

*ICONIUM.*¹

VI. THE RELIGION OF ICONIUM.

THE religion of Iconium was touched on in § I. As is there stated, it is hardly possible to write on any side of city life without alluding to the religion of the city, because its religion is the ideal presentment of its whole existence.

As an old Phrygian city, Iconium had originally been in the closest relation with Zizima and the Phrygian goddess who dwelt there; and though the political relation had been weakened, and Zizima was now through Roman commercial conditions separated from Iconium and connected with Laodiceia, yet the deep-lying religion of the masses in Iconium was the worship of the Mother of Zizima. A large part of the population was Phrygian by race, probably (as we saw) concentrated in one tribe, and thus not exercising voting power according to the constitution in proportion to its numbers, but in the course of centuries gradually asserting the real strength due to its sheer weight and mass, and forcing the Phrygian character of the city into recognition. The revival of the Oriental spirit in the Eastern Provinces during Imperial Roman times is a marked fact of history, and is to be traced in every department of history and life, and even in art (as Strzygowski especially has recently emphasized). The case of Iconium is merely one special example of the general principle.

The non-Phrygian part of the population must have been deeply affected by the local religion, as the analogy of every Hellenistic or Hellenic city shows. The Greeks themselves did not regard the Phrygian Cybele as wholly alien. Even in Greece proper she was received into the

¹ In *EXPOSITOR*, October, p. 286, l. 13, for "200" read "500."

Hellenic Pantheon, and her worship was sanctioned and protected in Athens and other cities by the State. In her own land she appealed with far stronger authority to the Greek mind. To the pagan mind the power of a deity was limited narrowly to his or her special country; but in her own country Cybele was supreme, and must be worshipped by all. It was not necessary for the settlers to abandon their own original gods; they merely added Cybele to the range of their worship. As they were in Cybele's own land, she quickly became the object of their deepest reverence in time of fear or anxiety, just as the settlers in Samaria turned to worship Jehovah as the local God when they suffered from lions in their new home (2 Kings xvii. 25 ff.).

On that groundwork of Cybele-worship there was superinduced a showy edifice of Greek public festivals and parade of municipal religion. The Greek mind always tended to emphasize in outward show the political side of religion; it tended to regard the Greek gods as the patrons of Greek institutions and society, free, graceful, joyous, young, self-assertive and capricious. Thus it was always tending in its outward life to disregard and ignore the deeper and more awe-inspiring side of religion; though it was, of course, always brought up sharply by the stern facts of existence, and then it found that those joyous Olympian gods, whom it had stripped of their awe and their terrors, were no longer able to help it in the hour of fear and danger and death. Then it always turned to the deeper and more efficacious religions and gods of the East, Asia Minor or Syria or Egypt.

On account of the close relation in which religion stood to the municipal institutions in a Greek city and to the patriotic chivalry of the citizens, every municipal fact had its religious counterpart or accompaniment. In a Hellenic city all these rites of political religion were of Greek char-

acter, and connected with the worship of Greek deities, such as Athena and Zeus. These therefore are the divinities who appear on the coins and give names to the Tribes of Iconium, and there were doubtless public festivals and games in their honour. This Hellenized cult was a real force in the city, for it was intertwined with all the constitutional facts and liberties, with all the educational and artistic developments in the city. Cybele did nothing and could do nothing for that side of Iconian history: she was oriental, and that was all western. But when the inscriptions afford evidence of deeper religious feeling, the Phrygian goddess is the object of it. No deity is actually mentioned in any inscription except the Zizimene goddess and the Emperors.

Accordingly, to describe the constitution and the liberties of Iconium is to describe the Greek side of its religious observances and festivals. Patriotism and municipal pride were summed up in its Greek rites. But to describe Iconian religion in the deeper sense of the term is to describe the worship of Cybele, in her local character as manifested at Zizima.

Extremely little information is given in the inscriptions about the cult of the Zizimene goddess. The accompaniments that go along with her image are the typical symbols of the Phrygian Cybele, the lions and the musical instruments.¹ These imply the wild dances which were performed to their sound. At Zizima events were dated according to the priest who was in office; and this custom seems to point back to the time when the priest was a dynast, and lord of all the land of the goddess and of all her servants, who dwelt on her land.²

¹ The tympanum is the only instrument which I have seen on any Zizimene monuments; but along with it in the Phrygian ritual always went flutes and cymbals.

² The evidence is an unpublished inscription copied by me in 1905 at Zizima. The single case proves the familiar ordinary usage.

The ritual, which was prescribed for those who were initiated into the Mysteries of Attis and Cybele, contained many analogies to the Jewish law and rites.¹ Fasts were enjoined. Certain foods were proscribed: e.g., the eating of fish, of the roots of vegetables, of pomegranates, and of apples, was forbidden to the Mystai. These foods were not forbidden as unclean, but because a mystic and sacred character, known only to the initiated, belonged to them. Even the ordinary worshippers were forbidden to eat garlic; and this prohibition approximates more to the nature of abstinence from unclean food. There were, undoubtedly, various other prohibitions and rules of purity, applying to all worshippers of the goddess, which were similar to the rules prescribed in the worship of Men Tyrannos or of Apollo Lairbenos²; but the whole subject is very imperfectly known, owing to the scantiness and accidental character of the records. It is, however, quite clear that there were grades in the religion. Much more thorough abstinence and fasts were required from those who advanced to the higher grade of Mystai than from the ordinary worshippers. Thus the Galatians who read the Epistle iii. 3, with its distinctions between beginners and those who go on to be perfected in Christian practice, naturally understood that there was here a reference to a lower and a higher grade: they had in fact been acting on the belief that there was such a distinction in their new religion, and that those who had begun with the simpler stage of Paulinism and spiritual religion were able to proceed to the harder stage of troublesome and painful service required by Judaic law.

Only one important feature of the Zizimene cult is revealed

¹ I take the facts of the Phrygian ritual from Daremberg and Sagliso, *Dict. des Antiq.*, arts. *Cybele* and *Gallus*.

² See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. p. 116, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 136.

³ *Histor. Comm. on Gal.*, § xxvii. p. 324 f.

in the inscriptions. One of the priests, doubtless the chief priest, was styled "Archigallos," the chief of the Galli, the mutilated priests of Cybele and Attis. The name of Attis is not recorded in any of the inscriptions; but a dedication to Angdistis occurs, and the occurrence of this ugly and purely Phrygian deity proves that a figure corresponding to Attis played a part in the ritual, though possibly a different local name was used in place of Attis. The Anatolian priests bore commonly the name of their god, and the god is therefore likely to have been called Gallus at Zizima. Julian says that the god Attis bore also the name Gallus, and the chief priest of the cult at Pessinus (where was the chief home of the Attis legend) always assumed the name or title Attis. Moreover, a Roman inscription applies both titles, archigallus and Attis, to a Roman chief priest of the cult, implying that they were terms of slight difference which between them summed up the priest's authority and circle of duties.¹

It is an interesting fact, and probably not a mere accidental coincidence, that the existence of the title archigallus in the cult of Cybele during the Roman period is attested only at two places in Asia Minor, viz., in the Zizimene worship near Iconium and in the ritual of Men near Pisidian Antioch. The existence of such a chief priest implies that there was a body of priests bearing the name Galli at those two seats of the Cybele ritual. Those priests were the living attestation of the worst characteristics of that religion.²

The priests called Galli were bound to a certain ritual and to certain rules of life, which did not apply to the ordinary worshippers, or applied to them only during their occasional periods of divine service. Certain foods were

¹ C.I.L. vi. 2183, C. Camerius Crescens was "archigallus Matris deum et Attis populi Romani."

² The title is otherwise known epigraphically only at Rome. Strabo, p. 680, speaks of *οἱ ἀπόκοποι Γάλλοι* at Hierapolis in Phrygia.

forbidden to them, notably bread and pork.¹ They had certain dances, in imitation of the motion of the planets in the heavens, which were executed to the music of flutes, cymbals and tambourines. In the excitement of the dance the Galli were often stimulated to frenzy, clapping their hands, moving their heads violently, brandishing swords, daggers and axes, biting their flesh, or cutting themselves with their weapons till the blood flowed freely. They lashed themselves with cruel whips, whose lashes were strung with knuckle-bones. They had a certain series of sacred days in the year, on which they ran through the streets, uttering prophecies, teaching how sins might be expiated, and collecting donations in money, food and clothes. They had a special dress, calculated to give them a feminine appearance, they let their hair grow long and wore a head-dress called mitra (usually worn by women); they painted their faces; they wore translucent thin upper garments of yellow silk or linen, and sometimes also white tunics, with red stripes, girt round the waist; yellow shoes completed their attire. This was all "quite in the spirit of a religion of which it was characteristic to raise itself above the distinction of sex," and in which the androgynous being Angdistis was a leading figure.*

The resemblance of these practices of the Galli to the ritual of the modern Dervishes is striking. The turning Dervishes use the same musical instruments, and perhaps the same musical measures (for there is a world-wide difference in character and style between the ordinary

¹ The prohibition of bread was a survival from the primitive period when bread was unknown. A similar archaic survival was the rule that the self-mutilation described in the sequel must be performed with a sharp stone or flint (just as all repairs executed on the old wooden bridge at Rome must be made without using iron, because the construction was earlier than the age of iron in the Tiber valley).

² The words are quoted from my paper on the "Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia," p. 15 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1883).

Turkish music and that of the dervishes). Their dance, in the one place, where I have seen it properly performed, was obviously a representation of motion, in varying times and courses, of individuals round a central point. They wear a special attire of brilliantly coloured garments, not however all yellow, but of varying bright hues, saffron, violet, blue, white, crimson, olive, red and perhaps more. Other orders of Dervishes cut or wound themselves in frenzied excitement, though the worst mutilation practised by the Galli is prohibited along with some other excesses, since Mohammedanism, like Hellenism, has moderated the Phrygian excesses.

Most of the references to those priests and their rites, which are found in Greek and Roman literature, express contempt or abhorrence. The religion was denounced and despised as superstition by the saner thought of both Greeks and Romans. Where it was admitted by government, as in Athens and in Rome, formal laws were passed to regulate the ritual and tone down its excesses. In Rome the magistrates celebrated games and offered sacrifices in honour of the goddess whom the State had welcomed into its midst; but these rites were Roman in style, and the priesthood and the whole Phrygian ritual were entrusted to native Phrygians. Romans were forbidden to hold a priesthood, to wear the sacred dress, or to engage in the orgiastic rites of Cybele.² The hymns sung in Rome were expressed in Greek, not in Latin.

Yet this despised and barbarous ritual spread and deeply affected many individuals, especially among the

¹ This was in Afium-Kara-Hissar: in Konia (the chief centre of the dancing Dervishes), and in Constantinople the dance has preserved its old character more imperfectly: see Mrs. Ramsay's description, *Everyday Life in Turkey*, p. 271 ff.

² This prohibition was relaxed during the imperial time. An example of a Roman archigallus et Attis of the Roman people has been quoted above.

uneducated classes, in Greek and Roman cities. Its savage and frenzied devotion appalled and yet attracted the vulgar mind.

In Iconium we must consider that the worship of the Zizimene goddess took two forms, one the restrained and regulated worship of Athena Zizimena, the other the untamed and orgiastic native Phrygian worship. A sharp line divided the two rituals and their adherents: it was the line between education and ignorance, between Hellenism and barbarism, between orderliness and frenzy, between those who possessed perception (*νόησις*) and those who were insensate and stupid (*ἀνόητοι*), between the truly self-respecting, sober citizens of a constitutional Graeco-Roman State and the dull Orientals.

Ancient authorities are agreed that the most terrible and the most characteristic feature of Cybele-worship, the feature which especially stamped it as opposed to Hellenism, was the practice of self-mutilation as an act in the solemn ritual of the goddess; and this feature of the Phrygian religion is not without its bearing on the interpretation of a passage in St. Paul's letter to the Iconian and neighbouring churches (Gal. v. 12). After six years more of study, I have found myself gradually forced to a different opinion from that which is advocated in my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 437-440, with regard to the meaning of that passage. The reason that weighs with me is the general principle which approves itself more and more as the safest to follow in reading the Epistles. The question to ask in a difficult passage is—how would the readers for whom the passage was intended necessarily understand these words? St. Paul cannot have left that out of consideration when he dictated his letter; and thus part at least of the meaning, and that an essential part, can be determined with practical certainty. Now considering the importance

attached to the practice of self-mutilation in the service of the Goddess, it cannot be doubted that Iconian and Antiochian readers would naturally understand the words of Galatians v. 12 to refer to self-mutilation. The existence of the priesthood of the Galli is a conclusive proof that this terrible practice, so abhorrent to Greek feeling, was not unknown in the religion of the city. There is, indeed, no reason to think that this horror was an ordinary part of the ritual or even a frequent though extraordinary accompaniment. It was an act of extravagant sacrifice, occurring in times of great danger and public excitement; but it was fixed in the memory of men and was consciously present to them as a fact of the Phrygian religion. However much the excesses to which the religion was prone might be restrained by the ruling Hellenic order of the city, its spirit could hardly have been so subdued there as it had been in Athens during the period when the energy of that city was at its highest, about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war,¹ yet in Athens on the altar of the Twelve Gods this supreme act of self-sacrifice was performed after the order of the Cybele-ritual by a devotee about 415 B.C.

In Iconium, therefore, even in the milder age of the early Empire, there must have still survived the thought of the possibility that this action might be committed in the frenzy of Cybele's rites; and the allusion in Galatians v. 12 must have been caught by Iconian readers. I should now be disposed to go even further, and say that St. Paul must have had this thought in his mind when he wrote the words. One who had such a marvellous power of comprehending his audience must have known how his

¹ The official worship of Cybele at a public State temple was permitted in 430 B.C., the second year of the war, in expiation of the execution of a strolling priest of Cybele, who had been thrown into the Barathrum because he initiated Athenian women into those barbarian rites.

readers would understand the words. It is certainly a noteworthy fact that the only places in Asia Minor where the priests called Galli are known to have survived so late as the second century after Christ are the two principal Churches of South Galatia, Antioch of Pisidia and Iconium.

The meaning of Galatians v. 12 seems therefore no longer open to doubt. This is one of those passages which one can only regret that St. Paul ever wrote. One must feel and say that it is utterly unjustifiable and inexcusable to bring the thought of this detestable act of pagan frenzy into connexion with his Jewish-Christian opponents. At several other points in his life one cannot but feel that he was harsh and even unfair to the Jewish-Christians and to the Jews; but there is no other place where he comes so near the tone of later theological controversy, when the first rule of method seems almost to have been to attack the moral character of opponents. He does not indeed say that his adversaries would perform the act, but to express the wish that they should do what was regarded with such horror and loathing by the more educated classes of society was an insult of dark character. The wrong was not wholly on the side of the Jews in their quarrel with Paul; and a saying like this shows that their hatred to him was not unprovoked.

But, while acknowledging that the bitter sarcasm was unfair and inexcusable, one must try to understand how Paul was betrayed into it. In reading the Epistle to the Galatians one sees that two views, which bear on this topic, are emphasized in the letter. One is that *Noësis*, the intellectual insight, the free and generous perception of truth, which springs from education, was on the side of the Pauline Christian; and that it was a proof of defective education and of slavish spirit to sink into Judaistic ritual, to observe days and weeks and seasons and years.

The Judaizing Galatians were devoid of Noësis (*ἀνόητοι*, iii. 1).¹ The second is really another aspect of the first: the Jews were on the same stage, in a certain way, as the barbarous Phrygians, because they were enslaved under "the weak and beggarly rudiments," the elementary principles of ritual (iv. 3, 8-11).² This latter view is one of the most remarkable features of the Letter to the Galatians, and it must have seemed to the Jews an outrage and a sin against national feeling. Yet in several passages of the Letter, indubitably, the writer has in his mind the idea that Jewish ritual stands to Christian spirituality in the same relation as Phrygian ritual to educated Noësis.

It was through the eager desire to emphasize and drive home this thought, that Paul let himself be led on to the utterance of v. 12: "Since they misuse their opportunities and their influence to disturb you and unsettle your religious views, I wish they would go on to the fullest and last extreme to which ritualistic practices can be carried, and thus display to the world what the real character of their error is."

Another side of the old Phrygian religion, which might be treated at great length, because it is the best known, is too unpleasant to merit more than a brief allusion. The standard of moral conduct encouraged and even prescribed as a religious duty was so low as to offend the Greek taste, which was itself very far from delicate in such matters. The Greek feeling of earlier times had regarded the mere profession by citizens, or the propagation among citizens of the Phrygian ritual as a danger to morality which must be stopped by the sternest measures; and, though the Athenian government in 430 B.C. regretted and atoned for its previous strict and wise action, yet the best opinion among Greek thinkers still continued hostile. The Chris-

Histor. Comm. on Galatians, §§ xxvi. and xxvii. p. 321 f.

² *Histor. Comm.*, § xlii. p. 334.

tian writers, who defended their own faith by attacking the vices and immorality taught in the pagan cults, found their best field of operations in the Phrygian Mysteries, and it is in this way that much of the information we possess on the subject has been transmitted. Their picture is in one sense not a true one, for it is incomplete and one-sided, giving professedly only the evil; but it is true in the sense that it invents nothing and describes real facts of the ritual; certain of the details are corroborated by pagan authorities, and the low character of the ritual as a whole was stigmatized quite as strongly by Greeks as by Christians.

It seems needless, here, to do more than point out that the inevitable result was to give to a Christian teacher like St. Paul, when he first began to speak in a Hellenized land, the appearance of being a philosophic teacher, who like many predecessors, was full of contempt and abhorrence for the debased superstitions of the native and non-Hellenic religion. This was the first impression that would spread in such a city as Iconium or Pisidian Antioch, as afterwards in Athens: here was a new popular lecturer on moral philosophy, who discussed the theory of life with other philosophers before the public. Inevitably, it soon became apparent in all those cities that this first impression was wrong. The philosophers were almost as hateful to Paul as the superstitious barbarian; and the reason was that they were all equally indulgent to idolatry. The philosopher, who had no real belief in any god, was perfectly ready to acquiesce in the barbarous ritual, or, at the best, to look for an element of thought in it, and shut his eyes to its abuses. If Paul's "spirit was provoked within him, as he beheld the city of Athens full of idols," it was not because idolatry was more rampant or worse in character there than elsewhere, but because in this centre of the world's education, where philosophy was

supreme, and where the best and most respected teachers were gathered—in that city which stood forth as most thoroughly governed by reason and thought—idolatry was just as completely dominant in religion as it had been among the half-Hellenized or un-Hellenized rabble in Lystra.

VII. CHRISTIANITY IN LYCAONIA AND ICONIUM.

The variation in the meaning and extension of the term Lycaonia at different periods is apt to be the cause of much difficulty. It has been pointed out that Iconium was not a Lycaonian city under the Roman Empire: it was a city of the Phrygian district of the Province Galatia from 25 B.C. to about 295 A.D., and the Province or district Lycaonia was distinct from it. From 295 to 372 it was a city, the second in rank, of the Province Pisidia. Only about 372 did it become a city of the Province Lycaonia, which had ceased to have any political existence between 295 and 372. But geographically Iconium is Lycaonian, the natural metropolis of the great Lycaonian plains; and under the Republic the Romans had treated it as such.

It will be convenient, while discussing Christian Lycaonia, to follow the mature organization of the Church, and to use the name Lycaonia in the Byzantine sense (later than 372 A.D.) as the Province whose metropolis was Iconium, and which extended from Seidi-Sheher Lake on the south-west to near the north end of Lake Tatta on the north-east, and to Laranda on the extreme south and south-east. This final organization was the recognition of a certain solidarity of the district (though the inclusion of Misthia, Vasada and Amblada on the south-east seems rather like a theft from Pisidia, and is not explicable with our present knowledge except as an arbitrary extension of Lycaonia).¹

¹ There may, of course, be some real ground for the inclusion, as yet unknown.

The spread of Christianity through Lycaonia is not merely an interesting subject in itself, but also throws some light back on the foundation of the Church in Lycaonia. Lycaonia is the only Province of the Empire whose Church was practically complete and fully developed as early as the fourth century. In the two great councils of the fourth century, held at Nicaea in 325 and at Constantinople in 381, Lycaonia was almost fully represented (taking the two together) in spite of the long land-journey which its bishops had to make. The only apparent absentee was the bishop of Verinopolis. But Verinopolis was not a city in that century; it was merely a village of the territory of Laodiceia until A. D. 474, and it could have no bishop until it was raised to the rank of a city. There were also several village bishops from Lycaonia present at Nicaea; but their villages are not named.

This great body of seventeen Lycaonian Churches, fully organized and probably forming a compact body in opinion as well as in geographical relation, must have been a strong force in the third and fourth centuries. With it was closely associated the neighbouring body of Pisidian bishops, of whom eighteen were present at one or other of the fourth century Councils, while six did not appear until the fifth or the seventh century.¹ The latter are mostly towns of the mountain-region of Taurus or at least remote from the great roads; the former are for the most part situated directly on the great lines of communication, and connected closely with Antioch and the original Pauline Churches; but there are some marked exceptions.² Still, the less mountainous part of Pisidia, a large territory, approximates to the completeness of ecclesiastical organization that appears in Lycaonia. Both attest the strong

¹ The Pisidian bishoprics are described minutely in an article on *Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier* (*Annual of the British School at Athens* 1902-3, pp. 243 ff.).

² These exceptions cannot be discussed here.

and lasting effect produced by St. Paul's original work.

No province of the Empire was so strongly represented at those Councils in proportion to its number of bishoprics in its most fully developed period as Lycaonia. A glance at the lists will prove that; but here it is not possible to quote more than one example. Contrast with this great body of thirty-five Lycaonian and Pisidian bishops, active at the Councils of the fourth century, the condition of Galatia during the same period. In Galatia eleven bishoprics cannot be traced before the fifth century; only seven Galatian bishops were present at the Councils of the fourth century, and of those seven one was originally Asian and two belonged to cities that lay so far south as to come under the influence of Iconium (as we shall see).¹ Yet it was much easier for those Galatian bishops to be present at Nicaea or Constantinople than it was for the Lycaonian bishops.² Galatia was so extensive that it was divided into two Provinces about 395 A.D.

Moreover Lycaonia was not yet a Province in 325: its bishops were divided between the Provinces of Galatia, Pisidia, and Isauria. Yet this broken and disunited region sent nine bishops to Nicaea, while the large and wealthy and populous Provinces of Asia and Lydia sent only eight each; and the two Provinces of Phrygia, teeming before with cities and afterwards with bishoprics, sent only eight between them. The fact that Phrygia sent so few bishops to the Councils of the fourth century, however, has probably a peculiar and pathetic explanation. It has been pointed out elsewhere³ that Phrygia seems to

¹ Troknades, Asian until 295 A.D. Cinna, close to Lycaonia, and Gdamava, actually Lycaonian from 372 onwards, though reckoned to Galatia in 325.

² The Galatian, absentees (with one exception) belonged to the western cities, nearest to Nicaea or Constantinople: Ancyra, with the eastern cities generally, sent bishops to the fourth century Councils.

³ *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1896, p. 435; *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ch. xii.

have suffered more than any other country during the last great persecution under Diocletian, only a few years before the Council of Nicaea. It was swept literally with fire and sword. Massacre carried to such a systematic and ruthless extreme had almost destroyed the organization of the Church in Phrygia. It is possible to exterminate a religion, as Christianity was exterminated in Japan in the sixteenth century; and the result in Phrygia was almost a complete destruction of the education and the intellectual element in the country¹; the later Phrygian Christianity was mainly of a different type from the older, illiterate and standing apart from the development of the eastern Church.

From this preponderance in the fourth century it may be inferred with confidence that,—

1. Lycaonia was very thoroughly Christianized; there had practically ceased to be a religious question of the older kind, owing to the almost total disappearance of the pagan; and the country was free to devote its attention to the consolidation of the Church as a whole:

2. Lycaonia was heartily on the "Orthodox" side (to use a bad but convenient term), and in favour of making the general consensus of the Church the supreme rule binding upon all.

The favourable situation of the Lycaonian Church in the fourth century can only be explained as the result of a long and steady development during the first three. Practically the sole evidence bearing on this process is in the distribution of early Christian inscriptions. These are very numerous, but they have not yet been properly collected and classified. I have personally copied most of them (about half of them during the last five years), and most of the others are due to my friend and old pupil, Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, who was in constant communication with me while he was travelling; hence I can speak from a

¹ *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. *loc. cit.*

general outlook over the whole series. There still remain many villages to examine, but I do not think that further discovery will alter any of the positive inferences which follow from the facts as already collected, though it will probably add materially to them by revealing new features.

The known inscriptions show definitely that the spread of Christianity was connected with the main lines of communication, viz. (1) the two great roads across the Empire from east to west, one the central route in its two courses, the trade route through Laodiceia to Cappadocia and to the Cilician Gates by Savatra; the other through Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Derbe to the Cilician Gates.¹ (2) The main road for the administration of the Province Galatia, viz. the way from Iconium to Ancyra. It is obvious that these sum up the important Roman lines across Lycaonia. Along them the main tides of intercourse swept back and forwards, and Christianity spread most quickly where thought and activity were quickest.

The right way to bring out the evidence on this point would be to mark by a dot (say red) on the map the locality of every Christian inscription that has been found, and by a dot of different colour (e.g. black) the locality of every non-Christian inscription. Then the predominance of red over black would indicate plainly the lines of Christian influence, while the preponderance of black over red (especially where the former indicated inscriptions as late as the third century) would mark a district in which Christianity was late in spreading. On the other hand no negative inferences can at present be drawn; i.e. where Christian inscriptions and pagan both fail, it is not safe forthwith to infer that Christianity was late in spreading there. The want may be due to insufficient exploration, or to other causes. It is only marked preponder-

¹ On these roads see especially Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. p. 388, and map at p. 400. The road through Savatra is there called the Syrian Route.

ance of the red or the black that justifies inference as yet.

The red dots would be found in clusters at point after point along the road from Iconium to Ancyra, at Verinopolis a few, a good many at Suwerek and at Kara-Bagh (close to the site of an ancient town), a large number still further north at the site of Drya (united in the same bishopric with Egdamava or Glavama) in the extreme north-east of Lycaonia, and at Kinna close on the Galatian side of the frontier. There they cease almost entirely. A large group of red dots would be found also about seven or eight miles W.N.W. from Kara-Bagh, but there they stop; and several groups of black dots, with one or two red among them, would be found here and there in the great plains on the frontier of Galatia and Asia, marking that region as very late in being touched by Christianity.

Similarly, groups of red dots would mark the line of the trade route, and the country within a few miles south or north of it from a point not far east of Tyriaion through Laodiceia to Suwerek. Further east, towards Cappadocia, there is an epigraphic blank. On the Syrian route from Suwerek as far as Savatra the red dots abound; but beyond there is another blank with three dots at Kanna, and one at Hyde, and one at Cybistra.

Not merely are the early Christian inscriptions almost confined to the roads, they are also far more numerous in the region of Iconian influence. This points to another way in which Christianity spread, viz., not through travelling and regular missionary enterprise, but through steady uniform influence within the reach of a settled permanent body or congregation. Practically this meant that the new faith spread from village to village over Iconian territory and Lycaonia generally. Nothing is more remarkable in a historical view than the Christian inscriptions of the Lycaonian villages. These are in themselves most insignificant, and apparently valueless. They are easily missed

by the traveller, being so slight, so badly incised by untrained hands (only scratched, as a rule), and so liable to obliteration, for the stones were not often prepared, and the inscription easily disappears. But they are, so far as my experience goes, almost always Christian, and they show that (with the exception of important villages on the great roads, like Psebila or Salarama, § IV.) the Lycaonian villagers awoke to education only in a Christian form. But everything points to the conclusion that this awakening of the villages took place, in part at least of Lycaonia, earlier than in any other region of Asia Minor.

This is a subject where it is not safe to speak without further exploration of a very minute kind by a careful epigraphist, and a collection and classification of the existing material (which is now being prepared by my friend and old pupil, Professor A. Souter, of Mansfield College). I must here plead for further exploration at once in the central plains. Important work still awaits the explorer in Lycaonia, and it will not wait long. The materials for Christian history are abundant, and everywhere they are perishing rapidly. The transformation and rebuilding, which affected the lands nearer the west coast a generation or more ago, seems to have just begun on the central plains; and in the process the old stones on the surface will be used up, others may be afterwards disclosed; but the first crop, now visible, ought to be secured, before it is buried in the walls of the new houses, hiding in this way the solution of many problems of Christian history.

In 1905 we came on several villages which were actually in the process of building, as Yuruks, Kurds, or other nomads are settling down to the life of agriculture. We heard of inscribed stones that had been put into the new buildings; and we copied some while they were in the masons' hands about to be built up in the walls. This process will be completed in a year or two; and then it will be too late to do anything.

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