ; they are rather hypothetical and depend on restoration ; but they are sufficient to make the date 173–4 much more probable than any other. To attribute to Caracalla the conquering titles requires that he had served himself heir to the titles as well as the name of Marcus and Commodus.

The inscriptions of Orkistos show how trivial were the questions that occupied the council in a village or a city, the erection of a

¹ Armeniacus Parthicus were assumed by him along with his *divus frater*, and rarely used after 169, Germanicus late in life in

172, Sarmaticus in 175.

² *Ἀλε[ξάνδρου]* is uncertain, *Ἀλέ[ξα τοῦ]* is possible ; but [*Μαρίων]ος* is highly probable.

statue of the Emperor or the acceptance of a gift of money from a donor ; the statue was a duty of loyalty ; the money and its use affected the whole population. The council was confined to such questions ; the Emperor managed all things of wider importance. In Asia Minor there came afterwards a time when graver matters had to be considered.

All persons mentioned are legally designated by their father, except two Roman cives, who had received civitas personally, M. Aurelius Eudemos in 161, and P. Pompulius Claudius Rufus with his son, P. Pompulius Claudius Rufinus. Rufinus, like names in *avos* often (see Keil's note, *Denkm. Lykaon.*, etc., no. 109) implies "son of Rufus."

P. Pompulius Claudius Rufus was a new civis (nullo patre) ; perhaps he took his nomen from A. Julius A. F. Corn. Pompilius Piso T. Vibius Varus Laevillus Berenicianus, who was cos. designatus in 176, and may have been legatus Asiae about 173 ; he might have recommended Rufus, and civitas was bestowed when Commodus (already Caesar in 166) assumed toga virilis. The name Claudius remains unexplained on this hypothesis ; two Claudii were coss. ord. in 173 ; and Rufus would be the Latin translation of his native name. Cives were assuredly rare in a village such as Orkistos, and perhaps the two cives of 161 and 173 were a sign that the imperial eye marked its suitability for city rank. Rufus was probably made civis while archon and presumably of mature age (p. 136).

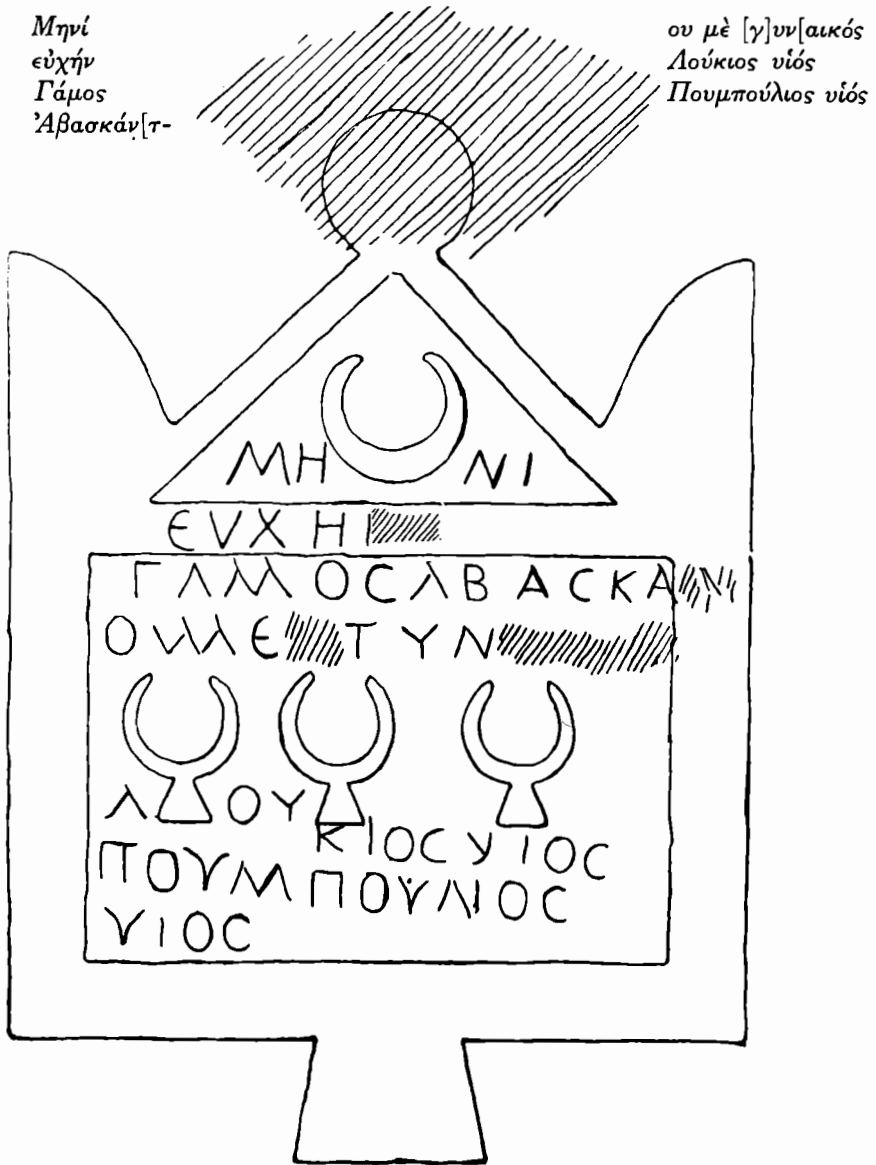
The use of this rare nomen is remarkable ; it appears also in prov. Galatia at Col. Antiochea. A. Pompilius A. F. was legatus of legio IV. Flavia in Moesia Superior in 172. It can hardly be mere chance that the nomen occurs so often about 170-200 ; some causal connexion is probable.

The Antiochean Pompilius appears in the accompanying pair of inscriptions, dedicated by the same family in the colonia,¹ not of high rank or education, as the bad spelling and vulgarism $\mu\epsilon$ for $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ prove. The inscriptions were made by Gamos the father on behalf of his family. On the second occasion a third son is mentioned, but the wife has dropped out ; time has passed and she has died. There is no reason to think that the son Pompulios, doubtless a soldier, was present ; he would have been able to spell his name better ; but the father had only heard the new Roman name of his soldier son, and does what he can with the strange word. Incidentally this shows that the soldier away on service was already entered on the roll of his regiment with his new name (see p. 9).

¹ People from other cities made dedications at the Hieron of Men, on a mountain ridge 1400 ft. above the colonia and 3 miles

south of it ; but the two dedications, nos. 145, 146, indicate a family native to the city more probably than strangers.

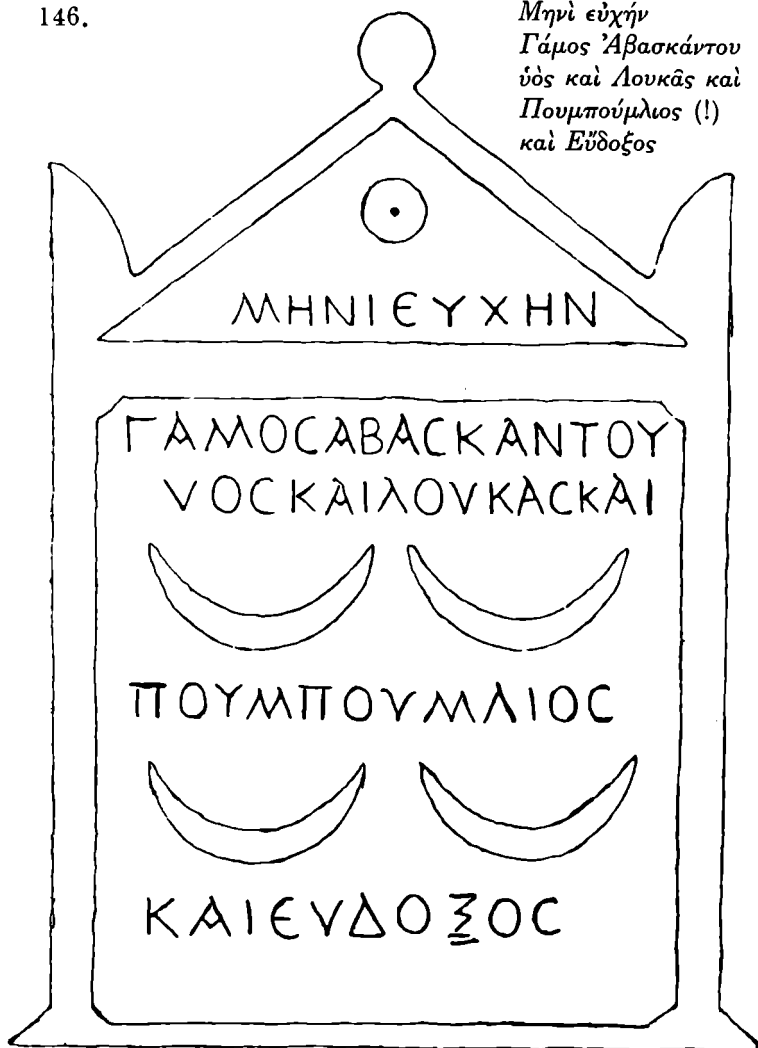
145. Sanctuary of Mén, near Colonia Antiochea (R. with Calder and Anderson, 1912).



In 146 same family later : wife dead : there is a third son.

146.

Μηνὶ εὐχὴν
 Γάμος Ἀβασκάντου
 υἱὸς καὶ Λουκᾶς καὶ
 Πουμπούμλιος (!)
 καὶ Εὐδοξος



No. 146 was also read by Mrs. Hasluck, and published by her in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 130, reading *Γάλλος* (?), adding a note that *Γαμος* is possible. The difference between *M* and *Λ* is often very slight; but Anderson and Calder in 1912 agreed in reading *M*. The name *Γάμος* (*Gamos*) occurs in a bilingual inscription of Bithynia (Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.* 1908, p. 151). Moreover, *Gallos* is impossible here, because the *Galloi* with the *Archigallos* lived apart from society and common life, devoted to the ceremonial of the goddess: they were the dancers who whirled round the central *archigallos* in a mystic dance to the music of flutes and cymbals. The chief and central figure was also called *μακελας* and *βάκηλος* (Hesych., see Section VIII.).

The two inscriptions from the hieron are placed side by side, one on the wall of the hieron, one on a buttress projecting at right angles. The variations are instructive: Λούκιος and Λουκάς are the same. The family makes its prayer and vow in common; there is no reason to think that all members were present. Pompoulios was serving as a soldier in Moesia Sup. under A. Pompilius A. F., the legatus; which gives a date about 172. Gamos was a deisidaimon, much given to fearing gods and omens and the evil eye; Abaskantos is a suitable name for his father. Some devotees were content with one tekmor; Gamos places four on the vow, one for each worshipper. Such records were often incised on a stele, which had a sort of prong beneath to fix it in the ground;¹ on many of the vows on the hieron wall, this prong is imitated as in no. 145. The tekmor is represented in different forms, sometimes as a crescent, sometimes like a boukranion (with the head diminished in size), sometimes like a horseshoe of European shape (not the shape used in Turkey). See *J.R.S.* 1918, p. 145.

The ceremony was called τεκμορ ποιεῖν, where ποιεῖν means to offer in worship, as ῥέζειν in Homer, and ποιεῖν in the Gospel of Luke xxii. 19; sometimes a word τεκμορεύειν was coined; τεκμορεύσας occurs and τεκμορεύσας δῖς; τεκμορεῖοι were the performers of the ceremony. Whether τεκμορ was a native word, or the Homeric τέκμωρ, cannot be determined; perhaps τέκμωρ originates from the Anatolian word, and τεκμαίρομαι is a Greek formation; δάος is another word about which the same doubt exists. In Homer Hymn xxxii. 13 τέκμωρ δὲ βροτοῖς καὶ σῆμα τέτυκται gives perhaps the clearest example of the meaning; in Z. 168 σήματα λυγρά were given to Bellerophon, which conveyed meaning only to one who could interpret them.

It is not possible to form any estimate of date from the shape of the letters in these vows to Mén; they are scratched on a hard brittle stone, and take the easiest form. Only in a few cases is the form distinctive and carefully cut.

Families or groups of freedmen often made vows, which are probably on behalf of their patron, or expressions of thanks for manumission; e.g. Mrs. Hasluck published in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 127, no. 10, a vow made by Ἐρμῆς Ἄριος | μὲ Ζωτικῶ Κοίν|του Μηνὶ εὐ|χὴν, and rightly recognizes that the former was libertus of Arrius (perhaps father of C. Arrius C. F. Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus, *C.I.L.* iii. 6810-12); the same officer is also implied in *M.A.M.* i. 230. Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus was patronus of the colonia, which proves that he had a hereditary connexion probably through his father. Such connexion could arise only through a legatus of Galatia. Hermes might also be libertus of a new civis, who had taken his name from the legatus.

¹ As at Nakoleia, *J.H.S.* 1884, pp. 257-60.

XVII. ALBUCII AT COL. ANTIOCHEA.

147. Colonia Antiochea (Sterrett, *E.J.* 117 ; Mommsen, *C.I.L.* iii. 6823, from impression). Neither has made any restoration.

In the colonia there were two eminent families, Albucii and Caristanii. The latter will be treated in a later Section [not written].

Marco Al]bucio [C. F. C. N. Firmo
 cos. leg Aug p]rovinci[ae Cappadociae
 item. Syriae] Coeles [et Phoenices, pro
 consule provi]nciae As[iae
 II vir . et prin]c . et . patron[o . coloniae
 nostrae . o]b . m(erita) . e(ius) . pos[tulante to-
 to ordine et] populo i[n] theatro

This titulus, which mentions three provinces, [—], Syria Coele, and Asia, and connects them with the personal name [Al]bucius (otherwise known at Colonia Antiochea), is evidently a *cursus honorum*; and must be either equestrian or senatorial (*λαμπρότατος*). As equestrian I have tried to restore it satisfactorily, but failed. The order Coele Syria, Asia, suits, cp. *C.I.L.* vi. 1608 (*Rangordn.* pp. 143 f.), and the career might be of a *ducenarius* at the climax of his service; but we fail to see any reason why the last three (or four) of his duties should be separated from the earlier career, and conjoined with his colonial origin and relation. It is not as if *ducenarial* duties were enumerated apart from the rest of the career; that would be reasonable and intelligible; the word *ducenarius* (in abbreviation) after the name would be sufficient explanation. In this case a few very high duties are separated from the rest, and no ground or reason is stated for the separation. Now Domaszewski, *Rangordn.* p. 141, is emphatic: "from Augustus onwards definite principles were observed for the offices in the *ducenarial* *cursus*, which can be determined from the steps of advancement in relation to the rank in equestrian militia."¹ The highest position in *militia equestris* was *tribunus cohortis praetoriae*. From the grade of equestrian militia the order of procuratorial service can be traced in a fixed series of grades, *sexagenarii*, *centenarii*, *ducenarii*. *Procurationes* which were held after each military grade must have equal rank, for a system of service which lasted more than 300 years demanded the strictest gradation of rank (Domasz. p. 142).

¹ Bestimmte Normen für die Bekleidung der Aemter. The *militia equestris* determines the order in the procuratorial career.

For details Domaszewski refers to O. Hirschfeld's great work.

We can restore a procuratorial cursus in our titulus ; but are at once beset by various queries and difficulties, which I cannot answer.

On the other hand, a senatorial cursus honorum restores itself naturally and readily on a normal principle which has many analogies. The separation of consular from lower duties occurs sometimes. A titulus of C. Popilius Carus Pedo (*Forsch. Ephes.* iii. no. 28) names only consular offices. In *A.E. Mitt. Oest.* 1896, p. 147, the honores in the family of Pollenia Honorata, two grandfathers, one proavus, and father, are enumerated, but only consular offices are mentioned.

We therefore give only the restoration as senatorial, and leave it to others to discover an equestrian career that suits the conditions equally well. One parallel case of such advancement at the colonia from equestrian father to senatorial son is known, that of C. Caristianus Fronto leg. Lyciae, 81-84 ; but numerous examples elsewhere are known ; equestrian-senatorial in two generations was so common as to be quite normal.

The clue to the date is that the titulus is later than 115, when the consular province of Cappadocia was instituted. M. Albucius governed the three great provinces of the east. Asia would fall to his lot about sixteen years after his suffect consulship. He was evidently a native of Antiochea colonia.

The father of Albucius was equestrian, and, as often, the son of an eques was permitted to enter the senatorial career. It is unfortunate that the colonia chose to honour Albucius without mentioning his career before the consulship ; but it is probable that another dedication had been made to him when he was cos. design. This stone was placed in the family herôon, in which the dedication no. 148 to his father (?) was already enshrined.

Oriental senatorii, by an almost universal rule, were promoted only in Eastern provinces. The course Cappadocia, Syria, Asia, is quite normal for Albucius ; but we should hesitate to fill the lacuna in ll. 4, 5, with any Italian or non-Asiatic office, such as legatus Britanniae or praefectus urbi.

Some very high honour might be restored as the culmination of the career. It was not consul iterum, for cos. II. was ordinarius and would be recorded in the *Fasti*. In no. 1 a duumvir was princeps (and patronus ?) coloniae nostrae. We prefer, as a makeshift, to suppose that Albucius accepted the duumvirate in his own city. Hirschfeld proposed MVNIC(ipi), which we do not like. Princeps coloniae was the fact ; M. Albucius must have been princeps coloniae, a pure title, implying no duty. He succeeded the Caristianii. Owing to the space vacant Marcus is needed in l. 1, not Gaius, as praenomen.

The name Albucius is quoted mainly in the time of Augustus or Tiberius, and perhaps the ancestor of the family in Antiochea was one of the original coloni. Albuca M. F. Candida is an exception ; she was a wealthy lady, wife of C. Valerius Pansa at Ticinum.

148. Antiochea (R. 1882; St. 1883, and *E.J.* no. 101; R. with Anderson revised in 1912; from Hamilton's copy, *C.I.L.* iii. 295, and Le B.-Wadd. 1818).

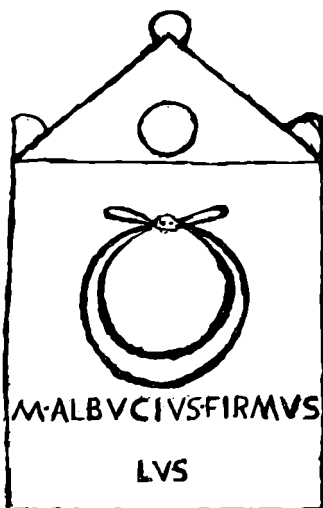
C. Albucio C F	certamen gymnicum
Ser. Firmo aed(ili)	quodannis facien-
II vir(um), qui pecuni-	dum diebus festis
am destinavit per	Lunae
5 testamentum at	10 D(ecurionum) D(ecreto)

Date uncertain, but first century on account of the spelling at and quodannis. The Greek fashion of gymnastic games instead of venationes and gladiatorial munera has established itself. In l. 6 *mni* is in ligature. We should be unwilling to place this titulus later than 100. The letters in ll. 1, 2 are slightly larger than the rest. In l. 4 I for T in *dest*; traces show that the engraver hesitated between *designavit* and *destinavit*.

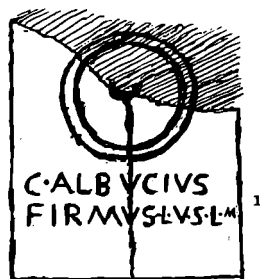
C. Albucius C. F. Ser. Firmus was duumvir(um) in the Colonia, acquiring thereby equestrian rank. We take him to be father of M. Albucius; grandfather might be suggested, but the two dedications illustrated on this page are close together in time.

149, 150. Dedications found at or near the Hieron of Mên at Kara Kuyu (R. in 1914, perhaps also with Anderson and Calder 1912).

149.



150.



These have the appearance of being nearly of the same date; they are on two marble stelai, which were inserted into spaces cut in the walls of the Hieron to receive them; they cost more than the dedications scratched on the walls of the Hieron, and are therefore records left by

¹ Father, son, Libens votum solvit lubens merito.

persons of higher rank and greater wealth. They suit well the date which we have assigned ; and they may be taken as records of the visit (or visits) made to the Hieron by the two persons in Nos. 147, 148, who may probably have visited the sanctuary together, or at an interval of 30 years or less. In No. 150 the engraver miscalculated and left little space for the final M(erito). There is one small crescent in No. 150, none in No. 149. The vows recorded are mostly in Greek, but a few are in Latin.

M. Albucius governed Cappadocia either before 131 or after 140 ; the interval is filled by Arrian, 131-7, and L. Burbuleius L. F. Optatus Ligarianus (legatus of Pius and Hadrian). The time 118-30 contains Bruttius Praesens. The time of the divi fratres is filled by M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus, 162, and P. Martius Verus, 166 (according to Liebenam). Albucius governed Cappadocia either c. 125 or under Pius 140-50, before M. Sedatius Quir. Severianus Julius Rufinus, cos. 153 or later, who was killed with his whole army in 161 (Dessau, *Hermes*, 1910, p. 12 ; Groag in *R.-Enc.* Ritterling, *Rh. Mus.* lix. 1904, p. 186, differs). See nos. 3, 4.

There is room for the legatio of M. Albucius in Syria after L. Catilius Severus, 117-19, and before Publicius Marcellus, cos. 120 (May), Iulius Severus, c. 132 (vice legati) and Sex. Minicius Faustinus Julius Severus (cos. Oct. 127) ; they fill the period 130-35.

It would be a reasonable conjecture that M. Albucius governed Cappadocia c. 123 after C. Bruttius Praesens (about 119-20), and Syria about 126-7 ; also that his consulship was about 122 ; and that he was legatus praetorius Augusti either of Lycia-Pamphylia or of Galatia immediately before his consulship, thus governing four provinces of the Orient in succession. He was proconsul of Asia about 136 ; L. Venuleius Apronianus, cos. 123, governed Asia in 137-8. He was suffectus consul c. 121.

XVIII. CAREER OF AN EQUES c. 238.

151. Ushak (Bérard, *B.C.H.* 1895, 557). Date c. 235-236.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ		α]ρχον λεγιῶνος η'
Α.] Ἐγνάτιον Λουκίου		Α]ύγουσσης, ἔπαρ-
υ]ῖόν Τηρητεῖνα Κού-	10	χ]ον εἴλης ἰππέων
ρτιον, ἔπαρχον		Α]ύγουσσης, κτίστην
σπείρης β'		κ]αὶ φιλόπατριν
5 Κλαυδίας, ἔπα[ρχον] εἵ-		ἡ τῶν γραφέων
λης ἰππέων Σεβασ-		σ[υνεργασία τὸν
τῆς Διδύμου, χειλή- (!)	15	αὐτῶν εὐεργέ την

I am under the impression that in ll. 3-4 Κούρτιον was corrected later to Κούαρτον (in *B.C.H.*), but cannot verify this. Date c. 235.

A is evidently lost in l. 1 as *Y* is lost in l. 2. The spelling *Λουκίων* for the older *Λευκίων* was introduced about the year A.D. 50.

Another apographon of the career of L. Egnatius was being excavated on the acropolis of Akmonia in May, 1881, when we visited the site. Many tituli of Akmonia have been carried to Ushak, a large and growing city (ancient Temenothyrai), one of the chief seats of the modern carpet industry. No. 152 is a few years later than the previous titulus, and was probably an epitaph. Egnatius was a ktistes, i.e. he had made some lasting donation to the city.

152. Akmonia Ahat Keui (R. 1901): letters faint, often illegible. Published in *Rev. Et. Anc.* 1901, p. 275; 1902, p. 270. Date c. A.D. 240.

<p>Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ κατὰ ψήφισμα πάνδη- μον ἢ βουλή και ὁ δῆ- μος και ἡ γερουσία ἢ και 5 φ[υλὴ Ἄρτε]μεισιάς ἐτεί- μησαν Λούκιον Ἐγνάτι- ον. Α. υἱὸν Τηρητεῖνα Κού- αρ[τον] ἔ[παρ]χον σπείρης</p>	<p>10 Β' [Κλ. Γορ]διανῆς, ἐπιμε- λη[τήν] εἰλης Σεβαστῆς Διδύμου, χειλιάρχον λε- γιῶνος Η' Αυγούστης, ἐπ- άρχον εἰλης [Αὐγού]στης κτίστην και εὐεργέτην 15 τῆς π[ό]λεως ?, οἱ π[α]τρῖδος ? ἐπιμελητῆς = curator.¹</p>
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The spelling *Λούκιον* is proved by Berard's copy. Egnatius was a member of the Gerousia of Akmonia, of tribe Artemisias, and of Roman tribus Teretina. In l. 9 *E* in the copy might be *B* or *E*.

The Ushak copy gives a false account of the career of this soldier. It is not credible that the praefectus of a cohors quingenaria should be promoted praefectus alae, and afterwards should be tribunus legionis. Yet M. Berard's copy is right; the error lies with the trade union at Akmonia, which did not know about Roman military organization. Egnatius was only curator acting-praefectus of Ala Sebaste, as we learn from the later copy. The officials learned the facts later, and they knew that the proper name of Cohors Claudia was now Cl. Gordiana. When Egnatius was praef. Coh. II. Claudiae, the prefecture of Ala Aug. Gem. became vacant (for reason unknown); and the cura of the ala was entrusted to the praef. cohortis. Unfortunately the province is unknown (Cappadocia?). Coh. II. Cl. is known only from these inscriptions. Ala Seb. Gem. is equally unknown, except for a conjecture of Cichorius that it is Ala Sebastena of Josephus and of Mauretania: this we do not accept.

In *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Ala*, col. 1260, Cichorius holds that ala gemina Sebastenorum is probably meant by the term ala Sebaste gemina in our no. 151. Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 365, calls it τὴν ἴλην τῶν Καισαρέων και τῶν Σεβαστηῶν (A.D. 44), ala recruited at Caesarea Stratonis and Sebaste-Samaria; xx. 122, τὴν ἴλην τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν (doubtless the same, A.D. 51); *B.J.* ii. 236, λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας μίαν ἴλην ἱππέων καλουμένην

¹ Curator acting commander.

Σεβαστηνῶν. In A.D. 44 Claudius ordered the ala to be sent to Pontus (i.e. prov. Cappadocia), but this was not done, and it remained at Caesarea and became the cause of very great misfortunes to the Jews. It was removed from Palestine in 70; Josephus does not say where (xix. 366). Cichorius thinks it was sent to Mauretania, mentioned there at Caesarea as Ala Gem. Sebastena (*C.I.L.* viii. 9358, 9359; *Eph. Ep.* v. 1000), also as ala I. Fl(avia) Sebastenorum (*Eph. Ep.* v. 699, title granted by Vespasian): this is improbable. Josephus's expression in *Ant.* xix. 365 would explain the Roman title gemina.

Our hypothesis is that this ala was sent in 72 to Cappadocia (Pontus Cappadocicus), as Claudius intended in 44; and that it was known in Cappadocia as Ala Sebaste Didyma.

Another hypothesis may be suggested, viz. that Ala Sebaste Didyma was a regiment of unknown origin stationed in Cappadocia, perhaps formed by the union of two other alae and called Sebaste at its formation; as containing two original alae it was doubtless miliaria. The connexion with Cappadocia is in that case uncertain, and must not be assumed until further evidence is discovered. There were in that province more auxiliaries than are known to us, as the page relating to Cappadocia is lost from *Not. Dign. Or.*¹

In our inscription 152 the restoration [Κλαυ]διανῆς was at first favoured by me and by others; but it can hardly be right, though it can be defended as a grecism of which several examples occur. The true title Κλαυδία was known at Akmonia in the earlier inscription, and it is not allowable to conjecture that the proper title was first known and then forgotten. The rational process is that earlier errors are corrected. [Κλ Γορ]διανῆς suits the gap in my copy equally well. Thus we have a date for this command between A.D. 238 and 244.

The cohors and the ala which Egnatius commanded were probably stationed near one another in some important province, which cannot be determined certainly, but was perhaps Cappadocia. Anderson and Cagnat (*I.G.R.* iv. 642) have independently conjectured that Ala Sebaste Didyma must be Ala I. Augusta Gemina Colonorum. This is open to one objection: the titulus is aware of the distinction in Roman nomenclature between Sebaste and Augusta; but it has many advantages. Ala I. Aug. Gem. fought in Hadrian's Jewish war. It was stationed permanently in Cappadocia. Arrian, in *Ect.*, mentions it, c. 135, as part of the Cappadocian forces; and about 400 it was at Κιάκαι (Chiaca) in Armenia Minor.

Thus Egnatius held in cohors II Claudia Gordiana his first command; and, as experienced in Cappadocian service, next was curator acting-commander of Ala Aug. (Seb.) Gem. Col. 238-44. Then came a Parthian war; a vexillatio of leg. VIII. Aug. came to Syria to that war,² and

¹ We prefer the previous hypothesis.

This war was the Eastern war of Gordian,

² Ritterling in *Real-Enc.* xii. col. 1660. A.D. 243.

Egnatius was made *tribunus legionis VIII. Aug.*; he was not *praepositus*.¹ Finally he was *praef. Alae Augustae* in *Moesia Inferior*. When he got this appointment his Trade Guild honoured him with a *titulus*. Later, probably at his death, the whole State, the *Gerousia*, and his Phyle honoured him. *Cohors II. Claudia* may have been stationed in *Cappadocia*, as *coh. I. Claudia* certainly was at some unknown date. The latter was at *Sebastopolis c. 400*. *Coh. II. Cl.* may perhaps be restored in *C.I.L. ix. 2958*. It was probably *miliaria*.

Egnatius Quartus inherited *civitas*, and was in any case eligible for legionary service. The *nomen* was common in the region of *Sebaste*, *Dioskome* and *Akmonia*; probably *civitas* had been granted several generations before his time; he was not son of a *Caracallan civis*; his father's *nomen* was Egnatius with *praenomen L.*² Probably the name *Quartus* had been selected as he was the fourth generation of *cives*; compare the case of *Tertullus* and *Tertullinus* at *Synnada* in Part II.

There remains a difficulty. Egnatius with no experience except in a cohort of infantry was promoted to be acting commander of a regiment of cavalry on a dangerous frontier. *Domaszewski, Rangordn. p. 135*, admits this as part of the regular course of service; and it was certainly regular in the aristocratic (and timocratic) pre-Severan army. Here, however, we have a case in the army as remodelled by Severus, who drastically eliminated the aristocratic element. That can, however, never be completely eliminated from an army. Perhaps this is a case where service as *caligatus* (which was never expressly mentioned where a soldier rose from the ranks to command as a commissioned officer) had preceded the higher career, though not mentioned in the inscription.

If this hypothesis is correct, Egnatius had won his way up to centurion, and then been promoted to equestrian command. In the Severan army a *primus pilus* was *ipso facto eques*; before Severus the *primipilate* was the highest post under equestrian rank.³

Another question arises. In the equestrian service a young *eques* was, apparently, made commander of a cohort (a regiment of 480 or 960 men) as his first post in the army. There must have been some previous training in drill, in tactics, and study of strategy, before such a young *eques* was fit to command a body of soldiers. He had a staff of experienced men (*Domaszewski, Rangordn. p. 59*); but he would have been a laughing stock to them, and even to the mass of *privates*, if he had been ignorant of drill and tactics. Not merely at school, but still more while he was *praefectus fabrum*, he must have got training

¹ It is possible that this too was *extra ordinem*, and that he was *tribunus pro praeposito*.

² The *praenomen* lost all value when *civitas* was universal, and quickly passed out of use except among families who had

acquired *civitas* before 212.

³ *C.I.L. iii. 6809* is an example of a soldier who rose from the ranks to procuratorial service as *eques*; his *caligatus* service is not mentioned, but can be inferred from the *dona militaria*.

and practice to fit him for command ; that title was not a mere empty honour, for he was being trained to command (as if in a modern O.T.C.). Probably every young eques was praefectus fabrum before regular service began, though this is not always mentioned. Similar reasoning applies to a young man in the senatorial career.

This is an attractive hypothesis ; it unites all the facts connected with the case in a consistent picture ; but it remains an hypothesis, which exploration may confirm or disprove.

Quattuor militiae were required of equites after Septimius Severus ; the cura alae was counted as one of the four ; that suits the date assigned.

XIX. PRAEFECTUS RIPAE DANUVI.

153. The following titulus was published *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 189 : it occupied a stone of a course in a wall and part of a lost stone in the course above. This wall was probably in a Stoa at Colonia Caesarea Antiochea, built "headers and stretchers." Several inscribed stones from the same wall have been published elsewhere : all were engraved without regard to the limits of blocks in the wall and usually extended over several blocks.

The titulus as published was engraved on one "header" ; the text is much improved by an extension of 6 letters on the "stretcher" to the left. The extension is not absolutely necessary to a bare sense ; and I was engaged in correspondence with Dessau on this matter at the time of his death.¹ The words added on the left make the meaning more complete and thus furnish a date, and arrange the titulus symmetrically.

Three inscriptions were found at Gemen (*Γᾶ Μάνου*) about four miles S.E. from the Colonia, beside a bridge over a fast running stream, in June, 1914. The larger titulus was in the approach to a bridge on the right bank, and the main pole supporting one end of the wooden cantilever bridge was right in front of it, so that it could not be seen except from one side. This smaller stone was in the stream and covered by the water in June. The third was St., *E.J.* 107.

The derivation of Gemen was suggested to me by a friend many years ago. The village of Manarga, an hour south of Gemen, is Manarga, Man's agra. The grecised ἀγρός occurs as a place-name, e.g. in Basil, *Epist.* 188, where it has been taken as a common noun.

¹ His death was to me the loss of a personal friend and helper taking the place of Mommsen ; to them I could apply in every difficulty, and never in vain. Answer always came immediately.

Points after words could not be seen through the rushing water except after *equit*, nor could the line above I in l. 1 be seen: we restore these features.

The inscription published in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 301, by Dessau came doubtless from the same wall: it occupied a "stretcher" and part of a "header" on the left, and began above on a higher course. In that case, however, the titulus was obviously incomplete.

· · PRAE]	FEC · CoH · ITYR	. . praef]fec . coh . I . Tyr .
SAGITT]	TRIB · MIL · LEGIV	s a g i t t] . trib . mil . leg . IV
INMOES]	SCYTHIC · PRAEF	in Moes .] Scythic . praef .
AL AVG]	EQVIT · PRAEF · RIP	al(ae) Aug.] equit . praef . rip
AE]	DANVVI	ae.] Danuvi.
	D D	decurionum decreto

This unknown officer had perhaps served *caligata militia*, which, as usual, is omitted (cp. *C.I.L.* iii. 6809). He rose to equestrian rank as Praefectus of Cohors I. Tyr(iorum) [Sagitt(ariorum)], confirming Cichorius' identification of Coh. I. Tyr. Sag. stationed in Moesia and Coh. Tyr. Sagitt. mentioned in *C.I.L.* xi. 1934. The unknown then served as tribune of Leg. IV. Scythica, which was transferred to Syria, probably in 56-7.¹ Lettering about 80 A.D.

The position in which we found this stone and the other (which has been published by Dessau in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 301) suggests that they were brought together from the Stoa (?) wall in the Colonia to build the bridge, which is a cantilever bridge of wood approached on each bank by a raised stone pathway; and that they therefore adjoined each other in the wall.

In cohors I. Tyriorum sagittariorum the restored epithet is not absolutely necessary, but it occurs in the only two allusions that Cichorius (*Real-Enc.* iv. 345) mentions to this cohort (*C.I.L.* iii. 8716 and Diploma XXX.). Cheesman, *Auxilia*, assigns it to Moesia Inf. on p. 181 (omits it p. 156 by a slip).

ITYR is liable to be mistaken for *Ἰτρον(αίων)*, as was done in the previous publication; Itur. is the only spelling of Ituraeorum in Latin. The same misinterpretation made in *C.I.L.* iii. 8716 by Mommsen has been corrected by Cichorius, loc. cit.

The unknown served as tribunus (angusticlav.²) legionis IV. [in Moesia] Scythicae. In 56-7 this legion was transferred to the Orient, and never returned to Moesia (Ritterling in *Real-Enc.*, s.v. Legio, and Fluss, *ibid.* xv. 2400). His equestrian career extends about 50-90.

¹ The older opinion that Leg. IV. Scyth. spent some time in Germany before going to Syria is discredited by Ritterling in *Real-Enc.*

² This title is never expressed in inscriptions; it is understood when laticlav. is not used.

When this titulus was engraved, c. 80, the Legion was serving in Syria. The unusual addition "in Moesia" was inserted¹ because soldiers from Col. Caes. Ant. often served with this Legion in Syria; and the intention is to show that the officer's career was spent in Moesia, culminating in the Prefecture of the fleet and guard on the river Danube: see no. 222, which belongs to the same period.

Symmetry forbids that in the last line C C should be added on the left. That gives a date for the framing of the titulus. The legend on coins is COL. CAES. under Augustus, C C under Tiberius, apparently C. C. AN under Vespasian, AN. COL. under Titus, ANTIOCH. COLONIAE about Hadrian's time (autonomous), and under Marcus,² but CAES. ANTIOCH. was revived under Pius. CC was disused c. 74 when Pisidia was separated from prov. Galatia.

Praefectus [al(ae) Aug(ustae)] equitum was the next stage in this career. It is true that Praefectus Equitum simply is sometimes used; but that text would leave the regiment and the place unspecified. The intention, as was stated above, is to exhibit a career in Moesia (undivided) culminating in the highest military equestrian position in that province. The ala must therefore be Augusta, which left its name in Tab. Peut. as Augusta. Moesia was divided c. 84.

Finally, the unknown was appointed praefectus ripae (possibly rip. [et. class.] Danuvi). Such an appointment implied great experience and military skill, and a former centurion (as the unknown perhaps was), who had fought his way up from the ranks, was marked out for it.

The praefectus ripae had doubtless some control over the tribes on the north bank of the Danube, who were required to make an annual contribution in grain for the commissariat of the army in Moesia. If the epithet Flavia quoted in the next paragraph can be taken as proving that the fleet was organized (or re-organized) by Vespasian, it would show that the appointment of the unknown was about A.D. 80.

Praefectus Classis Moesicae was sexagenarius (*Rangordn.* p. 161): the title is doubtless the same as praefectus ripae Danuvi, in Greek *ἐπαρχὸν κλάσσης Φλ. Μυσικῆς Γορδιανῆς*. This office came later than praefectus alae, Dessau 8851 (c. A.D. 240).

The inscription was engraved at Colonia Antiochea and placed in the wall of a Stoa, probably the semicircular Stoa which closes the Pla(tea) Aug(usta) on the east side, as the most conspicuous place in the city; the time was probably when the unknown was appointed to the command of the Danube fleet and bank, somewhere about A.D. 80.

¹ Examples of similar local specification occur.

² No. 7 in B.M. Cat. bears ANTIOCHCAE . . . L . NIAE, but I consulted Mr. Robinson,

who replies that EAE is the reading (not CAE): the same legend on the two following coins.

XX. VINDIA BINDAION LIMENIA.¹

Bindaion (Ktema or *Χωρίον*) implies a place named Bindia (earlier Vindia), as Soublaion (Ktema) goes back to the earlier Seiblia and Dokimaion to Dokimia. The situation was at Kirili Cassaba and Ilimen Limenia, p. 153.

154. An inscription (R. 1901), now in the Museum at Konia, was published by Buckler, Calder and Cox with photo (*J.R.S.* 1924, p. 25): Relief of Men wearing Phrygian cap, with crescent on shoulders; on each side of the altar is a serpent rearing; a coiled serpent on top.

name and father's name.		
-ου ²		Ἀδρια-
νοπο		λείτη-
ς θε-	<i>bust</i>	ῶ
Οὐ-	<i>of</i>	ω-
διει-	<i>Men.</i>	νῶ
εὐ-		χῆν

The Editors rightly identify Hadrianopolis as the Phrygian city; but how did this stone come to be found "in the environs of Konia"? Dr. Saba furnished the explanation to me in 1901, when I copied this titulus at Konia from the stone in his possession. He had brought it from a village near Ak Sheher-Philomelion on the way to Konia, evidently near Hadrianopolis, a City State created by Hadrian from the villages of the Karneios valley (one of which was probably Thymbriion, Xen., *Anab.* i. 2: this may be taken as certain). Dr. Saba did not know that a city Hadrianopolis existed anywhere in that neighbourhood.

At his death the stone was taken to the Museum,³ and hence the account (literally true, yet misleading) passed into the records of the Museum and into the published edition.

One should not blame Dr. Saba's ignorance about the submerged cities of upper Anatolia; he was born about 1840, when the Greeks of Anatolia were just beginning to recover from the effects of their long bondage. Joannes Cinnamus, an excellent historian, was also struck

¹ The difficult topography of Pisidia was described in outline in *Klio*, XXIII. In *H.G.A.M.* p. 399, I misplaced Pappa; Anderson discovered it from an inscription. In Anatolia the spelling OY began to be replaced by B about A.D. 160, and this spelling became general in the third century (though not universal). On Seiblia see *H.G.A.M.* p. 136; *J.H.S.* 1930, pp. 266 ff.

² Buckler et comites read at first ους as complete name or [Θ]ους, but in *J.R.S.* 1928, p. 38, rightly change their opinion.

³ Dr. Saba was murdered in 1901; gossip in the Bazaar at Konia described the large sums of money that I had given him, and roused cupidity: a mere invention. I paid house rent in advance, a method that was inconceivable in a Turkish Bazaar.

with wonder (along with the whole army of Manuel Comnenus in 1145, when at last, after seventy-five years absence, Roman troops had marched so far into Asia Minor), to find that the name Hadrianopolis had penetrated actually into Lycaonia,¹ i.e. from the familiar Hadrianopolis-Edrenopol in Europe to this now foreign land Lycaonia. Moreover, so great a scholar as Du Cange says in a note here, "de hac Hadrianopoli in Asia silent opinor geographi."

The Editors say, "Ὀὐνδιεινῶ, an ethnic apparently new, is no doubt from the Ὀὐνδία between Pessinus and Ancyra (Ptol. v. 4, 5; *Itin. Ant.* pp. 201, 202 (Binda))." This identification seems against all probability. In preparing the ground for it they argue that the bust represents Attis, not Men, because Attis and Men are "hard to distinguish." In Greek art and in numismatic types Attis is usually distinguished clearly by surroundings and attributes, pedum, etc.²

The statement that Men was "probably a variation of the Anatolian Attis" (*J.R.S.* iii. 1913, p. 276) was a theory about an early stage in the development of divine ideas in Asia, and did not refer to forms and types of Greek Art. Atis Attis belongs mainly to the northern route E.W.; Men to the southern.

The ethnic Ὀὐνδιεινός denotes here Vindia in Pisidia.³ A πολίτης of Hadrianopolis could hardly be in trade with the far north, or make a dedication to the god of Vindia *inter Tolistobogios*; but he was naturally in business relations with Vindia in Pisidia. I placed Vindia too far west, till this inscription demanded a situation not distant from Hadrianopolis.

Anderson found Pappa in 1898 and remodelled the topography of Pisidia. Bindaion is the κτήμα north-east and east of Lake Karalis, centre Kirili Cassaba, called Limenia formerly, and Bindia (Bindaion Kteta) took its place. The name Bindaion is used at the Council of 692 and in all *Notitiae Episcop.* except the earliest, VII, VIII, Basil.

This inscription is as yet the solitary example of the name Vindia: it is probably of 3rd century and belongs to the pagan Revival either of 249-51 (or perhaps of 300-311), though lettering suits earlier date.

The Vindia of this titulus is the modern Kirili Kassaba at the N.E. corner of Lake Karalis, which in later time was called Σκληρός. The

¹ πόλις τε Ἀδριανούπολις ὑπερβάς (διαβαίνει γὰρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν Λυκαονίαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο) ἐν τινὶ χώρῳ Γαῖτα ὄνομα τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐποιήσατο (*Cinn.* ii. 5, p. 42). This episode in Manuel's expedition to Konia has some bearing on the question, and much interest in itself. On his return he carried away the Christian population of Agaït and settled them in Bithynia. Alexius in 1116 did not advance beyond Philomelion.

² They say that "on coins of Pessinus Attis is sometimes wrongly taken to be Men (see Roscher, *Lex.* 2727 f., 2896)."

That error does not help the case.

³ Vindia is twice mentioned in *Itin. Ant.*; in one case all MSS. give the name as Vinda; in the other some give Vinda, some Vindia. Ptolemy, v. 4, has Vinzela. The balance of evidence is in favour of Vinda. Sangar, nasalization of Sakar-Sagar: Σάγαρις·πελέκιον μονόστομον·ἄροτρον (*Xen., An.* iv. 4, 16, *Herod.* vii. 64, Hesych). The Sagar cleaves its way in a deep gorge S.E. from Pessinus, and E. from Orkistos, till it turns north as far as Basri-Vinda.

land was imperial property, named Vindia Limenia ("Vindia-on-the-Lake").¹ As a rich estate, it had been the property of every conqueror in succession, finally of Amyntas and Augustus.

Two roads cross Sultan Dagh² from Antioch to Ak-Sheher Finimil Philomelion: (1) horse road over a single sharp lofty ridge, 6 hrs.: (2) 4 hrs. E.S.E. along south front of Sultan Dagh to Urkenez Pili-ganon (?), 7 hrs. up a rough ravine and across a high level plateau (Sultan D.) and down another ravine to Hadrianopolis district, then 3 hrs. back west to Ak-Sheher, wagon road, 14 hrs. made (or re-made) by the Ch. de Fer d'Anatolie to capture the trade of Antioch, c. 1894. This ancient road connected with via Sebaste Pisidica to Ciutas Cillanensium (Calder), Karagatch-Neapolis and Bindaion, etc., Sultan Dagh broadens and breaks down to S.E. into a high hilly plateau (Oroandicus tractus, Pliny, v. 147). The great peak Sultan D. is due north from the ruins of Antiochea; and Piliganon is on the border of the Karagatch-Neapolis plain and probably one of the four villages which constitute the Neapolitan Tetrapolis (Ciutas³ Cillanensium).

Limnai, the bishopric round the west and south of Lake Egerdir, with its ecclesiastical centre in the monastery on Nis (*νῆσο*), off Prostamma (*προ-στα-μνα*),⁴ was liable to be confused with Limenia; and Limenia (employed in the Tekmoreian inscriptions about A.D. 250) went out of use for a time; Prostamma, Prostâma, was used instead of Limnai for the Bishopric of the Limnai; Limenia remains in modern use as Ilimen, some miles east of Kirili Cassaba.

This succession of names for two cities on two lakes (Limnai and Karalis), though originated for the sake of clearness and useful at the time, now perplexes modern scholars. Prostamma, standing forward on its rocky promontory connected by a narrow isthmus with the mainland, has in front of it a small rocky island Nis, on which stands a monastery. The monastery became the home of the Bishop of the Limnai (the double lake of Hoiran and Egerdir), and the bishopric (called Prostanna in earlier time on coins, a rich city with rich lands) took the name Limnai, because the fisheries of the southern Limna (Egerdir) and probably also the northern Limna (Hoiran) belonged to the city Prostanna-Limnai.⁵ The Bishopric Limnai was exposed to confusion with Limenia (Vindia); and the latter name, which is used in Hierocles, i.e. about 450, was abandoned and Bindaion Ktema used.

¹ Limenia, *ATMENIA* in Hierocles's Pisidia by an obvious error of the scribe. The name occurs as late as the Tekmoreian Lists, c. 250 (see *Real-Enc.*, s.v. Tekmoreioi, also see a later Section).

² I have sometimes thought that Sultan Dagh was ancient Ida (name meaning prince, chief). In form seen from S. it resembles Thessalian Olympus, seen from Thessalonika Silenik.

³ Compare Spanish Ciudad. Terms like Tripolis, Tetrapolitan, mean a union of

three or four villages in one polis, not union of four poleis. The Regio Pentapolitica of Glaukos valley was a popular term; there was no political union.

⁴ Pro-sta-mna, Prostamma: Akroterion, Egerdir in modern pronunciation. Prostanna is *προ-στά-μνα* with assimilation of *μν* to *ν*. Prostaenneis, the oldest known form, represents a non-Greek vowel sound intermediate between *a* and *e*.

⁵ These fisheries are mentioned in a later Section.

The situation of Prostanna was first detected (1882) by its sign, the lofty peak called Viaros, on its coins. From the distance, on north bank of Hoiran Lake, it looks a sharp cone, though closer one sees that it has a broad summit. Viaros, Pro-sta-mna, and Nis are three points of volcanic rock thrown up through the level limestone plateau. There may be a fourth farther out which does not appear above the surface. Compare note on Leontokephalon in later Section.

The Estate of Limenia Bindaion was part of the Oroandicus tractus and Cillanicus (Pliny, v. 147); before 6 B.C. it extended along the coast of the lake to Bey-Sheher; but in that year Parlais colonia Aug. was created there, and half the Estate was given to it; the boundary between Bindaion and Parlais is described in *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 104.

Mêstia-Mistia-Fassiler, grecized Misthia, was the old hieratic centre, described in *Denkm. Lykaon. Pamph.* by Keil.

Pappa, Βινδαιον, Παρλαϊς (or Pappa, Parlais, Bindaion) are placed in that order in *Notitiae* from about 820 onwards. The order suits the three sites at Yonuslar (proved by inscriptions), Kirili Kassaba, and Bey-Sheher (certain, on various grounds). The group Limenia Pappa Sine-thandos in Hierocles is evidently Kirili Kassaba, Yonuslar, and a site on the important Via Sebaste between Pappa and Lystra (branching at Sinethandos to Iconium). Kirili Kassaba is an obvious ancient site; the inscriptions do not contain any local name, but it must be Vindia-Limonia Bindaion on general conditions of order in the lists from Hierocles onwards.

XXI. L. ARRUNTIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS.

155. Afion Kara Hissar-Leontokephalon-Akrun (R. 1881, published *Ath. Mitt.* vii. 127, commentary by Mommsen), broken very roughly on right, cut by modern hand above and below. I return to this first copy and most of Mommsen's remarks. He and others have gone astray since from the right text. I only differ in restoring archaic forms. The leaf in l. 1 is larger. Stone carried from Synnada.

[in honorem]

L. A]rrun̄ti ♀ L. F., N[aiui ?	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦν-
Pompei Magni a[bn., Scriboni-	τες Ῥωμαῖοι Λε[ύκ. Ἀρρουν-
ani praef. urb. au[g. quaest ?	τιον, Λευκί[ο]ν υἱόν, Γναίου
Prymness. et C. R. [qui (ibi) nego-	10 Πομπηίου Μ[ά]γνου ἀπόγο-
5 tiantur. curam [agente	νον, Σκριβων[ιανόν, ἑπαρ-
C. Caecilio L. F. M[χον Ῥωμ[η]ς, αὐγουρα, κτλ.

Λεύκιος indicates a date not later than the middle of the first century. The lettering suits the period about A.D. 50. The Greek is inconclusive, but not discrepant.

This young Roman had been praefectus urbi (feriarum Latinarum), an ancient duty given to young men of the highest nobility. His presence in this Phrygian city is easily and best explained because he was probably quaestor of the province Asia (Mommsen); and his age may be deduced as about 25.

In 1887, happening to be again in Afion Kara Hissar with Hogarth and Brown, I hurried out alone to the Armenian cemetery away to the south-east, in order to make a squeeze and a second copy; but hurry defeated its object. The stone had suffered during the interval on the broken right edge; and I could see only a confused scribble where I had previously read *N* at the end of l. 1.

Mommsen proposed a different text in iii. 7043, which is not an improvement. He takes the broken leaf in l. 1 as *O*.

L. Arruntio L. F. Scriboniano
Pompei Magni a[bnepoti
Ani? Praef. urb. au[g.
Prymness. et C. R. [qui ibi nego-
tiantur cura[m agente
C. Caecilio L. F. M[

ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦν-
τες Ρωμαῖοι Λε[ύκ. Ἀρρουν-
τιον Λευκίον υἱὸν Ἀνήσης
Πομπηίου κτλ.

Many things offend in this later edition. In l. 1 for *N* Mommsen thought he could detect on the impression the lower part of *S*; this rough edge was more cracked in 1887 than in 1881; the appearance of *S* in the squeeze was illusory.

Mommsen in his first commentary stresses the need to keep Greek and Latin texts parallel. The parallelism is closer in the first than in the second edition. The praenomen of Pompey was omitted in the second edition; this one feels to be a loss.

Moreover, the results of this error prove that it was wrong. (1) It gives in the first line 22 letters, while the other lines have probably or certainly 19, 20, 19, and a final line is incomplete; but in all Latin tituli of Anatolia that I have seen the first line is either shorter (being in letters larger or wider spaced) or of the same length as the following lines, never longer. (2) It gives Ani. as the tribe of this young Arruntius, putting it in the wrong place after the cognomen (an error which these Roman cives would not commit). (3) Ani. is false because the tribe of these Arruntii was Teretina. We conclude that *S* is wrong. In 1881 *N* was complete and certain; and it was confirmed by A. Körte later, who thought he could read *N*, but in his impression could distinguish only *I*.¹

Mommsen, in his first commentary (*Ath. Mitt.* l.c.), conjectured that the connexion between the Pompeii and the Arruntii was made through a daughter Scribonia of Pompeia and L. Scribonius Libo, who

¹ I had written my final judgment several years before I knew of Koerte's reading (iii. 14192, 3).

married M. Livius Crassus Frugi and had sons, Crassus Scribonianus and L. Piso Frugi Sicinianus. The elder was adopted (as he supposes) by an Arruntius.

In his second commentary he preferred a different connexion in which all now agree that the youth at Prymnessos was descended from L. Arruntius L.F., L.N., Teretina tribu, cos. A.D. 6, mentioned by Augustus as a possible future Emperor (Tac., *Ann.* i. 13). The combination of the names L. Arruntius and Scribonianus at Prymnessos occurs also in the case of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, cos. A.D. 32.¹ Conjecture becomes necessary at this stage: how did Arruntius Scribonianus come to be connected with a descendant of Cn. Pompeius Magnus? The connexion must have come about through Pompeia, daughter of Sex. Pompeius and Scribonia. Pompeia married L. Scribonius Libo after 40 B.C.; but Mommsen conjectures that she afterwards married Arruntius, the consul of A.D. 6.

Such problems as this are difficult, and it is not mine to tread that path, but one or two points have been missed. The intermediate ancestors of L. Arruntius Scribonianus are omitted in the titulus, while his remote ancestor Pompey is named; this omission suggests that their names were banned. Now L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (cos. ord. 32) rebelled against Claudius in 42, committed suicide after a few days, and his name was erased. In *P.W.* (ii. 1264; vii. 351) both v. Rohden and Groag think that the young noble was son of this consul of 32, and I can only follow in their train. Further, L. Arruntius, cos. A.D. 6, father of Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, was condemned in A.D. 37, and committed suicide to avoid a worse fate.

The character of these C.R. *consistentes* has not been sufficiently considered. They spoke the archaic Latin of their forefathers, who had settled at this great trading centre after the Mithridatic troubles; they wrote N[aevi] (or, as I believe, N[aiui], also quaist(oris); see on this the analogy of Section III., no. 8. They could not have committed such a solecism as putting the tribe after the cognomen.

How and in what capacity was L. Arruntius at Prymnessos? Obviously he was holding some senatorial position in the province, which brought him to Prymnessos. The only positions open were proconsule, quaestor, and legatus proconsulis. The first is impossible, the second and third would fully justify his presence and the honour paid to him; but the second is preferable as evidence goes. We reject the hypothesis that he was amusing (or training) himself by visiting *claras Asiae urbes*, like Catullus. Young Roman nobles were trained in career of duties (Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 3). Catullus was a poet.

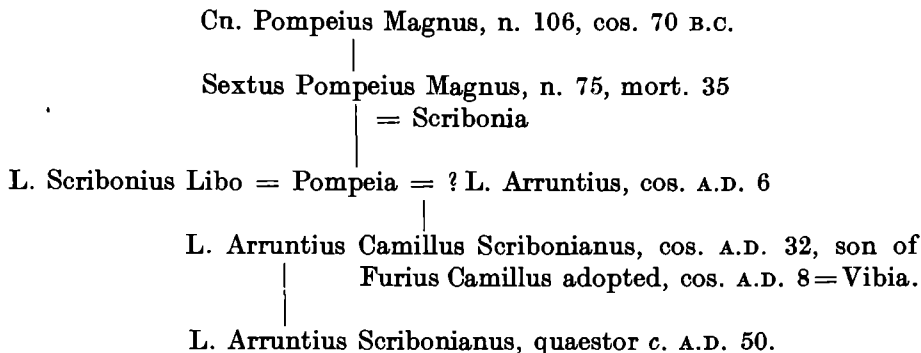
The quaestor visited this important business centre on duty con-

¹ We write the name after the later fashion, to bring out clearly the origins of the name. So he himself wrote it (*C.I.L.* iii. 9864a);

he was son of M. Furius Camillus, adopted by L. Arruntius.

nected with his office, and the visit caused the town and the resident Romans to make an inscription (with statue ?) in his honour. There is something quite unusual about this titulus : the use of Praef. urbi in the sense of Praef. urb. fer. Lat. is (as Mommsen says) unexampled. This character is due to the negotiantes, who were unfamiliar with post-Augustan things.

On this hypothesis most of the dates suit fairly. A consul in A.D. 32 might well have a son born in 25 and quaestor in 50. The stemma emerges :—



Generations are to be estimated by the men, and there seems a gap, which may be explained by the supposition of late marriage and long intervals. Pompeia is a long way from Cn. Pompeius ; but this is certain and acknowledged, though her second marriage is conjectural.

L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus was spared in A.D. 42, but was exiled in 52 because he used diviners (Chaldaei) to learn about the fate of Claudius, and died soon after (as some believed by poison). The titulus fits and illumines his short life ; he was quaestor in Asia c. 50, exiled in 52, and died.

At Synnada the gravestone of Arruntia Attica, evidently a freed-woman of the family, is published in *M.A.M.* iv. no. 53. Attica was wife of Hya[cinthus], a freedman tabularius of Nero ; the titulus was engraved while Nero was living ; his name was engraved and erased. Apparently the Roman noble with a train of clientes and attendants made a journey of inspection round by Prymnessos and Synnada. A legatus proconsulis is mentioned at Prymnessos and at Eumeneia (*J.R.S.* 1926, p. 73).

156. Mahmud Keui, 4 km. S. of Kassaba Synnada on road to the Regio Pentapolitica of Phrygia. Marble tablet (R. 1881, 1888 ; better copy in *M.A.M.* iv. 53, much of whose restoration we adopt, except *Λουκίου*). Letters worn ; square \sqcup , \square , E.

Arruntiae L. F. Attice (!)
 con[tuber]nali et Q. Arruntio
 Just[o fili]o carissimo ☿
 Hya[cinthus Neronis] ☿
 Caes. [Aug. tab.] p. d. s.

Ἀρρουντί[αι Λευκίου] Ἀττικῆι
 γυναικ[ῆ] ἰδίαι καὶ Κοίντω[ι ?]
 Ἀρρουν[τίω] Ἰούστ[ω] ἰῶι τει-
 μω[τάτω] Ἰάκινθος Νέρωνος
 Καί[σαρος Σεβαστοῦ τα]βλάριος

The epitaph was placed after the death, before 68, of Attica, whose marriage took place about 50. In *M.A.M.* the marriage is said to be between a servus Caesaris and ingenua; but Arruntia contubernalis cannot have been ingenua, perhaps she was daughter of a libertus in the Arruntian household. Hyacinthus must have been manumitted before he was tabularius. There was a considerable familia Caesaris at Synnada (see later Section). *Λουκίου, M.A.M.*

There may be no connexion between Arruntia Attica and the journey and duty of Arruntius Scribonianus; but the dates agree so well that it can hardly be a chance coincidence.

Scribonianus quaestor: *Addenda*, p. 220.

XXII. PEREGRINO CONSULE.

J. Keil showed the local accuracy of the Acta of St. Timothy in *Jahresh.* xxix. The only point which he has left unexplained is the date Peregrino consule. Peregrino here is not a name, but an epithet, "under a foreign consul"; it expresses the Roman dislike for the admission of foreigners, especially Orientals, to the consulate, and fits the period assigned by Keil when foreign consuls were a novelty. The earliest known consuls of Oriental origin held office in 92, 93, which is too early, as the Emperor was named Nerva. The third Oriental consul, so far as known, was C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, in 105, described above, p. 46, as hated and ridiculed in Rome because he was placed among the triumphales as well as among the consulares. The Emperor was Nerva Trajan; and in the transmission of the text, the first name alone survived. Julius Quadratus was suffectus; in the Orient suffecti were not used as a date; but presumably the dislike for him made itself felt even in Ephesus. Timothy was a mere youth in 50, when St. Paul chose him as a companion, almost a boy, and in 105 would be about 80, as described in the Acta. In the tale of St. Ariadne Hadrianus means Hadrianus Antoninus.

XXIII. TZYBRITZI KLEISOURA, BRIDGE PASS; MYRIOKEPHALON.

It was shown in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 308 f., 313, 345, that the procurator Augusti of the large Estates (formerly the property of the god of Antiochea Pisidia, inherited by the Emperors as his representative on earth) was regarded as *ex officio* priest of the god-emperor. The priest-procurator guided and ruled the lives of the

coloni on the Estates, freemen still, but practically adscripti glebae and on the way to become serfs in the fullest sense. The same view was stated by Rostovtzeff in a generalized form.

Many conquerors swept over Asia Minor, they became lords of the soil and ruled under the forms of priesthood, leaving much of the land in possession of the previous owners. At Pessinus there was a division of power : half of the priest-college was left to the old priestly families, half was taken by the Gauls.

157. Old cemetery near N.E. corner of Hoiran lake, on the site of a village, now uninhabited (R. 1882 and often ; Callander, 1907 ; Calder, 1908 ; Anderson, 1912). On a large basis the letters were coarsely engraved by an unskilled hand, and have been broadened and made difficult by rain or melted snow which freezes and expands. We have studied it long and concluded that the hardly intelligible text is

ἐπὶ Μάρκου Φιλείνου	τα· καὶ Νείλλος πραγ-
ιέρεος κτίστου Καρβο-	ματευτῆς γερεὸς καὶ
κωμήτου καὶ κτίσαν-	δῆμος Καρβοκωμη[τῶν]. ¹

When M. Philinus was priest and ktistes, native of Karbokome ; him in this statue Neillos and the demos (placed).

Philinus was libertus of Marcus Aurelius and priest of the Emperor ; his statue was placed on this basis. Neillos, actor (slave of the Emperor), member of the Gerousia, and the people of Karbokome (paid this honour). κτίσαντα κτισθέντα, him exalted on this basis.²

The date is stated according to the procurator-priest. The freedman-priest named without nomen is unusual, but not unjustifiable in the situation. The people spoke Phrygian, not Greek, and were utterly ignorant of Greek grammar, but in an honorary inscription they considered that Greek was required as the only respectable language and they did what they could. They had known Philinus the slave, who was born among them, and Marcus the freedman : gaudent praenomine molles liberti auriculae. The nomen was strange to them.

Karbokome, a village mentioned in the lists of Tekmoreioi, is now proved to be a village in the fertile ground of Myriokephalon, adjoining Misylon. The old cemetery marks the site.

In *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 33, I made the happy guess that the farm Marsia was the half-way station between Apollonia and Antiochea Colonia, near the N.E. corner of Hoiran. Aur. Timotheos, son of Demetrios, is designated as native of Karbokome and owner of Marsia. Either the two were close to each other, or they were the same place ; the same situation has been proved for one and conjectured quite independently for the other. The obvious inference is that they were two names of one place, Karbokome the native name, Marsia derived from

¹ Reject καὶ (ἐ)κτίσαν Τα καὶ Νείλλος καὶ δῆμος or κ(αί) αἰκτίσαν.

² Learners often mixed up active with middle and passive forms.

a Roman Marcia (therefore temporary, perhaps wife of Philippus, A.D. 244-49, perhaps favourite of Commodus).¹ The village was called Karbokome under M. Aurelius, Marsia later, and it soon returned to its original name. Many Greek and Roman place-names were evanescent, though a few maintained themselves permanently, e.g. Kaısár, Ladik, Sivás, Sivaslı.

The slave and libertus of M. Aurelius was native of Karbokome. It will be found that the *familia* of the Emperor acting for him on each of his large properties in Anatolia lived there, were often called *politai* or *kometai* of the local centre, acted in public affairs as natives, married into native families of distinction, and made themselves real leaders of the people generally, not merely official leaders. This is evident in the inscriptions.

The territory of Apollonia embraced the north shore of Hoiran lake, with the (round ?) tower mentioned in the third Crusade, 1190, as Cinglarium, and called Myriokephalon in 1176,² when the tower *οἶκος* was a ruin. It was near a little modern khan, not far from the north-east corner of the lake (where the farm called Misulon was situated). At Misulon began the ascent, not steep at first, called in 221 B.C. *αὐλῶν Πισιδικός*,³ c. A.D. 18-19 *αὐλῶν κατάγων πρὸς Μισυλωι*, after 1072 Tzybritzi Kleisoura, Bridge Pass, when it was Turkish, scene of the ruinous defeat of the splendid Byzantine army by the light Turkish riders, while the main Turkish army was never engaged and was even ignorant that a battle was being fought and won. At the top of the pass a little bridge was the military centre; even Barbarossa's army in 1190 did not venture to attempt this narrow bridge across a deep narrow ravine Trougla in the face of the Turkish army, which was drawn up on the slope at the southern end (as it had been in 1176).⁴ Myriokephalon, Karbokome, Misulon, and the pass up to Ganzaiia Koundoia, still called Gondâni: all were assigned to Apollonia by Germanicus, A.D. 18-19; the recording inscription (seen only by Sterrett, vainly sought repeatedly by Anderson and by myself) was published in *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 141 (where I failed to see that the claim was granted by Germanicus, and not by an earlier Roman with exceptional authority). The god of Apollonia (Zeus Ouro-dam-enos, god of the

¹ A. Wilhelm has shown with high probability that *C* in these rudely carved Anatolian inscriptions is often to be taken as *K* (*Berl. Akad. Sitz.* 1932, pp. 793 ff.), and my experience agrees. Paccia Marciana, first wife of Sept. Severus, who erected statues to her (called Marcia in *Hist. Aug. Sev.* 3. 2), is not possible as origin of *Μαρσιανός*.

² Myriokephalon, tower from which 10,000 kephaloi can be seen in the water of the lake; the lake swarms with large fish. The word was interpreted after 1176 as

presaging the death of myriads of Christians in the Bridge Pass.

³ Polyaen., *Str.* iv. 7.

⁴ The bridge crosses at right angles to the path up the north side of the rivulet which runs down the ravine 200 yds. and thence a mile or two down the pass. The hills rise higher on the southern bank; hence the main Turkish army could not see the battle in 1176 on the northern bank. The ascent becomes much steeper near the bridge. A farm at the top of the ravine was called Trougletta: *ou* for *ω*.

high house), appears in inscriptions at Gondâni and Apollonia; the "high tower" was Myriokephalon. This pass was a *topotesia* in the thematic system; alluded to in very incorrect terms by Emp. Constantine in *Admin. Imp.* p. 225 (unless there were two military stations called by this name, which seems very improbable, but which is assumed in *H.G.A.M.* p. 250). Bridge pass was in the Anatolic Theme. Constantine says that Myriokephalon was in the Bukellariote Theme and was transferred about 890 to the new Kharsian Theme.

In *M.A.M.A.* iv. the territory of Apollonia is limited wrongly to the western end of the valley in which it lies. From the upper end of the valley we count 6 hours to the N.W. end of the lake at Gendj Ali Lykiokome,¹ and then 4 hours to Misulon. Tumandos was only a kome till Diocletian.

It may be added that the reading in *St. E.R.P.* p. 322, l. 48, is certainly [Ἀπολ(λ)]ωνιανετης, not [Κολ]ωνιανετης. Neither *Κολωνιάτης* nor *Κολωνιανός* was ever used as an ethnic from Colonia Antiochea: only Ἀντιοχεύς has been found in its inscriptions. Ἀπολ(λ)ωνιάτης is the only correct form; but the lapicida, after writing Ἀπολ(λ)ωνιαν observed the error, tried to correct it, and produced Ἀπολ(λ)ωνιανετης.²

XXIV. T. FLAVIUS MONTANUS OF AKMONIA.

158. In *Ephes. Forschungen*, ii. pp. 175 f., two inscriptions at Ephesus are published honouring this man; see no. 24.

<p>ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπέιμψαν Τ. Φλάουιον Μοντανόν, δὶς ἑπαρχὸν τεχνειτῶν, 5 ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσω κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβασ- τοφάντην καὶ ἀγνωθῆτην διὰ βίου, τελειώσαντα τὸ θέατρον καὶ καθιερώσαντα ἐν τῇ ἀρχιεροσύνῃ, (!)</p>	<p>10 δόντα καὶ μονομάχιας καὶ κινήγια, κα[ταθέντα] ? καὶ τοῖς πολεΐταις τὸ ἄριστον ἐκάστω δην. γ' τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πληρώσαντα τὰ δίκαια πάντα, ἀριθμήσαντα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ 15 λιμένος κατασκευὴν μυριάδας ἑπτα- ήμισυ καὶ ἀγνωθετήσαντα ἀγῶνα κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιφανῶς</p>
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In no. 24 the guild of wool cleaners honoured Montanus, who had been made *civis* in 96 by Domitian,³ and took his Roman cognomen

¹ Lykiokome is on a strong rocky peninsula; here was the seat of the Lycian *apoikoi* coloni, who with the Thracians on Sozopolis constituted the city Apollonia.

² When I wrote the note on this line in 1906 I was ignorant that the territory of Apollonia included this pass (ἀδῶνα κα-

ἀγῶνα πρὸς Μισουλῶν) and *Κολωνιανετης* seemed inevitable as the only reading that could be entertained. In 1911 I made a note, "abundant room for Ἀπολ," when re-examining the stone.

³ Evidently when he became *Sebastophantes* at Akmonia.

from Junius Montanus ; he was son of Hiero ; his family lasted long (no. 66). The family name was Hiero (the name was still used c. 240–250) ; civitas was bestowed to qualify him as Sebastophantes in Akmonia in 96 ; he was appointed high priest of the province c. 107. These details fit well together in a conjectural biography.

T. Flavius Montanus had apparently become rich in trade ; he had not held any municipal office in Akmonia, but was an ordinary member of the gild which honoured him ; the phyle did not join in the honour. He was equestrian, but did not serve any equestrian militia. At that time it was rarely permitted that an Oriental should command a cohort or an ala. Dessau in *Hermes*, xlv. pp. 1 ff., knows no example of such command earlier than Hadrian, but there are some.

Probably *σεβαστοφάντην καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου* in ll. 7–8 are Akmonian offices,¹ mentioned in Ephesus as being imperial. It would be awkward to mention that Montanus was *ἀγ. διὰ βίου* when he celebrated only one *ἀγών* (ll. 16–17).² He died either in his *ἀρχιερωσύνη* or immediately, and bequeathed a large sum to Ephesus. Benefactions to Akmonia are not mentioned here.

Montanus completed the theatre, which had long existed but wanted additions or embellishment ; during the course of his high priesthood he dedicated the additions. In the *ἀγών* which he celebrated he gave venationes and gladiatorial shows in addition to the ordinary Greek *ἀγῶνες*. The harbour of Ephesus was far from the sea, and the entrance was in constant danger of being silted up.

The designation differs slightly. At Akmonia this archiereus was legally designated by his father's name Hiero. At Ephesus the father was unknown. T. Flavius Montanus as high priest in Ephesus became an Ephesian citizen ; but his father, as not Ephesian, was omitted. The situation is clear when we take into account that the high priest of a province became by his priesthood citizen of the metropolis.³ His gifts to the metropolis were splendid. Ephesus does not record gifts to his native city Akmonia, where he is vaguely called Euergetes by his gild.

Εὐτυ[χίαν]οῦ τοῦ καὶ [Μο]ντανοῦ, was archon and epimeletes in 193 at Otrous : the foreign name is here exposed to an Anatolian change of vowel (*B.C.H.* 1882, p. 517).

¹ *σεβαστοφάντης* at Iconium in our no. 1.

² The *ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας* held office for a term : the title *Ἀσιάρχης* was lifelong, and implied duties in a permanent council.

³ So a Roman who settled in a city of Anatolia was recognized as a resident ; and the distinction between *consistentes* and *πολίται* gradually vanished.

XXV. CENTURIONS AT APAMEA KIBOTOS.

159. Apamea, on two blocks of building stone: A in a modern garden wall (R. 1891), B1 and B2 on a block which lay in a conspicuous position in the old village (R. 1888; *C.I.L.* 367 and 7056). Calder's acuteness observed that A and B1 are parts of one inscription. In *C.B.* ii. 324 and 329 it was assumed that B1 and B2, being on the same stone, were a Greek and Latin bilingual; B1, which is defective on left, was restored to correspond to B2; and A was treated as a separate inscription. Calder's discovery, which fills me with admiration, being derived not from the originals but only from the published false restoration, simplifies the problem.¹ B1 and B2 had been seen by every visitor, and I took no interest in them till 1888, when Mommsen asked me to make a careful copy of the Latin B2. Dr. Buckler corrected my *TIΔ* in l. 7 to *T-IAΔ*. Date 170.

(A).	(B)1.	(B)2.
		Dis Manibus
1 Λούκιος Πρ[εῖμ]ου καὶ	1 Λούκιος Πρ[εῖμ]ου καὶ	2 CASSIA M QVARTINA VIXI
Ἀφφία Διδύ[μο]ν ζών-	Ἀφφία Διδύ[μο]ν ζών-	T ANNOS XXV VALERIVS
τες ἑαυτοῦ[ς] ἐποίησαν	τες ἑαυτοῦ[ς] ἐποίησαν	4 IVLANVS 7 LES VII CL COIVC
4 τὸν βωμὸν [κὲ] τὴν κατὰ	4 τὸν βωμὸν [κὲ] τὴν κατὰ	BM HSE
αὐτοῦ σοροῦ [ν] ἰς ἣν ἔτε-	αὐτοῦ σοροῦ [ν] ἰς ἣν ἔτε-	Cassia M. Quartina vixi-
ρος οὐ τεθῆ[ν] ἔάν τις ἐ-	ρος οὐ τεθῆ[ν] ἔάν τις ἐ-	t annos XXV. Valerius
πι]τηδ[εύσει] θῆσει ἰς[τὸ	πι]τηδ[εύσει] θῆσει ἰς[τὸ	Iulanus (!) (cent) leg. VII. Cl. coiugi
8 [ταμείον ✕ φ ?]	8 [ταμείον ✕ φ ?]	bene merenti, hic
[ἔτ]ει σφε'	[ἔτ]ει σφε'	sita est.

The large slab (B) was laid flat in the wall and measured $34\frac{1}{2}$ ins. *in fronte*, $32\frac{1}{2}$ ins. *in agrum*; height $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins., so that a block $34\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. appeared of which 6 ins. at the top was covered with defaced ornament, while $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. was occupied by the inscription. I have no measurements for stone A, but it was not nearly so broad *in fronte* as B.

Not *Πρίμος*, but (*Πρίαμος*, or) *Πρ[εῖμ]ος*, is the spelling in B1, l. 1; this Latin word is usually spelt thus in Anatolian Greek; in l. 4 κέ is in ligature. Priamos would be a slave.

The two blocks on which A and B1 Greek and B2 Latin were engraved were laid flat in the wall of a building, evidently a herôon. The wall was $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, if we may judge from the one stone that could be measured. The Greek inscription A and B1 covered parts of two adjoining stones in the wall. A is complete on left, incomplete on right. B1 is incomplete on left, nearly complete on right; I noted in 1888 that on the left accident has destroyed 3 letters in l. 1, 2 in l. 2, 1 each in ll. 3, 4, 5, part of 1 in l. 6. L. 7 is obliterated in A except *TIΔ*. Ll. 8-9 are wholly obliterated. L. 8 was blank in B1.

¹ The modern town has been increased vastly in size and entirely rebuilt, and conceals many old stones.

The Greek was written in careful well-shaped letters of the rounded style which was common at the period, and is dated A.D. 170-1. The Latin was in slightly smaller letters, badly written in rude letters; S and G were of the same form; the date is third century. It is clear that the soldier violated the tomb and buried his wife there; no one would venture to interfere with or exact a penalty from a centurion who was stationed in Apamea under Severus or later. Moreover, the Greek is arranged symmetrically if considered by itself, while the Latin looks unsymmetrical. F is omitted in B2, l. 1.

The soldier was of a Greek-speaking land; hence he omits in Greek fashion F after M in his wife's designation; he also omits his own praenomen (Sect. XXIX.). He was son of a civis [.] Valerius (who doubtless had earned civitas and nomen as an auxiliary soldier). He was stationed with the troop of a centurion at Apamea, which was a meeting of several very important roads, and needed a guard to keep order among brawling travellers, and was also a conventus, where at assizes great numbers gathered (as Dio Chrysostom describes in a speech there). He married a soldier's fourth daughter who died young. Probably he was Apamean by birth, and was selected for his position there as familiar with the roads and the country round. He had served on the Danube frontier and learned some Latin, of which he was proud. He pronounced his cognomen with English Y instead of I,¹ and omits this letter in spelling the word, as Y was not in his alphabet. The legion VII. Claudia was stationed in Moesia, where the camp language was Latin, from 71 onwards.

If the Latin epitaph was written about 200 (as the writing suggests), Cassia was born about 175; her father M. Cassius was probably an auxiliary who was given the name Cassius when he was entered on the register of the regiment.

160. Another centurion, who was stationed at Apamea for a similar purpose to Valerius rather earlier, may be mentioned here; he was of the same legion (R. 1888; *C.I.L.* iii. 366, 7055).

L Vario L F. Fab. Maxi-
mo L Varius L F Fab.

Maximus pater
7 leg. VII Cl.

The father of this centurion was doubtless an auxiliary soldier. The centurion, like Valerius, bears a cognomen (according to Domaszewski's principle). Perhaps the nomen Varius was not Latin, but Phrygian. *Ὀβάριος*, or *'Οαρίς*, was derived from *οὐά* or *όά*, the native term meaning village. The first soldier kept the native name as Latin Varius. Both soldiers, Phrygian by birth, learned Latin in camp life, and used it in writing. Phrygians were often big men, as their descendants still are.

A third centurion primus pilus at Apamea, see *Addenda*, p. 220.

¹ Domaszewski says that centurions all had cognomina after Claudius.

XXVI. LETHAEA PAPAVERA.

I know no allusion to the use of opium as a noxious drug in ancient time¹; but it was certainly cultivated and sold as an article of trade. It is perhaps indigenous to Asia Minor; the chief centres of production, both modern and ancient, are Afium Kara Hissar and Yallowatch. Hamilton mentions that much is grown in the upper valley of the Makestos. At Simav (Synaos) and Ancyra I saw fields of poppies in 1883.

No allusion to the poppy is made on coins of Synaos. At Ancyra a remarkable coin of Philip (B.M. no. 42)² shows the city-goddess "holding in left pomegranate (?)"; the entire scene is closed in by cypress trees (*ferales cupressos*) as a graveyard. The "pomegranate (?)" may be a poppy capsule ripe for slitting, which on a coin is like a pomegranate. A grave or a cemetery was a sanctuary, and still is the only sanctuary among the scattered pagan remnant in Asia Minor. Opium was used at the grave ceremonial *τῆ εἰθίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ*, 30th day?

Prymnessos (the nearest ancient city to Opium-Black-Fortress) shows on a coin "two ears of corn and poppy". Synnada and Beudos,³ which are near Prymnessos, also struck coins showing "two ears of corn and poppy" or "ear of corn and poppy head upright side by side"; the poppy coins of Synnada are of the last century B.C., those of Beudos Vetus are of Hadrian.

The word *παπον* (or *παπα*, neut. plur. or fem. sing.) is rare, and does not occur even in Hesychius; it has even been conjectured out of existence. Dr. Zingerle regards it as an Anatolian word, which is certainly right; but what is its meaning? I collect a few examples, which leave no doubt that it means opium.

161. Konia (R. 1910, with Calder, excavated from the foundations of the Seldjuk Palace). Calder edited this with other tituli found there in *Journ. de Phil.* 1912.

<i>Παπου θυ- μέλη Σέξτος Αἴλιος Ἀτριανός</i>	<i>Μητρί Ζι- ζιμη- goddess νῆ εὐχὴν</i>
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Ll. 1, 2, are engraved on the upper part of a small altar.

In l. 4 Calder reads [Σ]ατριανός, which may be right. There is, however, no need to add a letter. Satrius and Satrienus are obscure names.⁴ The name Haterius is consular since before Christ. Haterianus

¹ Caracalla's life seems sometimes to show an eater of hashish, though no authority mentions it. Hashish is not grown in Asia Minor.

² Nos. 44, 45 show a similar scene, but much less complete and hardly intelligible.

³ Beudos, V. M.P. east of Synnada, was a small place, which struck coins only on the occasion of a visit of Hadrian, perhaps in 117, returning via Ancyra from Syria after Trajan's death at Selinus.

⁴ Satriana dea perhaps forged, *C.I.L.* vi. 114, defended by Hülsen.

was leg. Aug. prov. Ciliciae (praetorian 74-138, consular 138 onwards). Probability is in favour of *Ἀτριάνας*, which the Greeks would naturally use for Haterianus. The inscription cannot be dated exactly. Calder takes *παπον* (or *παπος*) as incense.¹ The altar is small: only incense or opium or spice could be burned on it. The Latin *pāpāver* (cp. *cadāver*) shows that opium is the sense: the word is unknown in Greek, even in Hesych. Lex.² *Παππᾶς* meant father, priest, but distinction in spelling is not always observed by the ancients: (Zeus) *Papas* is frequently used.

162. In the most easterly part of Iconian territory (2 or 3 hrs. E. from Ismil), a village Kara Kaya (Black Rock) lies under the S.W. side of Boz Dagh in a dry and unfertile land.³ On a rude altar tombstone of blackish volcanic rock (R. 1904), writing scratchy and in parts illegible, done by an untrained hand. In ll. 7, 8, I had in mind the sepulchral tag *γαῖα καλύπτει*, which perhaps distracted my eye.

	ΣΥΜΠΑΠΩ		θυ[μ]. παπω[ν
	ΚΙΤΕΑΝΤΟ		ἐνθάδε] κίτε Ἄντ[ο- (or ω)
	ΝΕΙΝΑΕΓΟΝΗ ΟΥΛ		νεῖνα ἐγόνη Οὐλ-
4	ΠΚΛΕ	ICT	π. Κλε[.] ἰστ[ρ-
	ΙΩ	ΕΙΑ	ατ]ιώ[του] εἰλ[ης
6	vacant space: the lines are irregular.		
	ΚΑΛΥΠΤΙ		
8	ΕΡΩΝ ΧΗΜΙΟ[Τ]ΕΡΩΝ σημο[φορ.
	ΔΕ ΔΟΥΑΚΙΤ		.ή] δὲ δουκιτ[ά-
	Η ΕΙΔΙΑΘΥΓΑΤ		τ]η εἰδία θυγάτ-
	ΟΤΗΛΗΝ		ηρ] στήλην [ἔστησεν

The first line is a heading, as in the preceding.

The meaning is obscure, probably Antonina, grand-daughter of M. Ulpianus Cas . . . [or *ΚΙΕ*?], a soldier of an Ala,⁴ where he attained the rank of Signifer. Examples in later Section of soldiers' Latin (often not rightly interpreted by editors).

None of these persons knew Greek or Latin. Phrygian was spoken at Iconium by the uneducated⁵: the soldier, serving in a province where Latin was spoken, e.g. Moesia, picked up some camp Latin; his family, proud of his military glory, inscribed their pride in a

¹ Calder, l.c.; I also long held that incense was meant.

² *παπα* may underlie such names as *παταριων*, *παπυλος*, *Παπουκώμη χωρίον* (*C.I.G.* 9731, 8), *Παπαῖος*, name of Zeus among the Scythians, *παπάνιος*, epithet of Zeus in Bithynia, god of the dead.

³ Kara Kaya is near "Salamara, a dry barren frontier village of Iconian territory" (*J.R.S.* 1928, p. 184).

⁴ The name cannot be recovered, possibly I Thrac. *Veterana Sagitt.* or I C. R. *Veterana*, both in Pannonia Inferior. [*οὐε*]τέρων, bad rendering of *Veteranorum*.

⁵ Phrygian was doubtless a patois mixed with Greek in the city; in a remote Iconian village there was less Greek and better Phrygian.

mixture of Greek and Latin. The family had nothing to boast of except the progenitor. *δουλικιότη* is a mixture of *dulcis memoriae* and *γλυκυτάτη*. *δούλκια*, sweets, was used in Greek.

The date is fixed *c.* 160–70. Antonina was named after Pius, 138–61. The soldier |*Οὔλιπιος*| *ΚΑΕ*. . . . (or *KAC*) was recruited under the orders of Trajan himself, for the Dacian war *c.* 105 (or for the eastern war, 113), or perhaps he was enlisted by an officer, Ulpius Cas later.

We take *ἐγόνη* for *ἐγγόνη*.¹

163. Near Colonia Antiochea, at Alti Kapu, [*Διομήδης*?] | *Διομήδου* | *Ἐρμῆν* | *ἀνέθηκεν* is inscribed on a dedicatory altar; on the shaft under the inscription is a ripe poppy capsule ready for slitting (clearly shown in a good photograph published by Professor D. M. Robinson, who calls it "a plant design").² This Hermes is the altar on which a priest (Diomedes?) burned poppy opium in a saucer-like hollow on the top. The natives said that the rain water which collected there cured sick people. The basis did not support a statue of Hermes.

It is not usual that an altar should be called Hermes; this is a relic of the old Hittite idea that the altar is a living thing: another expression of the same idea is seen in the Attic hermae, rude naturalistic representations of life and power, approximating to human form.

Coins of Col. Antiochea often show the Genius or Tyche of the colonia holding in r. a lustral branch downwards, or pouring the contents of a cornucopiae on an altar; the altar is *θυμέλη παπων*, and she pours on it the opium, which was the chief product of its territory and the source of its wealth.

164. On a rude relief at Lystra, col. Jul. Aug. Felix Lustra, [*Λυτήριος*] Apollo holds up the lustral branch, and a dog jumps up on him fawning. The branch in the two cases has the same meaning. The Roman coloni called this Colonia Lustra, connecting the name with lustration; hence I restored [*λυτήριον*] formerly.³ The opium was imported from Antiochea. A close connexion between Lystra and Antiochea is implied in a Greek inscription in which Col. Lustra salutes her sister Colonia Antiochea on the basis of a statue of Homonoia. The idea of Concordia is typical at Antiochea.⁴

¹ In *M.A.M.* iv. no. 277B *ἐγονος* is interpreted as *ἐκγονος*, offspring.

² Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 349, reads only last two lines. D. M. Robinson, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* lvii. p. 219, read all four lines. I saw and copied the inscription often from 1882 till 1924 (last with Robinson). *Διομήδης*, though reasonably certain, cannot be read. In l. 2 Robinson has *Διομήδους*; but final sigma was omitted here and often in Anatolian tituli in such genitives.

³ Buckler showed that *ΓΟΝ* is in the photo, not *ΙΟΝ*.

⁴ A great arch was erected to Concordia Aug(ustorum), probably Constantine and Licinius, by Valerius Diogenes, praeses Prov. Pisidiae for many years, faithful to various emperors *c.* 300–325. Claudio-Seleukeia also maintained Homonoia with Antiochea; so also Tavium (Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 84; see a later Section).

I now try [Λυτήριον (?) κὲ ἀρχη]γόν (or κυνηγόν) Ἀπόλλωνα. The evidence for Λυτ is the connexion with Lu-stra and the figure of Apollo. There is abundant room for two epithets. [λιτουρ]γόν ?

As there is abundant room for two epithets of Apollo, we avoid an improbable lacuna ; both epithets are uncertain.

Λυτήριον ? Ἀρχη]γόν Λ-
 πό[λ]ωνα τῇ φυλ[ῆ]
 I E P Ω Θ I A C Ω

Νέων head κε AYP Νε-
 palm ωνια of νὸς Δι-
 branch ονυ Apollo σίου
 dog εὐχῆν altar

Αὐρ is intended to come after θιάσω
 before Νέων, inserted later.

The altar is a table supported on a central leg.

Apollo reaches down towards the altar with his left hand, but the action is uncertain (not pouring libation). The upper part and head of Apollo is large, the legs disproportionately small. In l. 3 there is a symbol upright between Ω and the leaf ; it is perhaps a small wriggling asp. No venomous serpents now exist in Asia Minor, but there are many harmless.

Apollo, in the centre, stands on an elaborate structure on which the altar also stands, founder and purifier of the colonia.

The animal on the left is proved to be a dog by the attitude and the shape of the head. The body is more like a sheep. His hind feet rest on a lower part of the structure (representing the ground).

The surface was smashed, especially Apollo, by Moslems.

The epithet might be κυνηγόν, [ἀρχη]γόν, or [λιτουρ]γόν. Αὐρ is common to the two sons of Dionysios ; it may give a date in 212. The altar table is in the old Hittite form. Ἱερός θιάσος was the phyle, probably, in which the entire native population was enrolled. The ancient religion was strong in Lystra, as it is in Acts xiv. 6 f., where the superstitious mob speaks Lycaonian. Probably the whole native population was placed in this tribe. The mixture of human and animal form in Apollo was an Anatolian idea.

It is impossible to determine whether the legs of Apollo are animal's legs (goat's ?) or distorted by modern hacking ; many details that seem interesting remain uncertain. There is a good photo made by Lady Ramsay and another later by Calder. The epithet of Apollo is uncertain, ἀρχηγόν may mean initiator ; ω before Γ (suggesting mystagogos nymphagogos) is deceptive ; Mystagogos would suit thiasos. Neon and Neonianos, brothers, show the tendency to use connected names in a family : see *Glotta*, v. (article by Lambertz).

In the relief of Col. Lustra the dog is the companion of Apollo. The "dogs of Apollo" in Lycophron Alex. are the prophets Mopsos and Amphilochos who guided the colonization of Cilicia, especially

Magarsos and Mallos (rival towns); their quarrel is veiled in Lycophron's obscurity. In the early Greek world, e.g. in the *Odyssey*, the dog was not regarded with such abhorrence as in later time and especially in the Semitic world. He symbolized the prophetic power of the god in the skill with which he interprets the shepherd's orders and puts them into effect. In Asia Minor, evidently, the dogs in early time were highly trained. In modern time the sheep are trained to follow the shepherd and his reed pipe (cp. Psalm 23); the dogs only guard them from wolves and thieves.

165. The word ΠΑΠΑΙ occurs alone on one side of a large sepulchral altar at Piribeyli, on a pass over Emir Dagħ leading north from the S.E. end of Ak Sheher Lake (R. 1883). Except παπαι all other forms might be explained from παπον. In the epitaphs τίθλος is used masc., fem., and neuter; θίθλος and τίθλος occur. Never has παππον been found as yet.

The tombstone is an altar on which παπα was burned; this custom is Pagan, and it is not probable that Christians conformed to it.

παπος or παπα is mentioned by Dr. J. Zingerle (*Anz. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, 1923, no. xiii.-xvii. p. 57) as a word borrowed from Anatolian.¹

Papa, as already mentioned, is in some cases a product for sale; that is certain on coins, where a poppy is usually shown along with ears of corn, symbolizing the city's chief sources of wealth; and associated with Dikaiosyne and her scales, as the goddess of fair dealing.

165A. Veteston (Vetisso) Sinanlı (R. 1905); large altar, inscribed ΠΑΠΑΙ only, like 164. Situation, Calder, *Am. J. Arch.* xxxvi. p. 460.

166. The last case known to me of the word ΠΑΠΑ has been published and discussed and "corrected" for a century. The inscription in which it occurs is no. 1687 in Waddington (his own copy); no. 227 in Humann, *Alt. von Hierapolis* (text by Judeich, commentary by Cichorius, pp. 50 f.); *C.B.* i. p. 119, and ii. p. 545; see also the article by Ruge on Hierapolis in *Real-Encycl.*

The rare word παπον or παπα (fem. sing. or neut. plur.) was long a puzzle; conjecture sought to eliminate it as scribal error, or reading πάντων; but copies of the stone are unanimous.²

¹ He gives other examples, δοῦμος, *Ath. Mitt.* xxv. 446 (Kretschmer), Solmsen, *K.Z.* xxxiv. 53, ἰαντήρ, *K.P.* i. no. 166 (v. Buckler, *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 43, εἰ[νατρα]ν: Sterrett and I have πίνατρα); γοντάριον and γούντη, *C.B.* 654, no. 566, *K.P.* ii. no. 255). Zingerle takes γούντη as grave; I should prefer to take it as Latin *gutta*, adopted and modified in sense. As to εἰνατερ., the word was originally Winater (so always in Homer); πίνατρα has π for W, as πετρανός for οὔετρανός (*Humann, Alt. Hierap.* 202).

² Waddington, Judeich, Cichorius, Hogarth, Ramsay. Hogarth and R. read IA, i.e. Κορηασκου; Judeich agrees with Waddington's Κορηασκου. I withdraw my Christian theory of incense, as παπα is opium and Pagan. The ceremony is annual, because only the interest is to be spent on opium; probably on the festival of some deity. At Abbassos, near Amorion, a funeral ceremony is to be celebrated at the Mithrakana.

παπα (neut. plur.) was observed for the first time in this epitaph.

κατέλειψα δὲ καὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβάφων (δηνάρια τρισχέιλια) ἵς ἀποκαυσμὸν τῶν παπῶν τῇ ἐθίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν· εἰ δέ τις ἀμελήσει αὐτῶν τὸ μὴ ἀποκαῦσαι, γενέσθαι τὸ καταλειμμένον τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς θρεμματικῆς.¹

Everything here is usual. The purple-dyers were a trade guild, and there were officials, *πρόεδροι*. The *proedroi* met in a Council (*συνέδριον*), which controlled the management and common property of the guild. "If any one shall neglect the proper investment of the 3000 and cause a loss," the remainder shall pass to the *ἐργασία θρεμματική*.

προεδρία implies the *πρόεδροι* (more usually *ἐπιστάται*), managers or heads of the individual establishments which constituted the guild. These porphyrabaphoi purple-dyers were mainly a Jewish guild²; the trade had fallen into their hands; the festivals mentioned are the Azyma or Passover and Pentekost on the 50th day after.

An epitaph of similar type at Hierapolis will be published later among Jewish inscriptions along with this (Judeich 227 and 342).

The date is fixed, with high probability, as approximating to A.D. 200; in one case the Roman name is M. Aurelius, in the other P. Aelius, son of P. Aelius who got *civitas* in A.D. 117.

Cichorius explains *πάπποι* (!) as a dye, purple (or red) extracted from the roots of a tree, and quotes various passages referring to it. This does not explain the burning nor the connexion with the tomb. Madder root, source of the famous "Turkey Red," is the substance which Cichorius describes; it was equal to true purple or to cochineal (*κόκκος*). *παπα* connotes something that was to be burned, on the usual day, as part of the ceremonial for the dead; the ceremony shall be annual (the interest on 3000 denarii supplying the means). Probably some superstition dictates the annual repetition.³

ἐργ. θρεμματική is dubious; *θρέμμα*, sheep, gives poor sense; *θρέμμα* in sense of *θρεπτός* suggests a society to adopt and look after orphans (of Jews?). The society was modelled doubtless on the alimentations of the Emperors (especially from Nerva onwards).

¹ The text is certain. The text of Judeich and Cichorius, no. 227, agrees with that of Hogarth and myself.

² This trade passed largely into Jewish hands; some may still hold that natives of Anatolia were left in the common business, and had not been squeezed out, but we must differ. The Synedriion Sanhedrin of joint administration regard Passover and Pentekost as guild days.

The names mentioned were all favoured by Jews at the time. On the other hand, it is highly improbable that Jews and Jewish Christians would work together in the same Guild. It was Jewish.

³ Some mystic idea is involved, perhaps the "Vampire" superstition: the dead must not be allowed to harbour an evil spirit; the corpse must decay.

XXVII. OCTAVIUS AND ST. LONGINUS.

167. Colonia Caesarea Antiochea (R. 1911, with Calder ; publ. by Calder, *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 99, who interprets differently). This stone is complete ; praenomen and nomen were on a separate stone above, in a wall (of a Stoa ?). Interpretation difficult. Date 67, erased 68.

	SER · PROCVLO	[<i>C. ? Octavio ? C ? F.</i>]
	II · VIR · AVG · TRIB	Ser(gia) Proculo
	MIL · LEG · III · CYRE	duumvir(um), aug(uri), trib.
	NAIC · IVRIDICO · ALE	mil. leg. III Cyre-
5	XANDREAE · ET · AE	naic., iuridico Ale-
	GYPTI · PROC ·	xandreae et Ae-
	NERO	gypti, proc. <i>imp.</i>
	CA	Neronis <i>Claudi</i>
	MA	Caesaris Aug(usti) Ger-
10	CLAE · CAPPADOCI	manici provin-
	AE · ET · CILICIAE	ciae Cappadoci-
	ALA · AVG · GERMA	ae et Ciliciae
	NICA	ala Aug(usta) Germa-
		nica h(onoris) c(ausa).

In l. 4 AL is in ligature. Erasure was badly executed here ; Nero Claudius was erased, but Imp. and Caesar Augustus should stand, as not personal.

In l. 6 there is abundant empty space for IMP, which must be restored (not in Calder's transcription) ; usually such a title as IMP was not erased, but in this case the name and titles of Nero were entirely, though not carefully, erased, for many letters can still be read. The restoration of IMP is necessary, for there remain in l. 6 only 9 letters and a lacuna, whereas in the lines around there are 12 or 13 or 14. In l. 1 there are only 10 letters, but the top lines had larger letters, as is usual in Latin tituli.

Proculus served in the colonia as duumvir(um) and augur. Thereafter his career in equestrian service is described.¹ He served in Egypt, first as trib. angusticlav.² of leg. III Cyrenaica, and then as iuridicus Alexandreae et Aegypti, where he was second only to the praefectus Aegypti, not removable by the praefectus, and taking the place of the praefectus if the latter died.³ He served in Egypt several years, and was then appointed procurator of Nero in command of Cappadocia and Cilicia. The procurator-governor had no military authority, but sought troops from Syria in case of need ; there was certainly no fiscal procurator under him ; he represented the Emperor's interests in

¹ Militia caligata omitted as usual.

² Angusticlav is not expressed in tituli. Duo viri in the colonia were made equestrian.

³ Praefectus Alexandreae et Aegypti occurs (like iuridicus above), as well as the simple Praef. Aegypti.

the country which was property of the Emperor (like Egypt), with the old native organization continuing.

The title IMP was not used by Nero in the early years of his reign (Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr. Lat.* ed. 3), and the probable inference is that Proculus was procurator not earlier than A.D. 60. The eastern wars, 55–67, interrupted the ordinary course of administration. Domitius Corbulo was sent in late 54 first as legatus Capp. et Galat., then as legatus Syriae in 62 (while Caesennius Paetus was consular legatus Cappadociae), then again as legatus Cappadociae (Dessau, *P.I.R.* ii. p. 21). Before 67, therefore, Proculus could not have been procurator governor of Cappadocia. When Corbulo retired bello confecto, Proculus resumed the old system of administration, one of Nero's last appointments.

It is inadmissible that an officer who had filled such high positions in Egypt could be a mere fiscal procurator in Cappadocia. Proculus was *ducenarius* as *iuridicus Aeg.* The procurator Capp. *cum iure gladii* did not exist after 72, p. 175.

In 67 Proculus was appointed procurator of Cappadocia and Cilicia. These were evidently a single province; Proculus did not administer them in succession; that would be expressed *item Ciliciae*, and there are several other reasons (as will appear). Thereafter civil strife interrupted regular appointments in the Orient, and he probably ruled until Vespasian (probably in 72) changed the whole system.

Events had proved that the eastern frontier was unsafe when Cappadocia was administered by an equestrian procurator, who had no army and must apply to Syria if troops were needed. Two legions must be permanently stationed in the province, and they required a consular governor. Legio XII. Fulminata was now stationed at Melitene by Vespasian (Jos., *B.J.* vii. 1, 3); the two provinces Galatia and Cappadocia were placed under a consular legatus with three *legati iuridici* (*praetorii*). The year 72 marks the beginning of the new system. The second legion was XVI. Flavia¹ from 72 to 115?, then legio XV. Apollinaris was stationed at Satala.

When Proculus was appointed by Nero to Cappadocia, Ala Germanica erected this inscription in his honour. This ala was probably stationed at Colonia Antiochea (where alone it is mentioned), and probably took its name, either from Germanicus in A.D. 18² or from Drusus Germanicus who was honorary *duumvir(um)* for two successive years in 10 and 9 B.C.; and it is called in other inscriptions *Germaniciana* and *Antiochensis*. A *duumvir* in the Colonia became *eques*, and was *praefectus alae Aug. Germanicae ex officio*. Proculus was *gregarius*, then *centurion*, promoted *equestrian*, as *IIvir(um) Coloniae*.

The outline of a career given in this *titulus* is not complete.

¹ Probable hypothesis of Ritterling.

² This we prefer.

Proculus was not appointed direct from municipal duty to tribunate of a legion. He served some other military duty, and the interest shown by Ala Germanica makes it certain that he had been its praefectus. Equestrian career was not fixed then. Claudius fixed the order of equestrian militiae as cohorts, ala, trib. leg.; but this order was rarely used; and irregularity still reigned for a time.

The nomen of Proculus may be restored as Octavius, if we can trust the Acta S. Longini (*AA. SS.*, March 15, pp. 378–80). Longinus was a centurion who pierced the Saviour's side with a lance as he hung on the cross, and was slain a martyr at Caesarea Capp. by order of Octavius in the time of Galba; he had lived 20 years at Caesarea after wandering for some years.¹

This is stated as a speculation; it brings together facts from various sources; and discovery may yet prove or disprove it. When fairly stated, it stands to welcome and provoke criticism. Keil's demonstration that the account of the martyrdom of St. Timothy, which almost every one would have pronounced a mere legend, invented as a pious romance, is true to the life and social circumstances and even the topography of Ephesus (*Jahreshefte Oest. Inst.* 1934, p. 82) encourages the hope that similar demonstrations may result from growth of knowledge.

167A. Col. Antiochea fragment, Sterrett, 1884, seen by no one since. It can be restored as a dedication by the same Ala to the same Proculus; no other interpretation has been found possible; and it remained uninterpreted for years. Yalowatch, in the wall of a mosque (Sterrett, *E.J.* 118; *C.I.L.* iii. 6822).

	[<i>C. Octavio C.f.</i>]	[<i>C. Octavio C F</i>]
AVGII	PROCVLO · [praef	Proculo praef(ecto)
PROCVLO	AVG · II · [virum	Auguri · duumvirum
ALA · AVG · GE	3 ALA · AVG · GE[r-	Ala Aug · Ger-
MANICA	MANICA	manica
H C	H C	honoris causa

This titulus was erected about 16 to 20 years earlier to Proculus, who, after serving as duumvirum and being made augur of the colonia, was now praefectus of the ala.² It is necessary to suppose that copyist (or lapidist) has transposed ll. 1 and 2. Error of the copyist is not improbable. To copy stones in a mosque then often provoked trouble and even caused riots (see Sterrett, *E.J.* no. 184).

The only other mention of this ala is published in *C.I.L.* iii. 6831. The ala was a sort of garrison connected with the colonia. Probably

¹ The Acta Longini fail in local colour of Caesarea, and Proculus is not found as a cognomen with nomen Octavius, but the procurator under Galba had ius gladii; in

this the Acta are right.

² The colonia was a garrison army (Domasz.) and always kept that character: the leader was augur, praefectus, eques.

after the Homanadensian war ended in 6 B.C. with the construction of the Viae Sebastae, it was considered prudent to have several alae stationed near the colonia in case of any trouble on the Pisidian frontier. This garrison was suppressed, as no longer needed, doubtless by Vespasian. Alae I. to VI. Phrygum were probably enrolled for the same purpose and suppressed at the same time or earlier; they were called Phrygum, because Col. Caesarea (Antiochea) was a Phrygian city (as Strabo says) earlier (Pisidiae later).

If our hypothesis is correct, the earliest name of Ala Germanica or Germanicana can hardly have been connected with Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, who died in Germany 9 B.C. Augustus never ranked among his titles. More probably when Germanicus was in Asia in A.D. 18, two alae stationed at or near Antiochea Colonia were named Ala Ti. Claudii Caesaris and Ala Germanici (Caesaris) in honour of the reigning Emperor and his adopted successor. See Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 101, who thinks the name was in honour of Nero Claudius Drusus Germ., honorary II. vir. of the Colonia in 10 and 9 B.C.

The name of Proculus is lost with one line (or two) on a stone above the block that is preserved. The old colonial families perished largely at Antiochea during its early struggles, and incolae took their place. Military command was not permitted to an Oriental at that time; but exception¹ was doubtless made in a colonia. It would be a reasonable account of the remarkable career of Proculus that his military career was aided by his father's distinction as a soldier which was rewarded by the gift of civitas. He became Octavius Proculus; and his son, inheriting the same name, was permitted to enter the legionary service. Octavius Fronto was legatus Galatiae in A.D. 23.

Those incolae at Colonia Caesarea Antiochea were good men, hardy and strong, fit for a soldier's life. They were, indeed, of the usual Phrygian stock, stolid, assimilating military discipline, but mocked by the quicker-witted Greeks as slaves by nature; but they were stout and trustworthy; they were honoured with civitas more quickly than natives of the Greek cities; as is pointed out by Miss Hardie (Mrs. Hasluck) in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 146. Proculus, IIvir(um) and Augur, was certainly born a civis, for magistrates of a colonia must be cives. He is not likely to have reached the equestrian command of Cappadocia after a long career before the age of 50, and was born c. 17 or earlier.

Cilicia is here added to Cappadocia. This probably was a temporary arrangement, which came to an end in 72, when Cilicia was made a province under a legatus praetorius. The procurator of Cappadocia probably exercised a supervision of upper Cilicia (regnum Tarcondimoti) for a time;² but Cilicia in genere was attached to Syria.

¹ That is proved by the case of C. Caristianus Fronto Caesianus Julius who held commands about 10-7 B.C.; this exception would include incolae promoted

to civitas.

² A Roman road connected them, *It. Ant.* 211.

It is generally assumed that Vespasian's changes on this frontier were made in 70; but they needed more time. Armenia (Minor) was not incorporated in the Empire till 72, though the Armenian war ended in 67; see the coins as published by Th. Reinach, *Rev. Ét Anc.* 1914, p. 133, and Pick, *ibid.* p. 283. The new system was inaugurated in autumn, A.D. 72. Armenia Minor was taken later into prov. Cappadocia in 116?

The nomen Octavius was introduced into prov. Galatia by Octavius Fronto, who was (as I hope to show) legatus A.D. c. 23. Another Octavius is known at colonia Lystra, soldier in an ala or a cohors equitata (*C.I.L.* iii. 6788, about A.D. 50-60, see no. 175).

At present we may refer to an article by me in a volume of "Anatolian Studies," presented to W. H. Buckler (now in the press), on the early history of the province Galatia. Among the earlier legati Augusti (praetorii) pro praetore was Octavius Fronto, A.D. c. 23 (mentioned in Tacitus, *Annals*,¹ as praetorius speaking in the Senate in 16). A soldier of an Ala or cohors equitata, incola in colonia Lustra, was named on the lists of the regiment L. Octavius Modestus (Modestus is of unknown origin); he had attained the rank of immunis (omnibus muneribus functus) and received missio honesta about 48 to 50, with civitas and a moderate little fortune and probably a grant of land from the imperial estate which is so often mentioned at Lystra. He was not married, and he made his grave monument. Auxiliary soldiers usually abandoned their original native name when they became cives, though that is by no means a universal rule; but they were entered on the lists of the regiment (ala or cohors) by their Latin name. The naming of auxiliary soldiers is a very difficult subject, depending so much on caprice.

The number of Octavii in the province Galatia that occur in our scanty records furnishes complete proof that there was a legatus of Galatia named Octavius in the early part of the first century.

The iuridicus Aegypti (or Alexandriae et Aegypti) was ducenarius: this rank is assigned to the iuridicus Aegypti by Domaszewski, *Rangordn.* p. 146, as served after procuratio vicesimae hereditatum, and on p. 150 as among the highest officers in Egypt, and on p. 152 he says that a tribune of a legion can be appointed iuridicus, as is the case here; also a praefectus alae equitum can be appointed iuridicus [a statement on p. 153 seems to contradict this]. Octavius? Proculus cannot have served a lower procuratio after being ducenarius in Egypt. After Cappadocia with Galatia was made a consular province by Vespasian, and alone was made consular by Trajan, the procurator continued to be ducenarius.

¹ Tac., *Ann.* II, 33; he was perhaps grandfather of Sex. Octavius Fronto *cos.* 86.

XXVIII. MODERATUS AND LEGIO XII.

Moderatus, to whom Libanius wrote two letters, A.D. 390, was a brilliant leader of soldiers in battle (*ἡγουμένω στρατιωτῶν*), and preserver of cities (*Ep.* 977). Again (*Ep.* 979), while his Greek style is not excellent it is a soldier's style, and one expects in a soldier not an Attic tongue, but a Spartan right hand. Moderatus (977) had defeated many foes and taken prisoners, and deserved reward from the Emperor. In both letters Moderatus is connected with Thalassios, a rich citizen of Antioch with large estates and a sword manufactory; whom Eustathios, consular of Syria in 388 (a corrupt governor), tried to force to undertake the burdensome decurionate in Antioch. These allusions suggest that Moderatus was commander of a legion not remote from Antioch, and therefore stationed either in Syria or in Cappadocia. If it had been stationed in Syria an allusion to the Parthians might be expected; but the enemies are mentioned so vaguely that a Cappadocian legion is more probably meant. Cappadocia was always in danger of incursions by barbarians. This Cappadocian legion must have been XII, the old Fulminata, stationed at Melitene, as the legion at Satala was remote from Antioch and in relation rather with Amasea. The legion is mentioned at Melitene under the old name about 400 in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. It guarded the cities of Cappadocia, and was often in contact with barbarian raids.¹ The other Cappadocian (Armenian) legion was stationed far north at Satala; it is also mentioned there in the *Notitia*.

It is a far cry even from Melitene to Antioch; but the distance down the Euphrates through Taurus was not so great as to make relations with Antioch and Thalassios difficult. Moderatus had been singled out for praise and reward by Theodosius I. (who entered Constantinople in triumph by the Golden Gate in 391),² and this honour made him aspire to the further honour of receiving a letter from, and even becoming a regular correspondent of, the famous Libanius; and he applied through rhetor Eudaimon in Antioch for this honour. Libanius says gracefully that only his great age makes it impossible for *Ep.* 977 to be the herald of many more letters. *Ep.* 979 answers the letter in which Moderatus acknowledged the honour, and Libanius takes occasion to mention the soldier's not very elegant style (for which Moderatus had apologized).

¹ Cappadocia was unsafe propter barbarorum incursus, Suet., *Vesp.* 8.

² Theodosius I., an orthodox Emperor, settled the order of ecclesiastical dignity

(Gerland), and must have been aware of the reasons which gave Caesarea precedence among the metropolitans.

Seeck, *Briefe Liban.* p. 213, thinks that he was magister militum per Orientem; but that is not supported by any evidence. The quotations point to a commander of humbler rank, engaged in active service year after year, not remote from Antioch and its society, evidently praefectus of a legion.

Real-Enc. xv. 2318, to which I am indebted for clearing up the identity of Moderatus, refuses Seeck's conjecture about him as based on no good grounds, but does not observe another allusion to Moderatus in the Life of Eutychios, Patriarch of Constantinople, in exile at Amasea for 13 years about 366 to 379 (*Acta Sanct.*, 6 April, p. lxxv).¹

A legion called Moderatiana (*τάξις Μοδερατιανή*) is mentioned in relation with Eutychios; about A.D. 576 all those who were administering the finances of the province of Pontus (metrop. Amasea) (*τρακτευταί και άννται τών δημοσίων*), also those to whom the charge of legio Moderatiana was entrusted, came from Arabissos, of which some of them were natives, to [consult] the holy man at Amasea.

It is not otherwise known that any body of troops was stationed at Arabissos; but it was an important town. Arabissos (now Yarpuz) was 102 M.P. from Melitene on a road to Comana and Caesarea, 46 M.P. from Comana and 50 or 52 or 62 from Kokusos Guksun. Troops there stationed (whose treasury officials resided there) commanded several important passes across Taurus to Syria. I do not know any change that had occurred since c. 400 in the disposition of legio XII.; Theophanes has nothing; the Life of Eutychios gives the only clue. Evidently the name of Moderatus was bestowed on the legion which he had commanded with distinction.

It is an interesting fact that the headquarters of legio XII. was shifted apparently from Melitene to Arabissos in the fifth century. Arabissos Yarpuz "was once an important place, to judge by the remains, which, however, are mostly Christian" (Sterrett, *E.J.* p. 288). The earliest inscription (St. I.c. no. 331), worn and illegible, is apparently of c. 200 (to judge from style and lettering, υ for ο, ς, Β for V); it mentions an escubitor (excubitor), [mili]tavit, and Perint(hus),² which stood a long siege at that time. Melitene Eski Malatia is deserted and a new Malatia, 8 km. distant, has been built.

The conjectural identification of Moderatus with Modares (Zosimus, iv. 25, 2; *Real-Enc.* xv. 2315), who was magister militum in Thrace, A.D. 379, as suggested by Sievers, must be rejected.

Gregory Naz. wrote to Modares in 382 letters, 136 f., begging him to co-operate in restoring unity in the Church, which suggests that the imperial investigations with regard to regulating the ecclesiastical order and dignity were in progress at the time.

¹ I made a note of this allusion when going through the *Acta SS.* in preparation for writing *Hist. Geogr. of As. Minor*; but

it was only in 1937 that, with the help of *Real-Enc.*, it became useful.

² Hardly [ex- (or re-) ce]perint.

XXIX. T. FLAVIUS ARRIANUS.

168. Sulu Serai (Sir Ch. Wilson, 1878, and R. 1881) ; publ. by Renier,¹ *Journ. de Savants*, 1876, p. 442 ; *Rev. Archéol.* xxxiii. 1877, p. 199 ; also *I.G.R.R.* iii. 111 ; part in *Journ. of Phil.* 1882, p. 154). Dedication to Hadrian and T. Aelius, who was assumed as colleague and successor in 136 (July or August), and died Jan. 1, 138 ; see a similar titulus, *C.B.* i. 61.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καισαρι
 Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱῷ
 Θεοῦ Νέρονα υἱωνῶ Τραιανῶ
 Ἀδριανῶ Σεβ. ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ κα'
 αὐτοκράτ. τὸ β' ὑπάτω τὸ γ' Π. Π.²
 καὶ Αἰλίῳ Καίσαρι δημαρχικῆς

8 ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀρριανοῦ
 πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου
 τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Σεβαστοπολεϊτῶν τῶν καὶ
 Ἡρακλεοπολεϊτῶν
 ἀρχοντες βουλῆ δῆμος.
 ἔτους θλρ.

Dated A.D. 137 (local era 139). Greeks rarely learned to use the triple Roman name correctly ; here praenomina are omitted.

The era of the city began in 23 Sept., 3 B.C., when it was refounded as Sebastopolis by Augustus. It was in Pontus Galaticus, which was added to Galatia provincia in that year (later in Galatia-Cappadocia c. 72-115 ; in Cappadocia 115-295 ; in Armenia I. after 295).

Arrian was qualified to enter the senatorial career, which implied usually that his father was of equestrian rank, a Hellene of Nikomedia, created civis by a Flavian Emperor ; the dates prove that the Emperor was Vespasian. Arrius Antoninus was cos. suff. with Marius Celsus, Jul.-Aug., 69.³ If Vespasian gave civitas in his first year, the cognomen might be taken from the consul who entered office along with Vespasian in the fourth nundinum of that year. The father was T. Flavius Arrius ; the son T. Flavius Arrianus. The cognomen in -anus means son of Arrius ; examples : nos. 2, 15, etc., and suffix εἰνος = ἰανός ; also at Sidyma in a list of 50 Bouleutai and 48 (?) (δημόται) enrolled in the gerousia (Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien*, vol. i),⁴ T. Flavius Caristianus Euarestos and his son (?) T. Flavius Caristianus.

The custom was that the son of the first civis took the honoured name, and often the grandson took the cognomen with -anus ; but quite often the simple cognomen was repeated for several generations. No rule seems to govern the use of the lengthened cognomen (see Keil in *Denkm. Lykaon.*, no. 109).

¹ Renier correctly interpreted a very bad copy. Roehl interpreted the same copy wrongly in *Schedae Epigraph.*

² Hadrian took title pater patriae 128.

³ So Groag in *P.I.R.*², s.v. Arrius : Liebenam gives date June 1 or 15 (making 6 nundina (?)) in the year.

⁴ Correction in notes at end.

The family was distinctly philo-Roman ; Greek or native cognomina were abandoned. The son felt himself a Roman civis, admired Hadrian, and like Hadrian loved Athens, settled there in his old age, and became a magistrate there.

On the usual reckoning the father was honoured with civitas about the age of 20, the son was born about A.D. 80, and was consul shortly before 131, when he went to Cappadocia as legatus. That province was held, as a rule, very soon after the consulship.

XXX. PERMINOUNDEIS.

169. Smyrna, excavated on Mt. Pagos (Kontoleon in *Ath. Mitt.* 1887, p. 250). See no. 18.

Ἀπόλωνι(!)εὐχὴν | Περμυνο|υνδέων | horseman | Δ. Ἀπούλειος Τατι|ανός.
There is no clue to the date unless the name be recognized. The interpretation is obscure ; the attitude of the horseman is not described ; as no axe or other weapon is mentioned, he is probably not the god on horseback who usually carries a bipennis, as Apollo Saoazos, Sozon, or Soter, which would suit the Perminoundian god. The horseman is the dedicator, a mounted soldier.

How was such a dedication made on the acropolis of Smyrna ? Hypothesis is needed, and must be based on the probabilities of imperial life in Asia Minor. The dedicator was obviously one of the tribe Perminoudeis, who was in Smyrna, and recorded his prayer to the god of his tribe. It was a common situation that a soldier rested or was detained on his way ; he made a vow and prayer either to the local god (τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ), which is most in accordance with Anatolian religious sentiment, or to the god of his own city or nation. Decimus Apuleius Tatianos was in Smyrna for some occasion, possibly on his way home from service in Moesia, or in attendance on the proconsul of Asia or the legatus (proconsulis) ; he longed for an easy and wealthy life which awaited him on his return home. He adds his own portrait, presenting himself to the notice and memory of his god. If he was on his homeward journey from Moesia, we ask how and when was payment made to soldiers dismissed honourably from service ? It could hardly be made a burden on the province to which he belonged ; moreover, it would pass through too many hands before it reached the soldier at home, each hand itching for a share. We hear no complaints that soldiers were defrauded of the donation that they had earned ; the Empire must pay, because it rested on the army, and dared not cheat the army. There was only one way, to pay at headquarters on missio and make the soldier responsible for guarding his own. He was the

strong man armed.¹ The burden was borne by the *praefectus aerarii militaris* and his agents; he was represented at the headquarters of every regiment or legion (p. 177, at Arabissos in sixth century, *Acta S. Eutychiei*). It is safe to say that Tatianos was an auxiliary; a legionary must be *civis*, and there were no *cives* in this obscure tribe then.

XXXI. LYSTRA : COLONIA LUSTRA.

The village Khatun Serai, Lady's Mansion, lies on the gently sloping southern edge of a glen that is broadening out to merge itself in the great open plain of Konia, 3 miles east. The village is a mile S.S.E. of Colonia Lustra, which stands out on a bold oval hill, Soltra Zoldera with steep sides (perhaps scarped), 60 feet or more in height,² north of the stream which meanders down the glen. A rough plan in Cronin's article, *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 124, is useful; it is based on eye estimate with some measurements by pacing, and does not include the village, nor the hills bordering the glen.

One would be disposed to consider that Khatun Serai in its pleasant situation was the real old centre of population, and that Soltra Zoldera was chosen for military reasons as colonial site. There is no trace of an aqueduct on arches; the water supply of the Colonia must have come through an underground aqueduct or from wells. Khatun Serai is supplied by wells mainly, but the hill site probably needed an aqueduct. The Colonia was quite small, as shown by Cronin.³ It remained the site of the city till Byzantine times, as a small church on the hill, S.E. side (described by Cronin, p. 125) proves. It was doubtless captured and destroyed by the Arabs about 700⁴; the population then reverted to the old site.

Khatun Serai, Lady's Mansion, compared with Deinek Serai, Appa Serai, was perhaps an estate and country residence, "petit cour," of the chief wife of the Seldjuk Sultans. No other place in Asia Minor has so impressed me with a sense of rustic comfort. Probably those Serai were mansions of great Turkish families, some or all taken over from rich Byzantine owners. E.g. Serai-Ongu, "in front of Serai," which takes its name from Kadykhan, Lady's House (opposite, on the north edge of the Orondian mountains), was indubitably part of the estate of a great Byzantine family, to which belonged Leo Phokas, Bardas Skleros, Bardas

¹ Luke xi. 21.

² It is in parts over 100 ft. above the plain, which is level all round the isolated hill (now uninhabited).

³ Memory is that the plan diminishes the site unduly, it was not measured even roughly.

⁴ Konia was captured about the same time.

Phokas, Nikephoros Phokas, etc. Serai-oñu also lies "in front of" Ladik, Laodicea. In 1886 I was guided direct from Kadyn Khan to Serai-ongu, as the shortest line of the Central Route (Strabo 663), missing out Ladik, which was unfortunate epigraphically.

The name Soltra Zold(e)ra seems ancient and perhaps is native; the resemblance to Lustra (lus reversed sol) is evident, but perhaps illusory. Lu-stra was probably the original name (compare Ilistra, Kilistra, Kubistra, Kizistra, Mamistra, Ma-staura, Kraonistra, Abrostola, etc.), and goes back to a stem *lu* (purify, set free, in moral and in material sense). It may be connected with a natural feature mentioned by Cronin, p. 122,¹ who refers to the description in *Church in R.E.* p. 50, "a small ruined church of no great antiquity" between the Colonia and the river: beside it a fountain gushes forth from beneath a low arch; the fountain is still counted sacred and is called Ayasma, *ἀγίασμα*, a generic name for fountains visited as sacred by the Christians. The Ayasma was still remembered by the Greeks of Konia in 1882, but seemed to be little known at Khatun Serai: we heard of it at Konia, where there were many Greeks.

About six miles further up the glen is a hill Kilistra with numerous rock-hewn chapels and graves, which is named Kilistra in a titulus in the Konia Museum; one side of it I saw in the courtyard of a house at Konia in 1882 (later). This interesting village may be considered a sort of monastic town connected with Lystra. At Kilistra one tiny church was a perfect gem in excellent preservation, as we saw it in 1882. Nothing like this church is known to me in Cappadocia, where the rock churches are later.

Khatun Serai is full of old stones, mostly native rock, brought evidently from the Colonia, which is entirely denuded.

Lystra stands apart from the main lines of communication and trade, in a nook of the hills looking out on the great world, but apart from it, a small rustic town in a quiet backwater. What was St. Paul doing here? His cities are generally great world cities on important roads, through which the currents of world history flowed, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, even Colossae, Antiochea colonia, Philippi, Iconium. He was waiting. He could not leave Antiochea and Iconium to drift unguided. He must return to organize them.

Cronin's plan and a circuit of the little city show that there was probably only one gate to look forth at the world eastwards. A gate was a weak point in a fortress. Lystra was closed to the western mountaineers. Paul approached from Iconium, 18 M.P. to the north; he came along the path indicated on Cronin's plan round the E. end. He came to watch and wait; but in the moment he entered the Colonia

¹ It is not mentioned in *Cities of St. Paul* (1907, pp. 407 f.); the omission was due to forgetfulness; the account of Lystra was

hurriedly written to complete a book, long standing in type.

he was in the centre of work. He and Barnabas appeared there at the gate as strangers, and were forthwith recognized as beneficent gods, who had come down to earth in human form: Acts xiv.

A lame man was sitting at the gate, a beggar, at the best "pitch" that the town afforded. There is here a noted difference in the MSS., and a growing difference in the sense. This man had been attracted to the Jewish religion and was one of the God-reverencing pagans. He heard Paul's voice at the gate, asking the way and where the Jews lived (for Paul and Barnabas went first to the Jews), and he gladly heard the stranger, who might give alms and was evidently a Jew. Liberal alms-giving was a great virtue. Paul looked earnestly at him, recognized the eyes of a believing soul, and healed him with a few words, sharp and loud.¹

The loungers at the gate, not Roman soldiers, but Orientals, sitting and waiting idly, saw the gods and cried out in their Lycaonian speech; and the priests of Jupiter-before-the-gate, half a mile away in full view, brought bulls wreathed with garlands to the space by the gate. Barnabas and Paul had passed on, but heard the noise, and rending their garments rushed out into the crowd, and succeeded with difficulty in stopping their insensate action. The words of Barnabas and Paul (Barnabas was no longer a looker-on, but was foremost in pushing through the crowd) were addressed and suited to a rustic crowd, declaring the God who lives, the Creator, who gives you rains and harvests and food and gladness. The apostles did not speak philosophy as in Athens, nor learned disquisitions as in Ephesus or Corinth.

The scene and the words and the surroundings suit Lystra. One could be sure that the sacred place of Jupiter-before-the-city was on the eastern side, and in the direction of pre-Roman Lystra, see no. 174.

The river of Lystra was almost dry in early July, 1882; but formerly carried a much larger body of water. This is the report of the engineers employed by the Company for the Irrigation of the Konia Plain by water fetched from Lake Karalis, Bey Sheher, through a canal to the river Tcharshamba. They had surveyed the whole plain for irrigation purposes, and found that many rivers, now dry, formerly poured considerable water into the plain, which is lowest in level round Kara Dagh (a volcanic mountain extinct, but active in geological time); on the east and south. This hollow plain was under water for months in late winter and spring. In the growing desiccation of Anatolia the rivers from Taurus on the south and the Orondian mountains west have dried (except some in spring). Only Tcharshamba

¹ The original Greek was something like οὗτος ἤκουσεν Παύλου λέγοντος (only codex Sin.), ὑπάρχων ἐν φόβῳ (D), ἀνείσας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Παῦλος (second mention in this scene, Paul was still the only speaker of the pair), καὶ ἰδῶν. The scene was misunderstood

later as due to Paul's preaching; the man was wont to be a listener; "speaking" was changed to "preaching"; the explanation that the man was "God-reverencing" was dropped as needless, for the idea was contained in ἤκουε.

river still is perennial and considerable. The flooding of the plain ceased between 1892 and 1901.¹ The little Ayasma of Col. Lustra has probably dried up as the annual floods have ceased.

We shall return to the subject in a later section, as the water supply of Konia plain was already engaging attention in the time of Nero, whether from superabundance or diminution is unknown. The floods are the subject of legend from the days of the mythical king Nannakos or Annakos ; both forms survive in legend and in modern place-names.² Perseus, the beneficent hero, like Herakles, carries the benefit of engineering works over the world ; the Gorgon was the destroying flood ; he cut off the head and made the flood as beneficent as the Nile floods. Perhaps a very dry winter *c.* 54 A.D. made the flood insufficient to fertilize the Konia plain ; perhaps the flood was too deep and dangerous.

There was a close connexion between Konia and Lystra in Roman time, though they were on opposite sides of a racial and linguistic boundary. Konia was in Phrygia, the native language being Phrygian, Lystra and its language Lycaonian (or Isaurican).

XXXII. PLINY'S LETTER TO PRAESENS.

The following note should have been placed on pp. 14-15, but was omitted accidentally :—

Pliny wrote *Ep.* vii. 3 about 106-7 to [Bruttius] Praesens, a Lucanian, a wealthy man with a mansion in Lucania and another in Campania, married to a Campanian wife, given to idle enjoyment of country life, though Roman honores were open to him ; duty summoned him to work, and only laziness prevented. This man might (as Groag suggests) have had a son who was consul under Hadrian (though hardly as early as 116). More probably Pliny's friend was roused to action by Pliny's remonstrance, and returned to Rome to a *cursus honorum*. It would be characteristic of Pliny to publish this letter, if it was successful in summoning back to work a man about 22, who could attain consulship in 116 and 139. Perhaps it conveyed a delicate hint from the Emperor.

A Roman noble should be always (except in sickness) working in public duties, or travelling to or from such duties. There was little or no holiday theoretically (neither *commeatus* nor *vacatio*) for him in

¹ In early July, 1882, the floods had barely dried. In mid-June, 1892, we had to ride a long time through water 2 ft. deep between Konia and Ismil on the upper, longer road. In 1901 and later there was no flood ; harvest depended on rain, and every one talked rain.

² Nonokokome in an inscription : Anaku (Greek) or Inegi (Turkish) ; see *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 324. The latter shows that Calder infers too much from Nonokokome in *Journ. Manch. Ea. Or. Soc.* xi. 32.

ordinary circumstances, except by retiring, which was not always easy or permitted.

In 178 Licinius Priscus was legatus of prov. Lycia-Pamphylia ; and this fact has been quoted as a proof that the province was still governed after the old fashion in that year (Mommsen, *Eph. Ep.* iv. 504, and Clerc, *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 350) ; but Priscus was only legatus of the proconsul (name unknown). The earliest known case of a proconsul of the province, according to Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien*, i. p. 71, was under Commodus.

Mommsen, l.c., quotes *C.I.G.* iii. p. 1140, no. 4303*h*, as authority for a legatus under Pius.

The young P. Aelius Bruttius Lucianus was probably one of the earliest proconsuls of Lycia (of praetorian rank) and his date is under Emperor Marcus (161-80). See p. 14.

XXXIII. INSCRIPTIONS OF COLONIA LUSTRA.

We quote every little scrap of writing (including no. 164 above) in the hope that the much desired enthusiast will yet excavate at Lystra and complete some of those scraps. No. 26 is of Lystra.

Lystra was united in fate and history with Iconium. Both were included in province Galatia, at first along with the whole of Lycaonia (including Derbe and Isaurika), but after 138 separated from southern Lycaonia, which was made one of the province Tres Eparchiai under a consular legatus, while Galatia remained praetorian. The connexion was due also to the tie of land. When the colonia was founded, it required territory to support it in *αὐτάρκεια*. This was taken out of a large rich estate, which seems to have been the property of a god (doubtless of a divine pair), which Greek kings seized in part or whole ; Augustus only exacted a percentage of the harvest at Iconium and the territory needed for the colonia Lustra.¹ Similarly, Col. Olbasa owned land taken from Zeus of Miluas, Col. Comama (Kommakon ?) land of Apollo of Perminounda. Kremna was a city made a colonia, and had its own territory. Col. Caesarea was taken from Mén Askaenos.

170. Khatun Serai (R. 1901 ; *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 115 : low basis).

AQVI lam legatum Augusti pro
PRAEtores coloniae Lustrae
XII vici ?

Broken right, complete otherwise : tribus in l. 3 is impossible, it meant Roman tribe in the Augustan coloniae.

This may be a compliment to Cornutus Arruntius Aquila, legatus of Galatia, who founded the colonia A.V.C. 748.

¹ See nos. 191, 198.

171. Baiyat, see no. 191 (R. ; Cronin ; Wathen ; *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 113).

Οὐλπίαν	αἱ φυλαί	νείας
Μάρκελλαν	τῆς κολω	Μ Χ

This inscription belongs to a much later period ; but illustrates the preceding. The vici have now become *φυλαί*: the name of only one *φυλή* is known, *ιερός θίασος*, no. 164. Ulpia Marcella was of the priestly family in no. 172. Ulpii Marcelli, *P.I.R.* iii. p. 461.

Colonial coins with Latin legends were struck as late as M. Aurelius and Faustina (*Cat. B.M.* p. xxv. ; Imhoof, *M. Gr.* p. 347, no. 121). This inscription is later, when the colonia had officially abandoned the use of Latin.¹

172. Khatyn Serai (R. 1901 ; Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 114). In l. 1 only half letters remain ; all are certain.

pro salute Imp. Ne[r]vae Traiani	M. Ulpius Diddianu[s] Pudens ?
Caesaris Aug. Ge[r]manici	sacerdos Martis

Diddianus was honoured with *civitas* in 98, when Trajan succeeded to the Empire with title Germanicus. As we restore the text, this former *incola*, priest of Mars, made a dedication (to his god Mars ?) for the salvation of the Emperor ; but it is possible to read Ger. Dac. Part., or Ger. Dac., and place the *titulus* later in Trajan's life.

The restoration Germanici alone (with date 98-99) does not fill l. 2. Diddianus is probably native and connected with Deidas, Didas, not with Latin Didius. Mars suited the Lycaonian character (*ἱδρῖες ἐν πολέμοισι Λυκάονες*). Ptolemy placed Lystra in Isaur(ik)a,² but in Acts xiv. the language is Lycaonian. Probably Lykaones and Isauroi were of the same stock.

To fill l. 3 and to suit the custom of new *cives*, a Latin cognomen from one of the *legati iuridici* of T. Pomponius Bassus is needed (perhaps Pudens, see later).

A daughter or descendant of this M. Ulpius Diddianus (Pudens ?) appears in no. 171.

173. Khatun Serai (St., *W.E.* 254 ; Zingerle in *Philol.* 1894, p. 351).

Μ . Οὐλπιος Ἡλε-	τῆ μη[τρ]ῖ (ἐ)πόη-
ις τ[ῶ] πατρ[ῖ] κ[α]ί	σ[εν] μνήμης χάρ[ε]ιν

Ἡλεις ; names connected with Helios are common. This man was a member of (or *libertus* of) the priestly family in 172. No augment.

174. Colonia Lustra (St. 242, copied later by R. and others) on a large altar, 4 ft. 6 ins. high, which stands upright between Khatun Serai and the colonia and has the appearance of being *in situ*, but really stands

¹ Latin inscriptions cease c. 150 (or earlier).

² Section XXXIV.

on loose soil 3 ft. deep ; near it another large block, uninscribed, stands on loose soil (also some smaller blocks). This loose soil is the surface accumulation, which has drifted over the plain and the colonia. These stones, standing out in the open plain, are a certain indication of some structure close by, apart from the two old centres of life, which was destroyed by modern builders of Khatun Serai. The two large blocks are difficult to transport (though within the power of the villagers, if needed), but they must be broken up for building purposes and seemed not worth the trouble.

There is no definite proof, but great probability, that hereabouts was situated the shrine *τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς Προπόλεως* in Acts (see on p. 182). One hopes that some enthusiast will spend the money needed to clear up the topography of Lystra ; and some fragments, at present valueless, may be completed by his discoveries.

Divum Aug >	conse-
Col > Iul > Fe-	cravit
lix > Gemin ^a	
Lustra ♣	D(ecurionum) > D(ecreto) >

The altar was erected when Augustus died. There is no stop-mark after *divum*. *Con* is not a separate word (as in no. 8 at Col. Alexandria Troas, and in *Res Gest. et Impens. D. Aug.*). We might expect *divom*.

This is the official commemoration of the deification of Augustus, which would probably be erected at the temple of the native god, whom the coloni identified with their own Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

175. Khatun Serai (R. 1882, 1890, 1901 ; Hogarth, 1890 ; Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 114 ; *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 316 ; *C.I.L.* iii. 6788. Cf. no. 185).

L. Oct. Modestus	omnibus mune-
<i>Horseman to rt. holding</i>	ribus ¹ functus ²
<i>spear depressed, horse</i>	sibi vivus po[s-
<i>raises rt. forefoot.</i>	o]v[i]t ♣. ³

The horseman is L. Octavius, a soldier of an *ala* (or *cohors equitata*). He performed all the heavy work of an ordinary soldier, and rose to *immunis*. He was entered on the lists as Octavius from Octavius Fronto, *legatus c. A.D. 23*, which gives a date *c. 50* ; he made his grave when he retired from service : " *posovit* " points to early date.

176. Khatun Serai (R. 1882 ; Cronin, l.c. p. 115 ; Wathen ; *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 317 ; *C.I.L.* iii. 6797 and 14400*b*). There was no lettering above or below. Writing good and very early.

¹ Munera cannot here be colonial duties after militia. V and blank.

² Hogarth, *functus* : I hesitated between ³ I restore now *posovit* on account of spaces blank ; *posuit* all previous.

L. An[tonius ? or Annius se]vir
equ[itum Romanoru]m · II vir ¹

VR for VR is venial at Lystra. The two fragments, found in different bridges, are certainly parts of one whole. Cognomen lost. We reject dec[ur. equit. singulariu]m. Annius ? from a legatus c. 45-50.

The restoration, though apparently so simple, is barely possible ; but this colonia might have created an imitation of the ancient Roman custom which Augustus revived in Rome, naming the noblest young men in Rome to lead the six turmae of the equites, and to spend much on certain shows. That would be the only explanation ; a similar institution at Col. Caes. Antioch, the greatest of those Phrygian coloniae, will be mentioned in a later section ; and Miss L. R. Taylor has argued in *J.R.S.* 1924 (accepted in *Real-Enc.*, s.v. Transvectio) that there were similar institutions in Italian municipia. The restoration is possible, therefore, and is tempting. The early Asianic coloniae claimed the rights of municipia ?

177. Khatun Serai (St. 247 ; R. 1901).

D · Billenus Rufus	patri eorum
et M · Billenus Rufus	d(e) · s(ua) · p(ecunia) f(ec-
fratrei D · Billeno Rufo	erunt) m(emoriae) c(ausa).

Fratrei for fratres is a piece of soldiers' Latin, indicating degeneration in an eastern colonia. The inscription is probably about A.D. 50 or 80. Degeneration of the language set in about that time, owing to the Lycaonian incolae, who enlisted, became cives and coloni, and as coloni tried to speak Latin. Anatolian soldiers, who served in a Latin-speaking province like Moesia, also tried to use Latin. Those incolae were usually sent after 70 to Cappadocia or Syria where they had no opportunity of picking up Latin ; but as coloni they felt bound to use Latin as well as they could. This family may have been colonial by origin, all doubtless soldiers.

178. Khatun Serai (R. ; Cronin, l.c. p. 114 ; Wathen ; *C.I.L.* iii. 12141).

L. Ennius Rufus · Ennio Rufo patri et
Enn[io fratri et En]niae sorori et Ennio
R[ufo ? . . . AH . . . et s]ibi et Enniae matri vi[vis

As father and mother both are Ennii, the father was an incola who gained civitas for his family (as an auxiliary soldier). L. Ennius and M'. Ennius were equestrian, c. A.D. 14 and 22 (*P.I.R.*). Point after Rufus in l. 1.

¹ Annius was used a good deal in Isaura and Korna, but is probably connected with Annius Verissimus noster [*Hist. Aug. M. Ant.*, I. 10].

179. Khatun Serai (R. 1901 ; Cronin, l.c. p. 116).

Ennius Rup]hus soc(er) Paullin[i et ux-
or eius Pup]ilia Grapte [Pu]pilia[e
Graptae ? En]niae monomentu[m
(vacat) f]il(iae) (vacat) su[ae
vixit ann(is) xxi.

FIL SV in large letters, separated by broad spaces from ll. 3 and 5.

To judge from the spelling, this Ennius seems to be a generation (or two) later than no. 176. His daughter bears the nomina of her father and mother. Soc. can hardly mean Socius ; in Greek epitaphs a friend is sometimes mentioned. Paullinus was the husband of the deceased and as son-in-law joins ; he is secondary, because he married an heiress daughter and lived in her father's house (Section V.), a case of pure Anatolian custom in this Romanised family.

Paullinus derived his name from the first legatus of Galatia in 20 B.C. (see later section ¹). He inherited it, for it is improbable that otherwise it would continue long in colonial use ; and this epitaph, with confusion of alphabets Greek and Latin, and the spelling monomentum (not archaic, but degenerate),² can hardly be earlier than A.D. 50, and is probably later. Pupilli at Col. Antiochea.

180. Near colonia Lustra (Cronin ; Wathen ; *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 114).

Lolliae Secundae
socrae amicissimae

P. Annius [P]rocula-
nus memoriae | causa

Here the name Annius was probably taken from Annius Afrinus, legatus under Claudius ; Lollia³ goes back to the first legatus.

Lettering very rude ; the writer, accustomed to the Greek alphabet, uses A always. D is reversed, Q ; E is written for E ; < for C. Lollia was the second daughter of an auxiliary, who gained civitas and the name Lollius. Her son-in-law was civis. The engraver, a Greek, must not be blamed ; he imitated Proculanus, who gave him the model ; the latter thought that the fem. of socer was socra.⁴ These coloni felt bound to use Latin in epitaphs : in family life they probably used Lycaonian.

181. Giomse, 1 hr. S. of Khatun Serai (St. 266 ; R. 1890).

[Dis Manibus]
[C. Valerii Pauli]
[patris dulcissimi ?]
vetra]ni · B · cos · C · Va
leri]us Clemens · 7

leg XV. Apol · et Val^o
rius] Pacatus et Val^o
r. Pau]lus · missi hones-
ta mi]ssione a sacratis-
simo] Imp(eratore) fratres.

¹ [Not written.]

² In coloniae usages often persisted long, and this might be a case ; but compare munimentum (certainly degeneration) in

no. 184.

³ See Sterrett, 19 (our no. 223), for Lollius.

⁴ My old copy of Facciolati-Forcellini quotes socera from two inscriptions.

The Emperor was probably Antoninus.¹ Valerius Paulus, veteran, had been beneficiarius consularis probably of the legatus of Cappadocia (possibly of Galatia, Domasz. p. 32). His career may have been stated more fully; especially his legion was probably named. A beneficiarius in an ala or cohors would be only on the staff of his own praefectus. The nomen of this beneficiarius was Valerius, as his 3 sons are Valerii and legionaries. Probably he was Paulus, as one of the sons doubtless bore his father's cognomen. It is probable that all four were in legio Apollinaris. Clemens rose to be centurion; the others were not promoted; but record their honesta missio. Clemens is mentioned first, as of higher rank. Spelling Paullus is correct, but double consonants vary in Anatolia.

As to the date, the father was (as we infer) a legionary, and therefore son of Valerius (a soldier probably auxiliary, who gained civitas at missio); his eldest son and grandson probably bore the same cognomen. The 3 fratres are arranged, not by age, but by rank in the service; and the oldest son was in every case named Paulus; if the father of the beneficiarius was Paulus, it was probably taken from Sergius Paulus, legatus Galatiae ab. 67-8. This hypothetical reconstruction may be used, because it is typical and similar to many other cases. The original coloniae were effective (as Domaszewski says), always ready for service at need as alarii, not as legionarii.² The need for universal service died soon; but the custom of service continued; and the Lycaonian or Isaurican incolae, naturally ἱδρῖες ἐν πολέμοισι, were attracted to the same career, as it was the only way open to them to attain civitas; in such a small town civitas would hardly ever be given by the Emperor, and only to leading citizens (as in no. 172).

182. Khatun Serai (R. 1901; Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 115).

Q. Laitilio Nepoti	eius memoriai causa
Annia Vettia uxor	et sibi restituit

Spelling ai is used for ae (probably archaism); date perhaps middle or end of first century. The confusion of Greek and Latin alphabets causes A everywhere, no. 26. Vettius in Sterrett 19, our no. 223.

Laetilius may be descended from an old colonial family.

183. Khatun S. (St. 243; R. 1901). The restoration is very uncertain, as the stone is broken.

[monumentum ?]	se et suis]liberis ♀
]Abo[n]ius	de sua pec. fe]cit
uxori Pom ?]poniai pro	(Copies Abovius).

¹ It cannot be earlier as leg. xv. was sent to Cappadocia after 115; and Valerius assuredly served in its Cappadocian period. The nomina Valerius and Julius are so common among soldiers of this part of

Anatolia that they were probably chosen as names of good omen, and not taken from any individual.
² The coloni were organized as alae, not as cohortes (see later section).

Ai for ae, an archaism (see no. 180). € for C in l. 4 is engraver's error? [Pom ?]ponia was daughter of an auxiliary under T. Pomponius Bassus, consular legatus of Galatia-Cappadocia, 94-100? Anderson suggests Abonius. Abonia nomen in no. 236. Aponius Saturninus legatus in Moesia 69.

184. Zoldera (St. 246; R. 1901). Beginning lost.

[parentes al ?-	pos]ito communiter
t]um mun[i-	in s]uis praesis ?
m]entum fecerun[t	m]imoriae causae

Stone has causae, error of ignorance, not causa f(ecit); praesis, prae(di)is? : the tomb was kepotaphion. munimentum for monumentum. We need not attempt to restore correct Latin: posito for positum shows serious degeneration.

185. Khatun Serai (R. 1882; St. 248; Cronin, *ibid.* p. 116; Wathen). *C.I.L.* iii. 6791; *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 317.

C. Iulius Rufus Serv. F(ilius) V	Octavia uxori suae
[R]ufus sibi vivo et Cneia	M(emoriae) C(ausa)

In l. 1 St. has SSFRVFFV¹; R. SFRVFFV; in l. 2 St. has MVF; R. AVF.

In this very difficult text we prefer St.'s copy in l. 1, the other in l. 2.² The erroneousness of the writing is not worse than in several other cases (see later section), but is more difficult to correct owing to divergence in the copies at the critical point. Sterrett's SSFRVFFV in l. 1 gives the text as above; F as in no. 186 is written for E; the final V is due to the wavering of the engraver between A and R; further C. Julius Rufus mixed the Greek and Latin alphabets as no. 26 (which also belongs to Lystra), confusing V and A, using a rude form of R for N in CREIA, and using A for R (as was often done in miliaria about 200). Julius forgot that his father's praenomen ought to be placed between Julius and Rufus, and wrote Rufus a second time after the patronymic. With these explanations an ordinary form of epitaph emerges.

The name Cneia Octavia lends value to this rude titulus. She was perhaps granddaughter of the soldier in no. 175 and may have been born about A.D. 75; and the epitaph was composed about 100. The Anatolian custom was that the husband made the grave for himself and wife at marriage: she has died, l. 4.

186. Kavak, 3 miles E. from Khatun Serai (St. 264; R. 1902).

An]thistio Nicero · vetr^oano · ex mandatis
 eiu]s C. Caetranus Marus · et L. Flavius Valens vetra-
 ni e]t Attis Flavi · F · uxor ei(u)s perfecti FR monoment[u (!)

¹ Even if single S is on the stone, a final and an initial letter, if the same, is often written only once.

² Haplography S for SS in l. 1; AVFVS in l. 2 is right, not MVFVS.

Date c. 140. F for E is written at Lystra in many tituli.

The engraver (acting under instructions ?) tried to correct *vetrano* to *veterano* ; he wrote small E in the wrong place, after R.

Mandata here is equivalent to *testamentum* ; it does not indicate verbal orders. The veteran, being a Roman *civis*, made a will, and did not trust to native custom to regulate his inheritance.

Nicros certainly left his property (burdened with the duty of erecting a monumentum to him) to his two sons ; yet the sons do not inherit his name. The reason must be that they were born before he retired from the army and got *civitas* ;¹ their names were Marus and Valens (or rather a native name afterwards translated Valens) ; they were received into the service at different times, and got different Roman names here stated. Flavia Attis, their mother, co-operated. Compare *M.A.M.A.* i. 58 on cost. See *Addenda*, p. 221.

The engraver wrote *eis* for *eius* (as *-ios* was often contracted to *-is*) ; he began to write *perfecit* and tried to change to *perfecere* unsuccessfully. Attis is here used as a feminine name ; in early Anatolian (and Lycian, as Mr. Arkwright informed me) there was no grammatical distinction of gender between names of men and women ; and some common Anatolian names, e.g. Bas, Babeis, etc., remained always epicene.

In l. 3 [et] Tattis would be possible. In l. 2 Sterrett restores S[ex] for SC—, which is not possible.

In l. 1 St. transcribes T. Histio ; but there are lost letters to left. Anthestios was used as the Greek rendering of Antistius ; here a family accustomed to speak Greek render back the Greek *Ἀνθέστιος* into Latin as Anthistius. *Νεικέρως*, called Antistius Nicros on the regimental lists, was an auxiliary soldier. L. Antistius Rusticus was consular *legatus* of Cappadocia and Galatia c. 90–91 ; from him a member of the commune Galatiae in 101–102 took his name.² Name Anthestios also at Korna-Diñorna : *dín*, Arabic for faith, gives Moslem appearance.

187. Khatun Serai (St. 245 ; Hogarth, 1890).

[— Alex—]

andro et Patrae liberis defunctis ceterisque
s]uperstitib[u]s · potestati voluntatiq[ue
eorum

At their disposal according to their wish.

188. Khatun Serai (R. 1901 ; Cronin, l.c. p. 115).

O A	In l. 1 S, D, O, C, B, are
O PROBI	possible.
NO · M · C	

¹ Some soldiers preferred not to retire at the earliest opportunity ; one is mentioned as completing 45 years' service.

² See *J.R.S.* 1922, p. 174. The signature of this member of Koinon was *Ἀνθέστιος Ἀσιατικοῦ*.

189. Khatun Serai (R. ; Cronin, *ibid.* p. 117 ; Wathen). Epitaph in one column of a libertus and liberta, *C.I.L.* iii. 14000d.

[Atinnia Cle-]		Ἀτιννία Κλε-
[opatra sibi]		οπάτρα ἐαν-
[viva et Opi-]		τῇ ζῶσα καὶ
[o Cosmo] u-	10	Ὀπίω Κόσμω
5 iro eius(!) m-		ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς
em · c[au]ssa	12, 13	μνήμης χάριν

Γ for S in Latin.

Latinia Cleopatra sprung from kings (of Galatia ?) occurs at Ancyra.

190. Khatun Serai (R. 1901).

(Dis ? Mani-		συμβίω σε-
[bu]s Θεόπο[μ		μνοτάτη
πος Ἐλπιδ[ι	5, 6	μνήμης χάριν

S was certain at the beginning and letters were lost. The restoration is doubtful, but some Latin word or words were used. The Greek letters were good. Some incola who had served in Cappadocia or Syria where soldiers spoke Greek, and who therefore had no opportunity of learning Latin, wished to show that he was a Roman soldier: he put the Latin formula over his family grave (or perhaps a Roman name, C. Julius, which seems less likely).

191. Khatun Serai; at the edge of a tall slab (St. 253; R. 1890, 1901). Date 100-150 ?

Ἄρχα	νω Περτρω-	περιοδε
ρηνα Κουίν-	νω τῶ καὶ	υτ]ῆ ἔσθη
τ]ιλλα Κ.	Ἄνηνίω	σε καὶ
Ἄνχαρη-	κεκλ]ημέν[ω	

See also no. 207. Ancharenos is the romanized or hellenized form of a Lycaonian name Anchar. Quint. Ancharena was a lady of rank at Lystra, who erects this honour to a visiting physician employed on the estate. My copy in l. 7 has AN-NIΩ; the dash is clear and strong. The family of the Anenii will be treated later. They seem to have been physicians on imperial estates (cf. no. 198). L. 8 ΚΑ]ρήμεν|[τι ?

Petronius was legatus Galatiae under Nero, c. 57.

192. Khatun Serai (R. in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 318 : St. 249).

Α. Μάλιος Γάιος ἀ[νέστη-	α αὐτοῦ . ἐπανάστησε
σεν . Λουκίαν γυναῖκ-	[δὲ ὁ δεῖνα ?]

Sterrett has ἔτι ἀνέστησε perhaps rightly; if so, l. 4 would be [ὁ δεῖνα]. Cronin, l.c. p. 120, prefers ἐπανάστησε.

193. Sari Kiz (R. 1901).

<i>Μάρκος Ἄ[ννι- ? τιλι- ? ος Λόνγο[ς Φλ.</i>	<i>αυία Μαλ[ία γ- υναι[κί] ♀</i>
--	---

Annios married a daughter (or gd.-daughter) of a man honoured by a Flavian Emperor.

The long hill ridge on north of Lystra, called Abbas Dagh, divides the broad glen of Lystra from the great Konia plain; the road to Konia lies either across Abbas Dagh over the pass Tchalam Bel, or round by Kavak, at the S.E. end of Abbas Dagh. Near the former path, but in the glens on the north side, are villages Sari Kiz, Baiyat and Geudene, whose inscriptions, as of the god's land, are classed to Lystra (no. 198).

194. Geudene, near Khatun Serai (St. 267).

<i>Κομίνιος</i>	5 <i>γυνή αὐτοῦ</i>	9 <i>καὶ ἐγγ]όνω</i>
<i>Γάιος</i>	<i>ζῶντες</i>	<i>[καὶ γονεῦ]-</i>
<i>Ζήνωνος καὶ</i>	<i>ἐαυτοῖς</i>	<i>σιω γλυ-</i>
<i>Ἑλιοδώρα</i>	<i>καὶ τέκνοις</i>	<i>κυτάτοις M.X</i>

Gaius Cominius bore a purely Latin name, but did not understand it (cp. no. 197). He belonged to the period when Lystra was completely grecized. There was a family of Cominii (perhaps of Concordia) of distinguished equestrian rank in 1st and 2nd century, who attained senatorial and consular rank in M. Aurelius Cominius Cassianus, legatus Numidiae, 209–11 (cos. des); but their careers are all western and African. In some way unknown the nomen reached prov. Galatia;¹ M. Aurelius Com. Cassianus connects it with Emperor Marcus and Avidius Cassius, Syrian by birth, legatus Syriae c. 169–72. Cominius Clemens (comp. no. 181, 191) is mentioned *P.I.R.* (C 1016), c. 165 and later. Clementina at Konia, St., *E.J.* 219. The frequency indicates a legatus or iuridicus with cognomen Clemens.

We insert line 10 omitted by the copyist or engraver, who dropped *γονεῦ* after *γονω*. Heliodora has passed to her husband's family, and takes his parents as her own; as Ruth said to Naomi her husband's mother, "thy people shall be my people, and thy (household) god my god." Here, as often elsewhere, early Hebrew social custom illumines native Anatolian custom.²

195. Khatun Serai (R.; Cronin, *ibid.* p. 119; Wathen).

<i>Λονγεῖνος</i>	<i>Πλό[τωνι</i>
<i>Ἄ[μ?ιαν]οῦ</i>	<i>εὐχῆ</i>
<i>horseman to r.</i>	

There seemed to be no *ν* in *εὐχῆ*: similar cases are rare. Longinus was a mounted auxiliary soldier, who dedicates his grave to the god of

¹ Original colonus? 182, 197.

² See Section V.

the underworld, usually expressed as *Mên Katachthonios*. Here and at Iconium Pluto occurs.

196. Khatun Serai (R. 1901 ; Cronin published, l.c. p. 118), the end lost.

<i>Αὐρήλιος</i>	<i>στρατιώτ-</i>
<i>Λουγείνος</i>	<i>ης λεγ[εῶνος. . . .</i>

Marcus Aurelius in difficulty to fill the legions, admitted freedmen and slaves, doubtless also provincials who were not *cives*. Longinus (a favourite name in Lycæonia and Isaurica) may have been thus admitted and created a *civis* with nomen Aurelius.

197. Khatun Serai (R. 1901).

<i>Λειουινείω</i>	<i>α Λειουίνειοι</i>
<i>Γαίω καὶ Φλα-</i>	<i>Ὀφέλλιος κ[αὶ</i>
<i>ο]υία Ὀφελλί-</i>	<i>6, 7 Δωσιθέα γο νεισι (!)</i>

The first Livineius at Lystra was probably an original colonus, and we compare no. 194. Several Livineii were prominent in the last 40 years B.C. ; one was quaestor pro praetore to Africanus Fabius Maximus (cos. 744), procos Afr. in 749 (or a little later). C. Livineius must be much later, as he married Flavia Ofellia, who at the earliest was a daughter of a man enfranchized by Vespasian in 69-70.¹ Their children are Livineius Ofellius (uniting names of parents) and Livineia Dosithea. Ofellius, Ofillius, Ofelius, Ofilius all occur in *P.I.R.*

198. Geudene ; see no. 193 (St. 270).

Π Αἴλ[ιος Ἀγα]μέμνων
τὸ γ]έν[ος . Φίλη ?]μένου καὶ
Αἴλ. Ἡλ[ιοδώ]ρα σύνβιος

In l. 1 the stone probably has *T* (half of *Π*).² There seems room in the lacuna for 6 letters. In l. 2 St. has *I* for *Γ* at edge of break : perhaps (κατὰ γ. ογ) τὸ γένος : Agamemnon and Heliodora were set free by Hadrian. There was a large estate, of which part was given by Augustus to create the colonia in 6 B.C. This great Estate, now called Kara Arslan as property of the Mevlevi dervishes, paid certain dues to the imperial fiscus under control of the procurator Galatiae, see *Klio*, xxv. 424, and pp. 184, 192, 193. [Φιλ]μενου exempli gratia : the true restoration might explain κατὰ γένος.

199. Khatun Serai (R. with Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 118).

<i>Ἀγαθήμερος κὲ ἦ</i>	<i>ντες τέκνοις</i>
<i>γυνῆ αὐτοῦ ζῶ-</i>	<i>γλυκυτάτοις μ.χ.</i>

Agathemerous was often a slave name.

¹ She may have been of another Flavian family ; which would leave us in the dark.

² T is possible, making the epitaph a few years later.

200. Khatun Serai (R.; Cronin, *ibid.* p. 118; Wathen); stele with eagle in triangular pediment.

*Μωνεις Νεικομήδο[υς Μωνει πω και Ταται τῆ μαμα [κε Νεικο-
Νεικομήδους Μων[ει τῶ πάπ- μῆδη τῶ γλ[υκυτάτω πατρί.*

Μωνη was an epithet of Meter Kybele. It is used as a fem. name, Mouna, *Μονα*; *Μωνεις* as masc.; compare no. 201.

201. Kadyn Khan, brought from Laodicea (R. 1911; Calder in *M.A.M.A.* i. 10).

[ὁ δεῖνα] | *Μητρι Μ]ωνη* κατὰ ♀ | [ἀπο]βιβασμόν ♀

The last word, in very large letters, expresses the heart-felt joy of the soldier returning from service to his home, and descending from the hard wagon in which he made the journey. Many soldiers paid their vow to the goddess of their home in inscriptions (which are not always recognized). Wilhelm proposed [συμ]βιβασμόν according to a sign from which he inferred the order of the god; this is linguistically correct, but does not explain the very large letters of the word: *κατὰ κέλευσιν, ἐντολήν*, and other terms are common, and express the same meaning. The returning soldier expresses and emphasizes the joy of reaching home and a comfortable life after 25 years of hard work as a soldier, with his money safe (cf. no. 169); and he feels the physical relief of getting out of that detestable wagon. Catullus expresses the same longing in 31, cum—labore fessi venimas larem ad nostrum, desideratoque acquiescimus lecto; soft bed at home contrasts with the hard sleep in phaselo illo. Let him judge who has travelled for weeks in a wagon and slept on the ground or a plank.

Calder reads [*Ἀπόλλ]ωνι*; but his photograph and my copy show ⚭ not *I*. Kybele Meter Zizimmene is the home deity of Laodicea and the region, though Zeus and Apollo Sozon occur (*M.A.M.A.* i. 1, 2, 2*a*, 2*b*, 2*c*, 2*d*).

202. Khatun Serai (R. with Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 118).

Ουαλέριος|Ζώσιμος|Ζωσιμήδι θυγατρί.

Ζωσίμη is treated as of 3rd declension: this was common in epigraphy, e.g. *Ζοῆδι, Τατῆδι, κ.τ.λ.* Valerius and Julius were often given as names to soldiers (for good omen?).

203. Khatun Serai (R. 1882, 1901; Sterrett, 250; Cronin and Wathen, 1901): very faint in 1, 7, 8.

<i>Α. Σέιο[ς Ρού]σων κέ</i>	<i>ο μὲν [μ]έρη τοῦ Καπί-</i>
<i>κέ Α. Καπίτων υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ κέ</i>	<i>τωνος, μέρος δὲ ἐν</i>
<i>Α. Ρηγείνα θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ</i>	<i>του ? αἵαυτοῦ τ]οῖς ἀδελ-</i>
<i>ἐποίησαν τὸ κοιμητήρι-</i>	<i>φοῖς μνήμης χάρην</i>
<i>5 ον ἐξ ἀναλωμάτων ι δύ-</i>	<i>l. 8, i.e. τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδ.</i>

Irregularly engraved and worn.¹ In l. 5 there is probably an engraver's error: instead of *ιδίων δύο* he wrote *ι. δύο*. In l. 8 *αίαντοῦ* suits the traces. In l. 1 the *O* of *Seios* and the *C* of *Ρουσων* are doubtful: but *Π* and *T* are excluded. The word *κοιμητήριον* is usually Christian in Anatolia (though *ἐκοίμησε* is used by pagans). [*Συμ*]εών is a possible reading.

Kapiton and Capito seem to be forms of a Lycaonian name *Κόπτων*, often grecized with assimilation as *Κοττονις*, *Κοττονειος*.

Sterrett read *-ου* at the beginning of l. 8; perhaps for [*τ*]οῦ αἰ[α]υ[υ]του, very bad Greek; Capito speaks here for himself. *ἀδελφοί*, brother and sister.

A point in the history of East Roman law emerges in this epitaph: as to the division of the cost of the monument, we are faced with a dilemma. If the children are mentioned in order of age, the younger son pays two-thirds, contrary to custom. The reason is hidden; we can only quote *M.A.M.A.* i. 58, where a younger son pays the whole cost (*τὰ ἐξέρετα*): "and the expenses came on Aur. Marion. He made the grave." On the other hand, the order of names may not be the order of age; Capito may be the elder brother named second for some reason unknown. In any case he is careful to record the facts;² the grave was both a property and a sanctuary. The inscription was a record of ownership, and a copy of it was often, perhaps always, deposited in the *ἀρχεῖα*, i.e. the records of property (title deeds); and lands were bought and sold *διὰ τῶν ἀρχείων*, by consulting, and recording changes in the registers of the *ἀρχεῖον*, or *χρεωφυλάκιον* (see *C.B.* 368 f.). If Capito was the older son, by Anatolian custom he should inherit the entire property and rights of his father and become *κύριος* (patriarch) of the whole family (except of married sisters). A. Seius [Ru]so, the father, however, was a *civis*; and the inscription is a proof that Roman law interfered in some degree to modify local custom where *cives* were concerned. Local custom was recognized in Roman administration so far as provincials were concerned (*Mitteis*, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*). The father is evidently dead, and is buried by his children.

204. Khatun Serai (St. 251; R. 1901).

Π. Καλου[ίσιος] ζ[ὼ]ν φρονῶν ἐπόησεν ἑαυτῷ
καὶ Βαδ[ι]ε τῇ ἰδ[ία] γυναικὶ μνήμης ἔνεκεν.
ὅς δ' ἂν ἀδ[ικῆ]σῃ τὸ μνήμα, Μῆνα ἀνωθεν καὶ κάτο-
[θεν κεχολωμένους ἔχοιτο].

κάτο[θεν] for *κάτωθεν* in both copies. P. Calvisius Ruso was *legatus* of Galatia and Cappadocia c. 106. An *incola* of Lystra enrolled in a Cappadocic *cohors* or *ala* under him was possibly entered on the list as Calvisius.³ The heavenly and the Chthonian *Mên* are often men-

¹ Sterrett and I *Σε[πρ. Καπι]των*; but there is no room, and A does not suit as praenomen.

² Allusions to cost are often made in epitaphs, e.g. *M.A.M.A.* i. 58.

³ Numisius (Section XV.) is less probable.

tioned at Konia ; Lystra, like Iconium, was included in prov. Galatia from 20 B.C. to c. A.D. 295.

Bādi, Mādi, Τατήδι, was probably the enunciation ; but we do not venture to indicate the accent. Three datives of *Bas* occur, *Βαντι, Βαδι, Βα* : different ways of attaching Greek declension to an Anatolian word.

205. Ütch Kilisse on road from Lystra to Korna Diñ-orna (St. 256).

<i>Πιρρουσις καὶ Καν-</i>	<i>καὶ Ναννας Ὅας Τύ-</i>
<i>ζως ἀνέστησαν</i>	<i>ραννον μνήμης χάρι</i>
<i>Μαμμειν μητέρα</i>	

Relationship and even sex of the persons named is difficult to determine. Pirrousis and Kanzos, who bury their mother Mammeis, are threptos and heiress-daughter he married (Sect. V.) ? Was Turannos husband of Mammeis ? Who was Nannas Oas ? Why did not the other pair bury Turannos ? Nannas Oas is perhaps a man with double name. Ὅας perhaps occurs in *Anatolian Studies*, p. 324 (transcribed *Θας*). Ὅας is a form of the commoner *Ούας*, or *Bas* (comp. *Ονα-σαδα, Οασαδα, Βασαδα, Βασαδα*).¹ *Κανζω* accus. occurs in St. 153–154. *Μαμμεις* is a good Isaaurian name. Error probable (copyist or engraver) : read *Τυράννου (συναδέστησεν)* ?

Τύραννος means “ chief of the Tura, Tira, Teira, Thura, Thera ” : ² with the suffix compare *Κουσανι, Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 240 (man of Kousea or Kousos). Tira, Tura probably denotes town, city (*πόλις οἰκουμένη* of Xenophon), *Ἰαναξ, βασιλεύς, τύραννος*, Anatolian words.

206. Khatun Serai (R. 1901).

Ἡρ]ακλᾶς | [κε] Δόμνα | [κὲ] Δορκᾶς | [θυ]γάτηρ [κὲ] |
[δύο ?] υἱοί ♣ | [τὸ] μνημεῖ|ον ζῶντες | [κ]ατεσκέυ|[ασ]αν
ἡυ|τ[οῖς] κὲ Ἄσ|[κανιω ? κτλ.

Askanios exempli gratia. In ll. 4, 5, *σὺν δύοι υἱοῖς* is too long : ε after *οι* is not for *ς*, but part of broken ♣. *ἡαυτοῖς* rare.

207. Khatun Serai (Sterrett, 244 ; R. ; Cronin ; Wathen).

A]nchare|na Secun|[da] XL ann(or)um.

L. 3 reading is very uncertain. The name Ancharena Quintilla (little pet Quinta) occurs in no. 191 ; perhaps this is an earlier Ancharena ; perhaps she is second daughter of the family.

208. Khatun Serai (R. 1901 ; Cronin ; Wathen). Large block of stone from a monumentum. Letters large and good.

Προκλου Τιτω . . .

¹ *Ουά* village : *Ουας* villager, friend.

² Tura, Tira was a larger group of homes than *ουά, κώμη* : there could be a lord, or

king, of a tura, but not of an *ουά* ; so the lord of a Tura is the *μέγας ἀνὴρ* of a Galatian inscription.

209. Khatun Serai (R. 1901 ; Cronin ; Wathen ; *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 117).

two persons rt.	<i>Βαβωδι γυ-</i>
<i>ἀνέστησε</i>	<i>νή αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν.</i>

To Babô or Babôs, his unnamed wife made the grave.

210. Khatun Serai (R. 1882 in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 317 ; *C.I.L.* iii. 6796, 14400(*h*)).

figure of lion
Julius ? or Ennius ?] Rufus et Lu[cius]

211. Khatun Serai (St. 268).

	<i>παππας</i>
[—]ου	<i>Οὐαλέ-</i>
[—] ἔτ]ους	<i>ριος</i>

Παππας was the old name for priest, also (in form *παπας*) about 270 at Isaura Nova. It was used both as hieronymous (as in the following no.), and as a title prefixed to the personal name (compare *ὁ μακάριος παπας ὁ Θεοῦ φίλος*, i.e. Papas Theophilos at Isaura Nova). See *Stud. E.R.P.*

212. Khatun Serai (St. 255 ; R. ; Cronin ; Wathen).

ιστήλλη παππαδος stele of the priest.

213. (St. 252 ; R. ; Cronin ; Wathen ; *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 120).

+	<i>ἡ θυγατρὶ γλυ[κυ-</i>
<i>Αὐρή. Θεόδω[ρο-</i>	<i>τ]άτη Θεέκλη μ[νή-</i>
<i>ς δι[άκω]ν τῇ ἰδί-</i>	<i>μη[ς χά]ριν.</i>

Date, fourth or fifth century. *ἰδίη* for *ἰδία* : similar cases occur in this late period.

διάκων for *διάκονος* occurs often.

214. Khatun Serai (R. 1901). On a large block from some building (perhaps a church) ; one of two.

block lost. *Κωρ[τ]ερω + Κύριε βοήθει τοῦ πεδι[ε]ν.*

Date, 5th century (or later ?).

There is a strange symbol at the end, which was perhaps symbol of an unnamed infant, or an anagram of the child's name. Under *κωρτ* was a large half circle with a cross inside ; the cross has four equal legs (radii).

The large circle is cut in half by the left edge of the stone ; the rest of the circle and enclosed cross was on the adjoining block with the beginning of the inscription. *I* (for *T* ?) remains on the stone.

215. Khatun Serai (R. 1890) ; broken fragment ; published ?

— anio	4 NI . . VR . . lideris Domno
— ae Gaillae	e[t] Cassio dulcissi-
u]s G . PE—DA	mis M C

Λ for A always. In l. 4 the Greek engraver, working from a model, not knowing Latin letters, wrote LIDERIS instead of LIBERIS.

XXXIV. ISAURIKAN SOLDIERS.

216. Soldiers were the chief product of Isaurika in Byzantine times ; they are numerous also under the earlier Empire (Keil, in *Denkm. Lykaon.* no. 139, an incomplete family of soldiers ; Sterrett, no. 164, saw only part of the stone, repeated *I.G.R.* iii. 284 ; Calder, in *J.R.S.* xiv. p. 69, completed his copy). The restoration is sure. Sterrett has in l. 1 . . . APA Keil adds a letter . . . APAA[Λ

The first name is native [Ar]ara ; Latin Hilara we reject. Often it is hard to distinguish between M and ΛΛ ; here the praenomen was certainly Μάρκος. Further, Arara had two grandchildren, Ούαλερία and Γάιος. The boy was son of her third son, C. Julius Crispus ; the girl took her nomen from the oldest son, whose name must be M. [Valer]ius Crispus, the second son was C. Julius (Cel)er ?, but he died at a place unknown to Arara, who leaves a space and stresses θανῶτα.

With these corrections the text emerges.

Ἄρ]αρα Μ[ᾶρκον Οὐαλέ-	πον ἔφιππον, τοὺς υἱοὺς <αὐ>
ρ]ιον Κρίσπον στρατιώ-	αὐτῆς, καὶ πατέρα αὐτῶν
την καὶ Γάιον Ἰούλιον [Κέ-	Κοφττουνεὶν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς,
λ]ερα στρατιώτην	10 καὶ Οὐα(λ)ερίαν καὶ Γάιον ἔ[χ-
5 ♣ θανῶτα ♣ [ἐν ?	γωνα αὐτῆς (τῆς) εἰς (αὐτήν) (ε)ὑνοί(α)ς ἐνε-
καὶ Γάιον Ἰούλιον Κρίσ-	κεν.

In l. 9 Calder has φ broken, Keil T.

Crispus, " curly haired," was the cognomen given to two sons. In l. 5, a space was left to receive the place but never filled ; see *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 266 (A. H. Smith), where the place of death was known at his home.

[Ar]ara survived and buried her husband and three sons. She was Isaurikan like her husband ; the soldier sons received Roman names.

In l. 7 ἔφιππον, adjective, " on horseback, referring to a statue or relief " (Calder) : perhaps rather a noun, mounted infantry soldier in a cohort or legion, as distinguished from regular cavalry.

ου representing Latin V favours a date not later than 180-200, except that ου often was used later in Valerius.

The general character of the titulus suggests the period 140–160. Perhaps the Roman name of the oldest son was taken from M. Valerius Italus, legatus of Galatia, who admitted him to one of the cohortes stationed in that province. The second and third sons took their Roman names from some officer, called C. Julius. The date of M. Valerius Italus is unknown (Liebenam; I have a note *ad loc.* that the date was 161–169, but the authority is obliterated).

The Isaurican Arara was the goddess-mother, the fertile earth (*Od.* xi. 309), often used as personal name; similarly, Ge was often a woman's name; *a* and *ou* interchange in Anatolia, *ἄρουρα ἄραρα*. There is some difficulty about the father's name. Calder's text is here right: the Lycaonian name *Κοππων, Κοφτουνεις, Κοττωνειος* and other forms occur.

The Isaurican and Lycaonian languages were the same; at Lystra (an Isaurican town, *Ptol.* v. 4), Lycaonian was the language of the Plebs (*ἰερός θίασος*, no. 164), *Act. Apost.* xiv. 11. The name Lycaonia was unknown to Herodotus, and first occurs in Xenophon. Isauroi, when they adopted Greek manners, were Lycaones; both were warlike; *ἴδριες ἐν πολέμοισι Λυκάονες*, Keil, *Denkm. Lykaon.* p. 67.

The oldest son was received into the service by a different officer from the second and third. Two returned home and married. Arara does not mention their wives; and her own daughters passed to the families of their husbands.

The titulus is badly incised, *αὐ<αυ>τῆς, ἔσγωνα* for *ἔγγωνα*,¹ *συνοίος* for *εὐνοίας*. The text of l. 11 with *αὐτῆς, αὐτήν*, occurring five times in four lines, confused the marmorarius; change is needed to make sense.

The father's name, *Κοφτουνειν*,² causes difficulty; but a variant *Κοππωνος* (gen.) in a Lycaonian inscription copied by me in 1905 (long and important, which cannot be discussed here), illustrates and is illustrated by this form. *φ* and *π* interchange freely in the inscriptions of the plateau; so also *θ* and *τ*, *κ* and *χ*. The name *Κοππων* was sometimes assimilated *Κοττων* or grecized *Κόππων*, or (with escape of breath after *π*, *Κοφτουν*): *-εις* or *ης* was added to give a semblance of inflexion. The same native name was often made *Καπιτων* (as if Latin *Capito*),³ *a* and *o*, or *ā*, *ω*, *ou*, interchange freely; see *Hist. Geogr. As. Min.*, pp. 181 f. (*Tataion* = *Tottaion*).

217, 218. Isaura Palaia. Two inscriptions found side by side at "the Stoa" in Isaura Palaia, and published by Sterrett, *W.E.* 194, 195.

¹ The Isaurican lady knew nothing about Thessalian, Boeotian, Cretan dialectic forms, which Keil quotes in illustration of *ἔσγωνα* (a mere error of engraver, *ε*CE for *ε*IT).

² *TT* is due to assimilation confused by the common *Κοττωνης*. Spelling of such a name in Greek letters was uncertain.

³ We do not know Anatolian accentuation, which was different from Greek, and probably tended to raise the pitch of the final (as Anatolian Turkish does). Calder and now Keil wisely leave native names unaccented. Calder, however, accents *Μείρος*, where *Μειρός, Μηρός*, is probable.

218.

217.
 Top line broken.
 1 ≡ ΟΣΟΡΕΣΤ≡
 2 ≡ ΛΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕ≡
 3 ≡ ΑΣΑΜΕΝΟ≡
 4 ≡ ΟΥΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ≡
 5 vacat ΤΙ≡
 6 ≡ ΤΟΡΑΣΥΙΟ≡
 7 ≡ ΤΗΣΕΠΟΙ≡
 ////////////////

2 ΑΥΡ · ΟΡΕΣΤΕΙΑΝ
 ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ
 5 ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΚΑΚΑΣΤΟΡΟΣ
 ΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΟΥ
 Η Μ Ο Σ ●

Evidently 217, l. 1, contains [Κάστωρ]ος¹ Ὁρέστ[ου], and the lost line above named his son (accus.). L. 7, [τεχνεί]της ἐποί[ησεν], an artist's signature, implies l. 5 Τί[τος] and [Κάσ]τωρ[ο]ς υἱό[ς]. ΡΑΣ is an error of engraver (or copyist). Artists append their names often in Isaurika.

No. 218 is complete on a single block of stone. The last line is evidently [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ]ῆμος written across beneath two inscriptions and applying to both. No. 218 contains a wife's name. No. 217 states the name and career of her husband (as in the large inscription restored in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 262, by Mr. Cheesman).² The lady was ἀρχιέρεια, and therefore the husband must have been ἀρχιερεύς and both must be *cives Romani*. Sterrett found the two stones side by side; they were doubtless so placed originally. The complete double inscription is easily restorable.

[Τίτον Φλάουιον Φιλόδοξον]
 [Φ. Κάστωρ]ος Ὁρέστ[ου ἑκατον-]
 τάρχου κ]αὶ ἀρχιερέ[ως υἱόν]
 ἀρχιέρ]ασάμενο[ν καὶ αὐτόν]
 ἐν τῇ αὐτ]οῦ πατρίδι
 vacat vacat Τί[τος Φλ. Κάσ-]
 τωρ[ο]ς υἱό[ς τεχνεί-]
 τῆς ἐποί[ησεν].

Αὐρ. Ὁρεστεϊαν
 Λουκίου θυγατέρα
 ἀρχιέρειαν
 γυναῖκα Κάστορος
 τοῦ Φιλοδόξου

[ἡ β ο υ λ ἡ κ α ἰ ὁ δ] Η Μ Ο Σ ●

[Ἰσαυρέων βουλὴ δ]ῆμος would suit equally well; also χειλιάρχου in l. 2.³ Orestina uses φιλοδόξου as an adjective, but it was his cognomen; φιλόκαισαρ, φιλότιμος, φιλόπατρις, etc., sometimes are used as cognomina.

¹ The name Κάστωρ occurs a score of times in Isaura Palaia, and may be safely restored wherever the adjoining letters permit. In l. 6 there is a slip of engraver

or copyist.

² His death in the war I still mourn.

³ χειλιάρχου better, the family was probably equestrian.

Some unimportant details are uncertain ; but the general meaning and the connexion of the two tituli 217 f. are certain.

The proper statement of the Roman triple name is rarely observed in Isaura Palaia. The Kastores, one of the great families of Isaura, got civitas from Vespasian, and were, like the Flavian Emperors, classed in the tribe Quirina (here called Cyr. by a composer who rendered back the Greek *Κυρ(ίνα)* in Latin letters).¹

Aur(elia) Orestina derived the nomen from her father, who got civitas from L. Aurelius Verus in his first year, 161. This fixes the date approximately about A.D. 180–190, a clear case of Aur. used before 212.

That the family of the Kastores were Flavian cives is shown by the following tituli.

219. Sterrett, 185; <i>C.I.L.</i> iii, 6785.	220. Keil, <i>Denkm. Isaur.</i> 252.	221. Sterrett, 186, restored by Keil, 252.
T. Flavio Castoris F. Cyr. Alexandro civitate donato ab Imp. Caes. Vespasiano F. Hermes lib.	T. Flavio Alexandr[i] F. Cyr. Menelao T. Flavius Flaviae Attianis lib. Hermes	[Φλα]ο[υ]ζαν Άτι[α]νι[ν] Φ. Έρμη[ς] ἀπελεύθερος

Alexandros, son of Castor, honoured with civitas by Vespasian, became T. Flavius Alexander. Cyr. is false Latin. Attianis or Atianis (Keil, 164),² wife of Alexandros, got civitas with him, becoming Flavia Attianis ; the rule was that wives were made cives with their husbands (*dumtaxat singulae singulis*). T. Flavius Atianis libertus Hermes spells her name differently in the tituli attached to statues (?) of Alexander and his son and wife, which he erected. Attianis is derived from Attis or Atis, and shows the same variation in spelling ; the Anatolian suffix *ani* occurs in *Κουσανι*, man of the pagos *Κουσσαος* or *Κουσαα* (see note on our no. 205).

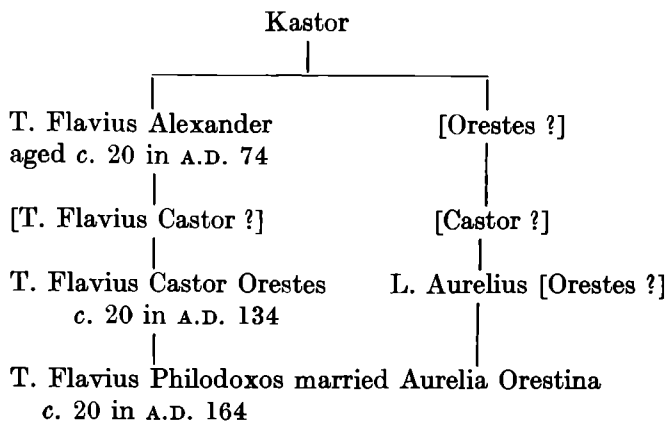
The sudden appearance of Flavian cives in the Isaurikan region indicates an attempt made by Vespasian to turn the Isauri and neighbouring provincials into loyal supporters of the Empire. His method was the usual one, viz. to reward the philo-Roman and to neglect the recalcitrant, and to trust to time. It was probably under the Flavians that a high priesthood of the Emperors was created at Palaia Isaura. We find no case of a Claudian civis in the region ; no. 3 in Keil-Knoll, *Denkm.*, is in the Konia region.

¹ Compare Luke ii. 2, *Κυρήνιος* (*Κυρίνιος*) for Quirinius.

² Keil restores *Ατ[τι]ανι[ν]*, but Sterrett (the only authority) shows *Ατι[α]νι[ν]* clearly.

Sterrett's copy of a mutilated text could not be restored until Keil, 252, was found and read. The freedman belongs to Attianis as Roman, not to her husband.

As was the case with many centurions, T. Flavius Philodoxos became ἀρχιερεύς in the imperial cultus. It is quite probable that he served in caliga, and rose to be centurion; this would suit the principle laid down by Domaszewski. The stemma of the evidently sacerdotal family was probably—



Alexander perhaps had cognomen from the legatus of Galatia, Pompeius Collega?; but this cognomen disappeared from the family, though it is certain that the name Pompeianus was used in the neighbourhood about 374, Basil, *Ep.* 188.

Kastor and Orestes were names much used in Isaurika and upper Anatolia generally.

Hermes uses Latin to the husband and son of Atianis, but Greek to her; perhaps he knew that she knew no Latin. The home language of all was Lycaonian or Greek,¹ but the men as cives knew some Latin. Claudius took away civitas from a new civis, when he learned that the man knew no Latin. When Claudiconium πόλις was created colonia Ael. Hadr. Iconiensium it began to use Latin officially, and very unidiomatically, no. 1.

222. Copy of Calder and Cox; publ. by Calder, *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 74. In l. 4 φρν(μεντάριος) is possible epigraphically as ligature φ and ρ, but it was not a regular duty, but an occasional duty for an eques singularis of a legatus of legion or province.

In l. 10 tesserarius should perhaps be read instead of vexillarius.

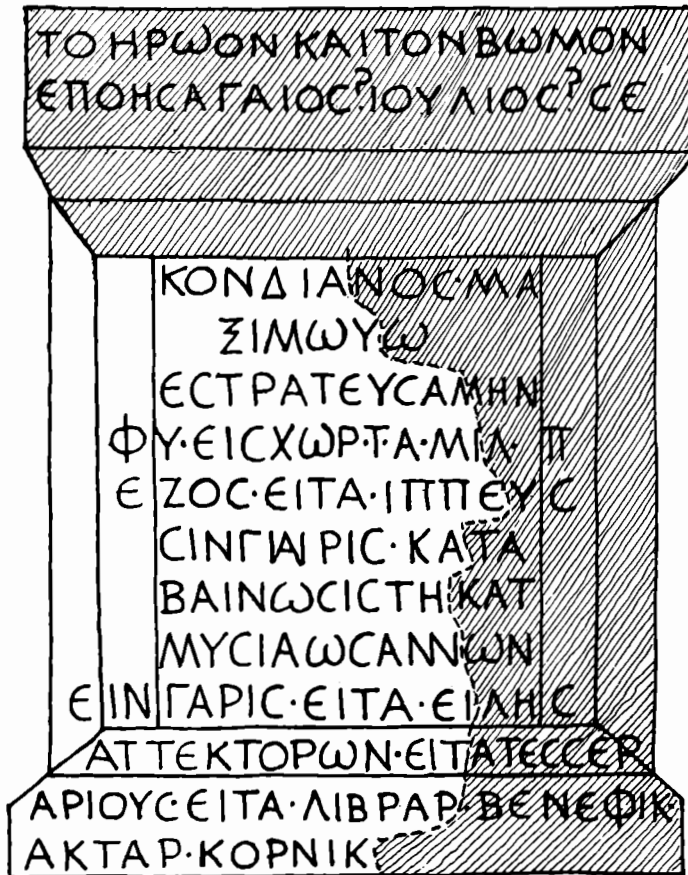
This rough sketch of the stone (taken from the printed description) aims only at reproducing the essential features.² The drawing was made and submitted to Cox and modified and sent to Calder. I have profited by the criticisms and suggestions of both, especially Calder's

¹ Or Isaurican, which was doubtless the same language as Lycaonian, p. 200.

² The altar was ornate, corresponding to the desire of the father to do honour to his son (and to himself).

idea that the inscription was arranged symmetrically. They agreed that l. 1 seemed to be the top; and the drawing justifies the accuracy of their observation.

In the altar as tombstone the two sides are always symmetrical; the top part and the bottom part are sometimes the same, but often the bottom part is higher and simpler than the top. The drawing merely suggests how the two top lines may have been expressed.¹



[τὸ ἥρων καὶ τὸν βωμόν]
[ἐποίησα Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σε-]
κονδια[νός Μα-
ξίμου υἱῶ·
ἐστρατευσά[μην (ὄπλο-)
φυ· εἰς χωρ· Τ· α'· μι[λ(ιαν) π-
εζός, εἶτα ἵππε[ύς
συγγαίρις κα[τα-
βαίνω (εἰς τῇ [Κάτω
Μυσία ὡς ἀν[ων(άριος)
εἰγαίρις· εἶτα εἰ[λης
Ἄττεκτόρων· εἶτα τεσσερ-
αρίους· εἶτα λιβραρ· [βενεφικ(ιαρ)-
ἀκτάρ(ις)· κορνικ(ουάρις)·

The father made an ornate tombstone for his son (whom he probably intended for the service); and he also immortalized himself by recounting his own career. Considering that his duties demanded some education, and only vexillarius (or tesserarius) is tactical, we are rather taken aback by the poor knowledge of Greek shown in his epitaph; but he had spoken only Lycaonian till he enlisted,² then he picked up camp

¹ The stone is βωμός, the monument as a whole is ἥρων. I add nothing. C. Julius was the commonest name for an Isaurikan

soldier (Calder, p. 68).

² On the native speech, see above, p. 200. αρίους, Latin -arius.

Latin in Moesia, and when he returned after 25 years' service had to acquire Greek, as Greek was now much used in Isaurika among the upper classes, to which he as a veteran of the imperial service and a man of means now belonged. All writing was in Greek; I have seen only two short inscriptions in a Lycaonian patois (Greek letters); similarly, one used to see Turkish inscriptions in Greek letters over the doors of churches in Cappadocia and Isauria.¹ As the soldier laboriously rendered Latin into Greek terms, he expressed -arius by -άριους, and Atectorigiana (hard word) by Ἀττεκτόρων.

The soldier father bought a stone with the relief of a funeral feast, a usual type, but showing unsuitably three persons reclining and a woman sitting at each end. He found the expensive stone ready-made;² he arranged that the inscription should be cut symmetrically. On the left side of the stone is a horseman to right carrying a round shield, a portrait of the cavalry soldier. This little relief was not cut by the same hand as the funeral feast.

The inscription contains the only career of a *principalis* known to me in Asia Minor.³ Roughly speaking, *principales* correspond to our non-commissioned officers below sergeant; centurions (who were nominated by the Emperor) correspond better to sergeants. *Immunes* were relieved from some hard duties. *Tesserarius*, *optio*, and *signifer* (*σημειοφόρος*) were above *immunes*; they guided the tactical evolutions of the company to which they belong. All other *principales* form two groups, one lower than those three tactical duties, one higher; and no soldier could pass from the lower to the higher group unless he had been a tactical leader. The lower group was the *immunes*. The higher group consisted mainly of soldiers serving on the staff (*officium*) of officers above the rank of *tribuni militum*; and they were practically in the category of *beneficiarii* (i.e. those who were freed from *munera* by a qualified officer).⁴ The higher officers in command of regiments nominated the *principales* on their staff.

I adopt Calder's reading in l. 6. In *ἰππεὺς συγγιαίρις ΠΙ* indicates English GY for GL (change as in Italian, e.g. Fiorentino from Florentinus). The soldier was *eques singularis* of the *praeses*. *I* before *P* anticipates the *I* after it. The copies are otherwise identical, and are very good, for the position of the stone in a wall over the head of a person standing on a too short ladder makes copying difficult.

¹ Isauria, not Isaurika, a different country, confounded with it often (Sect. XXXVI.).

² It has long been noticed that stones were often bought ready-made in the yard of a *τεχνεὶτης*, which explains why the inscription does not always suit the scenes portrayed. Sometimes the person who erected the monument incised the inscription *τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ*.

³ *Principales* were relieved of hard manual work in the camp; *hi sunt milites prin-*

cipales, qui privilegiis muniuntur Veget. 2, 7: *Domasz., Rangordn.* p. 1.

⁴ *Beneficiarii* dicebantur qui vacabant muneribus beneficio; they ranked practically as *immunes*; they were the lowest of the higher group, placed above the *immunes*, but having no specific duty to distinguish them from *immunes*. *Stratores*, *actarii*, etc., on the staff were charged with some specific duty.

This soldier omits his earlier service as *gregarius* and begins his career at *armorum custos* ? (*ὄπλο*)*φύ*(*λαξ*)¹ in cohort I T(yriorum) *miliaria*² as foot soldier ; then he was sent as *eques singularis praesidis* into Lower Moesia to look after the provisioning of the army (*transvectio annonae militaris*). *Custos armorum* was only *immunis* (Dom. p. 197). *Equites Singulares* were riders attached to the officium of the *legatus* of a province or of *legatus legionis*.

The division of Moesia with its 5 legions took place *c.* 85 during his service, and he was henceforward in Moesia Inferior, where both the cohorts and the *ala* were stationed. The entire service was in Moesia (after 85 Moesia Inferior) : cp. no. 153 also in Moesia.

I may say that Dessau, in one of the last letters that he wrote, approved my suggestion about *καταβαίνω*. Mommsen, as also Seeck on *actarius* (*Real-Encycl.*), have pointed out that *Actarius* hardly occurs before Severus ; but that is probably accidental. I consulted Anderson, who quoted an example much earlier at Adam Klissi.

CINΓIAIPIC in l. 6 and *ΕΙΝΓΑΠΙΟ* in l. 9 must represent different words. However bad the soldier's spelling is, he would not spell the same word so differently. *CINΓIAIPIC* is evidently *eques singularis*, in contrast to [*π*]εζός in the preceding line. *ARIS* becomes *αιρις*. In l. 9 *ΕΙΝΓΑΡΙC* represents *angario* with right of commandeering transport by wagon or animals : soldier's grammar ! Vowel, p. 207.

Then he was transferred to *ala Atectorigiana* ; and this was evidently promotion. There he was [*vexill* ?]arius, or [*tesser*]arius, a tactical post, and then was attached to the staff of the *praefectus* as *librarius*, [*beneficiarius*], *actarius*, *cornicularius*. The omission of *εἶτα* marks these four posts as a group ; *cornicularius* was the highest post in the officium *praefecti alae*.

The Romans developed greatly both the posting system and the practice of commandeering.³ The posting system was restricted to government service. In Egypt asses, camels, etc., were furnished in rotation as arranged by the *κωμάρχαι*. It became in the cities generally a *munus* to furnish transport for imperial service. *παραπέμπω*⁴ and *πορεύω* are used of this duty ; *ἐξάκις πορεύσας* in an inscription of about 300 at Laodicea of Lycaonia (*Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 238 ; *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 175, more fully), *παραπέμφας τὸ δ' ἱερὰν ἀννῶναν* (*Ath. Mitt.* 1885, p. 336). Libanius in the fourth century has an oration, *περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν*. The billeting of soldiers was also practised, and became the cause of much

¹ The reading is difficult ; *φν* or *φρν* (Calder). Domaszewski does not mention *armorum custos* in a cohort, but it cannot be believed that there was none. Dessau accepted the reading. *φρν(μεντάριος)* is not possible ; an *eques singularis* was sent *frumentatum*.

² The numeral is misplaced (as sometimes happens) ; the cohort was *Sagittariorum*,

but the epithet is sometimes omitted.

³ Commandeering, endemic in the East, is mentioned *Matth.* v. 41 ; xxvii. 32 ; *Mk.* xv. 21. Simon of Cyrene was forced to carry the cross, when Jesus was no longer able to bear it.

⁴ *Basilika*, lvi. 10, τῶν λεγομένων ἀγωγικῶν ἤτοι παραπομπικῶν.

oppression and wrong-doing: see Anderson's inscription, *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 411.

An edict of the Prefect of Egypt, Vergilius Capito (1 Feb., A.D. 49), forbade soldiers and horsemen and statures and centurions and tribunes, etc., who are travelling through the Nomes, to commandeer (*ἀγγαρεύειν*) unless they have diplomas from the Prefect; they are only to receive shelter and must not exact anything else.¹

The word *ἀνεγάρετος* furnishes a parallel to the vocalization *ευγαρις* in this inscription. Weakening of vowel began probably with the compound, but occurs in the late form *ἐνγαρεία* (Span. *enguera*).

The best commentary on this inscription is contained in a pridianum of cohors I. Hispanorum veterana quingen. equit., published by Hunt and again by G. Cantacuzène, "Un papyrus latin relat. à la défense du bas-Danube," in the *Journ. de l'Acad. Roumaine*, 1934, pp. 38 ff. M. Cantacuzène places the date of this pridianum A.D. 110–117, and mentions an eques librarius of this cohort. It must have been transferred to Egypt (or sent there temporarily) during the eastern wars of Trajan, 115–117. The prefect was [V]arro Ni[ca]nus.² Some soldiers were sent frumentatum; some ad annonam re . . . mendam.³ M. Cantacuzène considers it certain from the papyrus that a fixed contribution of annona militaris had been imposed on the barbarous tribes along the lower Danube before that time.

Along with this article may be taken one by R. Paribeni, "Dei Milites Frumentarii e dell' approvvigionamento della Corte imperiale," in *Mitt. Rom.* 1906, pp. 310 ff., which keeps in view a wider question. I have not seen this paper.

If we have rightly placed Secundianus in mid career about 85, some ground for assuming that the soldier in this inscription was Julius may lie in the fact that several Julii Secundi flourished at that time, one at least being governor of a province (see *P.I.R.* ii. 213), and that Julius Maximus was a distinguished name at the same time, one being decorated by Domitian about 85 in the Dacian war (in which our soldier was probably engaged).

We do not accept Professor Calder's view that the career was that of the son, which would imply that the father was a native.

The remarkable feature in this inscription is the pride in Roman military service of the returned soldier father.

223. Bossola (*Ποσαλα*) near Derbe on road to Laranda (Sterrett, 19; R. 1890, 1901). Derbe and Posala constituted a joint bishopric; Posala took the place of Derbe in the *Nea Taktika*, c. 906.

¹ Almost all of the preceding notes on *angarion* I have taken from Rostovtzeff.

² Perhaps [V]arron[i]anus?

³ Perhaps re[di]mendam.

Γ. Ουέττιος ?] Λονγείνος καὶ Γ. Ουέττιος Ἀκύλας [καὶ Π ?
 Λόλιος Λονγείνος ἰππεὺς εἴλης Β' Γαλλικῆς ἀνέστ[τησαν
 Πόπλιον Λόλιον Λονγείνον οὐετρανὸν πραιτώριον [τὸν
 πατέρα αὐτῶ]ν κληρονομηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καθὼς [ὁ κλη-
 νας. ρονομηθεὶς Λονγείνος διετέτακτο.

Edge broken right and left. Plain cornice of a heroon which disintegrated; an ancient graveyard extended along the road; the tombs had not been disturbed in 1884. Nature caused decay.

A father, P. Lol(l)ios Longinus, and three sons are mentioned. The second son, and probably the eldest also, have a different nomen from the father; the explanation seems to be that they were born before he had acquired *civitas* at *missio*. Perhaps they were born before he enlisted, which would imply that he became a soldier at a later age than usual, possibly about 30 years of age. Longinus was the native name of the father, whether as the Latin rendering of a native name or as a native name akin to Latin.¹ The youngest son bears the nomen and cognomen of his father; but he was an auxiliary in *ala Gallica*. He enlisted therefore before his father was a *civis*, but was allowed to bear the nomen which his father would bear when he retired.² If the youngest son had enlisted after his father got *civitas*, he would be a legionary.

The two oldest sons were both soldiers, for they have Latin nomina, C. Vettius Aquila and (C. Vettius ?) Longinus, cognomen of the father and the *legatus* of Galatia in 6 B.C. The name Aquila would not imply *civitas*, but only that the family was philo-Roman and philo-Caesarian. The family was evidently of good standing, with a rather stately heroon.³ The family spoke Greek, not Lycaonian or Isaurican; the language of the epitaph is good Anatolian legal Greek. The use of the name Aquila favours an early date; if the family desired to show their loyalty, they would choose the name of a comparatively recent governor. As one studies this epitaph, its early date becomes apparent. It is safe to suggest that the father was conscripted c. 56 at the forced levy ordered by Corbulo in Galatia; he served in *ala Praetoria*, which was stationed in prov. Cappadocia, district Armenia Minor at the crossing of the river Karmalas, called Hērpa, Karape, and Praetoria. This *ala* presumably served under Corbulo, and was permanently stationed at that important point after the war.

The Romanism of the family is also proved by the testament of the father. Wills are rarely mentioned in Lycaonia and Isaurika, and were due to Roman influence and made by *cives*. In native Anatolia

¹ I began with the confident assumption that the names Longus, Crispus, etc., were Latin translations; but have gradually come to the opinion that they are probably native. Longus was translated into Greek as Δολχός.

² Claudius forbade provincials to assume

a Roman nomen; only cognomen (Suet., *Claud.* 25) was allowed.

³ I did not measure it; but guessed the part remaining as about 10 ft. long. In *B.C.H.* 1886, where many stones from Bossola are published, this is not included.

inheritance was by custom, and was patriarchal ; the oldest son was heir to the sacra and the property.

Posala was not admitted to the ecclesiastical lists (*Notitiae Episc.*) until the latest (Parthey, iii., x., xiii., name Passala and Pasala, cp. the *Nea Taktika* of Leo VI., c. 906,¹ where the true form Posala appears) ; but at the Council of 381 Passalonensis appears, showing that already the Bishops of Derbe had begun to sign as of Posala ; but the old name remained on the official lists till Leo VI. made a revision. Where Posala Passala appears, Derbe disappears. Bossola is an important town, Derbe in 1900 was only a long street of graves (called Losta or Zosta). Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 22, said : "The ruins of Bossola and Losta Zosta represent one and the same ancient city," which "I should like to call Derbe." His remark needs only a comparison with the *Notitiae* and Councils to be proved correct, a real discovery.

ADDENDA.

Addenda are needed to a growing work. Dessau has 192 pages of Addenda to his *Inscr. Latin. Selectae*, in which he had at his immediate service the bibliothecarial wealth of Berlin. In the Addenda are placed some things that have been learned since paging.

P. 6, Section II. Cognomina of new civis were taken usually from the governor (proconsul or legatus) of their province or from some high Roman officer, almost always of senatorial rank, who was connected in some way with the bestowal of the honour of civitas. It is not easy to specify a case of cognomen taken from an eques (Cappadocia, A.D. 17-72 or Pamphylia, 20 B.C.-A.D. 73). Sometimes two cognomina were taken from the same Roman officer : e.g. P. Aelius P. F. Cossonius Crispinus Ancharenus was son of a provincial, who got civitas from Hadrian in 117, when L. Cossonius Gallus Crispinus (with other cognomina) was legatus of Galatia (Section XV.).

While the caprice of an emperor might bestow civitas at any time and on any occasion, yet the practice and custom was general, that civitas was given by each new emperor at accession, that the new civis was equestrian, and that the son of a new civis might be promoted to a senatorial career.

Exceptional cases are not numerous : decennia, or some victory or public holiday, or the constitution or reorganization of a province (when several loyal families were honoured). T. Flavii were frequent in Cappadocia, dating from Vespasian in 72. Veranii are numerous in Lycia from the first legatus in 43, proving that he was the first.

Names change through the centuries and yet remain recognizable ; sometimes the personal original name, which was usually a cognomen

¹ Published in Gelzer's *Georg. Cypr. descriptio Orbis Romani*.

of the first and the second civis, was dropped ; sometimes the imperial name was abandoned and the native name was retained, especially after native provincial tone grew stronger under the Antonines ; but in such cases the lost names were dormant and might be revived at any time. The small space offered by coins made curtailment necessary : if Apollodotos, or even Apollo., is named on a coin we cannot tell whether he was civis or not. Prominent individuals were generally cives : that was the aim of imperial policy, and must be taken as the rule. Want of evidence often prevents knowledge or proof of details.

The system begins from Augustus, yet it was begun after he became emperor, not at his accession.

We speak only of Asia Minor.

P. 10, Section II. New cives who take their Roman name from provincial governors are a difficulty. There are some different from those who have dropped the imperial nomen, because they use the praenomen and nomen (and tribe, if stated) of the governor. It is a possible explanation that governors had the right of creating cives in certain circumstances, but that they seldom exercised the right, perhaps because it seemed prudent to avoid interference with an imperial prerogative, or from other reason unknown.

P. 13, nos. 2, 2A. These two inscriptions at Phocaea are of uncertain date : only a limit ante quem is known, A.D. 129, when Ephesus became *δὲς νεωκόρος* as guardian of Hadrian's divinity in his own temple dedicated by himself. The obscurity of the period 90-129 caused the uncertainty ; it has now been illuminated by successive discoveries, culminating in the Austrian investigations at Ephesus. A series of inscriptions dedicated to Domitian, and altered at his death in 96, are known. The first is now in the British Museum, found in excavation at Ephesus and published among the inscriptions of B.M. *Ephesus* 498 as "dedication in honour of the deified Vespasian." The text must be given here in two forms, (A) as it was engraved about 90-93, (B) as it was modified when Domitian's memory was condemned and his name erased. Erasure meant that the personal element was deleted, but the eternal element, the imperial power, remained. Domitian was erased, but Emperor Caesar was left on the stone : Germanicus was personal to Domitian, assumed in 84, and was cut out. The erasure was done hastily and the letters ΔΟ are still legible at the beginning of l. 2. The editor, Bishop Hicks, not being resident in London, worked largely from impressions, in which peculiarities of lettering are smoothed away and diminished ; hence he did not see the signs of erasure, which are conspicuous on the stone, and the letters ΔΟ, being fainter and apart from ΘΕΩΙ, probably left no mark on the impression prepared by the workmen at the Museum.

224. (A) *Αὐτοκράτορι*
Δομιτιανῶι
Καίσαρι
Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶι
- (B) [*Αὐ*]τοκράτορ[ι]
Δο ΘΕΩΙ
Καίσαρι
Σεβαστῶι ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΩ
- 5 *ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάπου Μάρκου*
Φουλουίου Γίλλωνος
ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καισαρέων
Μακεδόνων Ὑρκανίων
ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβα-
- 10 *στῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσίας διὰ*
Τειμοθέου τοῦ Τειμοθέου κα[ῖ]
Μητροδώρου τοῦ Μητροδώρου
ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ Μηνοφίλου τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Μηνογένους
- 15 *Μητροφάνου καὶ Μενεκράτους*
Ἰουκούνδου ἐπιμελητῶν.
vacat
ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς
Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Ἀριστίωνος

In l. 7, *O* twice is very large ; in l. 17, the first *E* is very large ; *T* generally very large ; lower lines are in smaller letters.

The temple of the Augusti was within the peribolos of the Artemision, on the north of the great temple. The Embassy sent by the Makedones Hyrkanioi consisted of two archons and three epimeletai : the monument was probably prepared and inscribed in Ephesus, as were the other similar monuments.

225. Monument of an Embassy from Aphrodisias in Caria (copied by R. at Ephesus in May, 1880, published as a dedication to Vespasian Divus by Tsakyroglos in *Mous. Sm.* 1880, p. 180, no. τξζ).

- Αὐτοκράτορι*
ΘΕΩΙ καίσαρι Σε-
βαστῳ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΩΙ
- 5 *ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκου*
Φουλουίου Γίλωνος
ὁ φιλόκαισαρ Ἀφροδεισέων
δῆμος, ἐλεύθερος ὦν κα[ῖ] αὐ-
τόνομος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆ τῶν Σ[ε]βασ-
τῶν χάριτι, ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
- 10 *τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσί[ας]*
ἰδία χάριτι διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σε-
- βαστοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν π[ρὸς]*
τὴν νεωκόρον Ἐφεσίων πό-
λιν εὐνοίαν ἀνέστησεν.
- 15 *Ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἀριστῶνος*
Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Καλλι[στέ-
ως ἱερέως Πλούτωνος [καὶ
Κόρης καὶ νεοποίου θε[ῶς]
Ἀφροδείτης. Ἐπὶ ἀρχιε[ρέως]
- 20 *τῆς Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυ[δίου]*
Φησεινίου

L. 1. *ΔΟΜΙ* erased. L. 2. *ΤΙΑΝΩ* erased, *Θεῶι* substituted. L. 3. *ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΙ* erased. Ll. 12-13. τὴν τ[ρι]την νεωκόρον Tsak.

The proconsul and the year are the same ; but the high priest of Asia and the month are different. The embassies arrived at different times. At Aphrodisias only an epimeletes is mentioned ; but as he was the principal priest at Aphrodisias, his single name was counted sufficient.

These are evidently inscriptions of the first Neokorate of Ephesus. Hitherto it had been only Neokoros of Artemis (Acts xix. 35) : now (as Keil has proved) it became Neokoros of Domitian and was styled Neokoros of the Sebastoi simply.

The proconsul in the second inscription is M. Fulvius Gillo, but the high priests of Asia are respectively Ti. Claudius Pheseinos and Ti. Claudius Aristio. The son (?) of M. Gillo was Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus, procos 115-116.¹ Waddington, *B.C.H.* vi. 286, places M. Fulvius Gillo 81 or 82, but does not notice the erasure of Domitian ; *P.I.R.* places him in 86. As M. F. Gillo was cos. suff. in the last nundinum of 76, he could not be procos. Asiae in 86 or 82.

Pheseinos and Aristio were made cives under Nero. It was rare that an Emperor gave civitas to two persons in one city ; but Ephesus was exceptional.² Age about 50.

A dedication like these to Divus Vespasianus c. 90-93 would have been regarded by the suspicious and jealous Domitian as treasonable,³ and we can only wonder that even Dr. E. Groag treats them so : we quote him from *Real-Enc.* (Fulvius). The marks of erasure are quite evident in the two that I have seen and copied.

Three other unpublished inscriptions of the same class, under the proconsul of Asia, Luscius Ocrea, are mentioned by Groag (*Real-Enc.*, s.v. Fulvius) as dedications to Divus Vespasianus ; but we assume that they were altered by erasure of Domitian. When I showed the exemplar which I copied at Ephesus to Mommsen in 1884, proposing to restore another broken titulus in similar fashion, he disapproved, as the substitution of a different name was unexampled ; but the evidence is now conclusive, and the exemplar in the British Museum is accessible to all, though the other seems to have disappeared.

Three different Archiereis of Asia officiated at the reception of the monuments from different cities in the same year, and on the same occasion. The embassies arrived at different dates under two successive proconsuls ; they were received by different Archiereis.

L. Luscius Ocrea was legatus of Lycia-Pamphylia, consul, and proconsul of Asia. His legatio was in (73 or) 74, for Vespasian and Titus were censors (Wadd. 1225) and Pompeius Planta was procurator of Asia.⁴ His consulship was in 75 or later and he was proconsul of

¹ Probably the son was adopted by an uncle (*P.I.R.*) ; in which case his mother would be Bittia.

² Moreover, Pheseinos perhaps belonged to another city (Teos (?), see below).

³ His loyalty to Vespasian was suspected, and he disliked Titus, who refused him the title Sebastos.

⁴ Pompeius Planta was prefect of Egypt c. 98.

Asia probably in 91, immediately preceding M. Gillo and P. Calvisius Ruso (cos. 78). Under Ocrea procos. Ti. Julius Damas Claudianus¹ and Ti. Claudius Phêseinos were high priests of Asia in Ephesus; under M. Fulvius Gillo the high priests were Pheseinos and Ti. Claudius Aristio; under Ruso Ti. Claudius Aristio was high priest.

There is, therefore, a sequence,

Proconsul.	High priest of Asia.
Luscius Ocrea, cos. 75?	Ti. Jul. Damas Claudianus and Ti. Claudius Pheseinos.
Fulvius Gillo, cos. 76	Φησεῖνος and Claudius Aristio.
Calvisius Ruso, cos. 79? ²	Ti. Claudius Aristio.

The proconsulate of P. Calvisius Ruso was placed by Dessau (*J.R.S.* 1913, p. 308) c. 92–95: this sequence favours 92 or 93: his consulship along with P. Caesennius Paetus was in 79 or 78, probably 79 (as the interval between quaest. 74 and consul is very short). The three proconsulates were perhaps in the three years 90–92, and Ti. Claudius Aristio was high priest of Asia 91–93.

M. Fulvius Gillo was consul in the last nundinum of 76 (Groag in *R.E.*): his proconsulate of Asia was immediately after Luscius Ocrea. His son (?), Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus was proconsul of Asia in 115–116.

Cl. Aristio is mentioned also under Ocrea, but only as Neokoros, not as high priest (Groag). In view of his evident distinction we may assume that Flavia Ammion received the third name ἡ καὶ Ἀρίστιον in his honour from her parents, and that she was born in A.D. 92 or 93. As women married very early, she was married not later than 113. The actual date of the Phocaeen inscriptions is c. 125–128. Her father-in-law, Stratonicus, was made civis, aged 45, in 93 as T. Flavius Calvisius Stratonicus (as high priest). She married T. Flavius Calvisianus Hermokrates about 110–113, and shared his honours. Aristion was evidently not one of her family names. She united the names of the Emperor and the high priest at her birth with a native name.

Both Aristio and Aristeas were grammateis of Ephesus under Augustus (Augustus and Livia), which seems to prove that the family was Ephesian, of old standing.

Φησεῖνος was ἀνταγορ(άνομος) on coins of Teos under Sabina. He and his wife Stratonike were high priests of Asia: their Roman names

¹ Damas got civitas under Tiberius.

² There is an interval of 1½ or 2½ years between the consulates of Gillo and Ruso.

Why no intermediate consul became proconsul of Asia is unknown.

are omitted, but their daughter was Cl(audia) Tryphaina, high priestess of Asia, so that Pheseinos must have been Claudius. The sons of Tryphaina were Kaló[nymos ?] and Peisonianos. The name Stratonike recalls Flavius Calvisius Stratonikos of Phocaea: those high-priestly families intermarried customarily, which tells in favour of our suspicion that Calvisius Stratonikos was high priest in Pergamos or Ephesus or Smyrna in 92 or 93. The office ἀνταγοράνομος, acting in place of ἀγοράνομος, is not quoted elsewhere. *C.I.G.* 3092 would read Καλ[πούριος]), as in that case both sons would take their name from a Roman officer, Calpurnius Piso; if they were twins, this would be a very strong argument.

There is no sure reason why Aristio should not have been an asiarch for several years. There is good evidence that there was a sort of committee of asiarchs in authority.¹ Asiarch was a popular name, and life-long: high priest of Asia lasted during actual office (as a rule).

P. 19, no. 7. The cult of Rome is attested on coins quite late in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia (both proconsular and pre-Augustan). The cult almost always takes the place of the imperial cult proper, not alongside of it; and appears on obv. of pseud-autonomous coins instead of an emperor; exceptions are coins of Myrina and Blaundos and Ilium, where it appears on rev. of imperial coins. In Bithynia, Neikaia is πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας, but a coin has Ρώμην μητρόπολιν (imperial of Domitian).

P. 25, no. 12. In favour of Titus Flavius instead of Ti. Claudius in this family at Nysa, one may quote Τίτου Φλαουίου Ἰουλιανοῦ [*Νυσαέως*] who held office in the Dionysiac Artists in 128, Buckler, *J.R.S.* 1926, p. 246: the space is calculated by him as of 8 letters, but this number is only approximate, as the spacing is not quite regular;² that this is Dr. Buckler's intention is proved by his suggestion in the next line.³ I add that besides these ethnics, l. 48 was of the style Μεμμίου [patris τ]οῦ Διονυσίου. There seems to be no weight in Mr. Tod's objection to Πολ[έμωνος Λαοδικέ]ως in l. 42: the division of a word at the end of a line is extremely irregular in Anatolia, a fact obvious to every one. For [ἐπὶ ἄρχο]ντος in l. 49 we might expect a longer title or name or participle to fill the line.

¹ The evidence seems to prove that there was such a body of asiarchs. αἱ τῶνες ἐξ (Τραλλέων) εἰσιν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὗς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν (Str. 649). This body of asiarchs is implied also in an inscription (Bérard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 314 *O.B.* ii. 465, no. 299): παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων,

a body controlling money, i.e. ἀρχιερέων Ἀσίας (as M. Bérard says).

² I compared his text with the stone in 1927.

³ His restoration [Σαρδιανοῦ] in a space of "8 letters" seems certain.

P. 39, no. 29. We devote much space to this inscription without having seen it: (1) because errors have been stated and universally accepted about the history of Ancyra and Galatia by Mommsen and even Premerstein, etc., unavoidable until Premerstein's masterly commentary had been published, and likely to be repeated tralaticiously as sanctioned by Premerstein himself; (2) because the man in some ways was the greatest of all the new Romans and unique even in death and funeral.

P. 53. The Christians of Anatolia were learning Greek in this period, first the richer, then the poorer classes. The Greek church has always been devoted to the Greek language, and popular feeling rejected all attempts to translate the Bible into the popular speech, whether Anatolian or modern Greek: yet the native languages, Phrygian, etc., were not extirpated among the Christians even in the eighth century, as Holl has proved in *Hermes*, 43, 240. This has not been observed sufficiently; and errors have been caused thereby.

These Christians began Greek with Homer, and quote him freely in metrical epitaphs, far more elaborately than the pagans, who still survived in large numbers, and who were on the whole a better educated, though smaller class, living in retirement and devoted to philosophy. We take an example of the humbler Christian and his Homeric knowledge from *M.A.M.A.* i. 370.

<p>ΔΕΛΛΟΝ τόδε σῆμα τύμβ[ω ἐπίπηξε μέγιστον υἱὸς ἀρη- τῆρος Μ[α]κ[ε]δόσιος Διομή-</p>	<p>δους μνήμην ἐῆς ἀλόχου Νοννῆς πινυτῆς περ ἐ- ούσης ἢ χάριν κέ κῦδος . .</p>
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The editor remarks: "the composer found δ' ἐσθλόν in a model and took it to be a single word," mis-spelling the word. This far-fetched explanation does not satisfy: we turn to Homer, *K* 466, δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμα τ' ἔθηκεν, and *λ* 77, πῆξαι ἐπὶ τύμβω ἐρετμόν on a sailor's grave. My eyes are not good enough to see whether the village poet wrote δεσλον or δεελον: if he wrote the former, we infer that the lapicida betrayed him. He certainly intended ἐπι πῆξε, not ἐπιπῆξε, and υἱος as a dactyl, remembering that ἀρητῆρ has a long, while final ος does not make position length before *M*. In *λ* 77 he perhaps thought that πῆξαι was a variant of his πῆξε, and he certainly considered that the name was Μακηδόσιος, as Μακηδών is often spelt in literature and in St., *E.J.*, republished from my revision in *C.R.* 1919, pp. 5 f. μνήμην is slurred to scan as trochee. Νονν<ι>ης is probably the right text, as ι may be due to a false stroke of the lapicida, a fault of which Dr. Zingerle has quoted examples (*Jalvresh.* xxx. Bb. 144 f.). Νοννα, Νοννα is one of the commonest Phrygian fem. names (masc. Νοννας), cp. also Νωνιλλα. In χάριν καὶ κῦδος the ν is treated as nasalization and does not affect the scansion: ψ 361, πινυτῆ περ εἰούση. Thus the epitaph is seen to be almost a Homeric cento, attesting the careful study of Homer.

δέελον τόδε σῆμα τύμβω ἔπι πῆξε μέγιστον
 υἱος (sic) ἀρητήρο' Μακ[η]δόνιος Διομήδους
 μνήμην ἑῆς ἀλόχου Νοννης πινυτῆς περ' εὐούσης
 ἧ χάρι' κέ κῦδος —

Δέελον is a *ᾤπαξ λεγόμενον* in Homer, so that the quotation is unmistakable, though the scansion differs: the composer thought that vowels here might be long or short, as in Ἄρες Ἄρες.

The quantity of *a* in ἀρητήρ may be disputed: it occurs also in *M.A.M.* i. 237, quantity doubtful, first in a senarius.

ἀρητήρ ἐσθλὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ κίτε ἐνθάδε
 παίδων ἀρεστὸς καὶ Θεοῦ φιλήκοος,
 πρᾶστος πάντων καὶ τούνομα Ἀνίκητος.
 εἰερεύς ὦν ἰδιοπραέων φιλόθεος φιλένομος
 ὁπάων Χριστοῦ ἐγλεκτὸς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The meaning is not quite clear. We understand that the presbyter Anicetus was acceptable to his *παῖδες* (congregation) and obedient to God (in which the editor apparently agrees), but he regards *ἰδιοπραέων* as "genitive plural and a description of the flock of Anicetus" (which he does not explain). We interpret it as a description of Anicetus himself "minding his own affairs" (as 1 Thess. iv. 11, *πράσσων τὰ ἴδια*), with *γ* lost between vowels: cp. *θυιατρί* (where original *Γ* has become English *Y*). The presbyter was married, and his children, *τέκνα*, made his tomb (marginal additional line). *πρᾶστος*, analogy of *ἡδιστος* (*υ* = *ι*). *τύμβω* with short *υ*: *εἰερεύς ὦν* is extra metrum.

P. 55, no. 37. Greek words were often slurred in vulgar Anatolian pronunciation: *μνήμης* was slurred to *μνής*, and the word was so spelt in epitaphs composed by uneducated persons. The use of *μνής* has been explained sometimes as due to confusion between *μνείας* and *μνήμης*; but that is less probable. The best example of a dissyllable slurred to a monosyllable is well discussed by Calder in *C.R.* 1911, pp. 139 f.: at the end of an epitaph, a verse, is added *τίς δὲ φρονεῖ ξεινὺς ἀνὴρ μνημοσύνης ἐνεκεν* (copied by him and me on the borders of Lycaonia and Celtic Galatia at Kerpishli). He is concerned mainly with the spelling and metre, not with the meaning, which is obscure: pure ignorance among a rude village people (Phrygians all), who knew hardly any Greek, but felt that it was obligatory to write in Greek, causes the obscurity; they confused *φθονεῖ* and *φρονεῖ*; their intention was to say: "what stranger (i.e. passer by) feels grudge on account of this remembrance?" The word *ξείνος* is slurred to *ξεινὺς*, and scanned short: "εἰ is constantly used for short *ι* in Anatolian inscriptions" (Calder).

Ignorance distorts another memorial formula, very common: *μνημόσυνον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ βίου λίθος, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν*. Sometimes *λίτος* is written, once *κρειτορι λίθος*. This I would understand "the stone is

the memorial (or 'the best' memorial)¹ of a life; for there is no other." The composer went astray in inflecting *κρείτ(τ)ορι* for *κρείττον*, but remembers metre. Single and double consonants were frequently confused: sometimes comparative and superlative. *τούτο* agrees with the prominent word, not with *λίθος*, to which it belongs strictly; this is good usage.

P. 70, no. 48. A. Koerte, in *Ath. Mitt.* 1898, p. 83, and Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 217 f., are convinced that the Midas monument is religious. Tradition (at least modern) and Reber, *Abhandl. bayer. Akad.* xxi., etc., regard it as sepulchral. There is in our view no real difference. Every grave on the Anatolian plateau was a sanctuary, and every sanctuary in early time had sepulchral character and was a *ἥρῶον*; this lasted through Roman time; and traces can be detected still.

P. 76, no. 51. The order of ceremonial at the pagan festivals is not rightly observed by modern writers. The fragmentary inscription of Orta-Keui (part of Dionysopolis) as restored in *C.B.I.* p. 149, no. 42 (= *M.A.M.A.* iv. 286) never satisfied me in the last two lines²; and a suggestion of Calder in *C.R.* 1933, p. 220, brings it up again. [On] *jesimos*, being detained by fault of his ox, was not present (at the festival). Calder accepts *παραγεγον[έναι]*; but reads [*τῆ ἑορτῆ*] *ἐνόσημω[ν . . ων* (name of festival)]: the idea is convincing, but the restoration is not satisfactory. Such festivals were usually annual "in process of the seasons," with very large gatherings of people from neighbouring districts, and even from a great distance; trade and interchange of goods continued for the festival under safe-conduct of the "peace of god." E. Curtius has shown what immense influence these "international festivals" in primitive time exerted in the development of Hellenism. Under the Roman Empire they were not discouraged, for they tended to promote imperial unity. The festival began with the religious ceremonial, which was an enactment of the local *Mysteria*; and thereafter came the open market, with amusements, trade and barter. The situation is summed up in *M.A.M.A.* iv. 281: C. Antonius Apellas of Blaundos who came to the festival at Dionysopolis (evidently as a trader), was punished by the god because he was not willing to present himself, even though summoned, and stand as spectator at the *Mysterion* (the religious ceremony at the opening of the festival).³ A special summoner went around announcing that the mystic ceremonial was about to begin. Antonius had come to trade (setting up his own

¹ Or perhaps *κρείτορι* may be distorted from *κριτήρ*, *κραντήρ* *κράντωρ*, sovereign, see L.S.

² "The restoration is far from certain," *C.B.* l.c. The different restoration by Buckler and Calder in *M.A.M.* l.c., and a third by Steinleitner are equally unsatis-

factory in his opinion (which seems right).

³ *καλεῖν*, invite: cp. Matth. xxii. 3, *καλέσαι τοὺς κεκλημένους εἰς τοὺς γάμους*. The old custom, a general invitation earlier, and a special call when the feast was ready, lasted in Anatolia till quite recently.

booth, or tabernacle, σκηνή). *M.A.M.* loc. cit. rightly compares *παρεστάναι* with *παραγεγονέναι*.

It seems evident that [On]esimos was not in time for the *Mysterion*, and that or some synonym (e.g. *τελετή, μυστικός ἀγών*) must be inserted in the lacuna before *εὐσήμω[s]*.

In *M.A.M.* loc. cit., it is stated that "the letters [ON] are too large for the space in l. 1," and [XP] is substituted. The name is a matter of little moment; but it needs a very delicate estimate to maintain that in a broken space, which cannot be measured exactly, as only one side can be seen, there is room for XP, but not for ON.¹ I have never seen an Anatolian inscription in which I could venture to make so delicate an estimate. Moreover, the name *Χρήσιμος* is not quoted in Anatolia by P.B.; but *Ὀνήσιμος* is frequent.

The inscription, with Calder's suggestion modified, becomes:

Ὀν]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι Λυ[ρμηνῶ
εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ[ασθέ-
ντος βοῦς διὰ τὸ ὕστε[ρηκέναι
καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[έναι τῇ τελετ-
ῇ εὐσήμω[s] κοσμίως τε, ὁμολογ-
ῶν εὐξάμ[ενος εὐλογῶν ἐστηλο-
γράφη]σεν

Onesimos is let off with a warning and a confession, and he engraved on a stele his atonement, blessing the god for pardoning his absence from the *Mysterion*; religious service was a performance of the mystic ritual; *εὐσημος*, "of good omen" (Eur., *Iph. Aul.* 252; Plut., *Caes.* 43),² more commonly "clearly seen." [On]esimos was not present at the *Mysterion*. He blamed the ox, which had been drawing his cart (in which he was bringing produce for sale at the fair after the religious service). There were two oxen drawing the cart; one was obstinate and did not obey the goad, so that he was late and not seen in his proper order and place.³ Whether this was true or a mere excuse does not appear: he sinned and acknowledged his fault, and set up a monument of record and blessing: the disobedient ox was punished by the god; he as owner suffered when the ox was punished.

It may be asked why we have restored *τε* to connect two adverbs in l. 5, but leave three participles paratactically in l. 6. The effect depends largely on the triple beat caused by the omission of any connecting conjunction: "confession, prayer, blessing."

P. 81, no. 54. It would be possible to replace *εκ* (as *M.A.M.A.* iv. l. 5)⁴ by *·κ·* (cp. *·E·τηρικῶν* for *πεντετηρικῶν* and *·B·ανδρῶν*, at colonia

¹ In modern phrase all four letters are *ens*, not *ema*.

² Mystic sense is evident here in religious spirit and orderly attire.

³ Decent behaviour and silence were required at the service: "favete linguis."

⁴ "Room for two letters only." *M.A.M.A.* loc. cit.

Olbasa), giving a semblance of metre (εἰκοσικαιδεκτηῆ). But Anatolian custom demands the text of *M.A.M.A.* 319; Tata was 16 and only 5 months married; few or no Anatolian women remained unmarried till 30; she had not fulfilled her duty in her new home, and her husband left the burial to her own parents by nature, who mention the facts, and that she was *νέα*.

P. 113, no. 97. Malakôpaia, Turk Melegob, lies in a great plain in *Strategia Morimene*, south of the Halys, over which there was in 1886 a ferry¹ at Zoropassos Yarapson, north of Melegob. About 4 or 5 miles west of Malakôpaia is a village Φλογητᾶ, Turk Suvermez, close to which is a hill, and on the hill-top a flat stone inscribed (R. 1882: we add the points)

ΜΕΓΑΛΕ·ΖΕΥΕ·ΕΝ·ΟΥΡΑΝ[Ω]
ΕΙΛΕΩΕ·ΜΟΙ·ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩ

The spelling favours a date not later than 150–200.

Beside the inscription is a well, and a slight excavation with traces of building. This Zeus on a hill-top recalls Zeus of Vênasa in *Morimene* Strab. 537; but Vênasa was on the north bank of the Halys, and is still called Avânos; and a native god identified with Zeus was widely worshipped in Cappadocia. Perhaps Strabo's account is a little confused; we cannot at present solve the difficulties and simply follow him. The central point of the plain (*Morimene* Strabo, *Mouriane* Ptolemy) probably was on the hill, and there was a spring and a little shrine at the sacred centre. The Gauls had a similar *Mediolanum* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. We hope for further enlightenment from H. Grégoire, who knows more than any one else about Cappadocia. The priest of Vênasa had an annual income of 15 talents, and ranked next to Comana: there was an establishment *κατοικία* of about 3000 hierodouloi, and a fertile sacred land.

Ptolemy on *Mouriane* agrees with the position of Strabo's *Morimene*, in respect of Nyssa and Zoropassos, but not in *Arasaxa* (now Zerezek), which must belong to *Kilikia* (not to *Mouriane*, as Ptolemy has it), and in other places unknown. Basil, *Ep.* 169–71, who makes fugitives from Vênasa take refuge in Nazianzos, also suits Strabo. Nazianzos was not under Basil's authority, but in Cappadocia II under Tuana. Gregory the elder was Bishop of Nazianzos, and after his death his son ruled in his stead (apparently through the wish of the people) without being made a bishop: Basil made him Bishop of Sasima in the course of his vain struggle against the division of the Cappadocian church, but Gregory refused to live there, and returned to Nazianzos. Letters 169–71 were written after these changes had occurred. See *Church in Roman Empire*, pp. 431 f. Much difficulty might be avoided by the hypothesis that Vênasa, with its great feast and gathering, was shifted to the north side

¹ Probably once a bridge.

of the Halys in order to be safe from the raiding Arabs of Tarsus. The Halys is said to be not fordable in that part of its course, though I have forded it much lower down in its course, but only with difficulty. It receives no affluents of importance.

P. 158, no. 156. The name Cl(audius) Scribonianus occurs on late coins of Phocaea (date about 246); a family in Phocaea got *civitas* under Claudius or Nero, and continued 200 years in wealth and rank, confirming the probability (stated from Mommsen) that Scribonianus was actually quaestor in Asia about A.D. 50, honoured at Synnada in this inscription (found at Afion Kara Hissar, but certainly carried from Synnada). The Phocaean *civis* took his name from the Emperor and the quaestor Asiae of c. 50–54. Cognomina of new *cives* were taken almost exclusively from senatorii, rarely from procuratores *jure gladii*, hardly ever from ordinary procuratores or equites.

We can now fix the date as 54: Claudius Scribonianus was enfranchised in Nero's first year.

P. 164, no. 160. Apamea (R. 1888). We add a third case probably of a centurion stationed here to keep order.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν
Ἰούλ. Λίγυν τὸν κρά-
τιστον ΠΠ. · εὐεργέτην τῆς
πόλεως *vac.*

ἐπιμεληθέντος
τῆς ἀναστάσεως
Μ. Αἰλ. Σεργία Ἀπολ-
λιναρίου γραμμα-
τέως τοῦ δήμου

Julius Ligus was centurion promoted *primus pilus*; *κράτιστος* implies equestrian rank: the inscription is therefore later than Severus, who made the *primipilate* the first step in equestrian rank; previously it had been the highest post in caligate rank. The date is fixed more exactly by a coin of Gallienus, which on reverse reads *ἐπιμ. Μ. Αἰλ. Ἀπολλιναρίου* (boule on obverse) where Imhoof suspected an error of the die-cutter for *Π. Αἰλ.*; but the agreement of inscription and coins proves that *M* is right. Ligus was promoted during his term of office at Apamea, and was congratulated. The *primipilate* was now becoming a mere title of rank.

M. Ailius states his tribe Sergia. As this was the tribe of Hadrian, we must infer that the first *civis* of the family was P. Aelius Apollinarios, created Roman by Hadrian in 117. Apamean coins in the British Museum and in Berlin (formerly Imhoof's collection), struck under Pius and Faustina Elder, mention the second *civis* (who did not change the honoured name), P. Aelius Apollinarios. Both the earlier and the later Apollinarios are praised as *ἐπιμεληταί*: we infer that they were in charge of some great building and carried it through successfully (doubtless at some private expense).

The reading $\epsilon\text{IIM} \cdot M \cdot \text{AIA}$ ¹ in some specimens of the earlier Apollinarii is perhaps due to error of the die-cutter, perhaps to the modern editor of the coin (*Rev. Num.* 1892, p. 82). In the stemma, *C.B.* ii. p. 468, M. Aelius should be P. Aelius.

We conclude that in the earlier coins *II* Aelius is correct, but in the later the praenomen was changed by the family to M. for reasons unknown. That the same rich Apamean family appears in both cases is not open to doubt.

P. 191, no. 186. It seems evident that the personal name Marus and the divine name Maro are connected: both are used in the Taurus region, the former at col. Lystra, the latter at col. Cremna, Augustan coloniae (founded to control the Taurus mountaineers). According to Kubitschek in *Festschr. Bennd.* 198 f., Maro was local name of the drunken satyr, whose statue in the Roman forum named Marsyas² was adopted by Roman coloniae as a symbol of their Roman character and freedom. The legend MARO on coins of col. Cremna accompanies a representation of this satyr with a wineskin over his shoulder, steadying himself by a staff. Kubitschek abandoned his first view that MARO meant MARSYAS ROMANUS, as MARON is certain (Heberdey and Schenkl right). Maro is the name of a satyr leader of the chorus in Eur. *Cycl.* 616, and of the hero-founder of Maronea in Thrace. Kubitschek abandoned his former interpretation of MARO on coins as MARSYAS ROMANUS, or even in one case ROMANUS, but that coin reads MARON, as Heberdey observed: cp. also *C.I.L.* iii. 6888 deo Maroni.

¹ The editor has omitted a stop after the second M, which is clearly visible in the photograph.

² Perhaps carried off as spoil from some Greek city of South Italy.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

Pp. 5, 24, etc. For οὐά = κώμη see the author's observations in *J.H.S.* lvii. 1937, p. 247.

Pp. 11, 20, etc. *Iivir* is everywhere transcribed by the author *duumvirum*, gen. plur. (cf. *J.R.S.* xvi. 1926, p. 113). This form of the title is found very occasionally, but normally when the word is written in full, the form used is either *duovir* or *duumvir* (cf. *Thesaur. ling. Lat.*, s.v. duo viri).

P. 32. "A Lycian stone that was carried to Attaleia in A.D. 912-916." The stone in question (Viale, *Annuario*, viii-ix. 1925-6, p. 363) came from an inner portion of the Byzantine walls of Adalia, which were built between 912 and 916 (Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamph. u. Pisid.* i. pp. 9 ff.). The neighbourhood of Adalia is poor in large building stones, and material for the walls (including two inscribed blocks) was certainly transported (by sea) from Phaselis in Lycia, but there is an inscribed stone at Adalia which was brought from Perge in Pamphylia (*B.C.H.* vii. 266). Cf. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkmäler*, p. 364 (Weber).

On the Silvanus inscription cf. the author's remarks in *Stud. pres. to W. H. Buckler*, p. 221.

P. 38. On the date of the Suebic-Sarmatic campaign, which is not fixed by Brandis l.c., see Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'emp. Domitien*, pp. 224 ff. (A.D. 92); Ritterling, *Jahresh.* vii. Bb. 30 ff. (A.D. 89-92); Weynand, *Real-Enc.* vi. 2575 f. (A.D. 92).

It is also to be noted that a *legatus iuridicus* was not *legatus pro praetore*: a plausible explanation of the position of Sospes is given by Ritterling, *Jahresh.* x. p. 303.

P. 118, no. 104. The discussion of this inscription overlooks the fact that the *legatus iuridicus* of Galatia-Cappadocia c. A.D. 78-80 was Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (Dessau, *I.L.S.* 8971). It seems fairly clear also that Neratius Pansa's successor was already in his province in the second half of A.D. 80, as is indicated by *C.I.L.* iii. 318 (Dess. 263) and by the fact that in 81 Polemaeanus was in command of the Syrian legion IV. Scythica. Quadratus was in all probability the successor of Polemaeanus; the statement (pp. 118, 133) that three *legati iuridici* were appointed for the province is not borne out by the evidence.

PART II. (FRAGMENTARY).

PART II. (FRAGMENTARY).

XXXIV. ISAURIKAN SOLDIERS (*continued*).

224. Three villages, Lamdar, Alisa, 2 km. west, and Djidjek (Jijek), are situated on a grassy shelf above Dorla and Deinek to the south, drained by the river of Dorla (see Calder's map, *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 50); behind the shelf rises the Taurus. We visited them in 1909; Calder and Cox in 1924. The ruin wrought on the monuments in the interval is lamentable. Some of our inscriptions are hardly recognizable as the same in the restored form in *J.R.S.*, but photos and drawings show the identity; some restorations made by Calder are much too bold.¹ Lamdar was a deserted village in 1909, but the name was known; in 1924 the name had been forgotten (Calder).



*Πωπ]ας Κρίσπου ἀνέστησεν Κρίσπον τὸν
υἱ]ὸν αὐτοῦ λεγεωνάριον μνήμης χ-
ἀριν*

Βωβας occurs as a name in Bithynia.

¹ *Αὐρ.?* Ἐρμᾶς ἐκόσμησεν | Φαῦστον (Calder, certain. All was clear and complete in no. 84), where Φαῦστον is said to be un- 1909: Βαλβίωας ἐκόσμησεν | Φαῦστον.

The drawing by Miss Ramsay ¹ (made on the spot) shows a legionary standing hand in hand with his wife ? mother ? He holds a pilum, and wears a helmet. A small object on the woman's right was already broken in 1909. Probably the stone was bought ready made in a lapidary's yard, and does not suit the inscription well, as is often the case. Calder restores [Ἀὐρ. Πωπ]ας, and identifies him with Ἀὐρ. Πωπας in our no. 235. NT in l. 1 at end are in ligature. The inscription is in 3 lines (Calder two). Πωπας is possible, and is favoured in this region, but Πατίας is equally possible, and even Τατίας.

225. Isaura Palaia (Sterrett, 191; four lines in Hamilton, no. 430,² C.I.G. 4383), "badly defaced," not seen by the Prague Expedition of 1902. A retired soldier often becomes archiereus.

ΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ|||
 ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΣ
 ΤΗΡΙΑΣΚΑΙΑΙ ΩΝΙΟΥΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣΜ
 ΤΑΤΟΥΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΟΙΚΟΥ
 ΚΛ ΙΚΑΙΘΕΛΙΥΓΓ'Α
 ΝΟΣΔΙ ΙΟΣΑ ΙΕΙ
 ΚΑΠΛΑΝΤΟΣΕΝΤ Ω
 ΤΗΣΑΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

Ἐπερ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Τραϊανοῦ
 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ σω-
 τηρίας καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς με-
 τὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου
 5 θεῶν Ἰσ[κλ[ηπιῶ]ι καὶ θεῶν Ἐγγεία[ι Ἄν-
 νιος ? Φρόντων]ος Δι[ονύσι]ος ἀ[ρχ]ιερ-
 εὺς μετὰ κα(ι) παντὸς ἐν τῷ [συνεδρίῳ
 κοσμήματος] τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι

226. Fronto is restored from St. 257, found at Korna; R. 1886.

Ἄννία Παῦλα θυγάτηρ
 Φρόντωνος βουλευ-
 τοῦ Ἰσαύρων καὶ [κρα-
 τίστου Φρόντωνι

υἱῷ ζήσαντι ἔτη
 πέντε
 Μ Χ

227. Near Homana(da) or Dalisandos Lycaoniae, which became part of the Tres Eparchiae in 138, at Kutchuk Uz (Calder, Cox, 1924, no. 100).

We adopt Calder's text, adding praenomen.

Μάρκος [Οὐαλ]έριος ἀνέστησα Νί[ιν]ιν Ἰμα[ν τήν
 θυ]γατέρα καὶ Εἰούλιον Κέλερα ἰππέα τὸν ἀν[δρα
 αὐτῆς ὄστοθήκην κατὰ ἐν[το-
 λήν αὐτῆς μνήμησ
 χάριν.
 Νουννος λατύπος [ἐποί-
 ησεν.

¹ A drawing attributed wrongly to her by Calder (loc. cit. pp. 58 f.) is criticized in several details by him. Miss Ramsay never saw the stone for which (as she mentions) I was the authority. Calder has not read the heading in *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 285. I saw the

stone in 1901; but we missed it later. I noted one rare detail in the published drawing. We are indebted to Mr. Cox for a good drawing of an interesting stone (which, Calder agrees, is Christian).

² Published by Keil-Knoll.

We restore *Mάρκος* on the analogy of no. 216. The repetition of praenomen makes it probable that M. Valerius Italus legatus Galatiae (unknown date) is referred to. This soldier took name from him. The name gives no evidence of date.

Ἴμαν here has no connexion with *Ἴμαν*, masc. (declined *Ἴμενος*, *Ἴμενι*).¹ *Ἴμα* fem., usually spelt *Ἴμμα*, suits.² Ninnis died young. Her husband Julius Celer served in the 120 cavalry attached to a legion, and lived in his father-in-law's house (which suggests that she was heiress-daughter).

Ninnis is here fem.; in Keil-Knoll, 238, it is masc. *Νινις* and *Νηνις* are various spellings of the name. *Νινι-λιγγις* found a place in history.

228. Derbe Losta-Zosta (St. 25; R. 1901).

<i>Τίτ[ω] Σεξτειλίωι</i>	<i>ῶνος τετάρτης</i>
<i>Τίτου νίωι Φαβίαι</i>	<i>Νοννος Νησιος</i>
<i>οὐετρανώ λεγε-</i>	<i>τειμῆς χάριν</i>

No Sextilius is mentioned in *P.I.R.* who could be connected with this Lycaono-Isaurian soldier's name; nor is the tribe of the Sextilii known. Legio IV. is probably Scythica, which was in Syria from c. 57 on; it was previously in Moesia. From the general appearance of this stone, we should hesitate to place it later than 100.

229. Derbe Losta-Zosta (St. 28; R. 1901; *B.C.H.* 1886, p. 509).

Γάιο]ς Ἰούλιος Ροῦφος οὐετρανός.

Julii occur in all imperial times; hence the name is no clue to origin or date. The date may be 1st or 2nd century.

230. Derbe Almasen (St. 37; *B.C.H.* 1886, p. 508). Punctuation as on stone.

*Μ . Αυ . Παπίαν . οὐετρανόη
ἐ]νδόξως στρατευσάμενον
Ἰ]μμα θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ . τόν . έαν-
τῆς εὐεργέτην.*

Note punctuation marks. *ἐνδόξως* refers only to *missio honesta*, not to *dona milit.* Papias was called to the service, when Marcus was in difficulties to find soldiers for the German wars (*Hist. Aug.*, Marc. Ant.).

¹ A remarkable example in Anatolia of strong and weak declensions (which also occurs in *Matar*, *Materes* and *bhratar*). *Ἰμην* in

M.A.M. i. Index, is a form unknown to me.

² Anatolian spelling is erratic in duplicating consonants.

231. Derbe Armasun (St. 45 ; R. 1901).

Ba ?]ς *Τρο-* *καὶ Νέστο-* 5 *κεν μνή-*
κονδαν *ρα ἀνέθη-* *μης χάριν*

Short name of three (or four) letters, ending in sigma (father or mother) is lost. *Nas, Nis, Mws, Mas*, etc., are possible.

232. Derbe Armasun (St. 47 ; crosses mark Chr.), "reading certain."

Ζήνων Παππα σὼ ἀναφιῶ
M *X*

ἀναφιῶ, local pronunciation ; *σ* for *τ* in the article occurs *M.A.M. i.*

233. Derbe Armasun (St. 48 ; crosses show Chr.).

Ποπλᾶς Οὐανία θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ
M *X*

Ποπλᾶς for *Πόπλιος*. *Οὐανία* perhaps derived from *οὐά*.

234. Derbe Armasun (St. 49).

Οὐατιαλις ἐκόσμησεν | Δητριον (Δη(μῆ)τριον ?) υἰὸν αὐτῆς

235. Lamdar (R. 1909) ; Calder and Cox, *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 64.

Αὐρ. Πώπας πάλαι στρατιώτης
ζῶν φρονῶν ἐποίησεν
MN *XA*

The first letter perished 1909–24. Date after 212. The formula for a retired soldier is rare.

236. Tchitchekler (close to Misthia Mesteia).¹ In and above a sunk panel in the side of a sarcophagus at a fountain (St. 279 ; R. 1886, and in 1901 with Cronin and Wathen). Two lines above the panel injured (one of them entirely lost) : restoration uncertain, but Flavianus (6, 7) occurred.

[ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Φλαουιανὸς στρατευσάμενος] ?
[ἐν χώρ[τ]η Πανφύλων ὀκ[ι]ς κα[τ]έθαν[εν ἐν Συρία ?

	<i>τόδε ἀγγελίον Ἀβωνία</i> <i>Βρυωνιανὴ Ματρῶνα</i> <i>ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ κέ Αὐρ.</i> <i>Θεοδώρα ἡ μήτηρ<κα></i> <i>κατεσκέουασαν τῷ</i> <i>Φλαουιανῷ καὶ ἐαν-</i> <i>ταῖς μνήμης χάριν.</i> <i>ὅς δέ ἂν ἕτερον ἐπι-</i> <i>βάλη ὑπεύθυνος</i>	
5		
10		

ἔστε τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ

¹ Colonia Parlais (Bey Sheher) and Amlada Amblada (Assarli) are much too distant.

Misthion was in prov. Galatia (Ptolemy).¹ Spelling varies much. Basil, *Ep.* 188, has Mēsteia, showing that Mistia or Mēstia was probably native original. The *Notitiae* have Mistheia (fem. sing. and neut. plur.). Misthion was probably grecized to suggest derivation from μισθός, prize in games held at this hieratic centre. The strong fortress Mistheia on a great hill on west overhangs the city; it was united in a double archbishopric with Koloneia Parlais during the Arab raids (probably c. 890). See Keil-Knoll, pp. 13 ff.

The restoration of the top line is uncertain, but Flavianus was named in it, as τῶ Φλ. in ll. 6-7 implies previous mention of him.

The first letters legible in l. 1 are ΩΠΓΗ or ΩPTH;² either is possible, as the tops of letters in this line are worn; γῆ Πανφύλων or Γεωργη is impossible. No cohors Pamphylicorum is known, but might be expected, as two (perhaps three) cohortes Cilicum are enumerated by Cichorius in *R.E.* ΚΑΙΘΑΝ is probably for κα[τ]έθαν[εν] (top worn), not καὶ ἔθανεν.

Date about 170? Spelling earlier than 3rd century; ου for Latin V is used in Flavianus; κατεσκέβασαν probably would be used in 3rd century. ἔστε for ἔσται; ὄκλις and doubled κα are due to careless engraving; the intrusion of ι by a false stroke is frequent.³

Abonia inherited this nomen from a father, who received civitas when M. Abonius . . . ricus governed prov. Galatia. Abonius was consul in a year unknown (*P.I.R.*); at Colonia Lystra the nomen occurs in a Latin inscription which must be older than c. 150 when Latin passed out of use there. It suits the general situation that civitas was conferred on Bryonius in 139, making his strict Roman name T. Aelius Abonius Bryonius.⁴ The daughter preferred the nomen Abonia; she uses the name Matriona as personal, cp. Vindia-Bindaion, St., *E.J.* 187. For conferment of civitas the date 137-138 is impossible, as the legatus of Galatia at that time is known. We restore [Isau]ricus as the cognomen of M. Abonius, conjecturing that he must have pacified the district Isaurica with the auxiliary regiments at his command,⁵ and attained the consulship; compare Antonius Isauricus later, probably legatus consularis of prov. Tres Eparchiae after 138.

The family could afford a pretentious herōon with one or more sarcophagi on the substructure; and it was sacerdotal, for bryonia was a herb of medicinal value, a gift of the gods, and its uses were known to the priests at the sanctuary.

The daughter Bryoniana married Flavianus, an auxiliary soldier enrolled under the Roman name L. Aurelius Flavianus, 161-169. The

¹ It can hardly be separated from Vasada which was in Galatia (Keil-Knoll, *Denkm. Lyc.* pp. 22 f.). The variation between Misthia fem. sing. and neut. pl. occurs in other Anatolian names, Lystra, Myra, etc.

² Several letters are obliterated before ω.

³ See p. 215.

⁴ Other ways are possible, e.g. to make Bryonius eligible for an imperial priesthood, but that is less probable.

⁵ Isaurika was always unruly, and set up an Emperor in 3rd century.

soldier soon died in the eastern wars, and his wife and mother made a cenotaph for him when news of his death came, and secondarily for themselves. No son was born, for he probably would have been mentioned as heir to the tomb property; a daughter would marry and go with her husband's family.

The adoption by the family of a Roman name, Flavianus, adherent of Flavius, shows desire older than 96 to advertise their loyalty and philo-caesarianism. The mother's name Theodora suggests that this family was sacerdotal; compare Menodora at Colonia Antiochea. Misthia, as the remains show, was an ancient hieratic centre.

XXXV. ISAURIKA AND ISAURIA.

Our knowledge of the district Isaurika begins with the Levantine pirates who devastated the east Mediterranean and even the Italian coasts during the weak Seleucid rule,¹ and the weak senatorial government in the second century B.C. later. The pirates were called Isaurican from a tribe Isauri in the remote south-east of Anatolia, vaguely known to the Romans. When Servilius Isauricus, c. 75 B.C., reached Cilician waters he found that the Isauri were an inland people; he had to cross Taurus in order to reach them and capture their stronghold, Isaura (Nova).² The authorities call it Isaura simply, which implies that Isaura Palaia was hardly inhabited then.³

Cicero often mentions the forum Isauricum (iurisdictio, ἀγορὰ δικῶν, conventus); fourteen cities met at Iconium; and the proconsular governor of Cilicia met them in jurisdiction here, as he met the conventus of Laodicea (forum Cibyriticum), Apamea, Synnada, Philomelium (forum Lycaonium) at those cities on his way to or from Cilicia. The governor at this time went through Ephesus by this long land route, partly because the Lycian sea was specially dangerous to navigation with its mountains rising high out of or near the water, partly on account of the pirates, till Pompey finally destroyed them in 67 B.C. Some editors of Cicero's letters say that forum Lycaonium met at Iconium, implying that there must have been a forum Isauricum meeting presumably at Isaura (which must in that case have been Nova); but there is no reason to make another conventus there, neglecting the conventus at Philomelium. Pliny, v. 95, confirms this, explaining that

¹ Diodorus, xviii. 22, describes the capture of Isaura in 323 by Perdikkas; the operations show that Nova was the town attacked, though *Real-Enc.* says Palaia.

² One can hardly doubt that he crossed Taurus by the Cilician Gates, the only wagon road at the time used, and attacked

Isaura Nova from the east. He never saw Palaia.

³ Isaura Palaia is about 4400 ft. above sea-level, on an isolated double peak, with high mountains around, snow-clad in winter.

the iurisdictio Lycaonia has now been transformed into iurisdictio Asiatica.¹ This change has been attributed conjecturally to Julius Caesar by Marquardt, but was certainly later than 8 B.C.; and may have been made by Vespasian who regulated the Isaurican territory and tribe, see p. 231. To Philomelium (Pliny, v. 95) came the towns or tribes Tymbrion (afterwards Hadrianopolis, Thymbrion of Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2), Leucolithi,² Pillitai,³ Tyriaion.⁴ To these we add Lysias, Kinnaborion, Laodicensis (Lycaoniae), and eastern Lycaonia (Savatra), Perta, Kanna, Gdanmaa, Psibêla (Pegella, Seiouêla, etc.).

Isauroi means the tribe (gens); Isaura the town; Isaureis the inhabitants of the town. This distinction is well maintained from Diodorus on. Isaura the town was a dipolis, i.e. a city made by the union of two villages constituting together one city with a single *βουλή*. The union was probably made, and the polis constituted by Vespasian. After c. 73 B.C. Isaura Palaia became the principal village; but Nea still existed, no longer fortified, but still ranking theoretically as one of a pair of villages. The existing remains show clearly that both houses and walls at Nea were made of sun-dried bricks which, when not protected from rain, dissolve into soil.

Strabo mentions the district Isaurica, with two principal villages Isaura Palaia and Nea (Nova); the latter was well fortified (*ἐνερκῆ*), implying that it was the great fortress of the district Isaurica. Strabo was not fully informed about the state of things after the time of Amyntas; at Rome he had learned from officers of Servilius Isauricus about the strong fortifications of Isaura Nova; but he did not realize that its fortifications had been utterly destroyed, and that the village was now an open township, while he knew that Amyntas had begun to fortify Isaura Palaia, but died in 25 B.C., leaving the walls unfinished.⁵ Isaura Nova practically disappears from history, and the name *Ἰσαυρα* meant Palaia, until about 260–270, when the remains show that Nova was a place of great importance, mainly Christian, kept orthodox by the influence of Amphilochos and Basil, 370–379.

Strabo, p. 667, describes the coast border between Pamphylia and Cilicia Tracheia: Side and the coast region (*παραλία*) of the Kibyratei⁶

¹ Hos [viz. Pisidas, Homanades, Isauricam gentem] includit Lycaonia in Asiaticam iurisdictionem versa. Difficulty has been caused by taking Lycaonia as a noun here.

² One might think of the marble of Dokimia (*λευκός λίθος*); but Julia, which belonged to Synnada conventus (Plin. v. 105), blocks the way; the objection is not fatal.

³ Pillitokome inserr., Plitendum (accus.) Livy. [Pelteni, the received text, is plainly wrong. The Florentine MS. reads Pateni. Cf. above, p. 130, and below, p. 284, n. 2.]

⁴ Properly Tyraenses; vv. ll. Trienses, Tirienses; the corruption became general, and caused Tyriaion in Xen., *An.* i. 2.

Müller on Ptolemy, "Tetradion," says that the best MSS. of Xen. have Tyraion.

⁵ *Ἰσαυρίαν* is a textual error for *Ἰσαυραν* in Strabo, [12, 6, 3, p. 569].

⁶ To Strabo evidently Kibura was inland east of Melas, but its coast territory extended west of Melas; Ptolemy makes it an inland city east of Melas; it commanded the mouth of the river, and was thus suited to be the great Byzantine harbour with naval works. There is no contradiction between Strabo and other authorities (as has been thought); compare Mallos and Mallotic territory, *H.G.* pp. 288 f. Perhaps Kibūra in Kabalis, Kibūra in Pamphylia (hence Kiburrha).

and the Melas and Ptolemais belong to Pamphylia ; the border lies east of Ptolemais ; then Korakesion,¹ Arsinoe, Hamaxia, Laertes, Selinous, Kragos (with Antiocheia ἐπι Κράγω), Charadrous, Platanistes, Anemourion, Arsinoe, Melania, Kelenderis ; some place here the beginning of Cilicia Tracheia, not at Korakesion : Artemidorus is of this opinion.

Ptolemy places the boundary of the countries Pamphylia and Cilicia between Kibura, Korakesion, Suedra west, and Iotape, Selinus east. Iotape derived its name from the wife or the daughter of king Antiochus IV. Epiphanes of Commagene.

Pliny, v. 94,² declares that all (geographers) have erred, making Cilicia conterminous with Pamphylia (i.e. the countries), and omitting the Isaurican tribe, whose inland towns are Isaura, Clibanus³ and Lalasis, while it extends down to the sea over against Anemurium.⁴ Similarly, all who have described the same districts have ignored the tribe of the (H)omanades to whom belongs an inland town (H)omana.⁵ Pliny knew that historians had mentioned the Homanades ; he criticizes only the geographers.

Can this extension of Isaurika to the sea, which is peculiar to Pliny, be accepted ? Did it arise from the old error of calling the pirates Isauri ? or was there some geographical truth underlying the name, viz. that Isaurika extended to the coast ? Some distance west of Anemourion was Korakesion, the harbour of the pirates : this, Pliny concluded, was in an Isaurican extension ; but Str. 668 calls it the western fortress of Cilicia. I have sought in vain for any confirmation of Pliny's opinion in history and numismatics and nomenclature ; and he acknowledges that all geographers are against him. Kings of Cilicia ruled all that coast ; Iotape was founded by Antiochus Epiphanes and named after his queen. A number of cities in the supposed extension struck coins under the influence of Pamphylian Side.⁶ Pliny himself, in section 93, says that the river Melas near Side on east was *finis antiquus Ciliciae*. Lalasis named by Pliny in that extension is the modern Lakhlas on the Kalykadnos (southern branch), as Sterrett discovered : on Clibanus (unique), see above.

The geographers are right ; Pliny is wrong ; yet he had a clear idea of the situation and selected the only place where such an extension is

¹ Strabo, 668, makes Korakesion the western end of the country of the Pirates (who rose during the weakness of the later Seleucid kings, when the demand for slaves for the Delian slave market became insatiable). Strabo holds that the Pirates were Cilician.

² *Ciliciae Pamphyliam omnes iunxere neglecta gente Isaurica : oppida eius intus Isaura, Clibanus, Lalasis ; decurrit autem ad mare Anemuri e regione supra dicti (§ 93). Simili modo omnibus qui eadem composuere ignorata est contermina illi gens Omanadum, quorum intus oppidum Omana ;*

cetera castella XLIV inter asperas convalles latent.

³ Clibanus is perhaps *Κλίμα Βαβαβα* (*Bavava, Ovarava*) in Isauria (later name of Cilicia Tracheia). See *H.G.* p. 417.

⁴ Anemurium city was on E. side of the cape : Isaurica extension began on the W. side : such is Pliny's idea.

⁵ Pliny spells *Ἰομνάδα* rightly : Tac. and Strabo greceize.

⁶ Hill in *Cat. B.M. Cilicia*, p. xxxi. This group in the western part of the extension was placed in Prov. Pamphylia in 73-4, and is called by Ptolemy *Κιλικίας μεσόγειοι*.

conceivable geographically, viz. from Isaura Palaia and Homanada on the north to Anemourion and the mouth of the Melas, a tract little known until Heberdey and Wilhelm included it in their singularly instructive exploration of the Cilician coast in 1891.¹ Pliny had Pomponius Mela in mind as exponent of the geographical conception which he rejects: he often quotes Mela: Strabo he did not know.

We are driven back to Strabo's account, which stands every test: the Isauri were an inland tribe who had two chief villages, with many subordinate: their territory was the modern district Boz Kir, a northern extension of Taurus, scenically one of the most extraordinary parts of Asia Minor. It was included in prov. Galatia till 138, when Palaia was made metropolis of Lycaonia, one part of prov. Tres Eparchiae.² Nea was obscure then, and Palaia was walled and made a great fortress by Hadrian.

The two villages of Isaurika were not a *πόλις* in Strabo's time. Probably Vespasian conferred city rights in the form usual for a tribe and the villages were made a single *πόλις*. Civitas was given by him to several families of Palaia. No cives are known at Nea, except soldiers, till it revived about A.D. 270. The tribe Isauri as a whole constituted the *πόλις*: hence Ptolemy calls the entire district ("city-state") *Ἰσαυρα*. Isaurika appears only in Strabo and Pliny: not later.

Isaura Palaia began to be walled as a fortress and residence by Amyntas; but at his death in 25 B.C. building stopped. Isaura Nea was a walled fortress captured by Servilius Isauricus about 74 B.C.; the walls were of mud-brick, which melted into the soil.

The conquest of Isaurika is mentioned only in a brief summary of many wars by Dio, lv. 28, 3, which the historian places there after the narrative of A.D. 6 (lv. 25 to 27). This summary ranges over Sardinia, Isauri (a tribe, not a country), ending in their complete subjugation, and Gaetuli (also a tribe, not a country), etc. The summary fills cap. 28 to 30, after which Dio resumes his annalistic method with the events of A.D. 7 in cap. 31-2. The summary transgresses annalistic limits: each war extended over several years (*ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις*, 28, 1).

The sentence about the Isauri, 28, 3, includes in 13 words all the wars of the Taurus plateau, a passage much misunderstood. Isauri are loosely the Taurus tribes, Homanadeis, Isauri, the twice rebelling Kietai (Tac., *Ann.* vi. 41, xii. 55).³ Those wars were all similar in purpose, viz. the subjugation of Taurus from the Cilician Gates to Lycia: the details were (to Dio) monotonously similar. Isauri and Homanades are closely linked together by Pliny, v. 94.

¹ *Reisen in Kilikien* (Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Bd. xlv), 1896. They explored the coast from Side to Anemourion and the inland country between Iotape and the river Calycadnus.

² Seleukeia was capital of Isauria (i.e. Cilicia Tracheia), another of the Tres Eparchiae: Tarsus was capital of the third Eparchy of Cilicia.

³ Isauri were ravaging Kokosus in the Eastern Taurus about A.D. 400.

Hadrian's intention in creating his new province Tres Eparchiae in the last year of his life was evidently to defend the passes of Taurus between the Pylae and Pisidia by a consular province, though no legions were stationed in it until some unknown later date, when *legiones Isaurae* were posted there. It is probable that (as *Hist. Aug.*, Prob. 16, 4 ff., implies) all the youth were drilled as soldiers from 18 years, ready for service if called on ;¹ but they were a national levy, not a long-service army, and did not all receive civitas and Roman names. There is a lack of details, and we can only conjecture ; but several soldiers are named by rank (tribunus, *ἱππεύς*, etc.) without name of regiment, which is not usual ; soldiers liked to name their regiment and the local inscriptions earlier than 138 mention generally regiment and service (Sect. XXXIV.).

The account given in the Augustan History of the policy of Probus (276-82) is a summary of imperial policy : to the Isaurian veterans farms were given in the parts of Isaurica that were most difficult of access, on condition that their male children should enlist at the age of 18 and have no opportunity of learning to be brigands or robbers (as all Isauri used to be). Thus natural strongholds were peopled by loyal Romans. The retired soldiers² tamed their country and countrymen.

The name Isauria came into existence in 138. It denotes a more developed political organization than *Ἰσαυρικὴ*, an organized governmental district (*ἐπαρχία*).³ Before this new province was formed, *Ἰσαυρία* is either a textual error (as Strabo, xii. 6, 3) or an anachronism of a later writer. After 138 it is often used, mainly by moderns, in the sense of *Ἰσαυρικὴ* (which ceased under Vespasian to exist politically) ; but the two words had a different denotation : not a foot of land in *Ἰσαυρία* belonged to the old *Ἰσαυρικὴ* : *Ἰσαυρία* meant Cilicia Tracheia as a province almost exactly.

XXXVI. SPECIMEN LIST OF EASTERN CIVES.

The following list of new cives in Asia Minor proves that a permanent process, directed by some determined imperial policy, was continuously at work under the Empire, gradually increasing the number of cives Romani in the East, elevating the provinces from servitude (the term used by Claudius, p. 32, note) to equality, and thus reducing

¹ They must have been drilled Roman fashion, though they used their familiar national weapons. Legio I Isaura was called Sagittaria.

² This applies evidently to the period before 138. Probus may have tightened up the old practice. The process produced results slowly but thoroughly : Isaurian rebels set up a rival Roman Emperor.

Then Probus came.

³ Compare *Πισιδικὴ* in Polybius, land of the Pisidai, tribes of the western Taurus at war with every outsider and among themselves : Pisidia an organized governmental district. The title on Sagalassian coins *πρώτη Πισιδῶν καὶ φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος* [*Ῥωμαίων*] is late, when old facts were remembered as archaisms of honour.

the influence and number of cives Romani consistentes in the cities of the East.

With M. Aurelius, 161, the process became too complicated, and cannot be shown in a table.

We place together a series of names of new cives Romani in the cities of the Anatolian plateau. In the villages no cives can be expected; the villages were unimportant, except in a few cases where they were about to be, or were hoping to be, raised to the rank of poleis: of these greater villages typical examples are Pogla, Orkistos, Isaura. Of many cities the epigraphic history is wanting, as their sites are desolate, e.g. Amorion (Amurria), Derbe, Isaura, destroyed by Arabs or by other invaders and never rebuilt, as conditions changed; or because suitable stone for epigraphic purposes was lacking locally and must be carried, which was an expensive process.

The long persistence of some of those romanized families is remarkable; they are there when recorded history begins; they are still there even in the early Christian period. In other cases we catch only isolated glimpses of those families owing to the scantiness of the records preserved; but that is due to the failure of records, not to the failure of the families. They were selected by the Romans as the leaders and aristocracy of their district, supported and encouraged by Augustus if they were ready to conform to Roman policy, but deprived of power unless it was exercised in Roman or in Graeco-Roman channels. Strabo, xii. 8, 14, 577, describes a typical case, where Augustus deprived this local aristocratic caste of power; but Strabo had no idea that this caste would retain its power in new forms. This local aristocracy was almost entirely sacerdotal, the old priesthood of the local gods, under which form the latest conquerors maintained their authority, making their leaders members of the priestly caste by agreed partition or by marriage.

I. NEW CIVES TAKING NAME (AND TRIBE) FROM THE EMPEROR.

C. Julius Calpurnius Oaris	L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi legatus Galatiae, 13 f.
C. Julius Quadratus Bassus	?
Ti. Claudius Quir. Hierocles Areagnos	?
1 Ti. Claudius Andragathos (Piso?)	?
2 Ti. Claudius Tertullinus Piso	?
1 Ti. Claudius Mithridates	?
2 Ti. Claudius Piso Mithridatianus	
<i>C.B.</i> No. 294-5.	
[Ti?] Claudius Scribonianus, late descendant	Scribonianus quaestor Asiae, c. 54.
T. Flavius Aponianus	Aponius Saturninus procos. Asiae, c. 74-76.
T. Flavius Sospes	[Caesennius?] Sospes legatus Galatiae.
T. Flavius Superstes	?
T. Flavius Collega	Cn. Pompeius Collega legatus Galatiae—76.

1 T. Flavius Arrius	Arrius Antoninus cos. 69 (July).
2 [T.] Flavius Arrianus	
[T. Flavius Calvisius] Stratoneikos	Calvisius Ruso procos. Asiae.
T. Flavius Ouaros Calvisianos Her- mokrates	
T. Flavius Neryllinus	M. Suillius Nerullinus procos. Asiae.
1 T. Flavius Caristianus Euarestos	Caristianus Fronto legatus Lyciae.
2 T. Flavius Caristianus (son ?)	
T. Flavius [Hiero] Montanus	Junius Montanus procos. Asiae ?
1 M. Ulpus Pomponius Valens	Pomponius Bassus legatus Galatiae.
2 M. Ulpus Pomponius Superstes	
1 M. Ulpus [same as son ?]	Q. Roscius Pompeius Falco legatus Lyciae, c. 105.
2 M. Ulpus Akylianos Falco	Pudens legatus iuridicus Gal. Capp.
1 M. Ulpus Pudens Pompeianus	
2 [M. ?] Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus	C. Bruttius Praesens legatus Capp. c. 122.
P. Aelius Bruttius Lucianus (father unknown)	Larcus Macedo legatus Gal.
P. Aelius Macedo	— direct by Emperor.
P. Aelius Sabinianus Demosthenes	— direct by Emperor.
P. Aelius Amyntianus	
T. Aelius V[enuleius —]janus	Venuleius Apronianus procos. As. 138.

II. NEW CIVES TAKING NAME FROM GOVERNORS OF PROVINCE.

C. Ummidius Pantauchus	C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus procos. Cypri.
M. Larcus Silo	M. Larcus Magnus Pompeius Silo legatus in Asia.
C. Julius Heliodoros (Volt. trib.) <i>J.H.S.</i> 1889, pp. 62 f.	C. Antius A. Julius Volt. Quadratus leg. Lyciae.
Julius Antius Mitras	C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Quadratus leg. iurid. Gall. Capp.

XXXVII. PANEMOU TEICHOS ON VIA SEBASTE.

237. Panēμου teichos Duwar Duwer¹ (*R.* 1884, with A. H. Smith : text and transcription as in *Am. J. Arch.* ii. p. 128) : thick rounded cippus of fine grey limestone, stood about 3 ft. out of the ground in a cemetery. The village lies five miles S.S.W. from Lake Askania.

ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς [ΘΕ]	10 σης ἐπίτροπος Νέρωνος
[ΟΥ] Σεβαστοῦ	Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβα-
Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος	στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὠ-
Κώντος Πετρώνι-	ροθέτησαν τὰ μὲν ἐν
5 ος Οὐμβ(ερ) πρεσβευτῆς	δεξιᾷ εἶναι Σαγαλασσέων
καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Νέρω-	15 τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κώ-
νος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος	μης Τυμβριανασσοῦ Νέ-
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ (καὶ)	ρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ-
Λούκιος Πούπιος Πραί-	ος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ.

¹ It is difficult to distinguish between *A* and *E* in Anatolia : I have heard a Laz from E. Pontus say degirman, whereas commonly Turks say deirmen (mill).

In l. 8 *καί* was never written. The personal name of Nero was erased in 1 f., but left (or imperfectly erased) in 10 f., 16 f. : the eternal imperial title *Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ* was not erased : *Γερμανικοῦ* was treated as part of the imperial title, but it was personal to Nero and ought to have been erased.

The letters are merely scratched on the unsmoothed stone, and almost escaped our notice. In l. 5 *OB* seemed certain on repeated scrutiny ; error for *CP* made by a Greek lapicida ignorant of Latin names. It is often difficult in such inscriptions to distinguish between *O, C, Θ, Ε*.

The name of Nero without Imp. points to the early years of his reign (Cagnat). The inscription, though purely Roman, is in Greek, as the official language. *καί* is omitted at end of l. 8 (error of engraver). The reign of Nero was a time of change : *Λούκιος* and *Λεύκιος* both occur in the name of this procurator of Galatia.¹ Lettering *ΑΕCΩΩ*.

The substitution of *Θεοῦ* in an erasure was made sometimes, but only in the case of Nero and Domitian, so far as my experience reaches. In the case of Domitian the erasure was filled with *Θεοῦ Οὐδερσασιανοῦ* at Ephesus twice, once in an inscription of the British Museum,² where *ΔΟ* could still be read in March, 1880 ; once in an inscription which I read in June, 1880, at Ayassoluk, on the slope of the hill of St. John Theológos : the erasure and substitution were quite evident. Keil has published other cases which show that a temple of Domitian was erected making Ephesus Neokoros in the imperial religion. Previously the city was only Neokoros of Artemis (as Acts xix. 35 says correctly).

The procurator intervenes because an imperial estate is concerned : ordinary procurators had nothing to do with termini or with roads, except in so far as they touched an estate of the Emperor.³ Roads concern the province as a whole. Improvements, e.g. drainage on landed property, were a matter for the owner ; if the owner was the Emperor, a procurator managed them, or a vilicus.

238. At a fountain in Duwer was a counterpart of this titulus on a similar cippus about 5 ft. long, hollowed to form a drinking trough : only a few letters remained at the right side, none at the left (rubbed by cattle which stood there to drink). The few letters had not seemed worth copying, as they were faint and uncertain ; but on finding the previous titulus we went back to see whether this other titulus might be similar. Nothing remains of ll. 1, or 11, or 13 : in l. 2 erasure marks could be seen : in l. 3 *OC* was visible ; in l. 12 we read *II* for *N* ; in l. 16 *CPK* for *CPM*. The text can be restored as complement of the other.

¹ Dittenberger in *Hermes*, vi., places the change from *Λεύκιος* to *Λούκιος* about A.D. 1. Our experience is c. 50.

² [See p. 210.]

³ Procurators governing a province *cum iure gladii*, e.g. the province Pamphylia (*C.I.L.* iii. 6737), had to do with the construction and maintenance of roads.

	[ἐπιστολῆς ΘΕ-]		<u>νος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σε-</u>
	[ΟΥ]		[βαστοῦ ὠροθέτησα]ν
	[Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρ]ος		[τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶναι]
	[Κόντος Πετρῶνιο]ς		[κώμης Τυμβριανα]σσο-
5	[Οὔμβερ πρεσβευτῆς] καὶ	15	[οὔ Καισ. Σεβαστοῦ Νέρ]ω-
	[ἀντιστράτηγος Νέρω]νος		[νος Κλαυδίου Γ]ερ[μα-
	[Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος] Σε[βασ-		[νικοῦ αὐτοκράτορ]ος [β',
	[τοῦ Γερμανικ]οῦ καὶ Α[ο-		[τὰ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δῆμ]ου ε[ι(?)]-
	[ύκιος Πούπιο]ς Πραί-		[ναι τῶν Σαγ]αλασο-
10	[σης ἐπίτροπος Νέ]ρω-	20	[σέων].

The two stones were parts of a group at the roadside : looking north (or N.E.) one had Sagalasseni agri on the right and Eïnesh Tumbrianassos on the left ; looking south one had the agri Sag. on the left and Eïnesh on the right. We imagine a shrine by the road leading out to Lysinia and to Tymbrianassos : the two cippi stood with a statue (Jupiter ? or Terminus) between them on a high pedestal.

In l. 8 καὶ is expressed (omitted in the other exemplar) ; in l. 15 ω shows that the names of Nero varied in order (as in the other). αὐτοκράτορος [β' or γ'] must in this position state the number of imperial salutations on a field of battle that Nero had received (very difficult to date, Cagnat). The first salutation was imp. II as the Emperor was imp. from his inauguration. Nero was probably imp. II in 55 (or 56) ; imp. III in 57 : imp. IV, V in 58.

239. This monumental boundary is illustrated by a titulus found at Yali Eyuk of Homanades, or of Isaurika, not Isauria¹ (Sterrett, 227 ; his copy compared with the stone by Calder). Date after 115.

Γάιος] Εἰούλιος Τερέντιος [λεγεῶνος
 ΙΕ' Ἀπολλωναρίας ἀποστρατευσάμε-
 νος ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ Ἐνόρι]ον.

Ἐνόριος (Θεός) translates Terminus. Terentius, after service in Cappadocia at Satala in legio XV. Apollinaris, sought to render his grave inviolable by making it a boundary mark ; he placed a figure (statue ?) of himself (?) which was also the god Terminus.² Sterrett restored ἐνόρ[κους], but the last letter preserved is I not K.³ The god Terminus was his protector. To move or injure a boundary stone was an offence against religion.

That the two stones at Duwer were a pair was recognized in *A.J.A.*, loc. cit., but the second was not restored and some interesting variations

¹ The village stands near the frontier of Isaura Palaia but in Homanadensian territory ; the stone has probably been carried from the border. The two villages Isaura had been constituted a single πόλις (as διπολις), and the old term Isaurika was

now replaced by the technically correct Isaura.

² The dead man is, according to Anatolian thought, merged in the god.

³ Sterrett has I in copy : Calder confirms him.

were not observed. They mark the boundary between agri Sagalasseni (Livy, xxxviii. 15) and an imperial estate *κώμη Τυμβριανασσός*, now Einesh, in a district which was part of prov. Galatia from 20 B.C. to A.D. 73-4, when it was transferred to Pamphylia in the double prov. Lycia-Pamphylia.

Duwer was still Sagalassian in A.D. 293, as appears from

240. Duwer (A. H. Smith, 1884, and *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 230 ; R. 1884).

<i>Αὐτοκράτορσι Καίσαρσι</i>	<i>εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστῶ ' καὶ</i>
<i>Γαίῳ Ἀνρ' Οὐαλερίῳ Διοκλη-</i>	<i>Φλαβίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Κωσταντιῳ</i>
<i>τιανῶ εὐσεβί εὐτυχί Σε-</i>	<i>καὶ Γαλ[ερ]ίῳ Κωσταντίῳ (!)</i>
<i>βαστῶ ' καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀνρηλίῳ '</i>	<i>ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσι</i>
5 <i>Οὐαλ' Μαξιμιανῶ εὐσεβεί</i>	10, 11 <i>ἡ λαμπρὰ Καγαλασσίων πόλις.</i>

Date, A.D. 293, after Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximianus had been made Caesares on 1 March. The extraordinary error in the name of the second Caesar can hardly be a mere fault of the lapicida : it is too large : it is due to the ignorance of the Pisidians. Duwer is proved to be Sagalassian from 189 B.C. to A.D. 293.

The N.W. shore of the Lake Askania (called Paludes by Livy, translating *λίμνη* in Polybius ?) was Asian, the S.E. shore was Galatic, 20 B.C. (or 8 B.C.) to A.D. 73-4, when it was included in Pamphylia provincia. The boundary of Asia passed down the length of the lake and between Takina and Duwer.

Tumbrianassos is modern Einesh : part of the ancient name is dropped ; names are often abbreviated in transition to Turkish, cp. Trikomias (acc.) called now Kaimaz, and Kinnaborion, now Genneli.

The element -anasso- is anakyo ; the name perhaps was " Tumbri, the king " : compare Mes-anakta (*H.G.* p. 140).¹ Anatolian villages often bear the name of some distinguished old hero, Sinan Pasha, Avlan Pasha, Aidin, Karadja Ahmed. Probably they were formerly the property of the men whose name they bear : Aidin is short for Aidin Guzel Hissar, Aidin's Beautiful Castle, ancient Tralleis.

Turkish Duwar Duwer (τεῖχος) translate an Anatolian name Tursa. The Synekdemos of Hierokles shows that Panemouteichos, a city and bishopric,² was situated somewhere in this neighbourhood. The situation is a meeting-point of roads. The Roman inter-colonial Via Sebaste passed through it from col. Antiochea to Lysinia and Olbasa colonia, also to Cremna and Comama coloniae. The site requires a wall to defend it, whereas most Pisidian towns were natural fortresses, hence it was named Tursa Turra, which means a walled town (as distinguished from *οῦα*, *οῦα*, an open village, and now level plain). Tursênos was an

¹ Perhaps Mezanakta is the original form, for Med-anakta, the property of King Midas. Midaion was called Mezea by the natives in inscriptions. Tumbri perhaps related to

Xenophon's Thumbrion ?

² Panemouteichos was a bishopric and city of the Christian Empire in all Notitiae.

ethnic in the Tekmoreian lists.¹ Hesychius has *τύρρις, τύρσις*, both meaning tower, where he may intend a Roman word or a Graeco-Anatolian word. Turimnas, grecized Apollo Turimnaios, was the local hero and god of Thua-teira (the suffix -mna participial was Anatolian in Krê-mna), Krô-mna, Pro-sta-mna (promontory) grecized *ἀκρωτήριον* Egerdir, etc. The Anatolian name of Duwer was therefore Tursa, grecized *τείχος*. This was the Darsa (misread ? from Tarsa,² Tursa, by Livy) rich in stores, which Manlius occupied after Cormasa at the S.W. end of the lake, and evidently at the edge of Sagalassian territory.

With this identification Ptolemy's district, Pisidian Phrygia of prov. Pamphylia, after 73-4 becomes a compact group: Cormasa, Lysinia, Konane, Baris, (Palaion Beudos,³ mediaeval "correction" for) Panemouteichos, and Seleukeia.⁴ A conjectural identification of Ptolemy's [T]obranassa in district Pisidia of prov. Pamphylia with Tumbri<ι>anassa would be improbable, but cannot be absolutely rejected: naturally Tumbrianassa goes with Lysinia, Cormasa; but Ptolemy has some curious displacements within a province (rarely between two provinces) of Asia Minor. Baris is attested at Kilidj, N.E. of Lake Askania, W. of Baradis Aporidos kome (Sterrett, *W.E.* 600, revised by R. in 1886; *C.B.* p. 334, no. 153: Sterrett by a slip has *Βαβηγνός*). Isbarta Sparta has been taken as site of Baris: it is ancient Saporda.

Is this identification of Panemouteichos consistent with the coinage of Panemouteichos, struck under Julia Domna, Maximin and Trajanus Decius? Perhaps Severus tried to break the power of great cities like Sagalassos; but in the troubles of the 3rd century Sagalassos recovered its domination over the lake district. The difficulty is not soluble completely with present knowledge; but it is connected with the flight from the cities to the villages that took place in the 3rd century when life in the cities was expensive and harder. Burdens were piled on the curiales (*bouleutai*); local rates and taxes were increased to support the dignity of the cities and the exactions of the Empire and its officers.

¹ The *ξένοι Τεκμύρειοι* with ethnic *Τυρσηνοί* came from Duwer.

² It is, however, possible that change from surd to sonant (as often) produced a byform Darsa. Perhaps Darra Dara in the Tekmoreian lists is Darsa Darra, like Tursa-Turra: Anatolian spelling was careless about double consonants (*Δαρρηγός* and *Δαρρηγός* both occur). Perhaps Tur or Turr or Turs is connected with Tuross in Phoenice, Turediza (Turo-) in Thrace, and even Tarsa Tarsa-sa, Turkish Tersûs (where final S is an integral part of the name, though taken as a suffix by the Greeks in *ταρσό-ς*). Torrêbos, an enigmatic and ancient figure, may be mentioned (suffix as in Niobe, Hekabe Hecuba)—a city of Lydia, in a district Torrebis, containing a mountain

Karios (Steph.), or a king of Lydia, son of Atys and brother of Lydos, or the "typical priest" on coins of Hierapolis (with Mopsos the "typical prophet"): as first king of Lydia he taught the Lydians music. Torrêbos in Xanth. Lydus (quoted by Dionys., *Ant. Rom.* i. 28, 2, who hardly mentions Tyrrhenos and the migration to Italy and Etruria) is purely mythical, Tyrrhenos half mythical.

³ Palaion Beudos is impossible here: it was in Phrygia district of prov. Asia, and is mentioned by Ptolemy with an error in the name (*Γαμβουα* for *Παλ-βουδα*).

⁴ Seleukeia is right: Pisidia added by complicated error; perhaps intrusion of Antiocheia here through some (mediaeval?) error, as some MSS. or early editions have it.

The origin of Panēmos is unknown. It can hardly be connected with the Macedonian month Panēmos : the difference in quantity is not a difficulty, for similar variations occur in Anatolia, e.g. *Οὐάκλος* personal name, *Βάκηλος*, and *Μακέλας* (Section VIII.); but Macedonian names are unlikely in Pisidia.

The chemicals in Lake Askania (Adji Tuz) will soon be valuable. As the lake shrinks in summer they are deposited as a white sediment on the shore and were once used in making gunpowder. The salts of Lake Anava, Sanabensis, are different.

Light is thrown by these tituli on the march of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. Livy, xxxviii. 15, has been understood to prove that Manlius marched from Termessos (?) north through Sagalassus ; but G. Hirschfeld in *Berl. Akad. Monatsbericht*, 1879, showed the difficulty of that supposition. Sagalassus lies on the southern side of a lofty ridge of Mt. Taurus, running east and west. To cross this razor-edge ridge is difficult ; we crossed it by a zigzag footpath in May, 1882, and came down on Sparta (Isbarta in the Turkish official lists) by a similar zigzag ; but that was not Manlius's route. Livy says that Manlius from Pamphylia (*Τερμησσῶ προσεγγίσας*, Polybius, i.e. passing close to but not entering Termessos) made stages (a) river Taurus, (b) Xyline *κώμη*, (c) Cormasa, (d) Darsa ; envoys came next day from Lysinœ, a few miles west of stage (c), surrendering the city to him *progredienti praeter paludes* (i.e. Lake Askania).

The early stages are uncertain ; Xyline Kome is probably corrupt, or Livy's attempt to explain a barbarian name (*quam vocant*). We guess that the river Taurus is Istanoz Su, which flows into a marshy lake, near the west coast of which is a city on a hill, which we guess to be Cormasa. The next city was Darsa, deserted by the inhabitants, and full of stores. Here we reach a firm identification. Next day he was advancing along the lake into Ager Sagalassenus, a fertile land. *Continentibus itineribus* between Xyline and Cormasa causes difficulty : there cannot be more than one day's march between this and Cormasa, if we are right ; continuous marches must describe the rate in this part of the journey : Manlius made no halt for more than a night ; even in that case, he must have reached the Taurus river some distance up its course, where it turns north towards the marshy lake. First day, Taurus : second day, Xyline Come : third day, Cormasa, which was on a hill and would take some time to occupy : fourth day, Darsa deserted. That some trouble occurred at Cormasa, and perhaps the inhabitants were massacred, is shown by the fact that Lysinœ (later Lysinia *civitas*) sent to surrender voluntarily and that the Darsenoi-Tursenoi fled.¹ From Darsa, a frontier town, Manlius entered the ager Sagalassenus. Hitherto the army had been marching from Termessos N.N.W., and N. from Cormasa. At Darsa it turned N.E. Along the lake the army marched slowly, keeping within striking distance of Sagalassos, till Manlius was bought off with a bribe of 50 talents.

¹ A. H. Smith and I explored the valley of Istanoz Su, but did not go S.E. to Termessos ; see his map in *J.H.S.* 1887.

XXXVIII. VALENTIA BISHOPRIC (ILIAS OR ELLES).

Originally a *kôme*, οὐά, subject to Apameia, like Sanaos, but of unknown name, it took a new name from Valens, 364–378, who made it a bishopric. It was received into the lists when the ecclesiastical system was organized by Theodosius I. (Gerland); and it appears in the civilian register of Hierocles in the fifth century. It lay on the first Roman road of province Asia, built by Manius Aquilius c. 133–129; no miliarium of the original road here is preserved, but many later are known at or close to the village. A milestone of Manius has been found at Takina, measuring 223 (from Ephesus). Apamea was c. 190 from Ephesus; and the road bent round and came to Takina (Ptolemy's Γάζηνα, i.e. Τάγηνα, Tagina in Ravennas Anon), passing through Elles Ilias.

In his *Oriens Christianus* Le Quien has interpreted Βασίλειος πόλεως Κολωνείας Πακατιανῆς as bishop of Βαλεντία in A.D. 692; but we prefer to treat this as a fault for Ἀκμωνείας. M. Grégoire wrote to me about the error in Byzantine authors through confusing *A* and *M*: he interpreted Λαλακάων (*H.G.* p. 77) as an error for Μαλακω(πέα), and got a more suitable situation for the great battle of 860, when a Saracen army was surrounded and practically annihilated.

I read Κακκαβοκωλήτης in 1881 and corrected to μήτης secundis curis in 1883 (*J.H.S.* 1887, p. 501), where the ancient site is suggested to be at Bashara; but Basha-ra is probably the site of Paza Pazon, with suffix *ra*.¹ Khosrev Pasha Khan, where the inscription was found, is more probably Kakkabokome.

241. Valentia Ilias (St., *W.E.* 620; R. 1886, with Sterrett's proofs in hand), letters ΑΞΕΟΩΘ: stone split longitudinally in three parts to serve as steps in the outer stairs of a house.

Date 103 (Δακικόν) to 115–16 (No Παρ.).

<p>Αὐτὸ κ ρ ᾰ τ ο - ρα Νέρου [α] ν ζ Τρα [ι] ανὸν Καί- σαρ [α] Σεβαστόν 5 Γερ [μ] ανικὸν ζ Δ ᾰ [κ] ι κὸν Φλα-</p>	<p>ο υ ἰ α Τάτα κα- τὰ διαθήκην διὰ [Τ.] Φλαουίου 10 Οὐ [ρ] βανοῦ ζ κ λ [η] ρ ο ν ὀ μ ο υ</p>
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In l. 10 Sterrett has Οὐ[ι]β(ι)ανοῦ. My correction reached him too late.

L. 7 Τατ[ι]α (Sterrett) is possible; l. 9 [Τ] certain, as space is abundant; but no trace remains. Flavia Tata by her will directed that a statue of Trajan should be erected. Her heir, T. Flavius Urbanus, obeyed the instructions; he was probably her son, and, if so, her husband was perhaps T. Flavius Urbanus. She survived her husband, who is not

¹ Calder, *M.A.M.* i. no. 402.

mentioned. The pair were honoured with civitas by Vespasian in A.D. 70, i.e. he was made civis, and she shared in the honour, an important point.

It is possible that the family was libertine, as Urbanus in Latin is a servile name. But Urbanus in an Anatolian Greek is probably not servile. In this small town there was not likely to be a familia Caesaris. Tata lived till after 102, and left a will. Wills were unknown in Phrygia until the Roman period. Inheritance was a matter of custom, not of law; the Greek kings did not interfere much with native customs. The word *διαθήκη* does not occur in *M.A.M.* i., a storehouse of native usage. The Empire introduced wills mainly to protect the rights of soldiers absent in the service of the Empire, and testators often inserted a clause ordering the heir to erect a statue of the Emperor; this clause secured the protection of Roman law (as administered by the governor of the province) for the will as whole.

An example of the province Galatia may be added:

241A. Illegup (St. 515; R. 1888; *C.I.L.* iii. 6868; *M.A.M.* iv. 146). The stone, a tall basis, was split down the middle to make two building stones. Date 103–116.

<p> <i>Αὐτοκρ]άτορα</i> <i>Νέρ]ουαν</i> <i>Τραια]νὸν</i> <i>Καίσα]ρα</i> 5 <i>Σεβα]στόν</i> </p>	<p> <i>Γερμα]νικὸν</i> <i>[Δακ]ικὸν</i> <i>ὁ ΔΗΜ ?] Ο Σ</i> <i>EX · TES]TAMENTO</i> <i>[τοῦ δεῖνος]</i> </p>
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The Emperor's name is not correct: *καίσαρα* should come before Nerva.¹ In l. 8 we should expect *[κληρονόμ]ος*, or *[ὁ υἱ]ός*; but the heir (a son?) was probably a minor and the orders of the will were executed by the demos as his guardian. *[ΔΗΜ]ΟΣ* is necessary in l. 8; the heir would not be written in large letters; but the restoration does not seem to be very satisfactory. *Testamento* is used because the will, as a Latin custom, was probably written in Latin; the name of the testator should follow on a stone below: the main stone ends at l. 9.

We give these examples of the custom prevailing about this time to place in the will instructions for a statue to be erected to the Emperor by the heir at the cost of the inheritance. In Roman wills various *sacra* were often prescribed; hence *hereditas sine sacris* was welcomed by the heir or heirs.

242. Valentia Ilias (R. 1886).² Two words erased at top. Date 191.

<p> <i>[Κόμμοδον Ἡρακλέα]</i> <i>ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος</i> <i>ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Καλλι-</i> </p>	<p> 4 <i>κλέους β' Διονυσίου</i> <i>καὶ Τάμωνος Κόνωνος</i> <i>καὶ Εὐκλέους Καλλικλέ]ους</i> </p>
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¹ *Nep* does not fill the lacuna: can *Kai* have been written here?

² This inscription is published, *C.B.* i. p. 332, no. 145, also in *B.C.H.* 1887, attributed

to Buldur, (bad) copy by a native, and by the Abbé Duchesne, *B.C.H.* 1879, p. 482, as from Ilias rightly. All omit the erased first line.

The Emperor to whom this altar was dedicated was damnatus : the date therefore must have been before A.D. 96 or after 180. The names indicate date before 212 ; and Nero seems too early. The choice lies between Domitian and Commodus ; the erasure of any but an Emperor is improbable. Domitian is impossible, for the erased name was contained in one line ; that is explicable of Commodus who assumed the name Romanus Hercules in 191. Valentia dedicated the altar to Ἡρακλῆς Κόμμοδος in that year. I see no other solution. Commodus was murdered on 31 Dec., 192.

Another line of argument presents itself : what city could be situated here ? It was a city, because it had Senate and δῆμος, whereas a village (κώμη) had γερονσία and δῆμος. The former implies election for a year or less. Men and women passed into the γερονσία by a complicated system (on which see *C.B.* pp. 110 ff., and Humann-Judeich, etc., *Hierapolis*, pp. 134 ff.). What city could be situated here between the salt lake and the mountains ? The city was Apamea.

Valentia, while a mere village of Apamean territory, could not have government by a board of three archons.¹ Apamea, however, was a true πόλις, organized like a Greek city-state, and every one at Sanaos or at Valentia was free to go to Apamea and vote for the archons of the ensuing year. The archons mentioned in this inscription are the three Valentian archons of A.D. 191. Kallikles is known as archon at Apamea from coins of Gordian III, c. 244.² The family was Apamean ; but owned large property at Sanaos and Valentia, where it is often mentioned. Sanaos and Valentia were therefore conterminous. Eukles, son of Kallikles, made a grave for himself and his wife A.D. 178 (Sept.–Oct.).³ He was the third archon for the year 191. We accept Anderson's restoration of this name. Sanaos was represented at early Councils, 325, 431, 451 ; Valentia at 692 (? Le Quien), 787, 879. Sanaos was exposed to Arab raids ; but Valentia was safe.

I formerly erred in thinking that Ilias was the ancient Maximianopolis of Pisidia in prov. Galatia till 72, and probably as late as the Diocletianic reorganization of the provinces ; but it is now clear that Lake Askania (Adji Tuz Giol) was the boundary of Asia on the south-east until Diocletian.

¹ Two was the usual number in a village ; they were generally called komarchai, or protokometai. Orkistos had three archons in 237 ; see Buckler in *J.H.S.* 1937, pp. 1 f. On the identity of archons (generic term) and στρατηγοί see *C.B.* p. 600.

² Imhoof-Blumer, *Klein. Münzen*, p. 213, no. 24. This Kallikles was son of Eukles (or grandson ?), third archon in 191, who was son of the first archon in that year.

³ Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 92, at Sanaos.

The Turkish name of Synnada was reported and spelt to me in May, 1881, by an official interpreter, Jew-Tchifut-Kassaba,¹ distinguishing it from other towns of the same name.² In the recent system of transforming local names to a semblance of Turkish, Tchifut has been recreated as Shohut, judge or arbiter. That modern rewriting of names has been a blow to historical continuity; many names are hardly recognizable in their modernized form as survival of early names.³

As to spelling, all Byzantine documents known to me write *Σύναδα*, which is obviously a parallel form to *Συναός* (i.e. *ΣυναWά*, modern *Simav*), and probably to *ΣαναWα*, ethnic *Sanabensis*, *Ἄναβα* of Herodotus, vii. 30, in spite of vowel difference. Graeco-Roman documents and coins have *Σύνναδα*, connecting it with *συν-ναίω*; foundation legends involving this derivation are fabrications of the Antonine period. As the form *Synnada* became the name in ancient literature, therefore we retain it as consecrated.

An exceptionally important historical document, in which the spelling [*Σύν*]αδα occurs, is *M.A.M.* iv. 96, of 1080–1100 according to the interpretation of F. Doelger (quoted there), later than 1080, when the title *Σεβαστός* was revived (Stein, *Mitt. z. Osman. Gesch.* ii. p. 30). The titulus was found at Atli Hissar.

|| [τὸ κτῆμα τὸ Συν]άδων κὲ Ἰω(άννου) | Κέσαρος
 || [σὺν τοῖς τοῦ Σεβα]στοῦ ἡάσι|κὲ γαμροῦ Δ[ιωγέ-
 || [νους ? , οἷς μέγα κλέος ἐφ]ήγατο Κ(ύριο)ς τῆς + Μη[τρὸς χάριν.

In l. 2 ἡάσι stands for *νιάσι*.

John Dukas Caesar was left guardian of the children of Constantine X., his brother, at his death in 1067. The Turks overran Anatolia up to and including the Synnada valley after the great victory at Manzikert in 1071, where Romanus the Emperor was captured. This inscription marks the final farewell, "the last sigh," of the Emperors as they left this beautiful valley, never to return. Alexios Komnenos in 1114 and Manuel Komnenos twice penetrated from Dorylaion to the valley of Paroreios. Manuel also was in Sandykli valley; but John and Manuel attacked usually along the line of the *Via Pisidica* by *Apamea Celaenae* and *Apollonia*.

Diogenes is the Emperor Romanus Diogenes (defeated at Manzikert); Eudocia, widow of Constantine X., married him and made him joint-Emperor in 1068 with herself; thus he was brother-in-law of John

¹ Tchifut, local pronunciation of Shehut or Yehud.

² There are many towns *Kassaba*, which seems now to imply market-town. It is the Arabic (?) *Kasha* (perhaps old Anatolic); it probably occurs at *Selge* as *Kesbedion*,

i.e. *Kesbeyion*; *Kesbedion* the *Kasba* of Zeus is grecized interpretation.

³ Sometimes a new name is substituted; *Ayassoluk* becomes *Seldjuk*, *Mikhail Nuri Bey*.

Dukas ; γαμβρός was used widely of relatives by marriage. It is strange that Doelger did not recognize the new Emperor, who was evidently well received in that extreme peril by the imperial family.

The restoration κτήμα Συνάδων, if right, is important and welcome. Long ago I was forced to the conclusion that Atli Hissar was the site of Euphorbium on a branch road (badly squeezed in *Tab. Peut.*), which diverged in the Campus Metropolitanus from the great central route to the East (Str. 663), and led to Synnada. Yet there is not room nor authority for a second city there. *M.A.M.* 96, as restored by Dr. Buckler (I believe rightly), proves that it was a dependent village under Synnada. Beudos Vetus,¹ quite near, was in a similar relation to Synnada until Hadrian in 117 gave it city rights, including that of coinage ; probably it soon relapsed to its former grade. Neither Beudos nor Euphorbium was recognized as a city or the seat of a bishopric in Byzantine times. The relation of Panemouteichos to Sagalassos was the same except that that village was recognized as a city and bishopric from c. 380 on. It was raised to city rank (perhaps by Severus or Caracalla ?) and struck coins about 211–250, but relapsed to its former position later, as an inscription under Diocletian shows [no. 240].

A. CYBELE-DEMETER AND HERAKLES.

We trace a romanized noble family of Synnada. On coins of Synnada Andragathos (born c. 11 B.C.) was eponymous magistrate under Germanicus ; his name seems to be a translation of Anatolian Obrimos (Sect. XL.) : he was father of the first civis.

The family was evidently an old sacerdotal family and possessed an olive-growing estate ; the tomb² was in the olive-growing plain (about 60 stadia in length, Strab. 577).³ I formerly proposed to alter ἐλαϊόφυτον to [ἀμπ]ελόφυτον (*J.H.S.* 1887, p. 482), because olives are not now cultivated in such a lofty and cold valley surrounded by mountains snow-clad for many months in every year, at its lowest end (S.E.) quite 3000 ft. above sea-level. Vines, which are cut down in winter, can flourish in a cold country if it has a hot summer. What of the olive ? We found a very large ancient olive press (also jars of oil, stored in a mound)⁴ at Emir Gazi, under the castle of Nora on the border of

¹ Beudos Vetus was 5 miles (*Liv.* xxxviii. 15) due east of Synnada on the hills round which the Synnada river flows before turning sharp to N.E. The site was near Seidi Sultan, a name which betrays ancient remains, like Seidi Ghazi or Emir Ghazi. [Cf. pp. 257, 267-8.]

² The tomb was on the west of the city (*Legrand-Chamonard, B.C.H.* 1893, p. 280).

³ The plain stretches from N.W. to S.E. along the course of a river, which comes from a lofty valley Kutchuk Sitchanli, and

turns sharp to N.E. round Palaion Beudos Seidi Sultan.

⁴ This low flat mound, now called Mal Tepe, treasure mound, attracted attention and I dug a little into it. The jars, amphoræ, are close to the surface, all in fragments, held in place by the soil around, but falling to pieces when the soil is removed. The place was formerly a storehouse built of mud brick, which dissolved into mud and formed the mound.

western Cappadocia, strategia Garsauritis, which is higher and colder than Synnada.

The cultivation of the olive in such a plain as Synnada was assuredly a triumph of arboriculture achieved under the guidance of the Great Mother and her companion and agent, Herakles-Dionysos-Zeus. Compare the priests and gods connected with the cultivation of the melon in its varieties (as the epithet *Κολοκυνθιανός* shows) on the middle Maeander about Mossuna (*Asiatic Elem. in Gk. Civil.* pp. 196 f.). The olive connects Synnadic religion with Attica, and originated a tale of Athenian foundation and Ionian colonists led by Akamas and mingling with a Dorian element; hence the legend on coins *Συνναδέων Δωριέων Ἰώνων*.¹ For what reason and under what hero leader a Dorian element was imagined is obscure. One coin seems to show Dorians and Ionians under one leader (Akamas?, Br. Mus. 30). Imhoof thought that the leader of the Dorians was Lakedaimon as on coins of Sagalassos.

243 and 244. Synnada. Two similar stelae stood right and left at the entrance to a herôon. MM. Legrand and Chamonard published one containing the epitaph of a lady, high priestess of Asia. The other had perished except a letter or two at the beginning of each line. Dr. A. Koerte cleverly restored it as the epitaph of her husband, but missed his name, and made him local high-priest, not of Asia (see *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 280; *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 28). The man is known from coins, and his wife was high-priestess of Asia. He must therefore have been ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, here called Asiarch.

ἡ [γερουσία]	ἡ γερουσία
Τι. [Κλαυδ. Πείσωνα]	Κλ. Λωρεντίαν
Τε[ρτυλλεῖον Ἀσι]-	ἀρχιέρειαν τῆς
ἀρχ[ην καὶ εὐεργέ]-	Ἀσίας· ἐπιμελη-
την· [ἐπιμεληθέν]-	5 θέντων τῆς ἀ-
των [τῆς ἀναστάσ]-	ναστάσεως
εως [Οὐαλερίων]	Οὐαλερίων Κορ-
Κο[ρουεῖνου καὶ]	ουεῖνου καὶ Φρόν-
Φρό[ντωνος ἀρχόν]-	τωνος ἀρχόντων
[τῶν]	

Ti. Cl(audius) Piso Tertullinus belonged to a leading family of Synnada, which can be traced through the history of the city from A.D. 18 to 250.

The name Piso is of obscure origin. We should expect that some Piso was consul *c.* 30, and proconsul of Asia about 40–42; but under Claudius Roman names were given capriciously. An Apamean family, enfranchised by Claudius also bore the name Piso, probably they got civitas in the same year. Cognomina were sometimes taken from legati proconsulis or from quaestors.

¹ [The foundation legend in Steph. Byz., *s.v.*, mentions a Macedonian element; cf. p. 268.]

Claudia Lorentia and Ti. Claudius Piso were members of the same noble family, as *civitas* was rarely bestowed. The nomen Lorentius (Laurentius) occurs occasionally in Asia Minor; as at Laodicea of Lycaonia (*M.A.M.A.* i. 15 and 105, *Λαυρεντιος, Λαυρετια*);¹ it is not found in *P.I.R.*; the cases mentioned in *Real-Enc.* are late and often Christian. Here and at Laodicea it is pagan (certainly in 15, probably 105).

Laurentius must mean decorated with the laurels of victory; it may have some connexion with the minor priesthood *Laurens Lavinus* which is found occasionally even in remote parts of the empire; perhaps it may have been favoured by Christians and refer to the laurels of victory of the martyr.

Ἀσιάρχης approximated closely in meaning to *ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας*, but was a lifelong title, whereas *ἀρχ. Ἀσ.* was usually restricted to the actual term of office, viz. four years. They designated the same person in two different aspects. The wife of an *Ἀσιάρχης* is *ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας*; the term *Ἀσιαρχίς* was not used, though a unique term [*θησ*] *αυραρχίς* occurs in an Ephesian inscription in the outer wall of the Seldjuk Mosque at Ayasoluk (which is added at the end of this sub-section).

The two Valerii archons (of the Gerousia) were perhaps sons of a soldier, who was admitted to the service by M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus, *cos. suff.* June 93, *cos. II.* 125. Waddington placed his proconsulate of Asia in 121–122 with hesitation. Heberdey (*Jahresh.* viii. 1905, p. 237) rightly puts it in 107–108. Two brothers of the same nomen must have had a father *civis*. The proconsul seems to have been active about Acmonia and Synnada, where the name Asiaticus occurs.

The two sons were in the Gerousia, a rather exclusive social institution; soldiers *exactorati* ranked along with the local nobility; they were probably 45 years old at least; age of admission to the Gerousia was uncertain.

The fictitious origin of this proconsul from the ancient patrician gens Valeria was spread; hence the older son was called Corvinus; the reason for the name Fronto is uncertain. This hypothesis places the double inscription about 170 or 175. The father of the two soldiers was a Valerius, enlisted *c.* 108, born *c.* 90; his sons were born round about 120, and would be eligible for the Gerousia *c.* 165; we must refer to the section on Sebaste for an account of the Gerousia.² The active (and recently elected) *gerontes* or *gerousiastai* would take a leading part in managing affairs; the older members were free to sit quietly, the ideal of the Oriental Anatolian.³

¹ The nasalization drops out in the syllable before the accent.

² *C.B.* pp. 110 ff.; Humann-Cichorius, *All. von Hierapolis*, pp. 31, 134 ff. [This section was not written.]

³ It is not improbable, and is entirely consistent with the purpose and nature of the Gerousia that the latest members should be the archons.

The city magistrates of Synnada were called prytaneis, though they might be mentioned by the generic term archontes; but the two Valerii were not archons of the πόλις, for city magistrates would not superintend a monument of the Gerousia, which had its own endowments, and could accept gifts and own property. Tertullinus was a donor (εὐεργέτης¹), and on that account the Gerousia placed this honour in front of the herôon, superintended by its own archons who managed its property and expenditure.

The Latin formula Valerii Corvinus et Fronto was imitated in Greek, especially in philo-roman cities such as Amorion (where examples occur even on coins) and Synnada. Though only two archontes are named here, the total number was greater. These two were nominated by the body of archons to superintend this monument.

At Apamea of Phrygia an archon of the Gerontes acted as epimeletes of a monument erected by the Gerousia (C.B. 306). Women were members; an entire family, father, mother, children, were co-opted together at Sebaste in A.D. 96-97.² The archons of the Gerousia sat together as a συνέδριον or committee in resolving to pay such an honour to a member (C.B. 305, 306).

We now enumerate the successive generations of this great priestly family, which was content to live on its hereditary estate, guiding the fortunes of the city by ancient right in new "politic" offices, carrying out the purpose of Augustus (Section II.), but not entering the imperial service. There was a strong prejudice against Orientals either in equestrian or senatorial service; and the old priestly families inherited a different kind of training and influence. So far as known, members of the priestly families rarely entered the imperial service, and the exceptions will repay study; but about A.D. 300 their influence on their fellow-citizens was still as great as ever.

The first known member of this great priestly family was Andragathos, born about 10-12 B.C., eponymous magistrate, A.D. 18-19.

Obv. Γερμανικός. Rev. Συνναδέων Ἀνδράγαθος; type: owl, amphora.

He is known because he took office, and probably paid for the coinage. The types are the owl of Attica and the amphora (probably of oil, see pp. 244 f.). He was father of Ti. Claudius Andragathos, granted civitas by Claudius in 41.³ The name is a translation of the Anatolian word obrimos, a personal name best known in Pisidia. Here ὄβριμος (ἀνήρ) becomes Ἀνδράγαθος. Hesychius has ὄβριμος · γενναῖος. Andragathos has a political

¹ κτίστης might be employed as practically equivalent to εὐεργέτης; it was used in a very wide sense; anyone that made a permanent endowment for city or other body was a ktistes.

²[C.B. p. 602, no. 475.] Were the children co-opted under age, becoming regular members when they reached the proper age?

³ Claudius might give civitas in 44 or 50 (decennial); we take 41.

sense : οἱ ἀγαθοί were the aristocratic party in the development of Greece (as in Theognis). [See also Section XL.]

I. Ti. Claudius Piso Andragathos Philokaisar, born *c.* A.D. 21 ; civis, A.D. 41 ; first magistrate, *c.* 49–55. On coins we have :

Κλαυδίου Ἀνδραγάθου (quasi-autonomous)
ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀνδραγάθου Φιλοκαίσαρος (Claudius)
Ti. [K.] Πίσων Φιλοκαίσαρος (Nero).

The cognomen *Φιλόκαισαρ* did not continue long. It states the reason for the honour, and was assumed by the first civis ; similarly, *Φιλόπατρις*, *Φιλόδημος*, *Φιλόδοξος*, *Φιλότιμος*, etc., were used as personal names.

II. [Ti. Claudius Piso Philokaisar], not attested, born *c.* 51, kept probably the honoured name.

III. [Ti. Claudius Piso Tertullus], not attested, born *c.* 81. Tertullus is inferred from IV., a child's pet name, "little third Roman." No. III. married Sancta (see under IV.).

IV. Ti. Claudius Peison Tertullinus with other cognomina (see in sequel), born *c.* 111. The spelling changed to Peison since Nero.¹ Tertullinus means son of Tertullus, a sense which is very common in the suffix -anus (see Keil's note on *Denkm. Lykaon.* no. 109, also a long list of family names in *Glotta*, v., by Lambertz). He and his wife were members of the Gerousia, which honoured them with epitaphs (no. 243 f.) about 170. The date is thus guaranteed by two lines of argument. IV. and his son V. are mentioned in the following titulus.

245. Atli Hissar (Euphorbium ?) on a large, round, marble column, 4 hours S.S.E. of Synnada (R. Nov. 1881 ; *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 299 ; Radet, 1880), seen there by Calder, Buckler, etc., *M.A.M.* iv. 49c, but the writing was no longer legible.²

τὸ σ]υνέδριον τῶν
φι]σοε[βά]στων Νέων
ἐτεί]μησαν Τίτον Αὐ[ρ]ήλ[ι]-
ον Κλα]ύδιον Ἀτταλον Σάγ-
κτον] Κλαυδίου Αὐρηλίου Σάγ-
κ]του Τερτυλλείνου υἱὸν

διὰ τὰ]ς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ε-
ἰς τὸ σ]ύνεδριον ἀνυπερβλή[του]ς
εὐερ]γεσίας vacat ἀναθέντος
τὰς τ]ειμὰς Ἀσάνδρου β'
τοῦ Σ]ωκράτους τοῦ συγ-
γένους αὐτῶν

In publishing this inscription (*B.C.H.* 1883, p. 299) I could not restore it fully ;³ and had no confidence that it was correct till it was corroborated in the history of the family.

¹The change from *I* to *ει* occurred in Nero's time in several other cases ; it is merely graphic, and does not affect the metrical quantity.

²On the opposite side was *M.A.M.* 49c, copied by me in Nov. 1881, by MM. Legrand and Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, and by Calder, 1911. I did not understand it then ; now I take a different meaning and

date it differently from *M.A.M.*

³I there conjecturally altered *CAI* to *CA[ΤΟΥΡΝΙΝΟΝ]*. The rare name Sanctus did not occur to me. I copied it towards evening, Nov. 1881, amid heavy rain, keeping my notebook under my cloak ; a milestone half buried close to it had to be left uncopied, see Radet, *En Phrygie*, p. 124 (no. 278 below).

Comparison of this titulus with the coins shows that the full name of IV. was *Τι. Κλαύδιος Αὐρήλιος Σάγκτος Τερτυλλεῖνος*. A second imperial name was bestowed on him by Pius; such an honour was sometimes given. An example is Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus, son of M. Ulpus Pudens Pompeianus (see Section III., p. 23). The rare cognomen Sanctus evidently comes from his mother, Sancta.

The family has in generation IV. become pure Roman in outward appearance; but native names began to return in the next generation. The Antonine age was archaizing in spirit, and local legends of city origins became fashionable along with Anatolian names.

V. The son of Tertullinus was Claudius Attalos, more fully Titus Aurelius Claudius Attalos Sanctus. The praenomen was changed; a Roman family could do so at pleasure. Coins bear the legends:

ἐπὶ πρυτανείως Ἀττάλου (Pius)
 ἐπὶ πρυτανείως Κλα. Ἀττάλου (Senate)
 ἐπὶ πρυ. κ. λογισ. Κ[λ]. Ἀττάλου (Marcus)
 ἐπὶ πρυ. κ. λογισ. Κλ. Ἀττάλου (Verus)
 ἐπὶ πρυ. κ. λογισ. Κ. Ἀττάλου (Verus).

(Ti.) Claudius Attalos was eponymous magistrate for more terms than one about 158 to 162, prytanis in his first term, prytanis and logistes later. As logistes (curator) he had control of the finances, so as to be able to certify to the imperial administration that the city was not spending beyond its means.

Attalos was eponymous magistrate at an unusually early age. That often happened; the father, on behalf of his son, promised to defray all the expenses of office (and more besides),¹ while the honour and title went to the son. In respect of age this is confirmed by the Neoi, who evidently regarded him as one of themselves.

Again, why is the added imperial name of Attalos Titus Aurelius? There was no such Emperor; but the imperial power lay in the hands of Titus Aelius Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Caesar, and their names were combined; the influence of Marcus Caesar naturally became greater as Titus Aelius grew old; and the situation is made clear by the fact that 158–160 was the time when Attalos was first prytanis and the "curators' fund" was created (see p. 252). His father was then c. 49.

The nomen Aurelius was given to IV. about 159, and inherited by V. The father put Aurelius second; he had grown up as Ti. Claudius Tertullinus, and he now became Ti. Claudius Aurelius etc. The son *Τ. Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος Ἀττάλος Σάγκτος* altered the arrangement, blazoning the honour conferred by Pius.

Coins on their small surface often omit part of a name. Nos. 243 f. mention only the highest honour conferred on IV. and his wife, viz.

¹ This addition is certain (see p. 252); it was usual in similar cases.

the provincial high priesthood. When no. 245 was dedicated to V., his father IV. had not yet become Asiarch; he was therefore Asiarch between 160 and 170; this confirms the opinion expressed on p. 34 and elsewhere that a high priest of Asia was of mature age.¹ It shows the strong romanizing spirit in Synnada that clasped right hands indicate the relation with Rome on a coin: obv. *Θεὰ Πώμη*, rev. *Συνναδέων*, clasped right hands (Br. Mus. Cat. 66); also that both venationes and gladiatoria munera were exhibited, doubtless at the city games; these are rare in the Greek cities of Asia.

246. Synnada (R. 1888). A memorial of gladiators is preserved in this simple epitaph to a gladiator who died at Synnada.

[ἦ δεῖνα] Ἐπαγάθω | σεκουδαροῦδη Σμυ[ρ]βαίω [Σαμ[νε]τ]ῆ ιδίω σ[υμβίω]

The meaning of *secundarudis* is obscure. A gladiator, while training, used a wooden weapon rudis, and if allowed to retire was presented with a rudis. The word may denote at Synnada a gladiator who got the rudis a second time; *summarudis* (σομμαροῦδης) occurs also near Colonia Antioch. Br. Mus. Cat. 66 shows a venatio, and a coin in Imhoof, *Kleinas. M.*, shows a fight between a retiarius and a Samnite? (time of Gallienus). Probably the Smyrniote and his wife were slaves, belonging to a troop which could be hired about the province. Munera gladiatoria and venationes were shown at Ancyra, also at Colonia Antiochea; and some reliefs found in the same province seem to refer to venationes.

This gladiator did not reside at Synnada, and doubtless he was killed in the exhibition.

Hadrian visited Synnada probably late in 117² on his way through Ancyra and Metropolis to Rome. Epigraphic evidence proves his visit to Ancyra. An allusion in Ath. xiii. 574 shows that he visited Synnada and Melissa (still Bedesh),³ 6 km. south. He was in a hurry to reach Rome as the centre of power, and therefore marched by the old direct road across a zone of high land to Ginik (Dinia?, Livy, xxxviii. 15) in Metropolitanus Campus. Synnada founded or renamed games Hadriana Panathenaia, mentioned only under Gordian III., when there was evidently a special celebration, mentioned on many coins. As this was probably the only visit that Hadrian paid to Synnada, the name Panathenaia has no connexion with the Emperor's later love for Athens and Eleusinia and Panathenaia. It was an existing epithet of the Synnadic games, connected with the olive and Athena, the olive goddess.

¹ There were perhaps exceptions in case of very rich persons, but they do not affect the general rule; only the wealthy could bear the expense.

² Groag holds this view, I think; I can see no better time. [The visit to Synnada is placed in 129, during his second journey

to the East, by Weber, *Untersuch.* pp. 227 f.]

³ Bedesh corresponds exactly to Melissa: B to M, D to L, SH a peculiar Anatolian sibilant (on which see *J.H.S.* 1880, p. 247); this sibilant was sometimes represented by a special symbol.

Hadriana took the place probably of another native name *Δία Πανδήμια* connected with *Ζεὺς Πάνδημος*, patron of the synoikismos,¹ which took place before Rome entered Asia. Zeus appears on the earliest Synnadic coins, Athena or the owl from Augustus onwards,² and one or other deity appears on 38 out of 73 coins in Br. Mus. Cat., not counting connected types such as Demeter.³ Kybele never appears on its coins, a proof that it prided itself on being completely hellenized, not barbarous Phrygian.

It was doubtless on this occasion that he gave Palaion Beudos the rights of a city; its only coins are of Hadrian. The reason was that the Dokimian marble route crossed the hills N.E. of Synnada valley at their lowest and came down the east side of the valley by Beudos Seidi Sultan, where the registration of the blocks for sale was made. They were not sent to Synnada itself; for all the memorials of the trade were found close to Beudos, none at Synnada. The blocks for Rome went on by Uzun Bunar and Karadilli. Anderson and Buckler et comites are right in this; but they made Synnada the centre, introducing a false complication. I erred formerly, taking Synnada as the office of the trade in marbles.

Coins of most Emperors, even Macrinus, struck at Synnada are known, but none of Trajan or Hadrian or Nerva. No coins are known from 96 to 158, which was due to the following cause.

The Emperors had always to guard against the tendency of cities and provinces in Anatolia to spend extravagantly on public buildings and shows and games; bankruptcy of cities and provinces was a permanent danger. The Empire itself, apparently very wealthy, was not financially sound. Wars and splendours and donativa wasted the imperial resources. Trajan's wars on the Danube and the Euphrates were financed by depreciating the currency, a method ruinous in the end. The Emperors tried to guard against provincial extravagance by appointing curatores in the cities, or correctores (*διορθωταί, ἐπανορθωταί*) in the provinces.

It was probably a Flavian Emperor⁴ (Domitian?) that imposed curatores on the cities of Asia.⁵ This encroachment of the imperial government on the autonomy of the cities was very unpopular.⁶

The curator imposed an extra tax (*ἐπιζήμιον*) if a city had been spending too much. This grievance of "curators' supertax" was alleviated by Trajan or Hadrian (?), who provided that if a sufficient capital sum were collected to form a safe guarantee fund, the city

¹ Hadrian takes the patronage of the synoikismos.

² *B.M. Cat. Phryg.* pp. 393 ff.

³ Artemis Ephesia and Asklepios are probably *θεοὶ ἐπαρχικοί*, alluding to Ephesus and Pergamos as metropoleis of Asia provincia.

⁴ Trajan has been suggested. Domitian

seems more probable, as the poverty and coinlessness of Synnada begins c. 96.

⁵ Probably these curatores were appointed more widely than in prov. Asia; but the evidence known to me relates to Asia.

⁶ Mommsen takes a widely different view, *Ges. Schr.* viii. p. 531 f.

should be set free from government curators and should elect its own. In Apamea and in Synnada there was a heavy supertax. Synnada had built at least three temples, to Rome and the Senate, to Claudius, and to Zeus Pandemos (with Athena ?), as coins attest. Rich men promised to provide the fund if they or their sons were elected magistrates. At Synnada IV. and V. did so; and a remarkable coin was struck in commemoration :

Obv. *ΑΠΟΚΑΤΕ · ΑΥΤΟ · ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC*, Head of Pius.
Rev. *ΚΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ · ΔΩΡΙCΩΝ*, Armed hero.

Imhoof, *Kl. M.* i. p. 294, and Head interpret *αὐτό* or *αὐτόν*. We understand *αὐτό(νομον)*. After Kubitschek all have taken *ἀποκατέ(σθησεν)* to mean "restored to its former position," but there is no agreement as to what was restored. We understand that Antoninus allowed the city to name its own logistes (curator), thus making it entirely self-governing. This occurred c. 158–159. The father of Attalos made this splendid gift as part of his promise for his son's magistracy, and the son naturally was elected logistes. In modern democracy this would be called bribery.

This coin declares that "Antoninus made Synnada again autonomous."¹ Exactly the same process of abrogation and restoration of autonomy took place at Apamea a few years earlier, and is commemorated in an inscription, *C.B.* ii. no. 297. The joy in Synnada caused a great outburst of coins, Pius, Marcus Caesar, and Faustina Augusta (she was Augusta since 147).

VI. Claudia Basilo, priestess (of Rome, p. [214]), along with her husband Julius Lycinus, c. 164-9, belonged to the same family (coins of Lucilla Augusta). Julius Lycinus is mentioned also on coins of Faustina Junior as priest (d. 175). Basilo was probably sister (or cousin), rather than daughter (or niece), of Attalos.

Claudia Basilo appears in virtue of her priesthood: she did not represent the Claudian family of Synnada; she belonged to the family of her husband. Attalos succeeded to the patriarchal position of his father, and held the family property with full authority, but the ownership was regarded as a life trust.

VII. The last member of this Claudian family that can be identified by Roman names is Claudia Septimia Nikarete (*R.* 1888; *M.A.M.* iv. 65).

247. Custom at Synnada was to place together tituli of husband and wife. Aur. Euagros, the agonothetes, erected a statue and inscription to the wife as a companion to that of the husband. The latter is conjecturally restored in part on the left, as no. 243 f.

¹ Head suggests that *αὐτό(ν)* may be the hero Lakedaimon. Selge was a Lacedaemonian foundation (Strab. 570); so also Amblada (*Ἀμβλαδέων Λακεδαιμονίων*). Im-

hoof says that the unnamed hero is Lakedaimon (named on coins of Sagalassos, Hill, *Cat.*, Lycia, etc., p. 244).

[ἀγαθῆι τύχηι	ἀγαθῆι τύχηι
τόν κράτιστον	τὴν κρατίστην
Μ. Αὐρήλιον	Κλ. Σεπτιμίαν
Ἐλπιδηφόρον	Νικαρέτην
νικήσαντα	5 γυναῖκα Αὐρ.
ἐνδόξως	Ἐλπιδηφόρου
? ?	τοῦ κρατίστου
? ?	Αὐρ. Εὐαγρος
? ?	Εὐάγρου
? ?	10 πρῶτος ἄρχων
Αὐρ. Εὐαγρος	τὸ δεύτερον
Εὐάγρου	ἀρετῆς καὶ
πρῶτος ἄρχων	σωφροσύνης
τὸ δεύτερον]	♥ ἔνεκα ♥

Her husband, Aur. Elpidophoros, won some prize in the games, Hadriana Panathenaia, named on coins of Gordian III., 238-244. He was of equestrian rank and was also probably a procurator: the title *κράτιστος* at Synnada was usually reserved for imperial officials. The date has been fixed skilfully as about 238-44 in *M.A.M.* iv. 67 by the agreement in dimensions and script between no. 67 agonothete Alexander, son of Alexander, archiereus twice, and no. 68 agonothete Aur. Euagros. Nikarete resumes the old nomen Claudia. She must have been young c. 240.

We may add here the inscription of Ayasoluk referred to on p. 246.

247A. In the wall of the Seldjuk mosque (R., May, 1880). Marbles badly smoothed; many letters could be read; several can be restored in part; which we publish.

[τὸν δεῖνα]	συνκλητικῶν
πρῶτον ἄρχοντα υἷον	Φαβώνιος Φλάκ-
τῆς εἰς] Ἐφεσο[ν	κιλλος τὸν
θησ]αυραρχίδος	ἀγαθόν
συνγενίδος	συνάρχοντα.

Lettering ornate with apices, third century, suiting a lady in Ephesus akin to more than one senator of Rome. The lady's name was stated, perhaps that of her husband, father of the lost archon. The titles *θησαυραρχίς* and *-άρχης* are not published elsewhere.¹

The dedicator, Favonius Flaccillus, bears a nomen taken from a proconsul of Asia under Augustus; see titulus published by Calder in *J.R.S.* 1912, pp. 240 f., where the nomen and praenomen are lost, and the proconsul has not been identified; but his approximate date is known, as he was consular legatus of some great province in A.D. 14-15,

We reject *Αὐρ. Ἀρχίδος*, an unknown name, as less probable. Others may prefer it.

and therefore consul under Augustus in his later years.¹ The added Flaccus, becoming Flaccillus, is obscure.

B. PRIESTS OF DIONYSOS AND ARIAGNE.

Sancta (p. 249) was wife of the unattested III., and mother of IV. ; her son and grandson took Sanctus as cognomen ; evidently her family was eminent in the land, and the name suggests that it also was sacerdotal, like the Obrimoi-Andragathoi. It was natural, and inscriptions prove, that intermarriage between two priestly families often took place. The name occurs in several inscriptions of Synnada.

248. Found in a field near Seulun Prymnessos beside the road from Synnada to Afion Kara Hissar-Leontokephalon-Akrun (R. 1884 ; *C.I.G.* 3882 ; Wadd. 1708 ; *I.G.R.R.* iv. 699, all from Ham. 171 ; photo and fresh copy and photograph in *M.A.M.A.* iv. 11).

Ἀὐτοκράτορα
Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρή-
λιον Ἀντωνείνον
Σεβ. μέγιστον υἱὸν
Ἀὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Α. Σε-

πιμίου Σεουή-
ρον Σεβ. Ὁ
Αὐρήλιος Σάγ-
κτος καὶ Πλω-
τία Ἀγριππεῖνα
συνκλητικοί

Official recognition of Caracalla as Augustus, spring, 198 (so *M.A.M.A.* rightly). Severus was still living. Geta was made Caesar in June, 198, and would probably also get an inscription. The two sons were placed beside the statue of Severus, erected 193. These distinguished Prymnessians were authorized to act for the city, and perhaps paid the cost.

(M.) Aurelius Sanctus was a scion of this great priestly family ; his father² got civitas in 161 from M. Aurelius, who gave civitas more frequently than the early Emperors did. He married a Roman lady of high rank, which suggests that her father had been a senatorial officer of prov. Asia, proconsul or legatus or quaestor. His father was equestrian, though perhaps he never served ; and the son was permitted to enter the senatorial career (as was often done), aided doubtless by the influence of his wife's family ; she was probably an aunt of P. Plotius Romanus, who was legatus Galatiae under Caracalla or Elagabalus (see Keil, *Denkm. Lycaon*, no. 38 ; Brunnow-Domasz., *Arabia Pet.* iii. p. 298, makes Plotius legatus Syriae after 181 ; Ritter-

¹ He may have been grandson (or son) of M. Favonius, proscribed and killed after Philippi, 42 B.C. The name Flaccillus may have come into the family later, through marriage with a lady Flaccilla.

² I tried to make him the first civis of the family but that does not suit the con-

ditions, though it is epigraphically possible. Further, I find it difficult to name a case where an Oriental provincial was admitted direct to the senatorial cursus honorum in the second century. [See, however, *J.R.S.* xix. (1929), pp. 49 ff.]

ling, *Fasti röm. Deutschl.* 146, places his trib. legion. towards end of 2nd century). Aurelius Sanctus had attained quaestorship; he thus became member of senate before 198.¹ Probably he was quaestor of Asia,² and he and his wife recorded their new rank as senatorii at Synnada; he was of a Synnadic family, as the name and the next titulus show. This stone was being carried to Afom Kara Hissar, like many other large blocks, but some accident (breaking down of an ox wagon?) interrupted the transport.

According to the reckoning which we employ the father M. Aur. Sanctus was made civis in 161, aged c. 19; his son was born about 170; and if he was quaestor *suo anno* he became a member of the senate and *συνκλητικός* in 195; pushed on by his wife's family, he would rise rapidly in the early stages; later his career depended more on merit; even under the feeblest or worst Emperors merit was the rule, and disregard of it the exception. Aur. Sanctus was sent to Asia, because Oriental senatorii were employed in the East (Dessau: we know no³ exception to this rule): Caristianus of an Asiatic colonia of Italian origin was legatus legionis in Britain.

Marriage between a Roman noble family of Italy and a rich family of Asia Minor was arranged when a member of the Italian family was an official in the province. The son of C. Novius Priscus, cos. 152, legatus Galatiae c. 149 (the legatus was the only senatorial official in that province), married Flavonia Menodora, of the wealthy priestly family of Men Askaênos at Colonia Antiochea. Sergius Paullus was legatus Galatiae, and his daughter Sergia Paulla married a wealthy Caristianus of the same Colonia.

249. Synnada (R. 1888), left end of cornice of a herôon.

Αύρρ. Σάγκτου καὶ Πείσω[νιανῆς ? μνήμα

Aur(elius) Sanctus was assuredly the father of Sanctus in the preceding titulus, and was created civis by Marcus. He and his wife belonged to the two old hieratic families of Synnada. Such families married commonly within the sacerdotal circle. The Sancti were not enfranchised so early as that of Andragathos. Aur. Peisoniana bears a nomen and a cognomen of the latter family: Πεισ[ω]νιανός occurs at Iconium, *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 354.⁴

The occurrences of Sanctus in *R.-Enc.* show that it is a translation of a non-Roman name: cp. the Gaul Julius Sacrovir. Accordingly the name Sancta is probably the translation of a native name, and Ariadne or Ἀριάγνη suggests itself. Ari[agne] probably occurs in Sterrett 9.

¹ Quæstor must be 25 years old.

² I do not know whether there was a quaestor in Lycia-Pamphylia after 161; quaestor in Bithynia ceased when it became imperial.

³ [An over-statement for the Antonine period: cf. Ritterling, *Jahresh.* x. p. 307; *J.R.S.* l.c. pp. 64 f.]

⁴ Πεισλιανός is an error; the letter was smudged.

St. Ariadne was a Christian martyr at Prymessos (*AA.SS.* 17 Sept.). Areiagnos is probable in our no. 31. Where a feminine divine name is known, a masculine usually also occurs or may be presumed.

The probable chronology of this Synnadic family, as reckoned without any thought of ulterior results, made the son quaestor in Asia in 195; he accompanied the proconsul (name unknown) to hold the assizes at Synnada on April 14, 195; and he was mentioned in the letter of Synnada to Septimius Severus, which elicited a reply (*C.I.G.* 3788; *M.A.M.* iv. 57: three fragments which can be placed together). Sanctus and Plotia remained quietly at Synnada in those anxious years 195-198; they probably were timid partisans of Severus, and made their allegiance clear as soon as it was safe to do so.

Coins of Synnada minted in the reign of Decius bear the name of a magistrate Aur. Tlepolemos :

ἐπὶ Αὐρ. Τληπολέμου ἰππικοῦ

ἄρχ. Τληπολ. ἰππι.

ἄρχ. Τληπολέμου ἰππικοῦ ἄγω. (quasi-autonomous).

This archon, 249-251, was evidently named from old Greek mythology, where a hero Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, was connected with Ephyra, Rhodos, Mysian Kaikos valley and Troy.¹ Aurelius Tlepolemos mentions on all his coins that he was equestrian (*ἰππικός*), implying probably that he had served equestrian militiae. This name revived from old mythology was probably used in a priestly family sprung from Herakles.² The Herakleid family at Synnada was the Andragathoi Obrimoi: the Sancti were Ariagnoi, who sprang from Dionysos. Tlepolemos retains the Roman nomen Aurelius granted as a second imperial nomen to IV. and V. about 158.

Another rich family of Synnada is known for several generations. It probably possessed an estate (or visited for medical reasons), or more probably was the priestly family, at Effe Keui, 2 hours N.N.E. from Synnada, high on the hills dividing the valley of Synnada from Kaystrou Pedion.

250. Effe Keui (Calder, 1911; Legrand-Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 289).

Μ. Αὐρηλ. Ἀλέξαν-
δρος καὶ Φλ. Πώ-
λα ὑπὲρ Αὐρηλ.

Ἀντιόχου υἱοῦ
κατὰ χρῆσμον
Ἀπόλλωνι

Date c. 170; Alexander born c. 142, got civitas 161.

¹ He was killed at Troy by Sarpedon (*Il.* v. 628 ff.); his people wandered and are placed by legend at Krotona and the Iberian Isles.

² Connected with Kolophon and Klaros and Notion we hear of τῶν ἀπ' Ἄρδουος Ἡρακλειδῶν.

Effe Keui has been considered (by me formerly and by others) as on the Roman road; but this is an error. There were paths from Synnada and Afium-Kara-Hissar and Prynnessos to the estate; but the Roman road crossed the hills lower down towards S.E. At this village there was a hieron of Apollo Asklepios; it was a veritable health resort high on the crest of the hills, about 4500 ft. above the sea (Kara Hissar railway is 3350, and Synnada about 3740). Apollo is here the healing god who alone can cure the plague that he caused. Under Pergamene influence this Apollo was represented as Asklepios on coins. The modern name Effe Keui,¹ means village of the Effendi, i.e. the Tchelebi Effendi, head of the Mevlevi dervishes,² who had a large estate, Kara Arslan, in the valley to east. This estate, like Kara Arslan south of Konia, takes its name from the dread Lion of the Seldjuks, and has no connexion with Leontos, much used in this region (Leontos Kome, Goëleon, Leontokephalon) on account of the evident signs of volcanic action.

Effe Keui is situated on the shortest path, 5 hours, from Synnada to Afium-Kara-Hissar (Leontokephalon). It has been identified as Palaion Beudos; but this is impossible. Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. was marching to Galatia; this is not the road. Pal. Beudos was 5 M.P. from Synnada, on a spur that projects S. from the mountains S.E. of Kara Hissar, and is now called Seidi Sultan.

M. Aurelios Alexandros resided at Synnada, and had another son, Alexandros, who is mentioned in no. [254 ?].

Flavia Pôla (Polla) belonged to a family that received civitas from a Flavian Emperor. She was named after Sosia Polla, wife of the proconsul Q. Roscius Pompeius Falco (*C.B.* no. 291); she died in his year of office, c. 128.³ Flavia Polla was probably born in that year. Antiochus, her son, was probably a younger son;⁴ women generally married young (see no. 38). This family used the name Alexandros for the eldest son, taking it as protector of men⁵ (Greek for an Anatolian epithet of the god, as Obrimos was rendered Ἀνδράγαθος, p. 247). The family (like other sacerdotal families) was descended from their god.

251. Effe Keui (R. 1888; carried to A.-Kara-Hissar S.E. cemetery, *M.A.M.A.* iv. 1); in tabula ansata of white marble.

Μηρόφιλος Ὀν-
ησίμου ἱερέυ-
ς καὶ Μάμμη υ-

πὲρ τῶν ἰδίων
σωτηρίας Ἀπό-
λλωνι εὐχὴν

¹Effe is vulgarism for Effendi, often used by the modern peasants, especially in conversation: *gel effe* means "come, Sir."

²Konia, Magnesia Sip., and Afium-Kara-Hissar are their chief seats in Anatolia.

³*P.I.R.* doubts; but she is called ἠρωίς, which in Anatolia always implies death.

⁴As the eldest son had sole control of the family estate with patriarchal authority, younger sons not being wealthy in their own right rarely played much part in Anatolian politics.

⁵Not as warding off men attacking.

Probably *ιδίων* is masculine, as in other cases here ; elsewhere it is often neuter. Names connected with Men are rare in this central region. Mamma is here a personal name ; generally it is a term of relationship, grandmother.

252. A.-Kara-Hissar, carried from Effe Keui ? (*M.A.M.* iv. 2) ; small votive stele ; white marble.

Μάμμη | ὑπὲρ | παίδων Ἐκάτη | εὐχὴν.

The goddess associated with Apollo at this shrine is grecized as Hekate. Neither Apollo nor Hekate appear on Synnadic coins, only Asklepios and Hygeia (*sic!*) owing to Pergamenian influence. Artemis on the coins is *θεὰ ἐπαρχική*, not *πολιοῦχος*. Whereas the coins mention the Pergamene Asklepios, the actual cult kept the older Apollo.

253. Seidi Sultan at east end of Synnada valley (R. read from impressions¹ made by a Turk in Nov. 1881 ; *B.C.H.* 1893, pp. 288 and 639 ; *Strena Buliciana*, p. 659 ; *S.E.G.* vi. 244 ; *M.A.M.* iv. 67). Marble stele, blue marble ; lines short ; no ♀ used. I got the name wrongly as Seidi Keui, knowing no Turkish then.

*οὐ]ομα [κα]ὶ τέχνην σε Τελέσφορε πατρὸς ἔχοντα
στῆσεν Ἀλέξανδρος δεύτερον, ἀρχιερεὺς,
πανκρατίου νείκης γέρας εἰκόνα τήνδε λαβόντα
χαλκῆν ἐν μέσσοις τοῖς πατρίδος σταδίοις.*

Alexandros, son of Alexandros,² is the Agonothetes ; he is mentioned on coins struck probably in 243 (assuming that games were held like Olympiads).

Obv. Gordian III.³ 238–244.

Rev. *ἀρχ(οντι) Ἀλεξάνδρω . β' . ἀγωνοθ(έτη), ἀρχιερί β' , | Συνναδέων.*

Another : *ἀρχ . Αλεξ . ἀγων . ἀρχιερί . β' .*

Combination of several coins in poor condition adds the games *Ἀδριάνια Παναθήναια*,⁴ at which he presided as Agonothetes.

This eponymous magistrate and *ἀρχιερεὺς* in the local cult, who exhibited sports and presided probably in 238 in honour of the new Emperor, was then probably about 40 years old, and was born c. 200.

254. Synnada (R. 1888).

*Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη
τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον*

♀ *M* ♀ *Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον* ♀ *β' ♀*

*ἵππεία Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιρετοῖς
[δωρεαῖς τετευμημένον . .]*

¹ We sent a man to make impressions and report on villages, on east side of the valley, while I went to Atli Hissar. He found only one inscription. I did not look at the impressions till 1920, and mis-

read the first line.

² *δεύτερον*, poetic variation of B or *δῖς*.

³ Gordian on obverse wears paludamentum.

⁴ See p. 250.

The beginning of the equestrian career of a provincial, who gained *dona militaria* in the earlier wars of Severus, before those decorations were abolished. This Alexander cannot be the same person as the Alexander, son of Alexander, mentioned on coins of Gordian III., 238-44.

Conjecturally we add one other member of the priestly family which we have traced for seven or eight generations. He is mentioned in an epigram carried from Synnada to Balchik (or Baljik) Hissar, 3 hours S. of Synnada, at the entrance to a pass carrying an ancient road across the hills to Ginik (Diniae ?), near Metropolis. The village contains nothing else ancient. I formerly placed Melissa here erroneously, following G. Hirschfeld, who also was led astray by Bal (Latin mel). Calder assures me that the name is Balchik.

255. Baljik-Hissar (*R.* 1888 ; *M.A.M.* iv. 66 ; Perrot, *Rev. Arch.* 1876).

Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας Δημήτριος οὗτος ἡ ἐκεῖνος ἡ
 ὃν πάντων φωναὶ φασὶ πολυστέφανον·
 Θυνναρίδαι δ' ἔστησαν ἐν εἰκόνι ἡ δόγματι κοινῶ ἡ
 βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, κλεωνὸν ἄγαλμα ἡ πάτρης.

The *Θυνναρίδαι* obviously are the descendants of Thynnaros, who is nowhere alluded to in literature ; but on some coins of Synnada there appears a bearded heroic head with the legend ΘΥΝΝΑΡΟΣ. Thynnaros therefore was a figure in the local legendary history of Synnada, probably the local representation of Herakles : Head hesitates between "Herakles or Thynnaros" (*Cat.* p. 397). Is *Θυνναρίδαι* simply a poetic term for *Συνναδεῖς* (so *M.A.M.*) or does it mean a family sprung from Thynnaros ? Both are possible ; but the latter is more probable. The name Demetrios connects its bearer with Kybele-Demeter. In poetic style he uses only his cognomen. His family, descendants of Thynnaros-Herakles, erects his statue at his home by decree of the boule and demos (of Synnada).

M.A.M. iv. expresses a suspicion that this Demetrios is mentioned in no. 4 (our no. 269).

The epithet *πολυστέφανον* does not mean that he had won many crowns as victor in games. He was giver and president of games and wore a crown, as agonothetai did. He added a crown as Asiarch to a crown as local archiereus.¹ Similarly, in Section XXIV. Flavius Montanus was local archiereus at Akmonia and afterwards provincial high priest at Ephesus. Aur. Demetrios was arch. at Stektorion and Asiarch (*Br. Mus.* coin). Thus the epithet *πολυστέφανος* acquires meaning : compare also Himerios (?), demiourgos at Tarsus, consul in Rome, who wore three *στέφανοι* as Demiourgos, Kilikarch and Gymnasiarch.²

¹ Hill in *Jahresb.* ii. pp. 245 ff. See also *C.B.* pp. 55 ff.

² See Section XLVIII. below.

XL. OBRIMOS.

258. Karagatch Neapolis, 6 hrs. S.S.E. from colonia Antiochea (R. 1881; publ. *Ath. Mitt.* 1883, p. 71). The number in l. 16 was never inserted.

<p>Ὀβριμιαν- ὸς καὶ [Μ]ου- σαῖος οἱ Ἰου- λίου τὸ πρ- ογονικὸν ἔργασ[τ]ήρι- ον κατὰ γαι- ον ὑποβαλ- ὄντες τὰς</p>	<p>10 παραστάδα- ς καὶ τὴν ὄρ- οφὴν καὶ τὸ ἠνωμένον αὐτῷ σύστρ- 15 ωμα ποδῶν . συστρώ- σαντες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πά-</p>	<p>ντα κοσμήσα- 20 ντες αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Ἄναβουρεῦσι- ν ἐποίησαν ἐ- ξέδραν ὄντε- ς ἀπόγονοι Μά- νου Οὐραμμούου.</p>
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Obrimianos and Mousaios, two brothers, were of a priestly family (cp. Sect. XXXIX.), which claimed descent from Manes (Masnes, Mannes), the god of Ouramma. The sacerdotal families claimed to represent the god and to be his descendants, guarding his property on earth. The date of this inscription is early, for their father had assumed (or been given)¹ the name Julius; that must have been before Claudius forbade provincials to take a Roman gentile name. The prohibition did not apply to cognomina, nor to the assumption of nomina by new Roman cives. Obrimianos means in Anatolian usage son of Obrimos, which must have been a family name. Mousaios is a grecized form of the Anatolian name Moussis. The nomen Julius indicates philocaesarian loyalty, implying civitas; adoption of the name shows hope of gaining civitas later.

The family made its wealth by a workshop (ἐργαστήριον προγονικόν); τεχνεῖται were few and valued in the Pisidian mountains. Handicraft skill was regarded as a divine gift from the toiling god Herakles. The native Moussis was a divine name or epithet (cp. Δε-μουσια, p. 69).

The date is about A.D. 80-90. The inscription is of the first century. The father, Ioulios, was named after Augustus (or the Julian family), say about A.D. 14 to 20. The new name was only slightly changed from the native Λουλον, Lily (Latin *lilium*, with *ι* and *ου* equivalent); we think of the name as feminine; but in the ancient view the same names were suited for men and women. Louliane has sometimes been misread as Iouliane;² Loulon was a great fortress guarding the north entrance to the long pass of the Cilician Gates, named from its resemblance to the flower, a lofty cone crowned with a circular wall (*H.G.* pp. 351 ff.).

This gift seems humble. It was perhaps a smithy, with one side open free to the air, and provision for a strong fire; it was only a

¹ Probably it was given him at birth.

² A case is quoted and rectified by Calder in *M.A.M.* i. footnote to p. xxv.

ground-floor building, with no upper story or cellars underground (*ἀνώγειον* or *ὑπόγειον*). The brothers paved and roofed it, built a front and antae, paved the adjoining space, put it in proper condition and made it a hall or saloon, airy in summer, warm in winter, protected from rain in late autumn and spring, for the comfort and enjoyment of the people of (the village) Anaboura. The gift was a herald of the elaborate buildings for popular use constructed by the Romans. Artemidorus (Strab. 570) mentions Anaboura as one of the cities of Pisidia; but he must mean by *πόλεις* only independent townships or states. It never became a *πόλις* in the Roman imperial sense; it was only one village in a tetrapolis, i.e. union of four villages in a single polis; see later section.¹ Strabo merely quotes Artemidorus; he himself is careful to use *πόλις* strictly. Some of those Pisidian states were poleis in the Graeco-Roman sense, many were only *κῶμαι* or *οὔαι*. The polis had a *βουλή*, and reached its conclusions by voting. The village had assemblies, *conventiones*, and reached its conclusions by general consent and agreement.²

XLI. SYNNAIDA UNDER CLAUDIUS.

Coins of Claudius mention a certain Artemon *ἀρχιερεύς* and *τροφεύς*.

- (1) Obv. *Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σinnaιδίς*.
Rev. *ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμωνος ἀρχιερέως*. Demeter standing,
(2) Obv. Similar.
Rev. *ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμωνος τροφέως*; type similar.

In the second coin *τροφεύς* must be taken as an epithet of Artemon; similarity of types places both in the same year and class. Artemon was called foster-father of the city: compare *θρέψαντα τὴν πόλιν ἐν δυσχρήστοις καιροῖς* of a rich man at Apamea Kelainai (*C.B.* p. 466, no. 300).

The following inscription records the honours paid to this same Artemon.

¹ [Not written; cf. pp. 23 f., 153; *Anat. Stud. pres. to Buckler*, p. 204.]

² [*Conventio* in this sense is unusual, but the author was convinced that it is the correct reading on two companion boundary-stones in the *Campus Metropolitanus* published by Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, pp. 342 ff. = *C.I.L.* iii. 14192, 6-7 (the second previously copied by R. Heberdey, *C.I.L.* iii. 13660, and recopied *M.A.M.A.* iv. 123, where A.'s copy is wrongly called a "revision"). In the second text, l. 3, his restoration gives *conventio* written in full (*confirmat conventio vicarorum . . . condu-*

cendum), while in the first, l. 5, the word was abbreviated: *conduc(endum) confirmat cio*—an abbreviation which may be supported by the lists of "compensia syllabaria" given in *C.I.L.* iii. pp. 2568, 2676. The two stones were set up by a *trikomia* (of which the third member was Moracome, "Mulberry Village"): it agrees to let a piece of land to an unnamed contractor (*conductor*, *μισθωτής*), being concerned perhaps only with fixing the boundaries, while the bargain with the contractor was made by the procurator on behalf of the emperor.]

259. Synnada (Legrand-Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 284).

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησε Ἀρτέμωνα	Ἑγείας τε καὶ Σωφροσύνης
Ἡροδώρου εὐσεβῆ ἀρχιερέα τῶν	γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ἐκ τῶν ιδιῶν
κατὰ πόλιν θεῶν καὶ ἱερέα	χρημάτων διετίαν.

The deities Health and Temperance are remarkable ; there was an epidemic evidently, or famine followed by disease. Artemon had been a benefactor to the citizens.¹ The inscription seems early as well as unusual in character, and the coins are equally unusual ; they were probably struck by the city as a special and unusual honour at the expense of the State.

The famine is that which is mentioned (Acts xi. 28) "over the whole Empire" (ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην . . . ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος), cp. Acts xxiv. 5 ; Sueton., *Claud.* 18 ; Dio, 60, 11 ; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12, 43, etc. Suetonius speaks of the scanty corn supply in Rome ob assiduas sterilitates, and the great care and forethought which Claudius exercised to maintain the stock of food in Rome. Tacitus describes at length the extreme danger in which Rome was placed, saved only by the mildness of winter which permitted ships to come from Egypt and Africa ; the danger extended even to distant provinces.² According to Dio, 60, 11, 1, scarcity was already serious in A.D. 42 ; and Claudius began to construct the Claudian harbour at Ostia in order to quicken the unloading of the cornships and the transport to Rome.

The title "Foster-father" was bestowed on Artemon, who nourished Synnada when the harvests failed. It was the penalty of growing olives over the plain that there was less corn-growing land. Oil brought wealth, but the city was dependent on imported grain, and especially on the rich Metropolitan soil. The harvests failed generally in the Empire, at Metropolis as elsewhere, over a series of years ; the famine and suffering lasted long.

The city gods were Zeus Pandemos, god of the synoikismos, and Athena : it is unusual that their priest should be ἀρχιερεύς, a term generally reserved for the imperial cult. Ephesus, however, was at first νεωκόρος of Artemis alone, and not νεωκόρος of any Emperor till Domitian,³ and the term ἀρχιερεύς might be used of her priest ; the fourth neokorate was of Artemis in the 3rd century. In Tracheia ἀρχιερεύς was the title of the priest dynast of Olba Kennatis and Lalassis, unconnected with the imperial cult. At Nagidos Μαν [patris nomen] τοῦ Μωσητου ? ἀ]ρ[χ]ιε-
ρασαμέν[η]ν τῆς Τύ]χης τῆς π[ό]λεως (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kili-*
kien, no. 265).

But here the θεοί of the city are intended to include the reigning Σεβαστοί as representative of all the Emperors, the gods of the Empire as a whole. The term alludes to Claudius, to whom a temple was

¹ We reject the interpretation that the name of Artemon's father was Tropheus.

² Tacitus shows exceptional emotion in describing the danger in Rome.

³ Acts xix. 35, and Keil, *Forsch. Eph.*

dedicated. Thus Ἀρτέμων was ἀρχιερεύς in the imperial cult, and must therefore have been a civis. His Roman name was either Tiberius Claudius, if he was created by Claudius to qualify him as archiereus, or Gaius (or Tiberius) Julius if created by Caligula or if his father was created civis by Augustus. We have found no certain case of a new civis created by Caligula, and few except foreigners by Tiberius, and no. 260 decides in favour of the last alternative. This high priest was C. Julius C. F. Artemon; his father was perhaps the first civis created in Synnada who did not use a cognomen taken from a Roman governor (or the son disused it). Probably Artemon was priest by birth of Asklepios and Hygieia, who were the Pergamenian representatives of Apollo and Hekate-Artemis.

Synnada was *dis νεωκόρος* in the time of Constantius, 293 (Perrot, *Rev. Arch.* 1876, i. p. 195; R. 1888; with photo, *M.A.M.* iv. 59). The neokorate is never mentioned on coins. Probably the two were of Rome and Senate and of Claudius. There was a temple of Rome and the Senate in Synnada, as the following coins show: numbers as in Br. Mus. Cat. :—

15. Obv. *ἱερὰν σύνκλητον Συνναδεῖς (ἐτίμησαν ?)*

Rev. *δῆμος Ῥωμαίων.*

18. *ἱερὰ σύνκλητος.*

20. *Θεὰ Ῥώμη.* Also 21.

ἱερεύς on 48, *ἱέρι(σσα)* on 51, probably refer to this cult.

There was also a cult of Claudius, attested by

37, 38. (Quoted above, p. 262.)

56. *ἀρχιερεύς β'* in A.D. 238–244, which refers to this cult.

The temple on nos. 59, 64, refers to one of these cults; if so, the figure in the temple can hardly be "Dionysos."

In the following Jewish prayer *M.A.M.* restores Ar[temon] rightly and *ἀρχισυνάγωγον*, hardly the rest.

260. Synnada (*M.A.M.* iv. 90, "first or second century; third line a late graffito"): we prefer date c. 50 A.D.

τὸν δεῖνα ἀρχισυν[άγωγον
υἱὸν Ἰου]λίου Ἀρ[τέμωνος
ΩCEKT

We distrust the restoration which makes Julius Artemon a Jew. It will be shown in the section on Phrygian Jews,¹ that they avoided all overtly pagan names. L. 3 is in smaller letters, much hacked and disfigured. We suggest the following restoration as giving the probable

¹ [Not written.]

intention. The Jew, a slave, makes a dedication on behalf of his master Artemon : *Justus exempli gratia*.

Ἰουδῶτος? ἀρχισυνάγωγος Ἰουδαῖος ὑπὲρ
Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ δεσπότου
Συνναδῆ^ως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων
εὐχὴν ἀνέστησεν τῷ Ὑψίστῳ θεῷ.

The Phrygian Jews often specified their nation. Here Ἰουδαίων might be better. This Jew brings himself into relation with a pagan ; and the restoration must conform to this guiding fact. The Jews of the Diaspora appealed to Jehovah as ὕψιστος θεός. The prayer might well connect itself with the condition of Synnada under Claudius. The conclusion may be simply ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εὐχὴν. Justus translated the Hebrew Zadok. Claudius expelled Jews from Rome.

The following pseud-autonomous coin is placed among "unbestimmte" by Imhoof in *Griech. Münz.* p. 247, no. 815 ; he describes it as "of prov. Asia : Mionnet size 8 : third century ; good condition. Obv. Bust of Boule ΚΑΑΥΔΙΑ · ΒΟΥΛΗ to r. Rev. ΕΠΙ Γ · Μ · ΑΥΡ · ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ . . . ΙΑΝ|ΩΝ : in field left ΙΩΝΩΝ. Tyche with kalathos. The first letters of the city name uncertain, perhaps ΠΑ." ΠΑΙΑΝΩΝ makes no Asian city. The coin was struck under Gallienus, and was intended to read ΕΙΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ or ΕΙΝΝΑΕ|ΩΝ, but the legend became ΓΙΝΝΑΑΙ|ΩΝ¹ which seemed like ΠΑΙΑΝ|ΩΝ. This is the only magistrate on a coin of the time of Gallienus ; and the only grammateus on a coin of Synnada, but grammateus occurs in an inscription. Alexandros β' on coins of Gordian III. (238-244) cannot be the same as this later Alexandros.

Κλαυδία βουλή is the most interesting feature of the coin (Imhoof). Claudius gave the complimentary title Claudia to Iconium, Derbe, Seleukeia, and Laodicea of Lykaonia and to the Boule of Synnada. The title may be restored in an inscription published in *M.A.M.* iv. 64, and differently restored above, p. 22, no. 9 :—

κ]ατὰ τὰ δόξ[αντα τῇ Συνναδέων
κ]ρατίστη βου[λῆ Κλαυδίαι καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ Τ. Αἰλ. Οὐ[ενουλήμιον Ἀπρωι-
αρόν, δις χει[λίαρχον λεγιών(ων δύο) κτλ.

To the commentary given on pp. 22 f. some observations may be added.

A prominent native of Synnada was made civis in the first year of T. Aelius Hadrianus Pius, and served equestrian militiae as tribune of

¹ ΔΕ was crowded and seemed Ν|ΩΝ. My friend W. R. Paton had a coin in good preservation :

Obv. Senate ΙΕΡΑΝ · ΚΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΝ · ΚΥΝ-
ΝΑΔΕΩΝ (B.M. no. 15, same but
ΚΥΝΝΑΔΕΙC).
Rev. ΔΗΜΟC · ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ full length figure.

two separate legions, probably in the same province. Mutilation of the stone has cut off the rest of the career. As was often done, this Synnadic civis abandoned his native name, which often was retained as second cognomen. I felt some temptation to read *HION* at the beginning of l. 4 (which would make it possible to retain the text of *M.A.M.* with one name changed); but on consultation Buckler assured me that *ANON* is certain.

This equestrian career, the only one known at Synnada, would have been instructive in several ways. A tribune in two legions is always interesting.

XLII. PROCURATORS RESIDENT AT SYNNADE.

According to Chapot, *Prov. d'Asie*, pp. 333 f., there was at first one single procurator of Asia responsible for the revenue which the Emperor took from the entire province. Under Vespasian there were two, for Asia and Hellespontus; later there was a third for Phrygia. Mommsen held that there was a fourth for Insulae. I am not competent to have an opinion on this: but, certainly, a procurator Phrygiae had wide power under Marcus.

There were many other procurators of small districts and special duties, e.g. one at Nakoleia, two resident at Synnada, each the head of an officina of subordinates. We are concerned only with Synnada and the procurators Marmorum and Phrygiae, both resident there, though the latter had to travel around in Phrygia. Synnada was the chief city τῆς ἀνω Φρυγίας.

There is no record when or by whom the procuratio Phrygiae was instituted; but it is often mentioned under Marcus; in earlier inscriptions of Synnada proc. simply means proc. marmorum, because there was no other procurator there. The new procuratio was probably one of a series of changes introduced about 161. Another change was that Lycia-Pamphylia was now governed by a proconsul of praetorian rank and his legatus, while Bithynia-Pontus was in exchange placed under a legatus Augusti (consular?).¹ Attacks by barbarians from the north-east were an increasing danger.

261. Synnada (R. Nov. 1881; *M.A.M.* iv. 62; Perrot, *Rev. Arch.* 1876; *C.I.L.* iii. 7045).

D(is) M(anibus)
Fl. Eutychiae
matri piissimae

Amiantus Aug.
lib.
a commentariis

¹ There is no record of legions placed in Bithynia-Pontus at this time, which was a natural result of the growing apprehension.

Similarly, there is no allusion to legions stationed in prov. Tres Eparohiae, instituted in 138.

Amiantus was T. Flavius Aug. lib. Amiantus ; it is uncertain which of the Flavian Emperors manumitted him, probably Domitian. He would have given his *nomen* if he had been Ulpian or P. Aelius. He was born a slave ; his parents were manumitted after his birth, and he required special manumission. Soldiers enfranchised communicated their civitas to their children ; but the case of slaves was different.

262. Another libertus Aug. Amiantus is known at Laodicea Lycaon (*C.I.L.* iii. 287, from Hamilton who omits *lib.* in l. 12 ; Calder, *M.A.M.* i. 21), and may be compared with the preceding titulus.

D	M	
Valeriae Cleo-		merenti cum
patrae fecit		qua vixit annis
T. Ael. Amiantus Aug.		X : ex peculio ip-
lib. proc. coi-		seius scripsit
gi sue bene		Valerius An-
		dronicus lib.

Valeria Cleopatra was civis of libertine origin, because Cleopatra is probably *servile nomen*.¹ She had a slave Andronicus whom she set free ; and he from his own peculium bore the expense of engraving the inscription. Evidently he was freed by will, as peculium was the property of a slave, which she permitted him to hold. She died aged about 30. *Sue* at this date is due to a slave.

T. Aelius Amiantus at Laodicea in prov. Galatia was perhaps a son of (T. Flavius) Amiantus ; generally the familia Caesaris remained permanently at the same station ;² but marriage between slaves of distant familiae are attested, and promotion of libertine procurators to other provinces occurred. T. Flavius Amiantus may have married a serva Caesaris, and another manumission for their son was needed. Connexion remains uncertain, but is possible, between the two libertine Amianti.

263-4. Gazuk Keui, 4 hrs. S.E. from Synnada, two inscriptions in a fountain (R. 1881 Nov.), belonging to Seidi Sultan (Beudos Vetus), near which the officina of the Dokimian marbles was situated. *C.I.L.* iii. 7048, 7046.

In village pronunciation Gazikeui is treated as one word and becomes by vowel assimilation Gazukeui. Seidi Sultan is a name of Seid al-Battal al-Gazi (the Dangerous the Conqueror), an Arab leader who, after many raids into the "land of the Rumi," was defeated and killed at Akrun Afion Kara Hissar. The remnant of his 20,000 raiders fled to the Synnada valley, as other roads were barred. He became the hero of the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor (doubtless owing to his Arab title Gazi). He was buried in the Bektash mosque at Nakoleia Seidi

¹ The name Cleopatra was usually *servile*, no. 189, but at Ancyra *Latinia Cleopatra* was descendant of kings.

² They spoke of the city as their patria, married among its citizens, and even were magistrates.

Gazi; the Janissaries were all Bektash. He is a demon Djin who guards the top of Erdjish Argaios, and other uncanny places. His name also occurs as Emir Gazi, Seidi Sultan, indicating the mystery of pre-Turkish life and civilization.

263 M. Ulpus	264 D M	Aug. lib. proc. lib.
Mariani lib.	Ulpiae	Felix coniugi
Paederos hic	Hygiae	optimae b. de se
situs est	Mariani	meritae

M. Ulpus Marianus, libertus of Trajan, was procurator (marmorum evidently). He is known only from the epitaphs of three slaves manumitted by him. Paederos, Felix and Hygia were set free perhaps under Hadrian; but they take the name of their own libertine dominus. We assume that two were set free together, as was often the case with married slaves. If Felix had been set free earlier by Nerva or Domitian, or later by Hadrian, he would have assuredly marked the difference of name. As it is, we may safely assume that both were Ulpii.

Hygia and Felix were servants in the household of Marianus proc. marmorum, not servi Caesaris. It is therefore probable that Marianus lived at the officina beside and under Beudos Seidi Sultan, which was on the hills bounding Synnada valley on East. Beudos Palaion had a history beginning in 189 B.C. (Livy, 38, 15). The Synnada legend (p. 245) makes Synnada a younger foundation (Greek and Macedono-Phrygian) than the villages and people of the plain; and Beudos claimed the title *παλαιόν* as the ancient town. Hadrian in 117¹ passed this way returning from Selinus and Syria with his armies through the Cilician Gates and Ancyra, and made Beudos a coin-striking city, but this rank seems not to have continued after his time, as no later coins are known.

Beudos and Boudeia, *πόλις Φρυγίας* in Steph. Byz., are the same place: cp. *Λεύκιος* and *Λούκιος*. Temeneia, a city of Phrygia towards Lykaonia (Steph.), is coupled with Boudeia by Nonnus, *Dionys.* xiii. 512 f., and may be one of the villages united in the synoikismos of Synnada.²

264A. Synnada (*M.A.M.* iv. 55). We prefer different restoration.

Caesari] n(ostro)	genio] eius
T. Aelio] Antonino	P. Ael. Aug. l]ib. Verna proc.
Augusto] Pio et	

¹ [See p. 250, n. 2.]

² We camped at Uzun Bunar, said to be 4 hrs. from Synnada and 4 from Metropolis (Tatarli), leaving Tatarli as the night was closing in. I noticed to my astonishment, for I had no knowledge of the country, that after the first hour we turned left and had the Polestar about 5° to our right. Rain and darkness prevented proper time-

keeping. Next morning we came to Gazuk Keui, 30 mins. starting from Uzun Bunar (same direction), close to the river of Synnada where we turned N.W. to Synnada (about 330°). I should now suppose that Gazuk Keui was Gazi Keui (error due to my ignorance of Turkish); Buekler visited it and it is on his map. He has Seidi Sultan right: I got Seidi Keui wrongly.

The date is 138, before Pius assumed the name Hadrianus.¹ Hence the procurator must be libertus of Hadrian. *M.A.M.* prefers in l. 4 *domo eius*, perhaps rightly.² This procurator, born in the familia Caesaris, retained Verna as a name when set free. He erected the inscription (and statue) as a pledge of loyalty to the new Emperor at his accession (Sect. II.), acting for the Synnadic familia Caesaris. He was doubtless *proc. marmorum*. The last line is longer than the rest, both to r. and to l.

265. Hieropolis, not Stektorion (R. 1883 and *C.B.* 641; Buckler et comites, *J.R.S.* 1926, p. 55).

<p>ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν <i>M. Αὐρ.</i> <i>Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευ-</i> <i>θερον Κρήσκεντα</i> 5 ἐπίτροπον Λουγδοῦ- νου Γαλλίας καὶ ἐπίτρο- πον Φρυγίας καὶ ἐπίτρο-</p>	<p>πον Καστρῆσι ἐν παν- τὶ καιρῷ εὐεργετήσαντα 10 τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἀν- δριάντος τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένου (<i>M.</i>)³ <i>Αὐρ. Σε-</i> <i>βαστῶν ἀπελευθέρου</i> <i>Ζωσίμου</i>⁴</p>
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The order of office is probably chronological. Crescens, libertus of Marcus and Verus, had been in charge of the imperial *domus* at Lugudunum (where there was a praetorium of the Emperor's legatus); he was promoted procurator of Phrygia, where he served for several years, and was then selected to manage the imperial household service as *proc. castrensis* when Marcus undertook his expedition to the East: the Emperor was then *in castris*; and procurator *castrensis* was one of the highest positions open to an imperial libertus, cp. O. Hirschfeld, *Kais. Verwaltungsb.* pp. 312 ff. His duties at Lugudunum had been of the same class. The date of the inscription was 176.

We crossed the mountains in rain from Synnada to Sandukli in a forenoon (Nov. 1881) and went on 4 hrs. further.⁵ Hieropolis was then unknown, or we should have gone to the thermai.

Considering this close relation we ask whether the alliance coin of Synnada and Hierapolis (*B.M. Cat.* p. 256) should be assigned to Hierapolis, called by a more truly Greek name; ⁶ but this can be denied. The coin was struck at Hierapolis, not at Synnada: the type representing Hierapolis, viz. Apollo Kitharoidos, is common at the city near the

¹ [Hadrianus is sometimes omitted.]

² Genio suits a libertus, who swore by the genius of his patron. Numini also possible.

³ There is no room for (*M.*) in l. 12. It was omitted by a Greek scribe, but is necessary in Latin style. I know no exact parallel to *Aur. Augg. lib. Zosimus*; *M. Aur. Augg. lib. Zosimus* is correct. Hence I have restored it as omission of ignorance: *Zosimos*

was a Greek-speaking slave.

⁴ *Zosimos* was probably freedman of Marcus and Commodus.

⁵ In interpreting the legend of St. Aberkios (*Avircius Marcellus*) the journey is an important factor: in rain progress on a mountain path is slower.

⁶ Hierapolis ad Lyceum was called Hieropolis in Augustus's time, and also Hierapolis.

Lykos and never occurs at Hieropolis or any other city of the Glaukos valley.

The close connexion of Synnada with Hieropolis and its thermai is not attested much by the inscriptions. Most are later than 212, and the nomen Aur. does not imply that the bearers were liberti of Marcus Aurelius. Only in *C.B.* 645 between Kusura and Balik,¹ an enigmatic inscription dated 205 = A.D. 120-121, two liberti? of Trajan are mentioned perhaps.

Μάρκος Οὔλπιος Νεκτάρεος καὶ
 Μάρκος Οὔλπιος Ὀрна-
 νος ἐτείμη^{ment in}σαν τὸν ἐ-
 αυτῶν πα^{antique} style. τέρα €C

They may be liberti; but they may also be sons of M. Ulpius — who was made civis by Trajan in 98: their father died prematurely² in 121, and they honoured him with an epitaph. The antique ornament is a dim memory of the ancient carved tombs at Balanaion [Kumbet, pp. 68 ff.].

I accept a correction from Buckler and his party; *M.A.M.* assigns the titulus to Hieropolis, probably from proximity: that is precarious where the cities are so close and transport so easy. It is, however, right, as we shall try to prove.

Zosimos resided in the regio Pentapolitica and must have had some special duty there, the collection of some impost for the Emperor. I can see only one tax from this region that must belong to the Emperor: the healing baths of Hieropolis, coming out of the earth, were a property of the Emperor, dominus of land and sea, and a fee had to be collected from the users.

Zosimos was resident at Hieropolis and speaks of it as "our patria." The duty was a humble one, and probably was performed by a slave. Zosimos was now set free and promoted to a charge at Synnada, perhaps tabularius, who was always a libertus. The relation between the familia Caesaris at Synnada and the regio Pentapolitica was very close.

It would be in accordance with ancient feeling that the thermai (Anatolian garma or germia) were given by the god to the Hieropolitai, the people of the hieron; the only god-given hieron in the valley was the hole in the ground where the hot water rises. The Hieropolitai as the beneficiaries used the hot springs free; but the many strangers who came to use the baths ought to pay the god who had given them. Probably the tax was collected by the priests of the hieron, and the Emperor, the god on earth, praesens divus, was heir to the revenue.

¹ Ballik means fish; but Bali or Boli is Greek πάλις, sometimes *k* is tacked on to give Turkish appearance, as in Balik Hissar.

² New oives were chosen likely to serve imperial policy through a long life: this man died about 42 years old. €C as number, op. *C.B.* 350.

The collector must be a resident, able to distinguish natives from strangers. The promotion of the proc. Phrygiae to a distant duty caused a general move upwards in the familia Caesaris, and Zosimos became libertus and went to Synnada, enriching his patria with a monument to the procurator.

M. Aurelius Augg. lib. Marcio is mentioned in many inscriptions. We place these in chronological order; prefixing here a sketch of his career. He was set free by Marcus and Verus, 161-169 (not by Pius and Marcus, as Augg. lib. does not suit them), and was in succession proximus rationum, procurator marmorum, proc. Britanniae, proc. summi choragi, proc. Phrygiae (no. 268). The name Marcio is rare: the heretic Marcio is the chief; no relationship is probable: in age the heretic might be great-grandfather of the procurator.

Prox. rationum was head of the accountancy of the marbles (in the tabularium). The tabularii (no. 268) were always liberti, and kept record of the exact origin of each block or column delivered to the Synnadic officina by the *ἰππεῖς* from the quarries at Dokimion, with cost, transport and destination.¹ Dokimion was made a πόλις by Claudius (see Section XLVI.), but though there was an officina there, it remained as before under the control of the Synnadic officina.

The supreme controller of the Synnadic officina (which was situated under and west of Beudos Vetus Seidi Sultan) was procurator marmorum and the chief of the tabularium graduated into that procuratio. The principal chapter in the Synnadic accounts was ratio urbica (those sent to Rome). Marcio's first steps as libertus were tabularius and proc. marmorum. The following titulus belongs to this stage in the career of Marcio:—

266. Synnada (Legrand-Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 283; *I.G.R.* iv. 704).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>[Συνναδέων ἡ βουλῇ]
[κὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησε τ-]
ὄν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαι-
ον Αὐρ. Μαρκίωνα
5 ἐπίτροπον τῶν θει-
οτάτων Αὐτοκρατόρων
διὰ τὰς εἰς τὴν πατρί-
δα εὐεργεσίας,
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς</p> | <p>10 ἀναστάσεως ποιησα-
μένων παρ' ἑαυτῶν
Αὐρ. Χρυσαντίωνος
καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ
Ζωτικοῦ Κάστορος
15 καὶ Διονυσίου
Ἀν[δ]ρέστου? καὶ Ἑρμογέ-
νους Θεμισώνος καὶ
Αὐξάνοντος Γαίου
ἀρχόντων τῆς πόλεως.</p> |
|--|--|

¹ They engraved a record on each block before sending it out. [For the *ἰππεῖς* see Section XLIII.]

Date before 212 : 4 out of 5 archons are not cives ; this titulus probably congratulates Marcio on being made procurator marmorum. Chrysant(h)ion¹ was made civis in 161 ; his father is not named, as not having been civis. As servile, Marcio had no military career, but a distinguished procuratorial career.

At the beginning we read as above (or perhaps ἡ πόλις) ; certainly not *Ἀὐρ. Δημήτριος* as in no. 269 : the two tituli are not companions.² *θειότατος* of a living Emperor occurs in the case of both Antoninus and Severus, and is no criterion of date.

That Chrysanthion was Aug. lib. is possible,³ but not probable ; liberti of the Emperor, and even liberti not imperial, sometimes were magistrates of cities where they lived. Five archons epimeletai indicate that the city (or boule and demos) was the author of the honour. When procurator is used alone in Synnadic tituli, we understand that proc. marmorum is meant. The higher grade is distinguished as proc. Phrygiae, and strictly it was equestrian (probably centenarius). Although the Latin inscription, no. 268 below, speaks of "provincia Phrygia," yet there was no province Phrygia at this time. Phrygia was a division of Province Asia, lessening the burden of that vast province ; it existed only as a procuratorial circumscription.⁴ Procurator Asiae was ducentarius. Proc. Phrygiae cannot have been of the same rank ; doubtless he was centenarius. Marcio's benefactions to Synnada had been rendered as tabularius and even earlier as servus Caesaris : imperial slaves were important persons in an Anatolian city.

Marcio was now promoted procurator Britanniae. On his way to Britain⁵ he passed through Rome and left there the following dedication. As he does not mention his wife, who would naturally have joined in the dedication, we presume that he was not yet married.

267. Rome (*C.I.L.* vi. 648).

pro salute et
incolumitate
indulgentissimorum
dominorum
Marcio lib. proc. sacris eorum
iudiciis gratus

Silvano deo praesenti
effigiem, loci ornatum,
religionem instituit
consecravitque
libens animo.

¹ Chrysant(h)ion (not in Pape) was not a slave name : neither was Marcio. How Marcio came to be a slave of Caesar is unknown.

² Companion tituli (as no. 243 f.) have the same author and the same epimeletai : they were fashionable in Synnada, but not common elsewhere. One case at Isaura (Palaia).

³ Liberation was not connected with 161, but would not be later than 160.

⁴ *Κοινὸν Φρυγίας* on coins of Apameia (under Nero, Vespasian, Caracalla) was commune civium Rom. in Phrygia consistentium, meeting at Apamea for the district Phrygia in conventus ; C.R. of Asia met once at least at Ephesus ; perhaps C.R. of Phrygia met at other Phr. cities, but no evidence of such meetings is known (*C.B.* ii. 424-426).

⁵ Not on his return from Britain ; see below.

O. Hirschfeld in *Kais. Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 294, note 1, and Stein in *P.I.R.*² are agreed that this Marcio was the man from Synnada; this suits well his career as we trace it. In the imperial time Silvanus was properly the god of the familia rustica and of the farm, revered in Dalmatia as Silvanus Vilicus.¹ Vows pro salute et reditu were made to him, which suggests that this Oriental made the vow on his way to dark and gloomy Britain, thanking Marcus and Verus for the promotion (sacris eorum iudiciis gratus).

Klotz, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. Silvanus, quotes this inscription in full as a typical example of the cult,² which passed from the familia rustica to the urbana, and to the praetorian cohorts and the army.

The careers of these imperial freedmen are difficult to reconcile with the general principles of procuratorial career stated by Domaszewski and O. Hirschfeld. The finances of the provinces ruled by senatorial governors were managed by equites, not by freedmen; but under the weak administration of Marcus Aurelius³ those duties were often entrusted to freedmen (*Kais. Verwaltungsb.* p. 381, n. 4), who were not admitted to militiae; the strict rules stated by Domaszewski, pp. 141 f., regarding the career and grades of equestrian procuratorial service as marked by promotion in militiae, cannot be applied in the lower procurations held by liberti.

268. Kaimaz (*C.I.L.* iii. 348). On Kaimaz see no. 270.

M. Aur. Aug. liber(to)	proc. summi chorag(i),
Marcioni proximo	proc. prov. Fryg(iae)
rationum, proc.	Senecianus collib.
marmorum, proc.	ex tabular(io) h(onoris) c(ausa)
prov. Britanniae,	

The procurator Britanniae was ducenarius; and all later procurations in this career should be ducenarial; but proc. Phrygiae could not rank so high. Proc. marmorum was probably sexagenarius; proc. Asiae was ducenarius; proc. Phrygiae perhaps centenarius.⁴ Marcio must have been a procurator in Britain, not of Britain.

Procurator summi choragi superintended the decoration for all theatrical exhibitions, and in general for the shows given by the Emperor (summi); he was stationed in Rome. Marcio must have spent some considerable time in Britain and in Rome; he returned to Synnada in 176-177 to the post of procurator Phrygiae, which was properly equestrian, but was permitted to two libertini in succession by

¹ As trees were cut down to increase arable land, the god of the forests became the god of the farm.

² Klotz takes Marcio as of the familia urbana; which was true after he returned from Britain.

³ "Weak" is the adjective used by O. Hirschfeld; possibly the promotion of slaves implied development, rather than weakness.

⁴ *Rangordn.* pp. 141 ff. We take tabulario as neut., not masc.

Marcus. In this post he succeeded (M.) Aur. Crescens, who went as proc. castrensis to the East with Marcus Aurelius in 176-177.

Senecianus, a tabularius (from Synnada?), accompanied him to inspect and audit the accounts. There must have been some special tax paid by the tribe Troknades, which had been originally in Galatia, but had been attached to Asia by Lucullus about 85-0 B.C.; but there is no evidence.¹ It is possible that Senecianus was stationed there permanently, as tabularius (therefore libertus Augusti), which he blazons in his dedication. [See no. 270.]

Aelia Maximilla of Synnada doubtless married Marcio while he was procurator there. We gather from her name that her father was called (T.) Aelius Maximus (native cognomen lost), whose name shows that he was made civis by Pius at his decennium, 146-147, when T. Atilius Maximus (Bradua?), cos. c. 132, was proconsul of Asia. This parentage would place her birth about the year 156 and her marriage c. 176, when Marcio came back to Synnada as procurator Phrygiae. Marcio went to Britain unmarried (as his tituli show); the following tituli exhibit him as married to Aelia Maximilla. The two lines of reasoning agree; the marriage occurred in 176-177, when she was c. 20 and he was c. 30 as customary in Anatolia (cf. pp. 57, 219).

269. Afion Kara Hissar, carried from Synnada valley (*M.A.M.* iv. 4). As the titulus implies a companion, we restore that of the husband as far as her titulus permits.

<i>[M. Αὐρήλιον</i>	<i>Αἰλ(ίαν) Μαξίμιλλαν</i>
<i>Μαρκίωνα</i>	<i>τὴν σεμνοτάτην</i>
<i>ἐπίτροπον</i>	<i>γυναῖκα Αὐρηλίου</i>
<i>τῶν Κυρίων</i>	<i>Μαρκίωνος ἐπιτρό-</i>
<i>Αὐτοκρατόρων</i>	<i>που τῶν Κυρίων</i>
<i>κτίστην τῆς πόλεως</i>	<i>Αὐτοκρατόρων</i>
<i>(Probably offices</i>	<i>κτίστου τῆς πόλεως</i>
<i>stated here)</i>	<i>Αὐρ. Δημήτριος</i>
<i>Αὐρ. Δημήτριος ἀρχ-</i>	<i>ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν</i>
<i>ιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν]</i>	<i>Σεβαστῶν</i>

This titulus is evidently a congratulation on (and confirmation of) marriage. Humbler Anatolians engraved their marriage record on their grave; many tituli are practically marriage certificates placed at that most sacred shrine of primitive social and family life. This pair have their marriage recorded by the high priest of the imperial cult (suitable to the procurator of the Lords Emperors), Aur(elius) Demetrios, who does not emphasize that it was a marriage between a freedman and a Roman lady.

Marcio's marriage was very soon after his return to Synnada, as his tituli show. At Tricomia, three villages close together, an inscription

¹ Orkistos paid a similar tax collected at Nakoleia: op. *M.A.M.* [v. pp. xxix f.].

was dedicated to Aelia Maximilla, by the tribe Troknades. It is possible that the Troknades also dedicated a companion titulus to Marcio which has perished; but pairs of tituli after this fashion were not common (so far as remains show) except at Synnada. In any case the dedication to Aelia shows that she accompanied him on this visit of inspection.

270. Trikomia Trocnadum, Kaimaz Turkish name¹ corrupted from (Tri)komias; cp. Einesh from Tumbrianassos (no. 240). (R., June, 1881; *C.I.L.* iii. 6997, from Domaszewski.)

Αἰλ. Μαξίμιλ[αν
τὴν σεμνοτ[άτην
γυναῖκα τοῦ κρα-

τίστου ἐπιτρ[όπου
Τρόκναδες

Μαξιμίν[την], *C.I.L.*, from Dom.; the error obscures the personality; Stein in *P.I.R.*² A301 has conjecturally corrected it.

The Trocnades, a Gaulish tribe, were in prov. Asia under a procurator of Phrygia, as Mommsen infers in his comm. on *C.I.L.* iii. 6997 (so Ptolemy, v. 2, states). Evidently a piece of Galatian territory of the Trocnades was incorporated in Asia. The Attalid kings, who formed and fixed the land of the Gauls in a series of wars, did not force the Gauls to alienate one of their tribes.² Moreover, in 189 Manlius and his army crossed the boundary of the Gauls on the summit of Emir Dagh (ancient name unknown), between Mandri Fontes and Abbassos. At that time evidently Orkistos and the Trocnades were in Gallic territory.

The career of a procurator at Synnada is stated sometimes at length, in other cases he is merely called procurator; his posts as *servus Caesaris* are never mentioned. Similarly, when a private soldier (*caligatus*) fought his way up to equestrian rank, his service as private was not mentioned except the *dona militaria* which he won in *caliga*; ³ his *caligate* service sometimes is suspected but uncertain.

At Synnada probably *marmorum* was the lowest *procuratio* and procurator simply implies *marmorum*. *Tabularii* were Aug. libb., including *proximus rationum* as chief in *tabulario*.

Probably slaves were sorted out early. Markion seems to be quite young when his natural abilities led to his selection as *tabularius*. On the other hand, a useful "horseman" had no career; he remained *ἵππεύς* for life.⁴ Who was responsible for selection? Probably the procurator in charge recommended, and the *dominus* nominally appointed.

¹ Kaimaz "it does not slip," a mere makeshift name to give some sort of meaning to Turkish peasants.

² The kings did not want Gauls in their regnum; and the Romans thought that their regnum after 190 was quite large

enough, and showed that in their subsequent policy. Asia provincia was formed in 133.

³ The *dona* varied according to rank.

⁴ [See no. 276.]

271. Synnada (R. 1881, 1888 ; *M.A.M.* iv. 63).

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχῃ	ἐπίτροπον	ποιησαμένω[ν
Ἀυρήλιον	ἢ πόλις,	τῶν περι
Ἀρισταίνετον	τὴν	Ἀυρ. Ἀθήναιον
τὸν	10 ἐπιμέλεια[ν	Ἀκύλιον
δικαιοτάτον	τῆς	πρώτον
τῆς Φρυγίας	ἀναστάσεω[ς	18, 19 ἄρχοντα ἀρχόντων

Three copies, independent, agree in all important points; little differences are due to time, rain and snow. In l. 1 *M.A.M.* restores [I] at the end; there was no I on the stone which was washed clean in 1881 by 5 days' continuous heavy rain. In ll. 3, 7, 15 *M.A.M.* restores a final N, ο[ν]; 1881 and 1888 show N inside preceding O; ¹ here also rain had cleaned the letter in 1881. Presumably *M.A.M.* was blest (?) with bright weather, and fine dust concealed small N inside O.² In l. 6 για[s], *M.A.M.* and 1888; γίας, 1881. In l. 10 εια[ν], all copies. In l. 12 σε[ω[s], *M.A.M.*; σεω[s], 1881 and 1888. In l. 13 νω[ν], *M.A.M.*; ν[ν], 1881 (μεν in ligature). In l. 14 NII in ligature, 1881.

Date, "earlier half of third century" (*M.A.M.*); the date is very uncertain and this may be correct; but before seeing this estimate I had written my own hesitating calculation time under Commodus or before 197; the future will decide by further evidence. Some considerations point to third century. Another inscription to the same man (perhaps in the same year?) follows.

272. Synnada (Legrand-Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 282).

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχῃ	έτην] καὶ κτίστην τῆς πα-	γραμματεύοντος
ἡ κρατίστη βουλή	τρίδος Ἀυρ. Ἀρισ-	τῆς βουλῆς M. Ἀυρ.
ἐτίμησεν	τάνετον ἐπίτρο[π-	Ἀλεξάνδρου Αχιλλέως
τὸν ἐν πᾶσι εὐεργ-	ον Σεβαστοῦ.	

No. 272 was engraved under a single Emperor, 180-197 (?).

We assume that proc. Aug. and proc. Phrygiae are here used as equivalent. Ἀρισταίνετος was not a slave name; he was equestrian procurator of Phrygia; but the date is difficult to determine. The spelling is free from any fault, though the added ἀρχόντων is a solecism; this suggests that the date is not later than 198³ (when two Emperors began to reign). M. Aurelius Alexandros, son of Achilleus, must be distinguished from M. Aur. Alexandros β', who belongs to the reign of

¹ *M.A.M.* notes on its no. 66 on next page, O around N. The photo does not help my eyes.

² Some remarkable cases of this happen; we excavated the face of an old Phrygian grave in 1881, hoping to find an inscription; there was none. In 1884 rain had cleaned the letters; but I had already published

the tomb without letters.

³ Proc. undefined is generally proc. mar-morum. If that rule be applied here, some years elapsed between the inscriptions, and perhaps the first titulus is to be understood as proc. Augustorum and placed 198-211, but that interpretation is very doubtful.

Gallienus,¹ and was perhaps grandson of this Alexander. Aur. Athenaios Aquilius was first archon. We must infer that he was made civis by Commodus or M. Aurelius.

Achilleus was perhaps an imperial slave manumitted by Marcus or Commodus (against this compare [no. 274]).

If τῆς πατρίδος applied to Aristainetos, he would be a citizen of Synnada, and in that case he would probably be either libertine procurator or son of a libertus of Marcus; but it applies only to Alexander and the boule.

Aur. Athenaios Aquilius has a Greek and a Latin name, but the Greek comes first, which is rare and probably late. I cannot quote a parallel. Athenaios was a citizen of good family. C. Aquilius Proculus was procos. Asiae 103-104 (*P.I.R.*² A999).

273. Synnada (R. 1888; *M.A.M.* iv. 79; same): "second or third century" (*M.A.M.*); we prefer third.

Ἀκύλλιος Μενεκράτους	κὶ κ]ουριδία τὸ μνημα εὐχα-
Τ]ατία Δημοκλέους γυναι-	ρισ]τίας μεγάλης ἔνεκεν

The names show that this family was of high local rank. The decay of feeling for distinction between Greek and Latin names in Aquil(i)us, son of Menekrates, proves that appreciation of the contradictory character of Greek and Latin names either had never been acquired or had been lost. In *M.A.M.* no. 71 the date is given π̄ι, A.D. 225-226, and the man is the same Ἀκύλλιος Μενεκράτος ("read το(υ)ς," *M.A.M.*).

274. Synnada (R. 1888; *M.A.M.* iv. 59; *Rev. Arch.* 1876, i. p. 195); marble basis; top broken. Date soon after 1 March, 293.

τ]ὸν ἐπιφανέστατον Καί- σαρα Φλ. Οὐαλέριον Κωστάντιον (!) ἢ λαμπρὰ τῶν Συνναδέων μητρό- 5 πολὺς καὶ δις νεωκόρος	10 τῶν Σεββ. διὰ τῶν πε- ρὶ τὸν κρ(άτιστον) δουκηνάριον Φλ. Αὐρ. Ἀχιλλέα πρῶ- τον ἄρχοντα τὸ τρίτον ἀρχόντων
--	--

Constantius I. ruled in Britain, Gaul, Germany. An inscription dedicated to him in the East can be explained only on the supposition that the new order created by Diocletian was marked in Synnada by four statues of the two Augusti and two Caesares.²

Constantius II. is not to be thought of; his name was Fl. Julius and he was Christian, but this titulus belongs to pagan time. The cult of the Sebastoi disappeared when the Empire became Christian, although

¹ [But cf. no. 254.]

² Diocletian, Emperor 284; Maximian,

1 April, 286; the Caesares Constantius and Galerius, 1 March, 293.

sacer, divinus, θεῖος, continued to mark imperial things. A city could not be νεωκόρος after the final triumph of Constantine, A.D. 323.

Flavius Aurelius Achilleus was first magistrate eponymous during three successive years, 291–293. He was perhaps of a Synnada family that got civitas from a Flavian Emperor and a second imperial name from M. Aurelius; we reject the idea that he took Flavius from one of the late Flavian Emperors, for Constantius,¹ the first of them, never ruled in the East. The name Achilleus is remarkable; it must have been adopted in some great Synnadic family (probably priestly) not from any known person, but it was in the air and in the minds of men at that time.

Aelius Achilles was rationalis Augustorum in 193 (Severus and Albinus?);² Achilles is here slave name, which was ordinary usage. Alexander Severus had Achilles in his second lararium; Maximin I. was called popularly Achilles: the father of Zenobia, Septimius Achilleus, was called by her people to be Emperor after she was defeated and captured in 272.

Ducenarius simply was used after Severus in the sense of ducenarius procurator; but at Synnada there was no ducenarius. After 270 the word was used as a mere title of rank (Mommsen, *Staatsr.* iii. 564); and κρ. as title is abbreviated (which is characteristic of the late period). What rank exactly is meant I cannot say; but in the time of Constantine it is said in *Real-Enc.* to be intermediate between egregius and perfectissimus, which is probably higher than Achilles had, for Synnada was probably not yet metropolis of a province.

ἀρχόντων in last line is added unidiomatically; compare no. 271.

275. Synnada (R. 1881; *M.A.M.* iv. 72, "architrave with moulding"). This was the cornice of a herôon, inscribed [εὐτύχει] ἐπίτροπε, the salutation of a passer-by to the deceased.³ *M.A.M.* restores ἐπίτροπε[ύων or -οντι]. The salutation usually employs the familiar name or signum (in case of a Christian his baptismal name).⁴ Here the occupation takes the place of a signum.

¹ Constantinus I. and his sister Constantia were Flavii, and the nomen became popular. The termination -inus was used like -anus, "son of": see p. 248.

² Stein in *P.I.R.*³

³ Similar salutations are addressed by the

deceased (or by the gravestone) to the passing stranger, and are often the prelude to a conversation; so *J.R.S.* 1924, p. 55 (Calder).

⁴ During the "Peace of Gallienus," 260–303, χριστιανέ was sometimes used.

XLIII. FAMILIA CAESARIS AT SYNNA DA.

276. The only important document of the Synnadic familia was found at Dorylaion (Père Armanet, *B.C.H.* 1904, p. 195).

<p>Καρικὸς Ἀγαθόπο- δι δούλω τοῦ Κυρί- ου αὐτοκράτορος, 4 ἵππεϊ τῶν ἐν Σynnά-</p>	<p>δοις, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ Δό- μνη καὶ τέκνοις αὐ- τοῦ μνίας χάριν ἀνέ- 8 θηκαν τὸν βωμόν</p>
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Agathopous, servus Caesaris, was in the corps of "horsemen" at Synnada. He came to take the hot baths at Dorylaion and died there. Karikos, a fellow slave, along with his widow Domna and children, buried him. σὺν γυναικί is taken as equivalent to καὶ γυνή, hence the plural verb; a false construction common in Anatolian Greek epitaphs.

It is improbable that Agathopous took wife and children the long journey to Dorylaion. Karikos went with him, and on his tombstone added that his wife and children took part in the pious duty (by sympathy); this may be the intention of several similar epitaphs.

This corps of ἵππεῖς is known only from one inscription. Synnada was the central office where the Phrygian marble, found 32 miles north at Dokimion, was reviewed and passed for distribution; and the great monolithic columns to which Strabo alludes passed through the valley to Rome; the marble was called Synnadic, not Dokimene (R. in *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1882, pp. 290 ff.; also *C.I.L.* iii. *passim*).

Professor Calder (*Cl. Rev.* 1910, pp. 12 f.) rightly argues that the "horsemen at Synnada" were not soldiers; they were slaves, and except in some emergencies (as in II Punic War, and in the German wars of Marcus Aurelius), servile blood was a bar to army service. We cannot accept Calder's conclusions fully; yet he approximates to the truth.

The "horsemen" had a special duty; they were slaves, and their job was to drag, with trained horses or mules, the marbles from Dokimion past Synnada to an Aegean harbour at the mouth of the Maeander. The marbles could not be taken to Ephesus (as any one who has crossed Messogis even in a train knows). The horses were trained by their riders to pull all together, and practice was needed for both men and animals. The "horsemen" were a skilled corps, probably hereditary, like mahouts in India.

The "horsemen" could haul a great column along a level or even up a slope; that can be done by brute force and unlimited slave labour and an inclined plane (natural or artificial and temporary). Egypt and Assyria show that on a vast scale; the difficulty lay in getting the column down a slope, where it was apt to take charge of the situation, as Sisyphus¹ found: πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λάας ἀναιδής. There were some

¹ Reduplication of σοφός, Aeolic σόφος, Anatolian style; πάνσοφος later had the same sense.

difficult descents between Dokimion (3500 ft.) and the sea. Trained horses (or mules) were needed at such steep descents.

It is not quite clear what Calder takes to be the duty of these *ἵππεις*; he rightly connects them with the transport of the marbles, but concludes that they were couriers. "Agathopous is a suitable name for a courier."¹ Couriers, however, are not of much use in transporting huge columns, which must have been very slow work. Cagnat places the duty at Laodicea Lycaoniae among munera militaria in his index to *I.G.R.R.* iii., which Calder rightly condemns; but his positive decision is not quite evident; perhaps he decides that a *ἵππεύς* was a *ἵπποκόμος*, agaso, equiso, as "in charge of the animals used in the cursus publicus (*v.* Cursus Publicus in Pauly-Wissowa)"; but "managing the transport" on p. 13 is the last decision.

[As a postscript to the Sections on Synnada the following inscription is added:—]

277. Synnada (R. Nov. 1881 and *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 302).

Παπίλου Καρικὸς καὶ Παπί- α Σαρουηνοί ☽	Πανκρί- του καὶ Παπίας Δοκι- μεύς Διὶ εὐχὴν
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On the top of the altar is laid a garland (marriage?). Karikos and Papia, husband and wife,² of Aquae Sarvenae in Cappadocia, and Papias, a Dokimian artist, make a dedication to Zeus; it was probably later than 72, when the formation of province Cappadocia placed the whole road in Roman territory.³ The style suggests second century. There is nothing to suggest third century. The use of *ου* favours a date before 200.

It is not likely that a woman at that time would share a long trading journey,⁴ which was the probable reason why Karikos was at Synnada. If two Cappadocians made the vow and prayer, why should they address Zeus the god of Synnada; why not their native god (*cp.* no. [103 ?]). Difficulties disappear if this is a dedication after marriage. Papia of Synnada is going to her husband's home; she is now Sarvene; they address their joint prayer to the god whom she is leaving to live in a new land under other gods. The Dokimian Papias joins in the prayer;

¹ He quotes Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 1, *προσ-ταχθέν δι' ἀγγαρίαν*, set apart for postal work; but the text is *μὴ ἀγγαρ*, which we complete *μὴ (for μῆ) ἀγγαρ(εύεσθαι)*, not subject to compulsory employment (commandeered).

² That sigma in l. 2 is common to *Παπία(ς)* and *(Σ)αρουηνοί* can hardly be admitted.

³ From 17 to 72 Cappadocia was not in

the strict sense a province of the Empire, it was property of the Emperor ruled by his procurator, retaining its own native organization.

⁴ Travelling was considered improper for ladies. Gregory Nyssen even disapproved of women going on pilgrimage (*Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 384).

he is not a relative ; he is not even of the same city. He is the skilled marble worker who has made the monument and become associated with the pair. On this hypothesis the altar attests the growing sense of imperial unity and peace which suits 130–200, when such thoughts were in the air and in the minds of men.

The first intention was to omit the fathers, then the names of both fathers were added above to intensify the feeling of diversity merged in unity.

XLIV. SYNNA DA AND EUPHORBION.

[Fragmentary ; cf. pp. 86, 244, 248.]

278. Atli Hissar (Miliarium, seen by R. 1881 ;¹ published by Radet, *En Phrygie*, p. 124 ; M. Radet argues that it is in its original place, because it is too large to be moved easily, therefore Atli Hissar is an ancient site on the Roman road, and on that account must be Melissa. Also *M.A.M.* iv. 58 in part).

Atli Hissar lies in a dere (gully) near its mouth ;² the Roman road passes across the mouth and goes by Uzun Bunar to Metropolis which is separated from that dere by a broad ridge.

IMP . CAESAR
 div]I . T[raiani f.
 divi] N[ervae nep.
 τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν
 5 Γ. Οὐαλ. Διοκλητιανῶ
 καὶ Μ. Οὐαλ. Μαξιμιανῶ
 Σεββ. καὶ

Φλα. Οὐ. Κωνσταντίω
 καὶ Γ. Οὐαλ. Μαξιμια[νῶ
 ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσα[ρσι
 10 Φλ. Οὐαλ. Κρίσπος καὶ Οὐα[λ.
 Κωνσταντεῖνος Λικίν[ιος
 καὶ Φλ. Κλ. Κω[στ]άν[τιος
 ἐ]πιφανέ[στατοι Καίσαρες

ll. 1–3, Radet only ; ll. 4–11, Radet and *M.A.M.* ; ll. 12–13, Radet only. The original inscription by Hadrian was probably on a stone placed close under Beudos, which he visited ; most of it was destroyed in 284 to make room for later Emperors (ll. 4–7) ; the Caesars were added in 293. Nothing was done in the years of strife ; two sons of Constantine and Licinius the younger were added in 317, Constantius II. in 324. Crispus is called Fl. Val. wrongly (he was Fl. Julius). Constantine II. is only Val. (he was Fl. Claudius). Licinius II. (καὶ omitted). Constantius II. is Fl. Claud. (for Fl. Julius). Constans Caesar, 333, is not mentioned.

The size points to an early period, before A.D. 150 ; the stones of M'. Aquilius and Augustus that survive are very large and have a square basis ; this is not so large. Buckler's party copied this inscription in

¹ It had to be dug out of the ground, and cleaned, which was impossible in heavy rain.

² It is "opposite the mouth of a ravine" (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 102, who crossed the upper southern end of the ravine).

1929-30 (photograph); but the upper part, the most important, was illegible. The letters are deep, well cut, and could not possibly be so late as the time of Diocletian; it suits the time of Hadrian or Trajan; the rest has been destroyed to make room for Diocletian and his colleagues, and afterwards two sons of Constantine with Licinius junior, who were made Caesares in 317, mixed up and sometimes named incorrectly.

The important point is that this column, though large, could easily be rolled by two men with poles for levers the short distance from the mouth of the ravine across which the Roman road passed.¹ The top is broken, probably when it was moved.

It is possible to determine exactly where the miliarium stood. Large miliaria were not placed every mile, so far as I can judge, only at important points, bridges, forks, etc. A stone such as Augustus used, 6 ft. high or more, was too expensive to waste at every mile. This stone stood at the S.E. corner of the plain in front of the deep ravine in which Atli Hissar lies, where the road of the marbles met a branch road coming from Synnada, south of the officina marmorum.

XLV. LYSIAS, KINNABORION, KLEROS ORINES.

279. Aresli (R. 1886). Mommsen and Viereck, *Sermo graecus*, p. 51, no. 29: the consuls of 116 B.C. are restored by them.

[σατο [τερον [νειν	ο]ϋτως ν διορθώ-] ἐγένετο πρό-]ος ταῦτα κύρια · μέ- δόγ]μα συνκλήτου.
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Περὶ ὧν Κόντος Φάβιος . . . υἱὸς Μάξιμος Γ]άιος Λικίνιος Ποπλίου
υἱὸς Γέτας ὑπατοὶ λόγους ἐποίησαν]το, περὶ τούτου πράγματος οὐ-
τως ἔδοξεν· ὅσα βασιλεὺς Μιθραδάτη]ς ἔγραψεν ἢ ἔδωκέν τισιν ἢ ἀφεί-
λετο,² ἵνα ταῦτα κύρια μείνῃ οὕτω καθὼς] ἔδωρήσατο εἰς ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν
περὶ τε τῶν λοιπῶν ἵνα κρίνωσιν οἱ δέκα] πρεσβευταὶ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβάντες

Letters very small; fairly preserved.

We learn here that, as was usually done in such cases, ten envoys were sent in 116 B.C. to Asia to regulate Phrygia Magna, which had been given to Mithradates V., who died in 120 B.C.³ The senate confirmed the king's act. It was not permanently incorporated in prov. Asia till 85-4 B.C., as the era was fixed in that year.

No new king was appointed. Phrygia was not treated as a client kingdom; Romans were free to enter as they thought advisable.⁴ In 88 B.C.

¹ Radet admits this: la colonne, étant de dimensions considérables, n'a que peu ou pas bougé de place.

² ἀφείκεν, Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 436.

³ M'. Aquilius gave or sold Phrygia to Mithradates in 129.

⁴ Probably Roman negotiatores settled in some cities, especially Apamea.

Cassius and other Roman officers began to drill a Phrygian army at Leontonkephale (Appian, *Mithr.* 19); but the rapid advance of Mithridates made them retire in haste.¹ The *Epitome* of Livy, lxxvii., speaks of Phrygiam provinciam P.R. This inscription and senatus consultum reveals an intention in 116 to annex the kingdom, justifying the *Epitome*. We have no information about any Roman action in Phrygia except that of 88 B.C., but Rome was too distracted to attend to the affairs of Phrygia; and the uneasy revocation was justly regarded by Mithridates VI. as a grievance.

Mommsen has treated this inscription in *Ath. Mitt.* 1899, pp. 192-7, repeated *Ges. Schr., Hist.* i. p. 66. He points out that Phrygia Magna was given to Mithridates V. in return for the help which he had given to Rome against Aristonikos (Justin, 38, 5), but afterwards this was revoked as M'. Aquilius had sold it in 129 to the king (Appian, *Mithr.* 11, 12, 56, 57). The truth cannot be certainly established; but it is significant that the sale was discovered (or invented) only when the Senate resolved to initiate a more thorough policy, and to annex Phrygia to Asia: Mithridates VI. regarded the revocation as a theft from himself while he was a minor. Moreover, the inscription proves that the Senate confirmed all the acts of the king, but rescinded the reward which their own proconsul had bestowed on an ally: there was no question that Mithridates V. had been a useful ally in the troubled time 133-1 B.C. It is quite possible that the grateful king gave money to the proconsul: that was Roman fashion.

In *Real-Enc.* xiii. 370, Münzer accepts the restoration and date of the consuls in this inscription, quoting *Real-Enc.* vi. 1796, but not mentioning that doubt as to the restoration is there expressed; we can see no reason for the doubt: no other date can be reasonably established.

The very fact that the Senatus consultum appointing the ten commissioners with full powers was placarded in a city of Phrygia Magna on the great central road to the East proves that the Senate meant business, and that Phrygia was annexed, though little may have been done there in the following years.

That Lysias was the city where the inscription was found seems to us to be proved in *C.B.* pt. II., pp. 754 f., and in Anderson's exploration, *J.H.S.* 1898, pp. 107 f., but as doubt has been expressed because the chief testimony is vague, I add that the vagueness is due to the vagueness of our knowledge, and that if one goes over the localities mile by mile, the vagueness ceases.

280. Oinan, village of the territory of Lysias (*M.A.M.* iv. 113).

<p>Τ. Φλάουιος Ἀσκλη- πᾶς ἐπίτροπος τεσσ-</p>	<p>αρακοστῆς τὸν βω- μὸν τῆ θεῶ</p>
---	---

The symbol Π represents both H in 1, 3, 4 and Π in 2.²

¹ They went to Apamea, but had soon to retreat further.

² We must at this point correct *M.A.M.* v. p. 158, no. 27, where ΠΠΙΝ|ΙΑ is printed

An important text for the organization of the Empire. Asklepas got civitas from a Flavian Emperor, and became procurator (probably libertine), collector of the duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*, quadragesima portuum, τεσσαρακοστὴ λιμένων (*M.A.M.*), levied at all frontier stations of prov. Asia, showing that Lysias was at one time a frontier town of Asia.¹

It follows that Kinnaborion, a long valley stretching N.E. from Lysias to Holmoi near Tchai (where Kaystroupedion ends and Paroreios begins, Str. 663), along the northern side of Kara Kush (Eagle) Dagħ, was formerly outside of prov. Asia and formed part of the conventus (iurisdic-tio, dioecesis, ἀγορὰ δικῶν, forum) of Philomelion. Pliny, v. 95, says that Philomelion was formerly iurisdic-tio Lycaonia, but had been² made an Asiatic iurisdic-tio (which took place certainly before 79, Pliny's death). T. Flavius Asklepas must therefore have been freedman of Ves-pasian, who among the many changes that he made in Asia Minor trans-ferred the Philomelian dioecesis to Asia. Cicero speaks of the Philomelian conventus as Lycaonius, and the Iconian conventus as Isauricus.³

On the frontier at Lysias there was a procurator, and slaves under him.

281. Oinan : Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 108 ; *M.A.M.* iv. 114.

Ἄ]μιον Καίσαρος δούλη τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ Καίσαρος δού-
τὸ ἥρῶον Διαδουμένῳ 4 λ]ω ἴππε[ῖ] μνε[ία]ς χ[άρι]ν.

There is no reason to think that Diadoumenos was a groom : he was a mounted man in the imperial service, perhaps one of the "horsemen in Synnada" (Section XLIII.).

Oinan retains the name of the Oiniatai, who along with the Kinnaboriatai furnish more ξένοι to the religious society of the Tekmoreioi than any other village. Genneli retains the ancient name Kinnaborion mutilated and furnished with a Turkish ending *li* : compare Tumbri-nassos, now Eyinesh. Kinnaborion means place of Cinnabar, the refer-ence being not to mines but to the market where cinnabar, found in the mines at Zizyma⁴ near Laodicea Katakekaumene, was bought

(Sterrett's copy : Brandenburg and Koerte agree). Π represents H : transcribe Ἡρω[α]ία. The next word is uncertain : probably final and initial A is written only once (a common device in Anatolia) : the name is Ἄμ<ι>μίας. The mother alone, a temple slave, is named patre ignoto. | was a false stroke in a poorly engraved inscription : see pp. 215, 227. Εἰρηναῖος is common : Εἰρηναία rare (not in Pape) ; but the feminine may be presumed from the masculine.

¹ So Derbe was at one time λιμὴν (of prov. Galatia) (Steph.). λιμὴν was "corrected" to λίμνη by Forbiger, *Alte Geographie*, and others.

² Lycaonia (adjective) in Asiaticam iuris-

dictionem versa, cum qua conveniunt Philomelienses, Tymbriani (afterwards Hadriano-polis), Pelteni or Pateni (error ; probably Pillitocomenses, chief village Plitendum, Livy, xxxviii. 18), Turaenses (Tirienses MSS.)

³ Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* i. p. 383, and editors of Cicero's letters call the Iconian conventus Lycaonius, and make the Isaurican conventus meet at Philomelium. See *Att.* v. 21, 9 (where Pamphylium (forum) is not intelligible to me : Pamphylia was not in his province). Conventus Isauricus met at Iconium. [Cf. above, p. 228.]

⁴ Spelt also Zizima, Zizinna (in epithet Zizimmene). With D for Z (*H.G.* p. 227), Dindymene and Didyma are variants.

by traders from Ephesus. It is evident that there was an estate, doubtless imperial, not far from Lysias : a contractor for the produce is mentioned in no. 282.

282. Karadilli (Sarre, *A.E. Mitt. Oest.* 1896, p. 31 ; Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 104 ; *M.A.M.A.* iv. 113a, restoration from Sarre) : altar, under inscription eagle, on left side ox head.

Καρποφ|όρος μω|θωτῆς Ἑλί|ω καὶ Δι̅ εὐ|χῆν.¹

The estate must be κλήρος Ὀρ(ε)ωῆς, mentioned by Hierokles as one of a group of three estates in Phrygia Salutaris (sect.²), and in the Notitiæ as Kinnaborion bishopric.

283. Kara-dil-li (Calder, *M.A.M.* iv. 120A).

Μορλωγασίς|καὶ Τροκονδασ|Ἀδαδεῖς|ἐποίησαν.

Artisans, natives of Adada, made the monument : a remarkable inscription. We hesitate to accept the date suggested in *M.A.M.*, first century B.C. The lettering is remarkable in form, but seems intentional imitation of older forms, rather than really ancient. Morlogasis (termination like Terbemasis, Oetasis and Oêtasis, Rôndinesis, Rônêsis, Trokoarbasis, Opramôsis) suits an east Pisidian city towards Homanada.

A lofty mountain, Gumala,³ modern Gumalar Dagh, rises between Regio Pentapolitica and Synnada valley. The path from Synnada to Sanduklu (now chief town of the Regio) crosses the north side of Gumala Dagh. In Gumala Dagh is a fountain which St. Aberkios caused to rise from the earth by his prayers. In 1891 we started from the Regio in search of the spring ; but a storm of rain and mist swept down on the mountain ; we lost all sense of locality ; at last, without knowing where we were, we emerged at Yiprak (N.E. end of Campus Metropolitanus) and then at Gumala, ancient Koumalettos, opposite Karadilli, at west end of Lysias valley. I mention this, as it shows how we stumbled on the explanation of the main evidence about the situation of Lysias. Gumala Dagh is the ὄρος ὑψηλόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως Λυσίας,⁴ where St. Aberkios by his prayers (κλίνας τὰ γόνατα) drew forth the fountain, and the place was called Gonyklisia. Anderson afterwards discovered the fountain on the Gumala Dagh,⁵ on a path a little further south and lower down the mount than where we looked for it. Gonyklisia, from the name, was a secret meeting-place of the Christians for worship. Anderson states " that the whole space between Regio Pentapolitica and Oinan Ova is occupied by Gumalar Dagh and its spurs " and concludes that Oinan Ova is the valley of Lysias. The case for Oinan Ova as the territory of Lysias seemed to both of us conclusive ; but the name has no epigraphic testimony.

¹ Ll. 3-5 on the shaft.

² [This section was not written.]

³ Gumala gave name to an ancient village Koumalettos, on the S.E. ridge of Koumala, at west end of Lysias valley. The Turks

turned the name into Kumalar.

⁴ *Λυολα*, false form of *Λυοιάς*, in one MS. of Hierocles.

⁵ *J.H.S.* 1898, pp. 107 f.

A peculiar feature of the miliaria in Kaystri Pedion is that they bear the name of the city or village on whose territory they stand in locative singular or ablative plural. This has led to errors.

Dokimia was a village in the time of Strabo, 577 (*ἐπέκεινα δ' ἐστὶ Δοκιμία κώμη καὶ τὸ λατόμιον Συνναδικοῦ λίθου*) (*οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δοκιμίτην καὶ Δοκιμαίαν*).¹ Coins of Claudius and Nero are known indicating that the village was made a city by Claudius (probably when Corbulo was proconsul (51-2) of Asia): those coins do not use the ethnic *Μακεδόνων*, which first appears on a coin of Domitia Augusta and continues under Pius, etc., to Gordian, and on many autonomous coins (all late). It is therefore improbable that Dokimion was founded by either Dokimos of 319 B.C. or another Dokimos towards 301 B.C. (if they are not the same person, which is probable); Dokimos would have founded a *πόλις* of the Greek type, not a *κώμη* of the Asiatic type. There is no reason why Dokimos and Dokimia should not be native personal and local names (which were often closely connected)² of Anatolian character. There are two chief forms of the name *Δοκιμία* (Strab.) and *Δοκιμαῖον* (Ptol.); comp. *Σειβλία* and *Σουβλαῖον*, *Βαλινία* and *Βαλληναῖον*. A river [D]joureios and mountain Persis are named on coins. Mr. Head suggests that Persis was a mountain in which the quarries were situated. Texier's description of the white marble contrasted with the black lava is fanciful; we saw no marble; there were extensive ramifications of the quarries, but we thought that the marble had been exhausted in ancient time.

Perhaps a local legend is pictured on the coin representing three nude men rescuing a kneeling woman from a lion (Imhoof, *Kl. M.* p. 224); but Head³ explains the type as "two naked men contending with a lion at foot of a cultus statue or trophy (?), a reminiscence of the bronze group dedicated by Krateros at Delphi in memory of his rescue of Alexander from a lion (Plut., *Alex.* 40)." As no photograph of the coin has ever been published, it is impossible to judge.

It is probable that the name Dokimia (Dokimaios lithos) is native Anatolian (compare Dokela (modern Dogla),⁴ and *Τρόφιμος*, *πόμπιμος*, etc.) and that the hero Dokimos is an invention like Temenos (Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 164). In that case Dokimos, the Macedonian of 319 and 301, had no connexion with the village Dokimia; the supposed settlement

¹ Steph. quotes the words, but not the author, under *Σύνναδα*, *πόλις Φρυγίας καὶ Δοκιμία κώμη ἐπέκεινα αὐτῆς, οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δοκιμίτην καὶ Δοκιμαίαν*. The interpolation has nothing to do with the rest of the gloss on Synnada, and is in itself unintelligible unless the intermediate words of Strabo are inserted. An example of Stephanus's method.

² Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 183 (quoting *H.G.* pp. 144, 439). He cites *Μανήσιον*, where sigma is an integral part of the name Manes, not a mere case termination (compare Tersus, Greek *Τάρσο-ς*, modern Tersous).

³ *Hist. Num.*³, p. 672, published 1911; apparently Mr. Head had seen a cast of the coin since his *Cat.* was published in 1906.

⁴ Dioklea is a greoizing form.

of Macedonians and the epithet *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ* on coins (beginning c. A.D. 90) is an invention to create an early history for the city; but is inconsistent with the fact that Dokimia was only a village till about A.D. 50-1. Stephanus has the form Dokimeion, which is only a late spelling of Dokimion, taken over by many moderns. Dokimia kome and Dokimaios are the ancient terms.

From Dokimion to Synnada plain ¹ "the road went almost due south down the glen of a stream [Dour(e)ios] to Surmene," 15 M.P., "the site of an extensive ancient 'chief city' of Kaystros plain containing many very large blocks, 12 ft. or more in length. . . . Most of its ruins have been taken to build Kara Hissar." No inscriptions give the ancient name, "but evidence remains to prove that it was Metropolis, . . . there were two cities Metropolis in Phrygia: it is not easy to distinguish them." ² From Surmene the road goes on south across Kaystroupedion and "the crossing is marked out by nature" to the Synnada plain over the hills on the south. At the northern edge of the hills it is joined by the road from Prynnessos-Seulun.³ The distance from Dokimion to Synnada (off. marmorum) measures c. 43 km. air-line on Kiepert's map, i.e. 28 M.P. (according to Lehmann Haupt's estimate in *Real-Enc.*, s.v. Stadion); this suits XXXII M.P. on the Peutinger Table (28 air-line makes 32 by road): and we assume it as correct. Recent travellers seek epigraphical rather than geographical gain.

284. Surmene (Hamilton, 375; *C.I.G.* 3883b).

A
A [τοῖς] ὄσι[ωτάτοις καὶ θεοφιλεστά- ?]
τοὺς κυ[ρίους] ἡμῶν Γ. Οὐαλ. Διοκλη[τη]τιανῶ καὶ
Φλ. Οὐα[λ. Μαξιμιανῶ Σεβαστ]οῖς ΤΟΛ Α
5 ἀν[εικήτοις] ? ΝΙΟΝ Α
καὶ Φλ. Οὐαλ. Κ
καὶ Φλ. Κον Φλ[αου
καὶ Οὐαλ. [Μαξιμιανῶ Οὐ]αλ. Κωνσταντῶ[ω
[ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καί-] Λικωνίω καὶ Φλ. Κλ. Κων[σταν-
[σαρσι] τείνω ἢ Δοκιμέων
ἀπ[ὸ] Συννάδων ΙΖ] Π ΜΕΙ

In ll. 1, 2, two letters, A, remain from an earlier inscription (to Hadrian? like no. 278), which was obliterated to make room for later Emperors. In l. 3 παν (Ham) for TIAN. At the end of ll. 4, 5 Hamilton has some letters from an older inscription.

¹ We quote from *Ath. Mitt.* 1882, p. 130 ff., where I described the road and the position. I had a wrong conception of the topography, e.g. "Kiepert has placed Lysias at Khosrev Pasha Khan" (which is probably Kakkabokome), and I was wrong about Prynnessos, but the words quoted give the

first impression of the scene.

² See Hamilton's description, showing the great extent of the ruins, ii, p. 176.

³ This road from Prynnessos goes on down Kaystroupedion to Julia and along Paroreios to Laodicea Katakekaumene, Colonia Archelais, and the East.

In ll. 6-8 there is an incurable error in the two Caesars of 1 March, 293 ; due perhaps to later Emperor or Caesar being intruded ; the name Galerius is obliterated.

Inscriptions on miliaria are almost always worn and often illegible partly or wholly.¹ The weathering is unequal ; one part or one word is legible, and close to it another part seems never to have had any letters on it. Moreover, when the inscription is printed with metal type the lines are even and straight, whereas on the stone the lines are irregular and at varying distance from each other : also letters of different size are printed the same size. This inscription cannot be restored properly : Hamilton says that it was " a long inscription in a very mutilated state " ; yet *C.I.G.* restores it as two inscriptions on two sides of a column. It is one inscription of which the middle was quite illegible. The miliaria on Via Marmorum should be read together, as the same later Emperors were inserted.

On the extreme right are the slight remains of an inscription to an Emperor, with full titles : *TOA* must be Marcus Aurelius tr. pot. XXX in A.D. 176. No other Emperor after Augustus in A.D. 7 had any title 30 times. This inscription was almost wholly defaced ; *NION* is Hamilton's error for *AION*, [Aure]lius [Commodus], associated with Marcus in 176. Lower on right Constantine seems to occur twice, as Emperor with Licinianus (Licinius) and as Fl(avius) Cl(audius) Constantinus Caesar, 317 : Licinius II. was Caesar with him in 317, but is not mentioned (see no. 278), being obliterated.

The only important matter in this inscription is the double measure " from [Synnada 17] " and " ἡ Δοκιμέων πόλις €[I]." The measure in Tab. Peut. XXXII seems right,² the distance from Synnada must be XVII. The road certainly crossed a bridge over Akkar Su, on which was the milestone III from Prymnessos (in 1884, now no longer there).³

In May, 1881, there were at Surmene (6 miles east of the great castle of Kara Hissar) obvious remains of an ancient town. Hamilton, ii. p. 176, saw there in 1836 " foundations and houses of a considerable town " [houses partly Byzantine or Turk].⁴ The town was Metropolis. Steph. says that there were two cities Metropolis in Phrygia,⁵ and on Ambason has the gloss, *Μητρόπολις τῶν Φρυγῶν*.⁶ Ambason, still called Ambanas,⁷ lay on the direct road from Prymnessos (or from Kara Hissar), to the important pass of Leontos Kome. The connexion of Metropolis and Ambason

¹ There is a splendid milestone, probably Augustan, at Kirili Kassaba ; it once bore an inscription ; perhaps several superimposed one above another ; but not the faintest trace of any letter could be detected in 1882 or later. Yet some inscriptions on miliaria are comparatively clear and easy to read ; all depends on the material and the weathering and intentional obliteration to receive new Emperors' names.

² In view of the air-line distance from

Dokimion to Synnada officina, €[I'] seems rightly restored.

³ See no. 289.

⁴ He says that there were many inscriptions at Surmene, which he had to leave uncopied.

⁵ He quotes from Alexandros of Miletos, who wrote *περὶ Φρυγίας*, c. 60 B.C.

⁶ Steph. uses a different authority (of much later date ?) on Ambason.

⁷ Compare Capatiana [for Pacatiana].

is unexplained, but a probable explanation is that Stephanus (who flourished under Justinian, and wrote his *ἔθνικά* before 536)¹ refers to a double bishopric *Ἀμβασον ἢ καὶ Μητρόπολις τῆς Φρυγίας*. Such double bishoprics occur often in the Notitiæ at all periods, being due to the great extent of the bishoprics, and to the change in importance of the townships included in a bishopric.² The bishopric Metropolis included a village Ambason : the village in the change of conditions became more important and was the central town of the bishopric. Metropolis, on the road Dokimion-Synnada, lost importance as the road Kotiaion-Akrun Kara-Hissar became a great thoroughfare.

Metropolis disappears from the Notitiæ ; but it is concealed under the name Demetriopolis, as St. Demetrios was substituted for the mother goddess. Demetriopolis formed a joint bishopric with Konna (*Κώνη*), and sometimes the double name was used, sometimes either name singly.

In the latest Notitiæ, as the lists were rearranged in the Nea Taxis of Leo VI.,³ Akroënos was placed above Prymnessos, and the bishoprics of the plain were now Akroenos, Prymnessos, Ipsos, and lower in the list Augustopolis. Kotiaion was made a metropolis with three suffragans : Spore, Kone and Gaiou kome. Demetriopolis disappears, while the road Kotiaion by Leontos kome to the great fortress became one of the most important roads in the Empire, as being comparatively safe from Arab raids.

285. Surmene (Körte, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 31). [*ὁ δεινα*] *ὑ[πέ]ρ δήμου σωτηρίας καὶ τέκνων Μητρὶ Θεῶν εὐχὴν ἀνέθη[κεν]*.

286. Surmene : broken in two parts to make two Turkish gravestones (R. May, 1881, and *Ath. Mitt.* 1882, p. 143). Letters well cut, not late ;

*Διόδοτος Μακεδονικο[ὑ⁴ κ' Ἀλέξαν]δρος Ἀριστάρχου ἐποίησεν Δε[ία
τῇ ἰδία πενθερᾶ, ἰος νι σεμον [κνουμαν κ]ακουν ἀδα[κ]ετ αινιοι
θαλαμει δη διως ζεμελω [ετιπτετι]κμενος ειτου.*

Names difficult : Δε|τη?, Δε[σ]|τη?, neither name is known elsewhere : the letters were quite clear : we hazard Δε[ία], i.e. Δία, a known name. Only one man made the grave (*ἐποίησεν*) : he has two fathers, having been adopted by Aristarchos⁵ ; Diodotos is native priest name ; Alexandros, in memory of his Macedonian ancestry⁶ by nature (?), or as a hieratic name, "defender." Aristarchos, like some other compounds of *ἄριστος*, may be regarded as hieratic, and suited to a priest family.

¹ M. Honigmann in *R.-Enc.*

² Every πόλις had a bishop ; but a village however large was not a πόλις : 2 or 3 or 4 or more villages were often united as a bishopric (*δίπολις, τρίπολις, τετράπολις*) ; these terms do not imply 2, 3, 4 poleis.

³ Gelzer, *Georg. Cypr.* p. lxii.

⁴ Not Μακεδονικός as in *Ath. Mitt.* l.c.,

when I did not know the Anatolian style of naming.

⁵ Like adopted sons (Sect. V.) he married the heiress daughter and lived in his wife's home, inheriting the religious duties ; hence it became his duty to bury his mother-in-law and adoptive mother.

⁶ A κατοικία of Makedones at Dokimion.

The inscription seems early : the stone is carefully cut with elaborate architectural ornament and cannot be placed later than 2nd century ; it has no connexion with anti-Christian popular feeling during the alliance between the imperial policy and the old paganism in the 3rd century.

The curse against violation of the tomb is expressed in the Phrygian language, in a patois Phrygian, with some Greek (see Kuhn's *Zft. f. vgl. Sprachf.* xxviii. ; *Jahresh.* 1905, Bb. 79 ff.) ; Calder has collected the entire Corpus¹ and suggested several new interpretations of words, which seem to me to be correct. The participle of damnation has not yet been explained : it comes from the stem *τηκ-* written *τικ* and *τουκ*, to waste, moulder. The reduplicated participle (with an emphasizing prefix) is *επιτετετικμενος ειτου* : cp. *τήκει τοὺς φθονερούς*, "envy causes the envious to waste away," *C.B.* 689, explained by Cumont from *Anth. Pal.* xi. 193, *τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίην* : cp. Kaibel, 2533. The curse invokes on the violator wasting away in life, as from fever, rather than mouldering in the grave.

287. Surmene (R. May, 1881). The inscription though broken was clear.

? Φρόντω]ν Ἐρμέρωτος κῆ Ῥοδίη ☉ ἡ σύνβιος
 ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ τε]λευτήσαντος Διονυσίου ἀνέσ-
 τησαν ἔτους] ρ[ϰ]η' μνήμης χάριω.

In l. 3 *T* or *P* in the date is possible : only *I* remains and a letter is lost : *PIH'* makes the date A.D. 33-4, which is too early : *PqH* makes A.D. 113-4, which is probable. *TIH*, A.D. 233-4 is too late. The restoration above is true to the measurements. Not much is lost on left, as *ἀνέσ|τησαν* shows.

288. Large miliarium close to the *διπλᾶ βιβάρια* : it was carried from the road Dokimion-Synnada to be an ornament at a Tchiftlik which belonged to an Armenian of Kara Hissar ; we copied it in 1884 ; *C.I.L.* iii. 7172 ; *M.A.M.A.* iv. 13. At the top an earlier inscription was defaced to make room for later Emperors.

τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν Φλ. Οὐα- A.D. 317

Κω]νσταντεῖνω καὶ Οὐα. Λι

κιννίω ἀνευκῆτοις Σεββ.

καὶ Φλ. Οὐαλ. Κρίσπω καὶ Φλ. Κλ.

Κωνσταντίνω καὶ Οὐαλ.

καὶ Φλ. Οὐαλεντιανῶ A.D. 364

Φλο καὶ Φλ. Οὐάλεντι Αὐγούσ-
 τοις ἢ Δοκιμέων

Π Μ Δ Ι

Π here means *πόλις* : generally it means *Πόπλιος* = Publius. At the end of l. 5 the inscription breaks off : *Λικιννίω ἐπιφανεστάτοις*

¹ *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 161.

Καίσαρων was erased to make room for Valentinian and Valens. No trace of [I] in l. 9 remains.

The name of Crispus was erased in 326 when he was killed. In l. 4 *Ὀυαλ* was clear in 1884, but illegible in 1930, and *M.A.M.A.* takes *Ἰουλ. Κρίσπω* as erased. Crispus is sometimes called Julius, sometimes Valerius, sometimes Claudius; but Julius was the correct name. *ΚΑΙ|ΦΛΟ* seemed to me to be a modern graffito by a Greek schoolboy.

Above was written in 317, 324, 337.

ΔΔΝΝ

Fl. Va. Constantino
victori Aug. et
erasure CRISPO
Constantino et
Constantio et
Consta. nobl. et fortiss.

Auggg.

L. 4. In the erasure of Crispus RISP was read by *M.A.M.*

This top part has been modified in various ways. Constans (Greek *Κώνστας*) became Caesar in 333; and Auggg. was added when Constantine and Constantius, Caesars in 317 and 324, were made Augusti in 337 along with Constans. It is impossible to state all the changes.

This miliarium was carried from the road Dokimion-Synnada: in no other way is it possible to explain *Δοκιμέων πόλις*. It was not carried from a point 4 M.P. south of Dokimion far among the hills. It came from 14 M.P., not far from the place where it was in 1930 and 1884. The surviving inscriptions have undergone much alteration. Nothing older than 317 remains, when Constantine and Licinianus Licinius made an alliance (*concordia Augustorum at colonia Antiochea*), except the name Dokimion and number; but older inscriptions have perished, some by decay, some by deletion.

ΔΔΝΝ implies that at some stage two Emperors alone were engraved, then three Caesars were added in the same year: finally the third Caesar was obliterated to make room for Valentinian and Valens in 364; but fortunately the measure was left through all changes.

289. In the middle of Kaystros plain the road crosses the river by a bridge. On the bridge, as a sort of parapet, there was a tall cippus about 6 or 7 feet high. Originally it stood upright at the end of the bridge which has been re-made on the old place. The inscriptions on this stone have been much defaced: only one remains which has lost the upper part, not by mutilation, but by decay (R. 1881, 1884; *C.I.L.* iii. 7171).¹ In 1884, finding the site of Prymessos III M.P. from the bridge, we went back and corrected the inscription. The exact titles of Severus as restored are uncertain at the beginning. The date is fixed in 198, after 3 May and before 2 June, when

¹ Not a trace of lines 1-3 can be seen.

Geta was made Caesar. There is, however, a difficulty; Caracalla has the title Pius here: the title Pius Felix was used first on 1 April, 200. Can we assume that the title of Pius alone was given along with that of Augustus in 198 (his father took Pius in 195)? or is this a mistake made by Phrygian dedicators?

[Imp. Caes.]	Caesari M. Aur.
[L. Sept. Seve]ro	Antoni-
[Pio Pertinaci]	no Pio Aug.
Aug. [Ar]abico	A Pry-
5 Adiabenico	mnesso
Parthico Ma-	III Γ ¹
ximo et Imp.	

The road of the marbles did not go to Prynnessos, but kept straight south from the bridge along the lowest point of the ridge as marked by the rivers, and along the eastern side of Synnada valley. The miles are measured not to the city Synnada but to the officina² which was under Seidi Sultan, and in front of Atli Hissar. In Synnada valley a loop line diverged to the city and rejoined the road of the marbles in front of Atli Hissar beside the officina Marmorum.

The following stone (seen only at Kara Hissar) stood at the point where a road from Prynnessos joined the Via Marmorum at the northern edge of the hills which divide the valley of Metropolis—Kara Hissar—Prynnessos from the valley of Synnada. We are indebted to Dr. Buckler and his party in *M.A.M.* iv. 9 for the final reading adopted in the numbers and for the original position; their printed text needs interpretation, and does not express any opinion as to the position.

290. Armenian cemetery; Kara Hissar (R. 1881; *C.I.L.* iii. 14,200, from A. Koerte; *M.A.M.* iv. 9). The copies differ slightly, which may be attributed to the coarse lettering.

Imp. Ca[es. L. Septi-	Aug. et P ? <u>Septimio</u>
mio SeVero Pio Pe[r]-	<u>Getae</u> Caesari.
naci Aug. Ar[a]bico [Ad-	A · SYNNADIS[X]PRY
iab]enico Parthico [ma-	10 MNESSI MIL V[II]
ximo et Imp. Caes.]	M Z
M. Aur. Antonino	

L. 4, OB (?) (Koerte): badly formed letter: I have seen A so badly written as to seem O. L. 7, P (Koerte), L (*M.A.M.*), praenomen of Geta; P is used often in inscriptions on the plateau.

According to Cagnat in *Cours d'Epigr.*, P. Septimius Geta bore in youth the praenomen L. He changed to P. as Caesar and thereafter all inscriptions and all coins (except three Syrian) use the praenomen P.

¹ In 1881 I read *MIΓ* interpreting *MIΓ*, mp. 13.

² The distance is about the same.

This dictum requires P here : Koerte copied P : *M.A.M.* has L. I thought the letter was uncertain and partly erased like the rest of the name. Caesar, a title eternal, not personal, was not erased (which is right). In *Real-Enc.* P alone is mentioned as praenomen.

In l. 9 after A · SYNNADIS there is a slight gap : *M.A.M.* considers that there is "room for only one letter" and restores X. Koerte and I agreed that the gap is due to the usual irregularity of miliaria and contained no letter.

Mommsen restores Prymnessi(um) and understands "from Synnada to Prymnessus" (*C.I.L.* iii. 14200). That formula was usual in *Itinera-ria*, and occasional traces of it remain in Tab. Peut., e.g. a synnade uforbio mil XXXVII Euforbio ab euforbio Abamea mil XXXVI; but the I in which all copies agree can hardly be treated as a mere false stroke of the engraver. *M.A.M.* reads PRYMNESSIS: "from Synnada [X] (from) Prymnessus V[II] M.Z.," and notes that "the distance from Seulun Prymnessos to Synnada is 22 km., or a little over 15 M.P." ¹

M.A.M. photographs an impression, of which my eyes can read little except fortunately the last three lines, of which the letters are much larger and stand out prominent. I should judge that the first 8 lines are written over an erased inscription and that the letters are smaller and are made difficult through remains of partly erased letters of the original.² The photograph shows space for a letter after SYNNADIS; not the slightest traces of a letter can be seen; but that is quite normal in a miliarium. After Prymnessi there are marks or scratches; but S is quite uncertain. We are bound to have regard to custom. The name was Πρυμνησσός, Prymnessus, on coins and inscriptions. Prymnessi is normal, Prymnessis and Prymnessi(um) are not. Prymnessi means "at Prymnessus," equivalent to Prymnesso, which would be outrageous.³

The main points in *M.A.M.* are vindicated and correct, and we restore accordingly. The details in which Koerte and I are right are points changed by deterioration or by injury when the Armenian cemetery was destroyed and included in the growing city.

291. Surmene (Koerte, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 31). Στρατονίκη Μενεκράτου Μηνοφάντου δὲ γυνή χαῖρε.

This inscription is not of typical Anatolian style, but of the simple Greek type common at Athens. In Asia Minor a native type was developed asserting ownership of the τόπος (i.e. the grave and the temenos around it), defining and limiting the right of burial, and denouncing a penalty on any violator of the conditions stated. The penalty was sometimes the divine wrath and the fever that the god would inflict, sometimes a fine which shall go in part or whole to the corporate body

¹ For "over" read "under"; see p. 287.

² L which is read in *M.A.M.* before [SEP-TIMIO] is clear, but only half of the upright stroke remains, not L, but I.

³ [The use of the locative is confirmed by a clear example, *C.I.L.* iii. 14,200¹: a *Prymnesso Aquis Ger. XI.*]

or authority (πόλις, φίσκος, ταμείον, γερουσία, etc.) which shall prosecute the violator. Such legal threats implied settled government and fixed legal procedure: also a recognized value of the τόπος and therefore owners who could afford a grave equipment of some value. The crime that was punishable by law was not impiety, but seizure of property. No artificial over-estimate of value was allowed; and the property was registered in the ἀρχεῖον or χρεωφυλάκιον (as is frequently stated in the inscription).¹

The very simple Greek style is probably early, when Greek influence was a novelty. The inscription is first or second century B.C.

292. Surmene (R. 1884; Kuhn, *Zft. f. vgl. Sprachf.* 1887, p. 389): "on one stone in a circle surrounding a small tumulus and holding together the heaped soil (κρηπίς): there were many such tumuli beside Surmene." This class of tombs is probably early. Letters large and faint: restored letters marked by dot below.

ιω]ς νι σεμουν κνουμανει [κακουν
αββερετ α[ι]νου[γ] MONOMENTUM
τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος
. ετι η τιττετικμενος ειτου.

L. 3: ζεμελεν βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον Φρύγες, Hes.

In l. 2 the copy has *ATNOYII* (cp. no. 296).

In l. 3 probably *ΔΩ*: copy *ΔΟ*: τος begins the apodosis, ιως or ις begins protasis. The Latin monomentum is adopted as a second definition of the grave property: legal style loves more than one describing word; the Latin suits a Roman court of law; monomentum, munimentum, was used at colonia Lustra in nos. 179, 184, during first century after Christ. Similar double defining words occur, σεμουν κνουμανει αι νι μανκα, sometimes Greek definition occurs as σοροῦ, μνημίου.

293. Surmene (Hamilton, 376).

ΛΑΙΗΝΟCΑΜΜ γλυκυτάτω Ζωτι[κ]ῶ μ-
νήμης χάριν ις κε σεμουν ΚΟΥΜΙΝΟC ²
αδακεν με διω[ς ζ]ομολω ετι τετικμενος
ὁς ἂν δὲ κακῶς πύησε τέκνα ἄω-
ρα ἐντί[χ]οιτο] ἦτο[υ].

Line lost at top? [ἐποίησεν ὁ πατήρ Διαδοῦμ]ενος ἄωρω?

Phrygian Greek loved middle aorists. αδ(δ)ακετ (assimilated to με) is ad-θηκετι, ad-fecerit). Hamilton has made several errors in this (difficult) inscription; and the lapicida has made one at least, placing ἦτου at end of l. 5, omitting it at the beginning of l. 4. In l. 1 *ΑΜΜ* is error of Hamilton and is for *ΑΨΡΩ*.³ The father's name is irrecoverable:

¹ Ἀρχεῖα were not historical archives, but registers of ownership of real estate, facilitating transfer of land by purchase or inheritance: see *C.B.* p. 368.

² κουμινος engraver's error? different word from κνουμανει? Probably copyist's error for this word.

³ Ψ and Ρ in ligature followed by Ω.

Λαμένης ? Δαι[μ]όν[ι]ος ? Δαιμένης ? Hamilton (and other copyists) not rarely confuses Ε, C, O : cp. l. 3, ζεμελω is the usual form, but vowel change is possible.

This class of inscriptions in Phrygian patois was common at the old city of Metropolis, and probably several of those which Hamilton left uncopied were Phrygian. It is probable that those which have been found at Kara Hissar were carried from Metropolis.

294. Afom Kara Hissar (R. Nov. 1881).

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακον αδακετ
 μ]α[ν]κα [ζ]εμελ[. . . .] ετιε
 τιττετικμενος ειτου

295. Afom Kara Hissar (Seetzen, c. 1805 : hence *C.I.G.* 3880).

Ἀσκληπι]άδης κατεσκεύασεν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις
 Μανη καὶ Ζωτικῶ· ις κε σεμον κνο[υμανει κτλ.

296. Af. Kara Hissar (*M.A.M.A.* iv. 17) : l. 3 is hopelessly corrupt.

ιος νι σε]μον [κνουμανει
 κ]ακου[ν α]ββερετοι αινι
 μειμισα μ ε[τι-
 ττικμενος ειτο[ν
 Ἀφφία ιδίω ἀνδρὶ Δηδη ἐποίησεν μνήμης χάριν ♡

ATNI on stone in 2.

297. No. 290 must be compared with *M.A.M.* 60, which becomes intelligible thereby : “Miliarium much worn on the surface . . . on the road from Synnada to Dokimion . . . lines too fragmentary for restoration . . . ll. 9–10 seem to be in Latin.”

This stone was “lying in a field near Aghzi-kara” (which is far from the line of the road Synnada-Dokimion), near the modern track from Synnada to Kara Hissar.

The inscription belongs to A.D. 176,¹ and can be partly restored from no. 290, ll. 9, 10.

<p>]B]/////////]I//////// KAI]/////]NIO]///////// 5]OIC]/////]IKAI]////]N]////]CAPIA]////]vac.]NNA 10]MIO</p>	<p>ε]σε]B traces of letters Αὐτοκράτορ]ι Καί]σαρι Μ. Αὐρηλιῶν Ἀ]ν[τ]ω[ν]εινῶν δημ. ἐξ. τὸ λ. ὑπ. τ]ὸ Γ σ[εβ].² αὐτοκράτορι τὸ]F]I καί] [τῶ εὐτυχεῖ πρί]ν[κιπι Αὐτοκράτορι Καί]σαρι Α]ὑ- ρηλίω Κομμόδω] vac. VI ? MP a Sy]nna[dis XXVI ? MP a Doci]mio</p>
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¹ [αὐτοκράτορι το F]I and [ὑπάτω τ]ο γ'.

² That C is for C[APMATIKΩ] out of place cannot be admitted. That it may be

for CEBACTΩ is not impossible ; that title is wanted, and may have been added ; it should come after Ἀντωνεινῶν.

In the right column we restore, assuming that *M.A.M.* reads correctly except as regards *I* for *T* or *Γ*.

The restoration of l. 7 is uncertain. *Felicissimus princeps* occurs in Latin inscriptions as title of Commodus.¹

There are traces of at least three inscriptions. (1) The Latin distances in 9-10 belong to the oldest inscription, possibly like nos. 284, 288. We restore as in *M.A.M.* (except the numbers, inserted according to our estimate of the distances and the former position of the stone). (2) "Traces of two lines at the top" illegible. (3) Dedication to two Emperors, who can be restored as Marcus and Commodus (like no. 284). The form Ω was used, which in such a worn inscription is liable to be taken as *O*. In 6 *H* which when halved vertically becomes *I*, i.e. *Imp. VIII*: Γ I. In l. 4 *I* remains, part of original *T*. In l. 1 *B* may be part of a dedication to Severus [$\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$] β , but it seems too near the top of the stone.

In l. 4 *M.A.M.A.* reads *NIO*: *T* has lost its top and *O* is for Ω ; both caused by the "worn surface." In l. 5 we take *OI* for $\upsilon\acute{\pi}\alpha\tau\omega\ \tau\eta\delta\ \Gamma$. In l. 6 *I* is half of *H*. In l. 7 *A* omitted.

XLVII. IPSOS AND IULIA.

Ipsos and Julia have a strange history. Anderson and I, in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 491; 1898, p. 110; *H.G.* pp. 140, 434, suppose that they were near each other, about Tchai or Isakli. This partial identification and situation are pronounced in *Real-Enc.* utterly uncertain and unproven (nicht beweisbar). In view of the deservedly high authority of *Real-Enc.*, this assertion demands a full statement of the case, which is wholly indirect.

Ipsos is often mentioned on account of one great event, the defeat and death of Antigonos in 301 B.C.² No inscription names it. It struck no coins. In the imperial period it is never alluded to. In the 5th century Ipsos as a bishopric is mentioned in Hierocles, and later in all *Notitiæ*. As to situation Ipsos was in Phrygia Salutaris. Hierocles names Prymnessos, Ipsos, $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ³ (*sic* Bolowodun) in succession, west to east in Kaystros plain. Along with Metropolis⁴ (Surmene) and Kleros

¹ *Princeps Iuventutis* was not a title of Commodus, but may have been used ignorantly.

² Plutarch, *Pyrr.* 4; *Dem.* 33; Appian, *Syr.* 55; Arrian, vii. 18, 5; Diodor. xxi. 1 f.

³ Polygōtos, Hier.: $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\Pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\beta\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, *Notitiæ*: Βαλβαδών Const. *Adm. Imp.* Spelling with γ indicates a peculiar sound. Forbiger (*Alte Geogr.*) says that it appears as Apsos in *Conc. Nic.* A.D. 325; but I cannot find Ipsos or Apsos in any list in any language in Gelzer's *Index Patrum Nicaenorum* (Teubn. 1898), nor in the *Index Sedum Episcopatum*.

⁴ Hierocles here observes a traveller's order: Prymnessos and Ipsos are on the great eastern road south of the river: at Ipsos he crosses to the north side at Polybotos and turns back to west along the hills that fringe the plain on north: Dokimion, Metropolis. Burekhardt here errs, making metropolis an epithet of Dokimion against the MSS.: the road of the marbles came down a stream from Dokimion to Metropolis, 15, 16 M.P., thence across the plain and the low hills to the Synnadic officina. Bekker is right: Dokimion was never a metropolis.

Politikês (Augustopolis Tchobanlar) they complete the cities of the plain. In early Notitiæ the great castle of Afion Kara Hissar (Leontokephalon Akroenós) appears as Nikopolis bishopric, added at the end of the list of the province, as created later than the other bishoprics (VII-IX, Basilli, de Boor). *Ἴψος*, and *Ἰψός* both occur: doubtless *Ἰψός* is right: *Ἰψός* occurs.

The rivalry for the power of Alexander was decided at Ipsos. Seleukos of Syria and Lysimachos of Thrace and Hellespontus agreed to join forces against Antigonos who ruled great part of western Asia Minor, including Synnada and Leontokephalon, and advanced from Apamea Kelainai. The two allied kings had a long march to unite their armies; the inevitable line for Seleukos was along the great plain which we have described, between Sultan Dagh and Emir Dagh. That route would place their united armies where they could strike a crushing blow against Antigonos. The strategy of Antigonos, now 80 years old, was to destroy his rivals separately before they met. He arrived too late; and was destroyed by the united armies at Ipsos which lay on the march of Seleukos. Lysimachos, coming from Thrace, must have advanced by Dorylaion. Thence he marched, as Alexios Komnenos did in 1115, through Polybotos, along what was the old post road before 1890. Other lines look easy on the map, but were not possible in a military sense. The allies had to guard against attack singly; they must not be caught in a dangerous position, as, for example, struggling across the Emir Dagh: they must unite on the southern side of that long ridge. Lysimachos could not march along Kaystros plain, for Leontokephalon belonged to Antigonos.

To discuss and disprove alternatives would require a treatise on the military topography of Asia Minor. The allies met in the plain where Kaystros plain and Paroreios met below Polybotos.

Julia struck coins c. 54-60 and again under Aemilianus (253); none are known in the interval. Several inscriptions are attributed to it, found south of Eber Gyol at Isakli and north in the long viaduct to Bolowodun that carried the old post road from the Bosphorus to Philomelion across the great marsh in which the Kaystros ends (Calder, *J.R.S.* 1912, pp. 239 ff.; Hogarth, *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 161). None of the inscriptions bear the name of the city; but they belong to a city with boule; and there must have been a city in that fertile country near the lakes. Julienses are mentioned in the conventus of Synnada by Pliny, v. 105, showing that the conventus extended along the road from Synnada to Paroreios. This road is marked in Tab. Peut.: Synnada. XXXII Iullae XXXV Philomelo XXVIII Laudiciaca tace caumene. Leake, p. 59, corrected Iullae to Iulia which I thought that all accepted: other corrections are obvious. We prefer Iuliae "at Julia mansio." Philomel(i)o "from Philomelion." The numbers are wrong: XXVII, XXV, XXVIII are probable.

Julia fills an interval. Ipsos appears before Julia and after. We trace the rise and decay of cities by the references to them. Circumstances cause changes in the city centre of a district.

There was a marked tendency in the Byzantine period to return to old native names for cities called by Graeco-Roman names in imperial Roman time. Diocaesarea changed to Prakana (*H.G.* p. 364) before *Conc. Nicaen.* II. in 787; Kardabounda was the name in 787 of some bishopric in Isauria (*H.G.* p. 370) which previously had a Graeco-Roman name (as yet undetermined). Ipsos of old time and in Byzantine time was called by some Roman name under the Emperors: Julia was the Roman name of a coin-striking city about 54–60 and in 253, known to Pliny before 79¹: the situation of Ipsos has been determined near the probable site of Julia. The inference is highly probable. The sites were not exactly the same: Julia was placed suitably for trade and intercourse at Isakly; Ipsos was probably near Tchai, a few miles away, as suiting better the conditions of the battle in 301. The long battle in which Alexios was nearly overwhelmed by the Seldjuk Turks in 1115 was on the same ground as the battle of 301; both on the south side of the river. Alexios could not venture to cross the bridge over the Kaystros, while hard pressed by the Turks, and continued along the road to Amboun² and to Akroënos, which was still in his possession. The situation of Ambon is clear in Cinnamus c. A.D. 1146, who calls it “Nun’s Mound”. It was between Akroenos and Philomelion, but nearer the former than the latter: hillocks are very rare in that plain, and are usually artificial tumuli.

The approximate localization of Julia and Ipsos is demonstrated with the highest probability; much clearer to one who has traversed the plain than to those who read and consult a map. I have never gone from Akroenos to Tchai, only from Synnada along the river to Tchai, and cannot therefore state the position of Nun’s Mound more exactly; but it was probably near the hot springs and modern bath-house about 5 hours S.E. or E.S.E. from Akroenos and 4 hours from Tchai.

XLVIII. PAPINIANUS OF TARSUS.

298. Tarsus: on a basis newly excavated (Lieut. Bennett, R.E., gave in 1880 to R., who published in *B.C.H.* 1883, pp. 325 f.).

Spelling— χ for $\chi\epsilon$; η for ι ; $\alpha\nu$ omitted (l. 2) by lapicida or copyist between *ΕΓ* and *Ε*; κ for χ ; *βασιλῆς* (-*λῆες*); *Παπειν(ιανόν)*; ν for \omicron ³—shows date in third century.

Where a hexameter ends in the middle of a line of text, it is marked by \succ ; no mark after vv. 8, 9.

1. “Hail, Himerios”: Himerios was a signum, not part of his proper name. The name may be expected later in the text.

¹ The name belongs to A.D. 14–29; probably it was called after Julia Augusta.

² *Ἀμπούν* in Anna, ii. 336. *ΜΠ* was pronounced *mb* (English *B* in modern Greek). It is the word *ambon*, *ambo*, in

modern time, Greek *ἄμβων*, a hill or hillock, later a pulpit or reading desk on a raised stand. It was the Nun’s Mound of Cinnamus, pp. 40 and 66 (*Καλογραίας βουός*).

³ In l. 5 perhaps *πολυκ(ύ)δέα*, η for ν .

- vac. Εὐτύχι Ἡμέρι vac.
 ῥωμαίων ὑπατον μέγ(αν), ἔξο|κον ἐν Κιλικεσσιν>
 εἵνεκα | καὶ παιδὸς πανυπέρτατον | ἐν | πολιήταις>
 (τούτω γὰρ Βασιλῆς | δῶκαν γέρας ὄφρα οἱ υἱὸς>
 5 συνκλή|του βουλῆς μετέχοι πολυκηδέα | τειμήν>)
 τρεῖς στεφάνους ἐξῆς | ἀναδησάμενον παναρίστους>
 δημιουργὸν Παπειν., Κιλικάρχη, | γυμνασιάρχον>
 σύνδικον ἀγνότα|τον, βουλῆς στέφος, εὐγενὲς αἷμα. |
 Δημητρὸς θεράποντες ἀγακλέα τόνδ' ἀνέ|θηκαν.
 10 ἐπὶ γραμματέων τῶν περὶ Νέω-|
 να τὸ β', καὶ Λούκιον τὸ β', καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον |
 τὸ β', καὶ Μυραγένην τὸ β'. οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμμα-|
 τεῖς τὴν στατιῶνα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶ ἱερῶ συνεργίω

3 f. 'Supereminent among citizens (of Tarsus), supreme also on account of his son ; for the Emperors bestowed on THIS man the honour that his son should enter the *cursus honorum senatorius* and (as quaestor) take part in the onerous¹ duties of the Roman boule ; Papin(ianus), who wore three glorious crowns successively as Demiourgos, Kilikarch, Gymnasiarch ; legal counsellor unbribable ; glory of the boule (of Tarsus) ; honourable by descent ; him who stands here, the servants of Demeter (*seitonai* ? *agoranomoi* in the corn market ?)² have placed on high.' At the end τὸ β' denotes parentage ? (not twice elected). It is unprecedented that four secretaries (*grammateis*) should be in office together : perhaps four successive secretaries combined to bear the expense. It seems extraordinary that a statue should be erected to a citizen and consul, and that his name should not be mentioned, or at least one of his names, in the text. Hence I adopt Mordtmann's suggestion that Παπειν(ιανόν)³ was his cognomen. Greeks loved to put a cognomen for the Roman triple name.

βασιλῆ(ε)ς, i.e. Severus and Caracalla, 198-211 : "the letters are too good for a later date," e.g. under the Philippi : the spelling is too bad for an earlier date ; hence we reject 161-169 or 175-180.

I thought of various explanations and printed some (*B.C.H.* loc. cit.)⁴ before concluding that παπειν must hide the name of this lawyer of Tarsus, who was σύνδικος ἀγνότατος, and had a son quaestor : he filled three high posts in his patria before he went to a higher career in Rome.

Two consuls named Papinianus are known that might possibly suit this text :

(1) L. Domitius Gallicanus Papinianus (cos. anno incerto *P.I.R.*, cos saec. tert. Liebenam) may be set aside : his legationes, *Hisp. cit.*,

¹ Perhaps η for υ, πολυκ(ύ)δεα, "honoured much."

² Perhaps simply "priests of Demeter."

³ Mordtmann takes Παπειν as the name : I prefer to take it as abbreviation. Formerly

I conjectured πα[τέ]ειν, ut incedat superbus.

⁴ One idea was that παπειν was an Anatolian title for a priest, like καπειν at Sardis, and ἀπειν(?).

Dalmatiae, Germ. Inf., are Western ; Oriental senatorii governed Eastern provinces only.

(2) Aemilius Papinianus, the famous Jurist, favoured and trusted by Severus, left guardian of his two sons in 211, resembles this Tarsian in many respects ; both were jurists of rigid honour : both had a son in senatorial career and already quaestor ; both were Orientals, the Jurist was related to Julia Domna : the Tarsian was of noble blood and this emphatic concluding word is a reminder that the Jurist was *adfinis* to Emperors, as well as relative of an Empress. The analogies are certainly remarkable, though they do not demonstrate the identity.

The Jurist is not recorded as consul. Praefecti praetorio originally were equites. Marcus Aurelius regretted that he could not make Pertinax praefectus praetorio, as being already consul. Alexander Severus changed this and made praef. praet. consuls, which had rarely or never happened before (*Hist. Aug. Alex.* 21, 3). If Alexander could do it, there is some probability that Severus, a bold innovator in many ways, may have bestowed this special honour on a man who stood so high in his favour and in public respect. The date would in that case be fixed as 212, when the son was quaestor. The Jurist was put to death by Caracalla because he refused to defend on legal grounds the murder of Geta : his son was killed at the same time during his quaestorship.

The Tarsians' silence about the name of their hero is remarkable. The only name they mention is the signum Hemerios or Himerios¹ : Papein(ianos) is hidden. The salutation *εὐτύχει* is common on grave-stones : "the ave atque vale of the poet's hopeless woe." They hinted, but they named no name clearly.

If these analogies are true, the Tarsians under Caracalla were worthy of Athenodoros under the future Augustus, or St. Paul under Nero.

What the *συνέργιον* was would be evident if we knew where exactly the statue was placed. *ἰερός* implies that it was public, like *ἰερά βουλή*.

The Greek borrows Latin *statio*, the site ; and *statio* evidently includes the statue and basis. Similarly, in military usage *statio* denotes both the picket and the place where the picket had its quarters.

XLIX. INSCRIPTIONS OF ALLEGIANCE.

Inscriptions to an Emperor were regularly dedicated in his first year as a mark of allegiance ; coins were also often struck at the same time (p. 7). As a general rule a second dedication was not made, unless the Emperor visited the city, or conferred some benefaction on it, or achieved some great deed. In some cases it is difficult to prove that a dedication must have been made in an Emperor's first year ; hence editors give the Emperor's entire reign as the date of the dedication to him (either as Augustus or as Caesar). We therefore quote

¹ It was a common usage to put a signum as heading ; and to mention the correct name in the text.

some cases where the first year is certain, and state the general rule that, unless a later date can be shown to be probable or certain, such dedications should be regarded as recognition and pledges of allegiance at accession. Other examples have been given above.

299. An inscription of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (Le B.-Wadd. 1069) has been much discussed (Cichorius, *Sitz.-ber. Berl.* 1889; Kubitschek, *A.E. Mitt.* 1890, p. 88).¹ The name of the Caesar is erased, but Δ and Γ (for T) can be read.

Δομιτιανὸν Καίσα-
ρα τὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
υἱόν

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ἐν τῷ ΓΝΡ' ἔτει ἐκ τῶν
εἰσενεχθέντων πε-

ρισσῶν ὑπὸ Δαμοσ-
τράτου Ὀλυμπᾶ ἄρχοντος
χρημάτων· ἐπιμεληθέν-
των τῶν περὶ Δαμόστρα-
τον Ὀλυμπᾶ ἀρχόντων

Vespasian was declared Emperor on 1 July, 69, with Titus and Domitian Caesares. Titus became Aug. on 1 July, 71; Domitian on 14 Sept., 81. The date is γρ' (23 Sept., 68, to 22 Sept., 69). The demos of Apollonia made a loyal dedication, as soon as they learned the facts, to Vespasian and his sons by statues to all. Damostratos, first archon, had promised money, if elected. The remainder of the sum (or part) was devoted to the three statues. The board of magistrates acted as ἐπιμεληταί.

300. Ismid (Isnigimid) : Nikomedia (Mordtmann, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* 1863, p. 233; *C.I.L.* iii. 326).

optimo benignissimoque
principi Flavio Valerio
Constantio nob. Caesari

Germanico Max. cons. colonia
Nicomedensium D.N.M.O. eius

L. 5. d(evota) n(umini) m(aiestati) q(ue) eius; O in copy for Q.
Date 293: modified in 294.

The earliest title of Constantius was Germanicus Maximus (evidently from March, 293). His other titles, Sarmaticus 294, Carpicus 295, Britannicus 296, are omitted. He was made consul on 1 Jan., 294, and the titulus was altered then; in 293 the full title Germanico Maximo was engraved; in Jan., 294, IMO was erased and CONS was cut in its place. The difference of hand on the stone was not observed by Dr. Mordtmann, a fair copyist, but hasty (for which his duty as physician accounts). The rank of colonia was given to Nikomedia by Diocletian; it is not on coins (which are not known after Gallienus).² The same remarks apply to the following titulus. Constantius never ruled in the East (no. 274).

¹ Discussion has raged, but the meaning was clear to all at the time, as Kubitschek has determined.

² MM. Babelon and Th. Reinach, *Monn. Grecques d'Asie Min.* i. p. 513, give the date IV^{me} siècle, quoting *C.I.L.* iii. 326 (Mordtmann's inscription).

301. Ismid-Nigimid-Nikomedia (Mordtmann, *Sitz. Bayer. Akad.* 1863, p. 232 ; *C.I.G.* 3770).

Ἀγαθ]ῆι Τύχηι
 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρίλι[ον
 Ἀντωνῖνον Αὐγο[υστ]ον Εὐσεβῆ Σ[ε-
 β]αστὸν δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ια' ὑπ.
 τ]ὸ . γ', Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σε-
 π]τιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίν[ακος
 Σεβαστο]ῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηρικ[οῦ
 [Παρθικοῦ Μαξίμου υἱόν, κτλ.]

Mordtmann alters his copy *ια'* to *ισ'* in l. 4 wrongly. The date *ισ'*, A.D. 215, is impossible ; Severus is still alive ; *ια'*, A.D. 208, is right. Caracalla was honoured with a statue when he accepted cos. III. There was probably also a statue of Geta as his colleague and of their father.¹ The ingenuity shown in Greek cities to find opportunities for adulation of the Emperors was inexhaustible.

302. Seulun-Prymnessos (*M.A.M.* iv. 5) ; white marble block, broken above.

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]	Εὐσεβῆ ἀρχιερέα μέ-
[θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱόν]	5 γιστον δημαρχικῆς
[θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ υἱόνόν]	ἐξουσίας, ὑπατον τό ♣
θε[οῦ Ν]ερούα [ἔκγονον	ὁ δ]ῆμος ὁ Πρυμνησέων
Τ. Αἴλιον [Ἀ]δριανόν Ἀν-	σωτῆ]ρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
τωνῖνον Σεβαστὸν	

The date is fixed with certainty to 138. The Emperor has not the title PP, which he assumed in 139, and the titulature has no number after *ἐξουσίας*, which suits 138, not 139. The end of l. 6 is remarkable. Pius had been consul in 120. In 138 Aelius Caesar, colleague and successor to Hadrian, was cos. II., but died on 1 Jan. Pius was not cos. II. till 139. The lapicida began to engrave τὸ β', but modified this, and put ♣ instead of β.

303. Kazanli in Cilicia (Langlois ; *C.I.L.* iii. 223). Copy bad ; restoration uncertain in various details.

DN[optimo benignissimoque pr]in-
 cipi iuventutis DN [Flav]io Valerio
 Constantio nobelissimo(!) Caesari
 Aimilius Marcianus v.p. praes. Ciliciae
 dicatissi[m]us numini maiestati[qu]e [e]orum

The date when Aimilius governed Cilicia must be c. 293. This is part of a monument to several rulers (eorum) ; Diocletian and Maximian are lost, also Galerius ; all were on separate pedestals, and all had the title Princeps. Marcianus inferred wrongly from the title [pr]inceps that Constantius was princeps iuventutis. The spelling nobeliss. is due to Cilician ignorance (Aimilius knew little Latin).

¹ Mordtmann reads [Παρθικο]ῦ in l. 7.

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