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## ICONIUM.<sup>1</sup>

### III. THE TERRITORY OF ICONIUM.

ICONIUM commanded and formed the centre of a very wide territory. The plain that stretches away to north and east and south was Iconian soil to a great distance from the city. On the south the territory of Iconium bordered on Lystra, among the outer Isaurian hills. The natural features suggest, and Ptolemy is in agreement, that the territory which belonged to Lystra did not extend into the plain (though Lystra was a Lycaonian city).

On the south-east, beyond all doubt, Iconian soil stretched nearly as far as Kara-Dagh, fourteen hours away. On the north-east it reached almost certainly to Boz-Dagh, which divided it from northern Lycaonia, a half-Phrygian, half-Lycaonian district. On the west and north the bounds are not so clearly marked by nature. Iconian territory on that side extended some distance into the mountainous or hilly region which for the most part belonged to the Orondians. Probably the basins of the small streams which flowed into the Iconian plain were included in Iconian territory; and on this principle the limit between Orondian territory and Lycaonian (i.e. Iconian) has been marked in the map attached to my article on Lycaonia already quoted.<sup>2</sup> The north-east part

<sup>1</sup> In footnote 1 on p. 211 of last number of the *EXPOSITOR*, I mentioned an inscription with the name Claudiconium used of the Colonia, which I was unable to find: it is, as I have since observed, published by my friend Rev. H. S. Cronin in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1902, p. 123. It is the epitaph of Q. Eburens Maximus, high priest of the Gods-Emperors, probably Aurelius and Verus 161-166 A.D. In popular usage, therefore, the old name Claudiconium survived in some rare cases for a time after the Colonia was founded, but it was never used in any official document or coin known to us. Even private documents ordinarily call the colony Iconium, see examples Cronin, l.c. (same page), and Sterrett, *Epigraphic Journey*, No. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1904, *Beiblatt*, p. 67 f.

of this hilly region, lying between Iconium and Laodiceia the Burnt (the reason for whose peculiar name has hitherto been entirely unknown),<sup>1</sup> seems to have formed part of a great estate belonging to the Roman Emperors. That estate was originally the property of the Great Goddess, the Zizimmene Mother, or Mother of Gods, already mentioned in § I. As was the case at all the great sanctuaries of Asia Minor, the Mother of Zizima was mistress of the lands around her chosen home; and the people were her servants, the slaves of the sanctuary. During the Roman period the mines and the lands of Zizima became Imperial property, and were managed for the benefit of the Emperor's private purse by his own personal agents, his slaves and his freedmen. The goddess had originally been more closely connected with Iconium, if we may judge from the number of dedications found in that city; but under the Romans the mines were managed from Laodiceia, as is shown by the large proportion of Imperial slaves and freedmen who are mentioned in the inscriptions found there.<sup>2</sup>

It was usual that the management of such a property should be centred in a city, and not in the rural surroundings amid which it was situated. Thus, for example, Phrygian marble quarries (which likewise were Imperial property) were managed, not from the quarries, nor even from the neighbouring city Dokimion, but from the more important city of Synnada, nearly thirty miles to the south. That is proved both by the numerous references to the personal agents of the Emperor in the inscriptions of Synnada, and from the fact that the Phrygian marble was known all over the world as Synnadic, because people heard of it as connected with and managed at Synnada, and orders for it

<sup>1</sup> The explanation of the epithet "Burnt" is given below. It was discovered only after this paragraph was written.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Classical Review*, Oct. 1905, there will be published a paper in which the evidence bearing on the mines is collected.

were executed there. Only in the home country was the marble known as Dokimian. The deciding reason for this close relation to Synnada indubitably was that Synnada lay on the road from the quarries to Rome, while Dokimion lay in the opposite direction; and if the marble blocks had been carried first to Dokimion, they would have had to be transported afterwards back past the quarries to Synnada on their way to Rome.

Now, though Iconium was in some respects a greater city than Burnt Laodiceia, and probably more intimately connected with Zizima in primitive time, yet Laodiceia was marked out as the natural seat of management for the Roman estates; it was on the great Trade Route leading to Ephesus and Rome; it was closer to Zizima than Iconium was; and it lay between Zizima and Rome. Had the ore been brought from Zizima to Iconium, it would have had to be carried from Iconium to Laodiceia on its way to Rome. Roman convenience dictated the arrangements in both cases.

This is a typical example of the great principle that Rome was the centre of the world in that period, and that everything was arranged with a view to ease of communication with "the great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth"—as "she sitteth upon the seven mountains"—her by whom "the merchants of all things that were dainty and sumptuous were made rich" (Rev. xviii. 14), "the great city wherein were made rich all that had their ships in the sea by reason of her costliness," and whose "merchants were the princes of the earth"—the one centre to which flowed all trade and all produce of the earth—over whose destruction "the merchants of the earth were in the end to weep and mourn, for no man buyeth their merchandise any more," to whom resorted all the kings of the earth, and all the wealthy, to enjoy her amusements and be corrupted by her vices (Rev. xvii. 2, xviii. 3). In the list

of wares which the merchants carried to the great city (Rev. xviii. 12 f.) we recognize the produce of the mines of Zizima in the "scarlet," for the cinnabar which was exported from the remote village among the mountains was the vermilion pigment widely used in the Roman world; and the "Burnt Laodiceia" got its name and fame in the Roman world from the smelting establishments where the pigment was prepared "by triturating mercury and sulphur together, and heating the black sulphide (chemically termed HgS) until it sublimes." The ore of Zizima was the native mercuric sulphide, HgS. The name "Burnt," by which the city was distinguished from the many other cities called Laodiceia, becomes full of meaning when we remember that this Laodiceia was the managing centre of the mining trade of Zizima, and that the ore was treated by roasting either at the city or in its territory. The furnaces were a sight striking to the ancient mind, and the city became known far and wide, wherever the trade in cinnabar was heard of, as Burnt Laodiceia. This hitherto obscure epithet reveals to us an important fact of ancient Lycaonian society and trade.

The same epithet "Burnt" (Katakekaumene) is applied to a district of Lydia, on account of its scarred and blackened appearance, due to volcanic action proceeding from craters which have become extinct in comparatively recent time; and it is likely to have had a similar origin in the appearance presented by the city or the neighbourhood. The idea that the name was derived from a conflagration which destroyed the city rests on no authority, and is merely a modern inference from the epithet "Burnt." The character imparted to the landscape by several large furnaces may be seen (on a much greater scale) in various places at the present day. The ancients were interested in the appearance imparted by fumes and fire; for example, a recipe is given in a Greek Magic papyrus now in the

British Museum, "to make brass things appear gold"<sup>1</sup>; the method recommended is obscure, but it involved the use of native sulphur, the fumes of which impart a richer yellow tinge to brass.

The land of Iconium was extremely fertile, and highly cultivated by irrigation. Those Lycaonian plains, in great part composed of rich and stoneless soil, are dependent for high produce on irrigation. The spring rains, which are generally abundant and make even June a very uncertain month in respect of weather, are in most years sufficient for a certain amount of cultivation—much wider than at the present day. But the crops produced by irrigation are more abundant, far more certain as being independent of the varying rainfall, and more extensive. A large body of water is poured into the plain by several streams. It is at present for the most part dissipated or left to stagnate in marshes; but in ancient times the supply was (as we have seen in § I.) much larger, more regular, and properly distributed by irrigation.

Strabo contrasts the barrenness of the Lycaonian plains in general with the productiveness and wealth of the Iconian territory; and the only possible reason for the difference, when the soil is similar, lies in the irrigation, which was wanting in the one case, and applied in the other. An indication of the abundant artificial supply of water in the Iconian plain is disclosed in the narrative of the German crusade in 1190, led by the famous Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. When he marched from Iconium towards the south, he spent the second night at a village called Forty Fountains. Now there are no natural springs in the Iconian territory. After careful questioning of many informants, I could not learn of the existence of any natural fountain in the plain, except a small one under the western edge of Kara-Dagh. On or near the line of

<sup>1</sup> *Greek Papyri of Brit. Mus.* i., p. 89.

Barbarossa's march there is no spring; but the village to which his second day's march would bring him was not far from the natural course of the stream that flows from Lystra into the Iconian plain. The Forty Fountains must have been artificial, supplied from the Lystra water, which is still used in a similar way, partly for irrigation, partly to supply the large village of Ali-Bey-Eyuk<sup>1</sup>; and Forty Fountains must have been at or a little north of that village. The modern village, which takes its name from a large tumulus (eyuk), "the mound of Ali-Bey," close beside it, is indubitably the site of an ancient village.

The population of this widely stretching Iconian land—at least 200 square miles in extent, probably considerably more—was, of course, not entirely concentrated in the central town. To the ancients the city was not merely the circle of the walls, but the entire state of Iconium, with all its territory and the dwellers on it. We have just given an example of one village, Forty Fountains. Another was situated about twelve miles further to the south-east, some distance beyond the river Tcharshamba, beside a poor modern khan, halfway between Konia and Laranda. This village must have been not far from the extreme southern limit of Iconian soil. Except for the khan, the place is now entirely deserted. Another Iconian village was situated on the road that led due south to Nova Isaura (Dorla, forty miles from Iconium), about a mile west of the modern Tcharyklar, fifteen miles from Iconium, and a village also stood where that road crosses Tcharshamba river, on the southern bank; but the latter was certainly beyond the bounds of Iconium.

The villages of the Iconian territory have not been carefully or exhaustively examined; no part of Asia Minor

<sup>1</sup> Falsely called Ali-Bey-Keui in modern writers and maps; the error is due to ignorance of Turkish among travellers, who fail to understand the thick and difficult pronunciation of the peasantry. Keui means village.

has been explored with proper minuteness. There would be no difficulty in constructing a fairly accurate map of the territory, showing most of the villages; but much time would be required, with careful and skilful work. The villages were numerous, but the traces are slight. A few examples may here be given of those whose remains are most familiar.

On the road to the north-east, crossing Boz-Dagh towards Colonia Archelais (Ak-Serai) and central and northern Cappadocia, there was a village four hours from Iconium, out of whose ruins the grand old Turkish khan called Zazadin (perhaps Zaz-ed-Din<sup>1</sup>) has been built. So many of the stones from the village church, evidently a large and fine building, have been built into the khan, that an architect, if allowed to demolish the khan, could probably rebuild the church almost complete. The ancient village was close to the khan; but its remains are now wholly covered by soil. The site is now absolutely deserted. The entire series of inscriptions built into the walls of the khan have been published by Rev. H. S. Cronin (who travelled with me in 1901) in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1902, p. 358 ff.

A second village on the same road lay at the edge of the plain, just below the point where it begins to ascend the low pass over Boz-Dagh. This site is described more fully in the following section. It has been entirely deserted in modern times, until a small khan, called Ak-Bash, was built (after 1901, before 1904) to accommodate travellers on the road, which is more traversed since the railway has begun to revive the prosperity of the country. An old khan called Kutu-Delik or Dibi-Delik stands about half a mile west of Ak-Bash. It has been built

<sup>1</sup> It is the finest known to me in any part of Asia Minor with the single exception of Sultan Khan (further N.E. on the same road), which is by far the most splendid in Turkey.



out of the ruins of a village which stood here (see § IV.).

On the road leading from Iconium north-north-east to Verinopolis and Ancyra there was an ancient village at Bunar-Bashi, twelve miles from Iconium, and probably another near the base of Boz-Dagh, these I have not examined. On the road leading south-east to the north end of Kara-Dagh a village was situated at the bridge called Seidi-Keupreu over the river Tcharshamba (see § I.); there is a large hillock or tumulus beside the bridge.

These are merely a few examples of the Iconian villages; all but two have yielded inscriptions. Others I refrain from mentioning, whose traces are plain in inscriptions, etc. They do not always coincide with modern villages. Some are now absolutely uninhabited, while in many modern villages I saw no trace of ancient life except occasional stones, which had probably been carried. The ancient villages lay mostly on the roads. Hence they played a part in the spread of Christianity, as will be shown in the sequel.

Villages like those of the Iconian territory must be pointedly distinguished from the old class of Anatolian villages. The latter were real centres of population and life, possessing a certain individuality and character, which differed utterly from the character of the Hellenic City or self-governing State; such villages were Oriental, and not Hellenic, in character; and the native Anatolian "organization on the village system" is often mentioned as diametrically opposed to the Hellenic social and political ideals. Those villages of the Anatolian type had certain officials, such as komarchs, brabetai, etc., varying in different districts: so, for example, the villages on Imperial estates, like Zizima, retained their ancient native character, and were absolutely non-Hellenic in character. But the villages on the soil of a Hellenic City-State were, so

to say, outlying parts or detached fragments of the central city. The free inhabitants were not villagers, but citizens of the city, and they shared in the political rights of the State. Such villages had no individual character or organization; it is their nature to look away from themselves to the city of which they are parts. Each free villager was expected to take part in the politics and administration of the city.

It is true that some traces of individual and separate character may be traced in the Iconian villages. Thus a village headman (*πρωτοκωμήτης*) is mentioned,<sup>1</sup> but only during the fourth century or later, when the Hellenic City-State had lost almost all its nature and power; while during the Roman time, perhaps, there was in the villages of this class only a "first man of the village" (*πρῶτος τῆς κώμης*), who possessed a certain influence by rank and seniority without definite official position. The exact status of the Iconian villages is, however, not quite certain. In certain cities of Asia Minor the villages seem to have retained more of their individuality than in the true Hellenic City-State; such cities, however, were hardly so strongly or early Hellenized as Iconium seems to have been; Hierapolis, near Laodiceia on the Lycus, is an example, and it was apparently strongly Anatolian in character as late as the time of Augustus.<sup>2</sup> The evidence at Iconium, though too scanty to permit certainty, favours the view that the villages were of the Hellenized type, mere outlying parts of the central city; see the account of the village Salarama in § IV.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cronin, *loc. cit.*, inclines to a different interpretation of the term (as I also once did). His chief argument is that no other example occurs in Asia Minor of *πρωτοκωμήτης* in this sense; but in 1904 I found in this region another example of the term, evidently used in this sense, at Serai-Inn, a village in the territory of Laodiceia.

<sup>2</sup> *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 97; on the villages of Hierapolis see Anderson in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1897, p. 411 f.

## IV. ICONIUM A CITY OF GALATIA.

That Iconium in the time of St. Paul was a city of the Province called Galatia is now admitted by every one, even by Professor Schürer, the most stubborn opponent of Galatic provincial unity. The question now is, how long that connexion lasted. The view has been stated in my writings on this subject that Iconium and Lystra were included in Galatia until the reorganization of the provinces in the latter part of the third century. Monsieur Imhoof-Blumer, on the contrary, in his great work on the coins of Asia Minor, places Iconium in the Eparchia Lycaonia, which was formed (as we saw in § II.) about 138 A.D. No one, as a rule, is more accurate in such matters than the great Swiss numismatist; but the evidence is here against him.

That Iconium belonged to the Province Galatia until the end of the third century can be proved, not indeed with the conclusive certainty with which the date of the colonial foundation has been demonstrated in § II., but at least with an approximation to certainty much closer than is possible for many universally accepted facts of ancient history. The best authority for the limits of the Province about the end of the third century is the very brief *Acta* of Saint Eustochios in the time of Maximian. Eustochios was a pagan priest at Vasada, who adopted Christianity after seeing the steadfastness of the martyrs, and came for baptism to Eudoxius, bishop of Antioch. Afterwards, as a Christian presbyter, he went to Lystra, where he had relatives. He was arrested, taken to Ancyra, tried and executed with his relatives and children. It is here clearly shown that Vasada was subject to the bishop of Antioch, and that Lystra was in the Province of Galatia, of which Ancyra was the capital.<sup>1</sup> Had

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy in the middle of the second century likewise places both Vasada and Lystra in the Province Galatia (as Antioch was).

Lystra been reckoned as a city of Lycaonia, a prisoner arrested there would have been taken for trial to the metropolis of the Province, whether this was some Lycaonian city, or (as is more probable) Tarsus in Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> Now, if Vasada and Lystra were in Galatia, much more must Iconium, which lay directly on the way from both cities to Ancyra, have been in Galatia.

Some writers may refuse to be convinced by this evidence, as the tale of St. Eustochios is not preserved in an independent form, but is merely related in Greek Menaea under 23 June, and the Menaea are confessedly not an authority of high character. But, although the form in which the tale has been preserved is quite late, it must rest on some good and early authority. Somewhere about the end of the third century Lystra ceased to be under Ancyra; and after that time such a tale could not have been invented.

Moreover, other authorities confirm the *Acta* of Eustochios. Ptolemy indeed is confused and self-contradictory: he says quite rightly that Vasada and Lystra were in the Province of Galatia, but he assigns the district Lycaonia to the Province of Cappadocia, and gives in it seven cities, one being Iconium. This absurd and utterly unhistorical classification is due to his mixing up authorities of different periods. His Galatian list is good; and, though not a complete enumeration, is correct so far as it goes, whereas the Cappadocian list is full of inaccuracies and blunders, to explain which so as to gain any knowledge from the list involves elaborate argument and a good deal of hypothesis. We therefore leave Ptolemy aside for the moment.

<sup>1</sup> So, for example, Claudius, Asterius, and their companions were arrested at Laranda in Lycaonia in 285 A.D., and carried before the proconsul, who ordinarily resided in Cilicia: they were taken about in his progress through Cilicia and finally executed at Aigai, many miles east of Tarsus (*Acta Sanctorum*, 23 Aug., p. 567). The Province of the Three Eparchiai, Cilicia-Lycaonia-Isauria, existed as late as 285.

All doubt, however, is set at rest by a milestone, found close under the south slope of the Boz-Dagh in Iconian territory on the direct road from Iconium to Archelais and the north-eastern lands (§ III.). It was erected at the order of the governor of the Province Galatia, C. Atticius Strabo, in 198 A.D.

It is unquestionable that this milestone originally stood on Galatian territory; and we may confidently say also that it stood from the beginning close to its present position in the plain below the Iconian end of the pass. There was here a village or settlement under Iconian jurisdiction, and the ruinous old Turkish khan,<sup>1</sup> in which the milestone is built, has been constructed out of the stones of this village, in the same way as Zazadin Khan (see § III.) was built. The name of the village was (as will be shown below) probably Salarama.

It is true, indeed, that stones are often carried from a considerable distance to be used in modern buildings; but the stones which are thus brought are chosen because their shape and size make them suitable for the purpose; and moreover transport is now more necessary because the supply close at hand has been exhausted. But any observant traveller—few archæological travellers, however, are observant in such matters—can in almost every case determine whether the stones in a large building, situated in a now lonely and isolated situation like this khan, have been transported from a distance or found on the spot. Such evidence should always be noticed and recorded; but how rarely is it that any so-called explorer condescends to observe details of this kind.<sup>2</sup> Yet out of such details history is built.

<sup>1</sup> The name has been almost forgotten. Professor Sterrett in 1884 got it as Dibi-Delik, I in 1904 and 1905 as Kutu-Delik; but Monsieur Cousin in 1898 was told that it was Sindjerli Khan (as I was by careless informants): there is a village Sindjerli, about two hours to the south, and Sindjerli-Khan is near that village.

<sup>2</sup> The place was visited in 1898 by a European professional archæ-

A milestone, obviously, is the kind of stone which no one would carry far, especially over a mountainous pass, to build a wall: an irregular column, very rough in surface, thicker at one end, large and weighty, it is as unsuitable for building purposes as any stone can well be. Not far from it is a large flat slab, on which once stood the altar or table in the village church: it shows the four square holes at the four corners and a larger central hole, circular, surrounding an inner, smaller square hole, in which the five supports of the sacred Trapeza were fitted, with a dedicatory inscription on the front edge "the vow of Cyriacus." Had this stone been transported from a distance it would have been broken, either for convenience of transport, or from accident by the way. If it were broken into small fragments, too, it would be far more useful for building; but, as it stands, it is nearly as unsuitable as the milestone. The mere weight of these stones is prohibitive. They were put into the walls, in spite of their inconvenient shape, because they happened to be lying near at hand, and it entailed less trouble to utilize them as they were than to break and trim them, or to transport other more suitable stones from elsewhere.

Still more important and conclusive evidence is got from another huge block, in the wall of the khan, which must weigh many tons and could not be carried far by Turkish builders. It bears the Greek epitaph of C. Aponius Firmus, who had served as a cavalry soldier in the Roman army and attained the rank of a petty officer. Aponius belonged to a family which lived in this village of the Iconian territory, and he was buried in the family burying-place here. It was a family of some wealth and importance, as can be gathered from the facts: this huge block of fine limestone must have belonged to a large ologist, who has published a minute account of his journey, with copies of the inscriptions, but without one word explaining the character of the place, even the modern name being stated falsely.

mausoleum, and the inscription extended over two blocks at least, and is engraved in large finely-cut letters of the second or third century. Considerable expense was required in constructing such a tomb, as the limestone must have been carried a good many miles: such transport was commonly practised in Roman times, though Turkish engineering was rarely capable of it. Moreover the "large letters" of the inscription<sup>1</sup> imply some pretension and a desire for conspicuousness. Another fine limestone block (not so big or weighty as this) from the same village cemetery, perhaps part of the same mausoleum, certainly from the grave of a member of the same family, has been carried seven or eight miles south across the plain to another old Turkish khan, called Sindjerli. It was the gravestone of C. Aponius Crispus, who had been duumvir (i.e. supreme magistrate) of the colonia Iconium somewhere about 135-170 A.D. It also is written in Greek.<sup>2</sup>

The family of Aponius or Apponius was therefore possessed of, and resident ordinarily on, a property in this northern part of the Iconian territory. Members of the family entered the Imperial service, and held office in the city; but their burial place was at their country residence, about twenty-five miles north-east from Iconium. The relation of the villages in the Iconian territory to the central city has been treated in § III., and this Aponian family furnishes an excellent example. It received the Roman citizenship, and took the name of a Roman family, well-known in the first and second centuries,<sup>3</sup> some member of which had been in relations with the first member of the Aponian family who attained the citizenship. The name and the rights were transmitted to his descendants in the usual way. This family has nothing of the village character

<sup>1</sup> See Gal. vi. 11; *Histor. Comm. on Gal.*, 464 f.

<sup>2</sup> The name in this case is spelt Apponius.

<sup>3</sup> The best known is Aponius Saturninus, a prominent supporter of Vespasian in the war of A.D. 69, who afterwards was Proconsul of Asia.

about it: it was evidently Iconian, in one generation after another, using the Greek language, and following the usual course of municipal office, like other members of distinguished Iconian families.

Another inscription in Sindjerli khan, a dedication to Zeus Salarameus, shows the local name. This Zeus, according to a common custom, derived his name from the locality; and as both inscriptions are likely to have been brought from one place,<sup>1</sup> there is much probability that the village at the foot of the pass was Salarama.

Thus our argument has afforded a decisive proof that the village at the south end of the pass formed part of the Iconian City-State, and that the whole State, like this part, was still included in the Province Galatia as late as A.D. 198; and this practically means that the connexion between Iconium and the Province Galatia lasted unbroken from the institution of the Province in 25 B.C. until about the end of the third century after Christ.

Incidentally, this result gives a pleasant confirmation of the trustworthiness of the *Acta* of Eustochios; and it is to be hoped that some fuller record of the martyrdom may hereafter be discovered; in all probability the *Acta* would throw some welcome light on the condition of Vasada and Lystra about A.D. 250-300.

It may appear immaterial as regards the Pauline period, whether Iconium was Galatian in the second and third centuries after Christ; but such a way of looking at the case is essentially superficial. Though the point does not directly concern the interpretation of Acts, it has indirectly an important bearing on it. You cannot get a proper conception of the character of a Hellenic city by looking at it in one period alone: you must regard it as a living organism, you must understand the history and law of its

<sup>1</sup> Thus, for example, the discovery of Savatra in 1901 resulted from the report that many stones for the Tchelebi Effendi's country house beside Iconium had been brought from a village 12 hours distant.



growth, and to do so you must "look before and after" the period that immediately concerns you.

In regard to Iconium the critical question in recent discussion has, undoubtedly, been whether or not its incorporation in the Province Galatia was merely nominal and external, or was a real and vital fact of Roman organization, which would affect the character of the city, i.e. of the Iconian people. In thinking of a Hellenic city one must always keep clearly in mind the principle of city life as stated by Thucydides: a city is constituted not by walls and buildings but by men. The Hellenic city was an association of free citizens, taking action voluntarily for the common good by choosing individuals out of their number to whom they should entrust for a limited time certain powers to be exercised for the benefit of the whole city, leaving the individual citizen free and uncontrolled except in so far as all by common consent curtailed their own rights in order to make the city safer and stronger.

The question as to the Galatian character of Iconium, then, really amounts to this—was the Roman provincial organization in the first century a mere fetter on the free Hellenizing development which had begun in the city at least two centuries earlier, an institution too alien in character to touch the heart and spirit and life of the citizens? or was it a real influence affecting their thoughts and life and conduct?

The answer to that question is of prime consequence both for the historian and for the student of the New Testament. The character and the measure of Roman influence on Western Asia is involved in it: the meaning of the terms "Galatia" and "Galatians," with all the numerous consequences for the life, chronology, sphere of influence and direction of missionary effort of St. Paul, turns upon it.

In the first place we observe that, if the influence of the Roman organization on Iconium and the rest of the group

of the Pauline cities of South Galatia had been so essentially weak as writers like Prof. E. Schürer and Professor Zöckler represent it to have been, it must have been evanescent and could not have lasted. As we have seen, Hadrian modified the organization of South-eastern Asia Minor, to give freer play and stronger effect to the racial and national spirit. There was then a favourable opportunity to separate Iconium from the Province Galatia, if the connexion had previously been only external and fettering. But, inasmuch as the connexion of Iconium with the Province Galatia persisted through the re-organization, the probability that the connexion was strong and real is much increased. The Romans had hitherto always thought and spoken of Iconium as situated in the half-barbarian half-Romanized Lycaonia, one of the component parts of their Province Galatia. But about 130-138 A.D. they separated it from Lycaonia, and left it in the Province Galatia, at the time when they were forming a Commune of the Lycaonians in a new Province to attach them more closely to Rome. The Iconians themselves had all along distinguished themselves from Lycaonia as being citizens of a Phrygian Hellenic city; and now the Romans recognized Iconium as a Roman colony, with the highest class of Roman rights permissible for a city of the East, in their old Province of Galatia.

Secondly, Iconium had been attached to the Galatian State before the Roman Province of Galatia was constituted. Amyntas, king of Galatia, ruled over it; and the view has been maintained elsewhere that Iconium was taken by the Gauls about 165-160 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Now, it is true that very few references to the Galatian connexion have been found in Iconium; but extremely few inscriptions of Iconium are known earlier than the colonial foundation, and the only document which bears on the provincial

<sup>1</sup> *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 51.

connexion mentions the Galatic Province. In considering whether the people of a city in the Galatic Province would accept for themselves the address "Galatians," we may appeal to the analogy of another city of the same region. Take the case of Apollonia in Pisidian Phrygia, far further distant from northern Galatia than Iconium was, handed over by the Romans to Amyntas, the last Galatian king: the Galatian connexion must inevitably have been far weaker there than in Iconium. Yet at Apollonia in A.D. 222 a citizen spoke of his city, in an inscription that has fortunately been preserved, as his "fatherland of the Galatians,"<sup>1</sup> and mentioned his son's career of honourable municipal office among the noble Trokmians. It is not necessary to remind the reader that the "fatherland," to the Greek mind, was one's own city, and not a country or a large region; but (since even so great a scholar as Waddington, not to mention others of lesser standing, has not ventured to draw the true and only allowable inference) it is necessary to point out that, in a monument exposed to public view in Apollonia it was impossible to speak of any place except Apollonia as "fatherland," unless the context indicated that another city was meant.

Apollonia, therefore, ethnically a purely Phrygian city, by education a Hellenic city, was politically so thoroughly a Galatian city in the third century, that an ordinary citizen would speak of its people in this simple and direct way as Galatians; to hold a magistracy in Apollonia was "to be glorified among the Trokmoi." In this last phrase the name of one tribe is used as a mere poetic variation of "Galatai"; a second term was needed both to avoid the repetition of Galatai in two successive lines and for metrical reasons.<sup>2</sup> Now, if in Apollonia people could speak in

<sup>1</sup> See Lebas-Waddington, 1192.

<sup>2</sup> In *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 52 f., failing to observe the "poetic licence," I inferred that this region of the Galatic Province was incorporated in one of the three Galatian tribes; but that inference seems less probable than the

this tone and spirit, there cannot exist a doubt in the mind of any one who is guided by evidence and not by antecedent prejudice, that in the southern cities of the Province generally the Romanizing spirit was strong enough to affect thought and expression, and to make the address "Galatai" acceptable to an audience gathered out of several Galatian cities.

It may be objected that the actual examples which can be quoted are rare, one in Iconium, and one in Apollonia; but this is a valueless argument. These are the only cases which exist, there are no other cases to quote on the other side, and these are of the kind where one is practically as good a proof as a score, for one shows what was the familiar public custom.

Thus from these details, recovered one by one through many years of travel and study—during which the isolated facts, insignificant and almost worthless in themselves, have acquired meaning and value through juxtaposition with one another—there is gradually built up a unified conception of Iconium as a city of Hellenized character, situated in the extremest corner of the Phrygian land (where the Phrygians had encroached on what was in a geographical view really part of the great Lycaonian plain),<sup>1</sup> but so strongly penetrated with Roman feeling and loyalty that it was honoured with the imperial name about A.D. 41, and finally raised to the dignity of a Roman Colony about

explanation now suggested. I also misinterpreted the date, being afraid, like Waddington, to follow the rule that cities of these regions dated from the organisation of the Province (Asia or Galatia, as the case was); the correct dating does away with one of the witnesses called to prove the scarcity in the days of Claudius, and therefore requires the deletion of three lines also in *S. Paul the Trav.* p. 49, *Christ Born in Bethlehem*, p. 252; but I am glad that in all three places I spoke of the dating as uncertain, so that the strength of the argument in them is unaffected. I saw this inscription for the first time in 1905, and recognized that it must be placed 150-250 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> So regarded by Strabo, Cicero, Pliny in some passages, and the Romans generally. Pliny's variation is due to his dependence on different authorities.

A.D. 135. It always held aloof from its Lycaonian neighbours and fellow-provincials, and clung to its first Roman connexion with the Province Galatia for more than three hundred years, for Galatia was much more thoroughly Romanized than the "Three Eparchies." Its coins show that in the first and second centuries it boasted especially of its semi-Greek origin from the Greek hero Perseus conquering the native population. Later a more distinctively Phrygian origin seems to have been claimed in popular legend. But through all times and authorities the mixed character of the city is apparent.

#### V. THE CONSTITUTION OF ICONIUM.

This mixture of people and character explains the strange expression employed in an inscription, "the four *stemmata* of the Colony"<sup>1</sup>; these *stemmata* must be interpreted as the four tribes into which the Colony was divided, and the number apparently corresponded (as the term *stemmata* seems to prove) to the four elements out of which the population was composed. Unfortunately the names of only three of the tribes are known, and some of them only in later forms of Imperial character.

One was the Tribe of Athena, with an epithet following, which has been lost through a break in the stone: this epithet may have been some Imperial title, but is more likely to have been Zizimmene, for a Latin dedication to Minerva Zizimmene has been found at Iconium.<sup>2</sup> This dedication proves that, as has been already stated in § I., the Athena or Minerva of Iconium was merely a Hellenized form of the Phrygian Mother-Goddess; and, therefore

<sup>1</sup> Τοῖς τέσσασιν στέμμασιν τη[s] κο[λω]νίας (C.I.G. 3995b, where τη[s] οἰκο[δομ]ίας is restored meaninglessly): the term *prostatai*, which follows, denotes the heads of Tribes, and proves that the *stemmata* represent four tribes of the Colony. On the tribes see an article in *Classical Review*, to be published about November, 1905. The same term *stemma* was used at Colonia Antiochia.

<sup>2</sup> It is published in C.I.L., iii. no. 13638.

(whether or not the epithet Zizimmene should be restored in the name of the Tribe), there can be little doubt that the Phrygian part of the population was enrolled in the Tribe of Athena. This would be in point of numbers a very large tribe.

Another Tribe bore the name Hadriana Herculana, and a third was styled Augusta. It is impossible to say what racial elements were incorporated in these Tribes, but perhaps the Roman citizens were placed in the Augustan Tribe. There are analogies that favour this supposition. The Roman citizens, however, could not have been sufficiently numerous under Augustus to constitute even a small Tribe, and other racial elements may have been incorporated in subdivisions of the Tribe.

This Augustan Tribe was doubtless an older institution, renamed in honour of Augustus. It may have contained also the new population introduced when Iconium was made a Hellenized self-governing city out of a mere Anatolian town. That event is not likely to be so old as the Seleucid rule: the Seleucid kings held the cities of these regions apparently as a purely subject population without any Hellenic rights.

The city was probably Pergamenian.<sup>1</sup> Iconium was in the territory granted to the Pergamenian king Eumenes by the Romans in 189 B.C.; and it was the invariable custom of those Greek or semi-Greek kings to maintain their power by establishing Hellenized cities, with an accession of population devoted to the founders' interests, as centres of Hellenism.<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, practically certain that Lycaonia, though given to Eumenes, was too remote to be firmly held by him or his successors; and thus Iconium was likely to acquire that self-centred and individualized character,

<sup>1</sup> Asklepios and Dionysos were the two chief Pergamenian deities, see the *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters to the Seven Churches*, chaps. xi., xii.

differentiating it from other foundations of the Pergamian kings, which is apparent in the scanty records of its constitution and history. This Augustan Tribe was perhaps the stronghold of the Hellenizing spirit in Iconium, and originally consisted of settlers introduced by the kings of Pergamum.

The Tribe Hadriana, Herculana was evidently an old Tribe, united in the worship of Hercules, which received an additional title in honour of Hadrian. On coins of Iconium Hercules appears in a purely Greek form, as the hero with the club and the lion's skin. But in those regions the Hercules who was actually worshipped was an oriental deity who gave a new name, Heracleia, to the Cappadocian town Cybistra, and was similar in character to the Cilician Sun-God Sandan. No evidence justifies even a conjecture as to the character of this Tribe.

The name of the fourth Tribe is unknown; but when we take into consideration the long Galatian connexion, beginning probably about 160 B.C., and remember that a monastery "of the Galatians" existed at Iconium,<sup>1</sup> the probability is evident that a Galatian element was introduced into Iconium, and this element naturally and necessarily must have been formed into a distinct Tribe, whether that of Hercules, or some other.

That a body of Jewish settlers existed at Iconium is certain; but whether these Jews were citizens or merely resident strangers is as yet unknown. If they were citizens, they could hold the rights only as a distinct Tribe or as a special and exclusive division of a Tribe.<sup>2</sup> Evidence is still very defective; but any day may reveal a decisive document. The names of the three Tribes just enumerated, and the fact that the Tribes had each a *prostates* as its official head, were revealed by inscriptions discovered in 1905 and still unpublished. Previously the constitution of Iconium was wholly unknown. W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> *Studia Biblica*, iv. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters to the Seven Churches*, chap. xii.