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himself, and so he must fly. But the man who feels this must be humbled by the feeling. Hence the Christian ascetic is as far removed as possible from all thought of accumulating merit by his austerities. They result expressly from his demerit, and are a perpetual reminder of its existence."¹

GEORGE JACKSON.

ICONIUM.

THE object of this paper is to put together a picture of Iconium and its people in the first century after Christ. The attempt would be entirely vain, owing to the paucity of information, were it not for the intensity of municipal patriotism among the citizens of an ancient city. In modern times that character is not sufficiently remembered by many scholars, who are misled by the modern facts. The contrast between ancient and modern feeling is remarkable.

In most Scottish cities of the present day knowledge of, and interest in, their early history belong only to a few antiquaries: the mass of the citizens know and care nought about such matters. In Aberdeen the speaker in the Town Council, who wishes to persuade his audience, does not quote early history; if he were to begin a speech by appealing to his hearers' pride in "the Red Harlaw," some would hardly know what he meant, others would regard him as an amiable enthusiast whose opinion about present business could be of no possible value. Patriotism is far from weak in the hearts of such citizens, though they are a little ashamed of manifesting it outwardly, and suspicious of, or amused by, those who show it more openly; but their patriotism is mainly for country and race.

But to the mind of the ancient Greek citizen his city

¹ Illingworth's *Christian Character*, p. 48.

absorbed all his patriotism. His city, not his country as a whole, was his "fatherland." He was keenly interested in its past, and he actively participated in managing its present government. A citizen who was not active and interested in his own State was disliked and contemned in general opinion; and the unwillingness of the early Christians to perform the religious acts required in all political duties, and their consequent abstention from them, intensified the disapproval which the pagan mob felt for them. The patriotism of the ordinary citizen gained intensity through the narrowness of its scope. All that his patriotism embraced was constantly present to his senses, and forced every day and every hour on his attention. He could not get away from its claims. It surrounded him from infancy, educated him in boyhood, and opened to him all his opportunities of activity in manhood. It was to a large extent co-extensive with, and inseparable from, his religion; in fact, the true Greek theory was that religion should be entirely co-extensive with patriotism; but human nature was too strong for theory, and it was impossible to restrict a man's religion within the circle of his duties towards the State, though the Greek view tended to regard as superstition all that lay outside of, and too deep for, that circle.

Only by an effort can the modern mind begin to appreciate how strong and real was the influence that the more striking facts of past history, and its half-religious, half-political legends, exerted on the ancient citizen. These were to him present and real influences, guiding his action and moulding his mind: they formed the standard according to which the orators and teachers, who wished to move the mind of the citizens, must accommodate their words; and each orator selected from past history, with such skill as he possessed, the points suitable for his own purposes. One single example will serve to show the enormous influence of historical legend on the ancient cities. It was

probably a Greek poet of Sicily who invented in the sixth century a connexion between ancient Greek history and the young city of Rome, already powerful under its kings; for Greek views demanded that any strong external State should be brought into relations with old Greece. Thus arose the fancy that Rome was founded by Trojan refugees, fleeing from their city when Agamemnon captured and burned it. Yet this utterly groundless and non-Roman idea became gradually accepted by Rome herself; it was used as an incident in the great national historical epics of Naevius and Ennius, and finally was made the plot of the most perfect literary expression of Roman sentiment and honour, the Aeneid of Virgil. It won its way to the Roman mind, though attributing a foreign origin and a fugitive ancestry to their people, mainly because it was a convenient political instrument. The ancient mind required, and always found or invented, a justification in past history and religion for all political action; and, when the Romans began to exercise influence in the Greek world, they justified their interference by their right, guaranteed by old Greek authors, to carry on to completion the historical drama which had begun with the war of Troy and their own expulsion by the Greeks. On this ground they justified their interposition to protect their kindred in New Ilium against the Syrian king early in the third century (282 B.C.). Legend, half-religious, half-political, is here exhibited as a powerful and vital force in the ancient mind.

Iconian legends with regard to the foundation and past history of the city are, therefore, important as a means of understanding the mind of the people, who believed and circulated them. The example just given shows that the value of the evidence is entirely unconnected with historical truth. What the Iconians were saying at any time about their own past reveals what was their mind at that time,

about present matters, what they prided themselves on, what they claimed to be, what were the topics which might be appealed to by orators and teachers desirous of influencing their action. As at Rome, so at Iconium, totally different and inconsistent legends circulated with regard to their origin: these originated at different times, in different states of feeling, and among different constituent elements in the complicated fabric of their society and politics.

Our subject is Iconium and the Iconian people as they were in the early Christian centuries; but nothing which throws light on that period can be omitted safely; and old legend is our most useful guide. I may add that the criticism has been passed upon several of my studies in this department, especially the *Letters to the Seven Churches* and the *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, that they sometimes treated topics which had no real bearing on the parts of the New Testament that formed their professed subject. There is here involved a principle which is vital to our present purpose. What sort of people were they to whom those Epistles were written? For example, does the character of the Celtic Galatian tribes illustrate the Epistle, or are the "Galatians" the Greek-speaking citizens of certain Lycaonian and Phrygian cities of the Province? I write for those who wish to judge for themselves with sufficient knowledge, and not merely to take on credit the answer which I or others more competent may offer to such questions. So far as I can understand the situation of the Iconian people, I try to describe it, stating clearly the nature of the evidence.

I. NATURAL AND NATIONAL CHARACTER.

It would be difficult to find two cities more strikingly similar in general situation than Iconium and Damascus. Both lie on the level plateau, high above sea-level (Iconium

3,370, Damascus about 2,300 feet. Both are sheltered on the west by lofty mountains, or, as one might better say, a mountainous region: Anti-Lebanon in one case, the Phrygo-Pisidian mountain-land of the Orondeis in the other, each with peaks of more than 6,000 feet in height, rise from the level plain two or three miles west of the city. From the mountains, in each case, flows down a stream right into the city, making the land around into a great garden, green with trees, rich in produce; but the water has no outlet, and is soon dissipated in the soil of the level plains which stretch away to the east of both cities, as far as the eye can see. Yet the scenery to the east is not monotonous in the outlook, for mountains rising here and there like islands give character and variety to the view.

Iconium and Damascus alike are unfit for defence, and utterly devoid of military strength according to ancient methods of warfare. They are cities of peace, centres of commerce, and agriculture, and wealth, marked out by their natural character for historical and political importance throughout all time. Water is scarce on those arid plateaus, and sites which had an abundant, ever-flowing, natural supply of water, formed centres of human life and history from the beginning of organized society. Their importance, therefore, rested on a sure foundation. No political change could destroy them, though oppressive or inefficient government might temporarily diminish their wealth and prosperity.

Damascus has filled a greater place before the eyes of the world than Iconium; it stands pre-eminent in historical and romantic interest, because it was closer to the scene of the greatest events and peoples of history. In fame it surpasses Iconium as much as its river Abana surpasses in the volume of water that it carries the stream which gives fertility and growth to the gardens of Iconium. Iconium was at least as important in relation to its neighbouring

towns and tribes as Damascus ; but Damascus lay closer to the main centres of historic evolution, while we can only dimly conjecture that Asia Minor was more important in the world's history before 1500 B.C. than it has been since, and in that early period Iconium is to us only a name and a legend.

Only at one period in later history has Iconium rivalled the political importance as a governing city that has several times belonged to Damascus. In the Seljuk period, from the end of the eleventh century to the fourteenth, Iconium or Konia was the capital of the Seljuk empire of Roum. The Sultans of Konia waged war on equal terms with the Emperors of Constantinople ; they held great part of Asia Minor, and for a time Nicaea itself was one of their garrison cities, while their armies swept in repeated raids down to the Aegean Sea. The city was then made so splendid with beautiful buildings, palace, mosques, and mausolea, that the proverb arose and lasted long among the Turks, " See all the world ; but see Konia."

Both Iconium and Damascus are, therefore, necessarily and inevitably of immemorial antiquity. However far back in history one can penetrate, there one finds standing out clearly in the dimness of primitive history or legend the importance of those two great cities. Damascus has always been famous as the oldest city in the world. But Iconium, though less famous, was as old as Damascus, for both went back to the beginning of history. At Iconium tradition recorded the fame of King Nannakos (or Annakos), who reigned before the Flood, and lived to the age of 300 years. Learning from an oracle that, when he died, all men should perish, he convoked all people to the temple, and " made supplication with tears," and his Phrygian subjects mourned so vehemently that " the weeping in the time of Nannakos " became a proverb even among the Greeks. Herondas of Cos about 270 B.C. makes one of his characters, speaking

in the common conversational language of lower middle-class society in a Greek town, quote this proverb.

Soon after "the weeping of Nannakos" came the Flood in which all men perished. When the earth dried again after the flood, Jupiter bade Prometheus and Athena make images (*eikones*) of mud, and he caused the winds to breathe on the images, and they became living. Thus Iconium was re-peopled immediately after the Flood, and derived its name from the *eikones*. The last is a Greek addition; in the Phrygian legend evidently the city bore before the flood the same name as after.

Nannakos gave origin to other proverbs. "More ancient than Nannakos," "from Nannakos," "in the time of Nannakos," and similar phrases were widely used to describe things of great age, and survivals of primitive antiquity.

Attempts have been made to show that the story of Nannakos was borrowed from Jewish tradition and record, and was not a native Iconian legend.¹ It is assumed in such attempts that the form Annakos gives the original and correct name, and that it is the Biblical Hanokh, or Enoch; the Flood which destroyed the Phrygian world at the death of Annakos is explained as a version of the narrative given in Genesis vi.-ix. But this theory cannot be accepted. The correct name is certainly Nannakos, which appears in all authorities except Stephanus (in whose text Annakos is probably a mere error); Nannakos is a name known in Asia Minor, and the cognate names, Nannas, Nannasos, etc., are common in the country round Iconium. The frequent and varied forms of proverb connected with the name furnish strong proof that the legend was one of native origin, and not borrowed from the Bible. The only way in which a Biblical origin could be explained is through the influence of the Jewish colonists in Lycaonia and Phrygia; but these colonies belong to the Seleucid

¹ Especially by M. Babelon, *Mélanges Numismatiques*, I. 1892, p. 171.

times ; they began under Seleucus Nicator shortly before 281 ; but it is unlikely that they could ever have acquired such deep-rooted importance as to influence popular expression in the degree which those proverbs imply, and certainly they could not do so before the great foundations made by Antiochus the Great, about 215-200 B.C.¹ The Jews of Phrygia were undoubtedly wealthy, influential, and energetic, and they strongly affected the religious ideas of thoughtful men, as the writer has tried to describe elsewhere²; but their influence was not of the kind that was likely to mould popular language; rather they were hated and feared by the vulgar. Moreover, it was rather in the Roman than in the Greek period that they became so influential. Now the proverbial use of the story of Nannakos was firmly rooted on the west coast of Asia Minor when Herondas was writing about 270-260 B.C., and it seems impossible to account for this except through the influence of an ancient Phrygian tradition familiarly known to the Greeks from a very early time.

The story of Nannakos, then, although only a fragment of it has been preserved, belongs to native Iconian tradition, and furnishes evidence of a primitive Phrygian belief in a Deluge; though it may be freely admitted that the story, as told by Suidas, has probably been coloured by the Biblical narrative, which indubitably affected Phrygian legends in later time.

The precise form of the Iconian legend is irrecoverable, but it was evidently markedly different from the Biblical form. The coming of some disaster was predicted to the people, and their vehement mourning over the impending catastrophe was the feature that most deeply impressed the Greek mind. Their king, Nannakos, in spite of his tearful supplications, by which evidently he tried to propitiate the god and avert the Deluge, seems to have perished with his

¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches*, chaps. xi. xii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 149.

people, and the land was repopled by Divine intervention.

The primitive Phrygian legend can be traced also at Apameia-Celaenae in a non-Biblical form.¹ It was there connected with the remarkable natural phenomena of the locality, the underground waters, and it took the form that Divine intervention saved the city from being entirely engulfed, after many had perished. This native legend at Celaenae (of which the details are not preserved) was modified by contamination with the Biblical story, as appears on the coins with the name and type of Noah and the Ark; but there is no reason to think that this occurred until the Roman period; the Noah coins are of the third century after Christ. Here also the Jewish influence was slow and late in affecting popular thought, and the analogy constitutes an additional argument that Nannakos could not be borrowed from Jewish sources. In both cases the earlier allusions reveal a legend unlike the Biblical form, and the Biblical analogies are stronger in the later references.

It seems probable that the Iconian form of the legend was, like the Apamean, adapted to local circumstances. Further exploration is needed to give certainty, but there is every probability that the plain of Iconium was irrigated by water brought from the large lake, Trogitis, about forty-five miles in an air line to the south-west, separated from Iconium by the high Orondian mountain country. The evidence for this must be stated here.

A scheme has been under consideration recently for bringing the water of this lake to irrigate the plain. In 1882 the writer heard Sayyid Pasha, governor of the Konia Vilayet,² speak of the plan and the surveys which he had caused to be made in preparation for it; and the scheme

¹ This paragraph gives in brief the results of the discussion in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. pp. 415, 432, 671.

² The great province, whose capital is Konia, the ancient Iconium.

has been revived in the last few years as a private enterprise to be carried out by a European company. It is stated on good authority that the engineers, who reported on the practicability of the scheme, found that it could be carried out at very slight expenditure, because an ancient cutting,¹ which had formerly carried the water through the mountains at the only difficult point, still exists, and can readily be cleared again. That a channel exists by which the water of lake Trogitis can flow into the Konia plain, has long been known to the archaeological travellers in Lycaonia, but I had been under the impression that it was a purely natural channel, discharging into the river Tcharshamba, which flows across the plain of Konia, about 24 miles south of the city. This river is described by the Arab geographer Ibn Khardodhbeh in the ninth century under the name of Nahr-el-Ahsa, River of Subterranean Waters,² and the name seems to prove that the connexion with the lake was still open at that time. In more recent time the channel has been allowed to become blocked up, and the connexion with the lake has ceased, except when the water of Trogitis (which varies greatly in volume) is very high. Professor Sterrett, in the account of his exploration of this district,³ reports that the water was flowing from the lake through the channel in 1885, but he unfortunately did not follow its course. In May 1905 the river was carrying a large body of water into the plain of Konia, but I was assured that no connexion with the lake was open, and that the water came entirely from the Isaurian mountains.

Hearing at Konia, in May 1905, the report about the ancient cutting, I perceived at once that if such a great

¹ Another ancient cutting in a different part of those mountains, is described in Professor Sterrett's *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, p. 161.

² For this identification of Nahr-el-Ahsa, see the writer's "Lycaonia" in the *Jahreshefte des k. k. Oest. Arch. Instituts*, 1904, p. 118 (Beiblatt).

³ *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, pp. 124, 133, 180.

engineering work existed, it must have affected Iconian legend; and, being hopeful also of finding evidence of the period when it was executed, I went to investigate; but after two days, it became evident that more time than was at my disposal would be necessary, and I had to abandon the quest. But, whether the channel was wholly natural or in part artificial, there can be little doubt that in ancient times the course of the water was kept clear, and that the plain of Iconium was dependent for its fertility on this water supply. Strabo contrasts the fertility of the Iconian plain with the barrenness of northern and eastern Lycaonia; and the reason for the difference lies in the water supply. Those Lycaonian plains are, as a rule, entirely fertile in soil, but the productiveness depends on the supply of water by human agency.

We conclude, then, that a religious myth was attached to the irrigation of the Iconian plain. It was through Divine helping power that the water was not a destructive deluge, as it once had been.¹ The gods themselves saved the land and the people whom they had made, moderating an ever-present danger of flood into a beneficent irrigation. Similar legends are found wherever in Asia Minor any remarkable water-supply exists, as at Apameia-Celaenae or in the valley of Colossae.²

The form which the Deluge-story took at Iconium is adapted to bring into strong relief the great antiquity of the city. The Iconians prided themselves on their ancient origin: their city was the first founded after the Flood, and it had been great before the Flood; the belief that Phrygian was the Primitive language of mankind—a belief which was proved to be true by a scientific experiment conducted on

¹ It is so still at the present day, when the inundation waters of this river sometimes cover a large tract of the Iconian plain.

² On Colossae and its waters see *The Church in the Roman Empire*, last chapter.

the order of the Egyptian king Psammetichus, who found that infants brought up out of hearing of human speech spoke the Phrygian language—was probably shared by them. It was evidently through this pride in their antiquity that they preserved the tradition of their Phrygian origin. Most of those Hellenized cities of Asia Minor claimed to have a Greek origin, and invented legends to connect themselves with Greek history and mythology. In this legend the Iconians claimed to be pre-Greek, the ancient city, the beginning of history.

There was, however, another Iconian legend, which attributed a Greek origin to the city. It is recorded in such confused and self-contradictory fashion by late Byzantine authorities (the Paschal Chronicle, Cedrenus, and Malalas) that one would be tempted to set it aside as mere scholastic trifling, if it were not proved by the Iconian coins to be the accepted legend in the city during the Greek and the Roman period. The Nannakos legend throws no light on, and receives none from, the coinage of the city; but the tale told so badly in the Paschal Chronicle, Malalas, and Cedrenus, stands in the closest relation to the coins, which form the surest indication of the current views in Iconium.

We shall, for brevity's sake, relate this Greek legend only in the form that best suits the coinage, tacitly omitting all the variations that are mixed up in the three versions. Perseus came to Lycaonia, and vanquished the opposition of the people by the power of the Gorgoneion, which turned his enemies to stone. He then made a village called Amandra into a Greek city, and called it Iconium from the image or *eikon* of the Gorgon, which he received there before the victory. This seems to point to Divine help received by him before the battle began. He erected in front of the new city a statue representing himself holding up the Gorgon's head; and this statue (the authorities say)

is standing there to the present day. The coins show us the same statue, which was doubtless an ornament of the city; there can be little doubt that it was a Hellenistic work modelled after the famous statue of Perseus by the great Attic sculptor of the fifth century B.C., Myron.

Now it must be asked how there could be two legends in the city about its origin, a Phrygian and a Greek. What is the relation between the two? The analogy of many other cases leaves practically no doubt that the two legends belong to different sections of the population; one belongs to the Hellenized and educated section, partly Greek immigrants but chiefly Grecized natives, and the other to the humbler, uneducated native Phrygian population. This becomes clear also if we glance at the religion of Iconium.

The religion of an ancient city was the most complete expression of its spirit and ideals and aspirations, and a full knowledge of its religion would be an epitome of the evolution of its social organisation. About the religion of Iconium little information has been preserved. To judge from the evidence of inscriptions, the deity whose worship was most deeply rooted in the popular mind was a form of the Phrygian Mother-Goddess, Cybele. She was known as the Zizimmene Mother in all this region from Iconium northwards to a distance of sixteen hours. The name is derived from her chosen home at Zizima among the mountains, about five hours north of Iconium, where she had revealed her presence by the underground wealth which she taught men how to recover. The quicksilver mines beside the village (which still bears the old name under the form Sizma) have been worked from a remote period, as is proved by the extensive old shafts, and are still productive. The underworld, with its wealth as seen in mines, and its marvellous powers seen in the hot springs and medicinal waters and cool refreshing fountains, which it tenders for the use of man, was the abode of the Divine

nature, and the ultimate home from which man comes and to which he returns in death. This thought was strong in the Phrygian mind, and the serpent which lives in the earth was regarded with awe as the intermediary between the Divine power and mankind, and as the bearer of the healing and kindly influence of the Divine nature. Wherever signs of the wealth and power under the earth were most clearly manifested, there the Goddess Mother had her seat, and she assumed a certain local character according to the nature of the place and the people, though the same fundamental Divine conception underlay each of these local forms. Thus Zizima was marked out as the home of the great deity of south-eastern Phrygia. In Iconium she was styled also the Mother Boëthene and Mother of the Gods: the former title is apparently some old local epithet, Grecized in form, so as to suggest the meaning "the Mother who comes to help."

But this native Phrygian conception of the Divine nature has left little mark on the coins of Iconium. Only faint traces of the worship of the Phrygian goddess appear on them. Athena is the important divine type: she appears in many variations, but the most characteristic represents her standing, holding in her left hand an upright spear, on which she leans and round which twines a serpent. The serpent marks her character as the health-giving deity, and the Iconian Athena may be regarded as a Hellenized form of the Phrygian goddess. Zeus and Perseus, whom she aided and directed in his travels and his conquest, are the other important types, and purely Greek.

The bearing of these facts seems clear. Athena with her associated hero Perseus represents the immigrant Greek influence, which became completely dominant in the city, and for a time seemed to have almost expelled the Phrygian religion from the public ceremonial, as Perseus routed and benumbed the natives of the land. But this

was only in outward show. The Iconian Athena was a strongly Hellenized form of the Phrygian goddess, but the common people never lost their hold on their own Mother-Goddess. This external character as a Greek city belonged to Iconium from the time when its coinage began, probably about 100 B.C. The educated classes and the representative citizens counted themselves as Hellenes, not as Phrygians. The hero of the immigrant Greek civilization had destroyed the Phrygian character and transformed an oriental town into a Greek self-governing city. It is highly probable that this hero also is a Grecized transformation of a native hero, whose image is preserved to us in a drawing published by Texier. The stele from which it was taken was destroyed by a Turkish workman soon after 1880, as I was informed by Mr. A. Keun, formerly British Consul in Konia, who attempted vainly to have it protected.

Thus the ancient Phrygian origin and the new Hellenism of Iconium stand out clearly in the foundation legends. About the time of Christ it was a Greek city, proud at once of its ancient pre-Hellenic origin at the very beginning of history, and of its transformed and thoroughly Hellenic character. Its free, self-governing constitution is marked by the magistrate's name, which appears on some of its early coins, Menedemos son of Timotheos. Everything here is Greek. The Phrygian was quite Oriental in character, a slave of government, submitting to the rule of a king or of the god through his priest: the Greek was a free citizen, master of his own life, joining by vote and lively interest in the administration of his own city, his fatherland.

But the national character was not eradicated. Hellenism was here only a superficial stratum. The deep-lying character gradually re-emerged. The revival of the national Anatolian character after the first century of our era is a

general and striking feature in Asia Minor. The Hellenistic character grows weaker and the Oriental stronger; or perhaps it would be more correct to say that a new and mixed type was developed, in which Oriental, Greek, and Roman characteristics were all blended. One Iconian coin, 70-79 A.D., shows the Phrygian goddess, Cybele, seated, holding a bowl or patera in her right hand; but the barbaric element that commonly accompanies this type, the pair of lions, is wanting. Even Cybele is Hellenized here.

The name of the city reflects its character. The old name was never abandoned: Iconium held too firmly to its glory as the oldest of cities to give up the name that marked its origin. Similarly in Lydia the ancient capital Sardis never abandoned its name and its Lydian primeval fame; but Philadelphia, a Grecized refoundation of an old Lydian town, changed its name to Neocaesareia (though this did not last long), and Hierakome permanently assumed the name Hiero-Caesareia. Sardis indeed added an epithet to mark its Roman character and its favour with the Emperor Tiberius, and styled itself "Caesarian Sardis"; and for the same reason Iconium styled itself "Claudian Iconium." In both cases the epithet lasted for a time, and gradually passed out of use. But such epithets indicate the tenacious clinging to the character of the Greek constitutional state: Sardis or Iconium was still a Greek city qualified by a Roman honorary appellation, a Greek constitution modified by Roman admixture. The new title was assumed between 44 and 56 A.D., probably in or soon after 44.

Here I find myself compelled to dissent from what seems to be the accepted view in Germany, and we must therefore consider the facts more carefully.

II. THE ROMAN COLONY ICONIUM.

The evidence is so conclusive as to the foundation of

this Colony by Hadrian that it formerly appeared sufficient to mention in passing the inaccuracy into which many writers have fallen, when they say that Claudius founded a Roman Colony at Iconium. It was not that I wished to treat their opinion disrespectfully: on the contrary, I thought that the most respectful way was to treat it as a mere slip, due to insufficient consideration about a small detail, and to relegate the matter to a footnote, or the corner of a sentence. But the mistake has been repeated by Professor Zahn in his *Einleitung in das N.T.*, 1877, § 11, n. 5, and expressly championed by him in contradiction of my correction in his *Kommentar zum N.T.: Galater* 1905, p. 13. The great influence which his work and opinion deservedly carry in the world of scholars, and my profound respect for his learning, make it now necessary to state the reasons on which I ventured to correct him and others. Moreover, the same error is made in the two principal German handbooks, to which everyone turns for information about the constitution of the Roman Provinces; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. p. 364 (ed. ii., 1881); and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. Class. Alt.* iv. 551, 1900 (the author is Prof. Kornemann, whose authority is first rate); and many writers on Acts and Galatians repeat the same statement.¹ It seems that every step in the Galatian controversy must be won by a pitched battle; and that even a point like this, where there is not the shadow of evidence on one side and absolutely conclusive reasons on the other, has to be fought for before the truth can prevail. My desire has been to avoid long disquisitions on such points; but the Biblical scholars will not abandon any view until the arguments have been set forth at full length.

In the way of evidence Professor Zahn adduces really nothing. (1) He quotes, indeed, an inscription in which the

¹ Dr. Knowling, in his Commentary, corrects the common error.

Iconian Demos honours an Imperial Procurator as its "Benefactor and Founder." But Iconium is here clearly marked as a Greek city (πόλις), governed by the Greek assembly of the Demos, and not as a Colonia.¹ Moreover, the official act of a Colonia at that period would be expressed in Latin, not in Greek. This document, so far from showing that Iconium was a Colonia, furnishes conclusive proof that Claudiconium was not a Colonia when the inscription was erected in the beginning of Nero's reign. Iconium received its new title from Claudius, but was not made a Colonia by him.

(2) It is also asserted that, as this Procurator was honoured as "Founder" by the Demos of Iconium, he must have been the Founder of the Colonia Iconium; but (a) as this document shows that Iconium was not a Colonia, the Procurator cannot have founded the Colonia; (b) if Iconium had been a Colonia, it would not have been founded by a Procurator; (c) the title "Founder" was applied in lavish fashion by the Greek cities of Asia Minor and Greece proper; and little can be inferred from it.

(3) No colonial coin of Iconium is known before Hadrian. Claudiconium struck coins as a Greek city under Claudius, Nero, Vespasianus, Titus, and Hadrian. Then under Hadrian (evidently near the end of the reign, to judge from their rarity) the colonial coins begin, and continue under succeeding Emperors. No coins of the Greek city are later than Hadrian. This, even alone, would be conclusive.

(4) It is also said that Iconium as a Colonia was called Claudia Iconium. This is not correct; the title Claudia Iconium never occurs: it is an invention of Marquardt's. The fact is, that, when Iconium became a Colonia, it abandoned the title Claudiconium, which hardly occurs except in Greek, and took the name Colonia Aelia Hadriana

¹ When such an honorary inscription is erected by a Colony, it is the Colonia (i.e. body of *coloni*) that is mentioned, not the Demos. Compare e.g., Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition* No. 352, and C.I.L. iii. 6786.

Augusta Iconiensium (or Iconensium) : the series of coins furnishes the proof that the Greek name *Klaudeikonion* lasted until the colony was founded, and then gave place to the simple *Iconium*. Inscriptions, as a rule, are in agreement, though (1) they cannot be so exactly dated as to furnish a proof of the rule; (2) they are not so accurate (especially when private documents) in observing strict nomenclature as coins.¹

These facts are as convincing and conclusive as it is possible for reasons about ancient history to be. They have all been public property for many years, and have convinced the numismatists,² who are more accurate about questions of this kind than the historians and the Biblical scholars, and more accurate even than many of the epigraphists. But I will add another proof so decisive that nothing more conclusive can be possibly imagined. In May, 1905, I copied in *Iconium* an inscription recording the career and honours³ of the first supreme magistrate of the *Colonia (duumviro primo Coloniae)*.⁴ His name was M. Ulpius Pomponius Superstes, and he was son of M. Ulpius Valens. The names are sufficient proof of the date. It must have been some time after A.D. 130, before the son of a man

¹ I thought at first that I had seen an inscription with the name *Claudiconium* used of the *Colonia*; but on examination cannot find that there is any. A Greek epitaph of a Colonial magistrate [*δυναρχικός*] *Elkoviou* is published by Professor Sterrett, *Epigraphic Journey*, No. 254 (I quote it from my own copy in 1901); but his name proves that he is later than Hadrian.

² See e.g. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Coins: Lycaonia*, p. xxiv.; Imhoof Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, ii. p. 418.

³ Possibly his epitaph, but more probably engraved on the pedestal of a small statue in his honour.

⁴ The inscription (which I sent to Dr. Wiegand, of the German Institute in Constantinople, through my friend the German Consul in Konia, Dr. Loytved) contains many points of interest. To make assurance doubly sure I consulted also my friend Professor O. Hirschfeld, in Berlin, the leading authority on Latin Epigraphy, who considers the meaning of the phrase quoted to be indubitable.

named M. Ulpus could be of legal age to be appointed duumvir of a Roman colony. Evidently the father received the Roman citizenship under Trajan, 98-117 A.D., and took his Roman name, M. Ulpus, from the Emperor. The name was inherited by his son, who, as a leading Roman of Iconium, was appointed one of the two chief magistrates in the year that the Colonia was founded, not long before 138 A.D.

The course of events preceding the foundation of the Colonia was probably as follows: Hadrian, during his second eastern journey, A.D. 130, formed the plan of reorganizing south-eastern Asia Minor. He saw that the older principle of provincial division, on which Asia and Galatia especially had been formed—disregarding national divisions, breaking up one nation among two provinces, and uniting many nations in one province, with the apparent intention of trampling on national patriotism as non-Roman, and substituting the Roman unity, Asia or Galatia Provincia, for the national unity—he saw that this principle had failed, and that national feelings were gradually reviving. He was not prepared to reorganize the eastern world; but he made some changes in the direction of paying more respect to national distinctions and feelings. About the last year of his reign he instituted the new Province of the Three Eparchiae, Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia. As its name and organization show, these Eparchies were to be really three Provinces conjoined under a single head, each retaining its individuality. Thus there was a separate Koinon or provincial Council of the Lycaonians, and no common Council of the three Eparchies.

Iconium was not included in this new Eparchia Lycaonia. It remained part of the Province Galatia; but its growing importance was recognized by making it a Colonia. This refoundation no longer involved the introduction of a body of Roman colonists, as it had done in the Republican and

the early Imperial time. It was a sort of political fiction, and meant only the raising of Iconium to the highest class of cities, enjoying the fullest privileges and rights permitted in the Roman Provinces.¹ This dignity was conferred on Iconium between 130 and 138, probably near the later date.

So lively a sense of the honour was felt at Iconium that the government forthwith began to act as a Roman city. They abandoned the use of Greek and employed only Latin in official documents, i.e., coins and inscriptions (and doubtless also in documents written on more perishable materials, like paper, though these have all perished, and positive certainty is therefore not attainable). This remarkable fact shows how real the distinction was between a Greek and a Roman city, and how much, as regards the pride of Iconium and its patriotism and sense of dignity, was involved in the question whether it was a Greek city or a Roman Colonia in the time of St. Paul. The account which is given of Iconium in my *Church in the Roman Empire*,² and in *St. Paul the Traveller* would be fundamentally inaccurate, if it had been a colony founded by Claudius.

The people, of course, could not change their language so easily as the municipality could. They continued to speak Greek and to write in Greek. The epitaphs, with the rarest exceptions, are Greek after 138 A.D., as they were before. In this respect Iconium offers a strong contrast to Pisidian Antioch (where the epithets were for the most part Latin throughout the first two centuries of the Empire), and even to Lystra, where Latin epitaphs are quite as

¹ Kornemann in art. *Coloniae*, Pauly-Wissowa, iv. p. 566.

² It is called "a Roman City," p. 45 note; but this phrase means only, as the context shows, a city of the Empire and of the Province Galatia (in contrast to Dr. Farrar's statement that it was excluded from the Province).

numerous as Greek, the Greek epitaphs being later and the Latin older.

But the Roman city or Colonia Iconiensis formed a new ideal for itself. The Phrygian feeling (as we have seen) was reviving. Iconium now felt itself to be an old Phrygian city which had become a Roman Colonia. The statue of Marsyas, the mark and pledge of Roman rights and liberty, was erected in the Iconian forum, and represented as a type on its coins. The other usual Colonial types, the ploughing Colonus, the she-wolf with the twins (a copy of which was probably placed in the forum), blazoned the Roman character of Colonia Iconiensis.

Yet the Greek character was not expelled, and could not be expelled, for Iconium had been too strongly affected by Greek education and feeling; it was still a Greek-speaking city (except perhaps among the humbler classes, where the Phrygian language may have still lingered), and so far as it contained works of art, they were Greek works. The coins reflect this side of the city's life, when they occasionally employ Perseus as a type, or show us the three Graces (probably taken from a group of statuary in one of the public places or halls). Athena, too, continued to be the chief Divine type, and not any Roman god. The Emperors were the sufficient envisagement of Roman divinity.

It was only the native Phrygian character that found no admission on the coins, in spite of its growing strength among the people. It remained always inarticulate, strongest among the uneducated, living in the popular heart. We can only dimly trace it on the lips of the people, as when the Iconian Hierax, a slave in Rome condemned as a Christian in 163 A.D., informed the Prefect who was trying the case that he had come from Iconium of Phrygia; or when Bishop Firmilian mentions that the Council of 232 A.D. was held at Iconium in Phrygia (doubt-

less repeating the description which he had heard in the city, when he attended the Council). Iconium was now no longer a part of Lycaonia in a political sense; and the connexion of blood, and in some degree perhaps of language, with Phrygia was felt more strongly.

W. M. RAMSAY.

SENNACHERIB AND JERUSALEM.

705-681 B.C.

A PREVIOUS paper¹ brought the history of Isaiah's Jerusalem to the eve of its great crisis: the campaign, or, as we may find probable, the *two* campaigns of Sennacherib against Southern Palestine.

I.

Sargon died in 705, and, as usual, the transfer of the Assyrian throne became the occasion for a general revolt among its vassals. The most formidable was Merodach Baladan, of Bīt Jakīn, on the northern coast of the Persian Gulf, who in 709 had been driven from Babylon by Sargon, and now regained that great capital with all the commercial and religious influence which its possession conferred. He enjoyed besides the support of Elam. In 703 Sennacherib, on his first campaign, drove Merodach Baladan out of Babylon, and set up there, as "king of Sumer and Akkad," a vassal of his own, named Bel Ibni. Sennacherib's second campaign in 702 was northwards, towards Media; and in 701 he began his third—against Phoenicia and Palestine.²

¹ EXPOSITOR for July.

² There are six Assyrian accounts of, or references to, this campaign (1) "The Rassam Cylinder" of 700 B.C., recording Sennacherib's first three campaigns. (2) "The Taylor Cylinder" of 691 (in the British Museum, reproduced at p. 188 of *Light from the East*, by Rev. C. S. Ball, London, 1899), recording eight campaigns, the account of the first three based on "The Rassam Cylinder." (3) "The Bull Inscription" (on slab I. of the Kuyunjik Bulls in the British Museum, translated in *Records of the Past*, vii. 57 ff., by Rodwell). (4) Cylinder C. (5) The Neby Yunus