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A table of contents for *The Expositor* can be found here:

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worldly advantage for the defence of their religion. When Antiochus Epiphanes decided to use coercion and to precipitate the process of Hellenization, the patriots, the poor saints, led by the Maccabaeian house, rose in revolt, and their successful opposition to the Syrian kings is one of the most romantic episodes in all history. But a new glory attached to the party of faith, of unworldly attachment to the Law, to those who were willing to be poor, rather than prosper as recreants: the title "the poor" came almost to be equivalent to pious and faithful. When our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount said, "Blessed are the poor," the word teemed with associations half political, half religious, in the ear of the Jews. The central idea of the word was not mere absence of wealth, but the prevalence of an unworldly spirit. Hence St. Matthew in recording the saying adds his gloss: "Blessed are the poor [in spirit]," to avoid misinterpretation.

And when the Christian Church at Jerusalem found in its ranks many impoverished members—some of whom certainly had suffered the loss of all worldly prospects because they had embraced the new faith—we can understand with what a halo of religious heroism their poverty was clothed in the imagination of men who had been cradled in Hebrew traditions, and who had shared the voluntary poverty of their Divine Lord Himself.

EDWARD LEE HICKS.

### *THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF LYCAONIA.*

IN the EXPOSITOR for December I gave various examples of Christian inscriptions from Lycaonia<sup>1</sup> bearing on the

<sup>1</sup> We take this geographical term in the sense of the Byzantine Province from 371 onwards. I have added a few illustrative epitaphs from Laodiceia and Tyriaion, which were in Byzantine Pisidia, but geographically stand in much closer relation to Iconium than to Antioch. Laodiceia certainly, and Tyriaion probably, had been in Provincia Galatia along

organization of the local churches and congregations. It was there argued that these inscriptions as a rule belong to the fourth century. A few may be as early as the third century, and a very few as late as the fifth; but as a whole it is the fourth century that is set before us in these simple documents, and it is to Basil and the Gregories that we must turn for illustrations of them. The majority of the inscriptions show us a rather simpler and more primitive state of things than the letters of Basil.

Another example of an early bishop may be quoted from a metrical epitaph found at Tyriaion:—

This is the tomb of Matrona, daughter of the Bishop Mnesitheos (whom all honoured, for thus it was reasonable). And her husband and dearest children, Aur. Varelilianus<sup>1</sup> to his own wife, and the children Ammia and Hermianos to their own mother, erected (the tomb) in remembrance.

The name Varelilianus, which often occurs in this class of inscriptions, is a metathesis of Valerianus. It cannot be supposed that it took its origin from the persecuting emperor, Valerian. It is a name whose connexion with *valere*, "to be strong," suited the Christian taste, like Valentilla, one of the commonest female names in Christian Lycaonian inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> Valentina, etc. The double formula, old and new, may be taken as indicating a date about 350–380 A.D. (see p. 451).

An unnoticed example of Oikonomos used simply as a title, implying probably presbyter or bishop as administrator of a village church, occurs in the district of Drya, the extreme northern bishopric of Lycaonia (united with Gdamava).

with Iconium, etc., in the Roman period (down to c. 295), and their conversion proceeded from Iconium, probably.

<sup>1</sup> Correct the published text to *Αύ.* or *Αύ [ρ.] Οὐαρελλιανός*. The epigraphic text has not been published, but only the transcription (Anderson in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 1889, p. 126, No. 88). The name (which is usually spelt Varelianos) occurs also Laodiceia (No. 18) and often.

<sup>2</sup> No. 137 in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, 1899, p. 124 (Drya), and No. 212, *ibid.*, p. 296, must therefore be reckoned Christian.

Gallikos the oikonomos of the people Plommeis.<sup>1</sup>

It would be quite contrary to analogy, and perhaps to the permissible possibilities of usage,<sup>2</sup> to take Gallicus here as a slave of the emperor stationed in this village (after a fashion illustrated for Laodiceia and Zizima in *Classical Review*, Oct. 1905, p. 369).

In confirmation of the proof given above on p. 455 that a deaconess was sometimes wife of a person who held no office in the Church, we may quote Laodiceia, No. 65 :—

Here lies Appas, the Reader (the younger tall son of Faustinus), to whom his mother Aurelia Faustina the Deaconess erected this heroön<sup>3</sup> in remembrance.

An interesting little epitaph is the following from Tyriaion :—

Here lies (*sic!*) Heraklius and Patricius and Polykarpus Presbyters : in remembrance.

It is remarkable to find three presbyters in a common grave. The reason may probably be that they perished together in a persecution (like the five Phrygian “ children, who at one occasion gained the lot of life ” : *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* ii. p. 730) ; if so, their death might confidently be placed during the last persecution, somewhere near A.D. 300 ; but, as that would carry the initial formula back further than we have hitherto put it, we must regard the point as uncertain. There is, of course, no reason why the Latin formula should not have been imitated in Lycaonia as early as A.D. 300.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 1899, p. 124, No. 136. The symbols, basket on table and cooking-pot on a portable charcoal fire-place, which are shown under the inscription, are common on tombstones of the district, pagan and Christian alike. I have copied many examples. They point to a time not later than the fourth century.

<sup>2</sup> *Exactor reipublicae Nacolensium*, C.I.L. iii. 349, is hardly a sufficient defence.

<sup>3</sup> Read ἀνήγιε[ν] for ἀνηγίρ[θη].

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 1898, p. 127, No. 91.

In 324-5 Gregory, father of the more famous Gregory Nazianzus, was converted from the sect of the Hypsistarii to the Orthodox Church. The sect took its name from its worship of the Most High God alone (*θεὸς ὑψίστος*); it is said to have adored light and fire, but to have used neither sacrifice nor images of God, to have kept the Sabbath and certain rules of clean and unclean foods, but not to have practised circumcision. Gregory of Nyssa about 380 speaks of a sect Hypsistianoi,<sup>1</sup> who adored the one God, styling him Hypsistos or Pantokrator, but not Father. Neither sect (if they are two sects, and not one) can be traced in that precise form outside of Cappadocia. About them we have only the untrustworthy account contained in the brief allusions of two of their opponents, whose hatred for the Hypsistianoi makes it impossible to regard what they say as a fair account.

It is possible that the inscriptions of Iconium may throw some light on this obscure sect. There is every probability that a Cappadocian sect should spread also into Lycaonia, for there is no natural line of demarcation in the dead level plain where the frontier of the two Provinces lay. The epitaph quoted on p. 455 may commemorate a priest or Bishop of the sect. At any rate it probably originated in circumstances similar to those which produced the Cappadocian sect. Gourdos is in that epitaph called "priest of the most high God";<sup>2</sup> but the style and character of the document seems to permit no doubt that it is Christian and did not emanate from a half-pagan, half-Jewish eclectic sect, such as the two Gregories describe. It is probable that their denial of the Christian character of the sect was merely the result of prejudice and ill-feeling, and that the Iconian epitaph is a fairer and safer witness to the character of the

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Eunom.*, ed. Migne, vol. ii. p. 482 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *λεπὸς θεοῦ ὑψίστου* (where the metre would require *ὑψίστοιον*).

Hypsistarii than the malignant account of ecclesiastical enemies. If our opinion be not correct, the only alternative that is open would probably be to maintain that the epitaph originated in ordinary Christian circles, where the Cappadocian sect was unknown and where the typical epithet (which in Cappadocia would have proved the sect) was used as a right and orthodox term, occurring often in the Bible.

A second epitaph partakes of the same character—

The God of the tribes of Israel. Here lie the bones of the prudent deacon Paul; and we adjure the Almighty God [to punish any violator of the tomb ?].<sup>1</sup>

The abbreviations ΘC and ΘN for God marks this as the product of a more developed thought than most of the epitaphs of Lycaonia. Here the other typical epithet Pantokrator is used. The occurrence of the two epithets marking the Cappadocian sect in two Iconian epitaphs favours the opinion that both inscriptions originate from a branch of the Hypsistarii in Iconium. It is however possible that this second epitaph originated in a Jewish circle, though the most probable view perhaps is that a branch of the Jewish Christians survived in Lycaonia, and were nicknamed Hypsistarii by the "orthodox" Christians of the fourth century from their fondness for that favourite Jewish phrase, "the most High": they had been so far influenced by surrounding opinion as to abandon circumcision.

The sect of the Novatians is known in this region from an inscription of Laodiceia, referred to above, p. 444. The names were there given falsely, owing to a confusion between two inscriptions of the same place and period. It must therefore be given accurately :—

Aurelia Domna erected to my sweetest husband Tinoutos,

<sup>1</sup> C.I.G. 9270. The copy of Lucas has Φωτωρ instead of Φυλῶν. The correction made in the Corpus is probably right.

most pious Deacon of the holy Church of God of the Novatians, in remembrance.<sup>1</sup>

An inscription found at Apa, about six miles west of Isaura Nova, bears witness to Christian influence, though it originates from pagan circles :—

Ma, daughter of Pappas, virgin and by race priestess of the Goddess and the Saints, at her own expense restored, and tiled the roof of, the temple.<sup>2</sup>

This document might be attributed to some eclectic sect ; but it seems more probable that it belongs to the pagan revival in the opening years of the fourth century, which coincided with the greatest and last persecutions. Ma restored a dismantled and ruined temple of the Goddess in her village. Some remarkable examples of the pagan reaction, philosophic and religious, have been found in Phrygia ; some belong to the same period as this, and one is dated in the year of the great persecution of Decius.<sup>3</sup> The concurrence of pagan revivalism with persecution is described and explained in the present writer's *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 108–110.

Closely related to one of the most difficult problems in the development of ecclesiastical organization is a brief epitaph on a small round pillar at Alkaran, three miles north of Isaura Nova :—

IN MEMORY  
OF CONON,  
SUPERINTENDENT (*πρωϊσταμένου*).

The epitaph of Conon must be read in connexion with Basil's *Epist.* 190, addressed about 374 or 375 to Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium. Shortly before this letter was written, the Province of Lycaonia had been formed out of

<sup>1</sup> The words " sweetest " and " erected " are both repeated, betraying an ignorant and uneducated composer, C.I.G. 9268.

<sup>2</sup> Published by MM. Radet & Paris in *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* 1887, p. 63, who transcribe M. 'A. Παππά instead of Mâ Παππά.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* ii. pp. 495 note 3, and 566 f.

parts taken from the three older Provinces—Galatia, Pisidia, and Isaura. Previously it had ranked second in the Province of Pisidia (Antioch being first), henceforward it ranked first in the Province of Lycaonia: yet Basil continues in his letters to speak of it as a city of Pisidia, even after the new Province was constituted.<sup>1</sup> The new Province came into existence in or about 371. Its Bishop, Faustinus, died in 372 or 373. He was followed by John, who soon was succeeded by Amphilochius, probably early in 374.

Not long after Amphilochius was consecrated Bishop of Iconium, the bishopric of Isaura Palaia became vacant. That city had been the capital and metropolis of the old Province Isauria (as appears in the lists of the Nicene Council, A.D. 325). It had, apparently, succeeded in establishing a certain authority over various smaller towns around, so that these should not have Bishops of their own, but should obey the Bishop of Isaura. Amphilochius desired to maintain or restore the original ecclesiastical system, according to which each separate town had had its own Bishop; and he wrote to Basil stating that opinion. Basil replied in *Epist.* 190, in a somewhat doubtful way. He first expressed the most polite agreement with his correspondent's view that "the care of the district should be divided among several Bishops." But he proceeded to point out the difficulty of finding so many suitable men to entrust with this responsible duty; and expressed his fear that the appointment of unworthy men might produce indifference and carelessness among the congregations,<sup>2</sup> as the latter take

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 138: "Iconium is a city of Pisidia, formerly the first after the greatest city (viz. Antioch), and now it is itself the capital of a division which, having been formed out of different sections [i.e. parts cut off from the three older Provinces], received the constitution of a distinct Province."

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς λαοῖς: the contrast of laity and clergy is expressed here, see above, p. 450.



their tone from their governors.<sup>1</sup> He therefore urged that the best course would be to select, if possible, "as governor and Bishop<sup>2</sup> of the city [Isaura] some one well-approved man, and entrust to his sole responsibility the administration of details—provided only that he be a slave of God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed (2 Tim. ii. 15), not looking on his own things (Phil. ii. 4), but on the things of the multitude, that they be saved (1 Thess. ii. 16); who, if he sees that the charge is too great for him, will associate with himself other labourers for the harvest"—i.e., as we may suppose, he will appoint Bishops or chorepiscopi in the outlying towns and villages of the district. Basil adds very emphatically that such a one would be worth many, and that this method of organizing the Church would be most safe and advantageous.

The brief sketch of the ideal Bishop here given is interesting: it shows what Basil's aim was in his own administration of his vast diocese.

But if such a man cannot be found, Basil advises that the appointment of a new Bishop of Isaura should be postponed, and that superintendents should first be appointed in the towns and villages; this would prevent the Bishop, when he was appointed, from attempting to extend his authority over these smaller places.

To judge from the language of Basil here, it would appear that the superintendents were to have the authority of Bishops, each in his own town; and from the inscription we gather that the title *Proistamenos* was applied to them. Basil says explicitly that these superintendents were to be appointed in those towns and villages which had formerly had Bishops' chairs, implying that the right had fallen into disuse. He apparently hesitated to appoint Bishops, in the

<sup>1</sup> οἱ προεστῶτες.

<sup>2</sup> προστάτην τῆς πόλεως.

fullest sense, in those towns, and therefore advised only the nomination of superintendents, with a humbler title, but with real authority.

It is noteworthy that Basil here designates the new Bishop of Isaura by the term *Prostates*, apparently implying that something of temporal and civic authority belonged to this Bishop (a point to which we shall return).<sup>1</sup>

We observe that in this letter Basil connects the "administration" of the Church with the Bishop<sup>1</sup>—the same point of view which we found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, book ii., as contrasted with the Lycaonian inscriptions, which rather associate that duty with Presbyters. This confirms the chronological arrangement, which has been already set forth. The inscriptions which have hitherto been discussed convey the impression of belonging as a whole to an earlier and less organized period than that which is presented in Basil's letters. Our chronology, at any rate, does not err by assigning too early a date to the inscriptions. If anything, our dates are slightly too late, but this is the safer side to err upon; and I do not think the documents discussed can safely be placed much earlier than the dates we have assigned.

We notice also here the terms "Slave of God" and "Church of God," which we have regarded as coming into Lycaonian epigraphy between 350 and 400 A.D. To comprehend the former rightly, we must remember that to the ancients a slave appeared to be a far more trustworthy and faithful servant than a hired labourer (*mercennarius*), as the latter looked only to his fee and how he might most easily obtain it, while the slave worked as a duty and from affection—a very different view from that which is possible with modern systems of slavery in civilized states.

<sup>1</sup> Ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομεῖσθαι : and οἰκονομῆσαι τῶν ψυχῶν τὴν οἰκονομίαν ; and πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν (of the churches).

The epitaph of Conon takes us into this Isauran district, and shows us, probably, what was the issue. The letters of Basil do not tell which alternative was followed by Amphilochius; but from the epitaph it is clear that he appointed superintendents.<sup>1</sup> Conon was one of those *Proistamenoï*, and about that time (375 A.D.), or a little later, he administered one of the villages (undoubtedly a prosperous and large village in a very fertile district, on the edge of the Isaurian land). We may with considerable confidence date the epitaph of Conon about A.D. 400. He may very well have been one of the men appointed by Amphilochius in 375. If he was a successor, he is not likely to have been much later than 400, as the system does not appear to have lasted long. The supreme authority of Isaura was probably restored; and it seems to have ceased after a time even to be subject to the authority of Iconium, and to have been reckoned as an independent, *autokephalos* bishopric, directly responsible to Constantinople alone.<sup>2</sup>

As to the distinction between Isaura Palaia and Isaura Nova, and the doubt which of the two sent a bishop to represent it at Chalcedon in 451, it would not be possible to enter on those questions at present.<sup>3</sup>

The epitaph of Conon is clearly marked by epigraphic features as one of the latest in the district about Isaura Nova. The form of the letters is Byzantine in character (though not so markedly so as those in the inscription mentioned on p. 442, lines 12-15), and the title "superintendent" is abbreviated, so that it must have been

<sup>1</sup> Basil's letter conveys the impression that the first plan was, in his opinion, an ideal too difficult to realize, and that he preferred the second as a practical plan.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on Lycaonia in *Oesterreich. Jahreshfte*, 1904 (*Beiblatt*), pp. 77-79.

<sup>3</sup> See preceding footnote.

recognized as a regular ecclesiastical title. The maker of the tomb is not mentioned. From every point of view the epitaph is of the later type; and yet we have found that it is not likely to be later than about A.D. 400.

The following epitaph, engraved on the tomb of a physician at Alkaran, near Isaura Nova, probably belongs to the period 350–400 A.D. The first two lines are in rude metre: the last two are in prose:—

Here the earth contains Priscus, who was an excellent physician during the sixty years of his age. And (his tomb) was erected by his son Timotheos and his own consort Alexandria, in honour.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription is engraved above an elaborate ornamentation, partly incised, partly in relief, varied from the usual Isauran architectural scheme. There are the usual four columns supporting three pediments or arches, which, in this case, are all rounded.<sup>2</sup> In each of the three spaces between the four columns is a fish. The central arch is filled with the common shell pattern; the other two contain a doubtful symbol, perhaps a large fir-cone.

The ornament is executed in rude village work, quite different from the fine lines of the Dorla (Isauran) work, and distinctly later in style and in conception than it. Epigraphical reasons point to the same conclusion. The formula "Here the earth contains" is a mere poetic variation of "Here lies," the later formula which took the place of the older formula stating that "so-and-so made the tomb," or "honoured" or "set up" the deceased. These circumstances point to a later date. On the other hand, the second part of the physician's epitaph follows the old

<sup>1</sup> TIMI. at the end: perhaps the beginning of *τιμῆς χάριν*, but the available space is exhausted, and the rest of the stone is crowded with ornamentation, so that the concluding letters were never engraved.

<sup>2</sup> In the ordinary Isauran scheme, the two side pediments are pointed: see the example in *EXPOSITOR*, March, 1905, p. 214.

formula : " his son and wife set up." The mixture of the old and the new formulæ has been assigned already to the third quarter of the fourth century, about A.D. 350-380.

The praise given in this epitaph to the physician at the end of his long career is quite in the style of Basil, who says, in writing to the physician Eustathius about 374 A.D. : " Humanity is the regular business of all you who practise as physicians. And, in my opinion, to put your science at the head and front of life's pursuits is to decide reasonably and rightly. This, at all events, seems to be the case if man's most precious possession, life, is painful and not worth living unless it be lived in health, and if for health we are dependent on your skill " (*Epist.* 189).<sup>1</sup>

We notice also the emphasis which the ornamentation on the tombstone of Priscus lays on his Christian character. The connexion of the physician with religion and his interest in it are emphasized in Basil's two letters to Eustathius (151 and 189). He writes : " In your own case medicine is seen, as it were, with two right hands : you enlarge the accepted limits of philanthropy by not confining the application of your skill to men's bodies, but by attending also to the cure of the diseases of their souls " (*Epist.* 189).<sup>2</sup> The letter to the physician Pasinicus (324) also shows on what friendly terms Basil wrote to men of this profession, and how much he seems to have esteemed their educated view of life ; while he corresponded with Eustathius as a valued and respected friend on whose sympathy he could rely.<sup>3</sup>

A metrical epitaph found beside Derbe may belong to the

<sup>1</sup> Translation of Mr. Blomfield Jackson.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> While respecting educated physicians, Basil was not above the belief in cures by words and charms, provided they were Christian, as the present writer has pointed out in more detail in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. clxxxvi. p. 427.

tomb erected by one of those Christian physicians over his child :—

Thou hast caused sorrow to thy companions (i.e. by thy death) and in exceeding degree to thy parents ; and thy name is Herakleon, son of Hermeros, physician.<sup>1</sup>

The initial metrical formula appears in a somewhat more elaborate form in another epitaph, found near Isaura Nova in a bridge at Dinek Serai :—

Here the bounteous earth, taking him to her bosom, contains  
Papap, who lived a just one among men and whom Vanalis,  
his daughter, honoured with monument and beauteous muse,  
longing for the dead one.

The imitation marks the two epitaphs as of the same period, which is proved also by the presence in both of the new formula followed by the old. As one epitaph is Christian, the other may confidently be set down as also Christian.

The criterion by which in Phrygia many early Christian inscriptions reveal their religion—the concluding curse against the violator of the tomb in some such form as “ he shall have to reckon with God ”—is almost entirely wanting in Lycaonia, where such imprecations are rarely appended to epitaphs. One example is published by Mr. Cronin from the copy of a Greek physician, ending with the words, “ Whosoever shall force an entrance, shall give account to God ” ; but it is not certain that this epitaph belongs to Konia or to Lycaonia.<sup>2</sup>

One or two other examples occur in northern Lycaonia ;

<sup>1</sup> Radet-Paris in *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* 1886, p. 510 ; Sterrett, in his *Wolfe Expedition*, No. 29, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The physician, who allowed me in 1901 to copy about 100 inscriptions from his note-books, had travelled along many of the roads radiating from Konia, generally within a distance of 50 or 60 miles from the city. He was careless in noting the place of origin, and his copies were sometimes very far from correct, where the stone was worn and the letters difficult. I have recopied most of those which he showed me, in various localities ; but this one and nearly a dozen others depend on his copy alone. I saw him also in 1890, and transcribed part of his collection. This epitaph is in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1901, p. 354, No. 98.

and there can therefore be no doubt that in the region which was most immediately under the influence of Iconian Christianity, several varieties of this kind of Christianized imprecation were in use at one time. The reason why it was far commoner in Phrygia than in Lycaonia must be that it was an early formula, which passed into disuse in the fourth century. The Lycaonian inscriptions, therefore, which belong as a rule to the fourth century, rarely use it; some of the Lycaonian epitaphs in which it occurs belong beyond all doubt to that century, proving that it lingered on in a sporadic way.

Another example of the curse against violators of the tomb is the following from Laodiceia, No. 45 :<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> The priest (hiercus) of the Trinity, Hesyehius, wise, true, faithful worker . . . and if any one shall lay another in the tomb, he shall render judicial account to the living Judge.

The opening formula is of the later class, the allusion to a priest of the Trinity is of the developed ecclesiastical type, and the simple cross at the beginning is not early; and yet the concluding expression cannot be placed with any probability later than about 400 A.D., as this originally pagan, and in the strict sense non-Christian, habit of curse seems to be inconsistent with developed Christian custom, which no longer set such value on the inviolability of the grave (see above, p. 458 f.).

Another example, probably of the same period, occurs at Laodiceia (No. 18) :—

—, son of Valerianus, quaestor, erected the inscription, while still living, to my sweetest wife Flavia Sosanna and my foster-child<sup>2</sup> Sophronia in remembrance: if any one shall put another in (the tomb), he shall give account to God.

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mittheil.* 1888, p. 249: correct the published text to  $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\varsigma$  [ἐρ]γάτης. The beginning is in iambic metre. Five or six short lines are almost wholly lost in the middle; these must have contained some expression indicating burial or rest in the tomb, but they also contained some proper names, including Μ[η]νόφιλος.

<sup>2</sup> Foundling or adopted, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 545 f.

The name Valerianus seems to have been common among the Christians of Lycaonia, chiefly with transposed consonants, Varelianus (as mentioned at the beginning of this article).

A small series of inscriptions relates to that interesting but enigmatical institution in the early Church, the Parthenoi or Virgins. One of these was found at Drya.<sup>1</sup>

Aur(elia) Matrona, (daughter) of Strabo, to her own daughter, a Virgin, Douda, erected in remembrance.

The name Matrona occurs not infrequently in Christian Lycaonian inscriptions. It is not in keeping with ancient custom that the epithet Parthenos should be added in a pagan inscription in prose simply to show that Douda died unmarried; I know nothing to justify such an opinion. Probably the word must be taken in the Christian ecclesiastical sense.

A second example has been quoted above on page 457.

A third is one of a pair found at Laodiceia:—

Gaius Julius Patricius erected to my sweetest aunt Orestina, who lived in virginity,<sup>2</sup> in remembrance.

Gaius Julius Patricius erected this inscription to my dearest brother Mnesitheos in remembrance.

This pair of inscriptions on one stone is certainly early. The letters are fine and good, the formula is of the earlier class, and the full Roman name seems to have disappeared from popular use in this region during the fourth century. The widening of the area of Roman citizenship by Caracalla about 212, by giving every free man a right to the Roman citizenship and the full Roman name, destroyed its distinctiveness and honourable character.

It would not be justifiable to regard the word *ἐγκρατευσάμενη* here as necessarily a proof that Orestina stood

<sup>1</sup> The most northern town of Lycaonia. The epitaph is published in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 1899, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐγκρατευσάμενη*: Laodiceia, No. 138 (*Ath. Mittheil.* 1888, p. 272).



apart from the Orthodox and Catholic Church, or was connected with any definite Enkratite sect or system. The use of the word *ἐνκράτεια* twice in the long metrical epitaph of the Presbyter Nestor, quoted below, shows clearly that no extravagant asceticism is implied by these terms, for in one case the quality is ascribed to the Presbyter's wife. But the following hitherto unpublished epitaph found near Laodiceia shows that there was in that city a congregation of sectarian character, probably with Enkratite tendencies, and it may well be that Orestina belonged to that congregation.

Doudousa, daughter of Menneas, son of Gaianos, who became He(gou)menos of the sainted and pure Church of God, to Aur. Fata my much beloved daughter and only child erected this tombstone, and of myself in my lifetime in remembrance.<sup>1</sup>

Here beyond all question Doudousa is described (regardless of gender) as the Hegoumenos of the holy pure Church of God. She seems to have been one of those female leaders of unorthodox religious movements, so many of whom are known in Asia Minor, from the lady of Thyatira (Rev. ii. 20) downwards. It is hardly possible to regard a female leader as belonging to the Orthodox Church; and the epithet "pure" applied to the Church in which she was a leader seems perhaps to lay more emphasis on the ascetic tendency than the orthodox opinion approved.

The following inscription of Laodiceia (found at Serai-Inn in 1904) is probably of the late fourth century:—

Here has been laid to rest she who was kind to mortals and beauteous in form, by name Zoe, whom all held in great honour; and to her a tomb was built by her husband and

<sup>1</sup> The text of this quaint epitaph deserves to be quoted:

Δούδουσα, θυγάτηρ Μεννέου Γαϊανού Υ, γειν]αμένη Ι(γού)μενος τῆς ἀγέλας [κέ] καθαρῶς τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ ἐκκλησίας Αὐρ. Τάτα τῇ πολυποθεινοτάτῃ κέ μονογενῆ μου θυγατρὶ ἀνέστησα τὴν ἰστέλλην ταύτην κέ ἑαυτῆς ζῶσα μνήμης χάριν. The title *ιμενος*, though not marked as an abbreviation (whereas *θῦ* is), can hardly be for anything except *ἡγούμενος*: the masculine form is remarkable.

also by her sister, Varelianos with Theosebia, very pious Virgin, a memory of the generation of men, for that is the privilege of the dead.

The abbreviation of an already stereotyped epithet,  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta(\epsilon\iota)$  or  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta(\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta)$ , proves that "Virgin" must here be taken in its technical sense as an ecclesiastical term. The prose epithet, "friend of all," which is characteristic of Christian epitaphs,<sup>1</sup> is here transformed for metrical reasons into the much poorer term "kind to mortals."<sup>2</sup>

The date of this inscription is proved, also, both by the late formula, and by the shape of the stone, which I have observed only in the later Christian tombs: it is not a simple stele of the earlier class with pointed or rounded or square top, but one with a rude resemblance to a Herm, with circular head springing from broad shoulders. On the head-piece is incised an ornament like a six-leaved rosette, which was probably understood by the Christians as an elaboration of the old monogrammatic symbol  $\text{X}$ , i.e.  $\text{I}(\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)\text{X}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$ <sup>3</sup>: yet the occurrence of the older formula in l. 3 makes it unsafe to date the tomb later than 370 or 380, on the principles which we have been following. Although the technical term  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\beta$ . in abbreviation is a mark of lateness, yet it cannot be doubted that Basil would have written in that way; and we may safely admit that the usage may have been practised as early as A.D. 375, in epigraphy as well as in handwriting.

On the other hand, it was impossible to regard Virgin as indicating a Christian office in the inscription quoted above,

<sup>1</sup> See EXPOSITOR, 1905, March, p 216, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνθάδε κεκήθεντε φιλόβροτος ἀγλαόμορφος  
 οὐνομα (δέ) Ζῆν τὴν περιέσκον ἅπαντες  
 τῆ δ' ἄρα τύνβον ἔδιμαν ἐς πόσις ἡδ' ἄμ' ἀδελφῆ,  
 Οὐαρελιανὸς σὺν Θεοσεβίῃ εὐλαβ. παρθένω,  
 μνήμην ἀνδρῶν γενεῆς, τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων

In l. 2 δέ was omitted by fault of composer or engraver; but the metre requires it. In l. 1 δ was inserted, but the metre rejects it.

<sup>3</sup> See EXPOSITOR, March 1905, p. 220 f.

p. 37, though its use there shows that the term was recognized and imitated as a Christian feature. In an epitaph found between Isaura Nova and Derbe, and published by my friend Professor Sterrett in his *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 32 :

T. Claudius Vetera,<sup>1</sup> father, and Atilia Ingenua, mother,  
did honour to Atilia Martina their daughter of fifteen years :  
[Crown in relief],  
virgin of Apollonia : in honour.

The last words are obscure and uncertain. The first word is *παρθέναν*, which is perhaps a mere misspelling of *παρθένον*, and the whole phrase, in its separation from the rest, must have a special meaning. The crown indicates that some peculiar honour was paid to her, and the last words are a sort of title accompanying the honour : "maid of Apollonia."<sup>2</sup> The spirit of the inscription is that of ordinary joyous pagan society, not of the more austere Christian life. It is also possible that Parthena should be taken as a proper name, in which case Apollonia would be the mother's name ; but how this could be reconciled with the rest of the inscription I fail to see.

The character of the epitaph of Zoe is illustrated by the following, found in the same village in 1904 : it is engraved on a stele of the same late shape like a Herm, and apparently the letters **A** and **Ω** separated by a cross were placed on the head-piece ; but only **A** can now be distinguished.

✠ Minneas, the very pious Deacon, son of Leontikos, is here hid in earth, who was adorned with all virtue in life, and having put in action Godlike wisdom, he lies here. And his

<sup>1</sup> Sterrett takes *Ὀύερα* as abbreviated [from *veteranus*. More probably it is the Roman name *Vetus*, of which the accusative is, in the usual popular fashion, regarded as the typical form ; so the Romans called *Τάρας* (*Τάραντα*) Tarentum, *Μαλόεις* Maleventum, *Ἀκράγας* Agrigentum, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Απο[λον]ία* is conjectural. Sterrett reads **ΑΠΟΔΑ . . . . ΙΑC**, marking in his transcription six letters as lost. In 1890 I compared his copy with the stone, and noted that only two letters are lost between **A** and **I**. All the letters here are much worn, and I conjecture that **ΔΑ** is falsely read for **ΑΑ**. No restoration seems possible from **ΔΑ**.

sweet brother lies along with him, good Trophimos, who completed his life honourably. And their sister Maria, in longing affection, raised this inscription in remembrance.<sup>1</sup>  
 [Cross in circle.] [Six-leaved rosette in circle.]

The two ornaments below the inscription are evidently intended to balance one another, and both of them must have had a Christian meaning. The body of the stele is divided by a sort of cross (having the upper arm longer than the lower, and two very short side-arms) into four panels, like the ordinary class of pagan tombstones shaped like doors; and the inscription is written over the panels.

A rare class of expression is found in the following examples. The first belongs to the Isaurian land, south from Isaura Nova, and is published by Professor Sterrett (*Wolfe Exped.* p. 60).

[So-and-so,] while still living, inscribed the stele for himself, faithful slave-boy of [Jesus] Christ.<sup>2</sup>

The second was copied by my friend and old pupil, Professor T. Callander, at Savatra in Lycaonia, and is still unpublished :—

The attendant of Christ, Paulus, I lie in this tomb, and to me the gravestone was set up by my young sister Maria in solemn remembrance for her only brother.<sup>3</sup>

The third belongs to the same place and authority : it is a mere concluding fragment :—

<sup>1</sup> Μιννέαν τὸν εὐλαβ(ῆ) διακονοῦν υἱὸν Λεοντικοῦ ἐνθάδε γέα καλύπτει,  
 ὅς πάσης ἀρέτης κεκοσμημένος (sic !) ἦν ἐν βίῳ  
 κὲ θεοικῆν σοφίαν ἐκτελέσας ἐνθάδε κίτε  
 τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ γλυκερὸς ἀδελφ[ός] συνκατάκιτε  
 Τρόφμιος ἀγαθὸς καλῶς βίῳν ἐξετέλεσ(σ)εν  
 τῶν δ' ἀδελφῆ ποθέουσ(α) ἀνέστησεν τόδε τίτλον  
 Μαρία μνήμης χάριν.

The metre is exceptionally bad in this case.

<sup>2</sup> Read [ἔγρα]ψεν instead of [ἔστε]ψεν

<sup>3</sup> ΧΥ θεράπων Πα[ύ]λος ἐν τῷδε τύμβῳ κατάκι[μ]ε  
 σῆμα δέ μοι τεύξεν ἡθεὸς κασιγνή[τη]

Μαρία μνήμης εἵνεκα σεμνῆς οἴψ κασιγνή[τη]

θεράπων, like ὄπαων above, is equivalent to *comes*, subordinate companion.

the brothers, attendants of Christ, constructed.<sup>1</sup>

In these simple and unpretending documents, the composition of private persons often of the less educated strata of society, we see how many glimpses are opened up into the Church and the religion of the fourth century—the many contending sects of Christians, the struggle of the pagan revival against the new faith, the growth of ecclesiastical feeling and terminology, the care for the poor, the curing of the sick, hospitality to strangers, and so on.

I append, as an afterthought suggested by an inscription still unpublished, that the rosette on Christian tombstones may have been understood symbolically as a star.

W. M. RAMSAY.

*DR. EMIL REICH ON THE FAILURE OF THE  
HIGHER CRITICISM.*<sup>2</sup>

THIS book challenges comparison with Torrey's *Divine Origin of the Bible*.

The two apologies for Holy Scripture emanate from persons very differently situated : the one a revivalist preacher, the other a lecturer on history and politics to fashionable audiences in London. Nevertheless their books agree in some curious ways. Both endeavour to deal with a vast subject in a very modest compass : Dr. Reich in some 35,000 words, Dr. Torrey in about half the number. Neither *displays*—I do not say possesses—more than a superficial acquaintance with the subject ; and both agree, alas, in vilifying those who are opposed to them. The sceptics with whom Dr. Torrey argues are, he tells us, to be found in taverns, gambling-hells, and even worse places ; Dr. Reich's

<sup>1</sup> κασιγνήτοι Χριστοῦ θεράποντες ἔρευζαν.

<sup>2</sup> *The Failure of the "Higher Criticism" of the Bible*, by Emil Reich (Nisbet, 1904).