

## THE TEKMOREIAN GUEST-FRIENDS.

IN a former article on the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends<sup>1</sup> many difficult problems were stated relating to (1) the organization of the Imperial estates which originally were the property of the God Mên at Antioch-towards-Pisidia, and (2) the constitution and character of the Association of Tekmoreioi; and a partial solution of them was proposed. That Saghir was likely to be the best point for excavation and discovery of additional documents was pointed out on p. 350. In 1911 we camped at Kökuler for three nights, as this was the nearest point to Saghir to which waggons could reach.<sup>2</sup> We spent the two intervening days in visits to Saghir; but, as nearly three hours were needed in going and two hours in returning on each day, the actual time in Saghir was very inadequate. On the third day we visited Gondane, and went on towards Oinan-Ova across the mountains. In Saghir we found a score of inscriptions, mostly small fragments, and revised one or two of those already published: this was certainly the chief centre of the Tekmoreian Association. In Gondane we found one new inscription. The need for longer study is as great as ever. That Gondane should be a sort of secondary centre for the Association is probably due to the fact that it lay on the great road from Apollonia and the west to Antioch and the east, whereas Saghir was remote and high on the slopes of Sultan-Dagh.

(1) As to the organization of the Imperial Estates we have no new information. This is of less consequence, as the suggestions already made in that paper have been approved by Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des Kolonates*, 1910, pp. 298 ff. (especially 301).

In this department only the reading of the small inscription of Karbokome (*Studies*, p. 309) has been improved. This was copied by me first in 1905, revised by Mr. Calder and myself in 1907, and again by us all in 1911. As already stated the letters are in several places worn and difficult; and the difficulty is complicated by the ungrammatical character of the composition. The inference already drawn that the *procurator* and *actor* of the Emperor acted in ordinary regular course as priests of the local cult, ruling the native population on the Estates under the old religious form,

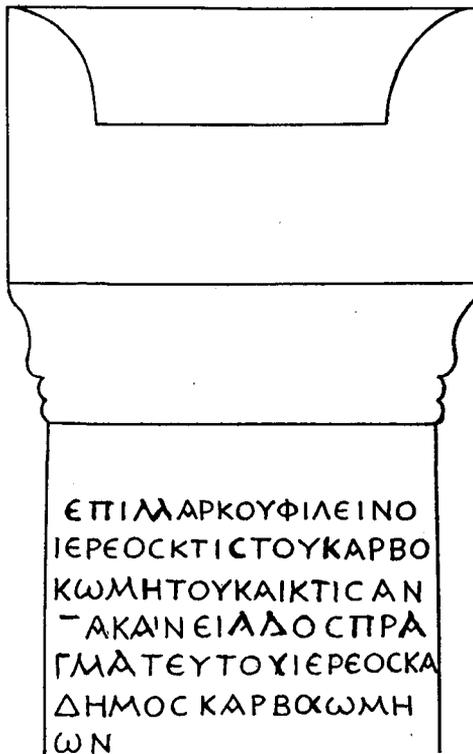
---

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 305 to 378. The inscriptions in that article are quoted as Q 1 etc. (Q = Quatercentenary Publication, Aberdeen).

<sup>2</sup> Waggons can go to Saghir empty, but not with any load.

is only confirmed by the improved text. The inscription does not mention that the *actor* was slave of Caesar, nor does it state that the eponymous official was *procurator* of the Emperor; but the circumstances leave no doubt on this point (which was also the case on the Ormelian Estates), and my theory has been accepted by Rostowzew, *loc. cit.* p. 301.

It is an extremely important point, never previously observed on any Anatolian Imperial Estates, that the administration was conducted under this form. It implies that the old relation of the tenants to the God was maintained in Imperial times to the Lord Emperor.<sup>3</sup> These tenants were his property, not actually as slaves, but in a status which naturally developed



ἐπὶ Μάρκου Φιλείνου  
 ἱερέος κτίστου Καρβο-  
 κωμήτου καὶ κτίσαν-  
 τ]α καὶ Νειᾶδος (?) πρα-  
 γματευτοῦ ἱερέος κα[ὶ  
 δῆμος Καρβοκωμη[τ-  
 ῶν

FIG. 1.

into the later Colonate; and the general situation was as described in my previous paper. The Estates were divided among *κῶμαι*. Each *κῶμη* had its lot of lands, and its resident *plebs* (*λαοί* or *ὄχλος*), who cultivated it and probably paid rent to the Lord Emperor through his *procurator* and *actor* priests. The allusions to *μισθωταί* (which were restored conjecturally) now disappear from the texts. Perhaps the non-existence of any revenue-

<sup>3</sup> [Κυρί]ου Σεβ[αστοῦ], Κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων, Δεῖ Κυρίφ. The Ormelian priests were of native

families (ἐκ γένους), succeeding by some unknown rule.

farmers,<sup>4</sup> owing to direct relation of the tenants to the official priests, furnishes the simplest explanation of the failure of *μισθωταί* here, whereas they are so often mentioned on the Ormelian Estates, and the presence of one is the sole evidence that Imperial Estates existed in Oinan-Ova (*Studies*, p. 311).

The text is worth repetition with an epigraphic copy. The wearing of the stone has broadened the lines of the letters so that they are hard to trace with certainty. Λ, Δ, and Α can hardly be distinguished from one another.

There is no difference between the three epigraphic copies except in l. 4.<sup>5</sup> After ΚΑ all mark an iota very slightly and doubtfully. After ΝΕΙ 1905 has Λ and Δ (incomplete in the lowest line): the others have ΑΔ or ΛΔ. At the end 1905 places Γ, which belongs to l. 5. In 5 all agree in ΤΟC as most probable;<sup>6</sup> but 1911 gives ΤΟΥ as possible. The text still remains uncertain and unsatisfactory: probably the engraver blundered, and the composer knew little Greek.

The name *Κανειᾶδος* is unendurable: perhaps read *καὶ Νει(κ)ᾶδος*, assuming that the engraver has dropped a letter Κ, and that ι after ΚΑ was intentional. The suggested *Νεῖλλος* and [γ]ερεός in Q 1 are impossible.

(2) As to the character of the Tekmoreioi the new inscriptions make a distinct step forwards, and permit some improvement in the published texts. The Association was clearly a religious one, as soothsayers (*χρησμοδοταί*) are mentioned in one of the new texts; and in Miss Hardie's article above it is conclusively proved that the act called *τεκμορεῖν* (an incorrectly formed, and therefore artificial verb) had an expiatory character. Apart from the *βραβευταί*, whose Anatolian village character was discussed in *Studies*, p. 312, and the *ἀναγραφεὺς*, who was also probably a village official,<sup>7</sup> the chief or president of the Association was called *πρωτανακλίτης*. The name is now restored with certainty in Q 1 and Q 17 and occurs frequently in the new texts. It seems to mean 'he who reclines first at table.' The ordinary classical terms for 'taking one's place at table' are *κατα-*, *παρα-*, *συγκατακλίεσθαι*. I find no example of *ἀνακλίεσθαι* used in this sense, except in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>8</sup> We must of course understand that *ἀνακλίεσθαι* was used in the Gospels as being the common term in Palestinian Greek-speaking society:<sup>9</sup> are we then to understand that the same term was

<sup>4</sup> These *publicani* under the Empire were of totally different character from those of Republican times; and all comparisons between them ought to disappear from commentaries and works on New Testament times: their true character has been shown by Rostowzew, *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Staatspacht* and after him by Ramsay in *Hastings' Dict. Bib.* v. p. 394 b.

<sup>5</sup> In *Studies*, p. 309, I say that ΚΤΙCΑΝ in 3 is uncertain. These letters are quite clear, yet give a hopeless reading: Calder notes that all six letters are certain.

<sup>6</sup> 1905 corrects THC to TOC: as the

letters became blurred and broad, C was evolved out of Υ.

<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 67, regards Anagrapheus and Bra-beutai as officers of the Association.

<sup>8</sup> Luke uses also *κατακλίεσθαι*. All four Gospels and Septuagint use also *ἀναπίπτειν*. *ἀνά* has the distributive sense in these compounds.

<sup>9</sup> I put this in a rough fashion, implying no definite opinion as to local usage. The term *ἀνακλίεσθαι* has not yet been found in Egyptian papyri; but perhaps the idea does not occur.

employed also in the Greek spoken in the Antiochian region? Whether or not that be so, the following hypothesis, in accordance with my previously stated views on the character of the Association, may be here advanced.

The title given to the leader implies that a common meal was a prominent feature in the ritual of the Association. Such a meal, however, was a feature of many (probably of all) such religious societies in the ancient Greek world: the meal followed a sacrifice to the deity in whose worship the society met. The occurrence of an official cook<sup>10</sup> in some societies perhaps shows an appreciation of the material enjoyment of the meal; but in origin, doubtless, the Mageiros had a religious significance; and it may be doubted whether his duties were more than ritualistic. Similarly the Protanaklites must have been, in the Tekmoreian ritual, a figure of outstanding importance. The head of the Association was so called, because some impressive ritual duty was connected with his taking the first place at the sacred meal. The analogy with the Christian Eucharist is striking, and it has already been pointed out that in the pagan reaction and revival the imitation of Christian words and terms and rites was a typical feature.<sup>11</sup> I venture then to conjecture that the leader of the Tekmoreian Association (which I have already supposed to be anti-Christian), as his most characteristic duty, had to preside at a ritual meal which to some extent rivalled the Eucharist.<sup>12</sup>

2=Q 2. The superscription stating the object to which the money subscribed was devoted was printed correctly: the conjecture Σεβ was confirmed: for the conjectural τοῦ Κυρίου perhaps the name of the deity should be read, as Miss Hardie suggests.

The opening lines of the main inscription, which have been in great part lost by fracture of the stone, can now be improved. The first line (numbered 4) ended ΕΙΤΩΔΙΠΥ. This excludes my first restoration on p. 319, but leaves a wide field for conjecture, and the direction indicated on p. 349<sup>13</sup> is most probable.

ἐτεκμόρευσαν? σ]εῖτω διπύ-  
 ρω ἐπὶ ἀναγραφ]έως Ἀύρ-  
 ηλίου Δημητρίου? Ὀνη]σίμου  
 Κτιμ]ευ[ην]οῦ, ἐπὶ [πρω]τα-  
 νακλί]του Ἀύρ. Παπᾶς<sup>14</sup> Μεννέου τῷ? [κὲ?  
 Φρονίμου Καρμηνοῦ δόντ[ος δην. . . .  
 κ(ἐ) ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν two in number.

<sup>10</sup> Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 41, 65.

<sup>11</sup> Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* viii., ix. 3-9; Lactantius, *M.P.* 36, 37. Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, Art. iv., quotes many illustrations from inscriptions: see also *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 567.

<sup>12</sup> Sacraments, at any rate baptism, were Mithraic.

<sup>13</sup> This view that the rite was performed with twice-fired bread, διπύρρα, has been pro-

posed by Mr. A. J. Reinach (not observing my suggestion of it as possible on p. 349, though neither of us has made a restoration in accordance with this idea). His excellent paper is used in the sequel.

<sup>14</sup> Παπᾶς either bad grammar (like δόντος with nominative nouns, and other solecisms), or due to remembrance of a Phrygian genitive. Τυ[ιτηνοῦ καί] with a second name is too long. Yet τῷ for τοῦ is a unique misspelling.

The restoration of the exordium of the main inscription, if it could be assured, would go far to resolve the difficulty as to the Tekmoreian Association. [σ]είτω διπύ[ρω] seems certain, since the additional letters read in 1911 have antiquated my former guess [έν] τῶ διπύ[λω]. There seems to be no other possible word. The convincing paper by Monsieur A. J. Reinach on *Pain Galate* and the discoveries of 1911 remove the difficulty that I expressed in *Studies*, p. 349:<sup>15</sup> 'the twice-fired bread,' about which I there hesitated, now stands almost complete in the text. The Protanaklites, probably, gave the bread to *mystai* at the ritual meal.

A verb is needed before [σ]είτω. The restoration which I retain follows the form of which examples are quoted in *Studies* p. 346. Perhaps one should prefer a verb which along with σείτω διπύρω would be equivalent to ἐτεκμόρευσαν, but the ritual term is not out of place at the opening. I omit ὄδε (which analogy, p. 346, calls for), and suppose that the following names serve as nominatives to the verb at the beginning: the line seems to have been short (though the arrangement is irregular in this inscription). The conjectural restoration of Demetrius in l. 9 becomes now less convincing, as being too short; and I have therefore written Αὔρηλιου in full.

Monsieur A. J. Reinach has illustrated the importance of the bread in ritual; and his conclusion as regards the Tekmoreioi seems now established: *la communion par le dipyron paraît donc comme l'acte essentiel par lequel on devient Tekmoreios: le tekmor ne serait pas autre chose qu'une formule d'initiation* (p. 231). He quotes the case of the Montanist sect Artotyritae, who celebrated the Eucharist with bread and cheese, without wine (which was symbolical of blood).

The ritual meal was, as we have seen, the central ceremony, according to wide-spread custom, of a pagan Society; and at this meal evidently the Protanaklites played his part, in which probably the giving of the *dipyros* (instead of ordinary bread) to the new *mystes* was included. Whether all the *mystai* who took part in the ritual meal also partook of the *dipyros*, or only the new initiate, cannot yet be determined; but analogy points to the view that the eating of this special kind of bread was characteristic of the cult and common to all the *mystai*. That was the old pagan ritual. The transformation of this ceremony into a test and an initiation (perhaps by the addition of a confession or oath or some other accompaniment) probably belongs to the late reorganization of the society in the third century. Q. 9 is the only list which seems to be older than A.D. 212; and in it there is no Protanaklites, and the ritual element is not prominent, because the pagan revival had not yet begun when the list was engraved. The

<sup>15</sup> Reinach in *Revue Celtique*, 1907, pp. 225 f. The thought of διπύ[ρω] occurred to me too late for the text p. 319, when that sheet was already on the machine; I could only add the reference in the note to p. 349, where I have mentioned this possibility, quoting some evidence that

ordinary bread was avoided in the Phrygian ritual, but confessing inability 'to see how the sign could be exhibited by means of the twice-fired bread.' It is, however, now easy to see how well this adapts itself to the newly discovered Protanaklites.

religious Society existed throughout the Roman period, as the basis of the organization of the Estates.

Monsieur A. J. Reinach is sceptical about these lists having any connexion with Imperial Estates. Apparently he has not studied the history of the Anatolian Estates; and does not recognize them. Rostowzew, who knows those Estates, recognizes at a glance the character of the documents.

Monsieur Reinach is probably right that the use of *pain Galate* in the Tekmoreian ritual was due to the Gaulish custom of using bread twice-fired, which after being lightly cooked was reduced by trituration to a kind of flour, and then a second time prepared and baked (pp. 230 f.). This custom confirmed and agreed with the Phrygian ritual usage, which forbade leavened bread as part of the food of priests: such is the probable meaning of the prohibition, as M. Reinach proves at some length (p. 226), and as I have assumed without argument (*Studies*, p. 349).<sup>16</sup> The extension of Gaulish custom is a proof of the reality of Galatian influence in South Galatia, in the district called in Acts xvi. 6 ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα. If, now, we had reason to think that opposition to the native and the Jewish, and perhaps the Montanist, custom caused the orthodox Christians to prefer leavened bread in the Eucharist, the insistence on unleavened bread in the Tekmoreian ritual feast would have constituted in itself a test of orthodox Christian constancy.

That the 'Orthodox' Church at that time disapproved of the celebration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread is highly probable, and almost certain. On this matter I am deeply indebted to Mr. Brightman. All the Eastern Churches except the Armenian use leavened, and abhor unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The Western Church uses unleavened bread, but this is probably an innovation of much later date than the Tekmoreian inscriptions. Our theory would furnish a good cause in history for the abhorrence felt in the East. According to the view stated by the present writer in a series of articles in the *Expository Times*, 1910, the Eucharistic rite might originally accompany any meal, if other conditions were suitable, and in that case either kind of bread would serve equally well, but leavened bread would be in practice much commoner. A preference might thus arise, which was strengthened by another cause. The Ebionites celebrated their annual Eucharist with unleavened bread (Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXX. 16)—no doubt as a Christian substitute for the Passover—and two inscriptions of Hierapolis in Phrygia (if my belief that they are Jewish-Christian is correct, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* II. p. 545 f.) show that in Phrygia during the third century Jewish Christians celebrated the annual Easter Eucharist with unleavened bread; but in Humann-Judeich *Hierapolis*, p. 142, those inscriptions are regarded as Jewish. My hypothesis is that the Ebionite usage goes back to the first century, and that the non-Jewish Churches developed in opposition a preference for leavened bread, which was intensified as time passed.

---

<sup>16</sup> The Christian authorities say that the priests ate no bread.

An objection to the view that *τεκμορεύειν* had some connexion with the Imperial religion (stated in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 297, in a detailed and suggestive review of the *Studies*) leads to a clearer conception of the act and its nature. The reviewer, R. Laqueur, agrees with me that *τεκμορεύειν* denotes *eine Kultus-handlung irgend welcher Art*; but denies any Imperial significance, *weil viele dann die Tatsache, dass nur ein einziger in einer grossen Namenreihe doppelt 'bezeugt' hätte (δὲς τεκμορεύσας) nicht erklären lässt.*<sup>17</sup> That causes quite as great difficulty, if the act had a ritual significance only in the old Phrygian cultus. I take it that there are only the two alternatives open to the reviewer and to me, who accept the theory of ritual significance: (1) the act belongs to the old religion, (2) it has a certain relation to the *Kaisererkultus*. But the reviewer seems, if I rightly understand him, to assume that (2) excludes (1). This is not so. The old religion and the Imperial cult were combined. The Estates had been administered by the Imperial Procurator as priest maintaining the old form of rule. Thus the Estates were managed without any violent change, and the cultivators continued to be organized under the form of a religious society (as has been already indicated) similar to their former system. The immense power and influence of the Anatolian *hiera* are illustrated by the great inscription which the Americans found on the wall of the temple at Sardis relating to this matter of landed estates; and it is probable that the *κατορπασταί* known from a remarkable inscription published by Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 6 f., and commented on by M. Reinach *loc. cit.*, were a society of cultivators of a Sardian temple-property which had passed into Imperial possession. The Emperors seldom interfered with the temple-system, but adapted it to their own purposes, for the Imperial god was generally identified with the god of the district. The old ritual forms were well suited to be used in the last struggle of the Empire and paganism combined against the new faith. The old custom of the twice-fired bread was used as a Tekmor or test of religion and loyalty: only the testing purpose was new, while the form was old. That the test was usually applied only once (in two cases twice) presents no difficulty. A single test was ordinarily sufficient: all who passed it showed themselves good pagans and acquired merit, whether suspected of Christianity or not.

That there may have been a kind of Tekmoreian sacrament is probably a sign of Mithraism (note 12). The influence of Mithras-worship in Asia Minor is little known. The baptism of this ritual seemed to rival the Christian sacrament; and, though Mithraism is not recorded to have played a part in the pagan revival under Maximin, the Tekmoreian rites, as described here and below, perhaps show that the Mithraic ritual was mixed up at Antioch with the anti-Christian movement. A monument of Mithraic initiation from a military station on the west Cappadocian frontier is published in my *Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey*, pp. 214-222.

I add some remarks on the text, derived from a revision of some points.

<sup>17</sup> A second case is now known: Miss Hardie's paper, No. 2.

In 33 note confirmed. 38, ΔΑΡΗΝΟΥC of all copies confirmed: P is confirmed by No. 26 below. 48, there is room for Απολ in the gap. 52, CEIH perhaps rightly, but H and N are sometimes indistinguishable. 65, MEIN: probably ligature of I and N has been omitted by engraver's slip. 72, ΟΙΤΩΝ probable. 86, ΟΥΛΛΕ certain, *i.e.* Ούαλελιανός, an interesting local pronunciation: the name was liable to alteration in East Phrygia and Lycaonia, where Ούαρελιανός occurs often. 82, Αύρ. Αύξάνων Ζωτικού. 104, Θ now blurred. On 57 see No. 20.

4 = Q 4, 28. On 'Ανδιηρός see note on 21 below.

7 = Q 7 (R. 1886, 1911). 3, ]ηρός. 6, for II read N: restore 'Ηλ]ιανείτης as in No. 26, 9. 9, a line is omitted: read [P]οκηρός: then l. 10 is [Iο]υλιεύς (9 in *Studies*), and so on. This is perhaps part of one side of the large *bomos* described as No. 27.

8 = Q 8. In l. 6 read [έν] 'Ορκοις, as proved by a fragment found in 1911. In l. 7 read [χα]λκείτη[s]: see note on 17 below.

9 = Q 9 (R. 1886, R. and C. 1911). The new copy added a line, ΤΟΥΞΛΕ at the top of column B, and gave in B 5 (formerly B 4) ΠΑΠΑC ΜΑ,<sup>18</sup> in B 6 ΜΟΥΚΑΡ. In A 9 the reading is ΑΠΟΥ . . . ΟΥ (possibly ΑΜΟΥ): in A 10 ΚΥΑ or ΚΡΑ, and the gap is larger.

The stone is on the inside of a garden-wall on the right as one enters the village from south. It is turned upside down, and the lettering is rude and sometimes uncertain. The inscription is in two columns, A and B, separated by two bull's heads, from whose horns a wreath is suspended between them. Column B only completes A, and is not independent. T occurs both at end of A 1 and in B 1. Hence the text results.

A 1 and B 1-4 ἐπὶ ἀναγραφῆως Ζ]ωτ[ι]κοῦ 'Αρτέμωνος Βοαλιανοῦ  
(τ)τοῦ 'Αλ[ε]ξάνδρου β' Δασοκωμήτου.

A 2 Μενεκλῆς Μειλάτμεος confirmed.

A 10 Perhaps Κυαδρηρός rather than Κραδρηρός.

After A 12 add B 5-6 Παπᾶς Μαξίμου Καρ[μη]νός.

12 = Q 12 (St. 1885, R. 1886, R. and H. 1911). We had the stone taken out of a garden-wall, and thus uncovered a number of lines, which were hitherto concealed and uncopyied. Miss Hardie and I worked at lines 8 ff. in a hot afternoon under a blazing sun, after a fatiguing forenoon's work. We had little mental energy left for the task; the stone was in an awkward position, and the letters are so worn, that we at last abandoned the task in despair. It was only on the following day that the word *πρωτανακλίτης* was discovered, which clears up A 8. The stone ought to be tried once more before it is completely published; but we have made it intelligible.

<sup>18</sup> Sterrett prints in his epigraphic copy ΠΑΠΑΜΑ. My notebook of 1886 gives the text correctly (as in 1911); but presumably

I accidentally omitted the C in the copy which I sent him; and thus Παπᾶ appears in his text and hence in Q 9.

The inscription is in the usual form. It first states the object of the dedication by the Xenoi Tekmoreioi. Then it states the date by naming the Secretary 5-6, the Protanaklites 8, and the Brabeutai 11.

A	B
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Κυ]ρίων τύχης καὶ [ν- εί]κης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς	ἐ]π- ἀνα-
καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου	γράφε-
σωτηρίας ἀνέστησαν Ξένοι	ως Αὐ]ρ.
5 Τεκμορεῖοι Τύχην χάλκεον ἐπ[ί] ἀν]αγραφῆος Αὐρ. Παπᾶ δις Ἀστ[ or Λε[τ]	οπτ-
δ]οῦς ἐπίδοσιν δην. γφά	μο[υ
ἐ]πὶ [πρω]τανα<υ>κλίτ[ου] Μεννεᾶδ[ ος σ[ ]ο[ν]ος Κεν[υ]άτου [δην?	Δι]ογ[έ- ν]ους
10 Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Ζωτικοῦ Διοφάνους Πτα δ]όντος ἐπίδοσ[ιν]. ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν	[γιανοῦ]
Α]ύ. Ἀλεξάνδρ[ο]υ Αἰπ[ολο?]νιάτ[ου δην.. ε- καὶ Αὐρ. Μαξιμιανοῦ Ναξιου(?) Ταλ[ι- με]τηνοῦ καὶ Μάρκου [Ἰ]μενος Πε-	δην.
15 σκε]νιάτου, Αὐρ. Δάμας Τιμοθέου Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ<ς> Ἀρασιζεύς	

On B, an adjoining face of the stone, only a few letters are engraved. In A there remain a good many lines which might probably be read with time and patience, if the stone were put in a good position. Part of the dating in A seems to be corrected in B by the addition of a second ἀναγραφῆος (perhaps Ὀπτιμου Διογένους). In B lower down ὦν seems to complete βραβευτ in A. Similarly in the following lines.

15 = Q 15, 1. Probably read ἐν Μ]άνδρῳ: there is not room for Ὀλιμαναρῷ. See also Q 11 and Q 21 (below).

17 = Q 17. The first line may perhaps be part of a statement of the use to which the subscribed money was applied.

[Τεκμορεῖοι ἐποίησαν . . . χακ[ώ]ματα  
ἐπὶ] ἀναγραφῆος Αὐ]ρ.  
Μην]οδώρου Λουκεί[ο]υ βουλευτοῦ  
Ἄντ]ιοχέως δόντο[ς δην. [  
5 ἐπὶ] πρωτανακλίτου Ἐρμ[  
Ζ]ωτικοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμοῦ Γλί[κων]ος Συναδεύ[ς]<sup>19</sup>

Then follow names in nom. with sums of denarii.

14 ἐ]πὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐ. Ἀλκίμου Ἀλκίμου Παπαηοῦ δην. υκ'  
καὶ Ἀππᾶ Γαίου Λαπιστηρηνοῦ δην. σβ'.

<sup>19</sup> The inflexion of nouns in -εύς troubled the composer seriously: he uses -έος and -έως in nom., -έως in gen.

Then follow other names in nom. with sums of denarii.

χακώματα, i.e. χαλκώματα (compare Q 2, 3). Perhaps καχείτης for καλχ., i.e. χαλκείτης, should be read in 21, 5, below, a trade name equivalent to χαλκεύς, though not elsewhere found. In Q 13 χάλχωμα occurs. In Q 8, 7 [χα]λκείτη[s] seems certain: in 27 A, 16 it is written in full. [This spelling seems to point to a suppressing of the *l* sound as in Eng. pronunciation of *chalk*. G. F. H.]

19 = Q 19, 1. Perhaps ἄγα]λμ[α, part of a statement of objects made.

20. The fragment Q 20 (St. 1885, R. 1886) should be placed on the right of this fragment copied by me in 1911, leaving only a gap of a few letters between them.

A	B (Q 20)
ΕΥΤΩΝΙ	ΙΑΛΟΥΧΑΡ
ΛΙΟΥΣΥΝΝΑΔ	ΟΙΚΩΝΕΝΤΙ / Ο
ΖΩΝΑ ΚΑΙΑΥ	ΛΟΓΕΝΟΥΕΡ / 'ΑΝ
ΜΙΔΟΣΚΑΡΒΟΙ	ΗΤΟΥΔΟΝΤ / ΕΩΣΔ
Ρ'ΚΑΡΙΚΟΣΔΕΞΙΑΔ	ΚΙΝΝΑΒΟΡΕΥ / ΟΣΧΥΟC
Ρ'ΘΕΜΙCΩΝΧΑΡΙΤΙ	ΝΟCCOΥΡΒΙΑΝ / ΟCΧΩΑ
ΥΡ'CΩΚΡΑΤΗCΖΩ	ΙΚΟΥΒΑΤΤΕ / ΑΝΟCΧΩΑ
ΥΡ'ΑΠΠΑΣΚΟΙΝΤΟΥ	ΙΑΡCΙΑΝΟC / ΧΩΚΕ
ΑΥΡ'ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΝΤΗ	ΟCΚΙΝΝΑΒΟ / ΕΥCΧΩΑ
ΥΡ'ΑΠΠΑCΒ'CΥΝΝΑΔΕΥC	ΕΝΑΛΓΙΖ / ΟΙCΧΩΑ
ΑΥΡ'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟCΖΩC	ΛΙΑΝΟC / ΧΨΝΑ
ΑΥΡ'ΠΑΠΑCΒ'CΥΝΝΑΔC	ΝΟCΩ / ΧΨΝΑ
ΥΡ'ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗCΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ	
Ρ'ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟCΒ'CΥΙ	
ΥΡ'ΕΡΜΗCΚΑΡΙΚΟΥΙΟΥ	
ΥΡ'ΔΕΞΙΑΔΗCΑΓΑΘ	
ΥΡ'ΖΩΤΙΚΟCΑΝΤ	
ΥΡ'ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟCCOY	
CΩΚΡΑΤΗCΜΑΖΙ	
Α'ΛΗΠΙΑΔΗC	
" ^	

FIG. 2.

- ἐπὶ βραβ]ευτῶν [Αὐρ. Ἄττ]άλου Χαρίτων]ο[ς  
 Κορνη?]λίου Συνναδ[εὺς] οἰκῶν ἐν Πι[λιγ]άν[ω]  
 δούς \*]ωνά καὶ Αὐ[ρ. Ἐρμ]ογένου Ἐρμέως Δ-  
 ιοθέ[?]μιδος Καρβο[κωμ]ήτου δόντος \* ψοέ'
- 5 Αὐ[ρ. Καρικὸς Δεξιὰδ[ου] Κινναβορεὺς \* κω'  
 Αὐ[ρ. Θεμίσων Χαρίτ[ω]νος Σουρβιανὸς \* ωά'  
 Α]ὐρ. Σωκράτης Ζω[τι]κοῦ Βαττεανὸς \* ωά'  
 Α]ὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Κοῖντο[υ Μ]αρσιανὸς \* κωέ'  
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Ἀντή[νο]ρος Κινναβορεὺς \* ωά'
- 10 Α]ὐρ. Ἀππᾶς β' Συνναδε[ύς] ἐν Ἀλγυζ[έ]οις \* ωά'  
 Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Ζωσ[ίμου Α]ϊανὸς \* ψνα  
 Αὐρ. Παπᾶς β' Συνναδ[εὺς ἐν] Νόσφ \* ψνα  
 Α]ὐρ. Διογένης Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου]  
 Αὐ[ρ. Μηνόδορος β' Συ]νναδεύς

- 15 Α]ύρ. Ἐρμῆς Καρικοῦ Ἴου[λιεύς  
 Α]ύρ. Δεξιιάδης Ἀγάθ[ωνος ?  
 Α]ύρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἀντ[ιόχου  
 Α]ύρ. Ἀντ[ιόχος Σού]σου ?  
 Α]ύρ.] Σωκράτης Μαξί[μου  
 Α]ύρ.] Ἀ[σκ]ληπιάδης

In 3-4, Δ[ ]μῖδος cannot be a long word: Δ[ιοθέ]μῖδος would suit in length, if it were known elsewhere.

As to comparative date, the following may be noted: 5, Karikos is brother of Antenor, son of Dexiades (Kinnaborion), Q 16, 15; Q 15, 17. 9, Artemon, son of Antenor, is grandson of Dexiades (Kinnaborion), Q 16, 15, and Q 15, 17. 15, Hermes, son of Karikos, is perhaps brother of Julius (Iulia), Q 15, 22, and Q 16, 21. 7, Zotikos, father of Sokrates here, is son of Orestes in No. 27 (Battea).

Accordingly this list is later by a (short) generation than Q 15 and Q 16 (which were proved in *Studies*, p. 300, to be early), and it is later by a generation than the fragmentary No. 27. So far as shape and arrangement go, this present list seemed to be possibly a part of No. 27; yet the chronological evidence is against this, and 27 goes with 15 and 16. The only possible way of fitting 27 to those two is to suppose that 27, 1 completes 16, 60, a very slender thread of union.

L. 11. Λιανός (read by Sterrett in 1885, but broken before I saw the stone in 1886) is probably the same name as ΛΙΑΗΝΟΣ in Q 2, 57. In 1882 I noted in margin that this was the probable reading: in 1911 Calder and I agreed that ΛΙΑΗΝΟΣ<sup>e</sup> was probable (initial not certain). In 1886 I thought that Ι was *liée* with the following Α, and hence printed Ἀμαμηνός in Q 2. The true text seems to be either Λιαηνός or Αλιαηνός, probably the latter. There is no room for [Βαρουκ]λιανός.

L. 12. There is not room in the gap for οἰκῶν ἐν, but e.g. ἐν Κνόςφω or Ἀνόςφω, involving loss of one letter, is possible.

L. 21 = Q 21 (St. 1885, R. and C., separately, 1911). The older copy is far from complete in ll. 1, 2. The stone is top part of the basis of a statue, perhaps.

- Α]ύρ. Ἀρτέμων Καρικοῦ Ἡμεραί(ου) Ὀλμ[ι]αν[ός] δην. υ[ ]  
 Α]ύρ. Γάϊος Μενάνδρου Ἀνδρηνός δην. [ ]  
 Α]ύρ. Εἰρηνέος Ἀλεξάνδρου Δουδανδηνός χάλκι[α δύο ?  
 Α]ύρ. Καρικός Ἀλεξάνδρου καχείτης Μαληνός.

L. 1. Ὀλμμανός. Calder reads part of μ and of α with gap sufficient for ι. From Sterrett's defective copy I caught [ό κ]αί Ὀλ[μμανός] and restored wrongly a personage elsewhere mentioned. Presumably ΟΥ was omitted before ΟΛ by the engraver. I revised Calder's copy, but could make no addition to a very faint text.

L. 2. Calder read ΔΡΟΜΑΝΔΡ ? In revision I preferred ΔΡΟΥΑΝΑΡ or ΑΝΔΡ. Calder then re-read, and admitted these as possible. The text is not quite certain.

L. 3. Δουδαδηνός (Sterrett): We read as above. The local name is evidently connected with the personal name Doudas or Dodes, through suffix *ανδα* or *αδα*: see for similar examples *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor* p. 368. On *καχείτης* see 17, above. As to the form Ἀνδρηνός, in Q 4, 28 I read at first Ἀνδρηνός and then noted that only IH was certain, but PH was possible. In Q 15, 32 and 16, 33 ἐν Ἀνδ[ι]αίς is restored. Miss Hardie quotes Pliny's city Andria of Phrygia (*Nat. Hist.* v. 145: *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia* i. p. 209).

23 = Q 23, 10 μσθωτοῦ unjustifiably restored here.

24 = Q 24 (Callander 1906, R. and C. 1911). 3 IICENIONI followed by a doubtful letter or emblem.

L. 8 ποιήση, κατάρα αὐτῷ γένοιτο for ποιησηαιαρα (1906): the text is in parts much worn.

25 = Q 25 (a small part copied by R. 1886, when the rest of the stone was covered up: Callander's copy 1906 is entirely confirmed by R. and C. 1911; 2 We read ἔτι. 6 We read N on another edge of the stone, so that the object dedicated was a βέννος. 7 ΚΑΛΑ complete.

26 (R. C. and H. 1911). On two sides of a stone excavated at Saghir. The upper part occurs only on side B, while the corresponding part of side A is blank. On this upper part the superscription describing the purpose to which money subscribed (no sums mentioned in the text) was applied: the arrangement is as in Q 2. Sides C and D seem not to have been engraved, yet B is evidently incomplete. The stone is much worn, and the engraving was very rude and inaccurate. Misspellings and omissions are numerous. Though a line can be quite certainly restored above l. 1, containing the nominative plural before the verb, yet not a trace of it could be detected.

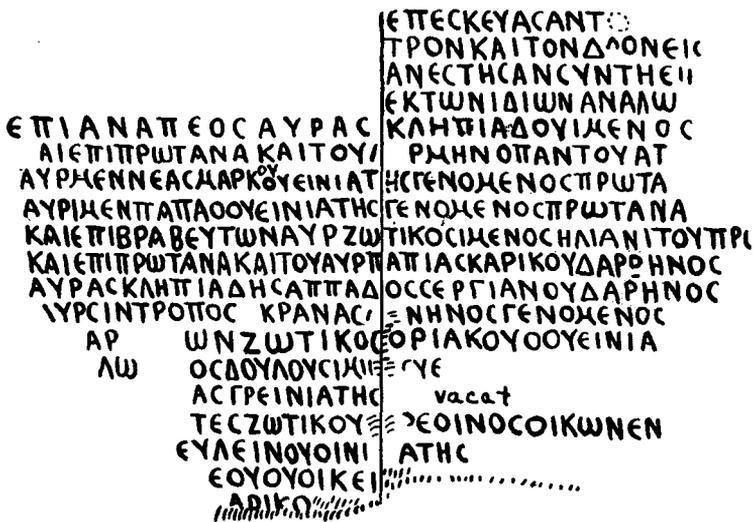


FIG. 3.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
|    |  | [Ξένοι Τεκμορείοι]                          |
|    |  | ἔπεσκεύασαν το [ἄν]?                        |
|    | - -                                      | -τρον καὶ τὸν δάον εἰς-                     |
|    |  | ἀνέστησαν σὺν τῇ εἰκόνι                     |
|    |  | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλω[μάτων].                  |
| 5  | ἐπὶ ἀνα(γρα)πέος Ἀὺρ. Ἄσ                 | κληπιάδου Ἴμενος                            |
|    | κ]αὶ ἐπὶ πρωτανακ[λ]ίτου                 | [Αὺ]ρ. Μηνοπάντου Ἀτ[τάλου ?                |
|    | Ἀὺρ. Μεννέας Μάρκου Οὐνειιάτ             | [η]ς γενόμενος πρωτα[νακλίτης               |
|    | Ἀὺρ. Ἴμεν Παπᾶ Ὀουνειιάτης               | γενόμενος πρωτανα[κλίτης                    |
|    | καὶ ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Ἀὺρ. Ζω                | τικὸς (sic) Ἴμενος Ἡλιανίτου πρ[ωτανακλίτου |
| 10 | καὶ ἐπὶ πρωτανακ[λ]ίτου Ἀὺρ. Π           | απίας Καρικοῦ Δαρ[ρ]ηνός                    |
|    | Ἀὺρ. Ἄσκληπιιάδης Ἀππᾶδ                  | ο]ς Σεργίανου Δαρηνός                       |
|    | Α]ὺρ. Σίντροπος [ ] Κρανασ               | α]νηνός γενόμενος [πρωτανακλίτης            |
|    | Ἀὺρ.] Ἀρ[τέμ]ων Ζωτικοῦ [ῶ               | ] Ὀριακοῦ Ὀουνειιά[της                      |
|    | Ἀὺρ. Ἀπο]λώ[νε]ος Δούλου Σιμικκ          | εύς   |
| 15 | Ἀὺρ. ? Παπ ?]ᾶς Γρεινιάτης               |   |
|    | Ἀὺρ. ]τέος <sup>20</sup> Ζωτικοῦ [ . . ] | ρεινος οἰκῶν ἐν . . .                       |
|    | Ἀὺρ. ? Μαρκ ?]ε[λ]λείνου Οἰνιάτης        |   |
|    | Μενν]έου<ΟΥ> Οἰκε[η]νός                  |   |
|    |  | Κ]αρικοῦ                                    |

If the restoration [ἄν]τρον could be trusted, it would suggest some interesting speculations. Evidently the lost word denoted some place already existing, which had to be equipped: the three verbs ἐποίησαν, ἀνέστησαν, and ἐπεσκεύασαν, are carefully distinguished in these statements (Q 2, Q 12, Q 13, Q 22). A cave, such as was used in the Mithraic ritual, or a place like the stable at Bethlehem used in this imitation of Christian ritual, would quite fulfil the conditions. The restoration εἰκόνι is very probable, as the ι of Κ could be traced. δάος seems to be a revival of an old epic word,<sup>21</sup> meaning 'torch' in Homer, similar to the archaic, Homeric, τέκμων from which the Association derived its name. Whether the Christian analogy can be maintained or not, at any rate the equipment of the cave with a (large) torch and an image would be very suitable for a scene in the Mysteries, Phrygian or other.

The comparative date of this inscription may be determined from l. 12. Syntrophos of Kranosaga<sup>22</sup> was the father of Iman, a member of the Association, mentioned in Q 2, 88. Here in l. 12 there is abundant room for a letter after the name; and the only single letter possible would be Β (i.e. δίς). If this restoration is right, Syntrophos son of Syntrophos here would be brother of Iman, and the document would be nearly contemporary with Q 2, which has been assigned conjecturally to the period of Decius about A.D. 250 (*Studies*, p. 355). If, however, there was simply a gap on the stone, this document would be a generation older than Q 2, and would belong to the earlier group of Tekmoreian lists.

<sup>20</sup> For nouns in -εύς see note 19.

<sup>21</sup> As Miss Hardie suggested.

<sup>22</sup> Misspelt Kranasana here.



- A]ύρ. Ἴμαν Μέν[τ]ο[ρος [            ην]ός δην. σνγ'  
 Αύρ. Μένανδρος [Γλύ]κονος Καρσινδεύς δην. σν[α'  
 10 Αύρ. Μάξιμος Με[νε]κράτου Ναλιχοιηνός δην. σ[νά'  
 Αύρ. Ζωτικὸς Ὀ[ρέσ]του Βαττεανός δην. σνα'  
 Αύρ. Σκύμνος Σκύ[μνου] Πολυμαργηνός δην. σκ  
 Αύρ. Ἴμαν Δούλου [            ]ηνο[            ]υ δην. σ'  
 Μένανδρος Εὐω[νύμο]υ Κτιμενηνός δην. [ρ]ξά'  
 15 Αύρ. Τειμοκράτης Δι[ονυσ]ίου Ἀκρεινά[της  
 σεως χαλκείτου finis

I copied these fragments at different places, and noted at the time the probability that they might suit each other, as they are parts of the lower end of a large *bomos*; but there was no opportunity of trying to fit them together. The inscriptions suit well: in 10, *Ναλιχοιηνός* is like *Σαγοιηνός*, *Ἀραγοιηνός*, *Σοιηνός* (*Ἔσσοα*, *Ἴσβα*), *Λαγοιηνός*, *Καλοιηνός*: on l. 15 see below on D. *CEWC* is the end of a name in gen., such as [Τολουρά]σεως, which has come over from side D. The *bomos* was engraved on all four sides; and considerable pieces probably remain: the traces make *Ἀκρεινάτης* almost certain. Compare *Studies*, p. 359.

L. 2. *Μόμιος*, probably genitive of a native name, and not related to *Mummius*.

L. 4. *Τιείου* or *Τιήου*: noted first as an indeclinable native name in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 60. The form *Τιήου* occurs in several unpublished inscriptions of *Laodiceia Lycaoniae*.

In 11 and in Q 20, 7 the reading *β' Ἀττεανός* cannot be justified: *Attaia* therefore disappears from the list in *Studies*, p. 364, and *Battea* must be added there and on p. 371. *Sterrett* was right in this.

D. The other sides of this *bomos* were also engraved; and the following was perhaps a fragment of the lowest part of the fourth side. The names began on the third side, and are completed here.

		× τ[
		× τ[
		× τξά'
		× τνά'
5		× τνά'
	-κωμ]ήτης	× τνά'
	οἰκῶ]ν ἐν Ὀρκοῖς	× τν
	ς Μ[ε?]ργευσ	
		[×] σ[
10	-ηνός	× σο[
		× σοέ'
	η [blank space]	
	καὶ Ἴμαν Ἴμενος Κτιμεν[ηνός.	

Line 8 here, from the shape of the basis, seems to correspond to A 16; and in this case apparently the name extended round beyond D on to A, so that the whole should run after this fashion [Aύρ. — —o]ς M[ε]ργεύς [Τουλουρά]σεως χαλκείτου.<sup>23</sup> Names like Toulourasis are common in the district of Anaboura, six hours south-east of Antioch. I take Μεργεύς for Μεργνεύς, a variant of Μεργμιάτης. The lowest part of the basis was not engraved on sides A, B, but was engraved on side D in five lines.

Another possibility in restoring A B 15, 16, is 'Ακρεινά[του Μινα]σέως χαλκείτου, making Dionysius a citizen of Minassos, who had settled in the village Akreina, on the Imperial Estates, after the fashion described in *Studies*, pp. 357 f.; but there seems to be hardly room for Μινα-, for this would extend to A (which here is blank). The restoration 'Αρκεινά[της] or [του] seemed practically certain, as we copied the stone.

28. (C. 1911) Saghir. The epithet of the goddess was assured by traces of broken letters (Calder).

'Αρτέμω ?]ν 'Αρτέμυδι ε[πηκό]φ εὐχῆν.

For the present I refrain from publishing a number of small fragments of Tekmoreian lists, which were copied at Saghir in 1911, because it is probable that some of these may yet be united to one another or to other published fragments. In one case we put four together, as they were in our hands for some time; but, unless one can handle them, it is not possible to fit such small parts together. It is useless to measure the letters, for these vary much in size in the same stone, and the spacing and the distances between the lines are very irregular. As knowledge grows, the task of uniting the fragments might become easier. A week at Saghir seems even more urgently needed than when, in 1906, I suggested that it would be profitable. In one of the Turbe-s there are probably other fragments, besides those which have been seen and copied; but religious awe will probably prevent them from being uncovered. Time, however, is necessary. People will not do for the visitor of a day what they will readily do for one who has lived for a week among them.

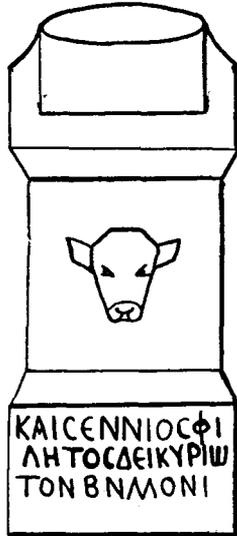
29. (R. and C. and H., 1911.) Kundanli or Gondane, on a *bomos* of peculiar shape. The stone is a square *bomos* with a round *cippus* on the top,<sup>24</sup> but the *cippus* is properly cut only on the inscribed side, showing that the monument was intended to stand against a wall and to be seen only from one side.

On the front of the *bomos* is the head of a hornless ox. On the two sides are defaced ornaments: Miss Hardie thought both were bull's heads: I thought that on the left side was the common ornament  and on

<sup>23</sup> Ethnic before father's name, as in Q 15, 11; Q 2, 29.

<sup>24</sup> On the flat top of the *cippus* are three small circular bosses.

the right perhaps a bunch of grapes. Miss Hardie notes that in Lebas, Pl. 136, a relief from the Lydian Katakekaumene, Men stands with his left foot on the head of a hornless ox [perhaps a calf is meant]. On coins of Antioch Men often stands with left foot on *bucranium*.



Καισέννιος Φι-  
λητος Δεΐ Κυρίω  
τόν β[ω]μόν<ι>

FIG. 5.

N is a mere slip for w: whether the final l was also a slip, or had some force in local pronunciation, I do not venture to determine.

On these estates the reigning emperors were the Kyrioi (Q 12, 13). Hence, though Kyrios is a well recognized title of the god in Anatolia, yet here probably Zeus Kyrios is an identification of the reigning Emperor with the local Zeus, as e.g. in Athens Hadrian was Zeus Olympios. On the form Δεΐ see Q 25 and note.

Caesennius Philetos can hardly be separated from Caesennius Philetos, who made a dedication to Men Askaênos (see p. 123) along with his brother, when both had performed the action called *τεκμορεύειν*. If we could suppose that these brothers were freedmen of Caesennius, governor of Galatia, A.D. 80, it would follow that the act of Tekmoreusis was practised from at least A.D. 80, and therefore was a rite in an old Phrygian religious society; and much that I have suggested about the Association would be disproved. But that is not the situation. Caesennius Philetos was a resident in the country, belonging to one of the Hellenic families which had acquired the Roman *civitas* and taken the name of the governor in A.D. 80. This dedication to Zeus Kyrios clearly belongs to a much later date; and we must suppose that, as would be natural, the *nomen* persisted in the family for 150 or 200 years. The religious Association was ancient.

30 (R. 1886). On a grave-stone at Yalowadj.



FIG. 6.

Καισενία  
Ἑρμιό-  
νη  
Αὐξάνο-  
ντι τέκν-  
ω μνέας  
χάριν.

This epitaph certainly is not earlier than the late second century: it belongs to the period of degeneration. Hermione probably belonged to the same family as Philetos and Onesimos, a family of Hellenic *incolae*, rewarded with the *civitas* about A.D. 80–2, and retaining the Roman *nomen* permanently. A family like this was Hellenic only in virtue of education and language. As Isocrates says ‘Athens has brought it to pass that the name of Hellene should no longer be thought a matter of race, but a matter of intelligence, and should be given to the participators in our culture rather than to the sharers in our common origin’ (*Paneg.*, trans. Jebb). The Hellenes of the great Graeco-Asiatic cities were rarely Greeks in blood: only certain cities which call themselves Dorian, Achaeon, etc., probably received a colony from some part of Greece to further the gradual Hellenization of Asia, at which the Seleucid and other kings aimed. The Seleucid Antioch was colonized from the Lydian city Magnesia on the Maeander, where Hellenism was of ancient standing; and hence Antioch was more strongly Hellenic than most cities of Phrygia (such, *e.g.* as Iconium: *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 259, 334).

At Antioch *incolae civitate donati*, and families in other cities of Galatia, which gained *civitas*, often bear the names of governors (or other high officials) in the province, as *e.g.* the family Caesennius here, or Neratius in Miss Hardie’s article No. 1. So Calpurnius, *ibid.* 48 (cp. *C.I.L.* iii. 6831) and Asprenas, *ibid.* 70, take names connected with (Nonius) Calpurnius Asprenas, who governed Galatia A.D. 69 and had two *nomina* (one coming from the female side). So Bassos, *ibid.* 67: compare Pomponius Bassus, governor A.D. 95–102: dedication 17 should be re-examined to determine if Πουμπόυμιλος stands for Pomponius rather than Pompilius (as we at first thought): the difference between N in ligature and Λ is very slight in those badly engraved dedications. Lollius perhaps occurs, *ibid.* 30: the governor in 25 B.C. was Lollius Paullinus. The names Nonius and Nonia Paullina occur at Antioch, *C.I.L.* iii. 6856, Paullina also 6842, Paullinus 6850. All these governors belong to the first century, during which many *incolae* were being raised to the *civitas*. On the Estates the name Valerianus (governor

197 A.D.) occurs Q 2, 86 (as corrected above); but there *civitas* was not acquired so early as in the *colonia*. In the cities of Galatia names like Annius, Afrinus, Servaeus (at Savatra), Collega, occur often. Valerius Italus governed Galatia in some unknown year (cp. dedications 50, 60). The subject needs investigation and collection of details. Names derived from Emperors are not so numerous in a *colonia* as in cities.

31. Copied by Miss Gertrude Bell in a house in Kundanli in 1907. The inscription is engraved above a relief representing three horsemen armed with spears.

ΜΟΑΟΡΗC Μαμᾶ ἱερ[ε]ῦνc  
θ]εοῖc εἰ[π]ηκόοιc εὐχῆν.

This embodiment of the Theoi Epêkooi is unknown to me: one horseman god is common in Anatolia, as are two horsemen with the goddess between them. The priest's name is perhaps Μολόρηc or Μοδόρηc or Μοάθρηc. Here, as in Q 4, 12, is a priest, who is not a Roman official: there were many such priests in this region.

The following village names may be added. Κατιηνεῖτηc is perhaps a man of the tribe Katenneis. The aspirates caused much trouble in Greek writing, and the opinion is stated in *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 418, that Katenna or Kotena and Hetenna, two distinct bishoprics, are only two sections of the old tribe Ἐτεννεῖc, i.e. Khetenneis, whose name is derived from the old Khatti or Hittites.<sup>25</sup> The opinion there expressed is modified from that of Waddington, who took Etenna or Hetenna and Katenna as two spellings of the name of one single place (which G. Hirschfeld in his *Vorläuf. Bericht. ueber e. Reise* accepted). There are two places or towns, Katenneis and Hetenneis, probably divisions of the same original tribe. Yet the view taken in *Studies*, p. 365, is more probable.

Khoma Sakenon at Mallos was a great dam, or causeway, across a marsh. The modern village name Homa, several times found in Asia Minor, is a survival of the Greek word. I have only now observed this point; and the solitary Homa whose situation I remember at present fulfils the condition, I mean the Homa between Apameia and Eumeneia (see *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. pp. 220-228), which has replaced the ancient Sibia-Soublaion. The road to the east is carried over the vast marshes of the Maeander in the valley of Sibia by a long causeway. The existence of this great dam seems in late time to have diverted communication and traffic (if any traffic still

<sup>25</sup> Keller in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1896, p. 118 and Lewy *Semit. Fremdwörter in Griech.* (Berlin 1895) holds that Semitic *ch* has been dropped in various Greek words, ἄβρα = Chabrā (Keller, *Volksetymol.* p. 196), Εἷα, Eve = Chawwa (*Vulg.* Heva), ἄρισος = Charis, ἀπήνη and καπήνη = Chāpap or Chābā, εὐνοῦχος = Chānūk (approved on trial), ἄβαλαι (i.e. φεῦ) = Chabāl. De Cara takes ἄρη = Kúδη,

and quotes *Museon*, Apr. 1891 on ὄ = κν in Carian, Lydian, etc. city-names. Lightfoot, *Philip.* p. 51 explains the name Gangites or Angites at Philippi (Appian, iv. p. 106, Herod. vii. 113), modern Anghita, on the theory that the initial was 'a guttural sound like Semitic ayin, sometimes omitted, sometimes represented by γ'—[as in Gaza and Aza, alternative renderings of γηγ. G.F.H.]

existed) from the route by Apameia to this track: the change is attested by Nicetas (*Cities and Bish.* i. p. 224). Apameia had fallen entirely into the possession of the Nomad Turkmen, who nearly captured Manuel there (*ibid.* ii. p. 447) at the beginning of his reign; and the Khoma furnished a path nearer the Byzantine territory, more easily held by the Imperial troops, and commanded by the lofty fortress above the high-lying modern village of Homa. This castle was the military centre of the new Theme Khoma, which was a frontier garrison sometimes occupied, sometimes abandoned, in the Comnenian period (*Cities and Bish.* i. pp. 18 f., 226). This great dam and road was called *Χῶμα Σούβλαιον*, the dam of Sibia: hence the change from Sibia to Soublaion between the earlier and the later lists of Bishoprics. The dam still exists, but is in a half ruinous condition; and in 1888, when Lady Ramsay and I crossed it, the passage was made with some trouble.

In contrast to this *Χῶμα Σούβλαιον* there was another *Χῶμα Σακηνόν*, familiar at the Tekmoreian centre; and the town of Mallos, mentioned in the lists, is distinguished from the Cilician city, as being *πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηνόν*. How this new condition suits Male-Kalessi or Malek-Kalessi (where the bishopric and city of Mallos in Pisidia has been placed, *Annual of Brit. School Athens* 1902-3 p. 259), I am not aware. A causeway across a marsh is often found in that district. Khomata for irrigation purposes were well known in Egypt; and *Chomatium logografi* and *χωματεπιμεληταί* are known officials.<sup>26</sup>

Akreina and Greinia were perhaps the same.

Nosos or [·]nosos perhaps implies a form [·]nossos, such as Gnossos or Anossos.<sup>27</sup>

Kuadra: as Calder suggests, *Κυαδρηνός* is perhaps shortened from *Κουαδατρηνός* (Iconium) from *Praedia Quadrata* mentioned in an inscription of Ladik, Imperial quarries of *lapides quadrati* (marble?).

Doudanda, see p. 162.

Naxos? Hassa-Keui in Cappadocia is called by its Greek inhabitants Axo or Naxo.

NOTE.—In 1, lines 3 f. Calder suggests *κτισάν(των) Τᾶ καὶ Νειᾶδος*, but an ordinary native like *Τας* would not precede *Neias* Imperial *actor* and *riest*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>26</sup> Zulueta in *Oxford Studies*, i. 2, p. 60; *od. Theod.* xi. 24, 6, 7; *B.G.U.* 12, 10-11.

<sup>27</sup> The epigraphic copies of 26, 27 B, D, and

20 A, are by Miss Hardie, who intended to do the present paper, but had to leave for Athens too soon.