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PAULINE AND OTHER
STUDIES

IN EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY

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IV

PAGAN REVIVALISM AND THE PER-
SECUTIONS OF THE EARLY CHURCH

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THE opinion was stated by Mommsen in his epoch-making study in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1890, pp. 389-429, that the Roman Imperial Government during the first two centuries was usually unwilling to carry into effect by active measures of repression the deep-seated and unavoidable opposition between itself and the Christians, but that isolated outbreaks of repressive activity occurred when it was forced to act by the pressure of the general hatred which was felt by the pagan population for the Christians. That there is an element of truth in this view is acknowledged. That it is not complete and sufficient, but one-sided, the present writer has always maintained. The relation between the popular dislike and the Imperial disapproval is not so simple as Mommsen's view would make it. It was not simply a case in which the one pushed and the other was unwillingly impelled.

It is acknowledged by every one that in the two last great persecutions the relation changed. The Imperial Government was then intensely active, and probably went far beyond public sentiment. At the beginning of the period of persecution, also, Tacitus expressly declares that Nero's action, while it began by using the public dislike for Imperial purposes, soon went far beyond, and was felt as an

outrage by, popular judgment. In the account which is given in the Apocalypse of Domitian's persecution the same impression is conveyed. The Imperial Government, the Beast that appears from the sea, is described as the active and directing power, the great implacable, unwearied enemy. Thus alike at the beginning and the end the Imperial policy is seen to be actively stimulating, instead of being simply pushed on by, popular feeling.

None of these facts are denied. All are admitted universally, except that the historical value and meaning of the evidence contained in the Apocalypse might be contested by some. The difference of opinion is with regard to the intermediate period. It is admitted on all hands that there was a middle time, lasting at least from Trajan to the accession of Decius, in which persecution was intermittent and fitful. During this period popular feeling was more effective, and the Imperial Government was in general more inert; but the fits of activity were probably very much of the same general character as in the first and last stages.

The difference, then, between these views is chiefly a matter of degree, and not of essential opposition. In such a case it is always desirable to get away from generalities and come to individual definite facts. Much of the long controversy about the nature of the persecutions has been due to the want of clear facts, and the restriction of the discussion to generalities. The narratives of martyrdoms furnished the whole store of facts, and these provoked almost more controversy than the persecutions; they were necessarily one-sided and strongly prejudiced against the Government; the last thought of the writers was to give a fair statement of the views entertained by the Empire. Moreover, their date and credibility was often very doubt-

ful, and very few were universally admitted to be documents contemporary with the events or founded on contemporary documents.

In this uncertainty it would be valuable to have some evidence giving the views and ideas of the other side, the Government and the common people. A little evidence of this kind has gradually been accumulating during the last twenty years, and it is well to bring together some specimens of it.

If the question be asked how the relation between the Imperial Government and popular opinion was made operative practically, the first answer that suggested itself would probably be the one which is suggested by the most familiar and universally accepted of all the Acts of Martyrs, the story of Polycarp—that the clamour of the people forced their opinion and wish on the attention of persons in authority. Attention has been concentrated on this almost exclusively, and the restricted view has inevitably suggested that, while popular opinion by its clamour influenced the Emperors, no influence was exercised by the Emperors on popular opinion.

The method of clamour and even riot was certainly used, but it could never be so effective in an Empire that extended round the whole Mediterranean as in a great city or a small compact country. It was not the only method, and it was not the telling method. There was a way in which the Imperial Government could learn almost directly the wishes of the provinces and communicate its views to them. This was through the Assembly or Commune of the Province, a body composed of representatives of the cities and districts meeting for purposes chiefly religious; but religion was not so separate from social and political life then as it is now.

The Commune united the whole province in the State religion, and was the concrete expression of its patriotism and its sense of the Imperial unity.¹ The Emperor, as the incarnate god in whose worship and service the Commune met, was the head of the religion from every point of view: he was the present god, and he was the supreme priest. The ancient mind was familiar with the idea that the god was the first and original priest of his own religion, for the god revealed the ritual to men and showed them how to approach him.

Thus the Provincial organisation of the State religion was the natural medium of communication between the Emperor and the popular feeling. The feeling found expression in and through the Commune. In proportion as loyalty (according to the accepted idea of loyalty) was strong among the people the Commune was active and powerful, because it was expressing in the State ritual a strong popular feeling. In proportion as the Emperor was in harmony with the popular feeling was the sense of loyalty intensified in the popular mind.

The present writer has tried to describe² how the Commune of Asia worked in the persecution of Domitian, as that persecution is described in detail in our solitary authority, the Apocalypse, and the agreement of the picture set before us in that book with the procedure of the last persecution, A.D. 303-311, was regarded as furnishing a complete proof of the truth and trustworthiness of the picture.

The writer's view is that a pagan revival accompanied almost every persecution, partly arising spontaneously from popular feeling, but partly engineered and guided by Imperial encouragement. The Empire allied itself with the old

¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, 97 ff., 105 f.

religion, and especially the Asiatic superstitions, which had a strong hold on their devotees, against the new Faith. In the last persecution "the Christian sacraments and institutions were imitated; heathen hierarchy established of men of high rank. For the mob there was a clever winking Jove; for the devout a daily heathen service."¹ Divine names were commonly taken by the leaders and priests: Theoteknos, God's Child, a Neo-Platonist philosopher, was the guiding spirit of the pagan revival.

Some examples will now be quoted of these pagan revivals, not with any intention either of exhausting the subject or of drawing any inferences, but merely to direct attention to the importance of collecting and studying the facts with a view to guiding the reasoning and opinion of all scholars on this subject.

1. The following was published in 1877 by MM. Radet and Paris in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xi., p. 63, Isauria, but its real character was not recognised:—

Ma, daughter of Pappas,² virgin, and by family right priestess of the goddess and the saints, restored and roofed with tiles the temple at her own expense.

The criteria of the reactionary movement are all evident here. The names are those of deities: Ma was the great Cappadocian goddess, Pappas (or Papas) was a widely spread name of the supreme god as the "Father" of his worshippers. The institutions and terminology of the Church are adopted, the Virgins and the Saints (as designation of the congregation of believers). So marked is the Christian tone that for

¹ Rev. H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, p. 280. I received this book through the author's courtesy, after my article was nearly finished, and extract the above as illustrating the subject clearly.

² The first editors read M. A. Pappa as a woman's name.

long I regarded the inscription as Christian, originating from some heretic sect, Ma, priestess of the Mother of God ($\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, abbreviation of $\theta\epsilon(\sigma\tau\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\nu)$), having renovated the local church. But on that theory the paganisation of the Church is so strongly marked that the document could not be placed earlier than the fifth century, whereas it is almost certainly not later than the third century or the beginning of the fourth. Moreover, the pagan revival is now being recognised much more widely in the records of Asia Minor, and many documents, which were formerly difficult to understand, fall readily into their proper place in the reaction and revival.

The term "Parthenos" was indeed used in the Anatolian religion to designate the female slaves of the sanctuary, and it implies only unwedded. But I do not know that it was ever used by pagans in this bare and simple fashion almost like a title of hieratic rank: when it occurs in pagan documents there is something in the context to explain the scope and sphere of the allusion, as, *e.g.*, in the inscription quoted in my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 201. Hence it seems practically certain that the term as applied to Ma here proves that in the temple which she restored there existed an order of "Virgins" similar to the Christian.

Still more clearly of Christian origin is the phrase "priestess of the Saints". In a fourth century inscription of Ancyra, the phrase "presbyter of the Saints" occurs (*C. I. G.*, 9258). Generally the term "Saints" applied to the congregation of Christians belongs to the early time, but the Ancyran inscription is a clear proof that the use lasted into the fourth century. In that century "presbyter of the Holy Church" took its place; as appears in many inscriptions (examples quoted in the *Expositor*, Dec., 1905, p. 444).

It is highly probable that the inscription belongs to the time of Decius. This country was very thoroughly Christianised before that time. The old pagan temples had sunk into decay in Isauria—just as Pliny found that they had in Bithynia in A.D. 112, when he interfered to stop the Christian propaganda, and soon succeeded in having the temples restored and the worship reorganised.

2. A little epitaph found on an Imperial estate in North Galatia probably belongs to this class:—

Anna was set up in honour by her children Am(m)on and Apollo and Manes and Matar, in remembrance.¹

The designation of four children by four Divine names is quite distinctive of the pagan revival. The old Phrygian form Matar for the Mother-Goddess is a peculiarly interesting revivication of an ancient name. Manes is known only in this period of revival, and seems likewise to be an old name reintroduced (see below, No. 4).

3. Another example, engraved on two sides of a small altar, bearing pagan reliefs more or less defaced, belongs to Akmonia in Phrygia²:—

(a) Good Fortune. Aurelius Epitynchanos and Aurelius Epinikos, along with their mother Tertulla, consecrated their father Telesphoros, (b) in the year 334 (A.D. 249-250), along with the religious society of which he was Hierophant.

The Fortunate and the Conquering were the sons of Telesphoros, who bore the name of the little god of Pergamum, the Consummator. The Divine nomenclature is

¹ Published by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1899, p. 84.

² It was published by the writer in the *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 275; the date was corrected by reading Δ for A, *ibid.*, 1902, pp. 84, 269.

evidently carefully selected. The word Epitynchanos is never found in Greek literature, but occasionally in late inscriptions: it is a false formation from the verb, and was probably an invention of this late period. Telesphoros was the Hierophant, the displayer of the sacred objects in the mysteries celebrated by the religious society which had been formed in Akmonia.

The date, which is fortunately stated in this inscription, is peculiarly important, and gives the positive certainty that this revival of paganism was coincident with the persecution of Decius. The society was apparently a private association; and there is no direct proof that it had been encouraged by the Imperial Government or the Commune. But the same family is known from later documents, which show that it enjoyed Imperial favour later.

4. Found near Akmonia in 1883: the stone is now in Brussels, as Professor F. Cumont informs me. There are many difficulties in the language; and the construction and meaning are in some places very obscure.

- (a) In the year 398 (A.D. 313-314), and waiting the commands of the immortals, and I that speak everything am Athanatos Epitynchanos (Immortal Fortunate), initiated by an honourable priestess of the people bearing an honourable name Spatale, whom the immortal gods glorified both within and beyond the bounds (of the city-state Akmonia), for she redeemed many from evil torments. The high-priest Epitynchanos, glorified by the immortal gods, was consecrated by Diogas Epitynchanos and his bride Tation, and their children Onesimos and Alexander and Asklas and Epitynchanos.
- (b) Athanatos Epitynchanos, son of Pius, glorified by Hekate first, secondly by Manes Daos Heliodromos

Zeus, thirdly Phœbus Leader and Prophetic, truly I received the gift prophetic of truth in my own city . . . to the first high-priest Athanatos Pius, father of honourable sons, and to my mother Tatis, who bore honourable children, an honourable name. . . .

- (c) The Athanatoi first high-priests, brothers, Diogas and Epitynchanos, saviours of their city, lawgivers.¹

This inscription belongs to the last stage of the struggle against Christianity, under Maximin, and entirely confirms the account given by Eusebius and Lactantius of that Emperor's action. The imitation of Christian language (John iv. 6) and Christian zeal for conversion, the profusion of Divine names and epithets, the revival of old cults, the respect for prophecy, and the confidence in Divine favour and guidance—all are characteristic of the pagan revival. The use of the term high-priest implies Imperial approval: it cannot be doubted that in the pagan hierarchy the consent of the Pontifex Maximus and the Commune was a necessary condition in the bestowal of this title. Moreover, it is recorded that Maximin sought to create a hierarchy opposed to the Christian.

5. Epitynchanos is also mentioned in an inscription, which belongs either to the Phrygian city Meiros ("beyond the bounds of Akmonia") or to the Imperial estate Tembrion, as an astrologer, astronomer and diviner, honoured with the citizenship of many cities, and leaving sons who were equally skilled in his arts. This Epitynchanos must belong to the family mentioned in Nos. 3, 4. Now it was pointed out when this inscription was published² that Epitynchanos belonged to Akmonia, and flourished about A.D. 260 to 310.

¹ *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., pp. 566-568.

² *Ibid.*, ii., p. 790: A. Souter, in the *Classical Review*, 1897.

He may therefore be probably regarded either as the son of, or as identical with, Epitynchanos son of Telesphoros, and we may suppose that he disused the commonplace name Aurelius (which was almost universally used about 250, and was much less fashionable about 313). This description of the character of Epitynchanos as astrologer and diviner completes the picture given in 3 and agrees exactly with that given in 4.

6. The most important evidence bearing on this question comes from the fragmentary Acta of a society called the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends on the Imperial estates near Pisidian Antioch. The constitution of this religious association is uncertain; but it seems in practice to have consisted of the population resident on the Imperial estates as organised for religious purposes (*plebs collegii*) together with various strangers, mainly visitors from other Imperial estates, but also to some extent persons from the Hellenic cities, who were falling away from Hellenism and relapsing into the older Orientalism of the country and deserting the Hellenic cities to settle in the villages on the Imperial estates. Numerous questions of history and sociology are roused by this unique series of documents; these questions are indicated, though space and time forbade full treatment, in the first complete publication of the documents, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, written for the Aberdeen Quatercentenary and now published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, 1906, pp. 305-377; but at present we only touch on the one subject of immediate interest.

The most important documents found in this locality are (1) lists of subscribers with the amount of their subscriptions; when the inscriptions are complete at the top there is a

preamble describing the character of the subscribers and the purpose of the donations ; (2) dedications to the Goddess Artemis or to the God Emperor (once the Gods Emperors) ; (3) a village act, dated by a priest (of Artemis), who seems to be an Imperial procurator, and expressed in the name of the village people and a slave (of the Emperor), who resided on the estate as manager and member of the village Assembly (Gerosia) ; (4) the epitaph of a Roman, apparently freedman and procurator of the Emperor Claudius, holding the priesthood of Artemis.

The subscribers and dedicators are repeatedly called the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends.

That the Guest-Friends were a sort of secret society, so called because they recognised one another by a sign or Tekmor, was suggested in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 411, and *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., p. 97 ; ii., pp. 359, 630 ; but the alternative explanation that the epithet was local and derived from a place called Tekmoreion, was preferred by the only American and German scholars who have expressed an opinion. The connection with the old epic Greek word Tekmor was confirmed in 1905 by the discovery of a list in which the verb *τεκμορεύειν* is used. The name given to the members of the society was derived from the performance of some action designated by this verb. In one case it is mentioned that the act is performed for the second time.

Inasmuch as new words had to be invented for the occasion the act must have been a novel one. But the society was religious, uniting the old Anatolian ritual with the worship of the Emperor ; acts of the old ritual had old names ; therefore, the act which required a newly invented name must have been part of the new element in the com-

bined religion, *i.e.*, it was connected with some sign of loyalty and devotion to the Imperial religion. What this sign was cannot as yet be determined from the extant evidence; but every one must involuntarily think of "them that had received the mark of the Beast and them that worshipped his image". The large subscriptions of money recorded in the Tekmoreian lists were applied to the making of statues of the Lord Emperor and the Good Fortune of the Emperors and the great Goddess Artemis, together with various implements of the ritual: the purpose was always religious. The society was the expression of an alliance between the Imperial power and the old Anatolian religious authority; that old authority seems to have been exercised by the Imperial procurator, who represented the Emperor and managed his interests. The only two priests of the great Goddess mentioned in the documents hitherto discovered were apparently procurators and Imperial freedmen (though owing to the circumstances the procuratorship is not mentioned). The character of the Imperial system was to maintain as far as possible the old system of government on the estates, and this could be most conveniently done by making the procurator hold the old priesthood with all the power that accompanied the office.

It is true that the anti-Christian purpose is never mentioned in the inscriptions. Even if we possessed much fuller and more elaborate copies of the Tekmoreian records, that purpose would probably not be alluded to. "It was apparently a fashion and an affectation among a certain class of Greek men of letters about A.D. 160-240 to ignore the existence of the Christians, and to pretend to confuse them with the Jews. Those high-souled philosophic Greeks would not even know the name, for it was a

solecism to use such a vulgar and barbarous word."¹ So I wrote in 1892; and now it is apparent that the affectation was widely spread over society generally, and not confined to Greek men of letters. The educated Greeks were not unwilling to ally themselves with the uneducated Orientals against their common enemy; they failed to see that in doing so they were working out the ruin of Greek education. In allying themselves with the uneducated they must gradually sink to the lower level; and one of the many remarkable and interesting features of the Tekmoreian lists is that they show the way in which individuals were leaving the Greek city life and going back to the lower educational level of Oriental peasant life.² Christianity was the religion of an educated people, and the last and worst evil of the long struggle was that in Diocletian's persecution the more cultured section of the Church was to a large extent killed out, so that on both sides education deteriorated and the quality of society in general was depreciated.³

Nor is any allusion ever made in the Tekmoreian documents to Imperial suggestion or approval. On the contrary, it is apparent that an intentional silence is preserved with regard to the action of Imperial officials. In the Tekmoreian lists, only village officers as a rule are mentioned. Even the priest does not appear in them, because the priesthood was held by the procurator. As is pointed out in the publication of the documents,⁴ there is no other explanation possible of this peculiar fact except

¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 264.

² *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 357.

³ *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 509.

⁴ *Studies*, etc., p. 313.

that "the intention was to show the spontaneous nature of the movement". The procurator and managers (*actores*) took no direct part; and the *acta* emanate directly from the populace. Yet this semblance conceals what must have been the real facts. It must be remembered that the population on the Imperial estates were in a different position from the rest of the population of the provinces. The Emperor was their lord; they were his immediate subjects. He was the heir to the personal authority over them, which had once belonged to the deity, whose servants they were; and his procurator was the priest of the deity, and exercised that authority on the Emperor's behalf. Although there is no proof that the constitution of this society was approved by the Emperor, I do not see how this can be doubted. The society aimed only at pleasing the Emperor; it acted in loyal and eager devotion; it lived for the Emperor and the great Goddess Artemis. That it had reason to believe that its action was approved by the Emperor is beyond doubt; it is a fundamental and inevitable part of the situation.

Here then we have clear proof of a considerable organisation, emanating from the Antiochian Imperial estates, and embracing members from many Asian Imperial estates, working for the revival of the old Anatolian religion in association with the Imperial worship. What is the date of formation? It is pointed out in the already quoted publication, p. 350 ff., that the Tekmoreian lists fall into two groups separated by an interval of about a generation (somewhere about twenty to forty years). The later group mentions a single Emperor and cannot therefore have been composed under Diocletian (except in the first year of his reign). While certainty is not attainable until further

documents are found, the probability is that the earlier group belongs to the time about A.D. 215-225 and the later about 245-255. Thus, perhaps as early as the first quarter of the third century, certainly not later than about the middle, we have proof of the existence of this great religious association springing from a pagan revival, lasting for at least about thirty years, and countenanced by the Imperial authority. "We can hardly be mistaken in connecting this institution with the greatest political fact of the third century, the war between the State and the Christian faith. The critical and determining question about each successive Emperor at that time turns on his attitude to the Christians; and the test of the real import of every event then is its bearing on the relation between the Christians and the State. The history of the Empire requires to be rewritten from a more statesmanlike point of view, *viz.*, how the great struggle of religions and the social systems which they implied was fought out on the field of the Roman world."¹

This dating would well explain the origin of the movement. The alliance of philosophy with a revived paganism (studiously ignoring Christianity) is the guiding and originating thought in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, an imaginative work which was suggested in court circles and composed in Rome about A.D. 210-220. Philosophy is in this work the criterion of the good and virtuous man; and the good man is he who worships the gods within the earth, the wicked man he who despises them.² The Tekmoreian society shows the same idea, spreading in humbler circles from a court origin.

¹ *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 347.

² See, *e.g.*, ii., 39.

A conjecture about the Tekmor may be added here. From the words of Basil, *Epist.* 191,¹ it appears that there was an old custom (apparently no longer practised in his time), "which was once the boast of the Church. Brothers from each church, travelling from one end of the world to the other, were provided with little tokens (*Symbola*), and found all men fathers and brothers."

In *Epist.* 203 he again alludes to the same ancient Christian custom, now quite obsolete: "We, the sons of fathers who made the law that by brief notes the proofs of communion (*σύμβολα ἐπιμξίας*) should be carried about from one end of the earth to the other, and that all should be citizens and familiars with all, now sever ourselves from the whole world".

These two letters were written about A.D. 374-375; and the custom to which they allude evidently belongs to the pre-Constantine period: it was one of the devices for maintaining the unity of the early Church.

The Tekmoreian society may have been formed on the analogy of the Church, separated in its parts but united by constant intercourse and hospitality. Members of the society, on this view, would come from many parts of Phrygia and Pisidia to share in the worship of Artemis of the Lakes (just as the Christians still come to the Panegyris of the Virgin-Mother of the Lakes from great distances); and displayed in the celebration of the Mysteries their Symbolon, as a proof of their participation in the resistance to the common enemy.

7. At Temenenothyrae (Ushak) occurs a very brief epitaph (*C. I. G.*, 3865; *Studies in the History, etc., of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 25):—

¹Quoted more fully in this volume, Art. XV.

(the tomb) of Marcus, citizen,¹ philosopher, friend of all.

In these five words is summed up the Hellenic reaction. The citizenship is emphasised, because the unwillingness of Christians to perform the duties of citizenship was always an offence to the Hellenes. Philosophy is the religion and the guiding principle of Marcus's life. The last phrase is peculiarly characteristic. The Christians had made charity and kindness to others a prime duty; and the phrase "friend of all" (*πάντων φίλος*) in an epitaph was almost a proof of Christianity. At Nova Isaura the epitaph of the Blessed Papas applies this phrase to him in the third century.² At Ancyra in the fourth century, we find the epitaph already quoted from *C. I. G.*, 9258:—

Here lies the slave of God Theodore, presbyter of the
saints and silver-worker,³ the friend of all. He was
perfected on November 15, Ind. 5.

While it is difficult to judge about such a short document, the epitaph of Marcus seems to be earlier than Diocletian; and some may consider it to prove that pagans used the formula "friend of all," and that the Christians adopted this, as they did many other pagan customs and expressions. But, while not disposed to maintain that the Christians invented the formula and quite ready to admit that they took it from pagan usage, I feel convinced that Marcus of Temenothyrae belonged to the popular philosophic reaction against the new religion, and that his epitaph

¹ The word *πολίτην* is better taken as a common noun in Ionic form; but some may prefer to render "Marcus Poliêtês". Poetic and Epic forms are not rare in the Greek of Central Asia Minor about A.D. 200-400.

² *Studies in the History of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 22.

³ See Art. XV. of this volume.

emphasised the points in which he (or his friends for him¹) gloried in surpassing the Christians.

8. Mr. J. G. C. Anderson considers (in all probability justly) that the few markedly and obtrusively pagan inscriptions found on the Imperial estate of Tembrion are connected with this "awakening of pagan devotion towards the end of the third century".² One of these is inscribed on an altar.³

Erected by Symmachos, son of Antyllos, and his sons Antyllos, Alexander and Symmachos, to Apollo of Klaros in accordance with an oracle.

Stablish me in this land an altar of fragrant incense⁴ looking towards the rays of the far-seeing sun; and holy sacrifices offer thereon every month, so that I be your helper and make your fruits grow in their season. For I am he that provideth the fruits for mortal men, whom I wish to preserve and whom I know how to glorify.

The proper names are commonplace and not divine, so that one sign of the pagan revival is missing. But we have here the establishment of a new cult in a district where Christian inscriptions abound. It is quite probable that the new cult and the oracle originated from Epitynchanos, whose influence in this neighbourhood we saw to have been active in the second half of the third century. The persons mentioned are the ordinary people of the district, the devotees and perhaps the dupes of the astrologer. Hence they do not bear divine names: it was the leaders that took such names.

¹ He probably prepared his own grave, a common Phrygian custom. The possibility, however, remains that his friends composed his epitaph after his death; but, if so, they certainly composed it in his spirit and tone.

² *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, ed. by W. M. Ramsay (Hodder & Stoughton, 1906, p. 128), p. 200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴ The word is *πανθηέα* (otherwise unknown) whose meaning is doubtful: perhaps "conspicuous".

In general, when one finds late inscriptions showing strong pagan sentiment in a district where Christian inscriptions of early period abound, one is justified in suspecting that they belong to the pagan reaction; but all or most of the criteria described in Nos. 1-5 must be united before the suspicion can be strengthened into certainty.

It is worthy of note that so many of the inscriptions bearing on this subject are connected with Imperial estates. Besides the whole group of Tekmoreian lists, Nos. 2 and 5 and 8 come from Imperial estates, and 3 and 4 refer either to the same person as 5 or to his family, and were found on the fringe of the same estate. It is not impossible that even 4 may originally have been actually erected on that estate; and in fact it was found within the limits (as I have placed them) of the estate; but the term high-priest seems more favourable to the origin from a city such as Akmonia, and 3 was found in the territory of that city, which was conterminous with the estate. A wider survey of the documents of this class would probably confirm the principle that the Imperial estates were the centres of the anti-Christian movement and of the pagan revivals; but further exploration is needed and the discovery of more documents may be confidently expected. What is certain is that the connection between the Emperor and the population of his estates was close and direct, that the cultivators of his soil were under his almost direct superintendence through his procurator, and that personal loyalty to him was peculiarly strong among them. Nowhere in Asia, and especially Phrygia, should we expect that the Imperial institutions and religion would be so strong as on the Imperial estates in Asia and in Galatic Phrygia; and the inscriptions found on the enormous Ormelian and Antiochian estates

confirm this expectation. On the other hand, on the estate of Tembrion Christianity was remarkably strong in the third century, though far from universally triumphant. But such are the anomalies that mark the spread of the new faith. It is well known that "the household of Cæsar" was one of the earliest strongholds of Christianity in Rome; and the Tembrion estates of Cæsar form an exception to the rule that the Imperial estates were the strongholds of paganism in Asia Minor.¹

NOTE.—As my wife reminds me, the use of *symbola* to rouse religious feeling against an enemy (in the way supposed on p. 118) is well known in Asiatic history. As an example she quotes the cakes (chupatties) which were passed round as a preliminary to the Indian Mutiny, and were sometimes carried long distances; and this example recalls the suggestion which I have made about the nature of the Tekmor in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 349.

¹ *Studies in the History of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 312 f., 348 ff., 358.