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Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 30 (1910), pp. 163-167

Published by: The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/624267>

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A CELTIC CULT AND TWO SITES IN ROMAN GALATIA.

ELEVEN years ago I contributed to the *Journal* an account of exploration in Galatia, and in summarizing the evidence which it supplied as to the civilization of Galatia, I pointed out that the Celtic conquerors assimilated the culture of the conquered Phrygians without seriously modifying its character. And more particularly in the religious sphere I observed that the evidence indicated that the religion prevailing in the Imperial period was 'purely Phrygian: there is no trace of any Celtic cult . . . The new settlers perforce adopted the native cultus: for it was always necessary to "know the manner of the god 'of the land'" (2 Kings, xvii. 26). Doubtless they identified their gods with the Phrygian, and did not keep up any separate cult: otherwise it would be incredible that no trace of it should have remained.'¹

A similar view was expressed in the following year by Sir W. M. Ramsay. 'Few traces,' he says, 'of the old Gaulish religion can be detected in Galatia. It would be difficult to mention any except the sacrifice of captives, which was practised as late as B.C. 160, and presumably the rites at Drynemeton. It is hardly probable that the Gaulish religion was wholly disused or forgotten in the last century B.C. But certainly almost all the references—unfortunately very few—to Galatic religion point to the rapid adoption of the ancient and impressive cult of Cybele . . . The Galatians may perhaps have modified to some degree the character of the Phrygian ritual by their own nature and customs, as both the Phryges and the Greeks did. But we have no evidence on this point.' His survey ends with the observation that in the inscriptions of the Roman period no allusion is made to any religion except that of the old Phrygian gods and that of the Emperors.²

While the general correctness of this view is beyond dispute, both discussions overlooked a clear survival of a Celtic cult, or at any rate of the name of a Celtic god, in the third century after Christ. In a corner of rural Galatia, at the village of Aktche Tash near the Paphlagonian border, Hamilton copied an epitaph³ of a νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς ΒΟΥΥΚΟΥΡΙ·ΓΤΟΥ, which Franz corrected Βουσσουρι[τί]ον, an 'unknown epithet of Zeus.' During my wanderings in north-eastern Galatia in the spring of 1899 I recopied this inscription, and found two others bearing on the same cult. The three

¹ Vol. xix. (1899), pp. 313, 316.

the Epistle to the Galatians, Sect. 9, pp. 86 ff.

² Introduction to *Historical Commentary on*

³ *C.I.G.* 4102.

form an interesting little group. Aktche Tash lies in an undulating plain amongst the hills immediately east of the watershed between the Sangarius and the Halys, at a distance of 9 miles or 14½ kilometres W.N.W. of Kalejik, and some 3 miles north of the line of the Roman road from Ancyra which crossed the Halys just beyond Kalejik and ran due east by Sungurlu to Alaja, where it met the northward road from Tavium to Amasia.⁴ The village is marked on my map of Asia Minor. My copy of Hamilton's inscription reads as follows:—

1. On a block rectangular in section. The first eight lines are engraved on a panel, and the last two on the plinth.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΣ	Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίου
ΔΟΜΝΟΥ	Δόμνου
ΚΩΜΗΣ ΚΛΩΣ-	κώμης Κλωσ-
ΣΑΜΗΝΩΝ	σαμηνῶν
ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ	νεωκόρος
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΣ-	τοῦ Διὸς Βουσ-
ΣΟΥΡΙΓΓΙΟΥ	σουριγγίου
ΖΩΝΕΑΥΤΩ	ζῶν ἐαυτῷ
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΤΟ	κατέσκεύασεν τὸ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ	μνημεῖον.

In the epithet of Zeus the letter after Γ seemed to be certainly Τ: the cross-bar appeared to be engraved. But it is a mistake of the lapidary, as the next inscription shows.

2. Karayuk (Kara-eyuk), half an hour E.S.E. of Aktche Tash, and 10 miles or 16 kilometres by road from Kalejik. *Stele* built into the wall of the mosque: above there is a fragment of a wreath.

ΒΑΥΡΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ	Αὐρ. Φιλώτας
ΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙΟΥ	Στατειλίου
ΚΩΜΗΣ ΊΚΟ-	κώμης Ἰκο-
ΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΙΚΕΤΗΣ	ταρίου ἰκέτης
ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΩΝ	καὶ ὑπηρετῶν
ΔΙΙΒΟΥΣΣΟΥ	Διὶ Βουσσου-
ΡΙΓΙΩΖΩΝ	ριγίφ ζῶν
ΦΡΟΝΩΝΕΑΥ	φρονῶν ἐαυ-
ΤΩ ΤΟ ΜΝΗ	τῷ τὸ μνη-
ΜΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΣ	μεῖον κατεσ-
ΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ	κεύασεν.

⁴ The Roman road Angora-Kalejik is proved by milestones published from my copies in *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14184⁵⁵ ff. (cf. iii. 309, 310). For the section Kalejik-Sungurlu no evidence was known till M. Cagnat communicated to the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France a

copy sent to M. Perrot of a milestone found at Sungurlu (falsely attributed to Bithynia): it was set up in A.D. 97-98 by Pomponius Bassus, governor of the province Galatia-Cappadocia, A.D. 95-100 (*Bulletin*, 1903, p. 193; repeated in *Rev. Arch.* 1903, ii. p. 445, No 261).

3. *Ibidem.* *Stele* in the mosque wall; above the inscription is the remnant of a bust, beneath which is a garland of various fruits.

ΧΑΙ
ΡΟΙ
C

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ
ΙΚΕΤΗΣ
ΚΩΜΗΣ ΜΑΛΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΚΑΛΜΙΖΗΝΗΣ
ΕΤΟΥΣ

ΠΑ
ΡΟ
ΔΕΙ
ΤΑ

Χαίροις, παροδεῖτα.
Αὐρήλιος
Ἀσκληπιάδης
Ἀσκληπιοῦ
ικέτης
κώμης Μαλοῦ
τῆς Καλμιζηνῆς
ἔτους 505.

All three inscriptions belong to the same period, and that period is fixed as the third century after Christ by the character of the lettering taken in conjunction with the use of the *praenomen* Aurelius. There can be no doubt that the era employed in No. 3 is B.C. 25, the year of the establishment of the province Galatia, and that the actual date is A.D. 251.

The epithet Bussurigios is undoubtedly Celtic,⁵ as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarius, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum⁶ and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior.⁷ The termination *-mārus*, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names,⁸ and both Bussumarus and the simple Busu occur on Gallic coins, partly found in Pannonia.⁹ As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigios is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rí*, gen. *ríg*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names (of the type of Boiorix, Zmertorix,^{9a} etc.), and it forms the final syllable of some tribal names, *e.g.* Bituriges.¹⁰

We should like to learn something about the character of this cult, but unfortunately the inscriptions leave us in the dark. It is noticeable that the votaries of the god bear pure Graeco-Roman names. The god is identified with the Anatolian deity Hellenized as Zeus: was the identification so complete that he had shed all his Celtic characteristics? It seems scarcely probable. When we consider the tenacity with which the Gauls of the country districts maintained their language and many of their primitive ideas and customs—especially those relating to the family and the organization of society¹¹—far into the Roman period, we may not unreason-

⁵ Cf. Cumont, *s.v.* 'Bussuritiōs,' in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. col. 1077.

⁶ *C.I.L.* iii. 1033; Suppl. 14215¹⁵ (= Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 4621).

⁷ *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 12403, where [*et d*]is *Samarie* ? is read. The true restoration is due to Dessau.

⁸ Cf. Zeuss-Ebel, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 16.

⁹ Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, *s.v.*; Dessau on No. 4621.

^{9a} This particular name is interesting as occurring on coins of the Phrygian Eumeneia (Head, *B.M. Catal. of Phrygia*, pp. 215 f.): Zmerton in Galatia, *J.H.S.* xix. p. 82.

¹⁰ Zeuss-Ebel, *op. cit.* p. 20. In German names the termination appears as *-ricus*.

¹¹ Cf. Mommsen, *Rom. Prov.*, E. T., i. p. 341; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, pp. 23 f.; Ramsay, *op. cit.* pp. 130 ff.

ably presume that with the Celtic name there survived, in this remote corner of the country, some elements of Gallic ritual and religious feeling.

There remain one or two questions of topography raised by our inscriptions. It is obvious that our site can hardly be identified with any of the village names mentioned by them. The votaries of the god belonged rather to the villages around. *Κώμη Κλωσσαμηνῶν* is unknown, but it seems probable that Ikotarium is to be equated with Acitoriziacum, an almost certainly corrupt name, placed by the Peutinger Table thirty-six miles from Ancyra on the road to Tavium. Now this road ran not by Kalejik, but by Assi Yuzgat and Yakshi Khan,¹² and as the Table's numbers give a total mileage which is much too great, Sir William Ramsay supposed that Acitoriziacum has (by a not uncommon error) been transferred from another road, and he placed it at Kalejik.¹³ But Kalejik is too far away from Ancyra, and reasons will presently appear for giving it a different name. If, however, Acitoriziacum is a corruption of Ikotarium, it would naturally be assigned to the Ancyra-Kalejik road, and thirty-six miles from Ancyra bring us into the plain of Aktche Tash and Kara-eyuk. A site near the village of Elejik¹⁴ (about 1½ mile or 2½ kilometres W.S.W. of Aktche Tash) would satisfy the conditions.

More interest attaches to the village Malos, which figures in the life of St. Theodotos of Ancyra, published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, May 18, vol. iv. Its situation is thus described: *Μαλός ἐστιν χωρίον τῆς πόλεως ἀπρῳκισμένον σημείων μικροῦ πρὸς τεσσαράκοντα*, i.e. a little over forty Roman miles from Ancyra, on the western bank of the Halys (p. 153). Sir William Ramsay rightly perceived that the road here meant is that which went to Kalejik.¹⁵ It is the only eastward road that suits the conditions described in the story. Theodotos arrived in the neighbourhood 'at the time of the persecution,' when the body of the martyr Valens was thrown into the eddying waters of the Halys. He rescued it and carried it to an *ἐπισκοπιά* (*specula*) on the bank, about two miles from the village.¹⁶ It was a beautiful spot with abundance of grass, fruit trees, and juniper, and filled with the scent of flowers; at dawn it resounded with a concert of grasshoppers, nightingales, and all sorts of birds; and 'in a word, the hillside was full of all the charms with which nature decks the solitude.' No one who has seen the

¹² To this road belongs the milestone at Orta Keui; see *J.H.S.* xix. pp. 98 ff., and the Map, Plate IV. The road is quite wrongly drawn in the map attached to *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. Pars. II. Cf. my map of Asia Minor.

¹³ *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 258 f. He assigned it to the Ancyra-Gangra road, but a milestone which I found during this same journey (*C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14184⁵⁸) proves that this road did not go by Kalejik, but diverged from the Ancyra-Kalejik road about two miles south of Balik-

Assar (perhaps ancient Bolegasus).

¹⁴ Cf. *C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 14184⁵⁶.

¹⁵ *Hist. Geogr.* p. 251.

¹⁶ *παρεγένετο οὖν οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἀλλ' ὀλίγον τι κατωτέρω ἐπισκοπιάν τινα πρὸς τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος ἀποβλέπων* (corr. ἀποβλέπουσαν), ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Ἄλφους καταπύεται· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ διάστημα τοῦ τε χωρίου καὶ τοῦ τόπου Ἰσως εἰσὶ δύο πρὸς στάδια (p. 154). Stadia in the sense of miles is not infrequent in later Greek: cf. *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 190, 251, 258.

Halys valley at the points where it is crossed by the three roads from Ancyra will doubt that the spot here described lies beside the stone bridge which spans the river gorge below Kalejik. It was from an *ἐπισκοπία* such as that in the story that the guardian of the luxuriant vineyards by the bridge shouted to us a warning which knew nothing of the generosity of Plato's law in favour of the passing traveller who should desire to eat of such luscious grapes. The bridge is just two miles from Kalejik. And Kalejik is 'a little over forty miles from Ancyra': the actual distance by road, as nearly as I can calculate it from trocheameter measurements, is about forty-four Roman miles (41 English miles, 66 kilometres). The conclusion is clear: Kalejik represents Malos, and Kalmizene, of which I know no other mention, is the name of the district around it.

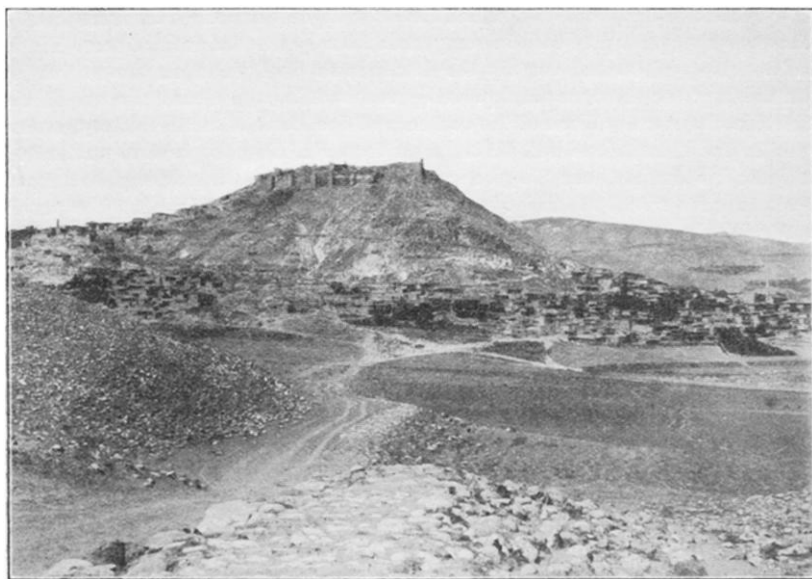


FIG. 1.—KALEJIK, FROM THE EAST.

Kalejik (Fig. 1) is a small town picturesquely situated, in the late Sir Charles Wilson's words,¹⁷ 'at the base of an isolated and nearly conical hill of red trachyte, which is crowned with the ruins of a fine castle' (much and often restored). I found no new inscriptions here, nor did I succeed in discovering the fragmentary inscriptions which Wilson saw on some of the old stones used in the construction of the castle walls. We were shown a souvenir of the later fortunes of the town in the shape of cannon balls of stone, which presumably belong to the time of the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century.

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¹⁷ *Handbook to Asia Minor*, p. 10.