

THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF LYCAONIA.

(Concluded.)

THE following epitaph, one of the most important and interesting of all the Lycaonian Christian documents, came before me only after the preceding article¹ was in type and passed for press. I alluded to it in a sentence appended at the end of the article. It is on a stone high up in the front wall of an early Turkish khan, on the outside beside the gateway on the left hand as one enters, in the important village of Suwerek, the ancient Psebila, where the main trade route from Ephesus and the west through Apameia and Laodiceia Katakekaumene to the eastern lands forked, one branch going due east to Caesareia and the Euphrates, the other going south-east to Savatra and the Cilician Gates.²

The khan is a very fine specimen of Seljuk work, and part of it seemed to be merely an alteration of a Byzantine church, on one of whose capitals I read the dedication in letters not of a very early period :—

. ΧΗΩΑΝΟΤ ΤΤΟΤ

ἐὺ|χῆ Ἰωάννου [κὲ τοῦ οἴκου α]ὐτοῦ

The vow of John and of his household.³

The building is well worth an architect's careful study.

I asked for a ladder on which to stand in order to read the inscription in the outer wall, but at the moment nothing could be procured except a rude hurdle ; and it raised me only so far that my eyes were about a foot below the lowest line of letters. The stone was upside down, and it was impossible to read more than the lowest two lines⁴ in this

¹ EXPOSITOR, Jan. 1906, p. 32ff.

² On these roads see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. p. 390.

³ Other restorations of the missing letters after Ἰωάννου are possible ; but the above is the most probable.

⁴ These are the first lines of the inscription.

awkward position; and, as I intended to stay for the night in the village, I postponed the task till the afternoon. Moreover, I felt confident that the lines which I could read were the beginning of an inscription published by my friend and old pupil Mr. J. G. C. Anderson; but still I wanted to get a fresh copy and to make a drawing of the stone.

Circumstances compelled a change of plan, and we left suddenly at two o'clock, without again looking at the stone in the khan wall. Returning home, I found I had made a mistake, as Mr. Anderson had not copied the inscription, and I mourned over the loss of what promised to be an interesting document. Only in December did I find the text amid those copied by another friend and old pupil, Professor T. Callander, of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. I had seen it in his notebook, and thus recognized it on the stone. Professor Callander's copy is not complete, which is not strange when the difficult position of the stone is considered; but even the half that he copied shows how interesting the text is.

Nestorios, Presbyter, lies here, who shone a star among the Churches of God ¹ [one hexameter and a half lost: D]iomedes lies here.

We notice here, first of all, the reminiscence of Homer, "it shone like a star,"² showing that the composer of the epitaph was a person of some education. But far more important is the unmistakable reference to the Stars of the Apocalypse. The Stars were held in the hand of Him who walked in the midst of the Churches, symbolized by the golden lampstands. The Stars were the Angels of the Churches. Nestorios, then, was the angel who shone among the Churches of God.

¹ Νεστόριος πρεσβύτερος ἐνθάδε κίτε
ἀστὴρ ὃς ἐνέλαμπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίαισιν θεοῦ.

The *ν* before *θεοῦ* makes the metre needlessly bad: cp. EXPOSITOR.

² ἀστὴρ ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν, Iliad xix. 381, and elsewhere.

The verb used by Homer, ἀπολάμπειν, (to shine forth), is varied in this epitaph to ἐνλάμπειν (to shine in), for the evident purpose of making it suit better the scene alluded to in the Apocalypse.

It seems also highly probable that the six-rayed rosette, which is so common an ornament on Christian gravestones in Lycaonia, may have been understood as the Star of the Church. The position so often assigned to the rosette on those stones, balanced symmetrically against a more or less elaborately ornate cross, seems to prove that it had a meaning in the symbolic ornamentation of Christian stones.¹ This is not at all inconsistent with our previous suggestion that it was a developed form of the monogram of I and X, implying that Jesus Christ was the Star of the Church. Rather it seems to be implied that the Presbyter (Bishop) stands to the Church in the same relation as God does, a very similar stage of thought to that which appears in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II., as in the quotation in EXPOSITOR, December, 1905, p. 447 f., "let the Bishop be honoured by you in the place of God." This same comparison, evidently, is employed in the epitaph with reference to Nestorios.

This seems to corroborate strongly the view which we have already stated² as to the picture of the office of Presbyter given in the Lycaonian inscriptions, and perhaps justifies us in speaking even more positively and emphatically. The term Presbyter in those inscriptions is used in very much the same sense as Hiereus and Episkopos. The Presbyter was not simply one of a board of elders in the congregation; he was the head and priest and leader of

¹ It was, of course, used also as an ornament on pagan stones, as practically every Christian symbol was previously employed by pagans, as the cross, the vine-branch, etc.; but the Christian symbolism turned those pagan ornaments to its own purposes.

² EXPOSITOR, Dec. 1905, p. 448 f.

the local Church. The Presbyter administered the revenues of the Church, cared for the poor, the stranger, the widow and the orphan, and was assisted in these duties by the Deacon his subordinate.

It is also remarkable that the only clear references to or quotations from the New Testament which we have observed in these Lycaonian inscriptions are taken from the opening chapters of the Apocalypse.¹ The frequent occurrence of the name Joanes or Joannes is perhaps due to the popularity of the Apocalypse among Lycaonian Christians. It is worth noting that Joanes² is the usual, and almost invariable, spelling in Lycaonia, though Joannes sometimes occurs.

We observe here a difference in the employment of New Testament names in Lycaonia from usage elsewhere. Professor Harnack remarks³ that the names Petrus and Paulus came into popular use among the Christians in the middle of the third century, but that "even the name of John, so far as I know, only began to appear within the fourth century and that slowly." As a general principle, this is doubtless quite correct, and I have, if I recollect rightly, printed a similar observation about the Phrygian Christian inscriptions many years ago; but in regard to Lycaonia the principle must be modified. The name of John was far commoner in Lycaonia than that of Peter, though as yet John is not definitely proved in popular use before the beginning of the fourth century. Petrus occurs twice and Kephas once, so far as I have observed, in Lycaonia in inscriptions of the fourth century, and Petrus twice in an inscription which perhaps belongs to the third century⁴; but

¹ Another in *EXPOSITOR*, Dec., 1905, p. 443.

² As in the example quoted previously in this article.

³ *Expansion of Christianity*, transl., ii. p. 42 f., cp. p. 35.

⁴ At Nova Isaura: see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 284.

Joanes occurs frequently. Paulus and Mirus are the commonest names in the Lycaonian Christian inscriptions. John and Thekla stand far behind them, nearly equal in frequency, and superior in that respect to almost all other names.

A few remarks may here be added as regards the personal names used in Lycaonia. We take first the names occurring apart from Nova Isaura, where the epitaphs are of an earlier period. (1) Many names connected with the story of Thekla are found in the Christian inscriptions. Of course Thekla is the commonest: ¹ Falconilla occurs at Laodiceia, No. 92 ²; Onesiphoros (with wife Hexis and daughter Gnome) at Laodiceia, No. 90; Tryphaina in an unpublished inscription (of Akdje-Shahr, three miles south-east from Suwerek).

(2) Similarly the names Timotheos, Paulus and Paula, Julia Paula, Lucius, Petros, ³ Marcus, Joannes, ⁴ Kephas, Joseph, Maria, Sousanna, Onesimus, Stephanos, Michael, have been probably all derived from the Bible (including the Apocrypha), though of course some of them might be explained from the custom of ordinary pagan society.

The names of Gaius Julius Paulus and Julia Paula call for a note in passing. The Apostle Paul, a Roman citizen, son of a Roman, had of course a full Roman name, *praenomen* and *nomen* as well as the *cognomen* Paulus: that stands above all doubt or question. Now there was no Roman more popular among the Jews than Julius Caesar,

¹ Besides less certain examples, see Anderson in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, 1898, p. 127, No. 90, and 1899, pp. 291 f., Nos. 200, 202, Laodiceia, No. 81 (*Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 259), and others.

² *Mitth. Athen.* 1888, p. 262, where it is necessary to correct the reading to Φαλκων[ι]στὴ συνβίω.

³ Lucius, son of Peter, Deacon at Laodiceia, No. 62, probably 320-350, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* No. 116.

⁴ On the spelling, which is regularly Joanes, and not Joannes, see above.

none who showed them more favour, none for whose death they so mourned. I think that I have somewhere many years ago suggested the possibility that the Apostle's father got the Roman citizenship from Caesar, who visited Tarsus in 47 B.C. In that case he would have taken the name Gaius Julius, and the *nomen* Julius would necessarily descend to his son, probably also the *praenomen* Gaius. It is certainly a coincidence not without interest and suggestiveness that the *nomen* twice occurs along with the *cognomen* Paulus or Paula in the Lycaonian inscriptions, and that no other Roman *nomen* is found associated with Paulus among them.¹

(3) A very large class contains the names which were chosen as giving a good Christian meaning: Valentilla and Valentina, Nonna, Sanbathos, Kyriakos, Kyrilla, Genesios, Eusebios, Photinus, Eutyehios, Eugenios, Elpidius, Sophronia, Theoktista, Theophilus, Faustinus, Eirene, Theodoulos, Dositheos, Mnesitheos, Hesychios, Aphthonios, Pansemnion, Ambrosios, Anenkletos, Hilarios, Patricius, Polykarpos, Karpiana, Eudromios, Gregorios, Eugnesios, Anicetus, Euagrios, Onesimos, Candidus, Irenaios, Doxa, Akmazon, Zotikos, Zosimos, Philete, Martyrios. Some of these probably were spread by historical reasons, as being the names of martyrs or heroes of the Church, such as Polykarpus, Irenaios, Onesimos. The name Miros is very common in Lycaonian usage, the most frequent of all except Paulus in the inscriptions. It might be explained as belonging

¹ But it must, on the other hand, not be forgotten that Julius is far the most common Roman *nomen* used in these inscriptions; and the name C. Julius Paulus is therefore quite explicable as a simple chance coincidence. The point is, up to the present, merely one to observe and record, in view of further discoveries; but if two or three other cases of Julius Paulus and Julia Paula should be found, the coincidence would cease to be explicable by mere chance and would become a piece of real evidence. Incidentally, this shows how important it would be to explore Lycaonia with proper care and thoroughness: these inscriptions might give us the full name of the Apostle.

to the following class, for the name of Meiros or Meros was given to a city of Phrygia, and must, therefore, have been native Phrygian. But perhaps the Christians understood the personal name as the Latin adjective *mirus*, wonderful, and saw in the name a reference to the never-ending wonder of Christian salvation.

(4) Comparatively rare are true native Phrygian or Lycaonian names, e.g. Sadas, Vanalis, Indakos, Inzas, Tas, Gourdos, Papas, Mamas, and others. These are for the most part confined to the inscriptions of Nova Isaura ; but they occur sporadically in all parts of Lycaonia during the fourth century. Along with them may be ranked many common Greek or Latin names (apart from some in the previous class, which might be also counted here, Theophilus, Dositheos, etc.), Neon, Gais (i.e. Gaius), Gaieina, Orestina, Romanus, Matrona, Himeios, Augusta, Domna, Prokla, Laodice, Konon, Demetrius, Diomedes, Diocles, Diogenes, Castor, Polychronios, Abascantus, Montanus, Apollinarius, Apollonius, Alexander, Basilas, Basilissa, Nestor, Antonius. Some of these remained in use because they had been in common use in ordinary society ; some were aided in persisting because saints or martyrs had borne them : some were Biblical also, like Gaius and Alexander. But the last, which was widely used by Christians in Phrygia and Lycaonia, probably persisted because it had also been common among the Jews, who favoured the names of Julius Caesar and Alexander, as being directly or indirectly benefactors.¹

It might be asked to what class the name Nestorios belongs, and whether its use in this inscription furnishes any proof of date. It is unlikely that the name was used much in the orthodox Church after the Nestorian heresy ;

¹ The Jews of the Greek cities found that the successors of Alexander were often very favourable to them. See my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, hc. xii. ; *Cities and Bish.*, of *Phrygia*, ii. p. 672.

and a bishop or leader of that Church is not likely to have retained the name Nestorios after the Council of Ephesus in 431 had condemned the great Nestorios. Therefore, unless this epitaph commemorates a leader in some heterodox sect (which is, of course, quite possible, but certainly less probable), it cannot safely be dated later than the early years of the fifth century. The formula and the style of lettering mark the inscription as one of the latest that have been reviewed in these articles; and thus again we find the principle confirmed on which we have been dating the general body of inscriptions: they are, with rare exceptions, not later than the fourth century.

A new visit to Suwerek, with a longer ladder, to get a complete copy of this inscription, is now a matter of importance. An impression in paper, which was made by one of my servants, a clever workman, proved valueless, as the letters are so faint that they leave only very faint traces on the paper. Nothing but a copy from the stone would be of much use. To make such a copy necessitates two days' journey, and therefore considerable expense for a single inscription, as the neighbourhood of Suwerek has been pretty thoroughly explored in the last two years, and one would not otherwise be inclined to revisit the place so soon.

The epitaphs of Nova Isaura present a striking contrast in respect of personal names. I need not repeat the evidence as collected elsewhere,¹ but merely quote the main results. There names of distinctively Christian character are extremely rare on the monuments that have architectural ornament. The list has Petros twice in one inscription, Doxa once, and Paulos once. Nestor, which also occurs, became a very popular Christian name in Lycaonia. But the overwhelming mass of names are pure Anatolian. When

¹ See Miss Ramsay's paper in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 290 f.

those monuments were erected Christian society was only beginning to differentiate itself from ordinary pagan society in respect of names ; but already a considerable amount of Christian symbolism of a more or less cryptic character can be traced on the monuments.¹ They have to be placed in a distinctly earlier period than the mass of the Lycaonian Christian inscriptions, and I become more convinced as study progresses that they belong for the most part to the third century.

The long metrical inscription from Nova Isaura, often quoted in the preceding article, may now be given in full, not that I have succeeded in completely restoring it, but in the hope that others may aid by suggestions.

I described in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, p. 349, the circumstances which made my copy in 1901 defective and unsatisfactory. In 1905 I saw the inscription again, but it had suffered much in the interval. My eyes are not sensitive to very delicate effects, and I should be accompanied on another visit by some persons with sharper eyes for faint lines. This stone also lies far away from the pressing needs of exploration and would require two long days of travelling and one day of work to copy it properly. Such conditions add immensely to the cost of a single inscription, but this one would reward the expense. The stone is broken down the middle, and on the right and left sides, but complete at top and bottom. Only a facsimile would be sufficient to give a fair idea of the state of the text, as the surface is often broken in parts.²

I have never known an inscription in which so many

¹ I take into account several other inscriptions of the same class which were found during 1905.

² The Greek text, published in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, 1905, p. 349, from a hasty and imperfect copy, must be here repeated from a better copy made in May, 1905. I have received much help from Mr. J. G. C. Anderson and from Professor Sanday ; and to them several of the best resto-

letters are preserved yet so much of the meaning remains entirely obscure, and restoration is so difficult. There seems to be no proper connexion between the parts, and thus the restorer has no foundation to work on. Accordingly I have been forced at last to the hypothesis — almost the last refuge of despair — that the second line is misplaced. The first line is engraved on the square capital of the stone (which is shaped like an ornate altar). Then I conjecture that the following second and third hexameters were engraved on the shaft of the stone, and that the stone-cutter accidentally omitted the fourth hexameter. Finding his error too late, he engraved the omitted words on the retreating face between the first line and the second.¹ It is

rations here given are due, even though not mentioned in every case.

- σῆματι τῷδ'] ἐπέτω παρίοντι φ[. . .]οε χαίρειν
 θ οχ χ]ρόνοις ΑΙ ΙΟ C λέρε[υεν] ἀρο[ύρης]
 ΑΙΟC ἔνοις · σύ δέ μοι χαρίσαιο προσελθών,
 καὶ [πεισθ]εις [ἐπ]έσσει, μαθῶν δὲ σαφῶς ὅτι Νέστωρ
 5 σεμνὸς πρεσβύ]τερος, μετρίων χηρῶν ἐπαρωγός·
 τῷ ?]τ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἐν]κρατιῆς ὁ διάκονος ἐσθλὸς ὑπουργός
 Πεισιδικ]ῆς θησαυρὸς ἐπαρχίης ἐπιλεκτος
 Δό[μνος Πανσ]αρίου ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡθέοισιν.
 καὶ σοφὸς [ἐν μερόπ]εσσι δικασπολος ἐπλετο πιστὸς
 10 ἡγεμόσιν ἐ]υνέδρευε τ' · Γ]σασι δὲ μυρία φύλα.
 καὶ μνησθεὶς φιλότῆτος ἐμ[ῆς κεδν]ῆς σοφίης τε
 σπε[ύ]σεν ἐμοὶ στενάχων ἀπό σωματος, ἐμπάλι χαίρων
 ἡμετέρης φιλήτης μεμνημεν[ος ἡματ]α <πα>πάντα
 τὴν σεμνὴν φιλαδελφόν C . . . ο π[αρακοιτ]ιν ἀρίστην
 15 Τηλεφίδην Μαρμεῖν ἥϊε · σων
 πιστὴν ἐνκρατῆς οἰκομονομ[ον] C προν]οίας
 μνήμ[οσυν]ῆς μ[νή]μης [τ]ε χάριν [θ]εράπενα[ν Ἰησοῦ]
 ἦτος χαρ[ιεντ]ῆς ἐν ὑμοῖς
 τεῖσεν ἀπὸ σφετ[ερ]
 20 μνη]ματ' ἀ[γ]αλλήσουσι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πωθέσθαι

In l. 4 Dr. Sanday suggests T[ερφθ]εις, which is closer to the copy T . . . ΟΕΙC (with note that ΦΕΙC is possible).

¹ The opening lines would then be as follows:—

σῆματι τῷδ'] ἐπέτω παρίοντι φ[. . .]οε χαίρειν
 πᾶσι παρερχο]μενοις. σὺ δέ μοι χαρίσαιο προσελθών
 καὶ [πεισθ]εις [ἐπ]έσσει μαθῶν δὲ σαφῶς ὅτι Νέστωρ
 χ]ρόνοις λέρευεν ἀρούρης
 σεμνὸς πρεσβύ]τερος, μετρίων χηρῶν ἐπαρωγός.

not a rare thing to find words thus omitted in an inscription and added at the side or the end. Where the inscription is complete, the correct order can easily be detected (though some strange errors have been made in publishing inscriptions that contain such misplaced letters or words, because the editor failed to notice the misplacement). Here, where the inscription is incomplete, and where there are lacunae both at beginning and end of every line, and sometimes also in the middle of the lines, the difficulty is almost insuperable, especially as the hexameters do not correspond to the lines of the engraved text. Elsewhere I have pointed out more than once that the engraver of such epitaphs generally had a written copy to work from. Thus it comes about that the misplaced words here are not exactly a hexameter. There is generally a little more than a hexameter in each line of the text.

If we try to correct the misplacement, the meaning of the first five hexameters would be :—

By this sign (or stone) I bid the passer hail, and all who go
by ; but do thou show me favour, approaching.

A salutation to the passers-by is a common feature in ancient epitaphs : it was sometimes placed at the end, sometimes at the beginning. Such salutations were taken over from pagan custom into early Christian epitaphs. In the present case the use of the salutation must be regarded as a sign of comparatively early date. The salutation was evidently closely connected in construction with the following line :—

and [hearkening] to my words and learning clearly that
Nestor [.] was priest in these lands [a revered
Presby]ter, the help of poor widows.

The description of the duties and position of Nestor as Presbyter, and several other points of interest in the epitaph,

have already been discussed in this series of articles (EXPOSITOR, Dec. 1905, p. 444 ff., p. 453 note; see also the original imperfect publication in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, p. 169 ff.).

The restoration of the opening two words is taken from another metrical Christian epitaph of Lycaonia (*Journal of Hell. Stud.*, 1902. The tendency of these Lycaonian epitaphs to stereotype the same formulae has been often noticed. The letters OEX in this first line are given only in my first copy. On the second occasion, after the stone had suffered more, I could not read them. As the letters are generally very faint and worn, it is always possible to regard O in the copy as Θ, C as € , and so on.

Then follow three lines describing a certain Deacon, Do[mnos], son of [Paus]anias.¹ Domnos must probably be taken as having been the subordinate minister and companion of Nestor, in the same way as, in the inscription quoted above,² Trokondas was the Deacon and afterwards the successor of Gourdos. In both cases, probably the Deacon made the tomb of the Presbyter. We notice here that the task of instructing the young³ seems to belong to the Deacon, doubtless as part of his official duties.

[And to him] he who by reason of self-control was his Deacon, excellent subordinate, select treasure⁴ of the Pisidian province, Domnos, son of [Paus- or Ann-]anias, teacher for the young [made the tomb ?].

Next comes a further description of Nestor, telling that

¹ Both names are uncertain; but Domnos is at least very probable, whereas Pausanias seems unsuitable. Possibly Annanias would be nearer the truth.

² EXPOSITOR, Dec. 1905, p. 455.

³ *ἡθεος*, strictly a young man, seems here to be used vaguely and incorrectly in the sense of child.

⁴ In my former publication of this inscription from my first very incomplete copy, the word "treasure" was printed "treasurer." This was an ingenious "correction," introduced after the proofs had left my hands.

he was a wise and trustworthy expounder of law among men, and sate as an assessor to governors,¹ and many nations know this.

The second line² seems to imply that the Presbyter was Hiereus of the country, i.e. a territorial Bishop; but the line is too fragmentary to give any confidence. Something in the way of civic and political authority is attributed to the Presbyter, as assessor to governors (which clearly implies episcopal authority); this, as we saw above, was the case with the Bishop of Isaura in Basil's letter.

Here the wife of Nestor seems to begin to speak, mentioning her affection and love, from which he had passed away. But these lines are too obscure to translate even conjecturally, though many phrases can be caught. She is described in three lines of accusatives, as his "holy brother-loving³ excellent consort, trusty administrator of continence and forethought."

The tag at the end is found often in these metrical epitaphs, "[made] the tomb for future men, too, to learn with rejoicing." But ἀ[γ]αλλιάσουσι, which is an addition to the common tag, is difficult, and may be misread. The letters are very faint, and my copy has K not Γ. Dr. Sanday suggests *καὶ παράγουσι*; but this seems too long. The faint letters may be miscopied, but I can guarantee the number.

The hymns in the third last line may be some sort of service for the dead, or at the grave, as Mr. J. G. C. Anderson

¹ I give Mr. Anderson's restoration. Dr. Sanday subsequently sends the suggestion ξ[υνεών' τὰδ'], reaching a similar meaning by a perhaps preferable way.

² The fourth hexameter in our conjectural rearrangement.

³ Possibly this may imply that she was sister of the Deacon Domnos: though the reading Τηλεφίδην is certain, I suspect that ἡδε φλην was intended by the composer. Telephides is a masculine patronymic, and does not go well with the feminine name Mammeis.

suggests, quoting an unpublished Christian epitaph of Phrygia, in which the maker of the tomb "sends up holy hymns."¹

Here, if our restoration approximates to the truth, the verb *ιερεύειν* is used to designate the duty of the Presbyter.

Mr. Anderson ingeniously restores l. 12 *σπείσειν ἐμοὶ στεναχῶν ἀπὸ [ἐ]ὼ[ν στηθεω]ν, πάλι χαίρων*, "and remembering my love and my trusty prudence, he made offering of lamentations from his breast, rejoicing again when he recollected our friendship through all days."

The phrase "Handmaid of Jesus," if correctly restored, is like several which were quoted in the *ΕΧΡΟΣΙΤΟΡ*, December, 1905, p. 50. Professor Sanday most ingeniously led the way to it by conjecturing *θεράπεναν* from my second copy **ΟCΡΑΠΕΝΑ**. Afterwards I found that his conjecture was confirmed by my first copy **ΟΕΡΑΠΕΝΑ**. Phrases like "servant of Christ or Jesus" are so common in the Lycaonian inscriptions that the above conjecture may be regarded as approximating to certainty. I add another example of the formula from an epitaph at Suwerek, copied both by Professor T. Callander in 1904 and by me in 1905.

An excellent priest (lit. offerer of prayer) of God lies here, beloved of his people, and obedient to God, most gentle of all and bearing the name Anicetus, being priest of his own gentle people, loving God, loving order, companion of Christ, ever elect of God (or elect citizen of God). And this tomb his children (made).²

¹ ὕμνους σεμνοὺς ἀναπέμπει.

² ἀρητῆρ ἕσθλός τοῦ θεοῦ κτ' ἐνθάδε παιδῶν
ἀρεστός καὶ θεοῦ φιλήκοος
πραῦς ΟC πάντων καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Ἀνίκητος
εἰρεὺς ὢν ἰδιοπραεῶν φιλόθεος φιλένομος
σπᾶν Χριστοῦ ἐγλεκτός δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ. τὺνβον δὲ τοῦτον τέκνα.

Perhaps we should read *πραύ(τ(ατ))ος*, supposing that **C** is an error for **T**. Possibly *ἀριστος*, not *ἀρεστός*, was intended. *ιδιοπραεων* is desperate, but the letters seemed certain: it may be intended as a compound with

I should have been disposed to assign this inscription to the fifth century, as it contains a late form of the letter delta ; but the concluding words seem to preserve a trace of the ancient formula. The inscription is complete, and the ancient formula in which the children ought to be named, was therefore never engraved in full ; but if the composer intended to use the old form, and only lack of space prevented its completion, our chronological principle would oblige us to date the epitaph near the end of the fourth century.

As has been indicated already (EXPOSITOR, Dec. 1905, p. 441 f., cp. Jan., p. 50 f.) we regard all the phrases, *οἰκητης θεοῦ, παῖς Ἰ[ησοῦ] Χριστοῦ, Χριστοῦ θεράπιον, ὁπάων Χριστοῦ*, as being older than the time when *δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ* was accepted in common usage as the right phrase and stereotyped in Byzantine usage, as shown by numerous inscriptions. The last was one of a number of varieties which are found in current use during the fourth century ; and it gradually established itself, while the others fell into disuse.

If the alternative reading "elect citizen of God" could be adopted—and it may very probably be right—we should have here an interesting trace of the early thought that the Christians were "citizens of an elect city" or "citizens of heaven."¹

The metre in this epitaph is unusually rough : it seems to be a mixture of hexameters and iambics, and to be intended as lyrical in style.

the meaning stated in the translation. My copy has ΔΕΤΟV; Professor Callander has ΑCΤΟV, and he suggests *ἀστός*: this is very tempting, and I should conjecture that the intention was *ἀστος τοῦ*, where the double *το* led to the omission of a syllable, as perhaps in l. 3.

¹ *ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολίτης* is the beginning of the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, bishop of Hieropolis of Phrygia in the second century : see *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, ii. p. 443.

One other epitaph from Suwerek must be added, as, if my rather bold restoration be on the right lines, it is of special interest; and I should be glad to elicit either criticism or corroboration.

Aurelius Alexander [son of Alexander?], hoping in the after-life and joy, while living and of sound mind, made for himself a resting-place in remembrance.¹

This is an epitaph of the earliest class, and may quite probably belong to the third century. The formula is of the early style, and the use of Aurelius as *praenomen* was noted already² as far commoner in the third century than in the fourth.

The examples which have been quoted in this paper are the most striking among the body of Lycaonian Christian inscriptions; but the results of systematic collection and study would far surpass these scattered illustrations. These specimens have been given, partly to show what important results might be obtained by properly-equipped exploration in Lycaonia, partly to prevent those who refuse to help in this urgent work from excusing themselves on the ground that they did not know the situation. I do not wonder that the professed adherents of the Churches refuse to contribute the few pounds annually needed to carry this work to completion, and reveal or prove the records of early Christian history, while they lavishly contribute to every struggle against their fellow-Christians of other Churches—for that is, after all, only human nature; but I do some-

¹ Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲς,
ἐλπὶσας ἐπι[τῆς] ἐπει-
τα ζωῆς χαρᾶ[ς] τε ζῶν κ-
αι φρονῶν κ[α]τεσκεύασε
αὐτῷ κοιμητή[ριον] τοῦτο
μνήμης χάρι[ω].

There seems hardly room for so long a verb as *κατεσκεύασεν*.

² EXPOSITOR, 1905.

times wonder that they consider this and other forms of preference of the shadow before the substance, and of ignorance before knowledge, to be consistent with Christian nature.

W. M. RAMSAY.