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of Jesus worse is the condition of the oppressor than of the oppressed, of the defrauding rich than of the defrauded poor ; for sin is worse than sorrow, and wrong than misery. Should we not be as desirous of making society just as of showing it kind ? It is this that those who know and feel the evils of our present state desire. "Curse your charity, we want justice," may be a very rude expression of a very bad mood. But we have much to learn from it. A just state will be a kind state ; and righteousness will not err in its compassion. (iii.) Not only in society as a whole, but in the individuals we seek to help, we ought to aim at the satisfaction of righteousness. We are to put ourselves in the position of others, so as to realize their miseries and wrongs, but we are not bound to look on these as they look on these, or give them just the relief they may want. We are to do for them what will be for their highest good ; we must always seek to improve their character as well as relieve their necessities, and we must therefore relieve their necessities in such a way as will not injure their character. We give ourselves in putting ourselves in the place of others that they may give themselves to God. Social Reform needs for its motive, method, and purpose the Cross.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

NOTES ON CHRISTIAN HISTORY IN ASIA MINOR.

I. THE PERSECUTIONS OF PAUL IN ICONIUM AND IN PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

THE character and spirit of those two cities differed as much as their constitutions. Iconium was a Hellenic city, inheriting almost unchanged the traditions of Hellenistic time. It was, indeed, strongly Roman in feeling, and enthusiastically loyal to the Empire. It fully deserved the name "Claudian Iconium," which was bestowed on it

between 41 and 54 A.D. The bestowal and acceptance of such a title is not a mere empty name ; it implies much with regard to the feeling of the city. To understand how much it meant, one has only to think how impossible it is that the name "Victorian Dublin" should have been either offered or accepted in modern time, and how utterly different Irish feeling and Irish history in the nineteenth century would have been, if such a title had been a political possibility.

Pisidian Antioch was a Roman Colonia. In it was a ruling aristocracy or oligarchy of Romans, descended from veteran soldiers of Augustus, who were settled there soon after 25 B.C. The older Hellenistic population was only a half-privileged class, ranking as residents (*incolæ*) but not as burghers of the Colonia.

Thus in the one city there was a small ruling class, acting through their own elected Roman magistrates, in the other the power lay in the hands of the whole body of free citizens, and the rulers were elected by the votes of all citizens and were responsible to them.

At Pisidian Antioch the disaffected Jews proceeded against Paul and Barnabas by secret intrigue. Luke states clearly that the Jews appealed by private machinations to a small ruling caste, "the 'God-fearing' women of honourable estate, and the chief men of the city." They worked on the feelings of the oligarchy, approaching them through the women of that class, and thus roused an official persecution, which culminated in action of the magistrates. The apostles were seized, in all probability flogged by the lictors,¹ and turned out of the Colony. In this view we see that there disappears all the apparent incon-

¹ This is not mentioned by Luke ; but it might be presupposed as self-evident by any one who thinks of the nature of Roman official action, and it is clearly alluded to by Paul in 2 Corinthians xi. 25. Such a kind of flogging could be inflicted only by Roman magistrates in Colonias like Philippi, Lystra, and Antioch.

sistency between the enthusiastic reception which Paul and Barnabas received from the Gentile population of the city with the whole region to which it belonged, and his harsh treatment by the rulers. The population in general was Greek-speaking, and was addressed by Paul in that tongue. The aristocracy and the rulers were Roman, and Latin-speaking (as the inscriptions show). The Roman privileged class, therefore, remained unaffected by the new teaching: an aristocracy is generally the last section of the population to be affected by a missionary movement.

In Iconium the facts are utterly different in character. There is not a word implying an oligarchy. The Jewish appeal here has to be made to the mass of the population, and it had to be made much more slowly, for the Jews were never popular with the mob of Hellenic cities. Time and delicate misrepresentation were necessary. Luke's account brings out very clearly the character of the situation and the facts. In his narrative, brief as it is and quite general in its terms, we at first get the impression only of a period of successful work, followed by a riot and expulsion from the city. But more careful study shows several stages and a kind of action different altogether from what happened at Antioch. The Apostles resided in all a considerable time at Iconium; the emphasis laid on this shows that they stayed much longer there than in Antioch.¹

After a certain period, apparently quite short (as at Antioch), the Jews began to understand the intention and inevitable issue of Paul's work, some of them sided with, some against, the apostles (this also was the case, evidently, at Antioch, though the favourable section of the Jews was less numerous there). "The disbelieving Jews stirred up the souls of the Gentiles and made them evil affected." This was necessarily a slow process; and while it was going

¹ This point was not sufficiently observed by me in *St. Paul the Traveller*.

on Paul and Barnabas "tarried there a long time, speaking boldly." Gradually "the population of the city was divided, and part held with the Jews and part with the apostles." There can be little doubt that the uneducated mob was the part that held with the Jews; that is shown both by the example of Lystra and by the issue in Iconium, for the attempt at stoning certainly proceeded from the lower class of citizens.

One must observe the art with which this narrative, short and general as it is, brings out the slow growth of the popular movement. The Jews begin to engineer it; then there follows a long period of bold and effective work by Paul and Barnabas; then at last a riot breaks out. The editor to whom we owe the Bezan text misunderstood the narrative, and was annoyed by the seeming inconsequence of the first apparently ineffective action of the Jews. Accordingly he introduces into the text a first riot originating from the Jewish action, but this riot was pacified, for "the Lord quickly gave peace." Thereafter he describes (as in the true text) the long period of work, and a second riot following on it and culminating in the expulsion of the apostles after an unsuccessful attempt to stone them.

II. THE CHRISTIAN CULTS OF ICONIUM.

Iconium, with its neighbourhood, is the one place in Asia Minor where the pre-Turkish ecclesiastical system remains in force to the present day with little change. The Christian population has remained in continuous possession of its own shrines, free to practise its own religious ceremonial with little restriction. In the Seljuk realm there was no tendency to oppress or ill-treat the Christian population, on which the industry and trade of the Mohammedan state largely depended. A Greek built the most beautiful college (Medresse) in Sivas, a leading city of the Seljuk empire, and his nam_e

Kaloyan (i.e., Kalo-Yanni or Joannes) is inscribed upon it. The Christian heretics, who abounded in Phrygia and Lycaonia, preferred the mild Seljuk rule to the persecuting bigotry of the Orthodox Emperors, Hence the ritual of Iconium was not actively interfered with by the Moslems, while Konia lay too far apart from the Christian world to have its old customs modified by change of religious feelings or by the growth of new needs. In such a city as Smyrna, the existing facts of religion cannot safely be taken as evidence of the Byzantine system ; for there foreign influence and close relation with other centres of Greek ecclesiastical authority have caused a certain amount of change (it cannot well be called development) in the Church. In Konia we can confidently regard the present facts as a true indication of Byzantine system. Hence a sketch, even imperfect, of the chief Greek ceremonial at Konia presents some interest as a record of historical survival.

There are four popular festivals (*panegyris*) among the Orthodox of Konia.

1. St. Chariton has a monastery, now uninhabited, except at the time of the festival on 28th September. The buildings, however, are kept in repair by a custodian (who is not a monk, but a layman). They are situated in a narrow rocky glen, which extends up from the plain of Konia into the mountains, about five miles north-west of the city, and close under the hill of St. Philip (Takali Dagh). This glen is parallel to the one in which is situated the large village of Sille, inhabited by many Christians and a smaller number of Mohammedans ; but the glen of Sille is nearly a mile further north. The monastery of St. Chariton, situated under a perpendicular precipice on the north side of the glen, is regarded as holy even by the Moslems ; a small mosque stands in the centre of it ; and the Tchelebi Effendi, the chief of the Mevlevi order of Dervishes, makes a donation of olive-

oil every year. The legend explaining the origin of the Turkish veneration is mentioned in *Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 188; but according to the best form of the legend it was the son of a former Tchelebi Effendi, or of the founder of the Order, Djelal-ed-Din himself, who fell over the precipice and was caught in his fall by the Saint and so preserved.

St. Chariton was a real personage, but the biographical details which are preserved about him (*Acta Sanctorum*, 28th September, p. 475) are wholly legendary. The only facts that can be trusted are that he was born at Iconium and that he founded a famous monastery near Jerusalem. His date is stated under Aurelian (about 272 A.D.) by most authorities, which is impossible, under Julian (363-5 A.D.) by one, which may be correct.

Besides the Turkish mosque there are in the monastery shrines of the Virgin, of St. Saba, and of St. Amphilochius. The last was much venerated in Iconium itself (see below). St. Saba also was a founder of monasteries in Palestine; and therefore he was suitably associated with St. Chariton in this monastery.

2. St. Philip has given his name to the nearer of the twin peaks, which tower above Iconium about six or seven miles to the north-west. In photographs of the city their height is dwarfed, because the view is taken too close to the city. From a distance of ten or twenty miles, St. Philip seems to stand over Konia like a guardian. The broad and lofty summit of Loras Dagh above Kizil-Euren (Siniandos) is in some respects an even more striking feature of the scenery; but about the religious ideas which were doubtless connected with it I have learned nothing.

The hill of St. Philip had, beyond all question, religious meaning and awe for the Iconians of pre-Christian times; but about this nothing is known. The great Byzantine

fortress, which crowns the mountain, has obliterated all signs of pagan work. The Turkish name, Takali Dagh, is evidently identical with Dakalias, as the Arabs of the ninth century called a great fortress near Iconium.¹ In July 1907, I heard from one informant that the name Gevele is also applied to Takali, but had not the opportunity of verifying this report. Gevele is the modern form of the ancient name Kabala or Kaballa.²

The *panegyris* at the hill of St. Philip is in my notes dated 24th November ; but this must be due to a slip on the part either of my informant (who made several other small inaccuracies, which he afterwards himself corrected) or of myself. The day of St. Philip the Apostle is 14th November in the Eastern Church, 1st May in the Western.

That St. Philip of Iconium was the Apostle, not the Deacon (whose festival was on 6th June), seems certain. It is possible that tradition told of the journey of St. Philip to Hierapolis and to Ephesus by way of Iconium ; and there is in fact a probability that a missionary would prefer the land-route to the sea-way, and the longer road through the Christian cities to the short "Syrian Route" from the Cilician Gates by Savatra. Why St. Philip should be preferred to St. Paul as the guardian of Iconium is a matter of local superstition, which is always capricious and irrational. Possibly Loras Dagh, which overhangs St. Paul's road for many miles, was connected with the great Apostle of Iconium. I could not learn that any other cult of St. Philip exists in this neighbourhood except on the hill, where he is certainly only the successor of a pagan god.

3. St. Eustathius has a small church on the western outskirts of Konia : it is of late mediaeval or early modern

¹ See *Lycania* in the Austrian *Jahreshefte (Beiblatt)*, 1904, p. 121, where I conjectured that the fortress Dakalias guarded this road, but did not observe the identity with Takali ; also *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 359.

² See *Lycania*, p. 69.

time and possesses little architectural interest, except that it is the restored form of a much older church. How the worship of St. Eustathius became connected with Iconium, it is impossible to tell. According to the legendary biography, which is quite untrustworthy, Eustathius was the Christian name given at baptism to an official at Rome under Trajan. He was converted through the appearance of Christ to him when he was hunting; and his wife and two sons followed his example. In order to avoid participation in the celebration of Trajan's Persian victories, he fled by ship to Egypt with his family. He was expelled from the ship, and came to a place named Badyssus, where he lived fifteen years, when he was brought to Rome and roasted with his wife and sons in a brazen bull, like that of Phalaris (*Acta Sanctorum*, 20th September, p. 123).

This Iconian cult is an enigma; the celebration of the festival on 20th September distinguished it from the worship of St. Eustochius of Lystra and Vasada on 23rd June; yet the Bollandists have observed the possibility of confusion between the names; but I found out nothing further regarding it. It may be observed that the name Badyssus is distinctly Anatolian in type.

4. St. George on the Car, Araba-Yorgi, is a local form of St. George of Cappadocia, the patron Saint of England. The reason of his association with the waggon at Iconium I cannot explain. It is a remarkable and almost a unique phenomenon. Saints on horses are common, but saints on cars are unknown to me.¹ The pagan origin of this cult is especially clear. This saint is simply the sun-god Helios who drives forth each morning through the heavens in his four-horsed chariot, a common type in Greek art.

¹ Professor Strzygowski, who is a much more competent authority than I on such a matter, tells me that he knows nothing quite like this St. George on the Car.

The festival of St. George on the Car is celebrated on a mountain above Ladik. I have not seen the spot, but it appears to be not far from Sizma, and the cult may be regarded as the Christianized form of the religion of the Zizimene Mother. On this mountain at sunrise milk and water flow in a dry place : such is the story told me by a Greek who had not himself been present at the annual miracle. The legends of St. George may be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 23rd April, p. 123 ff.

The Christian festival takes place at sunrise on 23rd April, when a new year and a new summer are beginning. That milk should, on this occasion, flow in a dry place is a familiar phenomenon in pagan religion, an illustration of the bounty and power of the god. Usener has collected examples of this religious belief (as Professor Strzygowski reminds me) in an article on "Milk and Honey," printed in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1902, p. 177 ff. In the panegyris on the mountain north of Iconium (if my informant is correct), water takes the place of honey ; but in a land where water is so precious, and where artificial irrigation is absolutely necessary for agriculture, a bountiful flow of water was as valuable and divine a gift as nectar or honey. In fact there is a great ancient dam for storing water, a work of wonderful size, in the plain on the north side of the mountain, some hours east of Laodiceia. Usener has given many examples of the effect which this old pagan belief exercised on Christian ritual, where it even affected in some cases the Eucharist, so that bread and wine with milk and honey were given to the communicants.

The worship of the sun-god on mountain-tops was a widespread and characteristic feature of the religion of the Græco-Oriental world, and in the Christianized paganism of Byzantine ritual Helios became generally St. Elias, but local variations occur, as this St. George on the Car.

Besides these four popular festivals (all doubtless Christianized forms of older pagan feasts), there are many churches and holy places which are indubitably survivals of Byzantine cults.

Amphilochius was made archbishop of Iconium, when it was raised from the position of second city of the Province Pisidia to be metropolis of the new Province Lycaonia, about 371 A.D. He retained a high place in the veneration of the Iconian populace, probably not so much on account of his literary eminence and personal character, as because of his opposition to the Arians and his support of Basil. The hold which the struggle against the Arians had on the popular mind is shown by the inscriptions on a Cappadocian rock-church, specimens of which are published in the *Supplementary Papers* of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, i. p. 22. These rock-churches are certainly much later than the time of Basil and Amphilochius; yet they apostrophize the Arian Emperor Valens as if he were still living. Besides the shrine in the monastery of St. Chariton, St. Amphilochius has a church on the acropolis of Iconium, which is architecturally the oldest and the most interesting in the city. The quaint legend connected with the transformation of the church into its present form is told in *Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 170 f.

Thekla was the earliest Iconian Saint. Her name is a common personal name in Lycaonian inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, and has been given to one of the twin peaks near Konia, which rises behind the village of Sille. At the southern edge of the ravine in which the village stands, also, there is a ridge of rocks in which the place is pointed out where Thekla was received into the sheltering bosom of the mountain. On the opposite side of the ravine is a rocky hillock that bears the name of the Syrian Saint Marina. The worship of Thekla has its origin

not in the historical personage, but in the desire of the Anatolian people for a female impersonation of the Divine power.¹ The same feeling caused the worship of St. Marina, and above all the cult of the Virgin Mother of God, the Panagia, who has a church in Sille, besides her shrine in the monastery of St. Chariton. She had also a church at Konia on the way out to the church of St. Eustathius ; but it fell into ruin, and has disappeared.

There is moreover a cult of St. George of old standing at Konia, and a church of the Holy Transfiguration on the acropolis. The great mosque of Ala-ed-din on the acropolis is also said to be a renovated church of St. Sophia ; but this seems a little doubtful.

A garden called Aimanas, on the south side of Iconium, perhaps retains the name of Ai (Hagios) Mannes, a martyr mentioned in an inscription on a column in the Mosque of Ala-ed-din.

At Sille there is a church of the Archangel Michael, the construction of which is attributed by tradition to Constantine and Helena. But Michael, the commander of the heavenly hosts and protector of the Christians, was more probably introduced into the worship of Iconium in the time of the Arab wars, when the Stratelates was regarded as the saviour of the people from the annual terrible raids of the Arabs. There are also churches or holy places of the Prophet Elias, of Ayios Panteleemon and of St. George, and a place called Ayanni (St. John) close to St. Marina.

These remains of Iconian ecclesiasticism take us back, not to early Christianity, but the Byzantine time, the fifth century or later. There is not a trace of anything that can be called early ; even the hills of St. Thekla and St. Philip are probably connected rather with Byzantine

¹ *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 133 f., 158 f.

superstition and the rehabilitation of paganism in Christian form than with the real historical personages whose name they bear. The one fact that remains in the local legend of St. Thekla is that she was received into the rocks; an evident piece of old pagan belief. The Panagia cult was doubtless later than the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.; and that of St. Amphilochius is evidently later than his death about 400 A.D., perhaps a good deal later.

We find ourselves here at Iconium in the same atmosphere as at Barata, as it is described in the *EXPOSITOR*, September and October, 1907, an atmosphere of saint-worship pronouncedly pagan in character, a revivification of paganism through the alliance between the orthodox Church and the superstition of the vulgar classes, who were too little educated to be capable of comprehending Christianity.

It is disappointing that in a place where the Christian power was continuous and the tradition unbroken from the earliest time, there should be such an utter want of early memory. The fact forms one more proof to confirm the general opinion that the Byzantine period was divided by an untraversable gulf from the true old Christian tradition, or rather that the old tradition was overlaid in that period with a vast stratum of paganizing superstition in character local Anatolian, which had never been eradicated from the minds of the native population. The unchanging East remained: all else had proved evanescent and transitory.

III. ST. PAUL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EMPERORS.

The attitude which the first Christians ought to take to the Roman Imperial Government was not one that could be clearly defined or easily determined.

The judgment of individuals must have differed considerably: the judgment of the same individual would almost

inevitably vary from time to time according to changes in the prevailing tone of administration and alteration in the personal point of view. The attitude of Paul himself altered materially during the period of his life that is best known to us. On the one hand the Imperial system was based on the most glaring and flagrant form of idolatry, the worship of a living man as the incarnate god on earth ; it was the direct enemy of Christ : its system was like a parody of the Christian Gospel. How could Paul do anything but hate it and condemn it ? On the other hand it saved the world from worse evils : every one who lived in those times knew that the Emperor and the Imperial Government alone stood between the civilized world and destruction, and restrained the power of disorder, war and savagery, which had recently so nearly overwhelmed society and put an end to civilization.

Something, nay much, was due to the Emperor, and the Lord's command was clear and definite, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." It was a delicate position for the adviser who had to counsel new converts, not very well educated in moral judgment, as to how they ought to regard the Imperial system ; and one can well understand that Paul's earliest words to a young Church should require subsequent interpretation and explanation.

Moreover, Paul at Thessalonica had found the Roman Administration the enemy of the Gospel. He was accused of treason to the Emperor and of setting up a rival Emperor and was practically condemned in absence by the magistrates. Their action, covered by the name of loyalty to Cæsar, made it impossible for him to return soon to Thessalonica, eager as he was to do so. This hindrance he speaks of as "Satan" ; and his language approximates to calling the Imperial system by that name.

The treatment which he had experienced in the Roman Coloniae, Philippi, Lystra and Pisidian Antioch, in all of

which he suffered severely and was probably beaten with the staves of the lictors who attended on Roman magistrates, was calculated to confirm the unfavourable opinion which at one time he seems to have entertained of the Imperial Government as the enemy of the faith. The *Coloniæ* were outlying parts of Rome, peopled by Romans (for the non-Roman inhabitants were merely residents, not citizens) and governed by Romans; and for years the action of the magistrates in these *Coloniæ* towards him represented to him the feeling of the Roman State towards the Gospel and its adherents. That he endured personally at Pisidian Antioch as well as at Lystra, and that the vague words of Acts xiii. 50 conceal severe bodily suffering, seems clear from the language of the Apostle himself, 2 Timothy iii. 11: "Persecutions, sufferings: what things befell me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured." It was only in *Coloniæ* that he could be beaten with the lictor's staves; and, as he had so suffered thrice, and he had been only in three *Coloniæ*, we must infer that his expulsion from Antioch and Lystra had been accompanied with chastisement administered by the lictors (which in itself may be assumed as customary when disorderly persons were ejected from a Roman town). Hence, at Philippi, Paul and Silas did not at first claim the rights of Roman citizens. Paul had not as yet begun to feel that Rome and Roman law might be a protection against barbarism and cruelty.

In Corinth we find that Paul's attitude towards the Imperial Government had altered. The decision of Gallio (which owing to the force of precedent in Roman administration was practically a charter of freedom for Christians to preach and teach, valid until reversed by some higher tribunal), had something to do with the change in his attitude towards the Government; but, probably, a more important cause lay in the development and the widening of his own

views, as he better understood the problem of the Roman world. He realized that the Empire was for the present the vehicle destined to carry the Christian Church, and that the Imperial Government was in a sense necessary to the Church. Further, he had learned that the Imperial administration was in practice quite disposed to be tolerant of the Church ; and there seems to have arisen in his mind the idea that Christianity might ultimately make itself, by peaceful growth, the religion of the peoples of the Empire. But that ultimate aim could not possibly blind him to the inevitable fact that there must be war against the great and crowning idolatry of the Imperial cult, which was the keystone of the Imperial arch, and the basis of the Imperial unity.

Such was the dilemma with which Paul was confronted ; and his letters to the Thessalonians are to me intelligible only on the view that he was fully conscious of the dilemma. The Empire was the servant, the bearer, the instrument of the Church, and yet it was also its irreconcilable and inevitable foe. There could never be permanent peace between the Church and the Emperor, " who sitteth in the sanctuary of God, setting himself forth as God." But that war had not yet actually begun : much had to occur before it should begin. As yet the Emperor did not stand before them revealed in his real character. He was still the instrument of God, the restrainer of a worse evil. Ultimately, he should be revealed as he really was, the man of sin, the son of perdition, the enemy of God ; and then should come the great and final war. In that future time the Emperor, who now restrains the forces of disorder and barbarism, shall be disclosed as himself the great power and leader of barbarism and the enemy of all that is good. Every enemy of the truth shall then be allied against the Church, in the great battle which the seer of the Apocalypse foresaw at Har-Megiddo. But that is not yet. It is a matter

of the future ; and in fact such was the way in which the relation between the Empire and the Church developed during the following centuries, and so Paul foresaw with the eye of a statesman and a prophet.

This is the cryptic message of explanation to the Thessalonians, II. chap. ii. That message had to be expressed in very cautious and enigmatic language, significant only to the initiated. It was a dangerous truth, which might bring death to the young Church in Thessalonica ; for the letter might fall into the wrong hands, and such a truth must not be so plainly written that every person could understand it.

Is it too great a stretch of imagination to attribute to Paul such insight into the future course of history, and to recognize in the mystic words of that letter an anticipation of the Apocalypse of John ? Surely not. We see that the Imperial policy as defined by the ablest among the Emperors anticipated the inevitable approach of the conflict with the Church, and recognized the Church while still comparatively young and weak as the great enemy of the Imperial system in the future.¹ Paul was much more likely to see the character of the Empire than the Emperors to comprehend the nature of the Church. It is in truth as inconceivable that Paul could be insensible of the nature of the Imperial system, as it is that he could consent to any compromise with the Imperial worship.

There has been in recent years some tendency to exaggerate the contrast between the spirit of recognition of and allowance for the Empire, shown in Luke, most of the Pauline letters, and 1 Peter, and the spirit of defiance and detestation that animates the Apocalypse of John. The contrast is a very real one ; but it indicates no deep difference of opinion between the various writers. The difference of tone is due to change of circumstances. Paul's hatred of the enthroned lie, the Imperial false god, was as deep and strong

¹ See an article in the *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1907.

as John's; and he knew equally well that in the end the Church must destroy the Imperial tyranny, or be killed by it. But he was content to wait till the future developed. In the meantime he recognized, not indeed in his earliest teaching, not when he first preached in Thessalonica, but in his writings from 2 Thessalonians onwards, that the power which maintained peace and order in the world was, in a sense, the friend and protector of the Infant Church.

A glorified and purified Empire was the Pauline idea; but a purified Empire meant the elimination of the God-Emperor. There could not be permanent peace between this god and the Church.

IV. A CHRISTIAN CITY IN THE BYZANTINE AGE.

The proper interpretation of inscription No. 5 in the article on this subject published in the *EXPOSITOR* for October has been partly suggested by M. Clermont Ganneau, partly added to his idea by myself. The existence of various lines and cuts on the stone gave in several cases the appearance of two letters in ligature, where the true interpretation proves that there were only single letters, and that the cuts are accidental. The inscription is, "Here lies Mousianos, who suffered many wounds."¹ There is here another reference to a war, which is not specified, similar to that in No. 6. This war, which is not specified because it was in the minds of all, must be the war against the Arabs. This inscription is late and rude, and must belong to the last century of the war, 865-965 A.D.

There can be little doubt that the restoration of Church I. at Bin Bir Kilisse (on which this inscription is engraved) took place at nearly the same time as the restoration of VI., for the work is done in exactly the same fashion, and that fashion is very remarkable architecturally.² I believe that

¹ *ἔνθα κατέκτε Μουσιανὸ[s] ὁ πῶλῶς πλιγὰς ὑπωμίνας*, ΠI is on the stone, where I formerly understood γι: now I see the letter intended was II.

² Miss Bell will have much to say elsewhere about the restoration or rebuilding of these churches.

this sepulchral inscription, placed so conspicuously on the centre column of the great western doorway, is contemporary with the rebuilding of the church. An inscription of quite similar character and period is placed on the corresponding column of VI. (it has been published in the preceding article as No. 1). We have therefore the date of the restoration of these two churches as approximately A.D. 900. Church VI., as was stated, must have been built not later than the fifth century. Church I. is perhaps of that or the following century. It cannot be earlier, for a stone is built into its western front low down, which bears an imperfect inscription: the stone, therefore, was larger when the inscription was engraved on it, and this original block was cut down when it was built into the church. The inscription might belong to the later fourth or the fifth century.

As to the word Barata Professor D. S. Margoliouth writes to me that he regards the Arabic word Varta as being quite probably a borrowed word, taken from the Greek. His opinion therefore practically corroborates the judgment of Miss Bell and of Professor Sayce, who considered that the word could not belong originally to the Arabic stock. Professor Margoliouth informs me that the word Varta is freely used in Turkish literature. It seems, however, to be almost unknown in the conversational language, and (as I mentioned) we found only one Turk educated enough to know it; and even he at the first moment said that there was no such word in the language, though, after thinking, he remembered of its existence in a proverb.

The territory of Barata contained a forest. This fact is mentioned by two authorities. One is the legend of St. John in the Well, an obscure saint of this locality; he lived for a time in the forest of the people of Barata.¹ The other is the Arab geographer of the ninth century, Ibn Khordadbeh,

¹ ἐν τῇ ὄλῃ τῶν Βαράτων. See my paper "Lycaonia" in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1904, p., 117; and *Histor. Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 337.

who mentions Ras-al-Ghâba (the forest) on a road leading from Heracleia-Cybistra towards the west or north-west. Now trees are very rare on the central plateau of Asia Minor, where one may travel for many days without seeing a single tree. But there is in Kara-Dagh a real forest, dense, and containing well-grown trees ; it lies on the south side of the central peak in a sheltered valley : I have seen no other forest in all this country, north, south, east or west ; the nearest forest known to me is in the Phrygian mountains. Miss Bell, however, informs me that there are trees high up in Karadja Dagh, ten or twelve hours north-east of the Kara Dagh, though they do not grow either so dense or so tall as the wood in Kara Dagh. But it seems improbable that the forest mentioned by Ibn Khordadbheh, and impossible that the city of Barata, could have been situated in Karadja Dagh. The Forest of Barata is a detail which goes far to fix the locality of the city.

It is a not unimportant piece of evidence regarding the character of Barata in Byzantine time that in the whole course of our excavations we found not one single article that had even the most moderate artistic value or interest. Not a single scrap that was worth picking up off the ground was revealed by the spade. The excavations were, indeed, only superficial. The terms of our permission, and the limits of our financial powers, forbade deeper work, which might have revealed the civilization of an earlier. In the upper Byzantine stratum, which alone we touched, there is nothing. Art and learning were dead, as they must always die, when religion is enslaved and degenerate. The Byzantine church architecture survived, but it was the only survival of the art of the Graeco-Roman world in western Asia.