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SEPOLCHRAL CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT PHRYGIA.

THE monument represented on the accompanying plate (No. XLIV.), is situated near the village of Liyen,¹ and is familiar to the natives of the surrounding district under the name Arslan Kaya, Lion Rock. It is about seven miles west-north-west of the cluster of monuments at Ayazeen, described in this Journal, 1882, p. 1 *ff*, and several less important archaic tombs exist at Bei Keui and other places between Liyen and Ayazeen, so that this whole series may be grouped together and distinguished from the other series which surrounds the tomb of Midas. It is probable that the two groups belong to two distinct Phrygian cities of great antiquity—two of those cities whose former existence was known to Strabo (p. 567), but which had ceased to exist long before his time. It will be convenient, in want of the ancient names, to distinguish these two ancient cities by reference to the Roman towns which stood near them—Meros at Kumbet, near the Midas-tomb, and Metropolis south of Ayazeen.

Arslan Kaya is a tall conical rock, of sugar-loaf shape, standing quite isolated on a steep grassy slope.² The mass of the rock, higher than ten feet from the ground, is a fine soft conglomerate, the same in which the majority of the Phrygian tombs are carved. Between ten and five feet above the ground

¹ Liyen is not marked on Kiepert's map, where the whole district in which the Phrygian monuments are situated is almost a blank. It is a village on the road from Afium Kara Hissar to Kutayah, seven hours from the former, eleven hours from the latter, and about two hours south-east of Doghan Arslan

which is indicated on Kiepert's map.

² The total height is probably about fifty to sixty feet; but it is difficult to judge. The drawings on Pl. XLIV. have unfortunately been made too tall. My sketches on the spot were restricted to the sculptured part of the rock.

is a layer of sandstone, horizontally stratified. Below this again is a soft conglomerate. The monument is carved entirely in the upper conglomerate.

The rock has been cut on three sides, so as to present three smooth vertical faces at right angles to each other, looking

respectively east, south, and west. The southern or central face is the most important. It is similar in style to the class of monuments of which the Midas-tomb is the type. A flat rectangular surface, ornamented in a geometrical pattern, and having a doorway in the lower part, is surmounted by a pediment, with a quaint acroterion over the apex. The geometrical pattern has suffered so much from the weather that it cannot now be properly understood : but an occasional fragment shows that it was an arrangement of squares or maeanders and crosses, such as is usual in these monuments.¹ The whole is carved in exceedingly low relief. On the band that divides the pediment from the rectangular surface, an inscription in the tall narrow Phrygian characters was engraved : but it is not decipherable at the distance from which a spectator who has no ladder must contemplate it.²

The pediment is not plain, as in the other monuments of this type, but is sculptured in relief, like the pediment of the tomb at Kumbet, engraved by M. Perrot, *Explor. Archéologique en Galatie*, &c., pl. vii.

Two sphinxes of very archaic character stand in the two angles, turned towards each other, but separated by the supporting column which always occupies the middle of these pediments. Their faces are directed outwards, the ears are very large, but the features are now hopelessly obliterated.³ A long curl hangs down in archaic style over the shoulder of each. On the day which I spent drawing the monument I did not observe that the sex was indicated ; but on the following morning, when we returned to compare each detail of the drawings with the original, it appeared to me, and I think also to Mr. Sterrett, that the left-hand sphinx was characterised as male. Such a detail was visible only in a favourable light, and in the worn state of the surface is very uncertain.

A band of maeander pattern runs along the two sloping sides of the pediment.

¹ Arslan Kaya has suffered more from the weather than any other of the great monuments in Phrygia : the others are protected by projecting parts of the rock overhead.

² On a later visit I observed that the

inscription is hopelessly obliterated.

³ The sphinx on the right is much more dilapidated than that on the left. It seemed better in drawing to restore it exactly on the analogy of its better-preserved neighbour.

The acroterion is very remarkable: it is distinctly intended to represent two serpents' heads.

The doorway in the lower part of monuments of this class has in the examples hitherto met with been shut. In the present case however the two valves of the door are thrown wide open, and merely represented in relief against the sides of the little chamber into which the door gives admittance. On each wing of the door there is a horizontal row of little round knobs near the top, showing that it represents a wooden door studded with iron nails. On the right wing is a defaced ornament which may be a lock or possibly a knocker.

The form of the doorway should be compared with those of the Midas-tomb and of the monument at Delikli Tash. M. Perrot¹ has already observed the peculiar form of the lintel in these cases. I know no analogy to the curious projecting members in the lower part of the door, nor to the faint lines above the pediment.

I have already suggested (*Journal*, 1882, p. 27), that the outer face of the monuments of this class is intended to imitate the oriental carpets which were sometimes in Greek temples hung in front of the holy figure of the temple-deity to conceal it from profane eyes: thus, in the temple of Cora at Mantinea, the priestess ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια, hanging in front of them an oriental carpet. 'The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock.'

The present monument appears to me to justify completely the words which I used two years ago. Through the open door we penetrate behind the veil into the sanctuary. Carved in relief on the back of the little chamber, we see the two rampant lionesses,² which are the favourite device in Phrygian monuments. But in this case they do not rest their paws against a column: they lay them on the shoulders of the goddess herself, and place their heads lovingly against hers: εὐφρων καλὰ δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων. This position constitutes a new variety of the well-known hieratic *schema* called the 'Persian Artemis.'

The lionesses are represented in profile, and only one of the

¹ Compare his account of Delikli Tash and his note on the Midas-tomb.

² The sex is doubtful, owing to mutilation of the surface.

forepaws is visible. There is a curious marking on the fore-leg, perhaps intended to indicate muscles. Both hind legs and the long curling tail are visible. The image of Cybele was carved in very high relief on the back of the chamber. It was similar

in style to those archaic terra-cotta idols, the upper part of which imitates the human figure, while the lower part is a mere cylinder growing wider towards the bottom, so as to afford a broad and secure basis for the idol to stand. This figure was represented in relief fully a foot high; but the soft conglomerate was unsuited for a relief standing out so boldly, and the front part has fallen off, leaving an uneven surface. On the other hand the two lionesses are in very low relief and are therefore in excellent preservation except the heads, in which the relief is rather higher, and the surface of the abdomen.

A similar idol, much ruder and smaller than this one, stands in a little niche about three feet high, near the Lion-tombs.

The figure of Cybele occupied the whole height of the wall, *i.e.* seven feet two inches. The arms were pressed against the

sides, the elbows were bent and the hands placed in front of the body, the right hand over the bosom, the left hand over the middle;¹ the attitude is familiar from Oriental idols and Greek statues of Aphrodite. On her head she wore a *polos*, the outline of which on the wall is barrel-shaped. A long veil or garment seems to hang on both sides of the body. This rude image is the Mother-Goddess, who is indicated by her attitude as the producer and nourisher of the life of earth. We know her name in this old Phrygian home of hers. Only a few miles away, close to the other lion monuments, is an altar cut in the rock, and above it is an inscription written *boustrophedon* in Phrygian characters. The middle of the inscription has been broken away, but the beginning fortunately remains—*Matar Kubile*.

Matar Kubile was the name by which the Phrygians invoked the goddess. It is interesting that the nearest city of the Roman time to these old monuments was named Conni Metropolis; in the Byzantine time the heathen name of 'Meter' was changed to that of the Christian saint Demetrius, and the city is called in lists of bishoprics Conni Demetrioupolis. This observation gives the long-sought site of the northern Metropolis of Phrygia, which has been placed in many different situations. It stood on the Roman road from Nacoleia to Eucarpia, near the modern village Beuyeuk Tchorgia.²

But though Conni was nearer than any other city to the Lion-tombs, it is probable that they were in the territory of the important city of Prymnessos.³ Midas appears on coins of Prymnessos, which may be taken as a proof that these old monuments were in the Roman time associated with the ancient kings of Phrygia.

The face of the monument which looks to the east is entirely occupied by a large rampant lion. He stands quite upright, and

¹ This detail can be gathered from the difference of angle at the two elbows, though the bad preservation of the image makes it difficult to be certain.

² I formerly attempted to identify Metropolis with Augustopolis, a site nine miles S.E. of Tchorgia: I wish here to correct the error. See *Mittheilungen Instit. Ath.* 1882, p. 137.

³ Conni seems to have been an insignificant town under the empire; no coins are known, unless some ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ belong to it. Prymnessos was at Seulun, three miles S.E. of Afium Kara Hissar. It was certainly a city of importance, and perhaps exercised some authority over the neighbouring Metropolis.

places his fore-paws on the angle of the pediment on the southern side. The lines of the figure, like those of the two lionesses in the shrine, are exceedingly fine and spirited. The sex is certain, whereas that of the animals in the shrine remains uncertain. Analogy points to the opinion that the latter are female: this is the case with the pair of animals on the Lion-tomb near Ayazeen and with those over the Lion-gate at Mycenae. In later monuments the case is different: at Kumbet (see Perrot, Pl. vii.) and at Ayazeen (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Pl. XXVI, XXVII.) the pair consists of a male and a female. I was exceedingly careful in drawing the toes of the lion's left hind foot, the forms of which are peculiar: the paws of the two lionesses are different, less carefully cut, and more like the form usual in archaic sculpture. Only one forepaw is shown in each of the lionesses, a true archaic characteristic, whereas both forepaws of the lion are distinctly visible: but the marking on the forepaws of the lionesses does not appear on those of the lion.¹ This marking may be compared with that on the hind-leg of a deer found in a tumulus near Kertch, a product of Ionian art of a later period.²

On the western face of our monument there is a gryphon, *passant* to the right. His head is much injured, but was probably a simple eagle's head without ears or any other prominent feature, and with the mouth closed (Type C of Furtwängler, *Bronzefund*, p. 47). The wings, like those of the sphinxes, are curled round in the archaic style.

I hope to take an early opportunity of discussing the bearing of this and other monuments on the history of Ionian and generally of Greek art, but I will here state my opinion as to the date of the Arslan Kaya. As I have stated in previous papers, I believe that Phrygian art stands in the closest relations with the Ionian colonies of the Euxine coast. Now if we compare the gryphon and the sphinxes with the earliest known specimens of Ionian decorative art, the general resemblance is obvious, while the exceedingly ancient character of the Phrygian monument is equally clear. Every detail in these

¹ On a second visit I convinced myself that these are the facts: the lines on the forepaw of each lioness do not indicate a pair of paws.

² Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Vetttersfelde*, p. 16, who refers to *Antiq. du Bosphor.*, Pl. 26, 1.

two types on the Arslan Kaya is early archaic, and a careful examination proves that they can hardly be later than the early part of the sixth century, and are probably earlier. But the lions of the Arslan Kaya are quite different in character from those of the Vetttersfeld ornaments.¹ The latter show the type of the lions on the tomb at Kumbet and on other later Phrygian monuments (see especially the single Vetttersfeld lion on Pl. iii. 1), whereas our lions are of a far grander type, bolder and finer in outline, more natural and life-like. This type is quite lost in the later monuments. Artistic considerations therefore force back the date of our monument to the seventh century. Now on historical grounds it is improbable that any very great monument in Phrygia belongs to the period 670—600. During this time we know that the Cimmerians overran the country, and that in Phrygia alone they achieved complete success, being finally expelled by Alyattes between 610 and 590. The Arslan Kaya is therefore earlier than 670, while on the other hand the presence of the inscription in characters, which as I have elsewhere shown were learned from the Greek colonists of Sinope, proves that the monument is later than 730.

The only trustworthy way of representing a monument like this is by photography, and I hope to be able soon to publish a photograph. But it would be almost necessary to publish a drawing along with a photograph, as it is so difficult to see every detail from one point of view. It seemed, however, advisable to make known a monument so important as this, even by the imperfect and insufficient medium of drawings, and trust to the future to supplement them by photographs. I knew that I should never be able to make better drawings than when inspired at first by the discovery of the monument, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether I should ever have the opportunity of taking a trained draughtsman to the place.²

The measurements were made, with Mr. Sterrett's help, by means of a rope thrown over the shoulder of the rock.

I do not at present intend to make any general remarks about the art of Phrygia. I will only say that each new monument

¹ Furtwängler, *l.c.*

² I am responsible for every curve and every other scientific detail: the

delicacy of the drawing is due to a more skilful hand than mine.

affords new and more striking resemblances to archaic Greek art. Hitherto no example was known in Phrygia of the composite animals, such as the sphinx and the gryphon. In Phrygian art we are not impressed as in Phœnician art with isolated points of resemblance to Greek amidst a general diversity of character. We see substantially the same race, affected by similar influences from the East, and producing works whose whole spirit and character have something of the true Greek feeling.¹

Amid the diversity in details, what a close resemblance in spirit is there between the Phrygian tale of Marsyas and the Greek tale of Orpheus! There is the same melancholy tone, the same devotion to music, the same close relation to an orgiastic worship, and finally a terrible death.

The question arises—what was the purpose of this monument? There is no appearance, no possibility of supposing that a grave ever existed in the chamber: but I feel convinced that the monument is sepulchral. In that case the actual grave was in the ground, and the monument is merely the tombstone, so to speak. In support of this view we must remember that almost all the many hundreds of rock monuments known in Phrygia, are obviously sepulchral. Moreover, I shall here place together some facts about Phrygian graves and sepulchral inscriptions which make it probable that even the doubtful rock-monuments are sepulchral, and which will throw some light on the ideas of death and the future world entertained by the persons who made those graves.

As almost all my arguments are drawn from inscriptions of the Roman period, it is necessary to state beforehand that I believe these late authorities may with proper caution be used as evidence for the true ancient beliefs of the Phrygian people.

A varnish of Graeco-Roman civilisation was spread over the country in the second and third centuries after Christ; western Phrygia was affected fifty to a hundred years earlier than the eastern country. Especially Hellenic mythology took the place of the native legends: I have given examples of the tendency to substitute Greek names and tales for the native Lydian or

¹ With the Phrygian use of the maeander pattern compare *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, Pl. ix., Figs. 2, 5.

Phrygian in this Journal, 1882, p. 64, 1883, p. 64. But the old religion continued unaffected in substance, though Hellenised in name, and customs sanctioned by religion, especially funeral usages, must have been very slow to alter. For example, in the valley of the river Tembris,¹ which runs along the western border of the district in which the old Phrygian monuments lie, the regular decoration of gravestones in the Roman period is the old heraldic type of the pair of lions facing each other in a pediment. Again, Moritz Schmidt rightly recognised in some barbarous formulas appended to Greek sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period, a curse in the native tongue against violators of the tomb. Why should this one part of the inscription be in the native tongue, and the rest in Greek? Either the belief was that the old Phrygian tongue was more holy, and more efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or the fact was that the Phrygian language was more generally intelligible than Greek. Either alternative shows the strength of the old native feeling in the country; in spite of Graeco-Roman dress and foreign language, the Phrygian character is not hidden.

Two kinds of sepulchral monument were commonly used in Phrygia in the Roman time. One is a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway. The doorposts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated: one or two knockers are usually carved on the door, and symbols referring to the ordinary life of the deceased person are often represented on the panels, a basket, a strigil, a mirror or something of the kind. The door is often surmounted by a pediment, triangular or semicircular, which is sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured. In the Tembris valley the sculptural decoration, as has just been stated, is almost always the ancient heraldic device—a pair of lions. The inscription is placed sometimes above the pediment, sometimes beneath it, rarely on the door itself. I have seen many hundred gravestones of this kind, in every part of Phrygia, in Galatia, and in Pisidia. This class of tombstone recalls to mind the ancient monuments in which a door is a prominent part.

¹ Tembris on a coin of Midaion, Pliny (*N.H.* vi. 1) and in an un-Thymbres in Livy, Tembrogius in published inscription.

The second kind of tombstone is equally common and widespread. It is a square pillar with very simple pedestal and capital. In many cases the epitaph on such a tombstone is expressed in the form—ὁ δεῖνα τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν. The regular name of the monument was therefore 'the Altar.' It is probable that several old Phrygian monuments, in which nothing is apparent except an altar with or without an inscription, are really sepulchral.

No. 1.¹

At Ishekly, the ancient Eumeneia, on a tombstone of the βωμὸς type in the modern cemetery :

ΘΥΡΑ

There has never been any other inscription.

No. 2.

At Eumeneia in the court of the Konak : on a tombstone similar to the last : on one side

ΖΩΤΙΚΟCΑΝΤ
ΩΝΙΑΘ ΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚ
ΙΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΜΝΗCΧ
ΑΡΙΝ

Ζωτικὸς Αντ-
ωνία τῇ [ιδ]ία γυναικ-
ὶ καὶ ἐαυτῷ μνή[μη]ς χ-
άριν.²

on another side

ΘΥΡΑ

No. 3.

At Eumeneia, in the modern cemetery, on a tombstone of form like the preceding : on one side

¹ Nos. 1 and 3 were copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company, No. 2 by me alone. ² The engraver has omitted two letters in line three.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕΑΥΤΗ	Ἰουλία εἰαυτῇ
ΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ	καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δα-
ΜΑΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑ	μᾶ καὶ Ἰουλια-
ΝΗΤΗΟΥΓΑΤΡΙ	νῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ
5 ΚΑΙΓΑΙΩΤΩΓΑΙ	καὶ Γαίῳ τῷ γα[μ-
ΡΩΚΑΙΣΕΒΗΡΕΙ	β]ρῷ καὶ Σεβηρεί-
ΝΗ ΗΟΥΓΑΙ	νῇ [τ]ῇ θυγα[τ-
ΡΙΜΝΗΜΗΧΑ	ρὶ μνήμης χά-
PIN ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣ	ριν. Εἰ δέ τις ἔ-
10 ΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΧΕΙ	τερον ἐπιχει-
ΡΗΣΕΙΘΙΝΑΙΤΙ	ρήσει θίναί τι-
ΝΑΘΗΣΕΙΙΣΤΟ	να, θήσει ἰς τό-
ΝΦΙΚΟΝΨΑΦ	ν φίσκον (δην.) αφ.

on the other side

ΘΥΡΑ

The second and third inscriptions probably belong to the first (or the beginning of the second) century after Christ: this date is gathered from the Latin names, Julia, Juliane, Antonia, &c. They belong therefore to a comparatively early time among the inscriptions of this district.

No. 4.

At Kara Hodja, a village in the Haimaneh, about an hour and a half south-east of the hot springs of Myrikion, now the Merkez of the Haimaneh,¹ in ancient Galatia. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself.

¹ Merkez in Turkish means 'head-quarters': the seat of government of the Haimaneh was established here two years ago, having previously been at the village of Sivri. There was no

village at the baths, till the spot was selected as the Merkez of the Haimaneh, and when we visited it, in 1883, there were only about fifteen new houses around the government offices.

ΕΤΟ Ε Μ ΝΟΣΞ
 ΑΙ ΔΙΚΟΥ
 ΟΣΓΕ/ ΪΟΥΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙ
 ΙΔΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΝΕΣΤΗ
 ΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΘΥΡΑ
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΝ
 ΧΝΗΛΗΕΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΣΤΑΤΙΛΙΑΣΩΣΑΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΥΣΑΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗΝ
 ΕΔΩΚΙΤΙΝΙΕΡΕΑΝΠ.
 ΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΙΨΕΛΛΙ ΔΥ
 ΟΑΡΓΥΡΑΚΛΙΜΗΑΠΟ
 ΔΙΔΗΟCΙΟΝΔΙΚΕΟΝ
 ΗΛΙΕΚΥΡΙΕΥΜΕΙCΕΚΑΙ
 ΚΗCΑΤΕΑΥΤΗΝΝΕΚΡΑΝ
 ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΖΩΝΤ

Like all the inscriptions which we found in the Haimaneh, this is merely scratched in a rude way on the stone: it is the work of an unskilful engraver and an uneducated writer. Graeco-Roman civilisation had not thoroughly established itself at Myrikion when the epitaph was composed, and the native customs of burial and worship of the Pessinuntine Cybele remained unaffected. It was exceedingly difficult to decipher the faint and ill-formed letters, and equally difficult to understand the meaning.

Ἔτο[υ]ς . . . , μ[η]νὸς Ξανδίκου [.]ος Γε[λλ]ίου Στατειλί[α] ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ ἀνέστη[σε τὸ]ν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν θύρα[ν] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.

Στατειλία ζῶσα [φ]ρονοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκ[έ] τιιν (?) ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]σινον καὶ ψέλλι[α] δύο ἀργυρᾶ, καὶ[ν?] μὴ ἀποδιδῆ, "Ὅσιον Δίκεον, "Ἡλιε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικήσατε τὴν νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].

"Ὅσιος Δίκαιος is a standing epithet of the deity in Anatolian inscriptions; here it appears to be used as a proper name, and, regardless of grammar, two deities are invoked to avenge the dead Statilia and her living children, if the pledge which she deposited with some unnamed person is not returned. ἡ πρᾶ-

σινος is an emerald : the word before it has not been deciphered : *προνοῦσα* is probably due to Galatian pronunciation. *ἔδωκε* is certainly the reading on the stone.

The four inscriptions published above are all engraved on simple *βωμοί*, yet in one case the monument is called *ὁ βωμὸς καὶ ἡ θύρα* : and in the others, the name *θύρα* is placed on the monument apart from the regular inscription, as if to specify a point that was not clear to the beholder.

The last inscription explains the others. The son of Gellius places the altar and the door for his dead wife. It appears then that according to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument, an altar and a door. When a plain altar was placed as a tombstone, it was sometimes thought necessary to add expressly the word 'Door.' Even where only the one name is given, we may understand that the fundamental idea was the same. The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death : the altar was the place on which the living placed the offerings due to the dead.

It is unnecessary to follow this idea through the elaborate funeral monuments with numerous parts, each called by a special name, which were often used by rich men. A sarcophagus is commonly used at Hierapolis and in Ionia and Lycia ; but the sarcophagus is only the receptacle in which the body is placed, and we often find the door and the altar indicated besides.

These two elements, the door and the altar, occur regularly in the early monuments. In many cases the altar indeed is not expressly carved in the rock ; but when the monument has the form of a temple or a shrine, the altar is an implied accompaniment. In other cases the rock-altar is the most important part of the whole monument.

Among the early monuments one class, of which the Midas-tomb or the Arslan Kaya is type, especially attracts our attention as being so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia : in it we see the door and the veil in front of the shrine. In one case alone the door is opened, and we are admitted to contemplate *τὰ ἑρὰ μυστήρια*. We see here, not a sarcophagus, no place or room for a dead human body, but the Mother-Goddess and her favourite animals.

May we not infer from this that the mere custody of the body was not the sole nor even the chief intention of the funeral monument in Phrygia? The intention is to show that the dead has returned to his divine mother. It is a similar idea when the Lydian chiefs and kings are buried on the shores of the Gygaean lake Coloe; and we know from Homer that the Maeonian chiefs are the sons of the lake or of the Naiad Nymph who bears them beside the lake.

The natural inference is that the Phrygian religion considered the dead as identified with the divine nature: the sepulchre of the dead was a monument or shrine of the Mother-Goddess. In that case the construction of a grave was an act of piety and of homage to the deity, with whom the dead person was identified. Can we find in inscriptions any test to prove or disprove this inference?

I shall give first an inscription, imperfectly published, C. I. G. No. 3810; the editor has wrongly altered the copies, accurate so far as they go, of Pococke and Kinneir.

No. 5.

Dorylaion, in the bridge over the Porsuk Tchai, the ancient Tembris: on a marble slab imitating the front of a temple or *heroon*. Copied by me.

MENANΔΙΟΥ ΠΩ	Μένανδ[ρος Ἰπ]πω-
ΝΟΟΚΑΙΑΜΕΙΑΣΤΕΙ	νος καὶ Ἀμείας Τεί-
ΜΩΝΙΘΡΕΠΤΩΚΑΙ	μωνι θρεπτῶ καὶ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	Ἀπολλώνιος
ΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΕΥΝ	καὶ Διονύσιος συν-
ΤΡΟΦΩΥΠΕΡΤΩΝ	τρόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν
ΙΔΙΩΝΔΙΙΒΡΟΝ	ιδίων Διὶ Βρον-
ῤΤΩΝΤΙΩ	τῶντι.

This inscription is, to judge from the nomenclature, probably not later than the first century after Christ. It has been engraved on the tombstone of Timon by his master and his mistress,

and by his fellow-slaves, Apollonius and Dionysius.¹ These four persons make the grave of the dead man, and consider this act as a homage to Zeus Bronton on behalf of their own family.

No. 6.

At Kara Bazar, on the road from Dorylaion to Nacoleia, on a marble *βωμός*. On the capital is carved a vine-branch with a bunch of grapes, and over the inscription is a wreath. Copied by me.

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣΚ-ΠΛΟΥ	Περσεὺς κὲ Πλού-
ΣΙΟΣΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΩ	σιος Φαίνιππω
ΠΑΤΡΙΚ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝΤΙ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶντι
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῇν.

This is the epitaph on a tomb erected by two sons for their parents. The sons consider that the act of erecting the tombstone is equivalent to discharging a vow to Zeus Bronton. To judge from the names the inscription is of a *comparatively* early time; but, as the district is one remote from civilising influences, it can hardly be earlier than the second century after Christ.

No. 7.

Near Kara Bazar, at the Devrent, on a *βωμός*: on the capital is carved a star, and over the inscription three bulls' heads. Copied by me.

ΑΥΡΔΙΟΔΩΡΟ	Αὐρ. Διόδωρο-
ΣΜΕΤΑΣΥΝΒΙ	ς μετὰ συνβί-
ΟΥΤΥΧΗΖΩΝ	ου Τύχη ζῶν-
ΤΕΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ	τες ἑαυτοῖς
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΕΥΧΗΝ	τι] εὐχῇν.

This inscription is placed over the grave which Diodoros and his wife prepared for themselves. They regard this act as the

¹ Menandros and his wife had therefore three *θεπτοί* or *θρέμματα*.

payment of a vow to Zeus Bronton. The inscription belongs to the third century after Christ.

On the analogy of these and similar inscriptions, which I need not quote here, it may be unhesitatingly maintained that a large number of dedications in the district round Nacoleia and Dorylaion, in which the sepulchral reference is not so explicit, are in reality gravestones. Of such inscriptions, published and unpublished, I know about a hundred. They are generally addressed to Zeus Bronton, or to Zeus Papas, or to Papas simply. Papas, as Arrian says, was the Bithynian name of Zeus; it occurs frequently in inscriptions of Nacoleia. The following is a specimen.

No. 8.

On a small stele of common stone found in a field near Nacoleia. I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently gravestones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΑ
ΒΙΣΠΑΠΑΕΥΧΗ
N

Οὐλπία Σά-
βις Παπαῖ εὐχῆ-
ν.

The other inscriptions from this field are similar in style: the field was doubtless a cemetery of the poorer classes.

In this Journal, 1882, p. 124, I spoke about Zeus Bronton or Papas, the god of Nacoleia. I have no alteration to make in the views there expressed, except to lay much greater stress on the Chthonian character of the god. Almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone. The area within which he is worshipped is a narrow one, including only the

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district between Nacoleia, Dorylaion, and Trocnada or Tricomia.¹ Outside of this district, I know only of three, one at Cotyaion, one at Ancyra of Galatia, and one in Rome erected by a Greek named Aur. Poplius. Poplius clearly belonged to this district of Phrygia, and went to Rome either as a visitor or a settler.²

The district in which Zeus Bronton was worshipped, lies along the east and north edge of the mountainous country in which the ancient Phrygian monuments are situated. On the west side of these mountains, we find that Zeus Bennisos is worshipped. Numerous inscriptions in his honour occur, and the important town of Bennisoa was named from his worship. A curious inscription in the Phrygian village of Serea shows what the people themselves thought of the relation between Zeus Bronton and Zeus Bennisos.

No. 10.

On a stele at Kuyujak, a village three hours north-west of Nacoleia; copied by Mr. Sterrett.

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ	Μάρκος
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκου
ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	Διὺ Βροντῶν-
ΤΙΚΑΙΒΕΝΝΕΙ	τι καὶ Βεννεῖ
ΣΕΡΕΑΝΩΤ	Σερεανῶ στ-
ΕΦΑΝΟΝ	ἐφανον.

¹ The word Tricomia shows that the country of the Trocnades or Trocmades, Rege-trocnada, contained three villages: the use of the word in an unpublished inscription from a different district is decisive as to the sense.

² The following is a memorial of the visit of another Nacoleian to Rome.

No. 9.

In the *tekke* of Seidi Ghazi, on a little slab of marble. It has been published unintelligibly by Mordtmann (*Sidi Ghazi und Nacoleia* in *Münch. Gel. Anz.*, 1861). Copied by me, and afterwards by Mr. Sterrett.

ΘΕΩ	ΥΨΙC	Θεῶ Ὑψίς-
ΤΩ	ΕΥ	τω εὐ-
XH	ΝΑΥ	χὴν Αὐ-
P-ΙΑΙ	ΟC	ρήλιος
ΑCΚΛ	ΑΠΩ	Ἀσκλάπω-
NHN	ΟΜΟ	ν, ἦν [ὦ]μο-
ΛΟΤΗC	ΕΝCΙ	λό[γ]ησεν ἐ[ν
ΡΩΜ	H	Ῥώμῃ.

Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side, and Papas or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.

The numerous inscriptions of which these are specimens show clearly that the making of a grave was regarded as the payment of a vow to the god of the district. I do not maintain that every stone in the district which records a vow of the god is sepulchral: *e.g.* the votive tablet of Aur. Asklaḡon, quoted above, has not the appearance of a gravestone. But the gravestones which I have seen in the district where Papas was worshipped, are, with scarcely an exception, inscribed in this style. One stone, which I believe to be sepulchral, explains the meaning of the custom.

No. 11.

On a marble cippus at Kutayah, in the possession of an Armenian stone-cutter who had brought it from Karagatch Euren, near Altıntash. Above the inscription there are carved in relief a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiated head of the sun-god. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company.

ΔΙΙ ΒΕΝΝΙΩ	Διὶ Βεννίῳ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΠΕΡ	Διογένους ὑπὲρ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΠΑΠΠΟΥ	Διογένους πάππου
ΚΑΙΚΑΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ	καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου
ΜΑΜΜΗΣΚΑΙΤΩΝ	μῆμης καὶ τῶν
ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ	κατοικούντων
ΕΝΙΣΚΟΜΗΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ	ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρω
ΣΕΝ	σεν.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΣΓΕΡΕΑΝΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσγερανὸς ἐποίηι.

This inscription belongs most probably to the second century after Christ. The reference to the inhabitants of the village is a specially common feature in inscriptions of this district; the name of the village seems to be Iskome. The artist is a native of Isgerea.

I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus. Diogenes might have expressed the epitaph in the formula, *πάππῳ καὶ μάρμῃ καὶ Διὶ Βεννίῳ*: the meaning would have been the same.

It is not always easy to determine in these inscriptions who is buried in the tomb. For example

No. 12.

On a stele similar to No. 8, and found in the same place. Copied by me.¹

ΔΑΔΑΚΑΝ	Δαδα Καν-
ΚΑΡΟΥΝΟΥΝΑ	καρου Νουνα-
ΔΟCΟΥΕΚΡΟΚ	δος Ούεκροκ-
ΩΜΗΤΙCΑ	ωμήτισσα
ΔΙΗΠΑΠΑ	Διὶ Παπᾶ
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῇ.

The names on this stele are so purely Phrygian that it is hard to tell how they are to be divided. Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had according to Phrygian custom, two names, and her native village was Vekrokome. It is impossible to determine whether she was burying one of her relatives or preparing her own last resting-place. The latter is more probable: more than half of the Phrygian epitaphs known to me include a provision for the burial of the erector.

In all the epitaphs which have been quoted, the dedication is to a god. The following is to the Mother-Goddess.

No. 13.

On a marble *βωμός* at Doghalar, a village two hours north of Altyntash, on the western edge of the Phrygian mountains. Defaced reliefs on the back and on one side of the altar. Copied by me.

¹ As I remarked above, this stone is quite certainly sepulchral.

ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΙ-Ε	Πατροκλῆς [Ἀπυλ-
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΜ-ΙΤ	λωνίου Μητ[ρὶ Θε-
ΩΝΖΙΝΓΟΤΙ-Ν-Κ	ῶν Ζινγοτηγῇ κ[ατ-
ΑΚΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΤΙ-ΕΘ	ὰ κέλευσιν τῆς Θ[ε-
5 ΑΣΥΠΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ	ἄς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ [κὲ τ-
ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΚ-ΤΕΚΩ	ῶν ἰδίων κὲ τῆς κώ-
Μ-ΕΖΙΝΓΟΤΟΕΕΩΤ	μης Ζίνγotos σωτη-
ΡΙΑΣΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝ	ρίας τὸν βωμὸν [ἀ-
ΝΕΕΤΕΕΝ ¹	νίστησεν.

I believe that this stone marks the grave which Patrokles intended to be occupied by himself and his family. He dedicates the spot to the Μητὴρ Θεῶν, just as the maker of the ancient tomb described in this paper made it a shrine of the Mother-Goddess.

The idea that the dead person has thrown off his own nature and become identified with a divine or heroic personage, can be traced in some rare cases in Greek inscriptions, while it apparently underlies certain classes of archaic sepulchral reliefs. I do not refer to cases where the dead man is worshipped as a hero, but where his personality is merged in that of an independently existing hero or god. Such is the explanation of a relief and inscription from Pergamon, now in my possession, which I described before the Archaeological Society in Berlin, February 5, 1884. The monument was interpreted, as I believe quite wrongly,² by Dr. Belger in the *Berl. Philol. Zft.* March 1st. The relief is of a common sepulchral type. The left and the centre are occupied by a horseman, turned to the right: the man has the reins in his left hand and with his right holds out a patera towards a serpent which drinks from it. The serpent is coiled round a tree in front of the horse. On the extreme right stands an adorant of the usual type. Beneath the relief is the inscription

ΛΝΙΟΥΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣΑΘΗ
ΟΥΗΡΩΙΠΕΡΓΑΜΩ³

¹ In 5 ΠΕ, in 6 ΤΗΕ, in 7 ΤΗ
lité.

² As a votive relief belonging to a shrine of the Hero Pergamos.

³ It is probable, but not certain, that the *iota adscriptum* was expressed in Γεργάμφ. The name Ἀσκαλᾶς is of course supplied merely *exempli gratia*,

'*Ἀσκληᾶς*? '*Ἀπολλ]ωνίου νεωκόρος* '*Ἀθη[νᾶς Νικηφόρ]ου* "*Ἡρωι Περγάμῳ*. Another method of supplying the gap was suggested by Dr. M. Fränkel, but it does not seem to me satisfactory: '*Ἀσκληᾶς*? '*Ἀπολλ]ωνίου νεωκόρος* '*Ἀθη[ναίῳ Νικαί ?]ου* "*Ἡρωι Περγάμῳ*. The person to whom the grave belongs is treated as identified with the eponymous hero of the city, and his original name is not mentioned.¹ The relief belongs probably to the latter part of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.²

A similar case occurs in the Sabouroff Collection, and has been correctly interpreted by Dr. Furtwängler (Pl. xxix.: *Κ]αλλιτέλης* '*Ἀλεξιμάχῳ ἀνέθηκεν*), who expresses the doubt whether Aleximachos is the original name of the deceased or a new heroic name.

W. M. RAMSAY.

as being nearly of the length required for the gap. The first line ends with H.

relief seems otherwise the same as that given here.

² A came into use quite as early as

¹ Dr. Fränkel's interpretation of the

200 B.C.