

METROPOLITANUS CAMPUS.

It may not be unsuitable to the purpose of this *Journal* to depart for once from the strictly scientific method, and describe shortly the problem of a 'Lost Phrygian City,' as it presents itself to the explorer both in its relation to ancient literature and in its actual modern features. I take the example of a city which played no part in ancient history, which is mentioned only twice or thrice incidentally in classical literature, where no known event took place and no person known to fame was born, which, in short, is about as insignificant as a city could well be, and I hope to show that the discovery even of such a little city may have interest and value for classical scholars.

The passage in which Livy describes the march of the consul Manlius on his piratical raid through Asia Minor is one of peculiar interest on many grounds, apart from its value for students of geography. There is no passage in the whole of Livy which is more obviously translated from a Greek original: it is therefore of great importance in the question of his relation to his authorities and of his trustworthiness in using them. Beyond the mere resolution of the true scholar to understand his author, there is the further incentive to study this particular passage that the author's historical character is to some extent dependent on it. Now the third recorded stage beyond Sagalassos in Manlius's march is the *Metropolitanus Campus*. Where in wide Phrygia was the Metropolitanus Campus?

When Alcibiades found that the game was lost among the Greek cities, he took to a roving life in Asia Minor, and at last was slain at a village between Metropolis and Synnada. The closing scene in the life of a man who was for a time the central figure in Greek history, however much of a scoundrel he may (like several other distinguished old Greeks) have been, is not wholly devoid of interest to Greek scholars.

Strabo quotes a sentence from Artemidorus describing the road that was formed under the Diadochi between Ephesus and Mazaca of Cappadocia, afterwards called Caesarea; the first station mentioned east of Apameia on this road is Metropolis. I shall not here dwell on the fact that viewed as a whole the history of Asia Minor for many centuries depends on this great artery of communication; I merely appeal to the desire, which every true scholar has, to understand thoroughly the author he reads.

To numismatists Metropolis has the interest that it presents to him the problem of unclassified coins. There is a Metropolis in Ionia, and there are two cities Metropolis in Phrygia; of the latter one was included in the province of Pisidia after 297 A.D., and may be distinguished as 'the southern Metropolis.' The coins of Metropolis may be divided into classes:—

(1) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΩΝΕΝΙΩΝΙΑ: Metropolis of Ionia.

(2) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ: one of the two cities Metropolis in Phrygia, and, as I shall prove here, the southern Metropolis.¹ The magistrate is the *πρώτος ἄρχων*.

(3) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, mentioning a *στρατηγός* as eponymous magistrate; these cannot have been coined by the southern Metropolis. They begin in the third century,² and the list of magistrates known to me includes eleven names.

(4) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, mentioning the games *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΗΑ* (*sic*); one of this class mentions a *strategos*, so that these coins are struck by the same city that coined class (3). The choice is limited therefore to Metropolis of Ionia and the northern Metropolis. This class also belongs to the third century.

(5) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, and

(6) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Some of the coins in these two classes are certainly Phrygian. M. Wadding-

¹ I proposed this assignation on insufficient grounds in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 145.

² Mionnet quotes from Sestini a coin of Antoninus Pius with the legend, ΕΠΙ.....ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.

ton bought one in the country (see his *Voyage Numismatique*), and I have seen several there, but unfortunately before I began to make a note of such coins. Others certainly belong to Metropolis of Ionia. I have not the opportunity of studying the coins belonging to these classes.

On October 25, 1881, our little party left Apameia, now called Dineir, the capital of Phrygia in the Graeco-Roman period. Our object was to trace the course of the important Roman road which led to Synnada, the modern town Tchifout Cassaba, 'Jews' Market,' and, as far as we could learn, the only direct route between the two towns crossed a valley called the Tchyl Ova. We climbed the steep ascent behind—*i.e.* east of—Apameia, crossed obliquely the plain of Aulocrene, now called Dombai Ova, 'Buffalo Valley,' and entered a ravine among the hills on the opposite side.¹ Our course was nearly north-east. Among the hills we several times observed cuttings in the rock; they marked the course of the Roman road, along which, as early as the time of Strabo, the huge monolithic columns of Phrygian marble were conveyed to the Aegean coast on their way to Rome. About sixteen or seventeen miles² from Apameia we reached the Tchyl Ova, a fertile valley about eleven miles long and four broad, completely surrounded by hills. The road goes straight along the valley which extends towards the north-east. In such a fertile valley on the great Roman high road some city must have stood, and it was at once resolved that we must find its remains. There are at least a dozen villages in the valley, and we began to search them one by one. The following day we found three inscriptions, a number of marbles, and traces of buildings at the village of Horrou on the north side of the valley, and above it on a hill there was said to be a *kale*, 'castle.' The *kale* showed evident traces of fortification, but little except fragments of glass and pottery to prove that a Roman city had occupied the site.³ On the third day we came in the afternoon to Tatarly, near the other end of the valley;

¹ I have since regretted that we did not spend a day among the villages on the northern side of this valley, along the road to Sandukli, the ancient Hieropolis. I should now look for some Phrygian city on this road; but circumstances confined our whole journey within very narrow limits of time.

² I use the word mile always in the Roman sense.

³ No coins, except a few Byzantine and autonomous coins of Apameia, could be found in the valley. A Greek emissary had recently crossed the valley, and bought every coin.

here we soon discovered that there were several inscriptions on stones half-buried in the cemetery, and the natives said that at the *kale* on a little hill over the village there were 'old stones' and 'old houses.' At the same time we made another less pleasant discovery: I had in the morning sent on the baggage and servants to a village which was said to be at an hour's distance, but in Tatarly the natives declared this village was four long hours' ride away, and already it was within three hours of sunset. It is injudicious to be far from camp after sunset in a half-populated country where no roads exist, but it was hard to desert the inscriptions. Especially tempting was one very large marble basis, on the under side of which we could see an inscription in big letters. We got out all the able-bodied men of the village, armed with the clumsy native picks and small trees to serve as levers, and proposed the magnificent reward of tenpence if they succeeded in turning round the big stone. I may say that I have dug up many Turkish cemeteries in Asia Minor, and never met with the slightest disapproval except once at Tyana in Cappadocia, where some veiled ladies came up, hot and angry, luckily just too late to hinder the men from uncovering an inscription for my benefit: in fact, so far as my experience goes, Turks are never so jovial and ready to lend a helping hand as when digging up the graves of their ancestors. After an hour's toil the stone was still unmoved, and the workmen began to relax their efforts. We raised our reward, and encouraged them by promising one shilling and fourpence; the judicious munificence produced good effect, and the stone was moved sufficiently for me to copy the inscription. The others were easily copied: we hurried off without visiting the *kale*, and luckily reached the camp without any misadventure except a long ride in the dark.

None of the inscriptions found in the valley contained the name of the town, and for the time it seemed that we had failed to discover our city. But in May 1882 I had the opportunity, during a journey in company with Sir Charles Wilson, of acquiring a wider knowledge of the country. It then became clear that the Metropolis where Manlius halted, and which lay on the road from Ephesus to Caesareia Mazaca, must have been in the Tchyl Ova, and that the valley is the Metropolitanus Campus. Passing through Paris in December 1882, it occurred to me that M. Waddington's wide knowledge of Phrygian

antiquities might enable him to identify some of the names mentioned on my inscriptions, and at the first glance he recognised that the person honoured in one of them was a magistrate mentioned on unedited coins bearing the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ.

Professor Hirschfeld has placed this southern Metropolis in the valley of Apollonia, and when writing on the topography of this district in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts zu Athen* for 1882, I could only follow his authority. Several of the arguments in my paper, therefore, cease to have any value; but the proposal made in it to assign the coins of class (2) to the southern Metropolis has since proved correct. As in the present paper I shall have occasion to differ from Professor Hirschfeld on several other points, I must here say that in the great majority of cases the sites which he assigns to Pisidian and Phrygian cities seem to me certainly correct, and that my divergence from his views is on points which he had not the opportunity of seeing so thoroughly. His journey made Pisidia, previously a *terra incognita*, one of the best known parts of Asia Minor.

No. 1.

The place of honour is given, as is but fair, to the inscription on the large marble basis.

	ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
	ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
	ΕΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΑΥΡ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ
5	ΚΑΡΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΝΕ
	ΟΥΕΝΔΟΞΩΣ
	ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ
	ΘΙΚΩΝΤΑΝΚΡΑΤΙ
	ΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΘΕΜΕ
10	ΩΣΜΕΝΝΕΑΝ-Σ
	ΠΡΩΤΗΣΔΟΘΕ
	ΣΙ-ΣΤ-ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ
	Τ-ΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΥΠΟ
	ΤΟΥΠΑΠΠΟΥ
15	ΑΥΤΟΥ

Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Καρικοῦ Μεννέου ἐνδόξως νεικήσαντα [Πυ]θικῶν πανκράτιον ἀγῶνα Θέμεως Μεννεανῆς πρώτης δοθε[ι]σης τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ.

In a Themis or ἀγὼν θεματικὸς the prizes given to the victors in the sports were not mere garlands, but objects of value, sums of money, or even an honorary statue.¹ Such games were common in Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and we may from this inscription add southern Phrygia. The genitive of θέμις in this sense is usually θέμιδος, but in this and another inscription of Metropolis it is θέμεως. It was a feature of the Graecising civilisation of these countries that some wealthy citizen paid the expenses of the festival and was rewarded by having his name given to it; the custom recalls the choragic and similar liturgies in Athens, but it is quite contrary to the democratic pride of Athens that the name of any citizen should be given to the festival. If the donor was still living, it was usual that he should be *agonothetes*; if the games were celebrated with money bequeathed for the purpose, a relative of the donor often filled the office. So we find

(1) At Oinoanda a Θέμις ἀγώνων Εὐαρεστέλων, in which the giver of the games, Julius Lucius Meidias Euarestos is ἀγωνοθέτης (*C. I. G.* 4380 *m.*).

(2) At Balboura a Θέμις, the gift of Meleagros Castor, whose grandson Thoantios is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου, and holds the games at least eleven times (*C. I. G.* 4380).

(3) At Sagalassos an Ἀγὼν Καλλιππιανείου, celebrated with money bequeathed by M. Ulpus Kallippianos, in which Q. Aurelius Diomedianus Alexander is ἀγωνοθέτης (*C. I. G.* 4369).

(4) At Side a Θέμις Παμφυλιακῇ Τουησιανείου, in which Aurelius Paioueinos Touesianos the donor is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*C. I. G.* 4352).

(5) At Telmessos a Θέμις τετάρτη ἀγώνων Προκλητιανῶν, in which M. Domitius Philippus is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*C. I. G.* 4198).

¹ See Longperier in *Rev. Numism.* *As. Min.* No. 1209; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1869-70; Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr.* iii. p. 340.

(6) Unknown city. The first Themis Theodoreios in which the donor Aur. Theodoros is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 340).¹

In the First Menneanic Themis the pancration was won by Aurelius Alexander, grandson of the donor, whose name, therefore, must have been Menneas, and who, in the regular course, was doubtless agonothetes. The senate and the people of Metropolis placed an inscription in honour of the victory on the very large marble basis which gave us so much trouble to move, and on which there perhaps stood originally a statue of the victor in the character of an athlete. It must have been some unusual circumstance that prompted the state to do so, inasmuch as the cost of the Menneanic Themis was defrayed by Menneas. Moreover the expression *πρώτης* might be taken as a proof that the inscription was not composed till later Menneanic Themides had been celebrated. The general language of the inscription is peculiar, and suggests that at some later time the state commemorated the victory of Alexander in the pancration, 'when the First Menneanic Themis was given by his grandfather to his sweetest fatherland.' This supposition becomes a certainty when the following two inscriptions are compared:—

No. 2.

At Horrou, six or seven miles away across the valley, engraved on a marble basis.

	ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕ
	ΑΥΡΜΕΝΝΕΑC
	ΔΟΜΕΩCΑΓΩ
	ΝΟΔΕΤΗCΑΥΡ
5	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ
	ΤΙCΙΟΥΠΡΟΤΡΕ
	ΥΑΜΕΝ-ΕΤ-ΕΠΟ
	ΩCΕΝΔΟ
	ΩCΑΓΩΝΙCΑ
10	ΕΝΟΝΤΥΟΙ
	ΩΝΤΑΝΚΡΑΤΙ
	ΟΝ

¹ See also Lebas, Nos. 1209, 1210, 1223, 1257, &c.

Ἐτείμῃσε Αὐρ. Μεννέας, [Θ]έμεως [ἀ]γωνοθ[έ]της, Αὐρ.
Ἀλέξανδρον Τι[ε]ίου, προτρεψαμένης τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδόξως
[ἀ]γωνισά[μ]ενον Πυθι[κ]ῶν πανκράτιον.

This is the honorary inscription, probably forming part of the prize (θέμα), put up by the agonothetes under the direction of the state,¹ in honour of the victor in the pancration. Aurelius Menneas, the agonothetes, places the inscription and therefore pays its cost. He is no doubt the same Menneas who, as we have seen, was donor and agonothetes of the Menneanic Themides. This Themis, in which Aurelius Alexander Tieiou won the pancration, must certainly be the first, otherwise the expression δευτέρας or τρίτης would be added, as in the following inscription and in many other cases. But we have just seen that the victor at the first Themis was grandson of the donor, and we can now restore the pedigree of the family as follows:—

Aurelius Menneas
|
[Aurelius] Karikos Menneas
|
Aurelius Alexandros Tieiou.

The peculiar indeclinable name Tieiou is quite in accordance with Phrygian analogy: we find Μῆν Τιάμου, Μῆν Φαρνάκου, Μῆν Κάρον. It is one of the last lingering traces of the pre-Greek languages of Asia Minor.

When I showed this inscription to M. Waddington, he recognised that Alexandros Tieiou was mentioned on two unedited coins of Metropolis of Phrygia in his collection. By his permission I here describe them:—

(1) *Obv.*—Radiated head of Decius, right:

ΑΥΤ.Κ.Γ.Μ.Κ.ΤΡΑΔΕΚΙΝCΕ (*sic.*)

Rev.—Within a tetrastyle temple of Corinthian order, Cybele seated two-thirds turned to the left, holding a patera in the right hand, and having the left resting on a tympanum. On the ground on each side of her a lion. The pediment of the temple is quaintly ornamented with tracery and with four

¹ Compare τοῦ συλλόγου προτρεψα- Lydia, Μουσ. Σμυρν. Σχολ. No. σλα.
μένου in an inscription from Teira of

objects like disks or phialai mesomphaloi, a large one in the centre and a smaller one in each corner.

ΠΑΡ.ΑΛΕΞΤΙΕΙΟΥΑΡΧΠΡ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ
ΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 10 of Mionnet.

(2) *Obv.*—Bust of the empress to right.

ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΑΛΑΝ.

Rev.—Fortune standing, with cornucopia and rudder.

ΠΑΡ.ΑΛΕΞ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥ.ΠΡΩ.ΑΡ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦ

Size, 8 of Mionnet.

To these I add two other inedited coins from the collection of Mr. Lawson, mentioning the same magistrate,¹ which he has permitted me to publish.

(3) *Obv.*—Bust of Decius.

Rev.—Simulacrum resembling that of the Ephesian Artemis.

ΠΑ.ΑΛΕ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥΠΡΑΡ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 6 of Mionnet. A and P in monogram.

(4) *Obv.*—Bust of Decius.

Rev.—The god Mên standing slightly turned to the right hand, wearing the high Phrygian cap and a short tunic, with the crescent on his shoulders, holding a spear in the right and a patera in the left hand.

[Π]Α.ΑΛΕ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥΠΡ.ΑΡ.
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 6 of Mionnet.

¹ One of them I described in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 144, but with the inscription incomplete, and (through

a misprint which would have been corrected if I had seen the proof sheets), incorrect.

Alexander Tieiou was First Archon in the reign of Trajanus Decius, 249-51 A.D. We may therefore place the first Themis some time between 220 and 230. The family was evidently the richest in the valley of Metropolis, and is mentioned below in inscription (5). When Alexander was head of the family, the state perhaps recalled his victory as a young man in the pancration, and commemorated it by a statue and inscription.

The second Menneanic Themis, which is presupposed in our argument, is mentioned in the next inscription.

No. 3.

On a small basis, buried upside down, in the cemetery at Tatarly: I could not uncover the first lines of the inscription.

5
 CEΛEYKONBIA
 NOPY ΠΟΥΔΕΝ
 ΤΟΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΖΩ
 ΤΙΚΟΝΝΕΙΚΗΕΑΝ
 ΤΑΕΝΔΟ ΩΕ
 ΑΝΔΡΩΝΙΤΑΝ
 ΚΡΑΤΙΟΝΘΕΜ
 ΜΕΝΝΕΑΝΗΝ
 ΔΕ ΤΕΡΑΝ

[ὁ δεῖνα ἀγωνοθέτης] ἐτείμησε Σέλευκον Βιάνορο[ς] Πού-
 δεντος τὸν καὶ Ζωτικὸν νεικήσαντα ἐνδο[ξ]ως ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον
 Θέμ[ιν] Μεννεανὴν δε[υ]τέραν.

No. 4.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΕΤΕΙΜΗΕΑΥΡ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΒ

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμωνα β' κ.τ.λ.

This inscription also must belong to the third century, as both father and name are called Aur. Artemon. The custom

of making Aurelius an almost universal praenomen belongs to the third century, and probably began when Caracalla, whose name was Aurelius, extended the rights of citizenship over the whole empire.

No. 5.

In a house at Tatarly on a slab of marble, quite complete, but the letters so worn as to be hardly legible.

ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑ

◇ΥΔΙΓ

ΑΥΡ ΛΕΞΑΝ

ΡΟCΜΕΝΝΕ

◇ΥΤΟΝΕΑΥ

Τ◇ΥΕΓΓ◇

Ν◇Ν

This inscription evidently belongs to the same rich family that we have learned about. Aurelius Alexander, son of Menneas, places it in honour of his grandson Aurelius Alexander. The word *δῖς* seems to occur in line 3, indicating that the father and grandfather of the person bore a name whose genitive ends in ◇Υ. But we have the name of the grandfather, and therefore assuming the reading *δῖς*, we can restore the inscription as follows. *Αὐρ. Ἀλέξα[νδρον Ἀλεξάνδρ]ου δῖς Αὐρ. [Α]λέξαν[δ]ρος Μεννέου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἑγγονον*. It is highly probable that Aur. Alexander, son of Menneas, is identical with Aur. Alexander, son of Karikos Menneas in No. 1. Then the whole pedigree of the family during the third century is

Aur. Menneas

[Aur.] Karikos Menneas

Aur. Alexandros Tieiou, magistrate 250.

Aur. Alexandros

Aur. Alexandros.

No. 6.

The text of the inscription has been already published by Prof. Hirschfeld in his paper on Kelainai-Apameia. My copy is more complete than his, and gives the following reading with perfect certainty :—

ὁ δῆμος ἐτέλειμσεν Ἀρφίαν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀττ[α]λο[υ]
Λουκίσκου ἱερασαμένην ἐπιφανῶς θεᾶς [Ἀρτέ]μιδος Τ[α]υρ[ο]-
πόλου.

The Artemis Tauropolos of Metropolis is represented on a coin, described above, after the fashion of the Ephesian Artemis. The name Metropolis points to the worship of the Mother goddess as the chief cultus of the city.¹ It is not necessary to think that Artemis was a distinct goddess from the Mêtêr, with a separate temple. There was a tendency to give Greek names to the gods of Phrygia,² and their native names are not often preserved. As the same deity presented analogies with several Greek deities, it was easy to give several different Greek names to one god. So at Iconium³ we find a goddess called Achaia and identified with Demeter, but immediately afterwards styled δεκάμαζος, which indicates a goddess of the type of the Ephesian Artemis. The same double identification took place at Metropolis.

Pausanias gives a remarkable example of the way in which Greek legend supplanted native Phrygian legend under the influence of Graeco-Roman civilisation. A coffin with human bones of immense size had been found at Temenothyrai on the river Hyllos, and the people in general called them the bones of Geryones; but Pausanias argued that this was impossible, and found that those who were skilled in the antiquities of the district (οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταί)⁴ assigned the bones to Hyllos,

¹ It is very extraordinary that Forbiger, *Alte Geogr.* on Metropolis of Phrygia, should pronounce this derivation *lächerlich*.

² The same tendency has operated in Greece itself in many cases, see Foucart on Lebas, *Inscrip. Pelop.* No. 326a, p. 165.

³ *C. I. G.* No. 4,000.

⁴ The word ἐξηγητής, besides its technical sense in religious law, often denotes in Pausanias the persons who showed him over the sights of the district and expounded to him its antiquarian lore, hardly distinguishable from his περιηγητής, or 'guide.'

the son of Ge. Here we see that as early as 150 A.D. ordinary people had quite forgot their country legends and learned Greek mythology; and I have elsewhere proved that the people of *Magnesia ad Sipylum* had by this time substituted the Greek literary form of the Niobe and Tantalus legends for the native tales.¹

No. 7.

At Horrou, on a marble basis broken down the middle. The left half of the stone remained. Letters very much worn.

	ΤΟΝΓΗΚΑΙΟ
	ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ
	ΤΟΙΑΚΛΙΕΛΡΑ
	ΟΝΣΕΝΗΡΟΝΠΕΡΤ
5	ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΝ
	ΕΥΣΕΒΗ
	ΝΙΚΟΝ
	ΥΟΥΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑ
	ΤΗΕΟΙΚΟ
10	ΩΝΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ
	ΛΩΓΑΥΡΖΩ

The letters in line 11 are very doubtful.

Τὸν γῆς καὶ θ[αλάσσης] δεσπότη[ν αὐτοκρά]το[ρ]α Καίσαρα
[Λ. Σεπτίμ]ιον Σενήρον Περτ[ίνακα] Αὐγουστον [μέγιστον?]
Εὐσεβῇ [Ἀδιαβη]νικὸν [Παρθικόν? ?] οὐ τὸν σωτήρα [πάσης]
τῆς οἰκο[υμένης ἐκ τ]ῶν ἀναλωμά[των . . .]ω Γ. Αὐρ.
Ζωσ[ίμου].

The formulas in this inscription show great ignorance of the proper official titles of the emperor. It is almost doubtful if it should not be restored as referring to M. Aurelius, *i.e.* Caracalla, who is sometimes styled Severus. The Roman V is borrowed to denote the non-Greek sound in this word.

I copied four other fragmentary inscriptions at Horrou,

¹ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, 'Sipylus and Cybele.'

Tatarly, and Oktchilar,¹ but they are so imperfect that it is unnecessary to publish them. Two were in Latin, one certainly sepulchral: Latin inscriptions are rarely found away from the Roman roads in Asia Minor.

These inscriptions do not give us much information about Metropolis: but they prove clearly that the city took a sudden start in prosperity during the third century, when the Roman Empire was growing so weak and rotten at its centre. This was confirmed by its coinage, which suddenly appears in considerable abundance during the reigns of Philip, Decius, and Gallienus. I will add another unedited coin from the collection of Mr. Whittall.²

Obv.—Bust of the empress Otacilia to right.

ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΩΤΑΚΙΑΙΣΒ

Rev.—Fortune standing with rudder and cornucopia.

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥΓ

We recognise the same style of religion and of civilisation and of nomenclature that is characteristic of southern Phrygia and Pisidia at this period. Otrous, a town near Sandukli, strikes a number of coins at the beginning of the third century, generally bearing the name of Alexandros the Asiarch. So we find all over this district of Asia Minor, that one uniform Graeco-Roman type establishes itself firmly about 200 A.D. I believe that this civilisation and prosperity indicate the triumph of western manners and language in the district. Greek civilisation did not definitely supersede the native customs on the plateau till this period; the fortresses and cities on the great roads, by which the Greek kings maintained and consolidated their rule, were Greek, but the mass of the country was Phrygian or Pisidian in character. The mountainous districts of the Taurus were hardly thoroughly subdued by foreign manners even in the Byzantine period. The coinage of the small cities of upper Phrygia belongs to this late time, whereas the coinage of the

¹ A village two miles from Tatarly; under Decius, in *Mithteil. Inst. Ath.* perhaps Aktchilar, 'the cooks.' as cited above.

² I have published another struck

small cities of western Phrygia and Lydia begins in general a century or more earlier.

In May 1882 we traversed the district between Sagalassos, Apameia, and Apollonia, and directed our attention especially to the march of Manlius. Finally we came to the conclusion that there was nothing more to be said on the subject than any muleteer along the road could have told us. Manlius travelled with native guides (*ducibus itinerum acceptis*) along the direct and well defined road from Sagalassos to Synnada, the only road that is used by traders between the two places, past the village of Paradis, through the Dombai Ova and the Tchyl Ova. The subsequent discovery from inscriptions that Metropolis was in the Tchyl Ova makes this view quite certain. It is therefore not necessary to argue that Prof. Hirschfeld is wrong in thinking that Manlius traversed the valley of Apollonia.¹ On the other hand he is probably right in supposing that *Aporidos Come* is the village of Paradis, close to which the road does actually pass.

The words of Livy, describing the march from the plain of Sagalassos to Synnada, are as follows: *Progressus inde ad Rhotrinos fontes, ad vicum, quem Aporidos comen vocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus ab Apamea postero die venit. Aegros inde et inutilia impedimenta cum Apameam dimisisset, ducibus itinerum ab Seleuco acceptis, profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die (Dinias, Dynias, Dymas?) Phrygiae processit. Inde Synnada venit.*

The valley of Sagalassos, Mamak Ovassi, is a beautiful and fertile little plain among the mountains: the modern village of Aghlasan, *i.e.* [Σ]υγαλασσόν, lies at the northern end of the valley. High above it on the slope of the Aghlasan Dagħ lie the ruins of the ancient city; a long climb of thirty stadia² is needed to take the traveller from the modern village to the ancient city. The difference of level is from 1,000 to 1,200 feet.³ The northward march encountered one serious obstacle—the lofty and precipitous mountain range extending east and

¹ *Gratulationschrift der Königsb. Univ. für d. Arch. Inst. in Rom*, 1879, and *Reisebericht in Monatsb. Berlin*, 1879. Previously Prof. Hirschfeld took the correct view that Metropolis was in the Tchyl Ova.

² κατάβασις τριάκοντα σταδίων, Strab. p. 569. He says that it is a day's journey from Apameia: the distance is now reckoned fourteen hours by the most direct path.

³ 300 to 380 metres, Hirschfeld.

west, on whose southern slope Sagalassos was built. Two paths across the mountains were open to Manlius. One leads close beside the walls of Sagalassos, and crosses the mountains by a very steep and difficult pass, 2,000 feet above the plain, to Isbarta, the ancient Baris. The other leads westward by a longer route towards Buldur, and then goes along the salt lake Ascania. The two roads join near the village of Paradis, and henceforth the way to Synnada is direct and unmistakable. There is one very marked natural feature on its course through the Dombai Ova, viz. the fine springs of Bounarbashi, which rise from the foot of the rocks on the east side of the valley and flow down into the marshy lake, once called Aulocrene, in the hollow. Any native in describing the road would be sure to mention the springs.

Manlius took the road to Buldur, as Prof. Hirschfeld rightly says: so Alexander the Great did before him. Perhaps on the third day he might reach the springs of Bounarbashi: he could hardly do so sooner owing to the difficulty of marching across the mountains. Alexander took five days to reach Apameia, which is only a few miles further. Livy must mean Bounarbashi, when he speaks of *Rhotrinos Fontes*. There are no other fountains along the road; we inquired very carefully from many people in the neighbourhood. These springs are a landmark by the way, and any muleteer of the country would at once understand what place was meant if he were told about a fountain on the road from Cassaba to Aghlasan. I have therefore no doubt that *Rhotrini Fontes* were here in the Dombai Ova, just behind Apameia, at a distance of seven or eight miles. Here it was natural that Seleucus should come from Apameia to meet Manlius and take charge of the sick.

There is one difficulty in the text: Livy implies that *Rhotrini Fontes* and *Aporidos Come* were close together, but Paradis is at least twelve miles from the fountain in the Dombai Ova. It appears to me that, if we admit the identification of Paradis with *Aporidos Come*,¹ as I think we must, either there is a fault in Livy's account, i.e. a slight misrepresentation of the Greek original,² or the name Paradis has been transferred from its

¹ It must however be remembered that *Acoridos* or *Acaridos* may be the true reading.

² The original statement might have

been that Manlius passed near *Aporidos Come*, and encamped beside *Rhotrinos Fontes*.

ancient site to another at some distance, a phenomenon not unexampled in Asia Minor. The former supposition seems to me more probable, as Paradis is certainly an old site.

The name *Rhotrinos*, unknown elsewhere, is perhaps a corruption. On a coin of Apameia the name Callirhoe is given to this fountain: Mionnet describes the coin thus: 'Minerve casquée et vêtue d'une tunique, assise sur le mont Ida,¹ à gauche, et tournée vers la droite, jouant de la double flûte; derrière, un bouclier et la fontaine Callirhoée vomissant des eaux sur un cygne nageant; devant Marsyas sur le sommet d'une montagne, avec le *pallium*, les mains levées et se retournant.'

ΠΑ.ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ.ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗ.ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ (*Suppl.* VII. p. 514).

On this coin we have the whole myth of Athene and Marsyas with the locality, the fountain and lake, clearly represented. The fountain is named Callirhoe.

It is obvious that *Rhotrinos* cannot be a corruption of Callirhoe, which is probably a mere fashionable name given to the fountain under the influence of Graecising civilisation. It has, however, been suggested that the true reading is *Obrimae*, and this reading has been almost universally adopted. It would give a clear and easy solution to the difficulty about the course of the Obrimas. The Obrimas is mentioned by Pliny (v. 106) as one of the rivers of Apameia falling into the Maeander. Now the natives have always believed that the water of Lake Aulocrene passes under the mountain and emerges in Apameia as the Maeander and Marsyas. Hence Maximus Tyrius says: Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινὰς νερόμενοι τιμῶσι ποταμούς δύο, Μαρσύαν καὶ Μαίανδρον. εἶδον τοὺς ποταμούς· ἀφίησιν αὐτοὺς πηγὴ μία, ἣ προελθοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ νότον τῆς πόλεως καθίς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος διελούσα τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα.² We might then understand that the Obrimas is the water of Bounarbashi, and Professor Hirschfeld has made a similar suggestion, though not connecting the name with Bounarbashi. But I incline to another view. A reference to the plan of Apameia in Professor Hirschfeld's paper³ shows that the Marsyas and the Maeander rise near each other, while the Orgas rises several miles away and flows down through the plain to the city. Before reaching the city it is

¹ Cp. Strab. xiii. p. 616.

² Dissert. viii. 8.

³ Apameia-Celaenae in *Berl. Abhand.* 1876.

joined by a stream which rises in two large springs, and flows for a hundred yards or more with a considerable body of water to join the Orgas. This stream, Indjerly Su, is not well represented in Professor Hirschfeld's map: it may be the Obrimas.¹ The four names of the rivers of Apameia are thus apportioned to the only four distinct streams; and the Obrimas is so small a stream that it is omitted by every writer except Pliny. I must add that, in all points except this one, Professor Hirschfeld seems to me quite correct in his discussion of the topography of Apameia.

Whether the reading *Rhotrinus* is correct or not, I believe that until further evidence is brought forward it must be retained in the text, and the reading *Obrimæ* must be given up. One feels loath to quit this beautiful fountain, as loath as the traveller does to quit the shade of its trees and the murmur of the springs, and go on across the shelterless plain on a hot day in July. Hardly in Greece itself is there a place more sacred with legend. Here Athene threw aside her flute, and Marsyas picked it up; here Marsyas contended with Apollo, and on the plane beside the fountain he was hung up to be flayed. In the plain below, Lityerses was slain in the harvest-field by the sickles of the reapers.² The physical features of the plain are so striking that we need not wonder to find so many legends attached to it.

From Bounarbashi a long day's march of sixteen miles brought the Roman army into the Tchyl Ova, *Metropolitanus Campus*. Two days more, or perhaps three, were needed before they reached Synnada; unfortunately I travelled a great part of the road in the darkness of night, and am for the present unable to form any opinion as to the stage called *Dinias* or *Dynias* in the text of Livy. For the same reason I have nothing to say about the tomb of Alcibiades, erected by Hadrian, which Athenæus saw on the road between Metropolis and Synnada. In the paper on the topography of this district already referred to, I brought forward some arguments to show that the northern

¹ It has such a short course that Strabo, giving a very accurate and distinct account of Apameia, mentions Marsyas, Maeander, and Orgas, but omits Obrimas.

² Michaelis, *Annali*, 1858; Ruhl, *Zft. f. Oesterr. Gymnas.* 1882. This last paper is not accessible to me. Pliny (xvi. 89) mentions the plane-tree on which Marsyas was fastened.

Metropolis was on the road between Synnada and Prymnessos at the modern village of Surmeneh. Several of these arguments were founded on the mistaken idea that the southern Metropolis was in the plain of Apollonia. I still think it highly probable that the northern Metropolis was at Surmeneh, but I should now look for Melissa, where Alcibiades was buried, on the south and not on the north of Synnada.¹

Note on Aulocrene.—The myth of Marsyas and Apollo implies as its scene a place where reeds abounded. The basis of the legend is undoubtedly the contrast between the music of the lyre employed in the worship of the Ionian Apollo Citharoedos and of the flute used in the religion of southern Phrygia. The Ionian Greeks were in direct communication with southern Phrygia by the Lycus valley route,² and Celainai was therefore a natural place in which to localise the mythical contest. The myth must be placed where the reeds from which the earliest simplest kind of flute was made abounded.³ The actual course of the little river Marsyas does not and could not in ancient time have afforded such a scene, but the lake from which it was believed to rise is not much more than a reedy marsh. Here therefore the scene was laid.

The name Aulocrene was certainly understood by the Greeks to mean 'the flute-spring,' but this is not the kind of name that we should expect to find in the heart of Phrygia. It seems however to be, not a name coined by writers and learned persons, but a genuine popular name, for Pliny mentions that the whole valley was named Aulocrene. The Byzantine lists, a storehouse of information not yet properly used, come to our aid in this difficulty. We find at *Conc. Chalced.* 451 A.D., *Conc. Rom.* 503, in Hierocles, and in *Not. Episc.* i., vii., viii., ix., a bishopric, Aurocra, Aulocra, or Abrocla. The commonest form of the local adjective in Asia Minor ends in -ηνός, fem. -ηνή: in this case we have Αὐλοκρηνός, Αὐλοκρηνή, from which it was easy for Greek literature to make Αὐλοκρήνη by a mere change of accent.

¹ I need not here repeat the remarks about the assignation of classes (3) and (4) of the coins of Metropolis to the northern Metropolis, as given in the above-mentioned article, and in the

additional remarks in the same Journal 1883.

² Compare Hipponax, *Fragm.* 46 [30].

³ See Flach, *Gesch. d. griech. Lyrik*, p. 77 f.

Aulocra was a mere village, which is not likely to have left any remains: Hierocles calls it *dêmos Auracleia*. The boundary between the Byzantine provinces, Phrygia Salutaris and Pisidia, must have crossed the valley, and Aulocra is always attached to the former province. This is remarkable, as Aulocra must under the Roman empire, when the power of the Asian cities was not discouraged, have been one of the many villages subject to Apameia: *πολλὰς εὐδαίμονας κώμας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε*, Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxv.

Probably the same Graecising tendency has affected the name of the fountain on coins of Ceretapa, Aulindenos. This name also is an adjective derived from Aulinda, which is probably altered from the native form Alinda to give a connection with *αὔλος*, flute. Alinda is a Carian name, probably derived from *ala*, the Carian word meaning 'horse,' an exceedingly common element in local names of Asia Minor.

W. M. RAMSAY.