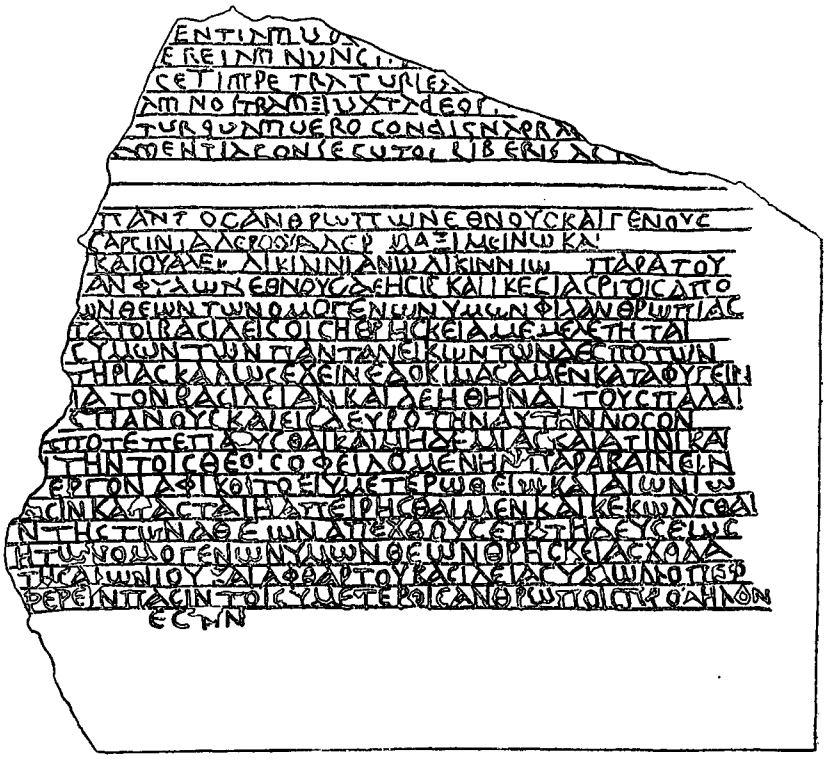
Bilingual Inscription from Arykanda.

FROM THE GERMAN OF MOMMSEN, THE HISTORIAN AND SCHOLAR.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY THE REV. A. B. GROSART, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A. (SCOT.), DUBLIN.



quamcumque munific]entiam vol[etis pro hoc vestro pio]
[proposito pet]ere iam nunc ho[c facere et accepisse]
[vos credere li]cet impetraturi e[am sine mora quae
[in omne aevum t]am nostram iuxta deos i[mmortales pie-]
[tatem testabi]tur quam vero condigna pra[emia vos es-]
? ??
[se a nostra cl]ementia consecutos liberis ac po[steris]
[declarabit]
Τοῖς σωτῆρσιν] παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους καὶ γένους
Σεβαστοῖς Καί]σαρσιν Γαλερ. Οὐαλερ. Μαξιμείνῳ καὶ (leerer Raum)
Κωνσταντείνῳ] καὶ Οὐαλερ. Λικιννιανῷ Λικιννίῳ. Παρὰ τοῦ
Λυκίων καὶ Π]ανφύλων ἔθνους δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία. Ἔργοις ἀπο-
δεδωκότων τ]ῶν θεῶν τῶν ὁμογενῶν ὑμῶν φιλανθρωπίας
πᾶσιν, ὦ θειό]τατοι βασιλεῖς, οἷς ἡ θρησκεία μεμελέτηται
αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς ὑμῶν τῶν πάντα νεικώντων δεσποτῶν
αἰωνίου σω]τηρίας, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν καταφυγεῖν
πρὸς τὴν ἀθά]νατον βασιλείαν καὶ δεηθῆναι τοὺς πάλαι
μανικοὺς Χρι]στιανοὺς καὶ εἰς δεῦρο τὴν αὐτὴν νόσον

διατηροῦντά]ς ποτε πεπαῦσθαι καὶ μηδεμιᾷ σκαιᾷ τινι καινῇ θρησκείᾳ] τὴν τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφειλομένην παραβαίνειν.
Τοῦτ' ἂν εἰς] ἔργον ἀφίκοιτο, εἰ ὑμετέρῳ θείῳ καὶ αἰωνίῳ
νεύματι π]ᾶσιν κατασταίη ἀπειρῆσθαι μὲν καὶ κεκωλύσθαι
ἐξουσία]ν τῆς τῶν ἀθέων ἀπεχθοῦς ἐπ[ι]τηδεύσεως,
πάντας δὲ τ]ῇ τῶν ὁμογενῶν ὑμῶν θεῶν θρησκείᾳ σχολάζειν ὑπὲρ] τῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθάρτου βασιλείας ὑμῶν, ὅπερ
πλεῖστον συμ]φέρειν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀνθρώποις πρόδηλόν
ἐστιν.

The following little monograph on a recent FIND has excited considerable interest in Germany and the Continent generally. It seems expedient to introduce it to the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES by making it "speak English." The capable student will at once see how important a recovery this slab-document is, as shedding a ray of welcome light on an obscure period of Christianity. The attitude of the heathen world toward the "new religion" is not without a certain pathos of resistance to the inevitable; while the abundant learning of Mommsen enables him in various ways to illustrate and confirm the great ecclesiastical historian Eusebius. Nor is it without significance to find this illustrious scholar pronouncing unmistakably and bravely on the recrudescence of Jew-baiting parallel with the Christian-baiting of this Document. In *bits* and the footnotes the phrasing of the writer is compressed. I have sought to be as literal as possible.

Dublin. ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

THE remarkable Document which was discovered by Benndorf's expedition this year (1893) to Asia Minor, and which has been handed over to me for publication in this journal,[1] has been submitted to Mr. Hula in the Lykian town of Arykanda, and he has taken a cast of it. It was found below the *stadium*, inside the foundation-walls of an unfinished building, lying on an exposed slab (flag) of 0·55 of a metre broad; 0·50 of a metre high; 0·12 of a metre thick. (*N.B.*—A metre is about 39 inches, therefore the size is 20 inches broad, 19 high, and 4 inches thick.) The letters, in which the remains of a red colour were recognisable, are finely scratched in between previously drawn lines. The writing—the Latin as well as the Greek—is of the epoch to which the inscription belongs, but the correspondence is bad and vile. The reading, however, thanks to the efforts of Viennese friends, apart from that of a few broken letters, can be positively and decisively agreed upon. There is missing the upper part and the left edge, as well as the first six lines of the right. The remaining lines are complete to the end. Below nothing is missing. There could hardly be a continuation on another slab.

Preserved on the slab is the conclusion of an imperial rescript in Latin, and a supplication addressed to the Emperor in the Greek tongue. We may stamp the former as an imperial edict, both from the language and the expression, line 4,—*am nostram.* Indeed, according to its position it might be considered as an answer to the memorial appended to it, similar in both to what we find united in the records of the Skaptoparenians. Besides, the missing portions appeared so small in quantity that I had an idea of attempting a conjectural supplement. But when I placed the Document before Harnack, he drew attention to the striking agreement of this Latin appendix, with the concluding words of the similar—and subsequently to be mentioned—edict, addressed to the Tyrians and preserved in a Greek translation by Eusebius; and an examination of the cast undertaken by Bormann, established it as a certainty that the similar but slightly modified editing of this edict and ours must have been in the province of Lykia and Pamphylia.

I place here the concluding words as they appear in comparison, and remark that the Latin supplements are just as far suited to the exigencies of space as that of the matter in question is. Where, as usual and also here, the supplements to the text can not be restored in detail, and very different forms of the same things are possible, it seems expedient to confine oneself to the rough filling-up of gaps, and as far as possible to the simple restoration of the thought-connexion, especially as for the most part, scientifically, very little depends on whether they or that of the possible wordings deserves the preference.

[*vestrae devotioni permittimus*]
ἐπιτρέπομεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καθοσίωσει

[1] *Archæologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen Aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.* Herausgegeben von O. Benndorf und E. Bormann. Jahrgang xvi., Heft 1, Mit 18, Abbildungen. Wien (Tempsky), 1893, pp. 93–102.

[quamcumque munific]entiam vol[etis pro hoc vestro pio proposito pet]ere,
ὁποίαν δ' ἂν βουληθῆτε μεγαλοδωρεὰν ἀντὶ ταύτης ὑμῶν τῆς φιλοθέου προθέσεως αἰτῆσαι

iam nunc ho[c facere et accepisse vos credere li]cet,
καὶ ἤδη μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσατε·

impetraturi e[am sine mora]
τεύξεσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς χωρίς τινος ὑπερθέσεως

[quae]
ἥτις

fehlt
παρασχεθεῖσα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει

[in omne aevum t]am nostram iuxta deos i[mmortales pietatem testabi]tur
εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους θεοὺς φιλοθέου εὐσεβείας παρέξει μαρτυρίαν

quam vero condigna prae[mia vos esse a nostra cl]ementia consecutos
τὸ δὲ) ὑμᾶς ἀξίων ἐπάθλων τετυχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλαγαθίας

fehlt
ταύτης ὑμῶν ἕνεκεν τῆς τοῦ βίου προαιρέσεως

liberis ac po[steris declarabit].
υἱοῖς τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις ὑμετέροις ἐπιδειχθήσεται.

The Greek Document permits in contents, although by no means in wording, of being supplemented with sufficient safety, and it is sufficiently noteworthy. The province of Lykia and Pamphylia begs the Emperor Maximinus and his co-regents to root out the godless Christians as dangerous to the existing religion. We know the historical connexion of this event. After Galerius had granted the Toleration Edict in favour of the Christians, his under-rulers also, from his side, admonished the magistrates to discountenance the persecution of the Christians. But when, after the death of Galerius, he had made himself ruler from Asia Minor to the Hellespont, and had at a council (= conference) on the Hellespont attained to a union, according to agreement, with Licinus the potentate of Eastern Europe, he then felt himself safer, and changed his conduct towards the Christians. *Imprimis*, relates the contemporary of the writing, *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 36, *indulgentiam Christianis communi titulo (?) datam tollit subornatis legationibus civitatum, quæ peterent, ne intra civitates suas Christianis conventicula extruere liceret, ut quasi coactus et impulsus facere videretur quod erat sponte facturus, quibus annuens*, u. s. w. Eusebius is in agreement with this (*H. Eccl.*, 9. 4, 7). After the higher officials had convinced themselves as to how the Emperor was in reality disposed towards the new religion, they caused a petition-storm for the renewal of the Christian hunt (*N.B.*—Cf. the present-day Juden Hetze in Russia = Jew hunt), to which the Emperor consented. Eusebius, after he has adduced as a proof the edict addressed to the Tyrians, concludes ταῦτα δὴ καθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν ἀνεστηλίτευτο. Therefore we have in this Document the original proof. Intrinsically analogous to this petition others had been, as put forth by the Government. Justifiably, then, Harnack urges that the train of thought of our Document agrees in general with the Tyrian, so far as this is revealed by the imperial answer. Just as in the Tyrian Document the advantages and blessings which the prompt and undisturbed divine service grants, are displayed in broader colours, in a similar manner the memorial of the Lykians begins, and probably also closed thus.

According to time the memorial falls in the year A.D. 311, or more probably A.D. 312, as a comparison with both the above-adduced historical reports shows. When the memorial arrived, Galerius was already dead. He died in A.D. 311, soon after the promulgation of the Toleration Edict of 30th April; and as the address of the Document shows, the union between Maximinus, Licinius, and Constantine, which, without doubt, was settled in the very same year, took place, and was not yet broken. The breaking took place after the betrothal of Licinius with Constantine's sister, A.D. 312–13. Between Maximinus's last religious edict—again in favour of the Christians (Eusebius, *H. E.* ix. 10)—which cannot have preceded the end of the catastrophe, A.D. 313—and his edicts promulgated against the Christians, which edicts were called forth by these and analogous memorials, lies, according to Eusebius (*H. E.* ix. 10. 12), less than a year. This leads to the above-given juxtaposition. This estimate is manifestly not irreconcilable with the juxtaposition of our Document in A.D. 311; but it suits better for the year following. After the death of Galerius, the ruling potentates appear, from what has been said, to have been Constantine, Licinius, and Maximinus. This was the succession prescribed by

Galerius (*De mort. persec.* secs. 32–43); and it corresponds with the epoch of nominations.

Constantinus was already, A.D. 306,—after his father's death,—summoned by Augustus. Together with him Licinius was recognised at the Congress in Carnuntum; whilst Maximinus only after this Congress was first proclaimed by his troops, and was then recognised by Galerius (*De mort. persec.* 32). But Maximinus had certainly already been summoned to Congress in A.D. 305 (*De mort. persec.* 32); (*præscriptione temporis pugnat se priorem esse debere qui prior sumpserit purpuram*); and, therefore, names him also in Egypt. He really succeeded in the Hellespontine treaty in securing that the first place should be granted to him among the three rulers, as both the writers record this (*De mort. persec.* 44), *primi nominis titulum . . . sibi Maximinus vindicabat* (Eusebius, *H. E.* ix. 10), κατὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνιῶν . . . τολμᾶν ὥρμητο . . . πρῶτοκ ἑαυτὸν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀναγορεύειν; and also the inscriptions confirm. Not merely those of the East, but also of the West (Inscription by Pratting in *Noricum*, c. i. lib. iii. 5565, celebrating a victory, 27th June, A.D. 310, won after the death of Galerius, probably in A.D. 311). Consequently, if our Document places him in the first position, Licinius to the third, so is this in unison; and the missing name between can only have been that of Constantinus. It follows (line 11) from the discovery of the inscription in the heart of the Lykian country, that the petitioning province, not merely as Pamphylian, but also as Lykian and Pamphylian, must have been distinguished. It is consistent with this (as Marquardt, *Admin. of the State*, 1^2, 379, rightly observes), that the Veronese provincial list only notes down from the Diocletian times Pamphylia but not Lykia, and that an imperial ordinance of June 1, A.D. 313, is addressed to Eusebius, v. p. *præsidem Lyciæ et Pamphyliæ* [*C. Th.* xiii. 10. 10 = *C. Inst.* xi. 49. 1]. The anti-Semites—Christ was certainly a Semite—had also fifteen hundred years ago carried matters further than their like-minded companions of the present day. Our notorious anti-Semites have up to the present not yet attained to this, that their Petitions for a Semite hunt shall be publicly posted by governmental means in each little provincial town, and the high-placed crypto-anti-Semites, the truly guilty ones, stand not the less farther behind the performance of the Emperor Maximinus. The friends of humanity will, consequently, gladly read an advance in the tone and culture of this district.

In detail, I find the following, as regards the text, worthy of note. For fixing the size of the gap, both of the supplemental lines 10 and 11 are authoritative. The word Κω(ν)σταντ(ε)ίνῳ is wanting in the first, seeing that for the patronymic name space is left at the end of line 9. In the second, the supplemental Ανκίων καὶ Π does not also allow of being lengthened for the districts so far as administration firmly combined, and unmolested in their internal independence, are always to be understood as more simply an administrative circle, a province or ἔθνος. There is only one province, Ponti et Bithyniæ (*C. V.* 5262, ix. 4965, xiv. 2925), ἐπαρχεία Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας (*C. I. G.* 1813*b*), not provinces or ἐπαρχεῖαι. We may also, probably, insert του after καὶ. The usage of the language also prevents (as Berndorf rightly reminds us) the insertion of the article before both the national names. There are also wanting in line 10, ten or twelve; in line 11, ten letters, of which, however, as the break does not flow along quite uniformly, some terminate. Accordingly, the rest of the wording must be in conformity with doubtful (unsafe) supplementations: Line 7 [vestris declarabit], line 8 [τοῖς σωτῆρσιν τοῦ σύμ]-παντος ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους, καὶ γένους; line 16 [προς τὴν ὑμῶν ἀθά]νατον βασιλείαν; line 21, αἰωνίω[νεύματι παντάπ]ασιν. It is not to be denied that the demanded brevity leads to more harshness in the proposed supplements. They were, doubtless, better in the original than what is placed above, but I cannot acknowledge smoothness as more convincing than safer supplements.

In a Document of this kind it cannot be decided that by accepting this gap the isolated word in the last line does not come to stand exactly in the middle, as would be demanded by more careful writing. By the nature of the Document we are precluded from reckoning up the exact space.

Line 9. After καὶ there is on the stone, as the drawing shows, an empty space, sufficient for the reception of five or six letters. I had considered this space on the casting which was submitted to me as an erasure; but I have been mistaken in this conception. "We have," Berndorf writes to me, "examined critically all three casts; the circumstance cannot be in doubt. The name of Maximinus has suffered a series of scratches, which make it indistinct, but they are such as otherwise

seen in the inscription, viz. in the first line of the Greek, without giving any impression of being intentional. The empty place following at the end of the second Greek line is, on the contrary, quite unscratched and smooth. If an erasure had been here, then not only would the complete smoothness have been unexplained, but also it would have been incomprehensible that the flatness could have now raised itself as a relief over the boundary lines, which are quite intact." I have supposed this ought to be given again; for the acceptance of the erasure of a name (=extirpation) concerns not merely the extrinsic, but the out-chiselling of the name of Constantinus at the unscratched Licinius would probably be justified historically. But as this way out of the matter is not to be thought of, the omission, therefore, of ΦΛΑΟΥ or also ΦΛ ΟΥΑΛ, for which the place is sufficient enough, only leads us back to this, that the concipiant probably knew the name of the Eastern Emperor as well as that of his nearest neighbours, but not that of Constantinus. Whoever remembers the inconceivable confusion in which the interior Asiatic monuments of the third and fourth centuries introduce to us the imperial names, will not look at this solution — in my judgment the only one open—as inadmissible.

Lines 11–15 where the stone has ĪHPIAC), according to the proposals of Willamowitz. The motives precede: "The gods have shown that they bless those who protect them (=favour) in the interest of the empire." This turn has here its especial grounds; also in the edict of Maximinus to the Tyrians, which Eusebius has preserved in the Greek translation (*H. E.* ix. 7), is the blessing on agriculture, and otherwise fully realised. Ὁμογενεῖς, the gods are called Jove and Hercules (Seneca, *Ad. Marc.* xv. 1) . . . diis geniti et deorum creatores (c. i. lib. iii. 710). Tertullian (*Ad. Scap.* 2), *colimus . . . imperatorem . . . ut hominem a deo secundum . . . et solo deo minorem. . . . Majore formidine* (*Apolog.* 28. Tert.) *et calidiore timiditate Cæsarem observatis quam ipsum de Olympo Iovem.* "We must honour the gods because the emperors are also gods, which the Christians certainly contest" (Tertullian, *Ad. Scap.* 2). Loyalty runs throughout, strongly tinctured with piety.

Line 15. Maximinus, Edict, c. 6. ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις . . . ὅτε πάλιν ἤσθετο τοὺς τῆς ἐπαράτου ματαιότητος γεγονότας ἕρπειν ἄρχεσθαι . . . εὐθέως πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν . . . κατέρυγεν.

Line 16. Harnack and S. Reinach propose to supplement IATON . . . TATON. The former compares from our inscription, line 24, τῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθάρτου, βασιλείας, with ἀθάνατος. *Concil. Calched.* p. 1537, C. Colet: ἡ θεία καὶ ἀθάνατος κορυφή (said by the Emperor, p. 828*a*) ὀφείλομεν γὰρ τῇ ἀθανάτῳ πόλει νέμειν ἐν πᾶσι τὰ πρωτεια (Dionys. *Ad. R.* line 69).

Line 17. μανικούς, according to the proposals of Gebhardt, in order to prepare in this first member of the clause for the following νόσος. The Tyrians also request from the Emperor ἴασίν τινα καὶ βοήθειαν (Euseb. ix. 7. 6). "The distinction," remarks Harnack, "from πάλαι . . . εἰς δεῦρο plays above all a part in the Tolerance resp. Persecution Edicts of that year."

Lines 18, 20. The supplements are partly arranged according to the proposals of Harnack and Gebhardt.

Line 19. Similarly the same as passed in the edict to the Tyrians, c. 7, became determined μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος τῇ θρησκείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἱεροθρησκείαις τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν προσιέναι; and c. 12, pronounced the hope that, after the expulsion of the Christians, the town will devote itself μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος ταῖς τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν ἱερουργίαις. Also in the writing of the *præf. pretorio* to the Stadthalter (Euseb. ix. 1. 3) the care of the Emperor for the same is framed so that καὶ οἱ ἀλλοτρίᾳ Ῥωμαίων συνηθείᾳ ἀκολουθεῖν δοκοῦντες τὰς ὀφειλομένας θρησκείας τοῖς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς ἐπιτελοῖεν.

Line 22. There is the question as to the withdrawal of the permission granted to the Christians for a free divine worship. The letter is on the Toleration Edict of Galerius (Euseb. viii. 17; ix. 10) by συγχώρησις distinguished, in that of Constantinus oftener by ἐζουσία (Euseb. x. 5. 2, 3, 7, 8). "The letter and shorter word proposed by Gebhardt can be allowed here" (Harnack). It is known that Christians were designated ἀθέοι (Sybel's *Histor. Zeitsch.*, Bd. 64, 1890, s. 407); Euseb. ix. 10. 12: παρ' ᾧ γε (Maximinus) μικρῷ πρόσθεν δυσσεβεῖς ἐδοκοῦμεν καὶ ἄθεοι καὶ παντὸς ὄλεθροι τοῦ βίου.

Lines 23, 24. According to proposal of Willamowitz. The reference to the compulsory Emperor cult is plain.

Line 25. συμφερέιν, according to Harnack's proposal. Cf. Maximinus (Euseb. ix. 10. 9): διστάζειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὰ προσταγματα τὰ ἡμέτερα.