

*M. S. Reinach
with the compliments
of the author.*

A SUMMER IN PHRYGIA

I

BY

J. G. C. ANDERSON

Lincoln College, Oxford.

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A SUMMER IN PHRYGIA: I.

[PLATE XII.]

DURING the summer of 1897 I had the opportunity of making extensive exploration in Phrygia, and the following paper gives, as a first instalment, an account of the more important results of the season's work there. I have given a map (Plate XII) based on the Ottoman Railway Survey to illustrate the watercourses of the Laodiceian district, but I regret that a map to show the new sites has had to be deferred. At the outset I must make acknowledgment of the valuable help I have received from Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who has kindly sent me some criticisms and suggestions. For the numerous references to his volumes on Phrygia no apology is necessary. Every student of its history must use his brilliant pages as the basis of his study; and the work of the explorer in the districts which they cover must naturally be to endeavour to amplify the information, and to confirm or correct the views, which he finds there.

Few parts of Phrygia have been so frequently traversed as the Lycos valley with the adjacent Carian and Lydian frontiers: yet anyone who studies this district will be astonished at the number of unsolved problems which it presents. To begin with the Carian borderland and go round the valley of the Lycos, the first problem that confronts us is the site of

KIDRAMOS,

a city without annals, but important enough to possess a coinage of its own, at least from the time of Augustus to that of Julia Maesa. A review of the evidence for its situation will be found in Prof. Ramsay's *Cit. & Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 184.¹ His conclusion is that 'it is to be looked for . . . between Antioch on the west, and Attouda or Karoura on the east, perhaps somewhere opposite Ortakche, on a spur of the hills that fringe the valley.' In accordance with this view, which seemed very probable, I searched the district carefully. We were exploring the right bank of the Maeander to see if any site could be found there for DALDIS, and after an unsuccessful search² we intended to cross

¹ This work will be referred to as *CB*. The other abbreviations need no explanation.

² Although exploration can hardly ever claim to be final, this will be regarded as an indication in favour of the alternative view which would

place Daldis in the Hermos valley near Hierocaesarea (*CB*. i. p. 179). See also Buresch, *Reisebericht in Ber. der Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* (Leipzig), 1894, p. 91: and ep. M. Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse*, 1897, p. 211 f.

the river beside Ortakche and explore the spurs of Tchibuk Dag, which here come down almost to the water's edge. Finding the wooden bridge broken, and unable to ford the river, we were forced to go down the right bank nearly as far as Antiocheia to find a bridge. Here there is a wide and fertile plain narrowing a little at the village Yamalak and then widening again, as one goes eastward, up to the slopes of Tchibuk Dag nearly as far as Ortakche on the opposite side. Crossing this plain we reached the *tchiftlik* Budjak keui which lies high up the hill side, about 500 ft. above the Maeander valley¹ and three miles or so from the river, hidden from the view of the traveller in the plain. The village was seen to be full of ancient stones, and the desired site was found a short distance to the south on level ground running out from the hillside and looking down to the valley, about 100 ft. lower than the village. The remains on the site are all late: we noted what seemed to be the line of fortifications on west and south-west, two ends of a low arched way built of small stones with cement rising a little above the level of the ground (late Roman or Byzantine work), the lower part of a sarcophagus hewn out of the natural rock, foundations on the hill-side, and nearer the village the foundations of a Byzantine chapel, etc. A short distance below the village there has recently been excavated a rectangular chamber built of fine marble blocks and roofed over with flat stones cramped together (as we were informed) with lead. It was probably a tomb.

Only one inscription was found. It is built into the wall of the mosque.

1. ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΙΜΗΣ
 ΑΙΣΤΑΙΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΚ
 ΚΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΙΜΑΙΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
 ΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥΠΑΠΙΑΝΑΝΔΡΑ
 ΘΟΝΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝΓΕΝΟΜΕ
 ΚΑΙΔΙΑΓΕΝΟΥΣΠΑΣΗΑΡΕΤΗ
 ΝΗΝΟΧΟΤΑ

ἡ βουλ]ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησ[αν
 πάσ]αις ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ κ[αλ-
 λ]ίσταις τιμαῖς Ἀπολλώνι[ον Ἀ-
 θηναγόρου Παπίαν ἄνδρα ἀ[γα-
 5 θὸν καὶ φιλόπατριν γενόμε[νον
 καὶ διὰ γένους πάσῃ ἀρετῇ] [διε-
 νηνοχότα.

It is perfectly safe to assign the name Kidramos to this site. Prof. Ramsay's inference, as will be seen, hit the mark remarkably well. He has brought out the fact (*CB.* i. p. 166) that the city belongs to a small numismatic group, of which Attouda, situated on the other side of the hill, is another member. In this connection it is worth remarking that of a few coins which I saw there, those which were not Byzantine were coins of Attouda.

¹ Heights estimated by aneroid (except in the Map, Pl. XII.).

KAROURA.

Continuing along the southern side of the Maeander, we crossed Tchibuk Dagh *en route* for the famous hot springs. On the sides of the hill there are traces of later ancient life (*e.g.* several tombs opened by the villagers in search of gold) and remains of an old paved path leading up to a site which was perhaps a Byzantine refuge, 1,000 feet above Budjak keui. On the level summit of the ridge, where there is a Yuruk *yaila* 1,800 ft. above the valley, we left the path to Attouda (Assar, reckoned four hours from Kidramos), here a good and easy road, and descended towards the springs, north-east of Tekke keui. This spot is one mass of springs which have formed an enormous marsh, emitting evil sulphurous vapours; towards the western end there are two conspicuous sources, whence boiling water bubbles up and sends off steam: and between the marsh and the old ruined bridge over the Maeander, near the river bed (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ χείλους*, Strabo p. 578), we saw several dried up springs. All around the soil is white with the lime deposit. There can be no reasonable doubt that KAROURA was situated here (*CB.* i. pp. 2, 170, Strabo 578, 580).¹ In an old overgrown Turkish cemetery near the village Kab-agatch there is an extraordinary number of column drums (some with dowel holes), varying in diameter, though several are of equal sizes. These heavy stones would not be carried far: they must have come from beside the hot springs and perhaps belonged to a temple of the god at Karoura. No other evidence bearing on the question was discovered.

ATTOUDA.

The village Assar occupies part of the site of Attouda. Approaching the village from Gumuldjak (between Karoura and Khas keui) and keeping along the banks of the Assar Tchai, we came after one hour to the foot of a steep hill, up which there winds in fine curves an old paved road,² which may be old Turkish, but is more probably the remains of an ancient road from the valley of the Maeander and Lycos. This plateau is divided from the hill on which the village stands by the deep cañon of the Assar stream. The village itself occupies a fine site (fully 1,600 ft. above the Lycos valley), surrounded by deep ravines on all sides except the south-west, where the ground slopes gently down to a wide depression which merges again into the hills beyond. It is full of ancient remains of all kinds, built into walls or lying about serving no purpose, and it stands upon what was clearly the acropolis³ of the ancient city. On the top of this acropolis, above the roofs of the houses which climb up the slope, the natives have recently excavated a large square cistern, arching slightly towards the top, of the ordinary Byzantine type.

¹ Prof. G. Radet, in the map attached to *En Phrygie* (1895), gives up his former identification of Karoura and Kydrara, and now places Karoura here, while still leaving Kydrara at

Serai keui, where no remains exist. On the recent growth of Serai keui *CB.* p. 164, 168.

² Traces of pavement were also seen quite near Gumuldjak.

Some new inscriptions¹ were recovered; there are probably many more to be found, but the villagers were very suspicious and obstinate.

The only inscription which fixes the site is given in *C.I.G.* 3950 from an imperfect copy of Sherard, in which Franz detected the name Ἄττουδέων. It deserves to be repeated.

2. Lying before the mosque enclosure:

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΜΑΥΡ' ΑΥΔΙΟΝ ΕΠΙ
ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ
ΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ ΤΟΝ
ΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ.
Μ. Αὐρ. Λύδιον ἐπί-
τροπον Σεβαστῶν
ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
Ἄττουδέων τὸν
αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην.

In the last line there seems to be no room for [ἐαυτῶ]ν. The inscription probably dates ca. 162-180 A.D. (cp. *CB.* ii. No. 235), in which case the emperors would be M. Aurelius and L. Verus or Aurelius and Commodus. *M. Aur. Lydus proc. Augg.* was probably a freedman of M. Aurelius. His duties would be to superintend the *fiscus* (*CB.* i. p. 71).

3. In a garden, very small letters engraved on the narrow end of a rectangular block:

ΝΕΟΙ ΕΤΙΜΗΣΑΝ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗ ΧΑΡΙ
ΕΠΑΙΝΩΙ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΙ ΧΡΥΣΩΙ ΣΤΕΦΑ
ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΓΡΑΠΤῆ ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΧΑΛΚῆ
ἌΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ
ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥΣ

Οἱ Νέοι ἐτίμ[η]σαν Ἐρμογένῃ χάρι[τι],
ἐπαίνωι, προεδρίαι, χρυσῶι στεφά[νωι],
εἰκόνι γραπτῆ, εἰκόνι χαλκῆ,
ἀ]ρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Νέους.

Προεδρία granted by the *Neoi* can refer, of course, only to their own meetings.

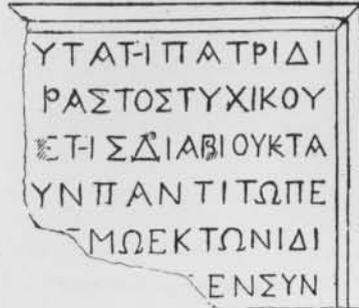
4. *Ibid.*, a small tablet:

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ ΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΟΝ ΒΗΡΥΛΛΙΑ
ΝΟΝ ἌΝΔΡΑ
ΚΑΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑ
ΘΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ Ε
ΚΕΝ

Ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησεν
Τιβέριον Κλαύ-
διον Βηρυλλια-
5 νόν, ἄνδρα
καλὸν καὶ ἀγα-
θὸν ἀρετῆς ἕ-
(νε)κεν.

¹ Inscr. of Attouda, *C.I.G.* 3949 ff.; Le Bas-Wadd. 743; *B.C.H.* 1887, pp. 348 f. and 1890, pp. 238-9; *CB.* i. p. 181-3.

5. Built into the wall of a house, upside down :



Τῇ γλυκ]υτάτῃ πατρίδι
 Αὐρ. Ἐδ]ραστος Τυχικοῦ
 ἀγωνοθ]έτης διὰ βίου κὲ τα-
 μίας, σ]ὺν παντὶ τῷ πε-
 5 ριόντι κόσ]μῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-
 ων ἀνέθηκ]εν συν-
 ὄλως].

Adrastos, son of Tychikos, may be the person mentioned in *CB*. ii. No. 71, restoring [Ἄ]δράσ[του Τυχικ]οῦ for [Λοκρ]ίου. The name Adrastos is known to be common at Aphrodisias, and occurs at Trapezopolis: it was no doubt very common at Attouda which worshipped Μήτηρ Ἐδραστος.

6. In the wall of a house :

ἡ βο[υ]λῆ
 ἐτείμησα[ν (sic)
 Ἄπολλώνι[ον Ἄσ? -
 κάντου.

7. In the cemetery wall; the first part was engraved on a separate stone :

[ἡ γερουσία (or ἡ βουλή) ἐτείμησεν τὸν δεῖνα]
 ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ
 καλλίσταις τειμαῖς,
 ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
 γενόμενον περὶ τὴν πο-
 5 λειτήαν ἐπὶ τε ταῖς τῶ[ν
 προγόνων αὐτοῦ [εὐ-
 δοξίαις ἐπὶ τε ταί[ς χρεί-
 αῖς ἅς κατὰ τὸ[καλὸν καὶ
 μεγαλό[φρον ἐν παν-
 10 τὶ καιρῷ τ[ῇ γερουσίᾳ (or βουλῇ) ὑπέσ-
 χετο
 τῆς

Before leaving Attouda, we should note the fact that to the south of the modern village, separated from it by a ravine, there is a high conical hill whose summit is crowned by a *Türbe* (the tomb of a local saint, as we may say). This *Türbe*, as Prof. Ramsay has pointed out in other cases, preserves the sanctity attaching to the old town, the seat of the worship of Men Karou.¹

¹ At Apameia there is a *Türbe* on the hill above the town, to which the natives go up to pray when they want rain.

TRAPEZOPOLIS.

Another important problem in the topography of the Lycos valley is the exact situation of Trapezopolis, which is assigned by the evidence to this district. The arguments are stated, with the author's usual acumen, in *CB. i.* p. 171 f. He infers that 'Trapezopolis lay north of Mt. Salbakos near the frontier between Caria and Phrygia and west of Laodiceia in such a position that, when the Phrygian frontier was moved a little further west, Trapezopolis came to be in Phrygia, not in Caria' (p. 171): that it was conterminous with Attouda¹: and consequently that it was probably near Kadi keui and 'corresponding to it, though perhaps not on the actual site' (pp. 165, 172),—a judicious proviso which is merely the application of a general rule proved by all experience.² Exploration has confirmed each of these inferences, and justified the order of Hierocles. The ruins of the city were discovered on a plateau north east of Kadi keui and about an hour and a quarter south-east of the railway station at Serai keui,³ just where the higher spurs of Baba Dagh (Salbakos) merge into the curiously-shaped alluvial hills of the Lycos valley.

The east side of the plateau forms one bank of the cañon called Gebe Deressi,⁴ through which flows the stream Dondjali Tchai (the small river nearest Sara keui on the east), and the west side is bounded by a similar ravine; on the south the slope is short and easy but steeper again on the irregularly shaped north side. The eastern and western sides, composed as they are of horizontal strata of clay, dipping perpendicularly down, have fallen away to some extent, carrying stones and foundations with them: at the river side, 400 or 500 feet below, we saw numerous large blocks of marble, and on the top one could see the foundations stopping abruptly at the edge.

The site, which still retains the latter half of the name in the form 'Bolo,' conspicuously justifies by its shape the title 'Table-City,'⁵ especially when one gets a view of it from the side of Baba Dagh (Mt. Salbakos). A search over the plateau, which is now turned into cornfields, revealed numerous remains of all kinds.⁶ The foundations of the aqueduct, which brought a supply of water down from Mt. Salbakos, can be easily traced for a considerable distance, and lying about we saw some of the stone pipes, which are of exactly the same form as those that are found in such quantities, largely

^ but one to

¹ An interpretation of a coin (described p. 166), which will be seen to be justified.

² The rule is stated *c.g.* p. 168 *n.* 1. M. Radet places Trapezopolis at Kadi keui, but without any proviso. At Kadi keui we did not see the slightest trace of an old settlement. In this district between Tchibuk Dagh and Laodiceia he crowds together a host of towns, several of them on sites where there is no vestige of ancient remains. This is wrong method.

³ The name is so given by the Railway Company, but it is always pronounced Sara keui, a

name which occurs elsewhere, and seems to be the correct form here.

⁴ This was given me as the right form of the word: I was corrected when I used the form Djebe.

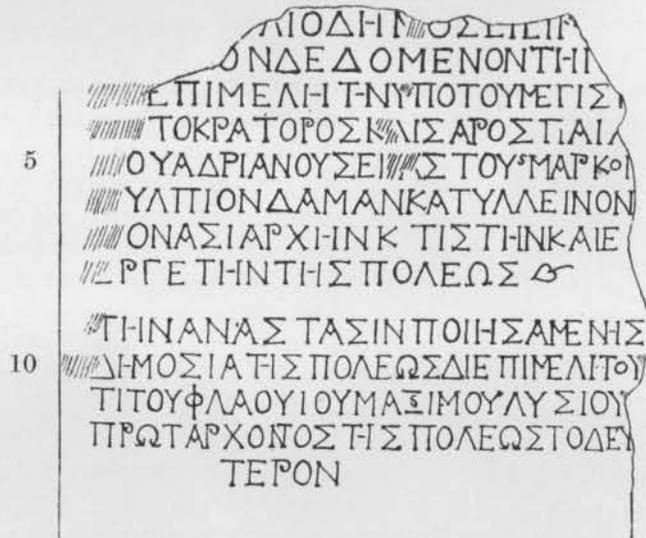
⁵ The suggestion that the name was probably significant is thrown out in *CB. i.* p. 172.

⁶ The nearest village is Seine keui at the foot of the *Dere* by the river side. It contains no remains: it would be very difficult to transport heavy blocks down the steep side of the cañon, but even those blocks which have fallen down have not been carried away.

in situ, at Laodiceia. It is possible that a semi-circular recess in the northern side contained a theatre: there are a considerable number of blocks there, and clear traces of building. On the east slope, standing out from the hill side, just below the level of the plateau (but mostly beyond the actual site, *i.e.* towards north), we found an enormous number of low archways built of flat stones cemented together, and closed by a wall at the back, the sides and ends being often pierced with window-shaped openings. These perhaps served as foundations for buildings. There are two similar ones on the plateau at the western side, almost the same as we saw at Kidramos.

Two inscriptions only were found on the site, but a search through fields of full-grown barley is rather difficult, and others may be discovered. Neither of them gives the city name, but the identification is certain.

8. Engraved on a large block (length 97 cm., breadth 77½, thickness 57); most of the inscription was underground:

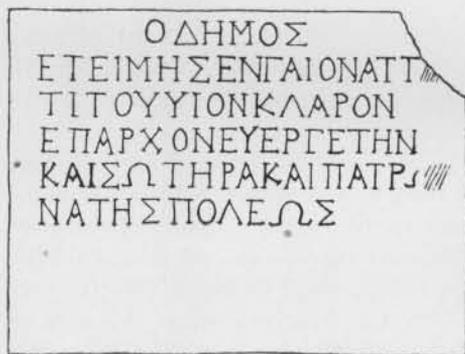


ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ἐτέλειμη-
 σαν τ]ὸν δεδομένον τῇ [πόλ-
 ει] ἐπιμελητὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[α]ίσαρος Π. Αἰ[λ]-
 5 [ίου] Ἀδριανοῦ Σε[βα]στοῦ Μάρκο[ν
 Οὐλπίον Δάμαν Κατυλλεῖνον,
 τ]ὸν Ἀσιάρχην, κτίστην καὶ εὐ-
 ε]ργέτην τῆς πόλεως·
 τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένης
 10 δημοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως δι' ἐπιμελητοῦ
 Τίτου Φλαουλίου Μαξίμου Λυσίου
 πρωτάρχοντος τῆς πόλεως τὸ δεύ-
 τερον.

A comparison of this inscription with the coinage of Trapezopolis furnishes the final and conclusive demonstration that Bolo is the site of that city. Mr. Head publishes a coin of the city (*Catalogue of Caria*, p. 177), struck in the imperial period but without the head of an emperor: it reads on obverse ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, and on reverse ΔΙΑ Τ ΦΛ ΜΑ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ. The Lysias of the inscription and the Lysias of the coin must be one and the same person. Lysias was raised to the *civitas* under the Flavian dynasty, while M. Ulpius Damas Catullinus probably received it from Trajan. Catullinus is appointed by the emperor *ἐπιμελητής* (*curator*) of the city. The question arises, what were his duties? It seems clear that *ἐπιμελητής* is merely an alternative for the common term *λογιστής*, the whole expression being a rendering of *curator rei publicae Trapezopolitarum*,¹ an imperial official sent to look after the finances of the city. We have, then, at Trapezopolis a further example of the incompetency of the municipal governments. On this whole question see *CB.* ii. pp. 369 f., 376, etc. As the inscription belongs to the first half of the second century, Catullinus was probably not a citizen of Trapezopolis.² The title *κτίστης* implies, as usual, merely that he had obtained advantages for the city.

Lysias is first Archon for the second time. It is possible that the chief board of magistrates in Trapezopolis bore the name archons and not *strategoï*. Now on the coins of Trapezopolis archons are several times mentioned; but no coins are as yet published that mention *strategoï*.

9.



ὁ δῆμος
 ἐτείμησεν Γάϊον Ἄττιον
 Τίτου υἱὸν Κλᾶρον
 ἑπαρχον, εὐεργέτην
 καὶ σωτήρα καὶ πατέρω-
 να τῆς πόλεως.

C. Attius T. f. Clarus praef. belongs to a Roman family, and was doubtless a Roman officer who had had the opportunity of rendering some service

¹ *Cod. Just.* i. 54, 3: *Curator rei publicae qui Graeco vocabulo logista nuncupatur.* Ἐπιμελητής (τῆς πόλεως) is the natural rendering of *curator (rei publicae)*, and the adoption of *λογιστής* was probably due to the fact that *ἐπιμελητής* had almost become specialised in the sense of *curator operis* (as, for example, in l. 10 of this inscr.)

² He may have been a Trallian, brother of

Claudianus Damas (his Latin name being probably M. Ulpius Damas Claudianus) who left a large bequest to Tralleis to found games in the reign of Antoninus Pius: see Pappaconstantinos *Τράλλεις*, Nos. 30 and 31. The two brothers in that case were probably sons of a Trallian named Damas. Antoninus Pius sent a native of Aizanoi as curator to Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.* 3834, 2741).

to Trapezopolis. He was perhaps *praefectus fabrum* in attendance on a high Roman official and possessing influence with him, or supposed by the Trapezopolitans to possess it.

THE RIVERS OF LAODICEIA.

The identification of the site of Trapezopolis leads us on to the vexed question of the Laodiceian rivers. The discovery of the city renders untenable Prof. Ramsay's earlier assignation of the river names (*CB.* i. p. 35 f.) and proves that he was right in recurring to the evidence of Pliny ('Corrections,' p. 785 f.). I shall try to show that his later suggestion is the correct view. The first essential in any scientific discussion of this question is evidently to know the course of the various streams or to have a *correct* map to show it; the opinions of a critic cannot be of much value if he is in ignorance about the rivers on which the whole controversy turns. Kiepert's large-scale map of *Westliches Klein Asien* is absolutely untrustworthy here: it shows several rivers which do not exist, and makes the important river Tchukur Su (called also Geuk Bunar Su) flow in an impossible direction. M. Radet's map goes even further astray: he retains Kiepert's mistake about Geuk Bunar and commits the additional error of making Bash Bunar Tchai (which he names Geuk Bunar) flow direct into the Lycos—which suits a theory, but not facts.¹ Prof. Ramsay's map gives Geuk Bunar Su rightly, and though it does not show Bash Bunar Tchai, he has a correct knowledge of its course (p. 785, n. 1).

We must first indicate the course of the rivers which concern us here. (1) Gumush Tchai, which passes Laodiceia on the west side, is known by everyone, and it is therefore unnecessary to describe it. (2) Bash Bunar Tchai,² which flows by the ruins on the east side, has its source in a number of copious springs at Denizli. The water, however, is diverted for irrigation purposes, and very little of it is carried away by the stream. It is therefore a mere insignificant brook, with no claim to be called a river. In ancient times it was undoubtedly the same. We must suppose that there was always a settlement of some kind in the fine, well-watered plain of Denizli:³ as Prof. Ramsay says of Eumeneia, 'such a fine situation must have been occupied from time immemorial; the bountiful fountains would attract the peasantry of a primitive time' (*CB.* ii. p. 354). After the foundation of Laodiceia, it was doubtless one of the villages in its territory. The Bash Bunar Tchai, then, was always the little brook it is to-day: and what water it brought down was almost certainly used up in the city. Be it noted that

¹ He himself says 'La carte hydrographique de ce district reste à faire. Toutes les cartes existantes fourmillent d'erreurs.' (*Rev. des Univ. du Midi*, 1896, p. 22, n. 2).

² It is sometimes called Bashli Tchai, but Bash Bunar Tchai is clearly right, 'the stream that flows from the Head Source.' In the map

(Pl. XII.) the stream ought to be represented by a much lighter line.

³ M. Radet justly remarks (*Rev. Univ. Midi* p. 22) that 'le site de Dénizly, l'un des plus frais, des plus enchanteurs qui soient dans la péninsule, n'a certainement jamais (*i.e.* before 314 B.C.) été inoccupé.'

it does not fall into the Lycos, but slinks away to join the Geuk Bunar Su: at its junction it is hardly visible, a few shrubs being sufficient to conceal it. (3) Geuk Bunar Su, which has generally been identified with the R. Kadmos (probably incorrectly, see *infra*), is a fine, rapid river, quite as important and conspicuous as the Lycos. It rises in the hills on the south of Tchukur Ova, flows in a deep gorge between Mt. Kadmos (Khonas Dag) and Mt. Salbakos (Baba Dag), past Geuk Bunar [Kara Giöl], the copious fountains which form a *duden* (κατάβοθρον) on the left bank of the river, and passing Ak Khan (the old Seljuk building on its left bank) falls into the Lycos above its junction with Gumush Tchai. In its upper reaches it is called Tchukur Su, in its middle course Geuk Bunar Su, and after passing through Baghirsak Dere, Emir Sultan Tchai. (See Pl. XII.)

Now the Laodiceian rivers were the Lycos, Asopos and Kapros. There is a general agreement that the Asopos is to be identified with Gumush Tchai. Which is the Kapros? The Bash Bunar [Bashli] Tchai, say some critics, amongst whom is M. Radet (whose map represents the stream as flowing direct into the Lycos).¹ They point to the evidence of Pliny (v. 105, c. 29), *Inposita est (Laodiceia) Lyco flumini, latera adluentibus Asopo et Capro*, and as the Bash Bunar Tchai flows by the line of fortifications, they regard the identification as obvious. But there is other evidence to deal with. Strabo (p. 578), speaking of Laodiceia,² says *ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὁ Κάπρος καὶ ὁ Λύκος συμβάλλει τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ ποταμῷ, ποταμὸς ἐὺμεγέθης, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Λύκῳ Λαοδίκεια λέγεται*. The correct meaning of this sentence has been suggested by Dr. Partsch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1896, p. 466) in the words 'Auch für Strabo bilden Kapros und Lykos zusammen nur einen Fluss,' and explained by Prof. Ramsay (p. 785-6) 'Kapros and Lycos, two streams, join the Maeander in a common channel, forming together a large stream, which is called Lycos and on which Laodiceia is situated'—a meaning which would be very well expressed by the term *Λυκόκαπρος*, which occurs frequently in the account of the miracle performed by St. Michael at Khonas.³ This evidently forms an insuperable objection to the identification of Kapros with Bash Bunar Tchai. M. Radet 'readily regards the expression *καὶ ὁ Κάπρος καὶ ὁ Λύκος* as the equivalent pure and simple of the term *Λυκόκαπρος*' but his reason is that the Kapros and Lycos 'mingle their waters before Laodiceia.' The reason is untrue, and the objection therefore remains in its full force. (2) Moreover, how can the advocates of this view explain the coin (described *CB.* p. 35) representing, in the usual way, the chief rivers of the city, ΚΑΠΡΟΣ and ΛΥΚΟΣ? Why is it that the Kapros is always named alongside of the Lycos as the other chief river of Laodiceia (e.g. by this coin, Strabo, Cinnamus and the term *Λυκόκαπρος*)? The tiny Bash Bunar Tchai is the most insignificant of the streams, and it is inconceivable that it should have been selected for such special prominence (instead of the Asopos, for

¹ *Revue des Univ. du Midi*, 1896, pp. 20-22; map in *En Phrygie*.

² Strabo's authority is especially high here, where he was probably an eye-witness.

³ Quoted by M. Radet, *l.c.*: see Bonnet, *Narr. de miraculo a Michaelo archangelo Chonis patrato* (Paris, 1890). It belongs to the eighth or ninth century (*Church in R. E. c. xix.*).

example). (3) On this view, what stream can be found for the ELEINOS? The *χῶρος Ἐλεινοκαπρία* was probably so named because its territory lay between the Eleinos and Kapros (or because these rivers flowed through it¹). Cp. *CB.* i. p. 36. Where can it be placed?

I believe that Prof. Ramsay's provisional suggestion ('Corrections' pp. 785-6), which assigns the name to the Geuk Bunar Su, is the correct view. It explains every one of the difficulties just stated. Pliny's expression (*latera adluentibus*) is by no means inconsistent with this view. If we take it in the most literal sense, it may be interpreted in the way Prof. Ramsay suggests, viz. that the suburbs of the city extended to the Geuk Bunar Tchai or near it (p. 785 n.). There is nothing improbable in this. On the contrary, there is every probability that Laodiceia extended well out beyond the walls towards the east. Remains can be traced nearly up to the Geuk Bunar water: perhaps these are only relics of the tombs lining the great road to the east, but it is not impossible that they represent buildings.² Laodiceia was originally a small town and its fortifications enclose only a small space; but it grew great and rich under the Roman rule (Strabo p. 578), and must have extended far beyond the walls. Excavations may yet reveal that the Geuk Bunar Su actually washed the edge of Laodiceia. At the same time it must be pointed out that there is no necessity to take *latera adluentibus* in an absolutely literal sense. It is a vivid expression used quite commonly in modern writers to mean merely that a river is close to a city: and this is what Cinnamus actually says, ἔστι δέ τις ἄγχι στα Λύκου καὶ Κάπρου τῶν Φρυγίων ποταμῶν κειμένη πόλις ὄνομα Λαοδίκη (i. 2, p. 5 ed. Bonn, quoted by M. Radet).

On this view it is easy to understand Strabo, the term *Λυκόκαπρος*, and the selection of the Kapros alongside of the Lycos as the two chief rivers of Laodiceia. *Eleinokapria* may be placed between Geuk Bunar Su and the stream which flows past Dere keui. The stone mentioning the Eleinokaprian canton, which now stands near the *Kaive* at Budjali, has probably not been carried. In Turkey, stones are carried only when they are wanted for some purpose; but this stone stands by itself on open ground and may quite probably be in its original position. Prof. Ramsay, when encumbered by his original error about the Kapros, was forced to suppose that the stone had been carried: but he now welcomes the view that the stone is in its original position. In that case the stream at Dere keui is probably the Eleinos,³ and Budjali Kaive may very well be the exact representative of the ancient meeting-place of the *χῶρος Ἐλεινοκαπριτῶν*.⁴

But is not Geuk Bunar the R. KADMOS? It has been so identified, but

¹ As Waddington explains it (No. 1693a):
une des deux rivières qui traversaient le territoire de Laodicee s'appelait le Caprus, et le nom du village en est dérivé.

² This is reported to me by W.M.R.

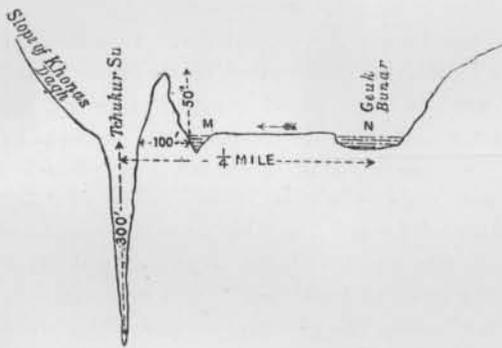
³ The stream called Kale Tchai is a mere torrent-bed, which never flows except during

heavy rains.

⁴ Waddington (on 1693a) identifies *Eleinokapria* with Budjali, i.e. the village (*tchiftlik*), on the left bank of the Dere keui stream, in the corner between it and the Lycos. The Kaive stands close to the Railway, a very short distance E. of the Station.

without evidence. The Kadmos is probably the river that comes down from Khonas, joining the Lycos at Colossae, after irrigating the gardens and vineyards below the village. Hamilton calls it 'a copious stream,' 'a considerable stream': he names it Bunar Bashi Su and says its source is a copious spring at the foot of the mountain near Khonas (i. pp. 509, 513). One branch comes down from the village, but the water is mostly used up there: this part at least is called Dere Tchai. Lower down we found it flowing with a copious stream, and on enquiry it was explained that the water came from a *bunar*. I understood that the spring was in, or close to, the channel of the river and unfortunately did not return to examine it. But Hamilton's account is probably correct.

The Kadmos was identified with the Geuk Bunar, on the ground that 'Strabo describes a *duden* in the former, and there is a *duden* in the latter' (*CB.* p. 785; see A. H. Smith in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 224-5). But Strabo's words refer to the Lycos, not to the Kadmos¹: *ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Κάδμος [Khonas Dagħ], ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Λύκος ῥεῖ καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει.*



τὸ πλέον δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ γῆς ῥεῖς εἶτ' ἀνακύψας συνέπεσεν εἰς ταῦτ' τοῖς ἄλλοις ποταμοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Οὗτος refers to the Lycos, which Mr. Smith admits to be a possible interpretation: the rule that *ἐκεῖνος...οὗτος = ille...hic* is not absolute even in the best writers. Moreover, Strabo's description would not apply to the Geuk Bunar: the river does not disappear, the *duden* is a separate phenomenon on the left bank.² This is shown by the accompanying section. The water flows from the pond N in a shallow channel to form another pond M, which has no visible outlet.³

¹ This was pointed out to me by Prof. Ramsay himself after I had been making a fruitless search for another *duden*, being unable to accept the identification of Kapros with Bash Bunar Tchai. I had not a copy of Strabo with me.

² Hence it is not quite accurate to say that 'the disappearance actually takes place at Kara Göl as well as on the Lycus' (*J.H.S. l.c.*). I did not hear the water from the *duden* 'flowing

from the side of the deep gorge and falling down to the bed of the river'; I thought the noise was merely the roar of the river, but the fact may be as stated, for the water must issue somewhere.

³ For this section I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. S. Watkins of the Ottoman Railway.

Prof. Ramsay takes our view of the *duden* in *CB*. p. 210, placing it on the course of the Lycos, not of the Kadmos; and it is apparently a slip that leads him on pp. 36 and 786 to accept the other opinion that there was a *duden* on the Kadmos.

I give here a few inscriptions of Laodiceia.¹

10. Karak-Ova. Marble base, now used as a *dibek tash*: copied in November, 1896.

ΦΙΛΑΤΗΜΑΤΙΣ
ΛΗΤΙΩΝΒΟΥ
ΛΕΥΤΩΝ

ΠΡΟΝΟΜΑΣΜΕΝΟΥΤΗΣ
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣΛΟΓΓΕΙ
ΝΟΥ ΤΡΙΣ
ΤΟΥ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΥ
Σ

ή 'Ατ[τ]αλις [φυ-
λή τῶν βου-
λευτῶν

προνο[η]σαμένου τῆς
ἀναστάσεως Λογγεί-
νου τρίς,
τοῦ πρυτ[άν]εως τῆς φυ-
[λή]ς.

We have here the name of a new tribe. In a Seleucid city the name Attalis represents a foundation subsequent to the extension of Pergamenian influence in 190 B.C. In *CB*. p. 34 f. Prof. Ramsay inferred from the occurrence of Thracian and Epirote names, such as Seitalkas and Molossos, at Laodiceia that 'a settlement of Thracian mercenaries had been made in the Lycos valley to counterbalance the colonists of Laodiceia, who were attached to the Seleucid kings'; but he wrongly supposed that the Pergamenian settlement was made only at Tripolis, and that some of these settlers migrated afterwards to Laodiceia. It is now clear that the Attalidae did not restrict themselves to the planting of new cities over against the old Seleucid colonies (such as Tripolis, Dionysopolis, Eumeneia &c., *CB*. pp. 193, 199 f., 258, &c.), but actually introduced into the Seleucid foundations bodies of new citizens likely to be faithful to themselves.

The inscription shows that the constitution of the *Boule* was exactly of the ordinary Greek type. It is earlier than *CB*. No. 7 (= *Ath. Mitth.*, 1891, p. 146), where the *Boule* is still organized on the Greek system. *πρυτάνεις* and *ἐξετασταὶ* are mentioned in the early inscription published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1895, p. 207 f., and also in *Inscr. in Brit. Mus.* iii. No. 421 where, as Mr. Hicks points out, the *Prytaneis* change from time to time and enjoy *σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ* in the regular way; while the judicial system is also of the

¹ In *CB*. No. 5 (= *C.I.G.* 3949), the fragments of which I copied hurriedly, read Δῖτ Μεγίστῳ Σωτήρι, and [Δομῆτιαν]Ω| (with Prof. Ramsay), which exactly fills the erasure: the next *μεγίστῳ* has no *iota adscript*. The inscription is engraved on architrave blocks below the triglyphs and above it there was a Latin inscr. of which one fragment remains, DEDI CANT ESEX (carved on the metopes) *i.e.*

dedicante Sex[to pro consule]. The stones, which have suffered somewhat since they were copied, now lie at the south-east extremity of the ruins beside the Bash Bunar Tchai. It is possible, therefore, that they belonged to the Syrian Gateway, but they cannot have been part of the Ephesian gate, as Prof. Ramsay supposes (from the inaccurate accounts given about them).

ordinary Greek type. Increase of evidence tends to show that the constitution of Graeco-Phrygian cities like Laodiceia was closely after the usual Greek model.

11. A metrical epitaph, which I was told about early in the summer, but could get no chance of copying till late autumn, gives the only example we have of the use of Doric at Laodiceia. We should expect to find a mixture of Doric in cities where Macedonian colonists were settled: but it is unsafe to draw any such conclusion from an epigram of this kind. When this paper was almost finished, the third part of *Ath. Mitth.* (for 1897) appeared, and I find myself forestalled in the publication of this epigram (see p. 358, No. 8) and some other inscriptions, *e.g.* Nos. 1, 4 and 6 (which I copied in the autumn of 1896). I therefore omit these from this paper, giving only some necessary corrections. The epigram is rightly restored, except the last two lines. The epigraphic text of the last line is

ΟΥΔΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣΔΕΦΥΓΓΙΟΥΟΥΙΟΥ///ΛΙΘΕΤΙΔΟΣ,

and I restore both

Ἄλλο μὲν Ἐπίγονος μνήμα ζωιοῖς δια[σώζει,
οὐδ' Ἀχιλλεύς δ' ἔφ[υγεν μοῖραν ἀ]λί Θετίδος.

The type used in *Ath. Mitth.* gives no idea of the lettering, which is not good.

In No. 4 l. 2 I read ΣΟΣΙΗΕΑΥΤΩΙ, *i.e.* Τάρσος, ζῆ, ἐαντῶι &c., (where M. Weber reads an unintelligible ΧΙΜ); in l. 4 ΚΛΩΔΙΩΙ as required, and in the last line ΙΩΣΙΝ.

12. No. 6 adds something to our knowledge of the Laodiceian festivals but we cannot be quite sure of the restorations. M. Weber has not noticed a fragment lying beside the block and fitting to line 8 (which indeed increases the difficulty of restoring line 9). The fragment reads

8	ΠΙ///
	ΤΙΚΙ///
10	ΜΑΥΦ///

There is only a slight space between Ι and ΑΣΑΝ, hardly room for more than one letter. I estimated that after line 6 there was a possible space for about 8 letters.¹

We may attempt a provisional restoration thus:—

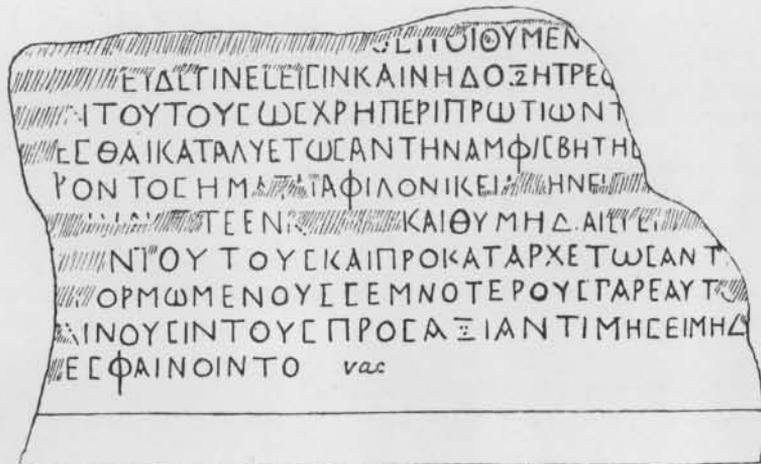
Λ.] Σέξ[τιον
-λον Παπε[τριανόν, πατέρα
καὶ θεῖον κα[ὶ ἀδελφὸν συγ-

¹ In l. 6 (end) I read ΟΣΤΣ///, l. 8 ΩΝΙΕ, appeared to be nothing inscribed below the middle of this last word.
l. 10 ΡΩΣ, l. 11 ΡΕΝ///ΜΑΤΙ///; there

κλητικοῦ καὶ [ἀρχιερέα
 5 καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην [τῆς τρίτης?
 πενταετηρίδος τῶν μεγά-
¹λων ἀγώνων Δίων κ[αὶ Ἴσολυμ- (οἱ τῶν Ὀλυμ-)
 πίων ἱερῶν εἰσελα[στικῶν
 . . . π]ᾶσαν τὴν οἰκ[ουμένην
 10 Μ. Αὐρ.?
 . . . θ]ρέμμα τι[μήσας ἀνέθ-
 ηκεν?]

L. 6. The Δεία Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ is already known: we now see that it was a four-yearly festival. Another Laodicean festival was the Ἀντιόχεια founded by Antiochus II. (261–246 B.C.) and celebrated every year (*Inscr. Brit. Mus.* iii. 421).² Lines 7–9 seem to give an additional one called [Ὀλύμ]πια (or Ἴσολυ-) ἱερὰ εἰσελαστικά οἰκουμενικὰ: in l. 9 we want something like the εἰσελ. εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην of *C.I.G.* 2932. Games called Ὀλύμπια Ἡράκλεια Ἀδράστηα are found at Attouda. On εἰσελαστικά see Hicks, *Ephesos* No. 607 and *C.I.G.* iii. 5804, where Franz says such games were called *vulgo* ἀγῶνες ἱεροὶ πενταετηρικοί. On οἰκουμενικὰ Hicks *l.c.* No. 505.

13. I add an improved copy of an interesting fragment imperfectly given by Dr. Judeich in *Ath. Mitth.*, 1890, p. 258, leaving it for the present without any attempt at restoration. It clearly refers to a vain contention *περὶ πρωτίων* between those 'brought up in the new faith' and those of the old (ἡ ματ[α]ία φιλονικε[α]), and gives an admonition (the nature of which is not clear) to put an end to it. The inscr. is repeated in *CB.* no. 410.



¹ I had restored μεγάλων, and *Ath. Mitth.* shows an Λ where my copy has a vacant space.

² L. 16 of inscription published *Ath. Mitth.*

1895, p. 207, should be restored [ἐν τοῖς συν-
 τε]λουμένοις κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγῶσιν ἐν [τοῖς Ἀντιο-
 χείοις.], by comparison with *Br. M.* 421.

HIERAPOLIS AND ITS VILLAGES.

14. The following important *psephisma* was found near Tchindere keui, a village high up on the plateau above Hierapolis, overhanging the Maeander cañon. It was said by one of the natives (who gave it as a tradition) to have come from a site SSW. from Geuzlar (Thiounta), where we saw some remains. The tradition is probably trustworthy.¹ The slab is unfortunately broken at the top and two sides: it is much worn, and could not be read except by placing the stone athwart the sunlight. The restorations are intended to indicate what appears to be the general sense.

ΤΙΣ ΤΟΝ
 ΠΙΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Β' ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ ΜΗΝΙΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟ
 ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΡΕΣΙΩΝ
 ΟΝΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΧΕΙΝ Η ΜΟΝΟΝ ΞΥΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΧΥΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝ
 5 ΛΩΝ ΑΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΗ Η
 ΕΛΕΝΧΘΕΝΤΑΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕΝ ΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΙΜΟΥ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΕΙΣ ΔΕ
 ΕΝ ΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΣΑ ΕΛΕΝΧΘΗ ΕΙΛΗΠΦΩΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΤΙ
 10 ΜΕΛΕΝΧΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ ΜΗ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗ
 ΤΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΣ Η ΚΟΜΜΑΣ ΑΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ Ν ΠΑΡΑ
 ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ Η ΤΙΣ ΛΑΝΚΟΜΗ ΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ ΣΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ
 ΤΑΜΗΘΕΝΤΕΙΝ ΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΙΔΕΜΗ ΤΟΝ ΥΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΩΣ ΠΟΙΗΣ
 ΟΛΛΩΝ ΟΣΑΝ ΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΨΗΦΙ ΣΜΑΤΟ
 ΕΤΙ ΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ

..... ον

¹ Ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Θεοφ[?]ίλου τοῦ β' νεωτέρου, μ[η]νὸς δεκάτου...

ἔδοξε τῶν Ἱεραπολειτῶν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχα[ι]ρεσιῶν [τοὺς παρα-
 φύλακας

κατὰ νόμ[?]ον ἀπ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ποιεῖσθαι ἐπιδη[μίαν ὡς μὴ

5 προσήκ[?]ον αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ἢ μόνον ξύλα καὶ ἄχυρα καὶ μον[ήν, ἄλλο δὲ
 μηδὲν

μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὃ ἂν ποτε τρόπῳ· ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἢ ἐπι-
 χειρήσῃ πλέον

λαβεῖν, τὸν ἐ[?]λεγχθέντα πεποηκέναι προστείμου ὀνόματι εἰσ[άγειν...
 καὶ

κατατιθέναι αὐτὸν ὅσα ἂν ἐλεγχθῇ εἰληπφῶς παρὰ τινος ἀτι[μ]ως, πρὸς
 δὲ τοῦ-

¹ Of the value of such statements, which are often dismissed (e.g. by Von Diest) as *stets un-* *zuverlässig*, a striking proof will be given under *MEROS*.

τοῖς τοῦς] ἔλεγχθέντας παραφύλακας μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰς παρὰ τῆ[ς κώμης
 τιμάς· ἐὰν δὲ
 10 ξυμβῆ τὰ[ς] ἡ κωμάρχ[ας] ἄκοντας στεφανοῦν παραφ[ύλακα,
 ἀποδοῦναι
 αὐτὸν τὸ] ἀργύριον· ἢ τις δ' ἂν κώμη βουληθῆ στεφανῶσαι παρα[φύλακα,
 δεῖν
 πρὸς ταῦ]τα μῆθ' ἐν τείνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν ὑπεναντίως ποιήσ[αντα
 ἕξειν
 τὰ Ἄπ]όλλωνος ἀναθήματα, ὄντος τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσμα[τος κυρίου
 καὶ] ἐπέχοντος.

Notes.—L. 2. There seems to be a gap between ΛΟΥ and ΤΟΥ, though the copy exaggerates it slightly: νεωτέρου is equivalent to τοῦ β', 'Theophilos, son of Theophilos, i.e. Theophilos the younger.' L. 4-5. 'The *paraphylakes* must live at their own expense in the villages, since the villagers are not required to supply them with anything but merely wood etc.' L. 10. The letters before ΗΚΩΜ are far from certain: the impression seems to show something like what is given.

For ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν in 3 cp. ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις (*C.I.G.* 2693 c and d); and expressions like ἀρχαιρεσιακῆς ἐκκλησίας (*J.H.S.* 1895, p. 118). The title ἡγεμόνες which occurs at Melokome (*CB.* no. 64 = *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 399) is apparently not equivalent to κωμάρχαι.

This inscription (which is one of the copies of the decree set up publicly in all the κῶμαι) throws some light on the relation of Hierapolis to its subject villages, a point which is discussed in *CB.* pp. 123-5. It is there argued from the failure of any allusions to self-government among the inscriptions of Mossyna and Thiounta,¹ the two ancient κῶμαι near Geuzlar on the plateau behind Hierapolis, and from the fact that Hierapolis and Dionysopolis were probably conterminous, that these two villages, and doubtless others (see p. 141), were subject to Hierapolis. The author proceeds to indicate the probable relations of the metropolis to the subject κῶμαι and remarks (p. 125) that a παραφύλαξ mentioned at Thiounta (inscr. 31) was most likely an official whose authority emanated from Hierapolis, rather than a mere Thiountene officer. Our inscription shows that Hierapolis appointed a set of παραφύλακες for its villages.² These officials were undoubtedly 'heads of police' charged with the maintenance of order in the territory of the ruling city. The police were styled παραφυλακίται or φυλακίται (the two names being probably equivalent), and they were perhaps a Pergamenian institution (*CB.* p. 258, Fränkel, *Inscr. Perg.* 249). About the constitution of these police forces our knowledge is scanty: but they were employed in

¹ Cp. especially No. 29.

² The expression in *CB.* p. 125, might suggest that a single *paraphylax* was appointed for the whole Hierapolitan territory: that, however, was not the case: there was probably one for

each κῶμη. These παραφύλακες are also mentioned in the mutilated decree found at Develer and published by Hogarth in *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 392 (no. 21).

hunting down and keeping in custody brigands, Christians, and other disturbers of the peace.

Officials of the subject villages must be carefully distinguished from officials of the ruling city or metropolis (here Hierapolis): this distinction is always clearly brought out in the Egyptian documents, which are our best authority for the relation of a metropolis to its *κῶμαι*. It is natural that the charge of order in the territory as a whole should be vested in officials appointed by the metropolis: and it is satisfactory to find documentary confirmation of Prof. Ramsay's conjecture to that effect, a conjecture founded mainly on the consideration of natural suitability.

The *Paraphylakes* were in a position of power, and could make illegal requisitions upon the villagers or extort honours from them against their will (ll. 5, 10). This decree enacts pains and penalties with a view to the prevention of such abuses: the *Paraphylakes* are required to live at their own expense, and the articles they are authorized to demand from the villagers are strictly defined.

On the whole subject, see Prof. O. Hirschfeld in *Berlin. Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1891, pp. 845—877, 1892, pp. 815—824, 1893, 421—441; Fränkel, *Inscr. Perg.* No. 249: *CB.* p. 68, 258 ff., 307 f. (where bodies of *παραφυλακίται* are stationed in villages).

CHRYSORHOAS

In speaking of the Lycos valley, Strabo refers to τὸ πολύτρητον τῆς χώρας καὶ τὸ εὐσειστον.¹ An interesting phenomenon, not mentioned by any traveller, is related by Prof. Ramsay about the stream Chrysorhoas, the most important of the rock-forming cascades which flow over the cliffs at Hierapolis. He says (p. 86, n. 2), 'My friend Mr. Walker told me that its waters, after tumbling over the cliffs, flow for a short distance south through the plain until they reach a hole in the ground into which they disappear,' etc. An investigation of this point showed that the statement was quite true, but a few years ago the phenomenon disappeared owing (as the natives also said) to the gradual choking up of the underground passage by incrustation. The hole where it vanished can be seen and easily identified from the deposit formed at the sides. I was assured, however, that after its underground course it reappeared down in the plain near the village Kutchuk Shamli where it formed a marsh, at least in winter, when the water was not used to irrigate the fields. Now the stream flows above ground and is carried down in the same direction.

¹ Earthquakes still occur in the valley: a rather violent one took place during one of my visits to Laodiceia.

ANAVA—SANAOS.

"*Anava*, the town passed by Xerxes on his way from Kelainai to Colossai beside the salt lake of the same name (Herod. vii. 30), has been identified by Prof. Ramsay with the later Sanaos¹ (through the stricter form Sanavos) and placed at the village Sari-Kavak on the edge of the northern hills overlooking Adji Tuz Giöl, 'Bitter Salt Lake' (*Amer. Jour. Arch.*, 1888, p. 275, *CB.* p. 230, 218). M. Radet, disagreeing with this view, separates the two names, and leaving Anava at Sarikavak places Sanaos at Tchardak, on the western end of Lake Anava. The following inscription proves the correctness of the former view. It is engraved on a sarcophagus cut out of the rock in a necropolis between the middle and western quarters (*mahalla*) of the village: the stone is much weather-worn, and the first part is quite illegible.

15.

ΣΥΝΒΙΟΥ ΑΤΙΚΑΙΣ ΒΦΚΤΩ ΣΑΝΑΗΝΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΕΡΟΥ ΑΤΙΚΑΣ ΒΦΖΩΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΛΕΣΑΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΩΝΙΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ vac

[οἱ δεῖνες κατεσκεύασαν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτοῖς καὶ

ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται τεθῆναι χωρὶς τῆς]

4 συνβίου α[ύ]το(ῦ)(?) καὶ [τῶν τέκνων (?) ἐπεὶ ὁ] τολμήσας ἀποδώσει [τ]ῷ ἱερωτάτῳ

ταμείῳ Ἀτικᾶς ✕ βφ' κὲ τῷ Σαναηνῶν δήμῳ ἰς τειμὰς τοῦ Σεβ . .
'Ατικᾶς βφ'. ζῶντες δὲ ἐτέλεσαν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν ἑώνιον οἶκον.]

In this and the following inscription the fine is to be paid in Attic drachmae,² as at Apameia (*CB.* ii. No. 321, quoting also Thyatira); this suggests a connection with Apameia, and is a further indication that Sanaos was subject to that city (see *CB.* p. 230, ii. p. 428, etc.).

On αἰώνιος οἶκος, see a paper in the forthcoming *Annual of the British School at Athens* for 1897.

16. On a similar sarcophagus near the former.

NEAY ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΒΙ
ΔΙΟΡΕΙΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΙ ΔΕ Ε ΖΕ ΤΑΙ Ε ΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ
ΑΙ Ε ΠΕΙ Ο ΤΟΙ Ο Μ Ο Ι Τ Ο Λ Η Γ Α Γ Α Τ Ο Δ Μ Ε Ι Τ Π Ρ Ο Τ Ε Ι Μ Ο Υ Ε Ι Τ Ο Ι Ε Ρ Ω Τ Α Τ Ο Ν Τ Α Μ Ε Ι
Τ Ι Κ Α Τ Τ Ε Ν Τ Α Κ Ι Σ Β Ι Λ Ι Δ Ι Α Σ

¹ Sanaos Strabo p. 576, Sanaos Hierocles, Σανίς Ptolem. v. 2, 26, Sanaos or Sanaos Notitias.

² Ἀτικᾶς ✕ seems curious: it is possibly a mis-

reading due to the notches in the stone for βφ, as in next line, but probably it is used to denote δραχμάς.

[ὁ δεῖνα κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον ζῶ]ν ἐαν[τῶ] καὶ τῇ συνβί[φ] αὐτοῦ
 οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξέσται ἕτερόν τινα
 κηδεῦσ[αι], ἐπεὶ ὁ τοιο[ῦτ]ό τι τολμήσας ἀποδ[ώ]σει προστείμου εἰς τὸ ἱερώ-
 τατον ταμεί-
 ον Ἄ]τικὰς πεντακισχιλίας.

Some other inscriptions of Sanaos will be given in Part II.

BRIA.

The city Bria was placed by Prof. Radet and Prof. Ramsay, independently of each other, at the modern village of Burgas.¹ M. Radet judges from the order of Hierocles, the importance of the modern village, and from its name which 'semble n'être qu'une adaptation Turque de l'ancien.' Prof. Ramsay goes further and shows in an admirable commentary on inscription 218 (see also p. 577) the etymological affinities of the word Bria and how the name Burgas arose from the form Berga: but he is careful again to add the qualification that though the name remains, the exact site may not be at the modern village; for no remains have been found there, and it is the exception, not the rule, to find modern villages exactly on ancient sites. Towards the end of the summer I passed through this district and found the old site about a mile and three-quarters north-west of Burgas on the left of the road to Tatar keui. It is situated in the open plain in the midst of acorn-producing (*palamūt*) trees and is hardly visible, and certainly not noticeable, from the road. Such a defenceless situation was of the Pergamenian type (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 86), which looked to commercial rather than to military considerations. With this accords the Thracian name Bria, for it is known that Thracian colonists were often settled in Pergamenian foundations. We may therefore safely infer that the city was founded after 190 B.C.

There is very little to be seen now on the site. The most conspicuous part of the ruins is what we may best describe by saying that it looks like an extensive square-shaped entrenchment, banked right round, the general surface being raised above the ground level to the height of several feet. About two yards or so from the outer edge a low narrow ridge runs round, evidently concealing the foundations of a wall, the blocks of which appear here and there *in situ*. This then was the fortified part of the city: and the natives have appropriately given it the name *hendek*, i.e. 'dyke' or 'trench.' The buildings, however, extended over a large extent of ground especially towards the south-west. Here several big rectangular blocks may still be seen on the surface and the villagers of Tatar keui have recently laid bare some foundations formed of fine blocks with some cemented work: at this spot were found the stones bearing the inscriptions given

¹ Radet, *En Phrygie*, p. 112; Ramsay, *CB.* i. p. 243-4.

below. At the inner base of the narrow ridge (where the fortifications seem to have been) they dug up a large Byzantine column with a late inscription on it together with some other inscriptions which they broke into fragments to put into the foundations of their new mosque.¹

The question arises, what has become of all the surface stones? Burgas seems to possess none, though some are almost certainly concealed in the walls of the mosques,² and Tatar keui is built of mud. They must have been carried to greater distances (perhaps to Sivasli and neighbouring villages).

The following are the only inscriptions which we can certainly assign to Bria.

17 In the unfinished mosque at Tatar keui:

ΔΙΚΑΙΣΕΒΑΣ
ΤΩΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ

Διὶ καὶ Σεβασ-
τῶ Καίσαρι

ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣΑΣΚΛΗ
ΠΙΑΔΟΥΟΙΕΡΕΥΣ

Εὐξενος Ἀσκλη-
πιάδου ὁ ἱερεύς.

Euxenos was priest in the Imperial cultus, the worship of the Emperor being associated, in the usual way, with that of the native deity Zeus.

18. *Ibid.* In two fragments: in the epigraphic text they are placed together

ΚΑΙΗΚΑΤΑΥ
Σ·Μ·ΑΥΡ
ΟΥΣΑ
ΑΝΟΥΕΥ
ΟΥΛΕΥΤΟΥ
ΑΣΑΣΑΡΧΑΣ
ΓΙΑΣΤΗΠΑ
ΑΝΤΟΣΕΚΠΡΟ
ΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΔΟΚΑΤΩ

Ἄβωμος] καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐ-
τοῦ σορὸς Μ. Αὐρ. Ὡ
Διογέν[?]ους Ἀθη-
νοδώρου? Βρι[?]ανού,³ εὐ-
δοξοτάτου β]ουλευτοῦ
φυλῆς β' ? π]άσας ἀρχὰς
καὶ λειτουργ]γίας τῆ πα-
τριδι τελέσ]αντος ἐκ προ-
γόνων, στέ]φανηφόρου,
· · · · ·

¹ It seems probable however that No. 19 came from this spot.

² Continuous heavy rain prevented a proper examination of the village, but (apart from the

declarations of the natives, who were kindly disposed) three previous expeditions found nothing.

³ Perhaps a name like Ἀθηνοδωριανού.

In l. 1 the expression *κατ' αὐτοῦ* is unusual,¹ but we may compare an inscription of Laodiceia (*Ath. Mitth.*, 1895, p. 209) where we have *πλάτοι δύο, εἰς ἔνγαιος καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ ὑπέργειος*. In l. 8, the expression *ἐκ προγόνων* (like *ἱερεὺς διὰ γένους*, etc.) means merely that members of his family had often undertaken these offices: the *ἀρχαὶ* were by this time as much burdens (*munera*) as the *λειτουργίαι*. On *στεφανηφόρος* see *CB.* i. p. 56 f.

The date is shown by the name M. Aur. to be the latter half of the second, or the first half of the third, century of our era.

19. *Ibid.* A late Byzantine inscription on a rectangular block: the spelling is atrocious, but it shows the modern pronunciation.

† ΕΓΟΗΟΦΝΗ(ΥΚΟΔΟΜΗΣ) ΤΟΝ ΔΟ
 ΚΕΔΗ ΔΟΤΟΜ ΚΕΥΤΟΧΟΡΑΦΗΝΤΟΛΑΚ
 ΔΝΔΔΥΣΕΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΜΟΥΗΝΑΤ
 ΤΗΝ ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ
 ΗΝΔΕ ΧΗΤΗΝ ΔΗΚΗΝ ΜΕΤΑ Τ
 ΔΡΟΜΟΝ†

† ἐγὼ Ἡοάνης (Ἰωάννης) ὑκοδομήσας τὸν (ν)αὸν .
 κέ Δήδοτον
 ἀνάλυσε τὸν λόγο(ν) μου ἦνα (i.e. ἴνα) τ
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣς τὴν ἡμέραν
 ἦνα ἔχη τὴν δῆκην μετὰ τ[ὸν ἐπιχθόνιον]
 δρόμον†

Owing to limitations of space and of time, I must conclude this paper by giving the more important of the results attained in the north-west of Phrygia.

THE IMPERIAL ESTATE OF TEMBRION.

20. At the village Yapuldjan, close to Altyn Tash and the site of Soa, I copied the following inscription, which gives important evidence, both topographical and historical, regarding the large Imperial Estate on the Tembrogios (Tembris).

¹ An exact parallel occurs at Hierapolis (*J.H.S.* 1885, p. 346, No 75).

ΑΓΑΘΗ

ΤΥΧΗ

IMP CAES M N H: ET INDISSIMULS CAES M AU
 PEADIDYMU M IUC ENERUM PROCONSULE US REBSPECTA FIDEEORUM QUAE
 QUID INIURIOSE GERATUR AD SOLICITUDINEM SUAM REVOCAT X A

5 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΡΙΜΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΥΣ ΕΒΕΙΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΣ ΒΚ
 ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΥΣ ΠΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΩΚΑΡΙΔΕ ΗΣΙΣΤΑΡΑΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΕΓΚΛΕΥ
 ΝΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΡΑΓΟΥ ΗΝΩΝ ΠΑΡΟΙΚΩΝ ΚΓΕΩΡΓΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΕΡΩΝ
 ΑΝΗΔΗ ΜΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΑΝΩΝ ΣΟΗΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΥΓΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΟΥ
 10 ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΟΙΣ ΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΡΟΙΣ ΕΥΕΒΕΙ
 ΠΟΤΑΤΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΗΡΕΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΛΗΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΔΙΑΓ
 ΝΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΔΙΑΣΕΙΣ ΜΩΝ ΠΕ ΤΑΥΜΕΝΩ ΜΟΝΟΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΑΤΙΝ ΕΤΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΡΩΝ ΤΑ ΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΗ ΝΙΚΕΤΕ ΜΕΙΝ ΤΡΟΣ ΑΓΟΜΕΝΕ ΧΕ
 ΗΣ ΕΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΩΡΩΝ ΜΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΣΜΕΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤ
 15 ΜΟΣ Ο ΛΟΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ
 ΣΕΙΟΜΕΘΑ ΔΕ ΤΑΡΑΤΟ ΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΚΠΑΡΑ ΤΡΑΣΣΟΜΕΘΑΥΤΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ
 20 ΣΙΟΝ ΟΦΛΕΜΕΘ ΓΕΙΟΓΑΡ ΤΥΧΑΝ ΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΜΙΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΑ
 ΜΟΜΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΑΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΝ
 ΤΩ ΑΠΠΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑΡΑ ΛΙΜΠΑΝΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΥΣ
 ΤΩ ΤΑΙ ΚΔΥΝΑΣΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΟΥΧΟΝ ΤΩ Κ ΑΤΗ ΤΟ ΛΙΝ
 ΜΕΤΕΡΟΙ ΕΠΕΙΣ ΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ Κ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΙΜΠΑΝΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΕ
 25 ΕΡΓΩΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΑΦΙΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ Κ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΟΤΩ ΡΑΣ ΒΟΑΝ Δ
 ΛΟΜΕΝΑ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΡΑΣΣΟΥΣ Κ ΚΥΒΑΙΝΕΙΟΥ
 ΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΣ ΘΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΣΕΙΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΡΙΩΝ ΑΤΑ
 ΣΕ ΒΑΣΤΕΜΕ ΓΕΘΟΣΟ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΔΙΕΙΤΕ
 ΝΟΣ ΚΟΠΩΣ ΤΕ ΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΩ ΘΗΣΟΥ Η ΘΗ
 30 ΕΝ ΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΛΕΙΡΕΣ ΟΣ Ν ΠΛΕΧΙΕΣ ΤΙ
 QUID AITOPERAMNED TIUIS QUERE LL
 ΕΠΕΙ ΔΗ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΔΕΝΟ ΦΕΛΟΜΕΙΝ ΕΚ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΙ
 ΒΗ ΚΕΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΤΑΜΗΟ ΦΕΙ
 ΤΕ ΒΑΙΝΟ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΥΝΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΥΝ ΗΜΑΣ
 35 ΚΥΠΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΙΑΝ ΝΟΥ ΤΑ ΤΥΧΟΝ ΤΑ ΔΙΕΙΕΣ
 ΚΚΕΣ ΦΑΙΚΤΑ ΧΩΡΙΑ ΕΡΗΜΟΥΣ ΚΙΚΑΝ
 ΚΚΟΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤ
 ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΑ ΤΑΥΤΙΕ Χ
 ΙΑ ΤΟΥ

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

Imp. Caes. M. [Iul. P]hil[ippus Pius Felix Aug.] et [M. Iul. Philippu]s
 n[o]bi[l]issimus Caes. M. Au[r.] Ap-
 peae? Didymum M—generum pro consule . . . , perspecta fide eorum quae
 [scribit Eglectus . . .
 quia iniuriose geratur, ad sollicitudinem suam revoca(n)t.

- Ἀυτοκράτορι Κέσαρι Μ. Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ(αστῶ)
 κ[ἔ] Μ. Ἰουλίῳ
 5 Φιλίππῳ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Κέσαρι δέησις παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Ἐγκλέκ-
 [του ια-
 νοῦ τῶν Ἀραγουνηῶν παροίκων κὲ γεωργῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων, [δημοσία
 δαπ-
 ἀνῆ δήμου κοινο(ῦ) Μο(ξ)εανῶν¹ Σοηνῶν τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν τόπων, διὰ
 τοῦ [.
 στρατιώτου. Πάντων ἐν τοῖς μακαριωτάτοις ὑμῶν καιροῖς, εὐσεβέσ[τατοι
 κὲ ἄλυ-
 πότατοι τῶν πρόποτε βασιλέων, ἤρεμον καὶ γαληνὸν τὸν βίον διαγ[ο-
 μένων, πα-
 10 νηρίας κὲ διασεισμῶν πε[π]αυμένων, μόνοι ἡμεῖς ἀλλότρια τ[ῶ]ν ε[ὑ]-
 τυχεστάτων
 καιρῶν πάσχοντες τήνδε τὴν ἰκετε[ίαν ὑ]μῖν προσάγομεν, ἐχέ[γγυοι
 ἐνθυμ-
 ῆσεως ἐν τούτοις· χωρίον ὑμέτερόν [ἐ]σμὲν ἱερώτα[τον κέ, ὅταν ἦ σεισ-
 μὸς ὀλόκληρος, οἱ καταφεύγοντες κὲ γεινόμενοι τῆς ὑμετέρας [προστα-
 σίας· δια-
 σειόμεθα δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄλογον κὲ παραπρασσόμεθα ὑπ' ἐκείνων ο[ὓς μὴ
 ἀδικεῖν τὸν πλη-
 15 σίον ὀφίλει· μεσόγειοι γὰρ τυγχάνοντες κὲ μ[ῆ]τε παρὰ στρατά[ρχῃ]
 μηδενί, πάσ-
 χομεν ἀλλότρια τῶν ὑμετέρων μακαριωτάτων καιρῶν [ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐνοι-
 κοῦντες
 τὸ Ἀππιανῶν κλίμα παραλιμπάνοντες τὰς λεωφόρους ὁ[δοὺς γίνονται
 στρα-
 τ[ι]ῶται κὲ δυνάσται τῶν προϋχόντων κ[ατ]ὰ τὴν πόλιν [ἡμῶν, γείτονες
 δὲ ἡ-
 μέτεροι ἐπέσειε[ρ]χόμενοι κὲ καταλιμπάνοντες τὰς λε[ω]φόρους . . κὲ τῶν
 20 ἔργων ἡμᾶς ἀφίσταντες κὲ τοὺς ἀροτήρας βοῶν [πειρώμενοι? τὰ μὴ
 ὀφει-
 λόμενα αὐτοῖς παραπράσσουν κὲ συνβαίνει ο[ὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ τοι-
 οῦτου ἀδικεῖσθαι δι(α)σειομένους περὶ ὧν ἀπ' ἀ[ρχ]ῆς πρόσταξιν
 ἐποιήσω,
 Σεβαστὲ Μέγεθος, ὅποτε τὴν ἑπαρχὸν διεῖπε[ς ἐξουσίαν
 νος κὲ ὅπως περὶ τούτων ἐκεινήθη σοῦ ἢ θ[ε]ία κέλευσις ἐν ταῖς δέλτοις
 25 ἐντεταγμένη· Quae li[b]e[r]o (or li[b]e[r]o?) complexi esti[s]
 -quid, agit operam ne d[iu]ti(n)is querell[is]
 Ἐπειδὴ οὖν οὐδὲν ὄφελο[ς ἡ]μῖν ἐκ ταύτης τ[ῆς] ταραχῆς γέινεται,
 συνβέ-
 βηκεν δὲ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν τὰ μὴ ὀφει[λόμενα] παραπράσσεισ-
 θαι, ἐ-

¹ Better (T)οτεανῶν, see *infra*.

πενβαινό[ν]των τινῶν κὲ συνπατούντων ἡμᾶς [παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον (στ
 ἄλογον), ἐπειδὴ
 30 θ'] ὑπὸ τῶν Κεσαριανῶν οὐ τὰ τυχόντα δι[ασ]είσ[θαι δεῖ οὐδὲ πάσ-
 χεσθαι
 -κεσθαι κὲ τὰ χῶρια ἐρημοῦσ(θ)αι κὲ . . .
 ς κὲ οὐ παρὰ τ[ῶν ἔν]δον κατοικούντ[ων] . . .

Notes.—The centre of the stone (as I estimated it) is shown by the dotted line at top and foot. This makes a possible space for eleven or twelve letters after l. 1. L. 2, the second letter may be F; before GENERUM the stone seemed to show two letters (possibly LI), not U (but perhaps merely bad engraving for U). L. 5, παρὰ seems to denote that Enclektos drew up the document for the commune: perhaps he was the headman (*magister, πρόγωγος, κομάρχης* in *J.H.S.*, 1887 p. 498). If so, διὰ would denote the person who presented the appeal. L. 7, Μοτεανῶν may possibly be a variant form, but the Τ seemed different from the other letters Τ, and it is perhaps a miscut (like ὀφ'λει in 15, ΔΙΛΣ. in 22, and probably others). L. 10 *fin.*, read probably ΤΩΝ as in 16. L. 15, can στρατά[ρχης] mean 'a governor with a force at his disposal' (like στρατηγὸς ὑπατος for *procos.*)? L. 18 *init.*, we want a word for 'marauders': perhaps στρατιῶται may bear such a meaning ('they have become foragers': cp. στρατιωτικῶς 'brutally'). L. 23, διεῖπες from διεῖπω 'directed the proconsulship of the province' or simply ἐπαρχὸν διεῖπες 'were arranging the affairs of the prov.' L. 24, ὅπως = 'when.' L. 26, the stone has TIUIS, which is clearly another miscut for TINIS or TIUS. The inscription was carelessly engraved.

Later consideration makes it seem more probable that in ΛΟΤΕΑΝΩΝ (l. 7) it is the Λ, not the Τ, that is miscut. The lapidary cut ΚΟΙΝΟΛΛ for ΚΟΙΝΟΥΤ. We thus get the form Τοτεανῶν, *i.e.* the people of Tottoia,¹ the ancient name of the village Besh Karish Eyuk, about five miles S. of Altyn Tash (see *J.H.S.* 1887 p. 513). This is exactly what is wanted. The suggestion is due to Prof. Ramsay.

The date is 244-246 A.D.: in the latter year the younger Philip assumed the title *Augustus*.

The sense of the Latin heading is not clear. Perhaps the reply was sent through Didymus M—gener, the proconsul, who would forward it to the procurator. Ll. 2-3, 'having examined the truth of what Enclektos writes . . . because (Appia?) conducts itself (geratur=se gerat) wrongfully,² they? take the matter under their care.'

In the Greek part, though the restorations are often uncertain, the general sense is fairly clear. The *coloni* on the estate (χωρίον) appeal to the Emperor as their lord to put a stop to the violent conduct (*tumultuosum vel iniuriosum adversus colonos Caesaris*, Dig. i. 19) of the inhabitants of the Appian district who have ceased to confine themselves to the high roads and have

¹ The name occurs with one T or with two indifferently (cp. *Hist. Geog.* p. 240 &c.).

² *Iniuriose* is the technical term (Dig. i. 19).

taken to marauding on the estate, making themselves masters of Soa, interrupting agricultural work and blackmailing the *coloni*, in defiance of the Emperor's edict issued at the time of the appointment of the provincial governor and inserted in the archives of the town (?), etc. After the appeal there was added, no doubt, the imperial reply. The whole correspondence was set up publicly at the expense of the *coloni* under the superintendence of the 'headman' (as in the African analogies *C.I.L.* viii. 10570, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscr.* 1897, p. 146 ff.).

Important topographical questions are decided by this inscription. The estate referred to is that called in later times Tembrion or Tembre, because the river Tembrogios or Tembris (Porsuk Su) flowed through it. The existence of an estate was detected here and the name Tembrion assigned to it in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 177-8 (see also *CB.* ii. p. 615). This view has now received complete confirmation. Our inscription makes it clear that the people of Soa (near Altyn Tash) and part at least of the Moxeanoi¹ were *coloni* on the domain. From this we should infer that the estate extended south to the borders of the territory of Alia (Islam keui)—a conclusion already reached by Prof. Ramsay (*CB.* p. 615, No. 527) from an inscription found at Gumulu,² a village between Alia and Siokharax (Otourak), by MM. Legrand and Chamonard (*B.C.H.* 1893 p. 272). The northern limit is given by a boundary stone (*C.I.L. Suppl.* 7004), standing on a low ridge running out from the western hills and narrowing the plain opposite the villages Haidarlar and Nuh-ören: this stone probably marked off the estate from the territories of Apia and Aizanoi (cp. *Hist. Geogr.* p. 178), which perhaps met here. The estate therefore included the whole valley of the upper Porsuk Su. Now, just as in other cases (e.g. Augustopolis), there must have been a bishopric for this vast stretch of country, and we are therefore compelled to agree with the view expressed in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 146, which assigns to this district the name *Εὐδοκίας* given by Hierocles between Appia and Aizanoi. Soa was perhaps the ecclesiastical centre. The name *Ἀραγονήνολ* is new.

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies a fresh piece of evidence as to the status of the *coloni* on an Imperial estate in the third century. Previous to the fourth century, the *coloni* whom we meet in literature and in law are free tenants, occupying holdings under a lease (= *conductores*); in the fourth century, the status of the *colonus* as defined by public law is altogether altered: he is still free, but his tenure is permanent and hereditary, he is 'bound to the soil.' This change has been traced by Prof. Pelham, in his clear and incisive style, to the influence of the regulations prevailing in the Imperial domains since Hadrian's time: these

¹ This agrees with the situation assigned to the Moxeanoi in *CB.* ii. p. 631 f.—a situation indeed already confirmed by epigraphic evidence (No. 615). I should now, however, prefer to say 'the people of Soa and of Tottoia'; but the suggestion was received too late to be incorporated in the text. The change does not,

however, affect what is said about the boundaries of the estate.

² I heard that Gumulu and Hassan keui are villages near the Devrent (on the eastern side) between Otourak and Islam keui: but I have not seen them.

were recognised to be advantageous and were merely stereotyped by the legislation of the fourth century.¹ We know that the Imperial estates were reorganised by Hadrian²: and the status of the *coloni* under this reorganisation (at least in Africa and on the Milyadic estates) was essentially that prescribed by the law of the fourth century (Pelham *l.c.* pp. 11–17³). Further, Prof. Pelham has shown that, although 'we know nothing of the regulations by which the Caesars finally bound their own *coloni* to the soil,' economic and political reasons (as well as the attractions offered to the *coloni*) all operated in this direction. This view is confirmed by our inscription, which gives similar evidence for the estate of Tembrion in 244–246 A.D. The *coloni* are clearly bound to the soil: they describe themselves as Caesar's husbandmen, some of them at least having been planted on the estate by their Imperial lords (πάροικοι⁴ κὲ γεωργοὶ οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἀροτῆρες, ἄγροικοι, Κεσαριανοί), to whom they 'flee for refuge, placing themselves under his protection' when there is a general upheaval of law and order (l. 13). Compare the expressions used by the dwellers on the Saltus Burunitanus in Africa sixty years earlier (180–183 A.D.), *homines rustici tenues manum nostrarum operis victum tolerantantes*, or *rustici tui vernalae et alumni saltum tuorum* (C.I.L. viii., 10570, col. ii., 20 and 28).

No mention is made of the *conductores*: that is natural, for the complaint is against blackmailing by outsiders. But what has become of the *procurator* whose duty it was to protect the 'men of Caesar' (l. 30)? He may have been mentioned, for the inscription is incomplete; but perhaps the force of παραφυλακίται at his command was insufficient to cope with the marauders.

MEROS.

In *Hist. Geogr.* p. 144 (quoting *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 498, No. lxvi.) Meros⁵ was placed at Kumbet, where there are considerable remains, especially on the acropolis.⁶ The evidence consisted only of the order in Hierocles, and the fact that it was the boundary between the Opsikian and Anatolic Themes. The identification was generally accepted by critics, including Prof. Kiepert and M. Radet. During an expedition to the country of the Praipennisais in the beginning of September, I passed the village of Elmaly in the hilly country north-north-east from Altyn Tash (at or near which was the site of Soa), and copied there the following inscription.

¹ *The Imperial Domains and the Colonate*, London, 1890.

² Proved for Africa by inscriptions, especially C.I.L. viii. 10570 (discussed by Mommsen, *Hermes* xv. 1880, p. 385 ff.) and for the Milyadic or Killanian Estates in Asia Minor by Ramsay (*CB.* i. p. 284). The *lex Hadriana* undoubtedly applied to all the other estates. Prof. Pelham points out (p. 18) that the idea of the new system originated with Vespasian and Trajan, and this is confirmed by the African inscription recently published in *Comptes*

Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1897 p. 146 ff.

³ The organisation of Milyadic Estates is also described *CB.* i. p. 281 ff.

⁴ πάροικοι, *sajourners, resident foreigners*, as in C.I.G. 1625, 45; 1631; 2906, &c.

⁵ Μῆρος in Hierocles and the *Notitt.*, Μῆρος in *Not. Basilii* and *Not. Leonis* (ed. Gelzer) and *Const. Porphy. de Thematibus* i. pp. 14 and 25.

⁶ *E.g.* the Lion Tomb and Palace described by Prof. Ramsay in his *Study of Phryg. Art* (*J.H.S.* 1889, p. 176 ff.).

21.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
 ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΣΑ
 ΛΩΝΕΙΝΑΝ
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ
 ΗΜΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ
 ΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑ

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη.
 Κορνηλίαν Σα-
 λωνεῖναν
 Σεβαστὴν
 ἡ Μειρηνῶν
 κατοικία.

The inscription was evidently carried, along with a few other stones (including a richly ornamented sarcophagus now used as a fountain trough), and after copying it, I asked the circle of onlookers whence it came. The answer was: 'It has been here a long time but we have heard from our fathers that it was brought from Malatia, while this other stone [an inscribed Byzantine column] came from Kara Agatch Ören.' At the moment I did not recognise Meros as the town named in our inscription and as I had already heard that there were ruins at this place Malatia, I was eager to know what surprise was in store there. When we reached the spot, it was soon seen to be an ancient site. It lies between Doghan Arslan and Gerriz, half an hour from the latter, and in recent years a colony from Gerriz has built a village beside the old town. The ruins, which run out from the base of an oval-shaped hill, the acropolis no doubt of the old city, are mostly characterless; but we were told that formerly there were many marbles there, most of which have been carried off by natives of the district to Kutāya (Kotiaion)¹—twenty-five, they said, were taken away by mosque-builders from that city six or seven years ago—while the German Railway (which passes through the narrow plain) had destroyed great numbers 'written and unwritten': we ourselves saw the proof of their vandal depredations in the heaps of marble chips lying beside the foundations of a large building. In default of evidence, I determined to assign the name ἡ Μειρηνῶν κατοικία to this site: but, fortunately, our search resulted in the discovery of the following inscription, which puts the identification with Meros² beyond doubt and proves the trustworthiness of the statement of the villagers of Elmaly.³

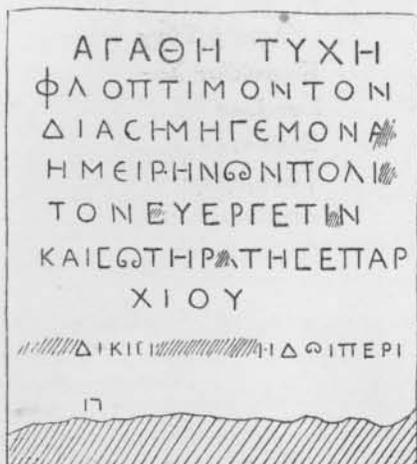
22. On a rectangular block standing amongst the ruins: inscription much worn, but decipherable with certainty in favourable sunlight.

¹ At Kara Agatch Ören (SPORE), north-east of Altyn Tash, we were likewise told that many stones had been taken thence to Kutāya.

² The form Miros occurs in 536 A.D. (Labbe, viii. p. 974).

³ I do not mean that all Turkish statements are true, but the traveller can distinguish. If

e.g. one is visiting a frequented district, and were to ask whether a well-known inscription, in the possession of a villager, had been copied before, your friend (in expectation of *bakshish*) would of course answer 'No.' But when there is no motive for deception, there is less reason to disbelieve.



Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ.
 Φλ. Ὀπτιμον τὸν
 διασημ(ότατον) ἡγεμόνα
 ἢ Μειρηῶν πόλι[s]
 τὸν εὐεργέτην
 καὶ σωτῆρ[α] τῆς ἐπαρ-
 χίου.

Fl. Optimus is called *perfectissimus praeses provinciae*, and the inscription therefore probably dates after the reorganisation of Diocletian (it might, however, be shortly before Dioclet., cp. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 230, n. 2). ἡ ἐπάρχειος occurs *B.C.H.* vii. p. 17, No. 3; so *C.I.G.* 6627 where ἐπαρχείου is wrongly taken as neuter.

Meros here calls itself πόλις, and in the former inscription (dating shortly after the middle of III. Cent. after Christ) κατοικία. What sense does the latter term bear here? We cannot think of a military colony settled by the Greek kings. That is, no doubt, the most common meaning of κατοικία: but the term is also used to denote a settlement of the citizens of any given city living in an outlying part of its territory and managing their own internal affairs.¹ In the Imperial times it comes to mean merely a village (κώμη).² This is probably the sense it bears here. Meros was most likely a village of the Praipennisis, which was raised to the rank of a bishopric (before the time of Hierocles, ca. 530 A.D.) in accordance with the usual Byzantine policy. It may possibly have been a κατοικία subject to Kotiaion (or even Prymnessos)³: but this is less probable. Even in the tenth century it is called a κωμόπολις by Constant. Porphyr.

The situation now assigned to Meros is about thirteen miles nearly due west of Kumbet. The question remains, what was the ancient name of this village? A village Pontanos (or —a) is proved for this neighbourhood in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 435, but it seems too unimportant to represent Kumbet. Unfortunately my visit there preceded the discovery of Meros, and as I accepted the generally received identification, and was at the time more specially interested in the Phrygian monuments, I did not make a careful search in the village. Two inscriptions of Kumbet relating to Epinikos, a native of the town who rose to high office in the Imperial service, and is known from literary sources, have just been published by Prof. Mommsen from Prof. Ramsay's copies in *Hermes*, 1897, p. 660 ff. Another inscription is published by Prof. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* 1887 p. 498.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

¹ See, for example, *CB.* p. 583 and Nos. 498, 499.

² As M. Radet says, *Rev. Univ. Midi*, 1896, p. 6.

³ Not of Nakoleia, whose territory could hardly extend to the west side of the mountains.

MAP OF THE DISTRICT OF LAODICEIA

Based on the Railway Survey.

