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JULIA-IPSUS AND AUGUSTOPOLIS.

By W. M. CALDER.

The following pages contain the results, not devoid of interest, if meagre in quantity, of various short visits to the valley of the Caystrus in Central Phrygia, and to the hills which bound it on the north and south. This valley formed the meeting-place of five great Anatolian roads, the northern and central trade-routes from the east, the highways to the west coast down the Maeander valley or past Akmonia or Eucarpia and Sardis, and the road to the Bosphorus by way of Dorylaeum. Naturally therefore the valley of the Caystrus was traversed by many generals or governors or other persons known to history, and, little as history has recorded of the state of the valley at different periods, enough has been gleaned from various writers to enable us to fix the main features of its ancient topography. It was traversed from west to east by Cyrus the Younger and Xenophon in 401 B.C. Alexander the Great crossed it from south to north on his way from Celaenae to Gordium in 333 B.C. The battle of Ipsus was fought somewhere near its eastern end in 301 B.C. The plunder-laden army of Cn. Manlius Vulso moved slowly over it, proceeding northwards, in 191 B.C. Cicero travelled through it on his way from Synnada to Philomelium in 51 B.C. To cut short a long list, this valley was the scene of a fierce battle between the emperor Alexius I and the Turks in A.D. 1116; the account given by Anna Comnena of this campaign is the fullest record we possess on the ancient topography of the Caystrus valley, and it throws some light on places in the hills to the north.¹

The modern topography of this region is well known, and I shall confine myself in this paper to a discussion of the two administrative units which occupied the bulk of its territory in the Roman period, the city of Julia-Ipsus and the imperial estates around the village which afterwards became Augustopolis. Each of my visits to this valley was an interlude in wider schemes of exploration; the results published here are due to accidental discovery and not to a systematic examination of the whole district.

¹ See Ramsay in *Atb. Mitth.* 1882, p. 139, ff.

Many modern travellers have passed along or across the Caystrus valley, but, topography apart, it has not yet been exhaustively explored.¹

I. JULIA-IPSUS.

Cyrus the younger, on his expedition against his brother in 401 B.C. marched through an "inhabited city," called by Xenophon *Καῦστρον πεδίων*.² This city clearly lay somewhere in the valley of the Akkar Tshai, between the point, near Afium Kara Hissar, where the road from Keramôn Agora enters it, and the point, east of Ishakli, where the river becomes involved in marshes before entering the Lake of the Forty Martyrs. Unfortunately the distances given by Xenophon for this part of the march have been corrupted or displaced. The distance from Keramôn Agora (Islam Keui) to *Καῦστρον πεδίων* is given as three days' march, or thirty parasangs, but, as Prof. Ramsay has pointed out,³ this would be equivalent to twenty-five miles a day, as contrasted with the twelve or fifteen miles which formed the ordinary rate of march on this part of the expedition. Xenophon states that *Καῦστρον πεδίων* was reached from *Κεραμῶν ἀγορά* in three days, and that the army halted five days at *Καῦστρον πεδίων*. Koch⁴ observes that there is a difference of three days' journey between Xenophon's account of the total march and the sum of the detailed marches, and he suggests that the three days' march should be inserted between Keramôn Agora and Kaystrou Pedion. A simpler cure, and one which explains the corruption in the text, is to assume that the numbers three and five have been transposed, and that the journey lasted five days,⁵ and the halt three. This would bring the army to a point between Tshai and Ishakli, where a city existed in the plain of the Caystrus in Hellenistic and in Roman times, and that point agrees with the further measurements to Thymbrium, Tyriaeum and Iconium.

The identification of the Phrygian city which struck coins bearing the legend *ΙΟΥΑΙΕΩΝ* with the Ipsus known in Hellenistic and again in Byzantine history was first proposed by Prof. Ramsay⁶ and has been generally accepted. The evidence for placing the

¹ Among the more recent explorers who have examined parts of it are Ramsay (*Atb. Mitth.* 1882, p. 126, ff. and *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 482, ff.), Hogarth (*J.H.S.* 1890, pp. 152, 160) and Anderson (*Annual of the B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 49, and *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 110). The present paper owes much and adds confirmation to the work of those scholars.

In 1908 I travelled from Bayat past Tchoghu to Bolavadin and Ishakli; in 1910 from the north side of the Eber Göl to Bolavadin and Tshai. In 1911 Sir W. M. Ramsay and I visited Tshai, the neighbourhood of Bolavadin, Hamidieh, Felleli, and

Tshobanlar. In 1912 I passed through Tshai, Innli and Ishekler (on the south), Surmeneh, Felleli, Gunuk, Bayat, Tchoghu, Bolavadin, Afium Kara Hissar. Besides the inscriptions given in this paper, I found two new neo-Phrygian inscriptions, and made more complete copies of many of the older ones.

² *Anabasis*, i, 2, 11.

³ *J.H.S.* viii, p. 491.

⁴ *Zug der Zehn Tausend*, p. 19.

⁵ So Ramsay, loc. cit.

⁶ *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 491.

site of the Roman Julia somewhere in the plain between Tshai and Ishakli, under the north-west¹ corner of the Sultan Dagħ, has already been discussed by Professor Ramsay² and Mr. Anderson,³ and need not be repeated here. The site of Ipsus, the strong city on the Sultan Dagħ in the valley behind Tshai, has still to be discovered. Passing through Tshai in 1912, I was told that there were "written stones" on the mountain two hours from the town, but owing to the pressure of other work I was unable to verify the report. Professor Ramsay⁴ was told a similar story in 1890. The city lay near the junction of the two main routes into the interior of Asia Minor from the coast, that from Ephesus and the Maeander valley and that from the Bosphorus. This explains why Antigonos in 301 B.C. made for this point in his vain attempt to prevent a junction between the armies of Seleucus, coming from Cappadocia, and of Lysimachus, coming from the Hellespont.

Imperial coins of Julia were struck under Nero and Agrippina junior, and under Aemilian and Cornelia Supera. The types on those coins are characteristic of the majority of Phrygian cities; one type, the representation of Mên on horseback shouldering a sceptre(?), is paralleled by a small uninscribed votive relief in marble, found near Tshai, and now in the possession of the local station-master of the Ottoman railway, showing the god in the same attitude. This type belonged to a widespread cult of Mên or Sabazius which was represented at Julia, and its character is distinct from that of the coin-types of the neighbouring city, Philomelium, which show the bust of Mên with a crescent, under the influence of the cult of Mên Askaênos at Pisidian Antioch.⁵ The bust or full figure of Mên with the crescent characterises the votive tablets found at the shrine of Mên Askaênos in 1912. An isolated example of the mounted god at Antioch is given in this *Journal*, ii, p. 95, no. 23.

"A fragment of marble pediment displaying three horsemen meeting three others; behind, on the right, two unmounted figures," inscribed ἐποίησα σὺν [τ]οῖς ἐπιζέζυμένοις θεοῖς ἀθανάτοις . . . was found by Mr. Hogarth at Ishakli in 1887.⁶ The execution is poor and the lettering late. This monument probably belongs to the cult of the horseman-god.⁷ The strange and unnatural-looking participle, the use of the phrase ἀθανάτοι θεοί, and the late character of the lettering suggest that this monument belonged to the artificial revival of paganism which accompanied the Christian persecutions at the end of the third century of our era, and has left many

¹ B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, 2nd ed. p. 678, by common slip of the pen, says "north-east."

² *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 434.

³ *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 110.

⁴ loc. cit.

⁵ B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* 2nd ed. pp. 678, 682.

⁶ *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 161.

⁷ It is not likely to be part of a traditional decorative scheme commemorating the battle of Ipsus.

monuments in Phrygia. The phrase ἀθάνατοι θεοί, apart from metrical epitaphs, is rare in the spontaneous pagan epigraphy of Phrygia, while it seems to have been a favourite one in inscriptions belonging to the state-engineered and artificial pagan worship which accompanied the persecutions, and, from sheer poverty of ideas, copied Christian forms and Christian language. A very instructive inscription of this class, dated A.D. 313-314, is that on p. 566 of Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, where the language, κὲ τηρῶν ἐντολὰς ἀθανάτων· κὲ ἐγὼ ἱμεῖς ὁ λαλῶν τα τα Ἀθάνατος Ἐπιτύγχανος, μνηθὶς ὑπὸ καλῆς ἀρχιερείας δημοτικῆς καλὸν ὄνομα Ἰσπατάλης, ἣν ἐτίμησαν ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ κὲ ἐν ὄροις κὲ ὑπὲρ ὄρους· ἐλυτρώσατο γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐκ κακῶν βασάνων, is full of echoes of the Christian



FIG. 42. INSCRIPTION NO. 1 (p. 241).

writings. The βάσανοι referred to in this inscription are the tortures of the persecutions from which the high-priestess Ispatale had "ransomed many" by giving them the opportunity to perform the act of sacrifice, usually to a bust of the emperor, which entitled them to a certificate of loyalty to the state religion. The ἀθάνατοι θεοί are a challenge to the ἀθάνατος θεός of Christian worship. A rude and late inscription copied at Eyuplu near Pisidian Antioch in 1912¹ belongs to the same period, and partakes of the same character.

I have described elsewhere² the accident which led me to a Seljuk or early Turkish bridge carrying the old road from Bolavadin (Polybotus) to the main eastern highway over the Akkar Tshai (Caystrus). On that occasion I had time to copy only a neo-Phrygian inscription which I had gone to look for, but I made rough

¹ R. and C. on a *bomos* about 15 ins. high, Γεωργὸς Ζωτικού θεοῖς ἀθανάτοις εὐχὴν.

² *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 203, f.

notes of three further inscriptions, two in Greek and one in Latin, of the regular municipal type, which supplied the first epigraphic evidence of the existence of a Graeco-Roman city in this neighbourhood.¹ In 1911 I revisited the bridge with Sir W. M. Ramsay. We copied the three inscriptions mentioned, and, by raising a stone on the parapet of the bridge, found a fourth.

1. The Latin inscription, which had suffered a good deal from weathering, was part of a dedication, doubtless made by the city of Julia, in honour of a Roman who had gone through the senatorial *cursus honorum* during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and had held the unusual office of *iiivir centuriis equitum recognoscendis censoria potestate* (fig. 42). I sent copies of this inscription to Professor Dessau and Professor Haverfield, who both pointed out that the office was one connected with the Augustan reorganisation of the *equites*. As the inscription was therefore of much interest, and as the name FAVONIO, a very rare name either as nomen or cognomen, was puzzling, I deferred publication of the text until all doubt should have been removed. In 1912 I made an excursion from Pisidian Antioch to revise this inscription: as is shown in fig. 42, the reading FAVONIO and, indeed, the whole text is certain.

.
 FAVONIO COS. PRO-
 COS. ASIAE XV VIRO
 SACR(IS) FACIENDIS SODA-
 LI AUGUSTAL(I) III VIR(O) CEN-
 TUR(IIS) EQUIT(UM) RECOGNOSC(ENDIS)
 CENSORIA POTESTAT(E)
 LEG(ATO) DIVI AUGUSTI ET TI(BERII)
 CAESARIS AUGUSTI

The stone is broken away above line 1. Below the last line the surface has been cut away, to make it fit into the parapet. It was originally a *bomos* of the usual type. At the end there was room on the raised edge for three more lines in slightly larger letters than the last remaining line, or for four lines in letters of the same size. I thought in 1912 that a stop-mark had been cut after the L of AVGVSTAL, but the stone is weather-marked all over, and it may be accidental. There appeared also to be a stroke over the following III.

Suetonius, among new offices devised by Augustus "quo plures partem administrandae reipublicae caperent," mentions a "trium-

¹ Inscriptions nos. 50 and 51 on p. 111 of *J.H.S.* 1898 (Anderson) are not conclusive; the second is an ordinary village epitaph.

viratum legendi senatum et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum quotiensque opus esset.”¹ According to Mommsen,² one of the latter *tres viri* was L. Volusius Saturninus, who is mentioned by Tacitus³ as dying in A.D. 20. Saturninus received the *ensoria potestas*, and we must assume the same power in the case of his two colleagues and in that of other *tres viri* appointed for this purpose. The variation between *turmae* in Suetonius, *decuriae* in Tacitus, and *centuriae* in our inscription is perhaps only a matter of literary form.

The only person known by name as having held this triumvirate is the L. Volusius Saturninus mentioned above. He does not appear to have been called Favonius, nor does that name recur among the known names of Augustan personages. It is therefore probable that Favonius was a different person from Volusius, whom we cannot yet identify. There were doubtless several *tres viri* of this kind, and Sir W. M. Ramsay points out that the chronology of our Favonius accords ill with what is known of L. Volusius. The offices of Favonius (except the consulship, which, as usually happens, comes immediately after the name) are given, as often, in inverse order; first, the consulship, held no doubt under Augustus, then the proconsulship of Asia, held doubtless at the time when this stone was engraved, then two priesthoods, the *ensoria potestas*, and, finally, a high provincial command held obviously near the very end of the reign of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius (say A.D. 13–15): the earlier career is lost. L. Volusius, on the other hand, seems to have been consul in 12 B.C., too early a date for Favonius; he was proconsul of Africa, not Asia, and held different priesthoods. Ramsay further suggests that Favonius is not a true name but a *signum* or nick-name of some Roman whose *nomen* is lost. Or, as Prof. Haverfield suggests, he might be a relative of Cato's friend, M. Favonius (90–42 B.C.) and of a lady, possibly his daughter, who was priestess of Ceres (*C.I.L.* vi, 2182). The Favonii, he points out, were perhaps a family of Terracina, who supplied the Roman state with one or two public men at the very end of the republic and then, as families do, lapsed into its previous obscurity.

The three remaining inscriptions built into the bridge are interesting mainly as proving the existence, in this vicinity, of a Graeco-Roman city which must be Julia. The last two probably belong to the third century of our era.⁴ Two of them mention ἀρχιερεῖς of Julia, high-priests in the municipal cult of the emperors. On the addition στεφανηφόρος, which means that the high-priest “wore a laurel-wreath of gold bearing in front a medallion of the reigning Augustus,” Professor Ramsay shows⁵ that in Asia

¹ *Octav.* 37. In 38, he says that Augustus “equitum turmas frequenter recognovit.”

² *Staatsrecht*, iii, p. 494, n. 3: cf. i, p. 359, n. 3, ii, p. 947, n. 5.

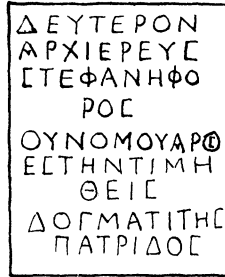
³ *Tac. Ann.* iii, 30.

⁴ See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 388, ff. on the name Aurelius.

⁵ *Cities and Bishoprics*, pp. 56, 76: see also G. F. Hill, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, ii, 245.

there were ἀρχιερεῖς στεφανηφόροι in many cities, distinct from the ἀρχιερεῖς of the province. Varus (no. 2) was a municipal high-priest; it is unthinkable that an obscure town like Julia, unknown in imperial history except from its coins, should have supplied an ἀρχιερεῖς of the province.

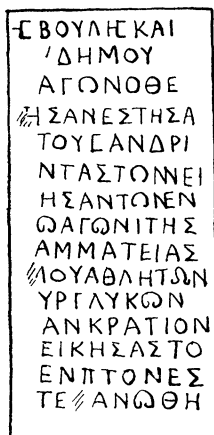
2. On a stele (R. and C. 1911).



Δεύτερον ἀρχιερεὺς στεφανηφόρος, οὐνομ' Οὐᾶρος,
ἔστην τιμηθεὶς δόγματι τῆς πατρίδος.

ἔστην means "my statue was set up." The name Οὐᾶρος is treated as of three syllables, and οὐνομα is elided before it; this is interesting as showing that in local pronunciation the initial consonant in the Latin name Varus was modified on the analogy of Anatolian names like Οὐᾶς or Ὑᾶς, which, on the other hand, were often spelt Βᾶς.

3. *ibid.* On a stele (R. and C. 1911).



[ὁ δεῖνα]
[δόγματι]
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δήμου
ἀγωνοθέ-
της ἀνέστησα
τοὺς ἀνδρί-
αντας τῶν νει-
κησάντων ἐν
τῷ ἀγῶνι τῆς
γρ]αμματείας
μου ἀθλητῶν.
Α]ὕρ. Γλύκων
π]ανκράτιον
ν]εικήσας τὸ
π]ενπτὸν ἐσ-
τε[φ]ανώθη.

The name of the ἀγωνοθέτης and the word δόγματι must have been lost at the top, though there seems no room for them there; the words δόγματι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου go closely with ἀνέστησα and not with ἀγωνοθέτης. This official held the games and defrayed their cost while he was γραμματεὺς of the city.¹ A person who gave a capital sum, the interest of which would furnish games at annual or other intervals, was ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου or δι' αἰῶνος.²

4. On a stele (R. and C. 1911).

ΗΒΟΥΛΗ·ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΣΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΣ
 ΑΥΡ·ΕΠΙΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΝ
 > ΕΚΓΟΝΟΝ >
 ΑΥΡ·ΕΠΙΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥ
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ
 ΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ
 ΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ
 ΑΙΤΑΜΙΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ
 ΤΗΝΑΝΑΣΤΑ
 ΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝ
 ΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΑ
 ΑΥΡ·ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ
 > ΕΠΙΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥ >

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ἐτείμησε
 Α]ὺρ. Ἐπιτύγχανον
 ἔκγονον
 Αὺ]ρ. Ἐπιτυγχάνου
 ἀρχιερέως
 τῆς πατρίδος
 ἀγ]ορανομήσαντα
 κ]αὶ ταμιεύσαντα.
 τὴν ἀνάστα[σιν
 ποιησαμέν[ον
 τοῦ πατρὸς α[ὐτοῦ
 Αὺρ. Ἀντιγόνου
 Ἐπιτυγχάνου.

Aurelius Epitynchanus the elder must probably be placed after A.D. 212; an inscription in honour of his grandson cannot be earlier than the middle of the third century.

II. AUGUSTOPOLIS: AN IMPERIAL ESTATE.

In the broad flat valley of the Caystrus, between Julia-Ipsus on the east, and Prymnessus and Docimium on the west and north-west, stretching for some distance into the wooded hill-country on the north, lay the Roman imperial estate whose central village was raised in the Byzantine period to the rank of a city, with the title Augustopolis. Ramsay has shown that Augustopolis was situated at Surmeneh, nine miles ESE. from Afium Kara Hissar,³ and he argued from what is known of the history of the city, and from a

¹ cf. γραμματεὺς τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν ἀγώνων (Philadelphia), *Atb. Mitth.* xx, 244.

² Liermann, *Diss. Hal.* x, 58; Levy, *Rev. Études Gr.* xii, 263, xiv, 370.

³ *Atb. Mitth.* 1882, 136, ff: he afterwards (*J.H.S.* 1887, p. 492) abandoned the identification of Augustopolis with Metropolis, which he now places at Kumbet beside the city of Midas.

passage in the life of St. Eutychius, that it lay on an imperial estate.¹ His opinion was confirmed by an inscription found by Anderson near Buyuk Tshobanlar, east of Surmeneh, in 1898. It is a dedication to M. Aurelius made by the *δῆμος Εὐλανδρέων*, and actually set up by Chrestos, an imperial freedman² and *tabularius* in charge of the revenues of the estate. Eulandra is the bishopric which was represented by Meirus at the council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, and is replaced by Augustopolis from the middle of the sixth century onwards. Eulandra may be the village³ which afterwards became Augustopolis, or a neighbouring village. There are considerable ancient remains both at Surmeneh and at Buyuk Tshobanlar; if the former was Augustopolis, the latter may have been Eulandra. But more probably Tshobanlar was Anabura.

An integral portion of the imperial estate was the famous marble quarry near Docimium, whence came the marble "stained with Attis' own blood,"⁴ known in the commerce of the Mediterranean world as Synnadic, and in the neighbouring cities as Docimian.⁵ These quarries were managed from a bureau in Synnada, where the quarried marble was stored, and whence it was sent down to the coast. The local epigraphic evidence bearing on the Docimium quarries has been collected, and their connexion with Synnada explained by Ramsay.⁶ An inscription of Dorylaeum,⁷ an epitaph set up by a *δοῦλος τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος* to a *ἵππεὺς τῶν ἐν Συννάδοις*, proves that there was a *collegium* of muleteers in the imperial service⁸ stationed at Synnada, and those muleteers presumably had charge of the transport of the marble from Docimium to Synnada, and perhaps thence to the coast. Probably the administration of the whole estate around Eulandra was centred in Synnada, just as the management of the imperial estate at Zizima (the *praedia quadrata*) was conducted from Laodiceia Combusta, the nearest city beside the trade-route. Among a dozen inscriptions mentioning slaves or freedmen connected with the administration of the estate at Zizima, only one has been found on the estate itself; the rest belong to the city. It was probably a general rule that many of the lower, as well as the higher, officials in charge of imperial estates in Asia Minor resided in the nearest city whence the produce of the estate could be forwarded to the commercial markets of the west.

A new inscription, published below, supplies information as to

¹ *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 492.

² *Annual of the B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 50. Read *Χρήστου ἀπελ(ευθέρου)* [Σεβ.], or without [Σεβ.], this being understood.

³ The name is not given in the *Acta Eutychii*, which speak of it only as *θεῖα κώμη*.

⁴ Statius, *Silvae*, i, 5, 36-38.

⁵ e.g. Apollonia, Le Bas-Waddington, no. 1192,

and often at Hierapolis, Humann-Judeich, *Alt. von Hier.* p. 94, n. 56.

⁶ *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* 1882, p. 290, ff. See also *C.I.L.* iii, 7005-7040.

⁷ *B.C.H.* 1904, p. 195. cf. *Class. Rev.* 1910, p. 11, and 1913.

⁸ A similar *collegium mulionum* is mentioned on an imperial domain in Africa. See O. Hirschfeld in *Klio*, 1902, p. 296, n. 1.

the condition of our estate in the Byzantine period. The Greek epigraphy of the imperial period is mainly interesting as being characteristic of imperial estates generally. Of the history of the estate in earlier times we know nothing, except what can be deduced from the analogy of other Anatolian estates. A portion of its land must have been given to the city of Docimium by its Macedonian founder. If we may argue from the evidence of a milestone mentioned below, the territory of Docimium may have crossed the valley to the neighbourhood of Afium Kara Hissar, and perhaps included the ancient village beside the fortress of Akroënos. The general conditions make it highly probable that the estate was originally temple-land, the property of the agricultural god who, on inscriptions found on the estate, is called *Ζεὺς Καρποδότης*, *Γαλάκτινος*, or *Ἀλσηνός*, and of the goddess Cybele, represented on coins of Prymnessus, Docimium, and Julia. The sulphurous hot springs in the plain, the gift of the god of healing, were doubtless connected with the cult of Asklepios and of Hygieia, who appear on coins of Prymnessus, and are still resorted to by the Turkish peasantry. A trace of the primitive sanctity of the temple-land survives to the present day in a local superstition which I came across by accident in 1912.

Had the observant Xenophon turned aside from the main road as Cyrus' army marched past the lofty rock of Kara Hissar, he would probably have been able to record that he had seen two rivers *πλήρεις ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς [οἱ Φρύγες] θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων*.¹ I was taken by a Greek friend in Kara Hissar to a farm called Tchapak Tchiflik, an hour NNE. of the town, on the road to Docimium, where is preserved a Roman milestone.² Behind the farm-steading two magnificent springs rise in deep pools, called respectively Balükli Bunar (fish spring) and Jakop Bunar (Jacob spring). They are full of brownish fish, many of them over a foot long, which were quite undisturbed by our presence, and would have been described by Xenophon as tame. Our Turkish informant told us that no one is allowed to harm the fish, because they are under the protection of a *Dede* who sleeps close by. He called them *tachta balük* (wood-fish); my Greek companion told me that their name in Greek is *κέφαλοι*.

The presence of a *Dede* or deified ancestor is the Turkish way of expressing the peasant's feeling that religious veneration attaches to a place. Wherever a nameless *Dede* occurs, there is a presumption that his presence marks the persistence of religious sanctity from ancient times.³ In the present case, it can hardly be doubted that the fish in those two springs have been sacred and inviolate

¹ cf. *Anab.* i, iv, 9.

² *C.I.L.* iii, 7172.

³ See Ramsay's paper on *The Permanence of Religion at Holy Places in Western Asia*, in *Pauline and other Studies*, pp. 163, ff.

from an early period. The devotees of the Phrygian Cybele abstained from all fish. The emperor Julian, to whom we owe this information, explains the abstention as due to the fact that fish were not used in sacrifice.¹ Hepding, in his admirable work on Attis, has argued that the reference must be only to the ordinary *τιμητήριοι θυσίαι*, not to the mystic *τελεστικά θυσίαι*, of which Julian can scarcely be speaking. He points out that the fish is occasionally represented on cult-monuments of the Magna Mater, in one case as forming part of the mystic meal.² Hepding is maintaining the well-known thesis that the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus refers to a priest of Attis: the facts adduced by him, to which may now be added the interesting relic of Phrygian worship which survives in the springs at Tchapak Tchiflik, provide the appropriate pagan setting for the

*ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς
πανμεγέθη καθαρὸν, ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἄγνή. . .*

of the Christian epitaph.³ The fish occurs only rarely in the Christian symbolic art of central and western Phrygia⁴; in Isauria it is fairly common.⁵ The symbol of the fish appears early on Christian monuments elsewhere,⁶ and as the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia are distinctly earlier in the mass than those of Isauria, we should expect to find greater prominence given to the fish in the former. Possibly it was eschewed owing to its sacred character in the pagan cult of Phrygia. While the Christian inscriptions adopted pagan forms to express what was essential, they naturally avoided superfluous detail which was rendered impure by pagan association.

The name Jakop Bunar may perhaps be traceable to Jewish or Christian influence. After the overthrow of paganism, the springs doubtless retained their sacred character in local Christian tradition. Kara Hissar was long a Christian stronghold, and the modern name of Synnada (Tchifut Kassaba, "Jews' Town") suggests the influence of Jews in this neighbourhood in early-Turkish or earlier times.

Nearly all the cult-inscriptions of the estate are, naturally enough, dedications to the Anatolian god of agriculture, graecised in every case as Zeus. A dedication to Mên Askaênos, the god of the *hieron* beside Antioch, has been found at Appola,⁷ the *ex*

¹ *Orat.* v, 176, B-D.

² *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (in Dieterich und Wünsch, *Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, vol. i), p. 188, ff.

³ Those who hold that the epitaph is Christian welcome every scrap of evidence which can be made to show that its language was the language which might have been used by a Phrygian pagan in the latter half of the second century of our era. The fact that scholars of the standing of Dieterich and Hepding have taken the inscription to be pagan is

a subtle compliment to the success with which its composer veiled his religion.

⁴ A late instance in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 541.

⁵ Miss Ramsay, *Studies in the E. Rom. Prov.* pp. 8, 23, f, 54.

⁶ Le Blanc, *Manuel d'Épig. Chrét.* p. 27, quoting De Rossi, *De Christ. mon. IXΘΝ exhibentibus* in *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. iii. The "fish" occurs in Rome from the second century to the end of the fourth.

⁷ *Klio*, 1910, p. 241.

voto dedication to Ζεὺς Γαλάκτινος referred to below was made κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Ἀπόλλωνος, which does not necessarily imply a local oracular shrine of Apollo, and there is a dedication to the Μήτηρ Θεῶν at Surmeneh.¹ Another dedication to the goddess has been found at Khosrev Pasha Khan, which may possibly have been on the estate.² The worship of Cybele was always associated with that of her male companion, here graecised as Zeus, and the absence of more dedications to the goddess must be accidental. The Phrygian name of the male god, Attis, occurs on two of the Phrygian inscriptions belonging to the estate.³

Apart from the common central-Anatolian epithet Megistos (no. 7), we find Zeus called Karpodotes, the giver of crops, who is invoked ὑπὲρ καρπῶν in no. 7; Galaktinos, the giver of milk, often appealed to ὑπὲρ βοῶν in inscriptions of Phrygia; Sôtêr, the preserver of men and their property; and Alsenos.⁴ The epithet Galaktinos must refer to Zeus as the preserver of flocks and herds; it can hardly be brought into relation with the use of milk in the mysteries of Attis, or with the supposed connexion between Gallus, the priest of Attis, and the γαλαξίας κύκλος.⁵ Alsenos, as I have pointed out in *Klio*, is probably the same epithet as Alseios and Alsaïos. The function of Zeus expressed in the title Alsenos is apparent from the local circumstances of the cult. Just as Zeus bore the character of an agricultural or pastoral god in the fertile valleys of the Caystrus and of Bayat, so in the wooded uplands north of the Caystrus he assumed the character of a god of arboriculture, protector of the trees. Few things are so essential to the welfare of mankind on the central plateau of Asia Minor as the proper care of forests. The uncertain rainfall and the rapidity with which the fallen rain is dissipated and lost, through the Turkish neglect of arboriculture, have transformed many places which were abodes of peace and plenty in the Roman and earlier periods into arid wastes. It is not surprising to find that the woods which covered the Κλήρος Ὀρίνης were under the protection of a god of their own, called Zeus of the woodland. A trace of his cult is noted below on no. 12, while the same god, Latinised as Silvanus, is worshipped by a Roman centurion in an inscription found at Gebedjeler.⁶

Körte found a small stele inscribed Ἀρτέμων Παπᾶ at Bayat.⁷ He takes it (followed by Hepding, *Attis, etc.* p. 79) to be a dedication by Artemon to Papas, a name of the native god which is found in two inscriptions of Phrygia,⁸ and given by Greek writers as the

¹ *Atb. Mitth.* 1897, p. 31, (Körte).

² *ibid.* 1882, p. 132.

³ *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 161, ff. nos. vii and lxii. I hope shortly to justify the reading ΑΤΙ or ΑΤΙΕ in the former inscription in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

⁴ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* p. 235; *Klio*, 1910, p. 241, f.

⁵ Sallustius phil. *De diis et mundo*, ch. iv; Hepding, *Attis, etc.* pp. 59, 197.

⁶ *C.I.L.* iii. 7041.

⁷ *Atb. Mitth.* 1897, p. 32. He accentuates Παπά, but see Kretschner, *Einleitung*, p. 344.

⁸ *J.H.S.* 1884, pp. 257, 260.

Phrygian or Bithynian name of Zeus.¹ He bases his argument on the size of the stele, which appeared to him to be too small for a gravestone; but the epitaph in Phrygia was always felt to be a dedication to the god (see on no. 12), and a "votive" stele or altar is often used as a gravestone, and provided with an epitaph. Further, the absence of *εὐχήν* or of *ἀνέθηκεν*, which almost invariably occur in ordinary dedications to the god, makes it more than probable that this is an epitaph of a common type, giving the name of the deceased in the nominative, followed by his patronymic. *Παπᾶς* is one of the commonest personal names in central Asia Minor; as the name of the god, it occurs only twice on inscriptions.

LANGUAGE.

The nationality and the social condition of the *coloni* on the estate are reflected in their language. In Asia Minor Greek was the language of education and of municipal government; every man with any pretence to enlightenment spoke and wrote Greek. In the Roman colonies and in some other Romanised cities, Latin was spoken for a time, but it nowhere took permanent root in Asia Minor. In the country districts of the interior, too, Greek inscriptions are found, but they are mostly late, and the Greek in them is so bad that it was clearly a school-taught language, written by people who only half understood it. In those districts the native languages, Phrygian, Galatian or Lycaonian, persisted throughout the imperial period, and were evidently the languages of ordinary conversation. In western and central Phrygia, Greek appears to have killed out the native language before the Roman occupation. No Phrygian inscriptions have been found west of a line drawn from Cotiaeum to Apameia; but in the eastern portion of Asiatic Phrygia, and in that part of Phrygia which was incorporated in the Roman province Galatia,² the type of civilisation spread by the Greek cities had a formidable rival in the conservative native institutions of the Phrygian mountains and central plains, which were especially fostered by the Roman emperors on their private estates. It is significant that the majority of the cities in this region on whose sites Phrygian inscriptions have been found were in the neighbourhood of imperial estates, such as Laodiceia Combusta, Philomelium, Nacoleia, Metropolis. This observation was made by Ramsay in 1905,³ and subsequent discovery has amply

¹ Hepding, *Attis*, etc. p. 112, n. 5.

occur; the native tongue had yielded to the Celtic before Galatia was Hellenised.

² In Galatia proper, no Late Phrygian inscriptions

³ *Jabresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.* 1905 (*Beibl.*), col. 85.

confirmed it. The great majority of the known Phrygian inscriptions come from the imperial estates themselves. In particular, the region which, for its size, has yielded by far the largest number of neo-Phrygian texts, the northern and north-eastern side of the Axylon, was proved in 1910 to have been an imperial domain.¹ The estates around Augustopolis are no exception to this rule; on or close to them sixteen² neo-Phrygian texts have been copied, a very substantial proportion in a district where inscriptions of any sort are extremely scarce. Two of those inscriptions are epitaphs written in Phrygian, one having a Greek translation appended to it, and the others give many variations of the imprecatory formula common in this class of inscriptions, showing that the language was alive and capable of intelligent expression in different forms. The *coloni* on the estate were accordingly native Phrygians, little affected by Greek education, living outside the pale of the Greek city, ruled directly by the emperor.

Eulandra-Augustopolis had been raised to the rank of a city before A.D. 451, when it was represented by a bishop at Chalcedon; but the city did not include the whole territory of the estate, and a portion of the land remained imperial property till a much later period, as we shall see below. It is probably as the legal heir of the Byzantine emperors that the sultan of Turkey holds a portion of the Caystrus valley in his private possession at the present day.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ESTATE.

The estate touched the territory of Prymnessus and Docimium on the west end and north-west. On the south it probably extended for some distance into the hills towards Synnada, including the nameless site at Isheklar, where a Phrygian inscription has been found; and it perhaps formed a single administrative unit with the imperial lands in the valley of Holmi and Kinnaborium, reaching up to the territory of Lysias. In the east, it met the boundary of Julia-Ipsus. Probably Polybotus belonged to the estate rather than to the city territory. There are a few ancient sites in the Caystrus valley, as at Surmeneh, Tshobanlar, and Felleli. One of these was Eulandra, and some village in the plain must have borne the name Trokonda, implied in a dedication *ὑπὲρ δήμου Τροκονδηγῶν*.³ Anabura and Mandri Fontes, mentioned in Livy's

¹ The evidence will be published later.

viii, ix, xviii, xxxviii, xl, xlii, xliii, lxii, lxiii, and two unpublished inscriptions.

² *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 161, ff. nos. iii, iv, v, vi, vii,

³ *J.H.S.* viii, p. 493.

account of the march of Manlius,¹ also lay on the estate. Ramsay identifies the latter place with the modern Mandra, in the hills to the north of the valley.² There was another ancient village at Gunak, half an hour north of Felleli, where there are many ancient stones and an unpublished inscription in the Phrygian language. In the northern part of the estate there are ancient sites at Bayat, at Cedrea, and at Katshuby or Tchoghu, which was called Appola.³ The northern boundary of the estate cannot be fixed with certainty; it probably extended far into the Phrygian mountains: its north-eastern boundary passed somewhere near Appola, as will appear below. The mountainous part of the estate remained imperial property after the elevation of Eulandra to city rank.⁴ There was a place called Etsya in the valley of Bayat.⁵

INSCRIPTIONS.

I shall begin by adding two to the twenty-seven quarry-inscriptions collected by Ramsay in his above-mentioned paper in *Mélanges*.⁶

5. Afium Kara Hissar in the Armenian cemetery (C. 1912). On a block of marble.⁷ This inscription has been already printed from Ramsay's copy in *C.I.L.* iii, 7029: my copy and a later copy of his agree in showing no letters after B in the concluding line.

Bradua [et] Varo c(os.) A.D. 160.
off(icina) Pelag(ii), cae(sura)
Claudian(i), b(rachio) qua(rto),
loco xviii.

B.

Claudianus the engineer is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 161.⁸ Pelagius is mentioned as the person in charge of an *officina*, in two inscriptions dated A.D. 146; Asiaticus holds the same position in 147 and 164; now Pelagius appears again in 160. The overlapping of the dates suggests that at least two *officinae* were attached to the quarries at Docimium.

¹ xxxviii, 15.

² *Revue des études grecques*, 1889, p. 23.

³ See *Klio*, 1910, p. 241.

⁴ See below, on inscr. no. 21.

⁵ Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* p. 235.

⁶ cf. *Revue des études grecques*, iii, p. 77.

⁷ On the meaning of this and the following inscription, see Ramsay, loc. cit. and Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 168, ff.

⁸ *Eph. Epig.* iv, p. 34: cf. *Revue des études grecques*, iii, p. 77 (probably a different inscription).

6. Ak Sheher (Philomelium). (C. 1910). On a block of marble.

000083834
 6XVICOS
 1CCLX4 H
 D=

R A A

The inverted line at the top dates this inscription to A.D. 97: cf. Ramsay's collection, nos. 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, for resemblances in detail.

Two inscriptions of Surmeneh were published by Ramsay in *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 143, and a third in *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.* 1905, (*Beibl.*) col. 109. Two of those are in Phrygian. Körte has published two further inscriptions in *Ath. Mitth.* 1897, p. 31. There have been found also a dedication to Silvanus¹ and another Latin fragment.² I failed to find anything new in 1912. The inscription of Eulandra has been referred to above. At Felleli, Hogarth copied four inscriptions, two in Phrygian and two in Greek.³ I have failed, after two attempts, to rediscover the more difficult Phrygian inscription. A complete copy of the longer Greek inscription was made by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself in 1911.

7. Felleli (R. and C. 1911).

ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ δέινος] ἀν[θ-
 υ]πατείας Αἰσχίνη[ς
 Παπᾶ τοῦ καὶ Χαίτου
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Κυρί-
 ων Αὐτοκρατόρων
 αἰωνίου διαμο-
 νῆς καὶ νεύκης
 καὶ τῶν καρπῶ-
 ν καὶ δήμου
 σωτηρίας
 Διεὶ Μεγίσ-
 τῳ εὐχίν.

The inscription is on a *bomos*, and the last seven lines are written on either side of a defaced relief. A dedication on behalf

¹ *C.I.L.* iii, 7041.

² *ibid.* 7042.

³ *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 158, ff. nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.

of the emperors, the crops, and the village is typical of imperial estates. *Ζεὺς Μέγιστος* is the commonest Greek impersonation of the Anatolian agricultural god in east Phrygia and Lycaonia. Lines 2 and 3 are continuous, though separated by some defaced ornament.

8. Felleli (R. and C. 1911). On a rough stone.

+ Ὅσιανοῦ.
Γαλάτου.
Ἀλεξάνδρου.

The name *Γαλάτης* occurs in Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 353, no. 500. This is the epitaph of three persons; on the construction, in this and the following inscription, see vol. ii, p. 95 of this *Journal*.

9. At a fountain between Hamidieh and Tshobanlar (R. and C. 1911). Scratched on a long marble block.

Ἱερονομᾶ κὲ Δόμνου.

There was no cross visible on the stone, but the epitaph is late and Christian.

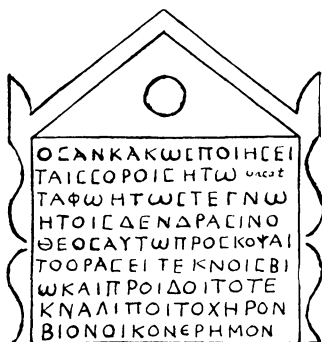
10. Bolavadin (Polybotus) (C. 1910). On the lintel of a Byzantine building. The inscription forms one continuous line.

ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΩ ΤΟ ΔΙΛΥΙΡΟ ΕΓΓΕΝΕΤΕΝ
ΔΙΛΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ Μ(Η)Ν(Ι) ΤΡΙΤ(Ω)

ἐγένετο] τὸ ἔργον τῷ το δι[ὰ χ]ιρὸς Ε[ὐ]γεν[ήου] ἐν-
δικτίωνος δευτέρας μ(η)ν(ι) τρίτ(ω)

I have published a Phrygian inscription of Bolavadin in *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 209; the inscription published *ibid.* p. 203, no. lxii, probably also belongs to this village.

12. Katshuby or Tchoghu (C. 1912).



ὅς ἂν κακῶς ποιήσῃ
ταῖς σοροῖς ἢ τῷ
τάφῳ ἢ τῷ στεγνῷ
ἢ τοῖς δένδρασιν, ὁ (sic)
θεὸς αὐτῷ προσκόψαι-
το ὁράσει τέκνοις βί-
ω καὶ προίδοιτο τέ-
κνα λίποιτο χηρὸν
βίον οἶκον ἔρημον.

Προίδοιτο τέκνα is apparently intended to mean “may he see his children dead before him.” This curse is made up of tags from several formulae, unintelligently strung together. A somewhat similar curse, *εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ εἰς ὅλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τέκνα καὶ εἰς βίον*, was copied at Ushak.¹

We have seen above that Zeus was worshipped at Appola with the title *Ἀλσηνός*, the god of the grove or woodland. This fact has an interesting bearing on the character of the sepulchral monument described in the present inscription.

This stone was set up to curse violation of a tomb consisting of a roofed building (*στεγνόν*) containing *σοροί*, and surrounded by trees. In other words, it was a sepulchral shrine set in a grove, dedicated to the worship of the dead whose names were engraved on the sarcophagi. The planting of trees is occasionally mentioned in connexion with the dedication of a temple. There is a well-known instance in Xenophon,² and an unpublished dedication to the mother-goddess of Laodiceia Combusta contains the words *καὶ ἐφύτευσα [τὸν περί]βολον ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀ[ναλωμάτων]*. The *περίβολος* of a tomb often took the form of a *παράδεισος* or *κῆπος*: the former word is used in the well-known mortgage-inscription of Sardis, meaning plots or gardens.³ In Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 280, we read that the makers of a tomb *ἀπήρτικαν τὸ ἡρῶν καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ἑαυτοῖς*, and the same idea is expressed by *κῆποι*, *ibid.* no. 518, or *κηπίον*, Benndorf, *Reisen in Lyk.* ii, 56. The whole is called *κηπόταφος* in Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 641.

In this grave at Appola, the *κῆπος* took the form of a grove, because the sepulchre of the dead was at the same time a temple

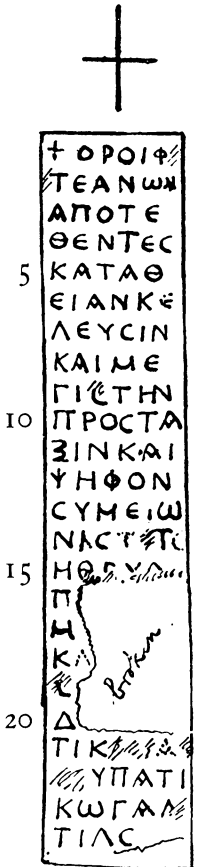
¹ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 653, no. 564.

² *Anab.* v, 3, 12.

³ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1912, p. 55.

of the deity to whom they had returned. Prof. Ramsay has several times shown that the coupling of a dedication to the local god with a monument to the dead was a characteristic religious custom in Phrygia; the character of the funereal monument mentioned in this inscription clearly reflects the influence of the local cult of Zeus. The tomb was at once the house of the dead, and a temple of the local god of the grove.

13. Katshuby or Tchoglu (C. 1908, 1912 impression). On a roughly rounded pillar, cut flat to receive the inscription.



+ ὄροι Φ[υ]τεανῶν ἀποτεθέντες κατὰ
θείαν κέλευσιν καὶ μεγίστην πρόσταξιν
καὶ ψῆφον σ(η)μείω (25 or 30 letters
obliterated here) δια . . .]τικ[ίου
λαμπρ(οτάτου)?] ὑπατικῶ Γα[λα]τί[α]s.

In the thirteenth line, the first letter is C (= Σ), not C; between C and Ω in the same line, there is a short I, or an accidental mark. In the next line, the second letter can be I or K; the second letter in the fifteenth line is apparently Θ, not C. There appeared to have been only twenty-four lines.

The ethnic is apparently Φ[υ]τεανῶν, but the second letter is uncertain. I have restored it from the Φυντεία of the *Notitiae*, but am aware that the restoration is open to objections. Sir W. M. Ramsay suggests tentatively that in the thirteenth line the proper name Συμειών should be detected, and in the twentieth and twenty-first lines we should supply διὰ Ἑορτικίου.

Ramsay has acutely referred the descriptions Κλήρος Ὀρίνης and Κλήρος Πολιτικῆς in Hierocles, *Synekdemos*, summed up in the Κλήροι of *Notitiae*, iii and x, to the imperial estates around Augustopolis. Those descriptions refer to the division of the estate which took place when Eulandra was raised to the rank of a city; the Κλήρος Πολιτικῆς was the land which was assigned to the city, and the Κλήρος Ὀρίνης was obviously the wooded hill-country to the north. It is implied in the contrast with Πολιτικῆ that

the Ὀρίνη remained in imperial possession; indeed the term Κλήρος as applied to the Πολιτική is a misnomer, because the city *territorium* was no longer a κλήρος or estate. That part of the estate remained in imperial possession after the elevation of Eulandra, is attested by other texts not earlier than the reign of Justinian, and Ramsay's explanation of the two Κλήροι may therefore be regarded as definitely established.¹

This inscription must clearly be dated earlier than the eighth century, when we find Docimium and Polybotus, and therefore the Κλήρος Ὀρίνης, in Galatia Salutaris (*Notitiae*, i, iii, x). It cannot be much later, and is certainly not much earlier than the reign of Justinian, and precisely in the reign of Justinian there was great activity in the delimitation of church lands in many parts of Asia Minor.² As we shall see below, there were church lands in this neighbourhood in or soon after the reign of Justinian, and the coincidence makes it at least possible that this inscription belongs to about the middle of the sixth century.

The name Φυτεία accords well with an imperial estate consisting of woodland. A village on an imperial estate, mentioned in the Tekmorecian lists, is called Νεόφυτα.³

The village of Appola, where this inscription was found, lay near the eastern or north-eastern edge of the estate, close to the boundary between Phrygia Salutaris and Galatia Salutaris as drawn in Ramsay's map, *J.H.S.* viii, p. 461. At a date between A.D. 692 and A.D. 787 this was altered, and the boundary of Galatia Salutaris was drawn south of Docimium, Polybotus, and Philomelium.⁴

Now if this inscription were as late as the eighth century, the mention in it of a governor of Galatia would cause no surprise, because the Κλήρος Ὀρίνης naturally passed with Docimium and Polybotus to Galatia Salutaris, when its boundaries were enlarged. On the other hand, Φυτεία is placed in Phrygia Salutaris by all the *Notitiae*, whose evidence, however, for places that lay near a boundary and were moved from province to province is not always trustworthy, as the lists were carelessly kept. In the time of Justinian, we should certainly expect the boundaries of an estate in this region to be regulated by the governor of Phrygia Salutaris.

The difficulty may perhaps be resolved by assuming that the ὄροι Φυτεανῶν coincided with the boundary between Phrygia and Galatia, and that the demarcation of the eastern side of the estate was entrusted to the governor of Galatia Salutaris. The latter province was under a simple *praeses* until the time of Hierocles

¹ See *J.H.S.* viii, p. 49.

² See *Studia Pontica* (Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire), iii, p. 227. Cumont there connects this activity with the Novella of 535, forbidding the expropriation of church property in all the provinces.

³ Ramsay, *Studies in the E. Rom. Prov.* pp. 337, 338.

⁴ Ramsay, *Historical Geography of A.M.* p. 232.

(p. 697); between the time when Hierocles made his list (about A.D. 530) and the date of this inscription, the governorship must have been given to a *consularis*.¹ Possibly the lost lines contained the name of the governor of Phrygia Salutaris, who may have co-operated with the governor of Galatia. A boundary stone between the territory of Apameia and that of Apollonia, belonging to a much earlier period, has been taken by Ramsay to mark the boundary between Asia and Galatia.²

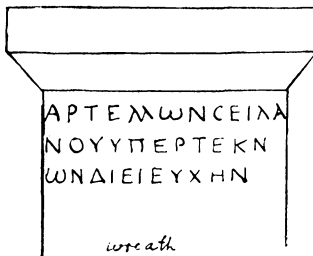
If the identification of Φ[·]τεανῶν with Φυτεία is correct, this place must be detached from Beudos Vetus, north of Synnada, with which Ramsay has identified it.³

The whole subject is still so uncertain that further conjecture is extremely hazardous; but it may be worth while to point out that, after Docimium and Polybotus were transferred to Galatia, a bishopric called Pissia begins to appear in this province on the ecclesiastical lists. Can this be Phyteia? If so, Pissia must be placed at Bayat, the only place in this region whose remains admit the possibility that it may have been a bishopric. Ramsay at one time placed Pissia at Bayat, but afterwards moved it to Piribeyli.⁴ Phyteia continues to be placed in Phrygia in the later lists: if these lists are correct, its identification with Φ[·]τεανῶν is of course impossible; but their evidence, taken by itself, is of little value, and both Phyteia and Pissia are known only from the *Notitiae*.

14. Bayat (C. 1912). On a plain stone, serving as a doorstep.

Φιλόμηλος Ἀπ[ούλει-
ος Μένανδρος
λου Φιλομη

15. Bayat (C. 1912). On a *bomos*. Below the inscription, a wreath. On either side of the *bomos*, an ox-head.



Ἀρτέμων Σειλα-
νοῦ ὑπὲρ τεκν-
ων Διεὶ εὐχὴν.

¹ The letters ΤΙΚ seem part of the governor's name. Between them and ΤΗΑΤΙΚΩ there is room for ΛΑΜ | ΠΡ (abbreviation for λαμπροτάτου). This latter should however be preceded by ΤΟΥ, for which there is not room.

² *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 480, no. 362.

³ *J.H.S.* viii, p. 494.

⁴ See *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* p. 233.

16. On the lintel of a rock-cut tomb south of Bayat (C. 1912).

Ἡλίας

This tomb was Christian. It is one of a large number of rock-tombs cut in a hillside east of the road from Felleli to Bayat, about an hour from Bayat.

Three Greek inscriptions of Bayat, the epitaph of a priest of the local god, and two dedications to the god which respectively call him *Zeus Mégistos Karpodóτης* and *Zeus Galáktinos*, are published by Ramsay in *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 136 and *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* p. 235. I made a much fuller copy of the Phrygian inscription already known at Bayat, *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 174 no. 18, and found a fragment of a second. An inscription of Bayat, published by Körte, is discussed above. The two following inscriptions, copied at Akroênos, but belonging probably to Docimium or Prymnessus, throw further light on the religion of this region.

17. Afum Kara Hissar (C. 1911). In private possession. On a small votive tablet, representing a façade with triangular pediment. In the pediment, the head of the Gorgon. The inscription is written above and below two figures, one of whom holds a serpent (Asclepios and Hygieia or Telesphoros ?)

Πάτρων Ἀσκ(λ)ηπιᾶ
θεῶ εὐχήν.

Asklepios appears on coins of Prymnessus and Docimium.

18. *ibid.* (C. 1911). In private possession. On a small votive tablet in the form of a round plaque, slightly concave, showing in relief the head and bust of Zeus, and, below it, an eagle with outspread wings. The inscription is cut on the oblong tablet which supports the plaque.

Ὀνή[σ]ιμος Μ—
ἄ]νον Δεί εὐχήν.

The form Δεί is often found instead of Δύ on inscription of Phrygia.¹ In line 1 the stone-cutter has put € for C (= Σ).

19. (*C.I.L.* iii, 7172, from Ramsay's copy.) (C. 1912). In a cemetery beside Tchapak Tchiflik, an hour north-north-east of Afum Kara Hissar. The inscription ends with ἡ Δοκιμέων Π(όλις) (Μίλια) Δ. It is taken in the *Corpus* to mark the fourth mile

¹ See *Klio*, 1910, p. 241, and Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia*.

on the road from Prymnessus to Docimium, and, as it now lies about four Roman miles from Kara Hissar, it is probably near its original position. A milestone actually set up by the city of Docimium must have stood on its territory; therefore, the territory of Docimium reached at least to a point four m. p. from Kara Hissar, and probably all the way to the main road. If so it must have formed the western boundary of the imperial estate in the Caystrus valley. The stone is a huge round *cippus*, two feet in diameter, with a thick square base.



FIG. 43. INSCRIPTION NO. 21 (p. 260).

20. (C. 1912). Kara Hissar. Independently of former copies, I have copied the inscription at Afium Kara Hissar, already published, without transcription, by Ramsay, *Ath. Mitth.* 1882, p. 142, and by Legrand and Chamonard, *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 291. The following transcription was sent to Ramsay in 1883 by the late M. Waddington; it agrees with all other copies and has also been verified by Ramsay

on the stone. It is to be hoped that this text, at any rate, has been sufficiently inspected. It is complete except on the right-hand side, where a few letters are lost.

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη.
 Ἀθλοφόρων κή[ρ]υκ[α] τὸν ἡϊθέων ὄχ' ἄριστον
 Ἐπαγάθο(υ) πενπτόν νίεα Λυσίμα[χ]ον
 Στέψε πάτρη ξυνπάσα δίκης ὑπ' ἀρείονι βωμῶ
 Τᾷ μεγάλᾳ φωνᾷ κ[ῶ]δος ἐνεγκάμενον.

The stone has perhaps been carried from Prymnessus to Kara Hissar. It is a dedication by the city in honour of a youth who was herald at the games. With the use of *στέψε*, meaning "honoured," compare my note on *στέμμα* and *στέφανος* on p. 81, vol. ii of this *Journal*. A verse inscription of Philomelium composed in the Ionic dialect, and ending with a Doric couplet, was published by Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 112.

21. (R. and C. 1911; C. 1912). At a fountain some four miles west of Bolavadin, on the road to Felleli (fig. 43, p. 259).

Πετ]ρῆος τὴν ἐαυ|[τοῦ σ]υκοφαντίαν|
 προ]χίρως ὁμολο[γ]εῖ, δ]ς παραβίας τ[ε]|
 τὴν γ]ενομένην ὑ[π]ολόγ]ο(υ) ὑδῖω
 κατὰτ|[αξίω] Ὀμοουσίου τ|[ριάδ]ος
 κὲ τῶν τρι[αινο]ύχων ἡμῶν|[βασιλ]έων,
 ἐτίας τε π|[ροστρ]ίψας ζημιώμα|[τος
 τ]ῆς εἰδῖς συνγ|[εωργ]ῆς, σωφρονισ[τ]οῦ
 φι]λανθρώπω σ|[κρίν]ιον ἡλιφιν (= εἰλήφειν
 or εἰλήφειν) διὰ|
 [Φλ(αβίου) Ἀσ]άνδρου τοῦ ἐν|[δοξο]τάτῳ
 ἀδσηκ|[ρήτις] κὲ βίας κωλυτοῦ,|[ῶστε
 λ]υπὸν ἐν ἐργολα|[βεί]α τῶν ὑκούντω|[ν
 ἔχιν φ]όρον τὸ Κατα[. . . χ]ωρίον.

This inscription was first found by Sir W. M. Ramsay and myself late one afternoon, and as we were still far from our quarters for the night, we had to copy it somewhat hurriedly, and had no time to make an impression. I revisited it alone in 1912, when I compared our former copy with the stone, made an independent copy, took photographs, and made an impression. The copies of 1911 and 1912 agree in all essentials in the preserved part of the inscription; the later copy adds more accurate details of the traces of broken letters at the edges, and I was able to check restorations which had suggested themselves in the interval.

The inscription is in "political" verse, and we must assume that the metrical form is maintained throughout, except perhaps in the proper names. Proper names often violate the metre in inscriptions, as in literature. In line 16, to save the metre, I have assumed that a name like ΦΛ(ABIOT) was written in abbreviation, followed by a short name ending in ANΔΠOT (perhaps 'Ασάνδρου); but it is possible that only 'Αλεξάνδρου or some such name was engraved, in defiance of metre. Double names are, indeed, unusual at this period. [Pet]reios is of course restored *exempli gratia*. The inscription is mostly complete on the right-hand side. There is probably a letter lost at this side in lines 3, 5, and 23 of the copy. On the left-hand side there is room for 3-5 letters in each line. The difference in the space required by three and by five letters is considerable, but we must assume that the irregularity of the preserved part of the inscription obtained here also, and supply three, four, or five letters as required. TPI is clear at the end of line 8, deciding for the supplement *τριανούχων*.

The restoration ὑπολόγο(ν) ὑδίω (=ιδίον) is due to Sir W. Ramsay. It suits the space and metrical conditions. The portion lost at the end of l. 5 and beginning of l. 6 must have contained three syllables, if we treat OT in OTΔΙΩ as diphthong, but there is not room for a restoration containing three syllables. We have therefore to assume that O and T were separate syllables, and Sir W. Ramsay assumes that the last letter of ὑπολόγου has been omitted by a common haplography before the following T.

Our almost complete ignorance of the details of administration on the imperial estates of Asia Minor in the Byzantine period lends unusual interest to a document which gives us a glimpse of the relations existing between a body of *coloni* and the *conductor* who was responsible for their tribute to the imperial treasury in the sixth century of our era; but this very ignorance makes the path of the restorer unusually slippery, even in an inscription in which so few letters are lost and the limits of restoration are so narrowly circumscribed by the shape of the stone and the character of the composition. This difficulty is still further complicated in the present instance by the irregularity of the spelling and engraving, but, while a few details remain obscure, and have to be filled in conjecturally, other restorations impose themselves of necessity, and the ascertained readings afford sufficient evidence to enable us to determine the general character of the inscription.

According to the view set forth in the sequel, this inscription is the confession, and probably the epitaph, of a *colonus* on the estate with which we are dealing, who had committed some offence against property held by a local church and by the emperors, and had thereby caused his fellow-*coloni* to be punished. On being brought to justice, he received through an imperial law-officer (the

a secretis) a commission to raise the taxes on the estate as *conductor*, apparently as a punishment for his offence. Even this brief statement of the contents of the inscription suffices to show that it is a document of unusual and possibly unique character, with which only experts in the detail of Byzantine administration can deal. The writer must confine himself to a description of the state of the text, and to a brief discussion of some general considerations which appear to bear on the problem of restoration.

The commentary on this inscription had better begin with a conjectural translation. "Petreios readily confesses his sycophancy, (he) who *both* having trespassed against the arrangement of the waste land of the (church or monastery of the) Consubstantial Trinity, and of our sceptre-holding emperors, *and* having brought cause of punishment (or loss) upon his fellow-*coloni*, was given (ἐίληφεν) through Flavios (?) Asandros (?) the most renowned *a secretis* and preventer of violence, a *scrinium* for the holding in future (ὥστε λοιπὸν ἔχων) of the contract for the tribute of those who dwell on the estate of Kata. . . ."

Συκοφαντία was the blackmail practised by a *conductor* (ἐργολάβος, μισθωτής) on the people for whose taxes he had contracted. "Diese Sykophantie war das Hauptverbrechen der Pächter," says Rostowzew,¹ comparing Luke xix, 8, where an ἀρχιτελώνης claims: καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, ἀποδίδωμι τετραπλοῦν, the motive perhaps being, as Rostowzew suggests, that this was the legal penalty for such blackmail! The suggestion is therefore obvious that Petreios had been guilty of blackmail in his tenure of the office of contractor for the taxes, mentioned in lines 19-22. But this conclusion, though possibly correct, is not inevitable, as we shall see below. Συκοφαντία is also the ordinary term for a false accusation, and the reference may be to ll. 10-13, where Petreios confesses that his fellow-*coloni* had had to suffer for his offence. The latter explanation of συκοφαντία, according to our view, accords better with the probable circumstances.

The ἐργολάβος in this case was one of the γεωργοί themselves. The restoration συνγ[εωργ]ῆς imposes itself necessarily, as anyone can convince himself by reading through Γ in the dictionaries. Γ at the end of line 12 is certain, and the horizontal bar of a letter ("probably Γ": C. 1912) is preserved at the beginning of line 13. Rostowzew has shewn² that the γεωργοί on the imperial estates of the eastern as well as of the western provinces formed a sort of *collegium* for religious purposes, and that a quasi-municipal organisation, based on this *collegium*, existed on many estates. This organisation formed the groundwork of the municipal system which was occasionally evolved in the principal

¹ *Staatspacht*, p. 15.

² *Oest. Jabresb.* 1901, *Beibl.* col. 41.

village on an estate, and recognised by an emperor in the elevation of such villages to the rank of a city, exactly as had happened at Eulandra. The relation of the *conductores*, who contracted for the taxes of the Anatolian estates, and collected them under the supervision of the officials of the imperial treasury, to the *γεωργοί* is an obscure subject.

What is certain, is that the *conductores* of the imperial period in Asia Minor differed essentially from the republican *publicani*, in that (as in Egypt and elsewhere) they assumed more and more the character of semi-official servants of the state, whose activities were submitted to a close scrutiny by the officials of the imperial household. The imperial inscriptions of Asia Minor show no trace of the bitter feeling against the *conductores* which had been evoked by the extortionate exactions of the *publicani* in the republican period¹; on the contrary such evidence as there is goes to show that the imperial *μισθωταί* lived on friendly terms with the *coloni*, were members of their *collegia*,² and were appealed to to protect the tombs of their dead.³ On the other hand the business of a *conductor* was a much less lucrative one under the empire than it had been under the republic. The *conductores* had now to deal with a body of experts who observed all their operations from year to year, who were as able as they were to draw up an estimate of the probable yield of the taxes of a district in a given year, and who were therefore in a position to drive a hard bargain with the contractors. Rostowzew has shewn that the operations of the *conductor* were now carried out at great risk, that in many years the profits of the business cannot have covered his expenses, and that he was largely dependent for his livelihood on the *ὀψώνιον* or 5 per cent. (later 10 per cent.) commission on the amount of revenue raised.⁴ In many cases the office of contractor for the taxes can have been nothing short of a *λειτουργία*; and this is doubtless one of the reasons why the *conductoratus* was continued alongside of an army of expert officials who could easily have raised the taxes directly. This condition of affairs prepares us for the extremely interesting information conveyed in our inscription, that the *ἐργολάβος* was one of the *coloni* themselves, and that he had been made to undertake the office of *ἐργολάβος* as a punishment for the offence he had committed. An interesting parallel, furnished by Sir W. M. Ramsay, is Constantine's ordinance of A.D. 319 that sons of veteran soldiers who had mutilated their hands to escape military service, should perform the duties of *curiales*.⁵

¹ Rostowzew, *Röm. Kol.* p. 304. An account, based on Rostowzew, of the much misunderstood Palestinian *τελώναι*, the "publicans" of the Gospels, is given by Ramsay in *Hastings' Dict. Bibl.* v. 394.

² Rostowzew, *Oest. Jahresh.* 1901, *Beibl.* col. 44.

³ Ramsay in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1888, p. 17.

⁴ *Staatspacht*, pp. 17, 18. The evidence refers to Egypt, but the conditions were similar in Asia Minor.

⁵ *Cod. Theod.* vii, 22, 1.

We would therefore appear to be face to face with a system similar to the *δεκαπρωτεία* of the cities of Asia Minor, under which the richer members of the *collegium* of *coloni* were put in the position of *conductores*, and made responsible for the amount of tribute due from the estate. We have perhaps an instance of the same method of tax-collection in the enigmatical *ὁμόλογοι* of the imperial domains in Egypt. Those *ὁμόλογοι* were apparently the *γεωργοί* who tilled the ground, in their corporate capacity as a collegial *societas*, and they were represented before the government by *λειτουργοί* called *πρεσβύτεροι* or *ἀρχιγεωργοί*.¹ The position of Petreios, as a sort of *λειτουργός-μισθωτής* standing between the imperial government and the *coloni*, may have been similar to that of the heads of the Egyptian *collegia*.

It is well known that the Byzantine emperors often made presents of land and other property to the church.² Such a grant of land must have been made on our estate. The restoration at the beginning of line 7 of the copy is not certain; but it is clear that the offence affected property belonging both to the church of the Consubstantial Trinity and to the emperors. This use of *ἴδιος* is paralleled by the Egyptian *ἴδιος λόγος* (Latin *privatus*). Probably Petreios had seized some waste land (*ὑπόλογον*, Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolon.* p. 415), without paying rent. The words 'Ὁμο. Τριάδος . . . βασιλέων may depend either on *κατάταξις* or on *ὑπολόγον*, but, if the former, their connexion with *ὑπολόγου* is in any case, implied. Sir W. M. Ramsay furnishes a good parallel to the form of expression, taken from an inscription copied by him on the Lycaono-Cappadocian border near Tchandır Yaila, three hours west of Emir Ghazi. This runs [+] *δύναμις | θ(εο)ῦ καὶ χίρ | βασιλέως | ὅροι τοῦ ἀγί | ου Ἰωάννου | τοῦ Βαπτισ | τοῦ ἀμῆν*.

The foundation of a church or monastery sacred to the Consubstantial Trinity preserves an interesting echo of the controversy between the Homoeousians and the Homoioousians which convulsed the church during the fourth century, and it obviously belongs to the end of the century, after the definite defeat of Arianism at the council of Constantinople in A.D. 382. Probably the grant of land was made by the emperor on the same occasion. It is surprising to find this land spoken of, apparently, as held in joint tenure by the emperors and by the local church. This may possibly mean that the emperors retained certain rights over the land given to the church. Or the meaning may be that Petreios'

¹ Rostowzew, *Staatspacht*, p. 161. After I had observed this parallel, I was glad to find that Rostowzew has used it in a similar way in his discussion of the estate which became the city Pogla (*Oest. Jahresb.* 1901, *Beibl.* col. 41). In his great work, *Studien zur Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, p. 143, n. Rostowzew doubts if *ἀρχιγεωργοί*

was used in this sense. Wilcken has an excursus on the *ὁμόλογοι* in the same work, p. 220, ff. See also de Zulueta in Vinogradoff's *Oxford Studies*, i, 51. The subject is obscure, and the analogy must not be pressed.

² See, e.g. O. Hirschfeld, in *Klio*, 1902, p. 305.

offence affected both the portion of land given to the church and the rest of the estate which remained in imperial possession.

After ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΣ in line 13, I looked carefully for Θ, and can say confidently that σωφρονισ[θείς] is not a possible restoration. At the end of line 13 I could see the left-hand bottom tip of a letter, which could be A or T or E. I cannot fit σωφρονίσαι or σωφρονίσας or σωφρονίσει into any intelligible scheme of restoration, but σωφρονιστοῦ gives good sense. We can take φυλανθρώπω as an adjective (dative for genitive, as often) agreeing with it, and get rid of the adverb φυλανθρώπως, which would have accorded well with σωφρονισθείς, had that been the reading, but does not suit σωφρονίσαι etc, nor can it go with εἵληφεν (ἤλιφιν). The first letter in the next word is Σ, and the end of this word is NION ("N probable, the rest certain" C. 1912). The only word I can think of is σκρίνιον, which gives excellent sense as the object of εἵληφεν, used as the correlative of δίδωμι, "he had given to him." Σκρίνιον is often used in Byzantine writers, meaning "office" or "portfolio." Phonetically, ΗΛΙΦΙΝ suggests ἤλιφην "I was incited," "I was urged," rather than εἵληφεν; but the change to the first person would be brusque, and σκρίνιον εἵληφεν accords so well with what follows that it may be accepted as a highly probable reading,¹ unless the pluperfect, εἰλήφειν, be preferred as still more likely.

Johannes Lydus gives ἀδοκηρήτις as a vulgar form of ἀσηκρήτις.² The ἀσηκρήτις or σηκρητάριοι were clerks of the law-court: cf. Lydus, iii, 11, (τὸ) τῆς δικῆς (ιερόν), ὃ καλεῖται σήκητον; ibid. εἶτα ἐκείθεν πρὸς τῶν σηκρηταρίων ἐμμελῶς ἀναγιγνωσκομένου τοῦ λεγομένου καθαροῦ, οὕτω δὲ ἀπολυομένου τῷ λιτιγάτωρι (οἰοῦναι δίκης ἔνεκα παραφυλάττοντι), σύννοψιν ὁ σηκρητάριος ἐποιεῖτο τῆς τοῦ πεπραγμένου δυνάμεως τοῖς Ἰταλῶν ῥήμασι,³ καὶ ταύτην ἐτήρει παρ' ἐαυτῷ πρὸς κώλυμα τολμηρᾶς προσθήκης ἢ ὑφαιρέσεως. With the concluding words of this extract, compare βίας κωλυτοῦ in our inscription. Lydus elsewhere refers to the *a secretis* as a new institution (iii, 10, οὕτω γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἄρτι παραφνέντων ἀσηκρήτις ὄνομα), which accordingly dates from the time of Justinian. Our inscription is therefore not earlier than Justinian's reign, and it can hardly be later than the end of the sixth century. A freedman of Claudius is called *a secretis* in an unpublished inscription found at the shrine of Mên Askaênos in 1912; but the *a secretis* of our inscription is clearly the Byzantine official.

¹ In an inscription of this neighbourhood we find the form ἐδωκε for ἔδωκε, given by Ramsay as certain, in *J.H.S.* v, p. 254.

² *De Mag. P.R.* iii, 20. καὶ ἀσηκρήτις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σηκρήτων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀδοκηρήτις κατὰ τοὺς

ιδιώτας, ἐξ ἀγνοίας μετὰ τοῦ δ στοιχείου τῆς προθέσεως ἐπιβαλλομένης.)

³ On the significance of this, see Freeman's interesting paper in *J.H.S.* iii, 361-392.

The restoration σ[κρίν]ιον (εἰ)λ(η)φ(ε)ν was suggested by the evident reference to an office held by Petreios in lines 19-22. The metre demands that λ]υπόν in line 19 should be the first word in a verse; it must therefore be taken as a complete word, and it is obviously λοιπόν.¹ The following ἐν ἐργολα. . . , with φ]όρον in line 21, must belong to the common formula: ἐν ἐργολαβείᾳ (μισθώσει) ἔχειν (λαμβάνειν) τὸν φόρον. I have restored [ὥστε] λ(οι)πόν ἐν ἐργολ[βεί]α τῶν (οἰ)κούντων[ν ἔχ(ε)ιν φ]όρον τὸ Κατα[νέων ? χ]ωρίον in order to bring out the sense: whatever the exact restoration may be, this is clearly the sense. The words ὥστε . . . ἔχειν depend on σκρίνιον εἵληφεν. In line 22, we read only ΩΠION etc. in 1911, but in 1912, I observed the right-hand tips of X at the beginning, written somewhat below the level of the other letters. Χωρίον is technically used of a village or farm on an estate, and probably Κατα. . . . is the beginning of the name, in the genitive plural of the ethnic of the village: or should we restore τὸ κατὰ [ἡμᾶς] χωρίον? Χωρίον is governed by (οἰ)κούντων, which cannot govern φόρον.

I take μηδὲ τοῦ κληρονόμο[ν etc. to be the beginning of a testamentary disposition affecting Petreios' heir. The stone is probably a tombstone, and the epitaph begins with an autobiographical notice, like that of bishop Eugenius. *Private* inscriptions other than tombstones are exceedingly rare at this period. But the letters at the end are not part of ἀναπ[ανθείς etc. There is an I (?) before N.

If the above view is correct, the συκοφαντία to which Petreios refers is explained in lines 4-13, and does not refer specially to his tenure of the contract for the taxes mentioned in lines 19-22. This seems to be implied in the construction of the confession; ὁ]ς παραβάς etc. defines the occasion and nature of his συκοφαντία; and it was to punish him for this συκοφαντία that he was given the office of ἐργολάβος. Sir W. Ramsay thinks, however, that Petreios simply confessed συκοφαντία as a general offence, common to men in his station, and observes that every such person would probably confess some fault or other on his tomb.

¹ λυπόν for λοιπόν occurs in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii, p. 650.