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The Phrygian Hinterland South of Temenothyrai (Uşak)

Our knowledge of urban life in antiquity abounds in comparison with that of the living conditions of rural populations. To shed more light on one rural region, my team and I carried out several archaeological surface survey campaigns in the Phrygian hinterland south of Temenothyrai, the present-day provincial capital Uşak, from 2001 onward. The region was chosen because of its early Christian, especially Montanist, traces in the Uşak museum. In addition, the Montanist settlements of Tymion and Pepouza, known from literary sources, could be expected to be south of Temenothyrai.

While this was the initial motivation to investigate the region, it did not influence the project's methodology. Present-day surface surveys can no longer be thematically limited, for example as a survey of Montanist sites. We rather examined and documented the traces of human colonization and agricultural activity of *all* historical periods, that is, from pre-historic to Ottoman times. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this article the focus will rest mainly on the late Roman/early Byzantine time frame.

The archaeological campaigns were interdisciplinary, integrating archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, ethno-archaeology and architecture (3D graphics), geomatics, geophysics and geology, socio-economic history, history of religions and other disciplines¹ to gain a multifaceted picture.

One of the goals was not only to document ancient sites of settlement, as has often been done in more traditional surveys, but also to explore their environments: isolated sites in the countryside such as oil presses and cisterns, bridges and roads, waterways and water supplies, manmade land terraces and other traces of agricultural land use, in short all clues that illuminate the interaction between human settlement and the "natural" en-

1 See further W. Tabbernee and P. Lampe, *Pepouza and Tymion: The Discovery and Archaeological Exploration of a Lost Ancient City and an Imperial Estate* (Berlin, 2008), 134 (Lampe). The book is henceforth abbreviated as *PT*.

vironment, hoping to learn more about the living conditions of the ancient rural population, including their traffic connections, their economic and social structures, as well as their various religious belief systems.²

1. Introduction to the Region, Its Economy and Infrastructure

Located on the road from Sardis and Philadelphia to Akmonia, Temenothyrai profited from transit traffic. At the time of Septimius Severus, its territory bordered on an imperial estate to the south, as we learned from an inscription that cites a previously unknown rescript by Septimius Severus (205 CE).³ The imperial estate embraced vast farm fields on a high plain that stretches from Temenothyrai to the rocky Ulubey Canyon in the south – a gently undulating tertiary plateau, ca. 800 m above sea level. The Banaz River, the ancient Sindros, had cut the canyon from east to west into the plain. The Ömerçalı Mountain (1141 m) rises about 3.5 km south of the canyon.

The emperor leased the fields to tenant farmers (*coloni*), as the inscription indicates. The estate most probably also included two marble quarries in the Ulubey Canyon, one south of the river in the vicinity of a Roman bridge, the other upriver on the northern side of the canyon. Since the days of Tiberius, the emperors usually owned the marble quarries. An ancient donkey transport path, cut into the canyon rocks above the northern riverbank, led from the second quarry to the Roman bridge. Often it was even two-lane for oncoming traffic.⁴

Above the rock-cut donkey path, Byzantine clay pipes ran along the northern walls of the canyon, being embedded in a 30 to 40 cm wide gutter cut into the rock. The aqueduct carried fresh water all the way from a spring further east in the canyon. After about 2.5 km, upon arrival at the Roman bridge, the aqueduct supplied fresh water to a large settlement (= Pepouza, see below); at the Roman bridge, west of it, the canyon widens into a large basin that was settled. As the aqueduct was high up in the canyon walls, on a higher level than the river, it supplied water to the settle-

² For the methods and research questions used, see further *PT*, 133–155 (Lampe).

³ See P. Lampe, "Die montanistischen Tymion und Pepouza im Lichte der neuen Tymioninschrift," *ZAC* 8 (2004), 498–512 (edition, translation and commentary of the inscription). See also *PT*, 49–72 (Tabbernee).

⁴ Close to the quarry the animals were tied to several stone eyelets hewn into the rocky walls of the path. The eyelets show that the rock-cut trail did not serve as an aqueduct. This path was the only way to transport marble blocks away from the quarry.

ment more easily than the river, from which water needed to be bucketed and carried.⁵

At the Roman bridge the east-west oriented donkey path joined a Roman road that came from the south, crossed the canyon and continued north across the high plain, until after about 11.5 km reaching a crossroad at which the inscription stone with Septimius Severus's rescript originally had been set up.

The rescript relates that the *coloni* of "Tymion and Simoe" had complained about illegal dues that had been oppressively imposed on them. Septimius Severus's secretary *a libellis* wrote back that the procurator of the imperial estate would henceforth protect the tenant farmers against such oppression.⁶ Imperial slaves (cf. *MAMA* 10.114) in charge of collecting legal taxes who travelled through the area possibly extorted illegal extra dues from the farmers for themselves. The stone indirectly warned such perpetrators not to mistreat the farmers.

Did such socio-economic conditions interact with religious life? Apollonius (in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2) relates that Montanus, one of the founders of the Montanist movement, called Tymion "Jerusalem" and wanted to "assemble people from all directions there" – as well as at Pepouza, the headquarters of the Montanists, which he also dubbed "Jerusalem." It is therefore reasonable to assume that Christian Montanists belonged to the farming inhabitants of Tymion and that at least some of them were among the addressees of the imperial rescript. If so, then it is conceivable that the ecstatic-charismatic Montanist spirituality helped these people to find release from some of the frustration mentioned in the imperial rescript.

- 5 At Çilandıras, a large Byzantine graffito, cut into the rocks above the clay pipes gutter, indicates that the aqueduct was successfully repaired in the seventh or eighth century and that it was related to a territory owned by the emperor still in Byzantine times. Edition, translation and discussion of the rock-cut graffito in *PT*, 119–132 (Lampe). For the exploration of the aqueduct in the canyon east of Çilandıras, see P. Lampe, "Die 2008-Kampagne der archäologischen Oberflächenuntersuchungen in Tymion und Pepouza," in *27. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 25–29 Mayıs 2009, Denizli: 2. Cilt* (ed. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı/Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü; Ankara, 2010), 167–178.
- 6 After authenticating introductory formulae (in Greek), the date and the senders' names and titles (in Latin), the Latin text continues: "to the tenant farmers among the Tymians and the Simoen[s]: Our procurator will s[e]t himself against un[lawful] exactions and ag[ain]st those who continue to a[sk in a very d]emand[ing way for due]s. If, however, the matter requi[re]s a higher a[uthority], he (sc. the procurator), [in] the manner of his office, will [not he]sitate to [defen]d these persons (sc. the tenant farmers) before the governor [of the provi]nce [of Asia] again[st those who in an u]nlaw[ful way ask for dues]" (*PT*, 58).

northeast of the crossroad. Both sites, Simoe and Tymion, are the settlements closest to the in-situ location of the inscription. The most plausible assumption is that the inscription stone was set up between the two settlements to which the imperial rescript was addressed.

Geomagnetic screening of the Simoe centre (1.5 ha) showed several rather large (up to 40 × 15 m) building complexes, possibly belonging to the estate's farm business. The surface shows that these were mainly brick buildings, that is, more modest than some of the marble architecture used in Tymion in late Roman and early Byzantine times (see below).

Tymion, as the ceramic shards indicate, was settled from late Bronze Age to Byzantine and Ottoman times. Late Bronze-/early Iron-Age ceramic shards, ornamented and brown-glazed (or black), were found on a hill immediately west of the village.⁹ The hill was declared a protected archaeological zone in 2001.¹⁰ Because a rampart – originally a drystone wall, which eroded over time – encircled this acropolis hill, the hill might have been used as a fortress in the late Bronze/early Iron Age. The wall, encompassing about 1.5 ha, joined a building at the hilltop of which wall traces are preserved. Later the acropolis was abandoned when the settlement at the foot of the hill developed.

The numerous Roman and Byzantine traces in the area of the modern village and the adjacent fields south of the village included shards as well as many architectural fragments, mostly made of marble and reused as spolia in the village. Among them were truncated columns, capitals, ashlars, a marble relief showing Pan, numerous hewn stones with crosses, as well as lime millstones and a basalt mill. A third-/fourth-century Christian marble doorstele of a married couple displays a hand mirror for the wife and a stylised scroll for the husband, symbolizing literacy. In each of the two arches above these motifs, a cross was chiselled.

The stone, set up in the village today, was probably dragged from a necropolis about 700 m south of the present-day village. The necropolis expands at both sides of the southward-bound road. Ottoman tombstones, dating from around 1826 and later, often are reused late-Roman architectural fragments of, e. g., window- or doorframes, oil or wine presses and

9 We topographically mapped the entire settlement area of Tymion, into which the present-day village of Şükranıye is nestled, plus adjacent surroundings. The hill and today's village amount to 23.4 ha.

10 Beside shards and glass fragments, a hand millstone and a spindle whorl were found. An anthropomorphic ceramic foot (height 72 mm) appears to have supported a rectangular or oval jar, together with three similar feet. Furthermore, two graphite handles as well as four silices were found, possibly pointing at even earlier settlement.

millstones. Two of the reused stones show Greek inscriptions from late antiquity. One, on a 153 × 40 cm marble slab, reads *Aurellios* (third or fourth century; the likely *terminus post quem* is the reign of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus/Caracalla). The other, chiselled onto the left narrow side of a 108 × 67 × 22 cm marble stone, reads “Of Theodoros and Kyndynis” with a chi-rho monogram preceding the names (probably fourth/fifth century). The stone’s front shows a rectangle (47 cm wide, 32 cm high) from which Christians had erased a pagan relief or inscription when they reused the stone for their fellow Christians Theodoros and Kyndynis. The ceramics in the necropolis are mostly late Roman and early Byzantine. At the eastern edge of the necropolis, east of the road, bricks and roof tiles are concentrated, indicating a group of brick buildings. A Roman glass fragment was found here.

The concentration of ceramic shards in the fields between this necropolis and the southern boundary of the modern village, on both sides of the road, suggests a suburban settlement structure in late antiquity, presumably scattered houses and gardens, not a densely built-up area as must have existed in the area of today’s village where there is a well.

A modern-period cemetery, north of today’s village, had at least five west-east-oriented Christian graves, only about 30 cm below the surface – simple holes in the ground covered by a lime slab. In Ottoman times, Muslim and Christian populations seem to have lived side by side in the village. Decorative Islamic tombstones date from the nineteenth century. At the village well, there are modern-period Greek epigraphs.

Further south on the high plain, we discovered three small farm villages from Roman and Byzantine times. Kome B, dubbed “Arapören” by the locals (3.3 km southeast of Tymion),¹¹ covered about 2.5 ha and is documented by hewn blocks, ceramics, including much fine ware, and above all bricks as well as roof tiles. One brick was marked with a cross graffito (4.5 × >5.8 cm), without this necessarily indicating Christian provenance.

Kome C, just 1 km from Kome B,¹² was smaller and presented mill stone fragments, bricks, tiles and ceramics, but only sparse fine ware. Nearby lies an Ottoman cemetery with weathered small stelae.

Kome D,¹³ close to a location called “Yeldeğirmeni Tepe” (wind mill hill), was smaller and had fewer hewn blocks than Kome B. Its buildings were mainly built of bricks, as the small finds show. The ceramics were Roman.¹⁴

11 One of the coordinates: UTM 35 S 071 3900/426 0000 (WGS 1984).

12 One of the coordinates: UTM 35 S 071 3721/425 9048.

13 1.7 km from Kome B and 5.5 km from Tymion: UTM 35 S 071 3600/425 7300.

14 Some pithoi fragments, however, might have been from the Iron Age, resembling funerary pithoi found further west in the Ulubey Canyon (see *PT*, 256 [Lampe]). Already in

3. Temenothyrai

The Christian doorstele in Tymion is paralleled by eight similar ones from Temenothyrai. The Christian doorstelae in Temenothyrai date from the first half of the third century.¹⁵ At least three of them (*MI* 3–5) are Montanist, originating from the same social group to which a female priest belonged – a unique characteristic of the Montanists. The three stelae, all of them for clergy, suggest that a Montanist congregation existed in Temenothyrai at the beginning of the third century, that is, contemporary to Septimius Severus's rescript to Tymion and Simoe.

The white marble doorstele *MI* 3 dates from about 200–210 CE and is among the earliest of the identifiable Christian epitaphs in the Roman Empire. It was commissioned by a certain “Diogas for Bishop Artemidoros out of church funds in memory.” The stone depicts a single door, and in the arch above it a round eucharistic bread (a wreath loaf) with a cross in its middle; it is placed on top of a three-legged table or altar. The image indicates that the deceased bishop was a member of the clergy authorized to celebrate the Eucharist. As a parallel to the image, we found a round ceramic bread stamp for eucharistic bread, with crosses in its centre, now in the Uşak museum. It moulded the dough of a similar type of eucharistic bread, a *panis quadratus*.¹⁶

From the same social group and the same decade (about 200–210 CE) originates the doorstele for the female priest (*presbytera*) Ammion (*MI* 4).¹⁷ Its inscription mentions the same Diogas who by now has become a bishop himself and commissioned this stele for Ammion in her memory. Although Ammion was female clergy and as such equal to her male colleagues, her stele nevertheless showed typical female attributes such as a spindle and distaff.

Diogas's own tombstone (*MI* 5), from the second quarter of the third century, was commissioned by his wife Aurelia Tatiane. “While living” she prepared it for “herself and her husband Diogas, bishop, in memory.”

antiquity they may have been carried off from two Lydian tumuli close by (south of Kome D), which were heavily demolished by grave robbers.

15 Edition of six of them in W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism* (PatMS 16; Macon, Ga., 1997), 62–86 nos. 3–8. Henceforth abbreviated as *MI*, followed by the inscription number. Seven of them are in the Uşak museum today; *MI* 4 was documented in 1902 and now is lost.

16 Photo in *PT*, 189.

17 See the extensive discussion of this stone in *MI*, pp. 66–72 (with lit.).

As iconography, the left side of the doorstele shows a hand mirror, a comb and a jug with a stopper¹⁸ for Tatiane, for Bishop Diogas again the wreath loaf¹⁹ on a eucharistic altar. The stele's middle pilaster features an open book scroll, symbolizing literacy.

At the same time period, *MI 6* reads: "Markia for her nephew (or cousin) Loukios and for his wife Tatia, in memory." The right side of the stele portrays a wreath loaf on an altar for Loukios, the left side, for his wife, a spindle and a distaff, a hand mirror, a comb and a knitting basket.

MI 7 was commissioned at the same period by "Asklepiades for Melete and for himself, in memory," showing again Communion bread on an altar on the right side and a comb, a jar and a mirror on the left.

MI 8 from again the second quarter of the third century reads "He (or she) set up (this tombstone) in memory." On the right side *MI 8* portrays a Communion bread on an altar and – relatively rare on Phrygian tombstones – a bow to loosen the texture of shorn wool by means of a vibrating string. On the wife's side, below a comb, a hand mirror and a jar, a pruning hook and a hatchet are depicted. Thus, this couple probably had a farm, growing wine and having sheep for wool production. The stone seems to indicate that this clergyman, to make a living, had a second profession on the side. Living in the polis Temenothyrai where his stele was erected, or at least being involved there, he nevertheless had a place in the countryside for his second occupation.

Similarly, a seventh, still unpublished doorstele commissioned by a Philoumene shows a wreath loaf (without altar), a pruning hook and a hatchet. An eighth one, still unpublished, displays a wreath loaf on an altar (right side), a mirror and a knitting basket (left), but no inscription.

In conclusion, the stelae give glimpses into the economic life of Temenothyrai Christians. Moreover, in terms of social contacts and social integration in the polis, they show that the Christians did not have scruples about taking over the pagan Phrygian custom of erecting doorstelae for their deceased,²⁰ even for their deceased clergy. They used the same standard iconographic repertoire as pagans (mirror, comb, spindle, etc.) and commissioned their stelae in the same Themenothyrai workshop as pa-

18 Alternative interpretation: a knitting basket.

19 The "wreath-loaf" images on *MI 5* and 7–8 could also be interpreted as a round Communion paten with a *panis quadratus* in its middle, without this making much of a difference (see further *MI*, p. 75).

20 For this custom see, e.g., M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür* (Mainz, 1986).

gans.²¹ On the other hand they began to develop their own Christian iconographic profile by depicting eucharistic bread on an altar, not being afraid of “outing” themselves as Christians in this way, which again says something about their social integration in this hinterland polis and an apparently peaceful coexistence of different religious groups.

That more or less²² all preserved Christian stelae from Temenothyrai were commissioned for clergy is difficult to interpret. (1) Were only family of clergy courageous enough to display their faith in public at that time? Or differently put, was the image of bread on an altar the only Christian symbol with which Christians of the region expressed their faith so that we are unable to identify stones of lay Christians? This is unlikely. The doorstele from Tymion (above) showed that lay Christians could express their faith without a eucharistic symbol by simply using crosses on their stone. (2) Did the eucharistic symbol only indicate that the deceased was Christian but not necessarily clergy? While this might be true for eucharistic symbols on other tombstones, the ones from Temenothyrai are unique because they portray eucharistic bread *on top of a Communion table*. This may not only show that the Temenothyrai Christians began to develop their own *local* Christian iconographic style but also that the deceased probably had a function at the eucharistic altar.²³ The bread on the altar was indeed portrayed on stones for bishops, for example (Diogas and Artemidoras; *MI* 3, 5). (3) Were the tombstones for clergy especially *large or decorative* so that they had a better chance to be preserved across the centuries by being reused in later buildings, as is the case for *MI* 3, 5–8? If so, this would say something about the elevated and respected role of clergy in their Christian congregation(s). The third solution might be more plausible than the other two.

4. Pepouza

In 2000, William Tabbernee and I, together with an international team, discovered the ancient settlement that extends in the above-mentioned basin of the Ulubey Canyon, immediately west of the Roman bridge. According to the surface traces – particularly the spread of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine shards, Roman and Byzantine coins, as well as bricks, tiles, glass fragments and architectural blocks, mostly white marble as this was a cost-effective building material in the area²⁴ – the settlement covered at least 29 ha all together, its necropolis east of it an additional

21 For this stonemason workshop, see *MI* 8 (pp. 85–86).

22 The seventh stele, above, does not portray an altar. Does this indicate that the deceased was not clergy serving at the Communion table?

23 Thus also *MI*, p. 79.

24 See the nearby quarries above.

>1.3 ha.²⁵ The central part was a terrace above the river (ca. 2 ha).²⁶ Our geomagnetic and georadar prospections²⁷ of this terrace and beyond show numerous buildings, apparently also an unobstructed space among the houses that could be interpreted as an agora. Byzantine architectural blocks in the southern part of the central terrace, together with the georadar results, might hint at a former basilica, but the terrace and a hypogeum below it await excavation. So far, we have excavated a nymphaeum on the terrace's southern slope.

This site of considerable size, worthy of being dubbed a "small polis" like Tymion (Apollonius in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2 also called Pepouza a "small polis"), is closer to Tymion than any other comparable settlement in the entire region.²⁸ This is important because Tymion and Pepouza must not have been far apart²⁹ according to Apollonius (*ibid.*). We already saw that Apollonius reports that Montanus called both Tymion and Pepouza "Jerusalem," "wanting to gather people from all directions there," that is, at both Tymion and Pepouza.³⁰ This suggests a geographical closeness of the two.

Among other clues³¹ indicating that the settlement in the canyon basin indeed was Pepouza is the fact that close to the settlement, east of it, we discovered a large rock-cut Byzantine monastery in the northern canyon wall. We archaeologically documented more than 60 rooms on three floors, including a refectory (with animal bones in the occupation layer), a chapel, a separate kitchen, as well as Byzantine graffiti with cross-

25 The figures are based on revised calculations during our 2008 campaign. See Lampe, "2008-Kampagne" (see n. 5). This article from 2010 as well as *PT*, 157–265, 273–325 (Lampe), and *id.*, "Die 2006-Kampagne der archäologischen Oberflächenuntersuchungen in Tymion und Pepouza," in 25. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 28 Mayıs–01 Haziran 2007 Kocaeli*, 2. *Cilt* (ed. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü; Ankara, 2008), 179–184 (including 3 fig.), report the archaeological work done in Pepouza.

26 One of its coordinates: UTM 35 S 071 4950/425 3954 (WGS 1984).

27 In *PT*, 298–307, 321–325, cf. 294–297.

28 That the three small farm villages south of Tymion (see above) are not candidates for a Pepouza identification goes without saying.

29 In fact only about 8 km.

30 For this project of Montanus and the discussion of different possibilities to interpret it, as well as the later Montanist eschatological expectation of a heavenly Jerusalem descending to the Phrygian Montanists, see P. Lampe, "Das Neue Jerusalem der Montanisten in Phrygien," in *Jerusalem und die Länder: Ikonographie – Topographie – Theologie* (ed. G. Theißen et al., NTOA 70; Göttingen, 2009), 253–270 (including 3 maps and 1 photograph).

31 See my discussion of these clues, including Hierocles' *Synecdemus*, in Lampe, "Das Neue Jerusalem" (see n. 30). Also *PT*, 15–30 (Tabbernee).

es, Byzantine ceramic shards, glass and ¹⁴C-dated wood from 862–1019 CE.³² Nothing comparable exists within a 100-km radius.³³ That the Montanists already used this complex cannot be shown.

The literary sources now indicate that Pepouza did have a Byzantine monastery whose abbot Euthymius participated in the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 CE, signing as *hegumenus Pepuzensium*³⁴ – parallel to an ecclesiastical *praeses* called Theophylactus of Pepouza.³⁵

Christoph Marksches' objections to our identification of the ancient sites of Tymion and Pepouza³⁶ lack a sound basis. (1) He falsely reports that we locate Tymion "close to Susuzören" at "Sarayzik," which is a modern field name. However, no ancient settlement ever existed at this location, only the crossroad nearby where the Septimius Severus inscription was found in situ (for our localization of Tymion at Şükraniye, see above). (2) Marksches holds that the monastery of "Euthymius, abbot of the Pepuzians," was not necessarily in or near Pepouza but somewhere else. This option, however, is highly improbable considering that Euthymius is documented in the subscription list of the fourth session of the Second Council of Nicaea. In this subscription list, geographical designations are in all likelihood mentioned to point out the *current geographical provenance* of the council participants. Besides, the deplorable text editorial situation cannot cast doubt on the very existence of this "abbot of the Pepuzians," as Marksches himself concedes. (3) Whether an orthodox bishop or a *Theophylactus praeses Pepuzion* ever resided in Pepouza can indeed be questioned. But such doubt has no argumentative value for or against our Pepouza identification. (4) Marksches alleges that floods endangered the Pepouza settlement in the canyon, but the argumentative function of this speculation remains elusive. It cannot disprove the existence of an ancient settlement in the canyon. The settlement traces in the canyon, extending over more than 29 ha, reach all the way to the embankment of the river, and the central settlement terrace is located 14–22 m above the river.

We conclude that the localisation of Pepouza in the canyon basin and the localisation of Tymion at Şükraniye on the high plane north-northwest of it are so far the most viable identifications of these significant Montanist

32 See *PT*, esp. 206–230, 251–253, 308–316, 325 f. (Lampe, with fig.).

33 The closest parallel is a monastery in ancient Metropolis (Ayazin), 30 km of Afyon. In the Ulubey Canyon there are several dwelling caves up- and downriver that may have been small hermitages at best, depending on the Pepouza mother monastery. See *PT*, 230, 254–258, 326 (Lampe).

34 Mansi 13, 153.

35 Mansi 13, 631C. *Praeses* may refer to a bishop (cf. Tertullian, *Praescr.* 36.1; *Pud.* 14.16; 21.6) or another church official with disciplinary or liturgical functions (e. g., Tertullian, *Apol.* 39.4). In view of the other signatories of the council, Theophylactus of Pepouza may also have been an official within the administration of a monastery. Cf. C. Marksches, "Nochmals: Wo lag Pepuza? Wo lag Tymion? Nebst einigen Bemerkungen zur Frühgeschichte des Montanismus," *JAC* 37 (1994), 7–28, here 13 n. 47.

36 C. Marksches, "Montanismus," *RAC* 24 (2012), 1197–1220, here 1202–1204.

towns, Pepouza even being the cradle and headquarters of this charismatic movement that spread across the Roman Empire.

The Pepouza identification fits Hierocles' *Synecdemus*, according to which Pepouza must have been located west of Eumeneia (Işıklı) and southwest of Sebaste (Selçikler), with a travel route connecting Pepouza and Sebaste. This ancient travel path can be traced in the canyon, with the traveller starting in Pepouza and walking the canyon upriver. The hike in the gorgeous Ulubey Canyon suited those who wanted to avoid the heat on the high plain in summer and valued the cooling river and the shadow cast by the rocks. The travellers first took the donkey path described above, passed the marble quarry and then the inscription at Çilandıras,³⁷ before proceeding on the northern riverbank to a settlement in a loop of the river and subsequently to Sebaste.³⁸

5. Final Remarks on Religious Life in the Rural Hinterland

Christian and pagan religiosity in Phrygia often peacefully coexisted and influenced one another.³⁹ Furthermore, the Phrygian hinterland situation explains why Christianity flourished here in the Pre-Constantinian era, generating some of the earliest Christian archaeological and epigraphic testimonies in the Roman Empire (see above): In the hinterland, the rural population had fewer places to participate in the emperor cult; even on the imperial estates of Asia Minor such places seemed to have been extremely scarce.⁴⁰ Therefore Christians were less likely to come into conflict with authorities. In the less densely populated countryside it was easier to evade Roman control, as the Septimius Severus inscription demonstrates in its own way. Before Septimius Severus's intervention, the procurator of the imperial estate did not have a firm grip on the rural areas,

³⁷ See n. 5 above.

³⁸ Hierocles (*Synecdemus* 667.2–10) describes the Byzantine travel route as leading from Pepouza via Bria(na) to Sebaste. We discovered a Roman/Byzantine settlement in a river loop east of Çilandıras and geophysically screened parts of it. It had a longer history of settlement according to the ceramics. We propose identifying this settlement as Bria(na). Considering our Pepouza identification, a route from Pepouza to Sebaste via Gürpınar, where William Ramsay attempted to localize Bria(na) without sufficient evidence, would have been a detour, while identifying Bria(na) in the canyon would result in a reasonable travel route. See *PT*, 257 n. 43 (Lampe), as well as the discussion of Hierocles' *Synecdemus* in Lampe, "Das Neue Jerusalem" (see n. 30).

³⁹ See *PT*, 144 (Lampe), with further literature. The doorstelae discussed above are just one example.

⁴⁰ See *PT*, 145 (Lampe), with further literature.

being unable to protect his *coloni* from being burdened with illegal dues roughly collected by lawless men. Whether this changed after the emperor's intervention remains elusive. In any case, the Montanist ecstatic-charismatic spirituality had the potential of attracting tenant farmers on the imperial estate who suffered from such economic burdens and ill treatment and may have found release from their frustrations in charismatic religious expressions.

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