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FESTIVALS OF MÊN ASKAËNOS IN THE ROMAN COLONIA AT ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA.

(Plates XX—XXIII)

By J. G. C. ANDERSON.

In the following article I propose to discuss a series of inscriptions discovered in the course of the excavations conducted in 1912 by Sir W. M. Ramsay, with the aid of Mr. W. M. Calder and myself, at the sanctuary of Mên on the hill of Karakuyu, which lies a little distance to the south of Pisidian Antioch. At first sight the subject might seem to lie outside the scope of a journal devoted to Roman studies: the documents are almost entirely Greek, and Mên was not a Roman god. But the Roman empire transcended nationality: it carried out in the east the work of civilisation which the Hellenic race did no more than begin, and that part of its history is the most varied and not the least important which deals with the diffusion of western culture over lands little affected, or wholly unaffected, by Hellenism. The foundation of Roman colonies was one of the means employed by the early empire to help on that work. In doing it these colonies lost themselves: they gradually lost their individuality and their Roman character; they adopted the local religion, as they were bound to do, and their descendants forgot the old Roman gods. Yet they left their mark behind, and the history of their fortunes is one of peculiar interest. Antioch was one of those Roman colonies, and my subject is a chapter of that history.¹

I. LACK OF EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLIER HISTORY OF THE CULT.

The investigation of the remains on the surface of the hill above Antioch permitted a partial reconstruction of some of the later

¹ I gladly acknowledge the debt which the present study owes to frequent conversations with Sir William Ramsay, but the responsibility for the views

expressed rests with myself. It is necessary to add that the article was written and printed in the early months of 1913.

phases of the religious life that centred for centuries round this sanctuary.¹ For the earlier phases we looked to the spade with eager expectation, but our hopes of finding evidence about the early history of an ancient Anatolian theocracy were not realised. Nothing was discovered belonging to the pre-Hellenistic period, and very little of the Hellenistic age. The conclusion was gradually forced upon us that this, after all, was not the original centre of the old Pisidian theocracy. The true solution of the problem has, I think, been reached by Sir W. Ramsay. In a letter recently written to the *Athenaeum*² he points out that the existence of two centres of one theocracy requires explanation. Strabo tells us³ that there were two temples of the god, one beside Antioch, the other in the territory of Antioch, or perhaps rather in the region of which Antioch was the capital (ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων). The entire absence of pre-Hellenistic remains on the hill of Karakuyu, the sanctuary beside Antioch, shows that it was not the early centre. The primitive centre was a considerable distance away; and the temple beside Antioch was constructed at the time of the foundation of that city in the third century B.C. to serve the needs of the city population, which necessarily continued to worship the local god and, indeed, consisted largely of native Phrygians. Thus there came to be two sanctuaries of Mên, and the failure of pre-Hellenistic remains at Karakuyu is explained. Where the older centre was situated is still a matter of uncertainty.

Fortune has dealt unkindly with the earlier history of the temple at Antioch. The evidence unearthed by the spade belongs mostly to the later times when paganism was putting forth desperate efforts in the struggle against Christianity. The older material seems to have largely perished during successive reconstructions of the buildings, and of what survived only broken fragments remain, which never fit together into a whole, and generally do not fit together at all. So far as their character can be divined, it may be doubted whether they would have given us much information about the history of the cult. They seem to have been mere lists of priests; officials called *epimeletai* are twice mentioned, but their precise function cannot be determined: they may have merely superintended the erection of the tablets. I give some specimens to show the style of the lettering (nos. 1-5).⁴ None of them appears to be older than the Roman period. The later evidence has fared only a

¹ cf. Miss Hardie's paper in *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 111, ff.

² 8th March, 1913, p. 290. See also an article entitled *Sketches in the religious antiquities of Asia*

Minor, since published in *Annual of the Brit. School at Athens*, vol. xviii.

³ Bk. xii, 3, 31, p. 557.

⁴ The epigraphic copies of nos. 1-5, 11 (frag. f), 18, and 26 are reproduced from squeezes.

little better. In the hour of their final triumph the Christians entered in to destroy the holy place, and they left it a desolate ruin. Only the more massive monuments survived that revel of destruction, and many even of these were smashed to fragments, while the lighter stones, slabs, tablets, statuettes, and the like, were dashed to pieces and flung broadcast over the sacred enclosure with such energy that minute portions of one tiny stone were often recovered at widely

FIG. 46. INSCRIPTION NO. 1.

FIG. 48. INSCRIPTION NO. 3.

FIG. 47. INSCRIPTION NO. 2.

distant points. After that riot reigned the silence of the grave broken only by the hymns that rose from the little church below.

1. Incomplete on all sides. Letters (line 2) 3·2 cm. high.
2. Complete on all sides except the right. Letters (line 1) 2·7 cm. in height.
3. Broken on all sides. Letters 2·5 cm. high.

4. Broken all round. Letters varying in height from 2·3 to 2·1 cm.

FIG. 49. INSCRIPTION NO. 4.

5. Broken on all sides. Letters (line 2) 2·3 cm. high.

FIG. 50. INSCRIPTION NO. 5.

II. THE CHARACTER OF THE CULT.

The epigraphic finds made during the earlier stages of the excavation were dedications to the god identical in type with those engraved on the walls of the enceinte, dreary repetitions of the same unimaginative, stereotyped formula *Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῶ εὐχὴν*, all showing an amazing lack of that spontaneity and individuality which is the natural expression of real religious experience. The level of intellectual vitality prevalent among the votaries of the god

is indicated by the following ingenious product of a geometrically-minded worshipper, who arranged the twenty-eight letters of the pentameter *Ἀσκαίης ναέτην Μῆνα σέβων ἐθέμην* in a draught-board pattern in such a way that, starting from the key-letter A in the centre, the line may be read in every possible direction along the squares, while the key-letter marks the centre of a series of concentric squares formed by the same letter repeated. Askai¹ was the name of the rich plain to the west and south of the temple which had in pre-Augustan times formed the temple estates, *χωρία ἱερά*.

6. Tablet restored from five fragments. The extant portions are enclosed by wavy lines. The letters vary in height between 0·9 and 0·7 cm.

FIG. 51. INSCRIPTION NO. 6.

ANAGRAM OF *Ἀσκαίης ναέτην Μῆνα σέβων ἐθέμην*.

Better things were promised by the emergence of a hexagonal column, nearly five feet high, from the débris which filled a long cistern running parallel to the south-west wall of the enclosure.

¹ cf. Calder in *J.R.S.* ii, p. 94.

It proved to be a record of victory in athletic games celebrated in honour of the god, and gradually a whole series of similar records was dug up from the cistern or close to it. It was then seen that two inscriptions copied in the previous year at Yalowadj, one complete but worn, the other legible but incomplete, belonged to the same group. They are examples of a common type of agonistic record which usually narrates only a few bare facts about the presiding official, the festival concerned, the victor, and the contest. The present series is more productive. In the first place, we glean from them and from the small votive offerings found during the excavations some new facts about the character of the cult which are of interest and importance. References to the cult of Mên seem generally to imply that the ritual was monopolised by the god, and the view has been maintained that the cult was an exception to the general rule (of which the converse is equally true) that where one finds a god in Anatolia one may look for an associated goddess. But the apparent implication is false. Strabo expressly declares that at the great sanctuaries of Mên in Phrygia (including the two temples at and near Antioch), in Pontus, and in Albania, the cult was shared by a goddess whom he calls *Selene*.¹ His statement is confirmed for Antioch by our inscriptions, which prove that the high-priest was priest of Mên and *Demeter*. The divergence in nomenclature is instructive. In one aspect, as the goddess of fertility, she is equated with Demeter; in another, as *θεὰ σύμβωμος* with the lunar god and as bearing the symbol of the crescent moon,² she was hellenised by Strabo as Selene, and there is little doubt that she is to be identified with the goddess Luna mentioned in an inscription of Antioch.³ A striking parallel occurs at the neighbouring religious centre of Saghir, where the goddess called by the name of Artemis is figured on a relief as Selene.⁴

These facts furnish clear and convincing proof that the cult of Mên at Antioch involved the same fundamental conceptions that underlay each and all of the many local varieties of the old Anatolian religion. Similarly in the Maeonian district of Lydia an associated goddess is attested by numerous inscriptions which couple Mên Tiamou with Meter Artemis Anaïtis, who is obviously a fusion of the Mother-goddess as the "Ephesian" Artemis with the Persian Anâhita, likewise a goddess of fecundity. The association of the two deities is scarcely open to question. It is a significant fact that from early times the crescent moon is an attribute of the Ephesian Artemis,⁵ and few students of the religion of Asia Minor

¹ xii, 3, 31, p. 557: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Σελήνης τὸ ἱερόν, καθάπερ τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ, κ τ.λ.

² On this point see below, p. 273, f.

³ C.I.L. iii, no. 6829: cf. p. 298.

⁴ See Ramsay's article (§ xiv) quoted above, p. 268, and cf. below p. 280.

⁵ See Hogarth, *The Archaic Artemisia* (B.M. Excav. at Ephesus), p. 338.

will doubt that the female deity was never really absent in the Mên cult, though she is often not mentioned and generally seems to have been a secondary figure in it. At Antioch her subordinate position is abundantly clear: the god occupies the chief place, the goddess is a mere satellite who scarcely attracts attention. All cults which had been affected by Greek influence tended to emphasise the male deity, and Greek influence was strong at Antioch since the refoundation of the city in the Hellenistic period. But in the cult of Mên the god seems from the beginning to have held the dominant position, and that, in my view, is why he so often appears as a solitary god. M. Perdrizet will perhaps not agree. In his detailed and useful study of Mên¹ he refuses to regard the Lydian dedications as evidence that Mên and Artemis formed a divine couple or to see in them "any general conception, any theological system, any dualist theory." He points out that Mên is never found in association with Cybele, which is true in so far as the associated goddess does not actually bear her name; and he disposes of the express testimony of Strabo by forbidding us to generalise from the particular sanctuaries mentioned by him, where he thinks a goddess who resembled Mên in so many respects was introduced under the influence of Hellenism (an impossible supposition in the case of Albania and Cabeira) but remained quite unknown to the Anatolian population in general and to the Phrygians resident in Attica and in the islands of the Aegean. Such a view is natural enough in a Hellenist living in the atmosphere of clear-cut Hellenic conceptions, and it lays just stress on the prominence of the god everywhere, but it is not borne out by the finds made at Karakuyu. Whatever Mên may have been originally—and it seems most likely that he was an importation from Babylonia, where in early days the chief² deity was the moon, who was regarded as a male, not a female, deity³—he evidently took the same place in the theological system of Anatolia as was elsewhere filled by Attis and Sabazios.⁴

The fashion in which the worshippers of Mên at Antioch pictured their god is shown by the interesting relief, no doubt copied from the cult-statue, which is reproduced in plate xx. The touch of austerity which the photograph gives to the face is absent from the original: it is merely an effect of the light (see below, p. 276).

¹ *B.C.H.* xx (1896), pp. 55-106.

² The primacy of the moon is very intelligible in a hot country: see Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 124, ff. who points out that the moon retained the chief place in "Osroëne and throughout a large part of Anatolia up to the time of the Roman empire. The predominance of the worship of Mên, as he was called in Asia Minor, is due

to the persistence in this remote country of ancient ideas, elsewhere out of date."

³ So possibly among the Greeks originally, and certainly in Old Indian, Zend, and the Germanic and Slavonic languages: Drexler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Men*, p. 2689.

⁴ M. Perdrizet admits syncretism in the third and fourth centuries in the relations of Mên with Attis and perhaps with Mithra.

At Karakuyu the goddess, named Demeter, was relegated to a little shrine in the corner formed by the south-west and south-east walls of the *peribolos*. Among the broken statuary discovered there the finest piece was a head of Demeter of half life-size resting against a high *kalathos*, which apparently joined it to another head, the two forming a Janus-like pair (figs. 52 and 53). The *kalathos* is decorated with a crescent on the side and a star on each front. The missing

FIG. 52. HEAD OF DEMETER (p. 274).

head may have been simply a replica, or it may have represented the goddess in another aspect, or her consort Mên.¹ That the last view is the most probable would appear to follow from another find made in the same shrine, namely, a small marble statuette, unfortunately broken, which represents a draped male figure with the left leg raised a little and resting on an animal's head, and with the left

¹ See Ramsay, loc. cit. § ix.

arm resting on a column, while on the base at his right are the remains of what appeared to me to be the foot of a bird (fig. 54). The occurrence of an identical figure on Antiochian coins of the later second and the third century proves that this little marble represents the cultus-idol of Mên. A good specimen of this coin-type is reproduced by Mr. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Pisidia*,

FIG. 53. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE HEAD OF DEMETER (p. 274).

plate xxxi, 6, with the description : " Mên, in usual dress [i.e. chiton and himation, Phrygian cap, crescent behind shoulders], standing to front, looking right ; in left, which rests on column, he holds Nike on globe carrying trophy ; right rests on sceptre ; left foot on bucranium ; beside him, to left, cock." So in our statuette Mên rests his foot on the ox-head and has his own bird, the cock, beside

him. While the marble figure is clearly masculine, there is something feminine about it; and the beautiful head of plate xx has also a feminine cast (obscured in the photograph by the shadow), reminding us that Mên is probably a local variation of the Anatolian Attis or the Syrian Adonis associated with the great Goddess.

The other objects found here place beyond doubt (what hardly needs proof) that the goddess is not the Hellenic deity, but a Hellenised form of the Mother-goddess, combining the attributes

FIG. 54. CULTUS-IMAGE OF MÊN (p. 275).

of any and every goddess of fertility and envisaged now as Demeter, now as Cybele, now as Artemis, now even as Aphrodite.¹ Within the area of the shrine was found a roughly-executed tiny relief representing Cybele in what is probably intended to be a sitting

¹ For a striking example of such syncretism, cf. the Maeonian relief described by Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 69, representing a group of three goddesses: Artemis (Anaitis) in Cybele style with

crescent, on her right Nike winged, on her left Demeter with serpent bearing eagle (associated with Sabazios) on crescent. Each goddess has her name attached.

posture, with a *patera* (less probably a *tympanon*) in her right hand and an altar by her left side (fig. 55). The shrine also yielded an interesting statuette of Artemis-Hekate *triformis*, representing the goddess draped with a sort of hood over her head, similar to that worn by the later terra-cotta female figures found at Ephesus, and holding in each hand, at her waist, what evidently is a hawk grasped by the middle (figs. 56 and 57). Mr. D. G. Hogarth, on being consulted, instantly compared an ivory statuette from Ephesus representing a female figure, with columnar termination, holding a hawk in each hand at her waist.¹ The parallel is most instructive and furnishes

FIG. 55. RELIEF OF THE GODDESS CONSORT OF MÊN, AS CYBELE (p. 277).

a charming confirmation of my argument. Commenting on the objects in the form of birds found in great numbers in the primitive stratum of the Artemisia, Mr. Hogarth remarks² that "the birds are in most cases, without any question, of the *hawk* family, and in no case are they necessarily of any other, although certain examples, when due allowance is made for imperfection of representation, might be eagles, owls, or doves. It is, however, most likely that all are of one kind, i.e. hawks." Before these discoveries were made,

¹ See Hogarth, *The Archaic Artemisia* (B.M. Excavations at Ephesus), plate xxiv, 8.

² *ibid.* p. 336.

birds of prey were not regarded as associated with the nature-goddess, but Mr. Hogarth quotes examples from Cyprus¹ and from "Hittite" art,² and refers to the eagle perched on a pillar in Commagene,³ and the birds of prey perched on poles found in Cappadocia.⁴ "The appropriateness of a hunting-bird to Artemis, especially in her

FIG. 56. STATUETTE OF ARTEMIS-HEKATE (𐤀𐤃𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓) (p. 277).

Asian character as a tamer and patroness of nature (πότνια θηρῶν), is sufficiently obvious."

¹ Eagle or hawk, Perrot-Chipiez, iii, fig. 142.

² *ibid.* iv, fig. 281.

³ Humann, *Reisen*, pl. xvii.

⁴ Chantre, *Mission*, pl. 24.

Besides the shrine in the great sanctuary, the goddess had a small temple¹ on the peak of the hill to the north-east. Here were found a number of small objects including several lamps, a small statuette depicting the goddess in the form of the huntress Artemis with short tunic, and two fragments of a terracotta figure representing

FIG. 57. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE STATUETTE OF ARTEMIS-HEKATE (p. 277).

a seated Cybele wearing a mural crown, her right hand resting, probably by the clumsiness of the artist, in the mouth of a lion

¹ It is unlikely that the building was a rather elaborate tomb.

sitting by her side. Another small temple, or perhaps a tomb, to the north of the former yielded nineteen coins, a little bronze bell, a female head in terracotta, broken off from the body and in bad condition, two small bone or ivory spoons, and two long bone or ivory hairpins, one of which ended in a figure of Aphrodite draped below the middle with a robe held up by the left hand, the right hand being placed across the bust below the breasts.

These facts make it abundantly clear that the worshippers at the sanctuary conceived the goddess as the embodiment of the reproductive powers of nature, and represented her indifferently under the form of Demeter or Cybele or Artemis or Aphrodite or Selene. On this syncretism reference may be made to Buresch,¹ and to S. Reinach,² who remarks *à propos* of an inscription of the Caystrian plain: "Pour Clément d'Alexandrie et pour Agathias, Anaïtis est identique non pas à Artémis, mais à Aphrodite; c'est là, d'ailleurs, une divergence peu importante, car il est vraisemblable qu' Anaïtis, identifiée également à la *mère des dieux* (μήτηρ Ἀναίτις) tenait à la fois de l'Artémis et de l'Aphrodite des Grecs, comme l'Artémis d'Éphèse, déesse de la fécondité." I may also refer to what I have written in *Studia Pontica*, iii, p. 190, on an inscription erected by a priest of Zeus Epikarpios to Demeter and Kora *πρὸ μητρὸς θεῶν*.

A similar syncretism is to be found at Saghîr on the north of Antioch, the well-known Tekmoreian centre of the imperial estates. There the goddess is always called Artemis in the inscriptions, and in 1912 we found two interesting reliefs, one depicting her as Selene standing in a chariot drawn by two horses, the other representing her as the Ephesian goddess. The latter reveals her true character, which is also proved by an inscription mentioning an ἀρχίγαλλος θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος, and by a tiny statuette representing her as Cybele sitting on a throne between two lions. At Saghîr Hellenism was the merest veneer: the goddess remained supreme, and not a trace of her male companion had ever been discovered until we found him represented on the second of the above-mentioned reliefs.³ At Karakuyu Greek influence emphasised the predominance of the male deity, and it seems to have ended in extruding the goddess altogether. For it is noteworthy that within the brief period covered by our agonistic records she ceases to be mentioned, and if we bear in mind the slavish adherence to formulae manifested by the votaries of the god, we can scarcely avoid the inference that the modification of the old formula is no accident, but a symptom of development implying some change in the mystic ceremonial. This inference

¹ *Aus Lydien*, p. 67, ff: some of his inferences, however, go too far.

² *Cbron. d'Orient*, i, p. 158, f. (*Rev. Arch.* 1885, ii, p. 108, f.)

³ Described and pictured by Ramsay, loc. cit. § xiii.

must for the present remain a conjecture, but the fact (which will be proved in the sequel) that the change occurs during a period of revival and reorganisation lends it some degree of probability.

III. LATER HISTORY OF THE CULT.

A. THE AGONISTIC RECORDS : TEXTS AND COMMENTARY.

Though these inscriptions give no further information about the character of the cult, they tell us something of its later history. Taken together with the mutilated remains of a related document of different type (no. 11), they yield sufficient evidence to enable us to fix the dates of the series and to determine the circumstances under which the last great festival was established. The general result furnishes an important confirmation of the view maintained by Sir William Ramsay about the character of the association of Tekmoreian Guest-Friends.

I shall give first the texts of the inscriptions, arranging them in what I conceive to be their approximate chronological order and appending a few necessary notes. I shall then discuss them as a whole and endeavour to elicit some historical facts from them.

I place at the head two fragments of plain lists of victors, which are among the earliest of the series, as is proved by the fact that they were built into the inner side of the *peribolos* wall at some time in the third century when a small doorway was made close to the north corner of the north-east wall : the exact date depends on that of the last group of the series. These stones were utilised in rebuilding the wall near the gate. They must be older than the memorials of the Maximianeian festival which were dug up within the enclosure (no. 11, ff.), for we must allow some lapse of time before they would be used as building material. They therefore belong to an earlier festival of Mên, but the interval of time between the two festivals can scarcely have been greater than from fifteen to twenty years, if the conclusions drawn in the notes to nos. 8 and 10 are correct. That changes were rapid in the later period of the history of the sanctuary was the impression one gained on the spot.

7. Karakuyu. On a stone built into the inner side of the north-east wall near the north corner.

.. διαβιβάσα]ς κλήρους . . .
.. διαβι]βάσας κλήρους β'.

On the meaning see no. 10.

8. Karakuyu. Block built into the north-east wall (inner side) close to the doorway. Only one line remains.

Περσ(?)]ικὸς διαβιβάσας κλήρ[ους . . .

If the restoration is correct, Persicus is to be identified with the *epistates* of no. 19a : cf. the commentary to no. 10.

9. Karakuyu. On a block inside the church cut on all sides, but perhaps not recut along the top. The first line is on a lower level than the second.

. ω]ν [π]άλ[ην]. Οὐαλέριο[ς
 . . πανκράτ(ιον). Ἀγόςιος Κυρίλ[λου. . .

The strange name Agosios recurs apparently in the next inscription. The relative date of this fragment is uncertain : it is probably earlier than the following list (no. 10), if we may judge by the lettering, which is fairly good, and it may belong approximately to the same period as the preceding two.

10. Karakuyu. Slab broken into sixteen fragments, found within the temple enclosure. The letters are 2·7 cm. high.

FIG. 58. INSCRIPTION NO. 10.

παίδων στάδιον Φλ. Πρεῖσκος.
 παίδων πένταθλ(ο)ν Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος.
 ἀνδρῶν πένταθ(λο)ν Φλ. [Κ]ίτος.
 ἀνδρῶν στάδιον [Γ]όρδιος Μάξιμος.
 παίδων πάλην Δόττιος Τιβέρειος διαβιβάσας κλήρο[υς . .
 παίδων πανκράτιν Τ[ιβέρει]ος ? [Μ]όδ[ι]ος.
 ἀνδρῶν πάλην Ἰούλιος Δό[μνος διαβιβά]σας κλή[ρ]ους [δ' .
 ἀνδρῶν [π]ανκράτιν Ἀγός[ιος]δι(α)βιβάσας κλήρους ζ'.

The lettering of this slab is larger and somewhat coarser than that of the preceding fragments, and the lapidary has made some clumsy mistakes. Yet it seems to be earlier than the inscriptions erected in honour of individual victors (no. 12, ff.), and to belong to the same period as no. 8. Julius Domnos is probably the same person who figures as *epistates* in nos. 19 and 20. The common occurrence of the name Domnos at all periods might make the inference a little uncertain, if the case stood by itself; but nos. 8 and 19a seem to furnish a parallel example of a competitor at the earlier festival figuring as an *epistates* at the later.

The peculiar phrase *διαβιβάσας κλήρους* is uniformly used at Karakuyu in the sense of going through a number of heats: it is paralleled by *ἐκβιβάσαντα κλήρους δ'* at Xanthus.¹ The method of drawing lots in the wrestling match and the pancratium is known from Lucian's description in *Hermotimus*, ch. 40. Lots were marked in pairs, two with the letter A, two with B, two with C, and so on, according to the number of competitors, and cast into a *kalpis*, from which each competitor in turn drew a lot. Those who drew the same letter were matched together; in the case of an odd number of competitors, one lot was cast in without a pair, and the person to whom it fell drew a bye (*ἐφεδρεία*). A fresh draw followed each round.

Mr. E. N. Gardiner² gives the number of entries as varying usually from five to twelve. In our festivals the variation is extraordinary. The smallest number of rounds is two, implying three or four entries; the largest, which occurs twice, here and in no. 23, is seven, implying a minimum number of sixty-five competitors.

10a. Karakuyu. Two fragments of another list found in the temple enclosure.

FIG. 59. INSCRIPTION NO. 10a.

C.I.G. 4274; Petersen, *Lykien*, ii, no. 12.

² *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 16.

II. Karakuyu. Fragments of an inscription in small lettering found in different parts of the *peribolos*. Letters 1 cm. high. The style of the lettering is shown by the photograph of fragment *f*, made from an impression (fig. 61).

FIG. 60. FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTION NO. II.

It is most unfortunate that this inscription is so completely shattered, because it seems to have given an account of the institution of the festival to which the following series of records relates, and which, as we shall show, owed its origin to the generosity of C. Ulpius Baebianus (*a*, l. 6). The document was evidently of considerable length, and the occurrence (*i*, l. 5) of the Latin word *suc(c)lam(atum)* suggests that its general form resembled that of a Greek inscription of Mylasa which M. Th. Reinach has made the subject of an illuminating study.¹ That inscription is an official report of the proceedings at a meeting of the *boulé* and *demos*, which adopted a decree of the *boulé* dealing with a monetary crisis and issued with

¹ *B.C.H.* xx. (1896), p. 523, ff.

the authorisation of the emperors Severus and Caracalla. The decree was introduced by a speech of the president, whose peroration is followed by *acclamationes* of senators and people headed by the words *succlam(atum) est*, a formula borrowed by provincial cities from the practice of recording the acclamations of Roman senators in the *acta publica*, which began in Trajan's reign.¹ In the Greek world the few previously known instances of such acclamations date from about A.D. 150–250; they translate the Latin

FIG. 61. PART OF INSCRIPTION NO. II, FRAGMENT *f*.

expression by *ἐπεφώνησαν*, *ἐβόησαν*, or *ἐξεβόησαν*. Our inscription furnishes a second instance of the use of the Latin term, and it seems probable that, like the Mylasa example, it embodied a record of the proceedings at a meeting at which the assembly adopted a decree of the *boulé* of Antioch (*δήμῳ*, *a*, l. 2, [δ]ιὰ τοῦ ψ[ηφίσματος] *i*, l. 11, [ψ]ηφὺς εἴη? *g*, l. 3, *i*, l. 3). The decree recited the generous offer of Ulpius Baebianus, a leading citizen of the colony (*ἄνδρα πρῶ[τον]*), the amount of his gift in Attic drachmae (*f*, l. 7, ff.) and perhaps the mode of its administration. It was entered in the minutes (*ὑπομνήματα*, *f*, l. 12), and a copy was deposited in the archives (*[ἀν]τιγράφον ἀποκειμένον*, *f*, l. 13; cf. the common formula *τούτων ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα*). Then followed a copy of an imperial rescript, probably

¹ Plin. *Paneg.* 75: cf. O. Hirschfeld's article, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 689, ff.

FIG. 62. INSCRIPTION NO. 12. HEXAGONAL COLUMN IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY OF TI. CLAUDIUS MARCIANUS IN THE WRESTLING CONTEST UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF C. ULPIUS BAEBIANUS ($\frac{1}{8}$) (p. 287).

authorising the attachment of the emperor's name to the festival (see below), and the decree was carried by the acclamations of the audience. The date of the inscription is shown by the word [C]*aesares* (in *h*) to be not earlier than about A.D. 295, and this is confirmed by the discovery of a Latin dedication to Mên made by C. Ulpius Baebianus and Ulpia Cornelia his sister. This inscription baffled all our efforts to read it completely, but the thin, elongated lettering shows that it belongs to the later third or early fourth century.

12. Karakuyu. Hexagonal column with slightly concave sides and moulded top; broken below. Found in the cistern towards the northern end. The lettering is regular (2·9 cm. high in line 1).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνο-
θέτου Γ. Οὐλ-
πίου Βαιβια-
νοῦ αὐγου-
5 ρ(ος) καὶ ἱερέως
δ]ιὰ βίου τοῦ
πα]τρίου θε-
οῦ] Μηνὸς
καὶ θεᾶς Δή-
10 μητρος Τιβ.
Κλαύδιον
Μαρκιανὸν
νείκησαν-
τα πάλην, ὃν
15 ἀποδυσάμε-
νον παρηγή-
σ]αντο οἱ ἀν-
ταγ]ωνισταί
.

A few traces of l. 19 survive: the fourth letter was apparently T or Γ, the fifth N or ΑΙ, the sixth O or Ω, followed by a leaf.

The epithet *πάτριος*, which is always attached to the god in these inscriptions, perhaps bears a special emphasis. The adherents of paganism lay stress on the fact that Mên is "the god of their fathers" in contrast to the new-fangled god of the Christians. At Thyateira ὁ *προπάτωρ* θεός is substituted, apparently under Caracalla, for the earlier designation ὁ *πρὸ πόλεως* θεός.¹

Marcianus was allowed a walk-over, because his antagonists cried off when they saw him stripped for the contest. Cases of a victory won *ἀκονιτεί* were rare: the first recorded happened in Ol. 75.²

¹ C.I.G. nos. 3497, 3493; Keil-Premenstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien*, p. 34.

² E. N. Gardiner, *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 16.

13. Karakuyu. Hexagonal column, similar to the preceding, broken below. Found in the same place. The size of the letters is fairly regular (2·8 cm.).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνο-
θέτου διὰ βί-
ου Γ. Οὐλπί-
ου Βαιβια-
νοῦ αὔγου-
ρος καὶ ἱερέ-
ως διὰ βίου
τοῦ πατρίου
θεοῦ Μηνὸς
καὶ θεᾶς Δή-
μητρος Δ.
Πλώτιον
Μαρ[κιαν-
δον]

FIG. 63. INSCRIPTION NO. 13 (1/2).

14. Karakuyu. Similar hexagonal column (1½ m. high) found at the southern end of the cistern (plate XXI). Lettering regular (2·8 c.m.).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου διὰ βίου Γ. Οὐλπίου Βαιβιανοῦ αὔγουρ(ος)
καὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ θεᾶς Δήμητρος
Γναῖον Δότιον Μάγνον νεικήσαν τα σαλπικτὰς ἀγῶνα Μα(ξί)μι
άνειον ἢ πατρίς θέμιδι β'.

Contests of trumpeters and of heralds (no. 15), which were merely a trial of strength of lungs and voice, formed the regular prelude to the ἀγωνίσματα proper. The victors had the honour of officiating in their respective capacities during the festival, the

main function of the herald being to proclaim the name and fatherland of the victors at the close of each contest.

15. Karakuyu. Fragment of a hexagonal column found in the cistern towards the southern end. Fairly good lettering, deep cut and clear (3 cm.).

ΤΑΚΗΡΥ	[.]
ΚΑΣΑΓΩ	.. νεικήσαν-
ΝΑΜΑΣΙΜΙ	τα κήρυ-
ΑΝΕΙΟΝΤΑ	κας ἀγώ-
ΤΡΙΣ	να Μαξιμι-
ΘΕΜΙΔΙΒ	άνειον ἢ πα-
	τρὶς
	θέμιδι β'.

FIG. 64. INSCRIPTION NO. 15.

16. Karakuyu. Similar hexagonal column found in the same place (plate xxii). Lettering regular (2.8 cm.).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου διὰ βίου Γ. Οὐλπίου Βαιβιανοῦ αὐγου(ρος) καὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ θε(ᾶς) Δήμητρος Ἰούλιον Κόρδιον Θεόδωρον νεικήσαντα πάλην ἀγώνα Μαξιμιάνειον ἢ πατρὶς θέμιδι ζ'.

17. Yalowadj : on a plain slab built into the wall of the Kuskumessarlik.

ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΩΝ	Ἀ] γωνοθετο[ύ]ν[των
ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ	δ]ι[ὰ β]ίου Γ. Καισε[ν]ίου
ΥΓΥΡΟΣΠΑΤΡΙΑΝΟΥ	Πρόκλου Στ[α]ιαν[ο]ῦ
ΣΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑΣΚΛΑ	α[ὐ]γ[ο]υρος πάτ[ρωνος
ΙΦΛΑΙΟΥΒΑΙΒΙΑΝΟΥ	τῆ]ς κολωνείας κα[ὶ
ΙΠΠΕΩΣΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ	Γ.] Φλαῦου Βαιβιαν[ο]ῦ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ	ἱππέως Ῥωμαίων
ΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΙΟΥΘΕΟΥ	ἀρχιερέων διὰ βίου
ΙΗΝΟΣΛΟΥΠΑΤΡΙΟΥ	τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ
ΦΛΑΘΝΙΑΝΟΝΟΥ	Μηνὸς Λού[κιον] Πάπιο[ν]
ΚΤΟΡΕΙΝΟΝΖΟΤΙΚ	Φλαο[ν]ιανὸν Οὐ[ι]-
ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑΠΑΙΔ	κτορεῖνον Ζωτικ[όν]
ΤΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΟΝΑΓΩΝ	νεικήσαντα παίδ[ων]
ΜΕΙΜΙΑΝΕΙΟΝΗΤ	πανκράτιον ἀγών[α]
ΘΕ ΜΙ ΔΙ	Μαξιμιάνειον ἢ πατρὶς
	θέμιδι.

FIG. 65. INSCRIPTION NO. 17.

Staius (l. 3), a rare name of Oscan origin,¹ was borne by L. Staius Murcus, Caesar's legate in 46, afterwards often mentioned in the

¹ *Eph. Ep.* ii, p. 188, nos. 79, 80.

civil wars following his death,¹ and a soldier of the same name is mentioned by Tacitus.²

Φλάιος (l. 6), for Φλάβιος, Φλαούιος is an evidence of late date. An unintelligent form, Φλαιούιος, appears in no. 21, but the derivative is rightly spelled in l. 11 of the present inscription.

ΛΟΥ (l. 10) is an unusual contraction, but no doubt it stands for Λούκιος.

18. Yalowadj : in the wall of a mosque at the north extremity of the town. Lettering not quite regular (about 2.5 cm.).

FIG. 66. INSCRIPTION NO. 18.

[Ἀγωνοθετούντων
κ . τ . λ . . . πάτρωνος τῆς]
κολωνείας
καὶ Γ. Φλαΐου Βα[ι-
βιανοῦ ἱππ[έως
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχι[ε-
ρέων διὰ βίου
τοῦ πατρίου
θεοῦ Μηνό[ς
Δ]. Ἰούλιον Δό-
μ]νον νει[κῆσαντα
.

19. Karakuyu. Base found near the northern end of the cistern (plate xxiii). Lettering not very regular (in line 2 the height is 2.3 cm.).

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. | Ἀγωνοθετούντων | διὰ βίου Γ. Καισενίου Πρόκλου
Σταῖα|νοῦ αὐγουρος πάτρωνος τῆς κολωνείας | καὶ Γ. Φλαΐου Βαιβια-
νοῦ ἱππέως Ῥω<ρω>μαί|ων ἀρχιερέων διὰ βίου | τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ
Μηνός Τερέντιον Οὐλ|πιον Ζώσιμον νεική|σαντα παίδων παν-
κράτιον καὶ δι(α)βιβάσαν|τα κλήρους β' ἀγῶνα | Μαξιμιάνειον ἡ
πατρὶς | θέμιδι. | ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτην Ἰούλιον Δόμνον.

Another *epistates* is mentioned on a fragment of a base found in the cistern, which I add here.

19a. Engraved on the sloping part of the lower end of a base similar to no. 19.

ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτην Αὐρ. Περσικόν.

¹ C.I.L. ix, 3080.

² Hist. i, 43. The name is always corrupted in MSS. to Statius.

Epistatae are mentioned in inscriptions of Thyateira, and M. Clerc¹ regards them as town officials who supervised the contests and acted as umpires. This view is accepted by Ziebarth,² and by Keil-Premmerstein.³ Such an official doubtless existed, but he would be a very minor personage, hardly worthy of such special mention. Boeckh (on *C.I.G.* 3503) seems nearer the truth when he explains *epistates* as *magister*. It is noticeable that in no. 20, and apparently also in the inscriptions of Thyateira, the formula, which is always the same, is engraved a considerable distance below the main text, and if we compare the similar formula, ὑπὸ φωνασκὸν τὸν δέϊνα,⁴ we shall prefer to regard the *epistates* as a trainer of athletes. Julius Domnos had been a competitor himself in his younger days, and so in all probability had Aurelius Persicus (no. 10).

20. Karakuyu. Round cippus found on the inside of the north-west wall. Letters 3.2 cm. at the beginning of line 2.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη.

ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΟΣ
ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΓ.ΦΛ.ΒΑΙΒΙΑ
ΝΟΥΠΟΝΤΙΦΙΚΟΣ Β
ΙΠΠΕΩΣΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΠΑΤΡΩΝΤΗΣΚΟΛΩΝΙΑΣ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑ
ΤΡΙΟΥΘΕΟΥΜΗΝΟΤΕ
ΡΕΝΤΙΟΝΟΥΑΠΙΟΝΜΑΡ
ΚΕΛΛΟΝ.ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝ
ΤΑΠΑΙΔΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΟΝ
ΑΓΩΝΑΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΕΙ
ΟΝΔΙΑΒΙΒΑΣΑΝΑΚΛΗ
ΡΟΥΣ. Β' ΗΠΑΤΡΙΣ.

Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
διὰ βίου Γ. Φλ. Βαιβια-
νοῦ ποντίφικος
ἱππέως Ῥωμαίων
πατρων(ος) τῆς κολωνίας
ἀρχιερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ πα-
τρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς Τε-
ρέντιον Οὐλπίον Μάρ-
κελλον νεικήσαν-
τα παίδων πανκράτιον
ἀγῶνα Μαξιμάνει-
ον διαβιβάσαντα κλη-
ρους β' ἢ πατρὶς

ΘΕΜΙΔΙ

θέμιδι

ΥΠΟΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ
ΔΟΜΝΟΝ

ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτην Ἰούλιον
Δόμνον.

FIG. 67. INSCRIPTION NO. 20.

¹ *De rebus Thyateirenorum*, p. 87.

² *Rhein. Mus.* li (1896), p. 635.

³ *Bericht*, ii, nos. 63, 71 ("neben dem Agono-

theten fungierte noch ein Epistates als städtische Aufsichtsbehörde"), p. 34.

⁴ Liermann, *Analecta. . agonistica*, p. 162; Des-sau, *Inscr. Sel.* 5257; Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.* p. 33.

FIG. 68. INSCRIPTION NO. 21. IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY OF CALPURNIUS MACIUS EUTYCHES IN THE BOYS' WRESTLING MATCH UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF C. FLAVIUS BAEBIANUS (†) (p. 293).

21. Karakuyu. Thin round cippus found in the same place. Lettering uneven (2·7 to 2·8 cm. in line 2).

Ἀγ[αθῇ] Τύ[χῃ].
 Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
 διὰ βίου Γ. Φλαιουίου
 Βαιβιανοῦ ποντίφικος
 ἱππέως Ῥωμαίων πάτρω-
 νος τῆς κολωνείας
 ἀρχιερέως διὰ βίου
 τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς
 Καλπούρμιον Μάγιον
 Εὐτύχην νεικήσαντα
 <νεικήσαντα> παίδων
 πάλιν ἀγῶνα Μαξιμιά-
 νειον ἢ πατρὶς
 θέμιδι.

22. Karakuyu. Cippus (1 foot 3 inches in diameter) found towards the northern end of the cistern. Broken below. Irregular lettering (2·8 to 3 cm.).

Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος διὰ
 βίου Γ. Φλαῖον Βαιβιανοῦ
 ποντίφικος ἱππέως
 Ῥωμαίων πάτρωνος
 τῆς κολωνείας ἀρχι-
 ερέως διὰ βίου πα-
 τρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς
 Τερέντιον Οὐλπιον
 Ζώσιμον νεικήσαν-
 [τα.]

FIG. 69. INSCRIPTION NO. 22 ($\frac{1}{8}$).

23. Karakuyu. Drum of an Ionic column (5 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in circumference). The inscription is engraved on a panel obtained by smoothing away the fluting. Found in the same place. Letters irregular (3 cm. on the average).

FIG. 70. INSCRIPTION NO. 23 ($\frac{1}{7}$).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτου | διὰ βίου Γ. Φλ. Βαιβι|ανοῦ ποντίφικος | ἱππέως
Ῥωμαί|ων πάτρωνος τῆς | κολωνείας ἀρχιερε|ως διὰ βίου τοῦ πατρί-
ου θεοῦ Μηνὸς | Μᾶρ(κον) Οὐείρειον Μαρ|κιανὸν νεικήσαντα |

παίδων πάλην|ἀγῶνα Μαξιμιά|νιον θέμιδι τὸ|δεύτερον ἡ πα-
τρίς, δια(βι)βάσαντα κλήρους ζ',|κριθέντα Πύθεια ἐν Ἀν|κύρα καὶ
ἀγωνισάμε|νον ἐνδόξως.

Κριθέντα (l. 16) means simply "who was a competitor"; cf. C.I.G. 2810 *b* Add. = Le Bas-Wadd. 1620 *b*: πρῶ[τον καὶ μὲ]νον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀγ[ωνισάμε]νον τριετία τὰς τρεῖς κρί[σεις παῖδα] ἀγένειον ἄνδρα, and C.I.G. 4472 = Le Bas-Wadd. 1839.

24. Karakuyu. From a mass of fragments of different agonistic records we may select those which appear to belong to a memorial of the presidency of C. Flavius Baebianus. Fragment *p* is interesting, if enigmatic.

FIG. 71. INSCRIPTION NO. 24.

Fragment *p*. Μαξιμιανείον ἀγῶνος θέμιδο[ς . .
θεμιονεικα
- κα υἱὸς [Θ]εό[δ]ο[τος] . . .

25. Karakuyu. Fragment found with those referred to under no. 24.

FIG. 72. INSCRIPTION NO. 25.

The lettering of this fragment belongs to the same period as the preceding series, but is engraved on what apparently is a portion of a slab surrounded by a flat border on a lower level than the

inscribed part. Whether the 16th *Themis* belongs to the foundation of Flavius Baebianus or to that of some other *agonothetes* cannot be determined, but it doubtless belongs to a later stage of the same festival.

The λογιστῆς σειτηρεσίου who is not mentioned elsewhere in these inscriptions, presumably corresponds to the official commonly called σειτώνης, the *curator annonae* of Roman municipia.

B. THE HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT FESTIVAL.

These games are of the well-known type called ἀγῶνες θεματικοί or θεματῖται, where the prizes offered had an intrinsic value. Other equivalent epithets are ἀργυρῖται, χρηματῖται, δωρῖται, ἀθλοφόροι, and ταλαντιαῖοι¹ or ἡμιταλαντιαῖοι (when the value of the prizes amounted to a talent or half a talent). In the better period they were held in small esteem in comparison with the more honourable ἀγῶνες ἱεροί or στεφανῖται, but in the later period they became popular, particularly in the southerly districts of Asia Minor. The festivals are of the pure Greek type. The contests are the normal ἀγῶνες γυμνικοί, the foot-race, wrestling, the combination of wrestling and boxing called the *pancratium*, and the *pentathlon*, preceded, as at Olympia, by contests between trumpeters (σαλπιγκταί) and between heralds (κήρυκες). The type of contest that appealed to the coarser Roman taste, gladiatorial exhibitions and wild-beast hunts, finds no place here. Yet evidence is not lacking of the popularity of such shows in Antioch itself. Here, as elsewhere, they formed a regular accompaniment of the celebrations of the imperial cultus, and in this connexion we hear of a *venatio* given by the high-priest about A.D. 50.² About a century later a patron and magistrate of the colony is celebrated³ as having been twice *munerarius*, a title equivalent to *curator muneris publici*, as well as *agonotheta perpetuus certaminis quinquennalis talantiaei*. And to a somewhat later period (to judge from the lettering)⁴ belongs the following inscription, which was copied by Sir W. Ramsay and Mr. Calder in 1912.

26. Yalowadj. Built high up into the wall of a mosque by the market. The letters of line 1 are 4 cm. high. The illustration (fig. 73) is reproduced from an impression (taken under difficulties).

¹ cf. *C.I.L.* iii, 6835-6837.

² *Acta Pauli et Theklae*: see Ramsay, *Church in Emp.* ch. xvi.

³ *C.I.L.* iii, 6835-6837.

⁴ Prof. Haverfield has kindly looked at this squeeze and others which I submitted to him, and

his opinion is in essential agreement with my own. One cannot pretend that the lettering of Roman inscriptions in Asia Minor affords more than a criterion of relative date; and it often allows rather wide limits.

. . . Maximiano [a]dil(i), ii vir(o), qui ii v[i]ratu suo munus
v[e]nationum et gladia[torum] ex liberalit(ate) sua bidu[um d]edit,
qui etiam testame[n]to suo [f]idei commisit

FIG. 73. INSCRIPTION NO. 26 (p. 296).

It is probable that the charter of the colony, like that of Julius Caesar's colonia Genetiva Julia in Spain (chap. lxx), required the duoviri to give a gladiatorial show or some other form of spectacle during their year of office, the more so as the exhibition of games of the Roman type was one of the means employed by the early emperors for accelerating the Romanisation of the provinces, and the importation of them in connexion with the imperial cult is particularly conspicuous in other parts of the province Galatia, as for instance, at Ancyra.¹ If that be so, Maximianus is praised for having exceeded his legal obligations and for leaving a bequest for the future provision of such exhibitions. There is little doubt that such spectacles were given, even where the fact is not expressly stated, at the time when the worship of the emperors was being celebrated. The date of the shows was fixed by the *decuriones*,² who would certainly select an important occasion.

The failure of any trace of such spectacles at the sanctuary of Mên might be interpreted as a sign of the dying out of Roman feeling in the colony and the final victory of Hellenic ideas. That was, of course, the fact; but it seems to me probable that these spectacles had always been excluded by religious tradition from the service of the old god. It is noteworthy that a Roman citizen of Antioch, in leaving money for the celebration of annual games on

¹ *C.I.G.* 4039 and *Add.* p. 1109.

² *Lex. col. Gen.* loc. cit.

the festal days of Luna, who was clearly the goddess associated with Mên, directs that the contest shall be a gymnastic one, *certamen gymnicum*; and the date of this inscription is certainly not later than the early Antonine period.¹ We observe also that the traces of earlier festivals of Mên found on the hill-top (nos. 7-10a) refer exclusively to gymnastic competitions. On this ground alone the Maximianus of the above inscription could have no connexion with the Maximianus who gave his name to the great festival which has left as its memorials the last sixteen inscriptions of our series (nos. 11-25).

Before determining the identity of this latter Maximianus, we must try to discover the chronology of the later inscriptions. Clearly they belong to one limited period of time, and no less clearly they fall into three successive groups:

(1) Those in which C. Ulpius Baebianus is *agonothetes*. These are all engraved on hexagonal columns with slightly concave sides. No. 15 therefore belongs to this group.

(2) Those in which there are two *agonothetai*, C. Caesennius Proclus Staianus and C. Flavius Baebianus. These are three in number, two being engraved on plain slabs, the other on a basis.

(3) Those in which C. Flavius Baebianus is *agonothetes* alone. These are engraved on unornamented cippi, with one exception where the drum of an Ionic column has been utilised.

That the three groups follow each other chronologically is shown by both the external and the internal evidence. The second and third groups show a gradual deterioration from the better style of the first both in the character of the lettering and in the quality of the stones; and the deterioration is very marked in the third group as compared with the first. Moreover, developments have taken place between the time when the first group ends and the second begins, and again before the third group begins. Ulpius Baebianus, who held the office of *augur* in Antioch, was priest (*ιερεύς*) of Mên for life. His successors were high-priests (*ἀρχιερείς*) for life, one of them, Staianus, being also *augur* and patron of the colony, while his colleague, Flavius Baebianus, bears no title beyond that of his rank as a Roman knight; but when the latter becomes sole president of the games, he holds the office of *pontifex* in Antioch and the title of patron of the colony.

Waddington showed² that the reason why *Themides* were numbered is that they were celebrated only a limited number of times, so long in fact as the individual donor continued to provide the money, or so long as the fund which he instituted by will lasted. Now it is a well-established fact that it was the ordinary practice for such a donor to become *ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου*³; and when we also

¹ C.I.L. iii, 6829.

² *Inscr.* no. 1209.

³ cf. C.I.L. iii, 6835-6837 (quoted above):
"ex liberalitate sua electo agonothetae perpetuo ab
imp. divo Marco certaminis sacri Hadrianion Ephesi."

observe that the three groups of celebrations in the present case were evidently numbered independently of each other (since a second *Themis* occurs both in the first and in the third group), we cannot possibly escape from the conclusion that these priests or high-priests of Mên not merely defrayed the general expenses of the athletic festival in the ordinary way, but were the actual donors of the *Themides*.

We can thus reconstruct the outlines of the history of this foundation. The festival was established by the liberality of Ulpus Baebianus, priest of the god, and was celebrated by him at least seven times (no. 16). On his death the priesthood was elevated to a high-priesthood, for reasons which will presently appear. From this time forward all mention of the goddess is dropped. This is in all probability an intentional relegation of the female element to the background in order to concentrate attention on the god. Ulpus was succeeded in office by a relative, Flavius, in accordance with the common custom which made such burdens hereditary in certain families; and for some years (two at least) the expense of the festival was shared by another high-priest, who was no doubt priest of the second temple of Mên "in the territory, or region, of the Antiochians."¹ Finally, the duty was discharged by Flavius alone, and he seems to have found the financial burden a heavy one, if we may judge from the inferior quality of the monuments which he erected in honour of the victors. The fragment, no. 25, which mentions a sixteenth *Themis*, belongs either to the Flavian series or, more probably, to a continuation of the same festival.

These conclusions bear directly on the question, who was the Maximianus in whose honour the festival was instituted? They make it impossible to see in him some citizen who left money for the purpose and was rewarded, in the usual way, by having his name attached to the festival, for in that case the celebrations must have been numbered consecutively; and numerous analogies show that, had there been such a foundation, the fact would have been expressly stated. The only alternative is to identify him with one of the emperors of that name. Fortunately we have direct evidence in favour of this identification. The commentary to no. 11 has shown that the life of C. Ulpus Baebianus covered the years following A.D. 295, and that an act of public generosity on his part, which we now see to have been the establishment of the Maximianian festival, was the subject of an imperial rescript. Now the elder Maximian is ruled out by the circumstances of the case: it is impossible that he should have monopolised the honour in a portion of the empire which lay within the special jurisdiction of Diocletian. The date of the institution of the festival must therefore be subsequent to the abdication of the year A.D. 305, and the

¹ Strabo, p. 557.

emperor after whom it was named can be no other than Galerius, who adopted the name of Maximianus.

The attachment of the emperor's name to the festival probably indicates the fusion of the ancient cult with the state religion, and this inference is confirmed by the fact that the priesthood was very soon raised to a high-priesthood, which was the normal rank of the highest official both in the municipal and in the provincial cultus of the emperors. The significance of the whole movement is not open to doubt. Galerius was a fierce persecutor of Christianity: it was he that instigated Diocletian to issue his edicts against the Christians and carried them out with ruthless ferocity. Like others before and after him, he accompanied his repression of the new faith by a systematic effort to reorganise the old pagan cults, including of course the imperial cult, and to reawaken them to vigorous life, so as to make them an effective counterpoise to Christianity. His policy was the same as that which was carried out with greater energy by his nephew, Maximinus Daia, of whom Eusebius says: ¹ "He set himself to persecute us more fiercely and continuously than his predecessors, ordering the erection of temples in every city, and the vigorous restoration of sanctuaries (τεμένη) which had fallen into ruin through age; he also established pagan priests (ἱερέας εἰδώλων) in every district and town, and set over them as high-priest in each province some official who had won the highest distinction in every kind of public service (λειτουργίας), providing him with a military guard of honour." These high-priests, he adds in another place, brought great zeal to the service of the gods. His object, as Harnack observes, ² was to create an organisation which should rival the synodal organisation of the Church, itself based on that of the provincial councils, but now much more highly developed and centralised under a priesthood distinguished for moral character. How long the pagan revival lasted cannot be precisely determined, but as the athletic festivals were probably annual and those commemorated by our inscriptions were celebrated at least eleven times, while under one indeterminate but not unconnected foundation there were as many as sixteen celebrations (no. 25), it would seem that the revival outlived for many years the close of the persecution in A.D. 323.

The sanctuary of Mên at Karakuyu is thus proved to have been one of the centres of pagan revival during the early decades of the fourth century. The fact that the walls of its enclosure and many inscriptions found inside it proclaim the performance of the act called τεκμορεύν, furnishes a strong confirmation of Sir W. Ramsay's views about the character and objects of the Tekmoreian Brotherhood. This by itself is no mean result of a few months' excavation.

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* viii, 14, 9; ix, 5.

² *Ausbreitung*, bk. iii, ch. v [Eng. trans. ii, p. 125].

VOTIVE STELE WITH RELIEF OF MÊN ASKAĒNOS (p. 273).

INSCRIPTION NO. 14. IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY OF
CN. DOTTIUS MAGNUS IN THE TRUMPETERS' CONTEST
UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF C. ULPUS BAEBIANUS, PRIEST
OF MËN AND DEMETER ($\frac{1}{8}$) (p. 288).

INSCRIPTION NO. 16. IN HONOUR OF THE VICTORY OF IULIUS CORDIUS THEODORUS IN THE WRESTLING MATCH UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF C. ULPUS BAEBLANUS, PRIEST OF MËN AND DEMETER (†) (p. 289).

INSCRIPTION NO. 19. ERECTED UNDER THE JOINT PRESIDENCY OF STAIANUS AND C. FLAVIUS BAEBIANUS, HIGH PRIESTS OF MÊN (𐌆) (p. 290).