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A few days after the Queen found lying upon her writing-desk some of the most beautifully polished writing-paper she had ever seen. On each sheet were stamped the letters of her name, and her likeness. There was also a note from the mill-owner, asking her to accept a specimen of the paper, with the assurance that every sheet was manufactured out of the dirty rags she had seen.

3. In Feeling—'and palms in their hands.' Archbishop Trench will have it that it is a feeling of joy. For the Apocalypse, he says, moves altogether in the circle of sacred imagery; all its symbols and images are derived from the Old Testament. And so he refers to the Feast of Tabernacles, when with branches of palm trees the people rejoiced before the Lord seven days. But the seer of the Apocalypse was certainly familiar with the palm as a symbol of victory. And perhaps the two ideas are not so far apart. If it was joy, it was the joy of a great triumph, triumph over the world, the flesh, and the devil; the joy of being more than conquerors through Him that loved them. In the presence of Christ has always been fulness of joy, downward from the time in which 'your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day.'

4. In Occupation—'they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation.' Their occupation is worship, of course. All their life is worship. St. John cannot conceive any one of the redeemed otherwise occupied than in worshipping, whether he is in the home, or the field, or the market-place. But the special form of the worship which attracts his attention is praise. Their great cry is a song, and there is no discord in it. Every person of every tribe has a voice and sings in harmony with all the rest.

What are these lovely ones, yea, what are these?

Lo, these are they who for pure love of Christ  
Stripped off the trammels of soft silken ease,

Begging themselves betimes, to be sufficed  
Throughout heaven's one eternal day of peace:

By golden streets, thro' gates of pearl unpriced,  
They entered on the joys that will not cease

And found again all firstfruits sacrificed.

And wherefore have you harps, and wherefore palms,

And wherefore crowns, O ye who walk in white?

Because our happy hearts are chanting psalms,

Endless Te Deum for the ended fight;

While thro' the everlasting lapse of calms

We cast our crowns before the Lamb, our Might.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

## Two Notes on Religious Antiquities in Asia Minor.

BY PROFESSOR SIR WILLIAM M. RAMSAY, D.C.L. LL.D., Litt.D., D.D., University of Aberdeen.

### I.

#### Gaianus, Martyr at Ancyra of Galatia.

THERE remains much yet to be learned from an intelligent study of the *Acta Martyrum*. Some years ago in *THE EXPOSITORY TIMES* I pointed out that we have a record of the persecution under Trajan, and the exact date in the year when Hadrian was Proconsul of the Province Asia. The mention of Hadrian as Governor of Asia is the guarantee of trustworthiness; no falsifier would have omitted the opportunity of transforming his title from Proconsul to Emperor; and no one would remember that Hadrian governed the Province of Asia, an event recorded only on a coin of Thyatira struck under Trajan.

I shall now attempt to show that in a series of much corrupted entries under the dates 31 August and 4 September, we have the record of a martyrdom on a large scale under Domitian

or Trajan or Hadrian at Ancyra. The subject came up in connexion with a Byzantine milestone found at Barata of Lycaonia, which was included in the Province Galatia until the latter part of Hadrian's reign. The critical text of the Hieronymian Martyrology, published by Monsignor Duchesne, makes the investigation possible. The undigested mass of material collected in vols. xl. and xlii. of the *Acta Sanctorum*, piled up in uncritical and unintelligent fashion, is absolutely valueless in this case; and nothing could be made of it.

In the early Syriac Martyrology (supposed to have been translated from a Greek original connected with Nicomedia) the following entries occur:—

31 August	4 September
in Ancyra Gilos martyr and six others.	in Ancyra Marcellus and eight others.

These are explained by the lists in the Hieronymian Martyrology: I neglect misspellings and variations in the MSS, taking the best form of each name.

Prid. Kal. Sept.	Prid. Non. Sept.
Ancyra Galatiae Gaiani Juliani Rufini Vincentii Silvani Italicæ Antiquiræ Aemiliani Florentii Justæ Juliae Anthimi Maximi &c.	In Ancyra Galatiae Marcelli Gaiani Helpidii Antonini Rufini Silvani Eustochii Maximi Eusebii Gaiani Vitalicæ Gaisuti &c.

Such long lists in the Martyrology have always undergone much corruption; and the most fruitful cause of corruption is double entry of a name which occurs elsewhere in the list of the day. Applying this principle we eliminate forthwith from the list of 31 August four names, Antiquiræ (dittography of Ancyra), Juliae (dittography of Juliani), Florentii (dittography of Florentini later on this day), and Maximi (dittography of a Roman martyr later in the same day). Similarly, we cut out of the list of 4 September two names, Marcelli (dittography of a Gallic saint) and Maximi: we recognize also that the second Gaiani is an error for Juliani, and Antonini for Anthimi. Then comparing the two lists we see that Justæ of 31 August is a corruption of Gaesuti. The latter name is a sign of good character; the proper form is Gaisati, genitive of a known Galatian name: Gaisatos means 'spearman,' and Gaisatorix (another known Galatian name), 'king of the spear-men' (*gaisos*, a 'spear'). We may now go further in eliminating errors: Aemiliani on 31 August is apparently a dittography of Juliani-Anthimi, and Eusebii on 4 September is a commoner name substituted for the rare Eustochii.

We now see that the entries in the Syriac Martyrology are corrupted from a Greek version of similar lists, which had already suffered some corruption. On 31 August Gaianus has become Gilos in translating from Greek, on 4 September the intrusion of the false Marcellus had occurred already in the original, and thus the leading name Gaianus is hidden in the abbreviated form which the Syriac translator gives.

When these corrections are all made the lists appear as follows:—

1. Syriac Martyrology.

31 August	4 September
in Ancyra Gaianus martyr and six others.	in Ancyra Gaianus and seven others.

2. Hieronymian Martyrology.

Prid. Kal. Sept.	Prid. Non. Sept.
Ancyra Galatiae Gaiani Juliani Rufini Vincentii Silvani Italicæ Gaisati Anthimi.	in Ancyra Galatiae Gaiani Elpidii Anthimi Rufini Silvani Eustochii Juliani Italicæ Gaisati.

Seven names are common to both lists. We can hardly doubt that we have here two traditions of one list, Gaianus and many companions, who were martyred at Ancyra of Galatia. The double tradition evidently arose through a confusion in the Latin form of dating, *Prid. Kal. Sept.* and *Prid. Non. Sept.*; and therefore took place in a Latin form of the original record, which affords another proof of trustworthiness.

The differences, Vincentii in one case, Elpidii and Eustochii in the other, cannot at present be explained; but they do not detract from the historical character of the list. Possibly both forms may be abbreviations of a still longer list which included all these names and more.

Gaianus was the leading figure in a band of martyrs who suffered together at the capital of the province, probably in the arena, on the day of some great festival. The martyrs were doubtless gathered from many parts of the province, and tried before the Imperial Legate who governed Galatia. In a book entitled *The Thousand and One Churches*,<sup>1</sup> I have shown from the inscription on a late milestone that Barata, the site of the 1001 churches, took the name Gaianoupolis (as Aphrodisias was called Stauropolis; Prousa, Theopolis, etc.); and therefore Gaianus evidently came from that Lycaonian city. After Hadrian reorganized the south-eastern part of Asia Minor and founded the Triple Eparchy Cilicia-Lycaonia-Isauria, Gaianus would have been sent to Tarsus for trial, as happened to several martyrs from the neighbouring Lycaonian city of Laranda, whose memory was celebrated on 23 August (*Acta Sanctorum* for that day, p. 567).

A scene in one of the early persecutions is thus revealed. Possibly an account of the circumstances may hereafter be discovered in some manuscript. If we had any knowledge of a festival in Ancyra celebrated either on 31 August or 4 September, this would decide between the two days.

<sup>1</sup> Now in print, and shortly to be published.

## II.

**The Armed Priestesses in the Hittite Religion.**

The interpretation of the great series of religious sculptures in the famous rock-sanctuary near the Hittite capital at Boghaz-Keui, in the northern part of the central plateau, depends largely on the view taken as to the sex of a number of armed warriors. In a paper published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1882, and reprinted in *Luke the Physician and other Studies*, p. 293 f., I maintained that the figures of this class were female, and connected them with the frequent references in Greek literature to the existence of female warriors at the religious centres in Asia Minor. These female warriors appear in legend as the Amazons, against whom Priam, king of Troy, had in his youth fought on the banks of the Phrygian river Sangarios. Our view of the character of the religion depends, as I believe, largely on this matter. I regard it as a characteristic of that religion to raise itself above the distinction of sex, which is regarded as not an ultimate and real element of the divine life: the life of God was conceived as self-complete, self-sufficient, continuous, and superior to the distinction of male and female: the idea of death comes in along with the idea of sex and incompleteness.

The whole theory, though not disproved, for it has literary evidence to rest on, would certainly be inapplicable to those Hittite sculptures at Boghaz-Keui, if the figures which I interpreted as female are found to be male. I founded my view on the character of the features. The dress of the figures is like that of a soldier; they wear very short tunics; they have a martial, not to say a masculine, air; and the bosom is masculine in outline. But, if women are going to fight, they cannot wear the long trailing robes of their sex, but must dress like soldiers.

My view, however, was not held, so far as I

know, by any previous, or accepted by any subsequent, traveller. Only my friend, the late Sir Charles Wilson, approved it; and, in fact, it was he who said, as we looked at the figures, that they were all women. Fortunately, a test case has now been discovered. A figure has been found sculptured on one of the doorposts at the east gate of the city: I presume it has recently been excavated, but cannot say with certainty if that is so. My friends, Dr. Dodds of the American Hospital at Kaisari, Mrs. Dodds, and Miss Dodds of the American College for Women at Scutari on the Bosphorus, have visited the site during the summer of 1909; and Miss Dodds has sent me a photograph of the figure. It is dressed like the disputed figures in the sculptures at the sanctuary, a warrior wearing the shortest of tunics, with the same martial and masculine air. Hence it has been described as a king, because it wears the high pointed hat of the Hittite kings. But the single figure at the outside of the gate should rather be considered as a guard than a king. The high pointed hat I regard as characteristic not of the king, but of the god and of his priests: the king wears it only because he is also the supreme priest. My friends, who are among the very few persons that have seen the figure, say that 'it is unmistakably a woman—an Amazon armed'; the photograph, though small, seems to confirm this opinion; but it is not a matter on which any doubt could remain in the mind of those who have looked at the original stone.

Those characteristics which formerly rendered my view doubtful must now be taken as proving that the explanation suggested was correct: the intention at the sanctuary was to confuse or obliterate the distinction of sex. So the mythology described the goddess with the character of a man, and the god as sometimes dressing himself as a woman and playing an effeminate part, an Omphale and a Heracles; while the priest of the religion must be neither male nor female.