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DERBE.

THE intention of this paper is to set down on the spot, while the impressions are fresh, the ideas suggested by a renewed examination of the territory of Derbe. Along with my wife (to whose observation and quick eye for several classes of facts I am, as often elsewhere, deeply indebted in the present article) I have just traversed the land of Derbe on fresh lines, and have thus been able to complete the knowledge which I had gained before from exploration and from long pondering over the questions and difficulties involved. We started from the Bagdad Railway, near the north-western limit of the territory of Derbe, and zigzagged first southwards and then westwards during two days, May 1 and 2; and I cannot see any other line of work that promises to reveal further knowledge, until excavation can be called in to complete the results which can be gained by simple travel.

The determination of the exact site of Derbe was one of the most serious wants in the geography of the New Testament. In a general way the situation was practically certain, and the credit for first pointing it out belongs to my friend Professor Sterrett, now of Cornell University, who has done so much to pave the way towards a right knowledge of the topography of this whole country. The territory of all these Lycaonian cities was extensive, and must have been dotted over with villages, which stood in the same relation to the city as we have recently described in the case of Iconium.[1] The territory of Derbe was on the extreme south-eastern edge of the Lycaonian plain. It was bounded on the west by the Isaurian hilly country, and on the south by the Taurus mountains. Perhaps it included a considerable tract of the mountain land; but

[1] EXPOSITOR, October, 1905.

so far as we saw the mountains in ascending one of the front hills of a spur of Taurus, they are singularly rough, rocky, and valueless—in contrast with many parts of Taurus and other mountain regions of Asia Minor, where the glens are often productive and valuable. Further back among the mountains, when the broad, lofty plateau of Taurus is reached, these uplands are probably much more valuable; but there we come to another land, and pass beyond the limits of Derbe, which was essentially a city of the Lycaonian plain (as Strabo describes it), and not of the Taurus mountain-region. The site of the city must lie either in the plain or on one of the front peaks of Taurus commanding the plain.

On the east the land of Derbe was bound by the two Lycaonian cities of Laranda (which now bears the name of the Seljuk prince Karaman, and continues to be, as it was under the Romans, the principal city of the whole region), and Ilistra (which still retains its ancient name). On the west, as Strabo says, Derbe bordered on the Isaurian country; on the north-west it touched the territory of Iconium, and on the north-east that of Barata, the city of the Black Mountain (the volcanic mass of Kara-Dagh, which rises like an island in the Lycaonian plain). The exact limits towards Iconium are unknown. Towards Barata we followed the boundary stones for a considerable distance. This line of demarcation is unique in my experience, so far as its extent is concerned: single boundary stones are not very rare, and are mostly of Roman time. It consists of a long series of stones at intervals of about 150 feet.[1] Most of the stones are from one to two feet high,

[1] I paced a number of the intervals successively, as follows: 130, 137, 140, 67, 68, 140, 66, 134, 69, 67, 73, 60, 65, 68, 62. The five larger measures are where intermediate stones have been lost or hidden from view. The intervals, therefore, vary from 60 paces to 73; and the stones must have been placed roughly according to eye-sight, and not by measurement. I

some are flat, a few are not visible, being presumably covered by the soil and sparse scrub of the plain.[1] On the stoneless, dry, dead level soil of the plain, the line of the boundary-stones is quite conspicuous; and even where they now barely protrude above the soil, examination by the aid of the spade would doubtless prove that they have been carried to the spot and placed there by the hand of man.

A few stones belonging to a similar series of termini was discovered by us in 1901 in Pisidia. The material is harder in them, and they retain the original Latin numbers, showing that they were placed in the Roman time. They probably marked the boundary between the Colonia Parlais and the Antiochian estates, which passed from the god to the kings and from them into the possession of Augustus and his successors. These stones have been described and published by my friend the Rev. H. S. Cronin in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1902.[2]

The Lycaonian line of stones marks the limit between Derbe and Barata, and was probably placed in the period when Derbe was a frontier city of the Roman Empire, while Barata was part of the territory either of King Archelaus, or later of King Antiochus, i.e. either under Augustus soon after 25 B.C., or under Claudius soon after 41 B.C. (assuming that the bounds were settled at the beginning of one or other of the two periods); and the latter is more probable, as Claudius directed special attention to this district and granted both to Iconium and to Derbe the honourable

paced the short interval 60 twice, and measured it with the tape-line, 148 feet.

[1] Probably most of them might, with care, be traced. The lost stones occur mostly near the point where I began to pace the distances, when I was on the outlook only for taller stones.

[2] On the topography, however, it is necessary to consult my paper in the Annual of the British School at Athens, 1902, on "Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier."

title of "Claudian." The title may have perhaps been bestowed when the demarcation of Roman territory (with Imperial properties involved) as well as of the two cities was made.

The boundary line crosses the Bagdad Railway between the stations of Arik-Euren and Mandasun. Only a few stones can be seen west of the Railway; but on the eastern side they stretch for several miles straight to a black volcanic cone called Davdha-Dagh, which protrudes from the plain south of Kara-Dagh. We did not follow them the whole way, as no mark of any kind could be seen on any of the first seventy; and the material is so poor and liable to disintegration that marks could not be expected to last long. Mr. Mackensen, the Director of Construction of the Bagdad Railway, first mentioned to me the existence of this line of stones, for which he desired an explanation; and he made one of his engineers mark them on a survey-plan of the Railway from Konia onwards, which he kindly gave me. But even without the plan, no traveller who crossed the boundary could have failed to observe the long straight line of stones. The fact that it remained unobserved until Mr. Mackensen noticed the stones and wished to understand their purpose, was because none of the principal lines of road crosses or goes near the line, and therefore no traveller came within sight of them. This is not the only case in which the Railway, by diverging from the commonly used lines of road, has brought interesting memorials of ancient life within the range of knowledge. Any one now, who travels by the Bagdad Railway, must be struck with this boundary line, if he looks out of the carriage, instead of devoting his attention to a guide-book or a novel.

The thin low scrub which covers the plain is characteristic of Lycaonia generally. Looking from a little distance, one

might imagine that the ground was thinly covered with grass; but there is in reality hardly anywhere a blade of grass on the plain, but only low-growing plants of several kinds, mostly sweet-smelling, the commonest of which is like thyme. Sheep and goats find good food in these shrubs; and the plain is still traversed by immense flocks of sheep and goats, as Strabo describes it, when it gave pasture to the great flocks owned by Amyntas, the last king of Galatia. We must understand that the flocks passed, with the rest of his inheritance, to the Roman Emperors and formed part of their vast properties in Asia Minor.

The most striking natural feature of the land of Derbe is the lofty conical peak, 8,000 feet or more in height, and snow-clad until the end of May or June, which overhangs it on the south. This beautiful mountain is conspicuous in the view from Iconium and most parts of Lycaonia, until one crosses Boz-Dagh and gets into northern Lycaonia; and, if one goes far enough north, it again rises into view above the bare, bald ridge of Boz-Dagh. It is called Hadji-Baba, "Pilgrim Father," a name in which the imagination of some of the modern Greeks in Lycaonia finds a reminiscence of the travels of St. Paul; nor can any one regard as wholly impossible the theory that the Turkish name is a translation of a Pauline name attached to the mountain in the Christian time. We remember that the conical peak, about 5,500 feet high, which is the most striking natural feature beside Iconium, bears among the Greeks of Konia the name of St. Philip, and that this name must be regarded as a relic of Byzantine nomenclature,[1] and may fairly be treated as evidence that Iconian tradition made Philip travel from Palestine to Hierapolis and Ephesus

[1] Konia and the neighbouring village Sille have preserved a continuous Greek population, and continuity in the tradition may therefore be expected, and can almost certainly be traced in the church of St. Amphilochius and the monastery of St. Chariton, etc.

by land and not by sea. We remember also that Ephesus stretched from the hill of St. John to the hill of St. Paul.[1] We remember, again, the probable reminiscence of the journey of St. Paul across Pisidia contained in the modern name Bavlo. In fact, it needs no proof, since many examples are known, that there was a tendency in Anatolia to regard certain prominent peaks as endowed with something of the nature and personality of the Apostles, over whose travels they had stood as silent witnesses. Probably, the sacred character thus attributed to these peaks had belonged to them long before the Christian period, and the Apostle in each case merely took the place of an older deity to whom the peak had previously been consecrated : so, for example, the hill of St. John at Ephesus had belonged to the goddess of Ephesus, the hill of St. Paul to Hermes. We are in presence of the same phenomenon which constantly attracts our attention in Asia Minor, viz., the continuity of religious belief and the permanent attachment of religious awe to special localities, to hills, to hot springs, to great fountains, and to other places of various kinds, where the divine power was most clearly manifested to men.[2]

In the territory of Derbe remains of city life are chiefly collected along the southern border of the plain, and the site of the actual town must be looked for in this part. They begin on the east at Bossala Khan, under the shadow of the "Pilgrim Father," an early Turkish building with some wretched huts around it, and extend at intervals for about seven miles west, to a mound called Gudelisin. Losta, a village about two miles west of Bossala, contains a great many relics of the late Roman and early Byzantine time ; and several rising grounds between Bossala and

[1] See the chapter on "Ephesus" in *The Letters to the Seven Churches*.

[2] See two articles in the EXPOSITOR, June and August, 1905, on the Ephesian goddess.

Gudelisin are crowned with groups of scattered blocks of cut stone, sometimes covered with Greek inscriptions. The most interesting of these groups is on a sloping ridge, gently rising from the plain about a mile and a half west of Losta. Here there must have stood a church of very large size, and probably other buildings of early Byzantine time. The hillock may be regarded as the site of an ecclesiastical foundation, whose character is to be gathered from the following inscription :—

Nounnos	Νοῦννος
and Vale-	καὶ Οὐαλέ-
rius decor-	ριος ἐκόσ-
ated Pau-	μησαν Παῦ-
lus the Mar-	λον τὸν Μάρ-
tyr	τυραν
in remembrance	M. X.

The term "decorated" was used commonly in Lycaonia during the third and fourth centuries (perhaps even during a longer period) in the sense of "made the tomb of." This interesting monument, therefore, marks the grave of a Christian martyr, whose body was piously honoured by two of his fellow-Christians, perhaps his pupils. The explanation given by the Greeks of the district [1]—that the monument commemorates the Apostle Paul, and is a proof that he passed this way and was remembered here—cannot be accepted. We have here the inscription on a real grave, not on a cenotaph. Moreover, the monument belongs to so late a period that it cannot be connected with the Apostle. The lettering is of the third century, rather than of the first.[2]

This monument evidently belongs to the pre-Constantinian

[1] The few Greeks, who are met with in this neighbourhood, are all strangers engaged in trade. The Christian population of this part of Lycaonia was entirely exterminated or expelled after the Turkish conquest. There is, therefore, no continuity in the local tradition; and no one knows that Derbe was situated in the neighbourhood.

[2] There is no absolute impossibility that it might be of the second century; but, personally, I could not date it so early.

age, while Christianity was still proscribed. We should hardly be justified in dating it so late as the time of Diocletian, about A.D. 300, when persecution was so systematic and energetic that the corpse of a martyr could not have been taken and buried in the ordinary fashion, with a tombstone of the usual type, and an epitaph openly commemorating the facts and names. The incident belongs either to one of the minor persecutions of the third century, or to the severe but short persecution by the Emperor Decius A.D. 250. Several other monuments found in Phrygia have been interpreted with more or less certainty as placed over the graves of martyrs of this period; but in none of them are the facts stated so plainly and simply as on this Lycaonian gravestone.

The memory of Paul the Martyr of Derbe had not perished when Christianity became legalized and supreme in the country; and this incidentally confirms our dating in the third century, for martyrs of the first or second century seem rarely to have been remembered in later centuries as real personalities at the place of their burial. The hill became the seat of an ecclesiastical foundation, including a church of large size, and the pious would choose a burial place near the martyr, according to a general Christian custom.

The tombstone of Paul the Martyr has also an interest of another kind. It is ornamented with a pattern of the regular Isaurian type, described by Miss Ramsay in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904: a central pointed pediment flanked by two round pediments, all supported on four columns.[1] Nounnos and Valerius purchased the tomb-

[1] The most ornate example of this type was republished in the EXPOSITOR early in 1905, in my article on *The Book as an early Christian Symbol*. No symbols or ornament other than architectural exist on the gravestone of Paul of Derbe.

stone ready-made, and had the inscription engraved between the central columns. As the letters required more room than the space afforded, the engraver chiselled away part of the column on the right of the central space, and some of the letters extend into the space under the right hand pediment.

The date which has just been assigned to this monument confirms in a most satisfactory way the principle of dating which was stated in Miss Ramsay's article. The origin of the Isaurian scheme of decoration was there assigned to the middle of the third century. As the tombstone of Paul is, plainly and indubitably, an example of an already current and conventional type, we should, on the principle there stated, be bound to infer that it belongs to a date rather later than 250, and that Paul perished in a minor persecution of the period, perhaps under Valerian. Such seems the most probable opinion on a review of all the facts.

The wide extent of the ancient remains that still lie in or close to their original position increases the difficulty of fixing the precise site of Derbe; and the only view that explains the facts seems to be that there were more sites than one. Either Derbe changed its place (as Ephesus was moved more than once [1]), or there were two towns in the locality, with sepulchral monuments lining the way between them. The latter opinion is confirmed by various reasons, and the name of a second town can be determined. This was Possala or Passola,[2] which is mentioned as a bishopric in some documents of the fourth century, and later; and the name has remained to the present day in Bossala Khan. It is not necessary to suppose that the Khan stands exactly on the site of the old town. The Khan is on the direct

[1] Compare the chapter on Ephesus in the *Letters to the Seven Churches*.

[2] The chief facts about this name are gathered together in my paper on Lycaonia, in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1904.

road from Iconium to Pyrgos (Cassaba) and Laranda, and the town stood a little way west from the road at Losta, which is plainly an ancient site; but doubtless buildings and graves extended along the whole way, from Losta to the Khan and the great road, so that Losta and Bossala together represent one ancient town. Why the Khan should preserve the old name and the village should lose it, we cannot tell with certainty: it is one of those freaks of nomenclature which are common. The centre of population may have changed its name when its people and its religion changed, while the old name clung to the now separate village on the road, along which trade passed, and Christians were more active and old memories were stronger.

In Losta an old Turkish *Tekke*, a round edifice of religious nature, superior in architectural character and in sanctity to a mere village mosque, indicates the continuity of religion between the ancient Possala and the modern Losta. We notice all over the country that no religious fact was (as a rule) lost in the transition from Christianity to Mohammedanism in Asia Minor. I have seen many cases in which the only evidence of life and human nature still persisting on an otherwise utterly dead and deserted ancient site is the religious awe attaching to some ruinous old Turkish sacred building; the name of some Mohammedan hero or saint is remembered, who lies buried there, for in Anatolian religion there seems always to have been a grave at the central point of the divinely chosen locality; and the inquiring traveller can detect some signs of a belief in the healing divine power that resides at the sacred spot. At such places the Byzantine Christians used to worship by the grave of a saint, and the Turks now show the grave of one of their "Dedes." The outward appearance and the sacred name change; the essential religious fact persists. Every ancient city had its religious unity centred at some

definite locality, and this lives on in the minds of men, and the sick and ailing remember it in their trouble, while the strong and healthy pass by without a sign of recognition.

Fully five miles west of Losta was the greatest centre of ancient life in this neighbourhood. Here at and around a very large mound, called Gudelisin, and chiefly on the low ground west of the mound, there are plain traces of an ancient city of moderate extent. Most of the Byzantine or early Turkish buildings which were seen on the mound by Professor Sterrett in 1885 and by us in 1890, and which are dimly visible in the photograph taken then by Mr. Hogarth (published in the *Church in the Roman Empire*), were destroyed to build refugees' villages, on the south-east side of the mound, and at a distance of two miles to the south-east, soon after 1890. Even the larger ancient cut stones have mostly been carried away. Few sites in the country are more utterly destroyed; but the surface is covered with fragments of pottery of all periods from quite an early time onwards.[1] In 1901 my wife and I searched carefully for any scrap of cut stone that might be attributed to the Greek or the early Roman period, and found only two, one a small piece of an Ionic volute in marble, the other a tiny fragment of an inscription with two or three letters in a good and early style. My friends Mr. Cronin and Mr. Wathen, in 1901 made some excavation in the mound with eight workmen employed for a day; but they were not fortunate in finding any positive result, and no negative inference follows from investigation on so small a scale. I feel no doubt that here was situated the Derbe where Antipater entertained Cicero and St. Paul found refuge and friends, and that much might be learned by excavation even on a moderate scale. The stones and inscriptions from

[1] A few specimens of the early pottery may be seen in the British Museum.

this site, which have been carried westwards to Elmasun three miles away, are Byzantine and late Roman; and the Greek and early Roman work, still more the pre-Greek remains, may yet be found by excavation on and near the mound.

It may be regarded as certain that Derbe was the most important centre of population in the Roman period, while Possala was merely a village of the territory of Derbe. A Roman road led from Laranda by Derbe and Lystra to Pisidian Antioch. A Roman milestone on this road was found by us in 1890 at a bridge over Tcharshamba River, about fifteen miles north-west from Derbe and twenty or twenty-five south of Lystra. Others have been found close to Lystra, and at intervals on the way to Antiocheia. Only the interval of about twenty-five miles north-west of Lystra still remains unexamined and unknown.[1] The discovery of a milestone in this section would be a welcome completion to our knowledge. Iconium lay off the line of this road, which was built by Augustus and bore the name Via Sebaste, "Imperial Road," as several of the original milestones show; this term was translated into Greek as βασιλικὴ ὁδός, and in this form survives in the legend of Paul and Thekla.[2] The original purpose of the road was to connect the two Roman Coloniae, Antiocheia and Lystra, and thus to strengthen the defence of the Province Galatia against the Isaurian and Pisidian mountaineers, especially the Homonades. The road was built in 6 B.C., about the time when Quirinius, governor of Syria, was engaged in subduing that people.

The "Imperial Road" served only a temporary purpose, and was not in accordance with the natural conditions.

[1] A general account of it is given in my *Preliminary Report of a Journey in* 1905.

[2] See the *Church in the Roman Empire*, Part I.

Iconium is marked out by nature as the chief centre of life and trade for Lycaonia, and a road which left Iconium to one side could not serve the needs of communication. Thus the direct road from Laranda to Iconium was necessarily more important commercially than the "Imperial Road"; and, as military needs became unimportant after the mountain lands were pacified and formed into a Roman Province in 74 A.D., the situation of the village Possala near the principal road gave it growing importance. But Possala and Derbe were always recognized as parts of one state, never as separate cities. The same Bishop administered both places, and in the earlier records he is styled Bishop of Derbe, in the later of Possala.[1] The change marks the growth of the latter town and the gradual decay of Derbe. The relation between the two names is recorded in a gloss attached to the name in a list of bishoprics, published by Professor Gelzer; and some list or other record may yet be found, in which the full title is given: "Bishop of Derbe and Possala" (ὁ Δέρβης καὶ Ποσάλων).

Professor Sterrett's view approximated to that which has just been stated, and he has the merit of being the first to detect that this locality was the land of Derbe. In his *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, p. 22, he says: "I consider that the ruins of Bosola and Zosta,[2] being so near together, represent one and the same ancient city. This city I should like to call Derbe. Stephanus Byzantinus says Derbe was a fortress of Isauria, a designation which would suit this site well enough. Of course, little can be argued from St. Paul's itinerary as to the site of Derbe, but in reading the account, one is impressed with the idea that Derbe cannot be far from Lystra, and Lystra has been

[1] For particulars, and for the spelling of the name, see the Austrian *Jahreshefte, loc. cit.*

[2] Professor Sterrett uses here this form of the name; but I heard only Losta, and so also MM. Radet and Duvré.

found to be at Khatyn Gerai." The objections to his view are conclusive. Not merely does it leave out of consideration the important site of Gudelisin. It also ignores the companion town of Possala. Now, if Losta and Bossala represent one and the same ancient city, as my friend and I are agreed in thinking, it cannot be doubted that Possala was the city in question. As to Gudelisin, he merely says: "Here a large mound, in every way similar to the Assyrian Tels, shows many traces of an ancient village or town. Most of the remains must be referred to Christian influence."[1] The last remark is true of the buildings which he saw on his visit, but not of those below ground or of the pottery on the surface.

Another village of the territory of Derbe attained some importance. It stood about four miles north from Derbe on the straight road to Iconium; and the modern name Utch-Kilisse, "Three Churches," together with the ruins of some large buildings, prove that it possessed considerable importance in the Byzantine time. The place is now an uninhabited mass of ruins, all of a late period, so far as they are visible above ground: one of the buildings was a church. Professor Sterrett, who discovered these remains, appreciates their character rightly (*Wolfe Exped.*, p. 29).[2]

The description of the roads given above illustrates well the narrative of St. Paul's journeys. On his second journey he came from Syrian Antioch (doubtless through the Cilician Gates) by Laranda to Derbe, next to Lystra, and thence to Iconium, which was about eighteen miles north-north-east of Lystra and a little way off the "Imperial Road" to Pisidian Antioch. But, on the first journey, he fled from Pisidian Antioch along the "Imperial Road." According

[1] *Wolfe Exped.*, p. 29.

[2] He also was, I think, the first traveller that observed the ruins of Gudelisin.

to the legend of Paul and Thekla (as interpreted in the *Church in the Roman Empire*), when he reached the point where a branch road diverged to Iconium, a few miles distant, he found Onesiphorus waiting for him. Onesiphorus, who had been warned in a dream of his coming, recognized him from the description given of his personal appearance, and invited him to his own house, which was next door to that of Thekla's parents. From Iconium, Paul fled naturally first to Lystra and thence to the more distant Derbe.

Little is said about Derbe in the Book of Acts, and little is recorded of it in any other ancient documents. It was a rather rude Lycaonian town, where education had not made much progress, and therefore it was not fitted to produce much impression on the history of the Church or of Asia Minor. Its inscriptions are late in date, and show little trace of contact with the Roman world. It had a certain factitious importance about the time of St. Paul as being the frontier city on a Roman "Imperial Road," and therefore a station for customs and frontier dues.[1] Stephanus gathered this fact from some lost authority, who described the city as it was between 41 and 74. Owing to this temporary importance it was honoured with the Imperial title, Claudio-Derbe; but it struck no coins until a much later period. It was a city of the Province Galatia till about A.D. 130–135, when it was incorporated in the new triple Province of the "Three Eparchiæ": Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia. An inscription of the third century at Losta was dedicated to the Emperor Gordian by the three Provinces or Eparchiae.[2] During this period Iconium and

[1] λιμήν was the name for such a station, whether it was a coast-town and harbour, or an inland city like Derbe. Stephanus Byz. is the only authority who has recorded this fact.

[2] Sterrett, *loc. cit.*, p. 23, where the author has not observed that *Provincie* is a plural, and that the names of two of the Eparchiae are lost at the end of the inscription. He mentions that the letters are faint.

Lystra continued to form part of the Province Galatia. About A.D. 295 the "Three Eparchies" were divided. Part of Lycaonia, including Derbe, was now assigned to Isauria, another part of Lycaonia (including Iconium) to a new Province, Pisidia; while the rest of Lycaonia continued attached to the Province Galatia. From an authority of the fourth century Stephanus gathered his description of Derbe as "a fortress of Isauria." Finally, about 372, Lycaonia was made a Province by itself, and Derbe was included in it.

One more point requires notice before we part from Derbe. The possibility that the city might have been situated on one of the hills on the southern edge of the plain was alluded to above. We inquired carefully into this, and learned that on one hill only are there any ruins. The second hill west of Hadji-Baba has a huge lump of rock protruding conspicuously out of one side of its summit. This was described to us as covered with walls and houses, built of small stones, with no marble and no inscriptions. The description did not suggest any hope that the Roman Derbe could have been situated there, but rather that a Byzantine fortress had been built on this lofty point during the troubled times of the Arab raids. In order to leave no doubt, however, we ascended the hill. The Kalé, as it is called, is about 1,200 feet above the plain. The ruins cover an oval space of about 150 to 200 yards long by 80 to 100 broad. The walls are not Byzantine work. They are built of small stones, splintered off the native rock, entirely uncut and undressed. The stones are of two sizes. The larger stones were used to form the outer and inner faces of the wall, and rarely, if ever, measure more than a foot in any direction. The smaller stones were mere scraps, piled loosely in to fill up the space between the faces. Not a trace of mortar or any other binding material could be seen

in the walls, except that two cisterns for holding rain-water were faced inside with some hard kind of cement. The small size and wretched character of the fortress and the tiny huts of stone inside it were enough to show that this was not Derbe. But the work is early, not late. The impression of date, suggested by the walls, was confirmed by examination of the numerous fragments of pottery scattered over the surface of the ground. Many of these are evidently pre-Hellenic, belonging to a class which is found widely over ancient sites in Asia Minor, ornamented with alternate zones of darker and lighter hue, yellowish or brownish in tint, analogous to some classes of early Grecian pottery which are roughly and not quite accurately described as Mycenæan.

One might well imagine that this fortress had been the first stronghold of "the robber Antipater," as Strabo expressively calls him in his brief, incisive way, before he succeeded in making himself master of Derbe, about 60 B.C. But it is likely to be of an even early period in origin, and may have seen the city of Derbe grow and decay again.

In conclusion, it seems right to add that the merit and thoroughness of Professor Sterrett's exploration stand out all the more markedly, when one remembers that two skilful and highly trained French scholars travelled through the same country about the same time, and placed Lystra at Losta. They argued partly from the name and partly from a short inscription in the village which mentions "Titus and Gaius, brothers, men of Lystra," as the architects of a building. Titus and his brother, however, must have carried their activity and skill from their native Lystra to Possala. Yet the wrong identification might have been accepted on this very specious and tempting argument, had not Sterrett found conclusive proof of the true position of Lystra.

W. M. RAMSAY.