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is at last told fully and by Dr. Clough himself in the volume entitled *Social Christianity in the Orient* (Macmillan ; 6s. 6d. net). Undoubtedly it is one of the most moving as well as the most encouraging

books ever written by a missionary. Perhaps the lesson of lessons which it teaches is that the oldest methods of evangelizing the world, even the Apostolic, are the best.

The Old Testament in the Roman Phrygia.

BY SIR WILLIAM M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., EDINBURGH.

THE position and numbers and influence of the Jews under the Roman Empire outside of Palestine is an interesting and obscure subject which has been discussed (to mention only moderns) by many scholars, such as Reinach, Lévy, etc., since Schürer's great collection of the statistics appeared. Even more interesting is the question as to the character, the religious feelings and beliefs, the conduct and moral standard of action of the extra-Palestinian Jews.

At present we are concerned with those Jews only so far as they are set before us in the Acts and mainly in the Pauline provinces of Asia Minor, viz. Asia and Galatia ; and even there we have only to publish a new document and to show what important new light it throws on other memorials already known, and hardly suspected¹ to be Jewish. The present writer has had something to say from time to time on this subject, especially on the character and conduct of the extra-Palestinian Jews. One most important fact is the following ; and yet his attempts to draw attention to it have failed (*Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 347).

So long as the Jews were living in a small country like Palestine, it would be possible, in the disposition of the calendar and fixing of the proper full moon for the Passover, to be guided by local conditions and actual experience of the first visible appearance of the new moon ; but when Jews were coming to the Passover from distant parts of the Mediterranean world, and even sometimes from places outside of the Mediterranean basin, it was necessary that the calendar should be fixed long beforehand, so that travellers to Palestine should know whether to expect the Passover in

March or thirty days later. Thus the sacred month had to be fixed at least in the previous year and published then through the Jewish world. For this purpose astronomical considerations alone could be taken into account ; and there was abundant astronomical knowledge available at the time.

It is, of course, highly probable that the local conditions were observed in the traditional sacred fashion, and the first appearance of the new moon duly reported to the high priest, who then put out the proper advertisement of the approaching feast : but it was already known that the moon was there, and the day of the feast had been unofficially advertised in the calendar a year or several years previously. Without this admission of scientific knowledge, the problem of keeping the distant Jews true to the holy custom in the holy city would have been far harder. After A.D. 70, when the city was destroyed and the feast no longer drew the Jews to Jerusalem, the whole situation changed.

That there were large settlements of Jews in the Phrygian cities is well known. On one single occasion, about 200 B.C., Antiochus, king of Syria, brought two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia and settled them in the cities which he and his predecessors had found in Phrygia ; and the statements of Cicero in his oration on behalf of Flaccus, the governor of the Roman province Asia, show that there was a population of very many thousands of Jews there in the last century before Christ.

Those Jews were placed there as supporters and trusted upholders of the power of the Greek kings, the successors of Alexander the Great, helping to maintain their hold of the country. Every foreign power ruling the country found the Jews useful and trustworthy. They were servants of foreign rulers, and therefore they were an aristocratic, conservative, dominant caste. This position

¹ My suggestion that they were perhaps Jewish (which is mentioned in the sequel) was received with scepticism ; and it was considered that I was suspecting Jewish influence without any justification or sound reason.

powerfully influenced their character and history, and not wholly for the better.

The correct understanding of the position and character of the Hellenist Jews in Asia Minor and Syria is of extreme importance for the proper appreciation of Luke's history. Paul's work lay among them largely at his first entry into any of the great cities of Asia and Galatia; and the impression is forced on us by the narrative that they were present in large numbers everywhere he went, and that they exercised great influence. In Europe, on the contrary, they were less important, and had evidently a struggle to maintain their position: in Philippi they were apparently a mere handful.

The work of Paul in the Anatolian cities starts from the Jews, is conditioned by their attitude to him, and is often brought to an end through their opposition. They can move the magistrates or the mob to take action against the new teaching, finding various charges under which they can mask their religious hatred and wear the guise of vindicators of the Roman law. That law depended always on voluntary prosecutors to set it in motion; and the Jews appeared as *delatores* in the Roman courts.¹

This character ought to be recognized more clearly and definitely than is usually the case in the commentaries on the Acts. The Jews had to appear in Roman courts either as Roman citizens, if they possessed the *civitas*, or as ordinary provincials. They possessed certain rights and powers in their relation to members of their own nation, and could in that way act through the synagogue against them as Jews; but they desired to inflict on Paul and his companions more serious penalties than their Jewish powers were capable of; and they had to subject themselves to Roman regulations in order to secure Paul's expulsion or any severer punishment. As Romans or provincials they appeared under Roman or Greek names, which they bore in the city; but they had another aspect in which they appeared to Paul and to their compatriots in the synagogues. That double character has to be clearly understood. In the

¹ The term 'delator' was in the first century applied, almost exclusively, to one class of prosecutors, viz. those who brought charges under the law of treason in the interest of the Emperor. The Jews at Thessalonica appear in this guise, so familiar to us in the pages of Tacitus. But all voluntary accusers are equally entitled to be called 'delators.'

case of Saul it corresponds to his double name, 'Saul otherwise called Paul.'²

An interesting discovery fell to our lot in 1914, when my wife and I passed through Ushak on our way to Antioch the Pisidian. It throws some light on this subject, both directly and indirectly.

Those Jews of Asia Minor for the most part either died out, or melted gradually into the surrounding population, a unique fact in Jewish history. They were too favourably situated. First the kings of Syria, then Julius Cæsar, then the Roman Emperors, regarded them as faithful friends and subjects, and granted or confirmed many privileges in their favour. There can be little doubt that the Jews married into the dominant families. The case of Timothy's mother, in Ac 16st, may be safely regarded as typical; it is an incidental example of the flood of light which the rational study of and trust in that great historical work throws on Roman social history in the Eastern Provinces. Timothy's family was obviously well-to-do.

So much is necessary to explain the importance of the new discovery. A great deal more may be found in the three chapters on the Jews in Tarsus and in Antioch, and on Hellenism and Hebraism in my *Cities of St. Paul*; and also in chapter xv. on the Jews in Phrygia in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. ii. Here it need only be said that discovery has been gradually proving the view there maintained regarding the large number of Jews and their influential position in the provinces of Galatia and Asia under the Roman Empire. The task of tracing these Jews is very difficult, because they adopted Greek or Roman names, and avoided anything distinctive in outward appearance. Even in their epitaphs they are hard to detect.

Critics of those books have sometimes expressed distrust or disbelief in these statements, and have doubted whether Jews would hide their nationality so persistently, and those critics apparently hold that the Jews (whose existence in those regions can hardly be denied) have hardly left any known memorials of themselves, because they were prob-

² It goes without saying that Paul had a complete Roman name, as to which our Hellenic historian does not inform us. Perhaps he was 'C. Julius Paullus otherwise called Shaoul.' See *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 31. The frequent conjunction of the names Julius Paullus (or feminine) in Lycaonia gives some ground for this conjecture.

ably buried in separate cemeteries which have not yet been discovered.

They can point to the existence of separate Jewish cemeteries in Rome. There is, however, this difference between Rome and Phrygia. The Jewish cemeteries in Rome are the burying-place of a humble and despised caste; but the Phrygian Jews were largely the nobles and the rich (as I have maintained). A humble and poor population clings to its distinctive religion, whereas a rich or aristocratic caste adapts itself to circumstances and refrains from blazoning the distinguishing marks of religion, even when it still retains the religion.

In May 1914 we found at Ushak two gravestones, about five feet high, in shape tall square altars, surmounted by a pointed ornament like a conventionalized pine-cone. One of these was unimportant in every respect, except as proving that the same form of gravestone was common in the place of origin (which, as will be stated, was Blaundos) in the period A.D. 220-50.¹

I. One of these gravestones was inscribed on two sides: on the principal side there is a long epitaph of the ordinary type, stating the name and family of the maker of the grave and its purpose, and finishing with a curse against any violator of the sepulchre; on the other side is a recital of the honours in the state which had been held by the maker of the tomb. At the top of the principal side is the date, equivalent to A.D. 248-9. Then follows the epitaph:—

‘Aurelius Phrugianos, son of Menokritos, and Aurelia Juliana (his) wife, to Makaria (his) mother and to Alexandria (their) sweetest daughter, constructed (the sepulchre) while still living in remembrance. And if any one after their burial, if any one (so!) shall inter another corpse, or do injury in the way of purchase, there shall be on him the curses which are written in Deuteronomy.’²

On the other side are inscribed the honours:—

‘Stewardship of the market-place, corn-purchasing, guardianship of order, having filled all muni-

¹ A third was found with the other two, more ornate than the others, but of similar form and arrangement of lettering: see a later note.

² In July 1914 I received from Mrs. Wingate of Cæsarea in Cappadocia another copy (sent through Miss Dodd). The copy is correct except in the last word of the longer inscription and one or two small details.

The texts of the two sides of this stone are as follows:—
(a) ἔτους τλγ' (anno 333 of the Phrygian era = A.D. 247-8).
Αὐρηλιος Φρουγιανὸς Μηνοκρίτου καὶ Αὐρ. Ἰουλιανῆ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ

cipal offices and duties and having held the post of strategos or commander.’³

We were informed by a good authority that the two gravestones with some other stones had been brought from Blaundos, a city on the frontiers of Lydia and Phrygia, about eight hours south of Ushak. Marbles are brought in large numbers from the ancient sites for building purposes to the large modern towns like Ushak; but statements of the provenance of such monuments always require to be scrutinized. In this case the authority is good. My informant, one of the richest and most respected Turks in Ushak, had nothing to gain from false information; when he had no information he said so plainly: he was aware that digging had recently been going on to a considerable extent at Blaundos, and wished to take us there to see all that had been discovered. Moreover, the stones, though of a type similar to the Phrygian altar-stones, differ in form from the strictly Phrygian character (such as occurs at Akmonia); and an origin from Blaundos would suit very well.⁴ I speak from careful study of the evidence of provenance.

This is perhaps the earliest writing that has come down to us stating the name of a book in the Old Testament. Older references to some of those books occur, but the handwriting in which the references were originally inscribed has perished.

The invariable Greek form of the name Deuteronomy is Δευτερονόμιον. Here the *ι* is omitted. This is, as we may feel certain, due only to local pronunciation, in which *ι* before a vowel was pro-

Μακαρία μητρὶ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρία θυγατρὶ γλυκυτάτῃ ζῶντες κατεσκευάσαν μνήμης χάριν. εἰ δέ τις μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι αὐτοῦ εἰ τις θάψει ἕτερον νεκρὸν, ἢ ἀδικήσει λόγῳ ἀγορασίας, ἔσται αὐτῷ αἰ ἄραι ἢ γεγραμμέναι ἐν τῷ δευτερονόμῳ.

(δ) ἀγορανομία, σιτωναία, παραφυλακεία, πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας τελέσας καὶ στρατηγήσαντα. The construction is so confused and ungrammatical that it is difficult to tell where the first three offices are to be treated as nominatives, or as datives with *κοσμηθεὶς* or some similar word understood, ‘honoured with stewardship,’ etc.

³ The enumeration is stated in the most illogical way and in total defiance of grammar; the participles are *τελέσας* and *στρατηγήσαντα*, nom. and accus.

⁴ The stone published by Director Th. Wiegand, *Athen. Mitth.*, 1911, p. 393, as found at Thyatira was made by the same hand as the two which we saw at Ushak, and must be attributed also to Blaundos. We saw it in Berlin, and recognized its provenance instantly. Mr. Buckler tells me that it bears no resemblance to the stones of Thyatira, of which he has made a careful study.

nounced as *y* and left unexpressed in the writing. There is not the smallest reason to think that the name was in Phrygian Jewish circles *Δευτερόνομος*, or *Δευτερονόμος*.¹ We should really read in the inscription *ἐν τῷ Δευτερονόμῳ*, leaving the accent as in the nominative and accusative of the name.

II. (564 in *Cities and Bishoprics in Phrygia*) was found at Ushak: I have not seen it: it is dated A.D. 243-4. The inscription contains a curse strikingly similar in character to the epitaph of Phrougianos; after which comes a legal penalty in the form of a fine:—

‘And after the burial of me Alexander and my wife Gaiana, if any one shall open the tomb, there shall be upon him the curses as many as are written in (the book), on his sight and his whole body and his children and his life; and if any one shall attempt to open (the grave), he shall pay to the treasury in the way of fine 500 denarii.’

This inscription was brought from Akmonia to Ushak (as is the case with a large number of the inscriptions at Ushak). It is described by MM. Legrand and Chamonard as being engraved on a quadrangular altar, a form very common in Phrygia generally and at Akmonia: the ornamental top which is the distinguishing feature at Blaundos (see No. 1) is here absent. Accordingly, though the real bearing of the curse can be understood only through the epitaph from Blaundos, there can be no doubt that they belong to different cities. So in No. 9 we shall find an Apamean epitaph whose meaning was misapprehended, until the inscription of Blaundos threw an unexpected light on it.

The allusion at the end of the principal inscription is to the great chapters of curses, Dt 27-29. The curses there written are not specifically against violators of graves; but the same curses as are there written are here invoked against violation. Aurelius Phrougianos, son of Menokritos, therefore, was a Jew, and probably his wife also.

The same custom of appealing to the curses in Deuteronomy can now be recognized in a number

¹ I thought at first that the form intended was *δευτέρο* (for *δευτέρω*) *νόμῳ*, but although the spelling is very bad, yet I hesitate to think that *o* could be used for *ω* in the dative termination at such an early date as this. Such misspelling might occur in the fifth or later century after Christ, but hardly in A.D. 248. I should add that Mrs. Wingate's copy has *δευτέρω νομίῳ*, but I took special note of *o* in *δευτερο*, and doubt if my eye (though sometimes failing to see small lines) could have omitted *iota* here.

of other Phrygian epitaphs, found in widely separate cities of central Phrygia.²

The reference to the curses in Deuteronomy is therefore a general feature in the Jewish custom of central Phrygia, and not a special feature of one family or one city. The Phrygian Jews were in the habit of adapting to the sepulchral purpose that part of the Law of Moses which they found convenient for their purpose without any regard to its forces in its own context. Such procedure is in accord with the Jewish way of using the words of the Bible. In this curse *ἀνγεγραμμένα*³ means ‘written in’ (the Book of Deuteronomy, or the Law of Moses). ‘It is written’ is a usual way of referring to the Scriptures.⁴

III. Akmonia (465, 466). I have hesitated much whether to assign Jewish or Christian character to this tomb; and I conclude ‘probably this epitaph marked the grave of a Jewish Christian; but it would appear that the Church here was of a debased type, much infected by non-Christian elements’ (p. 566). The doubt would now appear to be decided; the inscription is Jewish; the part that bears on our subject is as follows:—

‘And if any one shall attempt after Amerimnos has been buried to intrude any other corpse, he shall have [to reckon with the most high God]’; the end is lost. On another side of the stone:—

‘[If any of them] shall bury any other, may they receive the unexpected stroke which their brother Amerimnos [received]; and if any of them shall not fear these curses, may the sickle of curse enter into their houses and leave no survivor.’

This epitaph belongs to Akmonia, and the following also is from the same city; each helps to complete the other.

IV. Akmonia (563). ‘[If any one shall intrude another corpse], he shall have to reckon with the most high God; and may the sickle of curse [enter] into his house [and leave no survivor].’

V. Akmonia (565). ‘Ammia, daughter of Eutyches, prepared the tomb for Salimachos her husband and herself from her own dowry; and there shall be a curse extending to children’s

² The complete Greek text of them all except VIII. is published in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, under the numbers mentioned. I give here only the English translation of the part that bears on our purpose.

³ *ἀνγεγραμμένα*: *ἀναγράφειν* is used to indicate the careful entry of laws, etc., in a book or on a stele.

⁴ *γέγραπται* is the form in the New Testament.

children prohibiting any other from being (here) buried except my son Eutyches and his wife.'

VI. Akmonia (566). 'Gaius [son of —] in his lifetime made [the tomb for himself and his wife? and after] the burial of these two whoever shall open or destroy or sell the grave, there shall be a curse on him extending to his house and children's children.'

VII. Akmonia (567). 'Ammia [made the tomb] for Gaius Vibius Crispus and Tyche her foster-parents during their lifetime in remembrance: after the burial of the two whosoever shall dig up the grave may an iron broom raze his house?: and [the same] to any accomplice.'

VIII. At Ushak: probably from Akmonia; published by J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise in Lydien*, p. 137:—

'Tiberius Claudius Julianus [made the tomb] for himself and his wife in remembrance, and Chelidon for her own foster-parents in remembrance; and whosoever shall do harm to this grave, children's children shall have the curse.'¹

The suggestion which was made in publishing this group of inscriptions (see my *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 652 f.), that the curses in them 'distinguish them from the ordinary Phrygian type,' and 'may all arise through Jewish influence,' must now be unhesitatingly accepted.

IX. Apameia (399 bis). This epitaph must now be interpreted in a different fashion:—

'Aurelius Rufus, son and grandson of Julianus, made the heroön for myself and my wife Aurelia Tatiana: and into it another shall not be intruded; and if any one shall bury, he knows the Law of the Jews.'

On this I suggested that the law which is meant must be some special law of the municipality of Apameia for the protection of the graves of the Jews of that city: my reason was that the Mosaic Law makes no provision of this kind, and therefore cannot be intended here. This view must now be rejected. We have here a reference to the Mosaic Law, and the passage specially in the mind of Aurelius Rufus was Dt 27–29. The fact that those chapters have no bearing on impiety towards

¹ ἔξει τέκνα τέκνων ἀπάν: the change of subject is awkward, and one might interpret on the hypothesis that this is an ungrammatical condensation of the usual fuller form, 'he shall have the curse [extending to] children's children'; but this involves too great a violation of elementary Greek usage, though these epitaphs are very ungrammatical (see the concluding paragraph).

sepulchres was a serious argument, when this epitaph seemed to stand alone; but now that it is established that the Phrygian Jews in their epitaphs appealed to those chapters, the bearing of the safeguard in this case is unquestionable. Evidently invocation of the curses of Deuteronomy was stereotyped as a form among Phrygian Jews; and the Apamean writer actually quotes the Law, as if the Law contained a rule on this matter.

In few of these epitaphs are there any names that demonstrate religious character or racial affinity. Even the names of women are pure Greek or Roman:² though, owing to the character of Oriental society, the names of women are generally more typical than those of men: for example, at the present day in some villages of the Hermus valley, where the men have for several centuries conformed to Islam and bear always Moslem names, the women use Christian names still. Only in I Makaria has the look of being, not Jewish, but Christian: the adjective μακάριος, 'blessed,' had become by the time to which these epitaphs belong typically Christian. Amerimnos, too, 'who takes no thought for the morrow,' though it has a certain look of Christian nomenclature, is quoted as a pagan name (*C. I. Att.* 194).

Yet among the names certain tendencies can be observed: Alexander and Alexandria are common among the Hellenist Jews, and it will probably be found that names taken from the Seleucid kings were also common. This may seem strange to those who think only of the Palestinian Jews and their hatred for those kings. But the Hellenist Jews of Asia Minor and Syria were friends of the kings. The kings trusted them, employed them as trusty colonists and adherents in their garrison cities of those lands, and bestowed many favours on them. The old-fashioned Palestinian Jews, who made the Maccabean revolt, were disposed to look down on the Hellenist Jews as too liberal and too much affected by foreign customs and Gentile ways.

Again, the names Eutyches (and Tyche)³ point to the Hebrew Naaman; and Herzog in *Philologus*, lvi, p. 50 ff., regards Eutyches as a translation of the Semitic name.

² Makarios is a personal name in the fifth century B.C. (see Thucydides, iii. 100), and Makaria occurs both in mythology and in ordinary pagan life (see Pape-Benseler); but in the third century one would expect that Makaria should be Christian.

³ Tyche is a shortened form of Eutychia, 'she who is fortunate.'

At Sala in Phrygia, on the Lydian frontier near Blaundos, there occur frequently on coins the names of Meliton Salamon and C. Valerius Androneikos Salamon, perhaps father and son. These are probably Roman citizens, with a Greek cognomen, and they often add their Hebrew name as a second cognomen.¹ As the names are all in the genitive, some might understand 'of Meliton, son of Salamon,' and 'of C. Valerius Andronicus, son of Salamon'; but Meliton and Androneikos cannot reasonably be regarded as brothers on account of the dates (Meliton, 100-117; Androneikos, 130-65).² The Hebrew name was an additional cognomen used by both those Jews; and we may infer that in many other cases the additional cognomen or alternative name was omitted amid the Greek and Roman surroundings in which the inscription was placed.

There is some probability, then, that those Phrygian Jews still kept Hebrew names in their home life and the relations of the synagogue as late as the third century: certainly this can be proved for the second century. There is a possibility that in V the strange name Salimachos may be a transformation of some Hebrew name: it would then be connected with Salem, 'peace.' The analogy of L. Julius Pius Salamallianus, in which an old Carthaginian name, Salam-Allah, 'the peace of God,' survived late in the Imperial period, suggests that here in Phrygia the name should be understood, Salem-malchos, 'Peace of the King.' The loss of the *l* before *ch* can be paralleled in the dialect of Greek spoken in Phrygia.³

Debbora is known at Pisisdian Antioch.⁴

Thus the use of Hebrew names at least as alternative and occasionally perhaps as the sole

¹ Meliton never mentions his Latin names, but either the Greek alone, or the Greek and Hebrew names. It is only through C. Valerius Androneikos that we learn of the Roman citizenship and Roman name of Meliton. Androneikos sometimes omits the Hebrew name, and sometimes calls himself only by the Greek name: sometimes he has the Greek and Hebrew names without the Latin name. This case throws much light on the case of Paul otherwise called Saul.

² Moreover, the form *ἐπὶ Ἄνδρο. Σαλαμῶνος* is hardly reconcilable with the interpretation that A. was son of S.

³ See the explanation of the forms *χακῶματα, καχέιτης, for χαλκῶματα, καλχέιτης* (dialectic for *χαλκείτης*) in Phrygia Galatica, in my article in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912, p. 160, with note by Mr. G. F. Hill.

⁴ On Debbora, Deborah, see *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 256. The tendency to retain women's names was naturally stronger, as has been said.

name⁵ is established as probable or certain as late as around A.D. 200. The Hebrew tradition was still alive at that date; and the general character of the Hebrew people would suggest that these few facts may be taken as signs of more far-reaching conditions.

On the other hand, these facts are all associated with burial, and the tombstones are without exception devoid of any Hebrew characteristic,⁶ and almost all markedly Phrygian in type. It is evident that the Phrygian Jews had adopted in regard to sepulture the custom of the country, and refrained from placing anything markedly national on the gravestone. They were therefore becoming to some extent assimilated to the people among whom they lived. The inscribing of a curse against violation of the tomb was probably borrowed from Phrygian usage; and, while a certain difference of cast is given to the curse, yet this is ostensibly marked as Hebrew only in the two cases I and IX.

Yet there is no sign that there was any danger to the family in the confession of Hebrew origin: besides I and IX, there is a case where the maker of the tomb is 'Alexander a Jew.'⁷ These Jews were a powerful body, and as a whole they enjoyed Imperial favour. They had much to gain by living like their neighbours, and they did so.

It has been pointed out in the book already quoted that the Jews probably so far conformed to Imperial custom as to become high-priests in the worship of the Emperors. This statement depends on the evidence of coins; and neither of the Jewish inscriptions in which the offices held by the maker of the tomb are mentioned alludes to a priesthood. Few, however, could be of such rank and wealth as to hold a high-priesthood, and perhaps also those who had held one would not like to blazon this on their tombs; for the fact would have been an outrage on the Book which they quoted, or had in mind, in the epitaph.

The discovery confirms some of the most typical details in the picture given elsewhere of the Phrygian Jews.

The incorrectness of the Greek in almost all

⁵ Though Salimachos is the only name mentioned, the example of Androneikos Salamon proves that another Greek name may have been used in civic life by this person.

⁶ Only in one case have I seen a seven-branched candlestick on a gravestone in Phrygia (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, li. p. 651 f., No. 561).

⁷ *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. p. 652, No. 562.

these epitaphs is very marked. The Greek of the Christians was bad:¹ that of the Jews is quite as bad, and yet some of those who sin most were persons of high rank in their cities.²

¹ This is noteworthy in their epitaphs, and is animadverted on by Aristides (see *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 351 f.).

² In I *κατεσκευάσαν*: generally the spelling is more correct than in any other of these epitaphs: *εἰ τις* is repeated unnecessarily; *ἔσται* has the plural *ἄραι* as subject; *ἦ* is written for *αἰ*. Three of the offices are in the nominative (or dative) *ἀγορανομία*, etc., then follow *ἀρχάς . . . τελέσας*, but *στρατηγήσαντα*.

In II *λοιπήσας* (*οι* for *υ*), *ἀνύξη* (*υ* for *αι*), *μημηδόν*, *ἔσε*, [*ὄσιν*]: the construction *εἰς ὄρασιν*, etc., is rather mixed.

In III *εἰσελθοῖτο* (middle for active, was loved in Phrygia: see examples quoted in my papers in *Philologus, Neue Folge*, i. p. 755; *Zft. f. vgl. Sprachforschung N. F.*, viii. p. 389): so also *ἐγκαταλείψετο* (*ε* for *αι*): *μηδὲναν* is doubly wrong.

In IV *ἔκον* for *οἶκον*.

In V the construction of the curse is loose: *γυναῖκι* for accusative.

In VI *πολήσει* and *γούτῳριον* (on the latter see under VIII).

In VII *ἐάναιτο* (see under III): [*ὀ*] *ἔχωνα*, if I rightly take it for *οἶκον*, is a *monstrum*. *τοῦνβονα* occurs probably for *τύμβον* in a Græco-Phrygian epitaph (Ramsay in *Oesterr. Jahreshfte*, 1905, Beib. pp. 79-120, No. XXXI, and Calder in *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 179), so perhaps *οἶκονα* is formed from misunderstanding *οἶκον* as of declension III, and the misspellings *χ* for *κ* and *ω* for *ο* are frequent.

In VIII *Κλύδιος* (*υ* for *αυ*): *τις* for *δοτις*: *ποῖσει* (trisyllable): the curse has an unusual form (see footnote on the text). The word *γούτῳρη* (compare VI) is not Greek.

The words *γούτῳρη* and *γούτῳριον* are evidently names indicating the grave or some part or accessory of it. The latter is a formation from the former, in which *υ* expresses probably a slight nasalization of *τ* (a use of *υ* of which many examples occur in the country). The word may perhaps be Phrygian in origin: it is not Hebrew or Semitic (as Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy tells me), nor is it either Greek or Latin. Keil and Premerstein quote from an inscription of North Italy the word *guntha* (with *guntharii*); and if this is connected, it must have been brought to Italy by natives of Asia Minor.

In IX *οὐ τεθῆ* (conjunctive apparently) the construction of conditional sentences is always a difficulty in these and in very many Phrygian epitaphs.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF PHILIPPIANS.

PHILIPPIANS IV. 19.

And my God shall fulfil every need of yours according to his riches in glory in Christ Jesus.

1. THIS is one of those touches of tenderness which make the letters of St. Paul so human and so helpful. It is an open window into his very heart. He had known the disappointment which comes to men when they think that they are forgotten. There is a whole world of loneliness in the simple sentence, 'no church had fellowship with me in the matter of giving and receiving.' He had graciously poured out his very life for them, and for the evangel's sake he was even now an ambassador in chains, but the Church's heart had kept no loving memory of his devotion, and her hands were not stretched out in greeting and in sympathy. Then there came the gift of the Philippians, and new joy filled St. Paul's heart and a new rapture gladdened his spirit. Their gift, surely, was a cup of cold water to a tired and thirsty man. Their thought revived him, their love heartened him, and their sympathy was a staff of support. What could he send them in return? He had no gifts to offer that human hands could

carry. But this is his answer: 'My God shall fulfil every need of yours.' You have thought of me; my God will think of you. You have ministered to me; my God will cover every bit of your need with the wealth of His riches in glory.

2. God was not a far-off God to Paul. No more building altars 'to the unknown god' as heathendom did, groping in its darkness and longing for light, or, as modern scepticism does, giving up all search after God as vain, and glad on the whole that it is so! None of this in Paul, but the knowledge of God as one revealed, as one to whom he is bound by living ties of affection and daily intercourse; as one whom he can wholly trust! 'My God'—there is more than experience and confidence in the words. There is the sense of possession and the immeasurable dignity and strength involved therein. It is the old cry of David when he was hunted by Saul and had no earthly wealth and no earthly helper, 'O God, thou art my God.' No wealth? No helper? Ah, God was his, 'the Lord was his inheritance.' God was 'the strength of his heart and his portion forever.' So Paul could say that God was his, and with God all the open treasuries of God's grace and love.