

## *The New Jerusalem of the Montanists*

W.M. Calder

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« Pepouza is little more than a name to us; but the order of Hierocles is so well marked that M. Radet [*En Phrygie*, p. 111] and I have independently and about the same time reached approximately the same conclusion as to the district in which Pepouza lay. » (RAMSAY, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 573).

It is a pleasure to be able to report in the present issue of *Byzantion* that the Expedition sent to Phrygia in 1930 by the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor found epigraphical evidence which confirms the accuracy of this location. The actual site of Pepouza still remains uncertain, but the uncertainty has been confined within narrow limits.

The references in literature to Pepouza, the chief centre and « New Jerusalem » of the Phrygian Montanists, were collected by Ramsay *loc. cit.* To enable the reader to appreciate the bearing of the new evidence, it is necessary to supplement Ramsay's account with a summary of subsequent investigation into the local history and the epigraphy of Phrygian Montanism.

In *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, VII, 1923, p. 309 ff., the germ of the Montanist movement in Phrygia was traced to the Church in Philadelphia, as described in the Letter to that Church in the Apocalypse. The earliest direct reference to Montanism — or rather proto-Montanism — occurs in the Martyrdom of Polycarp, where the epithet « Phrygian » applied to the would-be martyr Quintus shows that there were « Montanists » before Montanus. Montanus and his prophetesses appeared in A. D. 157 (according to Epiphanius; Eusebius gives the date as A. D. 171-2), and the Montanist controversy was acute in central Phrygia (the district lying

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between and along the « Hermus » and « Meander » routes to the plateau) up to the end of the second century. Christian epitaphs, recognisable as such, occur in this region from about A. D. 200 onwards; they are almost without exception of the « concealed » type characteristic of orthodox Christianity during the period of persecution, and they show that in this district Montanism, which insisted on open profession of the faith, had failed to gain a hold. About the middle of the third century, and on to the early decades of the fourth, epitaphs making open profession of Christianity (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς) were dedicated in Northern Phrygia (especially the Tembris valley) and along the Mysian borderland into Lydia (Traianopolis and Thyatira). The proof offered *loc. cit.* that these epitaphs are Montanist has been accepted and corroborated by Grégoire (*Byzantion*, I, 1924, p.708); their numbers were added to in *Bulletin* etc. XIII, 1929, p. 266 ff.

I have said that the pre-Nicene Christian inscriptions of Central Phrygia are « almost without exception » of the « concealed » type. The exceptions are one or two: *JRS*, XVI, 1926, p. 73, no.

200, and RAMSAY, C. B., no. 393. The first is the epitaph of a third century orthodox bishop of Eumeneia, who prefixes the monogram ✠ to his title ἐπίσκοπος; the second is of uncertain date, and may belong to the period after the legalisation of Christianity, when it became safe (but not usual) for a Christian to describe himself as Χριστιανός on his epitaph. If it is pre-Nicene it is the epitaph of a Montanist family of Apamea. An inscription from the neighbouring Apollonia (Sterrett *W. E.* p. 380, no 55) containing the word Χρηστιανοῦ constitutes a puzzle (see *Bulletin*, etc., VII, 1923, p. 348, no. 15). I made an impression of this inscription in 1930; the reading Χρηστιανοῦ is certain; the sixth letter, read by Sterrett as Ω and by Ramsay as Ω corrected to Ι, appeared to me both on the stone and on the impression to be Ι carved over a flaw in the stone resembling an Ω. This inscription also if it is Christian may be post-Nicene, and if so is as likely to be orthodox as Montanist.

The above discussion will have made it clear that a third century inscription from central Phrygia making open profession of Christianity is almost certainly Montanist, And if

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it occurs in the very area where the two leading authorities on Phrygian topography have independently placed Pepouza on other evidence, it will create a very strong presumption that Pepouza was indeed there.

In June 1930, Messrs Buckler, Guthrie and I, travelling from Atyochorion to Bumeneia, traversed the plains of which the principal villages are Bekilli and Karbasan (Bekilli and Gharib Hassan in *C.B.*; I give here and below the names as they now appear in Latin letters on the brass badges of the village policemen). The credit of our first discovery in this area belongs to Mr Buckler, who set out alone to ford the Maeander on his horse which his two fellow-travellers,

ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι,

explored the villages of Capjilar and Stiller — and drew them blank.

In a cultivated patch called Karapinar, on the north bank of the Maeander a few hundred yards below the ford between Kuyucak and Bekilli, and on the *toprak* of Bekilli, a marble *cathedra* had been dug up by the cultivator. This *cathedra* clearly came from a church in the canyon; on front, below the seat, is the following inscription in letters of the late third century:

Διογένους  
καὶ  
Ἐπιφάνιας  
Χρηστιανῶν

The *cathedra* of the orthodox bishop or priest (called Οἰκοκς εἰερέως in a metrical epitaph of Laodicea Combusta: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, I, p. 124, no. 233) is here dedicated to a man and a woman who make open profession of Christianity. They are clearly a priest and a priestess, or a prophet and a prophetess, of the Montanist sect, and this *cathedra* belonged to a Montanist church.

At Bekilli we were shown a marble slab with a rim above, into one end of which a circular basin was sunk. Length of the slab m. 1,04; width 0,62; thickness, m. 0,07; diameter of basin (interior) m. 0,36; depth of basin (interior) m. 0,12. This slab was said to come from Uc Kuyu. What purpose it

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served (stoup ? or font) I do not now enquire. That it formed part of the furnishing of a church is clear from the inscription, which is carved in duplicate, along both longer edges:

† Μοντάνου πρωτοδιακόνου †

This inscription is of the fifth century or later. A deacon called Montanus at this period and in this place can only have been a Montanist.

Radet placed Pepouza at Uc Kuyu. I prefer to place Pepouza at Bekilli and Tymion at Uc Kuyu (there are ancient sites at both villages); the exact position of the two places must of course remain uncertain. At Bekilli we recorded (in addition to that given above) nine monuments including a dedication to Μήτηρς Λητώ dated ἔτους σκδ', a fragment containing the letters *M] ιχαήλ ἐπίσκ(ο)π(ος)* — the same bishop is mentioned in *C. B.* no. 405, dated A. D. 556 — and a fragmentary Christian *devotio* ending... ου βλέπει τὸν ἀρχιστρ[άτ]ιγον ἄτον ἔχι διάδικον..

The plain of Karbasan is separated from that of Bekilli by a low ridge, which the road crosses N.E. of Uc Kuyu. I add a list of the five Christian inscriptions we recorded in the plain of Karbasan.

1. at Dumanli, brought thither from near an ancient building (a *villa*?) a mile S.E. of the village. Dedication of a κοιμητήριον, dated ἔτους τνη'.

2. at Dumanli, same provenance. Dedication of a κοιμητήριον dated ἔτους τμγ'.

3. at Sirikli (= *C.B.*, no. 445). Dedication of a κοιμητήριον, dated ἔτους τλη', with a fish in relief inside a garland below 1. 3.

4. at Sirikli (= *C.B.* no. 446). Dedication of a κοιμητήριον, dated ἔτους τμ', [*μ* is close to the margin, which is defaced] with a fish in relief inside a garland below 1. 6 (*C.B.* omits the first six lines).

5. at Karbasan (= *C.B.* no. 447). Dedication of κοιμητήριον dated ἔτους τλη'.

The date of *C.B.* no. 470, also at Karbasan, is ἔτους τκγ'. This inscription is probably Christian; it doubtless comes from the same site as 3, 4 and 5, a *villa*? in the plain between Si-

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riikli and Karbasan. Nos. 1 to 4 end with variations of the « Eumeneian formula »; its third century epigraphy marks this plain as orthodox. A correction is required here in Kiepert's map: Öküz Baba or Öküzler is the same place as Köseler b. Mr. Buckler visited this village, and found that *C.B.* no. 471 had disappeared.

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