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THOMAS DREW-BEAR

## The City of Temenouthyrai in Phrygia

The city of Temenouthyrai<sup>1</sup> is registered by the «Synekdemoi» of Hierocles between Synaos and Traianoupolis in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana,<sup>2</sup> and its name occurs in several «Notitiae episcopatum» (likewise within Phrygia Pacatiana), ranked under the metropolis Laodikeia.<sup>3</sup> A plentiful coinage, to which reference will frequently be made *infra*, provides an indication of the importance of the city,<sup>4</sup> which is however mentioned only once in classical literature, by Pausanias

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<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to thank the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung for rendering possible a stay in Germany during which this article was written; Professor PETER HERRMANN for discussing with me the material in the Uşak Museum as part of our work on the Phrygo-Lydia borderland; and the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, together with its former representative at Uşak Mr. DOĞU GÖKSEL, for their authorizations and assistance. The subject of this article was announced in my: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Zutphen 1978, 112 n. 119 (in the text *ibid.* p. 68, ll. 6–7 are to be restored: [τὸν – –] ηἱ καὶ σφ[τ]ηρ[α – – καὶ ε]ὐεργέτη[ν – –], referring to the honorand).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. E. HONIGMANN (Brussels 1939) 668. 14: ἐπαρχία Φρυγίας Καπατιανῆς. Synaos was located north of the Demirci Dağ near Ankyra Sidera in the plain of Simav, and Traianoupolis in the plain to the east of Uşak (*v. infra*).

<sup>3</sup> P. HERRMANN kindly provides the following references: saec. VII τὸν Τιμένου θηρῶν H. GELZER, *Abh. der Bayer. Akad.* 21, 3, 1898, 540 n. 331, ὁ Τιμενουθήρων G. KONIDARIS, *Texte und Forsch. zur byz.-neugr. Philologie* 13, 1934, 97 n. 359; saec. VIII/IX ὁ Τιμένου θηρῶν G. PARTHEY, *Hieroclis Synekdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum*, 1886, IX n. 325, ὁ Τιμενουθηρῶς (v.l. Τιμενουθηρ) *ibid.* VIII n. 415, ὁ Τιμένου θηρῶν (v.l. Τιμένου θυρῶν), *Georg. Cypr.* 19 n. 364; saec. X ὁ Πημανουθηρῶν GELZER, *op. cit.* 555 n. 380, ὁ Πημενουθηρῶν *Georg. Cypr.* 71 n. 1481; saec. XI ὁ Πομαίνου θυρῶν Parthey, *op. cit.* III n. 314; saec. XIII ὁ Σημαίνου θηρῶν V. N. BENEŠEVIC, *Studi bizantini* 2, 1927, 144; saec. XIII/XIV ὁ Παμαίνου θηρῶν PARTHEY, *op. cit.* X n. 427, ὁ Ποιμένου θηρῶν *ibid.* XIII n. 277. The city was represented by the bishop Nounechios of Laodikeia at the Council of Chalcedon in 451: E. SCHWARTZ, *Act. Con. Or.* II, I 2 p. 153 n. 388 (cf. II, VI p. 46 s. v. Ματθία; p. 102 s. v. Τιμενουθῶν); cf. E. HONIGMANN, *Byzantion* 16, 1942/3, 56 n. 457. It appears also in the Acts of the Council of Nicaea in 787: Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος Τιμενουθήρων, *Mansi* XII p. 998 D; p. 1106 E; XIII p. 372 B; p. 396 A. Cf. M. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus* I, 1740, p. 807 n. XIII.

<sup>4</sup> Numismatists have traditionally considered the city of Temenouthyrai as Phrygian (thus for example the British Museum Catalogue «Phrygia», the volumes devoted to Phrygia in the Copenhagen and von Aulock catalogues of the «Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum», etc.).

(who was himself perhaps born in Lydia)<sup>5</sup> in an excursus on corpses of giants (1, 35 7): Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι· ἐνταῦθα παραραγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὅστ᾽ ἐφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὥς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου. ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἤλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνου τοῦ Χρυσάρορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρὸν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐνείργασμένος ὄρους λιθῶδει προσβολῇ· καὶ χεῖμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὡκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἤδη κέραιαν ἔφασαν τινὰς ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυόνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην... ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδείκνυνον λόγον, ὥς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὑλλου,<sup>6</sup> παῖς δὲ Ὑλλος εἴη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη· Ἡρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ ποτὲ ἔφασαν διαίταν Ὑλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν παῖδα. The river Hylllos, depicted on coins of the city of Saittai,<sup>7</sup> has been identified with the Demirci Çay, an affluent of the Hermos (Gediz Çay) which, like it, watered the territory of Saittai to the west of Temenouthyrai<sup>8</sup> beyond the cities of Bagis and Silandos. But the identification of the Hylllos with the Demirci Çay is of no help in establishing the precise location of Temenouthyrai: whether the river was supposed to have been named after the son of Heracles or vice versa, the account of Pausanias permits only the conclusion that city and river were located in the same general region.<sup>9</sup>

A more definite indication concerning the location of Temenouthyrai is furnished

<sup>5</sup> On the birthplace of Pausanias see the discussion by O. REGENBOGEN in RE Suppl. 8 (1956) 1012–13.

<sup>6</sup> Another indication of a local connection of Heracles to this part of Phrygia may be furnished by an inscription of Akmonia, Bull. épigr. 1939 no. 407, that once accompanied a series of sculptures depicting scenes from his myth: Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλῆς Δίνος Ἡρακλῆς Ὀ[μφάλῃ]. Cf. also EITREM in RE (1914) s. v. Hylllos no. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Fluß- und Meergötter auf griechischen und römischen Münzen, RSN 23, 1924, 302–3: the type on one issue is the common one of a river-god reclining with a cornucopiae, identified by the legend Ὑλλος (on the obverse, a bust of the god Men); another issue shows the two river-gods Hermos and Hylllos at either side of Men: E. N. LANE, Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis II, Leiden 1975, 39 no. 12 (Caracalla), 40 no. 17 (Gordian III), 41 no. 18 (Philip I). For another coin with this type see L. ROBERT, Opera Minora Selecta II, Amsterdam 1969, 423 n. 77, and for an issue depicting on the reverse a seated nymph between two river-gods see op. cit. 433 n. 120.

<sup>8</sup> This identification of the river Hylllos was made by ROBERT, op. cit. 434, superseding earlier discussions by RAMSAY and others.

<sup>9</sup> This was pointed out by S. REINACH, REG 3, 1890, 60–61, who rejected the argument by which RAMSAY, JHS 8, 1887, 517 and on the map opposite 461, had sought to place Temenouthyrai on the southern flank of the mountain which delimits the plain of Simav and the territory of Ankyra Sidera to the north, for the reason that the city must have stood near the Hylllos. In his: Historical Geography of Asia Minor, London 1980, 148, RAMSAY repeats this line of argument in detail but then abandons it on the following page, suggesting instead that «there were two rivers Hylllos, one at Saittai, and one at Temenouthyrai, the latter flowing towards the Maeander.» Cf. G. RADET, La Lydie, Paris 1893, 310–11.

by an inscription discovered in the Turkish city of Uşak (*infra* no. 6) which informs us that this city bore the title of ἡ λαμπροτάτη μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς. According to Ptolemy, Geogr. 5, 2, 27, the Mokkaḍenoi were a δῆμος Φρυγίας μεγάλης;<sup>10</sup> other settlements which belonged to this people were the city of Silandos and the village of Thermai Theseos, to the west of Uşak in Lydia (for the localities mentioned here see the map on fig. 1).<sup>11</sup> It is natural to suppose that the territory of the Mokkaḍenoi formed a coherent whole, but these sources provide no means of determining the position of Temenouthyrai within it.

As we have seen, Pausanias states that this city was located in «upper Lydia», whereas the later sources register it in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana. In the time of Pausanias the matter was of no practical importance, since both Lydia and Phrygia formed part of the Province of Asia, and there was therefore no reason to seek to delimit precisely the «frontier» between these two regions.<sup>12</sup> Even the explanation of the second part of the name Temenouthyrai by an etymology that derives it from an ancient Lydian word meaning «stronghold»<sup>13</sup> does not imply any consequences for the exact location of the city (other than the deduction *infra* n. 53), for a position in the Phrygo-Lydian borderland would naturally lead to a mixture of ethnic stocks among its inhabitants.<sup>14</sup> With Pausanias' location of

<sup>10</sup> J. KEIL, RE (1932) s. v. Mokadene and Mokkaḍenoi, was uncertain about the relationship between this δῆμος Μοκαδηνός and the region Μοκαδ(δ)ηνή, attested by the inscription of Temenouthyrai *supra* and the texts cited in the following note, precisely because Ptolemy placed the former in Phrygia παρὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν whereas Silandos and Thermai Theseos are in Lydia; but D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Princeton 1950, II 1022 n. 18, followed by CHR. HABICHT, JRS 65, 1975, 72, was certainly correct in identifying the two; the city of «Mokata» attested by Steph. Byz. (πόλις Βιθυνίας, τὸ ξθινὸν Μοκατηνός) likewise belongs (despite the doubts of KEIL, loc. cit.) in the same context.

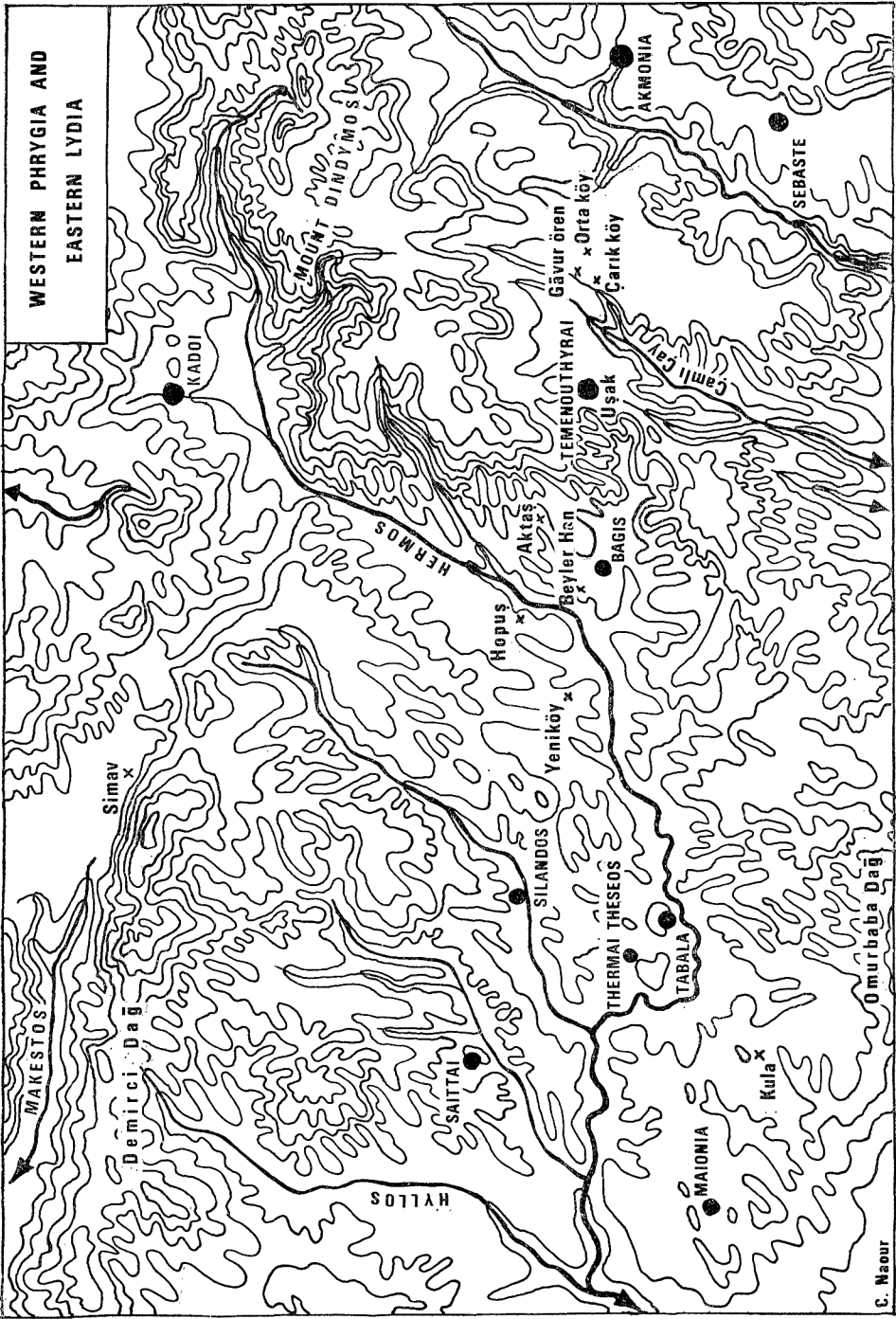
<sup>11</sup> A milestone found at Kula was erected under the first Tetrarchy by ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σιλανδέων πόλις ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς (IGR IV 1380); and an epitaph at Hamamli mentions a κολλήγιον ... ἐν Θερμαῖς Θησέως κόμη τῆς Μοκαδδηνῆς (IGR IV 1377: cf. L. ROBERT, Op. Min. Sel. II 798). Three individuals are described as Μοκαδδηνοί in a confession inscription copied by A. PHILIPPSON in 1901 at Menye, site of the city of Maionia, and published by P. HERRMANN, Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien, Festschrift F. K. Dörner, Leiden 1978, 418. In the list of communities arranged by *conventus iuridici*, JRS 65, 1975, 65, the Μοκαδδηνοί are listed between the Συναεῖται and the Καδυνηεῖς; as HABICHT pointed out, loc. cit. 66, the list therefore antedates the creation of the cities of Temenouthyrai, Silandos and Bagis in the territory of this people.

<sup>12</sup> On the contrary, it was deliberate policy of the Roman government to impose administrative divisions that did not correspond to ethnic groups: cf. the often-quoted passage of Strabo, 13, 628, concerning the organization of the *conventus iuridici*.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra* n. 32; the same etymology was adopted by BURESCH, op. cit. (*infra* n. 28) 166.

<sup>14</sup> The ethnic groups of this portion of Asia Minor were thoroughly intermingled, and indeed Phrygian influence is perceptible throughout eastern Lydia: thus for example J. KEIL suggested that the Maiones, a people that gave its name to the city of Maionia to the north of Philadelphia, may well have been of Phrygian stock: see RE (1927) s. v. Lydia 2166, and cf. also W. RUGE in RE (1928) s. v. Maionia 583.





Temenouthyrai in «Lydia» may be compared the statement in certain authors that the volcanic region of the «Katakekaumene» in eastern Lydia formed part of Phrygia.<sup>15</sup> As ROBERT points out (op. cit. 313), «il est possible que certains aient étendu la Katakékaumène, vers l'est, jusqu'aux collines de basalte et de trachyte de la région d'Uşak, dans une région proprement et exclusivement phrygienne.»

The city of Uşak, built on the lower slopes of two adjoining hills and extending over the level plain immediately to the south, stands at an altitude of ca. 850 m near the western rim of the Phrygian high plateau, to the south of a mountain chain beyond which lies the territory of Kadoi in the upper Hermos valley, and to the south-west of Mt. Dindymos beyond which were the cities of Appia and Kotiaieion. Not far to the west of Uşak is a series of low hills which on their western side suddenly reveal a zone of steep slopes, broken by small valleys with abrupt ridges, that forms the transition between the severe Phrygian plateau oriented southwards towards the Maeander and the pleasant lower-lying region of the Hermos, an entirely different countryside despite the slight distance that separates it from the plain of Uşak. A. PHILIPPSON<sup>16</sup> remarked with regard to the site of Uşak that «die Bedeutung dieser Lage beruht darin, daß sich hier die zwei Wege, die vom unteren Hermos nach dem mittleren phrygischen Hochlande (Afiun-Karahissar) hinaufführen, nämlich erstens [the route followed by the modern highway] durch die Katakekaumene, das Hermostal und über Gjüre [Bagis] und zweitens von Philadelphiea (Alaschehir) im Süden des Omurbaba herum, vereinigen und zusammen weiter nach O ziehen.<sup>17</sup> Uşak beherrscht eben die breite Lücke zwischen Murad- und Omurbaba-Dag, die mit tertiärem Tafelland ausgefüllt ist, anderseits aber auch nach O die ähnliche Lücke zwischen Murad- und Ahar-Dag, ist dazu leicht zugänglich von Kadoi (im Norden) wie vom Mäandertal über Hierapolis oder Tripolis (im Süden).»

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<sup>15</sup> See L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1962, 287 ff., and cf. 311–12: «Il n'y a point de frontière par là distinguant Phrygie et Lydie, il n'y avait pas de distinctions ethniques claires; dans les pays du nord-est et de l'est de la Lydie, que nous appelons «lydophrygiens», on a relevé souvent les marques qui les rattachent à la Phrygie, ainsi, outre des textes et traditions, les stèles funéraires avec objets familiers ou certains cultes.» Different sources «auraient employé les unes «Lydie», les autres «Phrygie» pour la Katakékaumène, – d'autant plus qu'à l'époque byzantine chacune de ces régions a pris un contenu plus précis par l'existence des provinces de ce nom et qu'ainsi un scholiaste de cette époque les distingue mieux.»

<sup>16</sup> Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien IV: Das östliche Lydien und süd-westliche Phrygien, Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft No. 180, 1914, 71. PHILIPPSON also briefly describes the plain of Uşak, covered with fields of grain and opium poppies, here and there interrupted by low hills sometimes occupied by grape-vines.

<sup>17</sup> On the route from Maionia to Akmonia via Temenouthyrai see RAMSAY, *Historical Geography* 168, and on the various roads which led to Uşak from the west see RAMSAY's discussion (which requires modification in several points), *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford 1897, II 571 and 590.

The existence of an ancient city on the site of Uşak was first determined by F. V. J. ARUNDELL,<sup>18</sup> who wrote that «it is impossible to walk about the streets of Hushak without feeling convinced that it occupies the site of an ancient, and that no inconsiderable city. Ancient marbles and inscriptions are to be seen in all directions; but the latter were all sepulchral, and none that I saw had any allusion to the ancient name. A massy building stands near the khan, the front of which is ornamented with numerous sculptures and inscriptions, (for the most part illegible,) which had adorned Greek tombs. They have for the most part, within a circular arch, four square compartments, in each of which are emblems, distinguishing the various mechanical employments of the deceased» (such gravestones in the form of a door, of which the panels are adorned with representations of objects of daily life, are characteristic of certain portions of Phrygia).<sup>19</sup> In addition, a Greek friend named Kyriakos assured ARUNDELL<sup>20</sup> that «he had seen the word *Flaviopolis* repeated in the sepulchral inscriptions which cover the front of the old building near the khan and on the wall of the mosque.»

ARUNDELL concluded that «whatever might have been the earlier name of the town, it was latterly called Flaviopolis; and perhaps in honour of the Emperor Vespasian . . . or if of later date, in honour of the Constantine family»; he suggested that Uşak was the site of the city of «Aludda», located on the Peutinger Table thirty miles from Clanudda, the name which ARUNDELL gave to the extensive ruins that he had discovered at Sülümenli. Sülümenli however was identified by W. J. HAMILTON as the site of the city of Blaundos, and the site of Aloudda is unknown despite the Peutinger Table.<sup>21</sup> J. A. LETRONNE in a review of ARUNDELL's work suggested, without advancing any reason for his hypothesis, that Uşak was rather the site of the city of Eukarpia; but Eukarpia was in fact the most important city of the «Pentapolis» in the plain of Sandıklı far to the east.<sup>22</sup>

Subsequently HAMILTON visited Uşak and saw there «a large and handsome sarcophagus used as a reservoir for water, on which were represented three Cupids

<sup>18</sup> A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia, London 1828, 252; the passage quoted here is repeated in the same author's: Discoveries in Asia Minor I, London 1834, 105.

<sup>19</sup> ARUNDELL also reports, Discoveries 112, that «the common tradition of the people in the town is, that the ancient city, whatever was its name, lay on the *north* side of Hushak, half an hour from the town, at a place called *Chok koslar*, and that in the vineyards there, quantities of columns, sculptured marbles, and foundations, are every day dug up» (but see *infra* n. 42).

<sup>20</sup> Discoveries 116.

<sup>21</sup> On the city of Blaundos see the discussion by KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien, DenkschrWien 54, 1911, 144ff., and for the hypotheses that have been advanced concerning Aloudda see W. RUGE, RE (1941) s. v. Phrygia 811.

<sup>22</sup> Journal des Savants 1829, 691. On the city of Eukarpia see my: Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie 66.

supporting a wreath.»<sup>23</sup> C. TEXIER remarked in his turn<sup>24</sup> that «on ne voit dans la ville d'Ouschak aucun débris de grand monument, mais des fragments d'architecture en marbre blanc sont extraits journellement du sol, encastrés dans les murs des maisons ou transportés dans les cimetières. M. Wagener, professeur de l'université de Gand, a trouvé près d'une fontaine un monument intéressant: c'est un bloc de marbre percé de cavités sphériques de différentes dimensions, et qui ne paraît être autre chose qu'un étalon de mesures pour les liquides.»<sup>25</sup>

The inscriptions copied by PH. LE BAS at Uşak and published by W. H. WADDINGTON<sup>26</sup> were classed by the latter scholar under the heading 'Trajanopolis', without explanation; the ground for this attribution seems to have been the inscription on the base of a statue of Hadrian erected by ἡ Τραιανοπολεῖτων πόλις, which had been discovered by HAMILTON built into the wall of a mosque at the village of Çarık köy seven miles to the east of Uşak.<sup>27</sup> Traianoupolis was in fact located to the east of Uşak<sup>28</sup> beyond the Çamlı Çay, a river flowing from north to south which in antiquity formed the boundary between these two cities; as S. REINACH pointed out,<sup>29</sup> there was never any reason to believe that Traianoupolis stood on the site of Uşak itself.

In his commentary on two inscriptions copied at Uşak by Captain (later General) CALLIER, nos. 3 and 5 *infra*, REINACH emphasized<sup>30</sup> on the one hand that three inscriptions mentioning the name of Temenouthyrai had been found at Uşak, and on the other hand that the title Flaviopolis, which occurs on no. 3 and on coins of the

<sup>23</sup> Researches in Asia Minor I, London 1842, 112; HAMILTON also mentions «the inscriptions which, with other marble blocks, have been built into the wall of a mosque near the khan.»

<sup>24</sup> *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1862, 426; TEXIER concluded that «ces monuments suffisent pour qu'on puisse considérer Ouschak comme occupant l'emplacement d'une ville antique» and cited the identification proposed by LETRONNE.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. A. WAGENER, Notice sur un monument métrologique récemment découvert en Phrygie, *Mémoires de l'Acad. royale de Belgique* 27, 1855, 3 ff.: the monument is a rectangular block, on the upper surface of which are engraved the names of various measures (δικότυλον, χοῖνιξ etc.) beside the cavities to which they correspond; one side bears the inscription Ἀλέξανδρος Δοκιμὸς ἐποίησεν.

<sup>26</sup> *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure*, Paris 1870, nos. 713–729.

<sup>27</sup> IGR IV 623; two other statue bases erected by the council and people of Traianoupolis were copied by K. BURESCH in the villages of Orta köy and Gavur ören, IGR IV 626 and 627 (for the location of these villages see the map on fig. 1).

<sup>28</sup> See provisionally the discussions by K. BURESCH, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, 169, and W. RUGE, RE (1937) s. v. Traianopolis 2; I shall discuss this city elsewhere on the basis of new finds in this region.

<sup>29</sup> REG 3, 1890, 57–58.

<sup>30</sup> Op. cit. 62. CALLIER executed a voyage of exploration in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus and Arabia in the years 1830–1834, but never obtained from the War Ministry an authorization to publish his results; after his death the inscriptions which he had copied were fortunately published by S. REINACH, op. cit. 48–85.

city and was therefore a second name of Temenouthyrai, had been seen by ARUNDELL's friend Kyriakos on several epitaphs at Uşak and thus furnishes additional testimony regarding the location of this city. RAMSAY had previously<sup>31</sup> proposed an etymology for the word Temenouthyrai: «The name clearly means «the Gates, or Passes, of Mt. Temnos,» and the allusions to this mountain suit and almost necessitate its identification with the great chain [Demirci Dağ] that extends east and west on the southern side of the valley in which lie Synaos, Ankyra, and the river Makestos.» REINACH objected notably that for the neighboring city of Grimenouthyrai there is no mountain known to correspond to the first portion of the name; that coins of the city (in addition to the epigram *infra* no. 2, subsequently published) mentioning Τήμενος πίστεως or οἰκιστής show that its inhabitants did not connect this name with that of a mountain; and that the second element meant in fact «stronghold» in the Lydian language, comparing the Lydian toponyms Θυάτειρα and Τεῖρα.<sup>32</sup> RAMSAY subsequently accepted this explanation of the second part of the toponym as a popular etymology for the Lydian *teira*, but stated nevertheless that «the name Τημενοθύραι was clearly understood to mean «the passes of Mount Temnos.» At the same time he accepted in principle REINACH's suggestion that Temenouthyrai had stood on the site of Uşak,<sup>33</sup> without however explaining how this localisation may be made to accord with the etymology on which he continued to insist. In fact, as BURESCH pointed out,<sup>34</sup> Uşak dominates no mountain pass: «in alten wie in neuen Zeiten hat die Bedeutung seiner Lage vielmehr lediglich darin bestanden, daß es hart am W-Rand der großen phrygischen Hochebene liegt und eine Station der uralten Kulturstraße ist, welche von Smyrna (resp. Phokaea und Ephesos) in den fernerer Orient führt.»

REINACH's localisation of Temenouthyrai at Uşak was adopted by E. LEGRAND and J. CHAMONARD, who discovered there the honorific inscription no. 4 *infra*.<sup>35</sup> G. RADET however distinguished two cities:<sup>36</sup> «Ouchak est certainement Flavio-

<sup>31</sup> JHS 8, 1887, 517.

<sup>32</sup> J. SUNDWALL, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, Leipzig 1913, 220, states that the forms Θυα, Τ(ε)υα and Τυος are all variants of the same toponym; for references to other discussions of this etymology see KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* 133.

<sup>33</sup> *Historical Geography* 149: «I should then look for Temenothyrai a little to the west of Ushak, on the higher ground separating the basins of the Hermos and the Maeander . . . The neighbourhood of Kure [the site of Bagis: *infra* n. 39] and Yeni Keui, or possibly Ushak itself, may be given as the site of Temenothyrai.»

<sup>34</sup> *Aus Lydien* 165; BURESCH also objected that the word for «mountain pass» is πύλαι and not θυραι and that the mountain to the north of Uşak could not have formed part of Mt. Temnos.

<sup>35</sup> BCH 17, 1893, 265: «Ce texte, confirmant le témoignage de l'inscription 727 de Le Bas et des deux inscriptions du capitaine Callier publiées par M. Reinach, met hors de doute que la ville de Temenothyrae se trouvait aux environs d'Ouchak, et peut-être sur son emplacement même.»

<sup>36</sup> En Phrygie: Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Asie Mineure (août-septembre

polis. Quant à Temenothyrae, je pense, avec Ramsay,<sup>37</sup> qu'il faut peut-être la chercher plus loin et plus haut, soit au sud, du côté des collines qui délimitent les bassins du Méandre et de l'Hermus, soit au nord, sur les dernières rampes du Dindyme.»<sup>38</sup> This opinion that a city of Flaviopolis is to be distinguished from Temenouthyrai was embraced by RAMSAY, who then placed the former at Uşak and the latter at the village of Güre to the west, which is in fact the site of Bagis.<sup>39</sup> But this idea was definitively refuted by F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, who demonstrated that the honorific title Flaviopolis never appears alone without the name of the city Temenouthyrai.<sup>40</sup>

Shortly before the end of the last century K. BURESCH visited Uşak expressly in order to determine «ob diese bedeutende türkische Stadt auf der Stelle einer antiken stehe (wie seit den Berichten älterer Reisender gewöhnlich angenommen worden ist) und, wenn dies sich exact nachweisen lasse, welche Stadt dies gewesen sein möge.» It is clear that if Uşak does in fact stand on the site of an ancient city, then this city must have left tangible remains; and in fact BURESCH was shown in the southeastern part of Uşak a ruined building called the Taşhane, «(d. i. Steinhaus). Diesen Namen verdankt es lediglich dem Boden, auf welchem es steht: dieser hat bis in die Gegenwart, so oft man große Steinblöcke brauchte, derlei in Menge geliefert; noch vor wenigen Jahren hat man hier zum Bau einer Brücke eine Anzahl gewaltiger Marmorblöcke und -platten ausgegraben, welche ich bei der Burmadshami gesammelt fand.» BURESCH states that among the blocks from this spot were those that carry inscriptions nos. 2 and 4 *infra*, both of which were thus certainly extracted from the soil of Uşak itself.<sup>41</sup> He concluded that the existence

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1893), Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques 6, 1895, 521 (this error may be found already in ARUNDELL: *v. infra* n. 57).

<sup>37</sup> This is incorrect: RADET refers to Historical Geography 149, but as we have seen, RAMSAY there placed Temenouthyrai either to the west of Uşak, at what is in fact the site of Bagis, or at Uşak itself.

<sup>38</sup> After a visit to the villages on the lower slopes of the Murat Dağ (Mount Dindymos) to the north of Uşak, I can state that there exist here no ancient remains which would justify the location of a city in this area.

<sup>39</sup> On Bagis see KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* 124 ff., and for RAMSAY's hypotheses see *Cities and Bishoprics* II 596; however, on p. 558 of the same book RAMSAY classed the Christian inscriptions found at Uşak under the heading 'Trajanopolis'!

<sup>40</sup> *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna 1898, 207: «Ushak ist demnach nicht Flaviopolis im Sinne einer Stadt der Temenothyriten, in deren Nähe Temenouthyrai erst noch zu suchen wäre, sondern es ist Temenouthyrai selbst, Flaviopolis zubenannt.»

<sup>41</sup> *Aus Lydien* 164: «Unter den oben erwähnten Steinblöcken aus dem Taşhane tragen zwei Inschrift. Der größte von ihnen, eine gewaltige Basis, kündigt folgendes [no. 2] ... Der andre Stein, eine kleinere Basis, verzeichnet die Ehrung eines vornehmen Bürgers durch den Rat und die Stadt Temenouthyrai; die letztere tituliert sich ... ἡ λαμπροτάτη Τημενοθυρέων πόλις» (*infra* n. 91).

of these numerous architectural and epigraphical remains left no doubt possible concerning the location of Temenouthyrai on the site of Uşak.<sup>42</sup>

This identification was generally accepted<sup>43</sup> until an attack was launched upon it by J. KEIL and A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, who drew attention to the fact, already noted by previous travellers, that numerous inscribed stones are constantly carried to the important center of Uşak, for sale or for use as construction material, from the ancient sites in the vicinity; this is certainly true, and indeed this process continues today.<sup>44</sup> KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN suggested however that *all* the inscriptions and architectural blocks recorded at Uşak had been brought there in modern times: despite the abundant remains of antiquity seen there by ARUNDELL, HAMILTON, WAGENER, TEXIER, LE BAS, CALLIER, LEGRAND and CHAMONARD, RAMSAY, BURESCH and others,<sup>45</sup> Uşak is, according to this theory of KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, not at all an ancient site. It may be noted that these scholars were the first to advance such a radical hypothesis: for all previous travellers who had visited Uşak were convinced that the city stands on the site of an ancient town, the problem for them being merely to identify its name.

<sup>42</sup> Op. cit. 163: «heute in der That eine nicht zu bezweifelnde Thatsache.» BURESCH remarked (164 n. 1) that he had heard from the inhabitants of Uşak nothing about the place «Tschok-koslar» mentioned by ARUNDELL, *supra* n. 19, but that he was told on the other hand (op. cit. 163) that near a ruined fortification in the northern part of the city «von jeher antike Steinblöcke in Menge zu Tage gekommen (sind).» KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* 134, state that there exist at the first of these places only modern quarries without any trace of an ancient site, and suggest that the blocks of stone found at the second spot had been previously reused there in the now-destroyed fortification.

<sup>43</sup> For example by B. V. HEAD, *BMC Phrygia*, London 1906, ci, and R. KIEPERT, *Karte von Kleinasien* at 1:400,000, Berlin 1912; the identification is found already in H. KIEPERT, *Formae orbis antiqui* IX, Berlin 1894, with p. 7 and n. 100, and still in PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* (n. 16).

<sup>44</sup> Thus the epitaph of Dexter, which KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* no. 245, had photographed at the village of Beyler Han in the neighborhood of Aktaş, is now in the museum at Uşak, as are likewise the epitaphs of the foster children Alexander and Elpis photographed by P. HERRMANN at Beyler Han in 1969 (nos. 25 and 26 in HERRMANN's *Corpus of Northeast Lydia*). From Aktaş itself is the likewise unpublished epitaph of Oinanthe in the Uşak museum (no. 13 in the *Corpus*), whereas from Sebaste in Phrygia came to the museum the honorific inscription for Q. Memmius Charidemus (RAMSAY, *Cities and Bishoprics* II 603 no. 477); from the region of Appia and Kotiaëion are several characteristic epitaphs with interesting scenes which I shall publish elsewhere, and from Akmonia the epitaph of Vibios Smaragdos (LEGRAND and CHAMONARD, *BCH* 7, 1893, 259 no. 41) which was already copied at Uşak by KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN (unpublished facsimile in the Vienna *schedae*), two dedications to Apollo, *GRBS* 17, 1976, 250 nos. 4–5 (the first is dated to 147/8 A. D.), etc. On the transport of stones from Akmonia to Uşak see L. ROBERT, *Journal des Savants* 1975, 156 n. 7. Also in the Uşak museum is the dedication by Γάιος Ἀλεξάνδρου[u] to Zeus Galaktios (KOERTE, *infra* n. 85, no. 52), etc.

<sup>45</sup> To the testimony of these voyagers may be added that of KONTOLEON and WEBER, who copied at Uşak inscriptions nos. 6 and 7 (*infra*) respectively, and that of K. KOUROU-

In defence of their view KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN stated that nowhere in Uşak had they seen ancient ruins, and indeed «an keiner . . . Stelle der Stadt und der von uns begangenen Äcker und Weingärten ringsum konnten wir das Vorkommen antiker Ziegelreste, welche auch unbedeutende alte Ortslagen sofort kenntlich machen, konstatieren.»<sup>46</sup> But the city had been entirely rebuilt after a disastrous conflagration shortly before their visit,<sup>47</sup> and the absence of ancient tile fragments or ruins *in situ* visible above ground is hardly surprising if the modern city covers the site that was once occupied by the ancient town. KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN also suggested that the ancient blocks, including the two inscriptions mentioning the name of Temenouthyrai, which as BURESCH attests were extracted from the ground formerly occupied by the «Taşhane», could have been previously employed as construction material in the foundations of this Turkish building after they had been brought to Uşak from the real site of Temenouthyrai, elsewhere. But this is pure hypothesis, which cannot in its turn support the theory that none of the ancient material recorded at Uşak had remained there since antiquity.

Since Uşak was for KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN not an ancient site, they were obliged to locate Temenouthyrai elsewhere; and they therefore proposed to place the city at a site discovered by BURESCH near the village Aktaş («White Stone»), about 12 km WNW of Uşak to the north of Bagis, where inscriptions and other ancient remains had been found. In support of this hypothesis they advanced the following arguments: 1. Aktaş is the ancient site nearest to Uşak, and therefore the most likely source of the antiquities recorded there (but of course this argument collapses if Uşak is itself on an ancient site); 2. Aktaş is located in Lydian territory whereas Uşak, on the western rim of the high plateau, is geographically part of Phrygia (this is certainly true, but as we have seen, the fact that Pausanias placed Temenouthyrai in Lydia provides no topographical information on which to base a precise localization of the city); 3. the Lydian settlements Silandos and Thermai Theseos

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NIOTES, (*Archaeological Voyage in Asia Minor*), *Hemerologion tes Megales Hellados*, 1925, 395–400, who saw at Uşak numerous gravestones and other inscriptions built into the fountains and mosques, others in the courtyard of the ruined Armenian church (whence he sent the doorstone no. 1 *infra* to İzmir), two female statues lacking their heads, the two funerary altars from Akmonia now at İzmir discussed by ROBERT, *Hellenica* X, Paris 1955, 249 ff., and a fine marble lion likewise sent to İzmir.

<sup>46</sup> Zweite Reise 134.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. BURESCH, *Aus Lydien* 161: «Die altberühmte Stadt ist vor kurzem, am 27. August 1894, von einer furchtbaren Feuersbrunst fast ganz zerstört worden . . . So bot sich mir beim Einritze ein eigentümliches Bild: ein schwarzes Trümmerfeld, in dem hier weiße Zelte schimmerten, dort neue Häuser oder Baracken verstreut lagen, überall aber rauchgeschwärmte Minarehs melancholisch aufragten.» See also PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.* (n. 16): Uşak is «sehr regelmäßig gebaut, nachdem es wiederholt durch Brand (1894) und Erdbeben zerstört worden.» Naturally all available ancient blocks were used as building material in the successive reconstructions. The city suffered anew in the Greco-Turkish war, and most of the buildings now standing are of quite recent date.



were, like Temenouthyrai, inhabited by the Mokkadenoi (also true; but, as we have seen, this fact presents no obstacle to the localization of Temenouthyrai at Uşak – nor does it constitute a positive argument in favor of placing the city precisely at Aktaş); 4. Aktaş is only 12 km from the site of Bagis at Güre, and Bagis struck Homonoia coins with Temenouthyrai, «welche mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit auf eine benachbarte Lage der beiden Städte schließen lassen.» This last argument has no force whatsoever: for although there do exist coins struck under Gallienus (obv.: bust of that emperor; rev.: Men and Tyche) with the legend *Καισαρέων Βαγηνῶν Τημενοθυρέων ὁμόνοια*,<sup>48</sup> another Homonoia issue, which bears on the obverse the busts of Valerian and Gallienus, depicts on the reverse the city-goddesses of Temenouthyrai and Sebaste holding a statue of Men, with the legend *Τημενοθυρέων καὶ Σεβαστηνῶν ὁμόνοια· Κλεόβουλος ἄρχων*.<sup>49</sup> The fact that Temenouthyrai thus commemorated under Gallienus its relations with one city in Lydia and another in Phrygia, naturally permits no deductions as to its precise location.<sup>50</sup>

None of the arguments advanced by KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN in favor of their location of Temenouthyrai at Aktaş has therefore any probative value, and it must be remarked on the other hand that none of the inscriptions copied at Aktaş by BURESCH, or by KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN themselves, bears the name of any city or village.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless their hypothesis – no ancient site at Uşak, and Temenouthyrai at Aktaş – won widespread acceptance, not least because KEIL repeated his views in RE (1934) s. v. Temenothyrαι, where he set forth without change the arguments analyzed *supra*.<sup>52</sup> Recently P. HERRMANN found at Aktaş an

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<sup>48</sup> LANE, op. cit. (*supra* n. 7) 15 no. 3; for an issue with the bust of Salonina and, on the reverse, Heracles and Dionysos with the same legend see BMC Lydia, London 1901, 41 nos. 57–58.

<sup>49</sup> The examples have now been collected by LANE, op. cit. 74–75 no. 5. Although specimens of this issue were published as long ago as 1878, and notably by BABELON in his *Inventaire de la Collection Waddington* and in the BMC Phrygia, KEIL ignored their existence both in his discussion loc. cit. and still in his RE article s. v. Temenothyrαι (1934), despite the fact that B. V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1911, 687 – to whom KEIL refers in the RE – cites the type, with its legend, in his section devoted to the coinage of Temenouthyrai.

<sup>50</sup> K. KRAFT, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien: Materialien und Entwürfe*, Berlin 1972, 45, detected similarities in the obverse dies of issues struck under Valerian and Gallienus by Temenouthyrai, Bagis, Tripolis, Eumeneia (the two latter linked by die identities) and perhaps Hierapolis; R. MÜNSTERBERG had already noted a case of identity in the obverse dies of Bagis and Temenouthyrai (cf. KRAFT, op. cit. 14); these observations allow only the conclusion that Temenouthyrai was situated in the general region of the cities mentioned.

<sup>51</sup> For the inscriptions of Aktaş see BURESCH, *Aus Lydien* 201, and KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* 129–133.

<sup>52</sup> KEIL was followed for example by D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule* II 999, and by L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* X 252 and XI–XII, Paris 1960, 282 (cf. JS 1978, 41: «ville lydienne»).

honorific inscription erected by οἱ ἐν Λυένδῳ κάτοικοι which he dated, on the basis of letter forms, to the second century B. C. HERRMANN remarked that on the one hand the site of Lyendos was not necessarily the place where this inscription had been erected or even found, and on the other hand that even if Lyendos was in fact located at Aktaş, the existence of this *katoikia* might well have preceded the foundation of Temenouthyrai on the same site, since the earliest attestation of this city is furnished by its title Flaviopolis.<sup>53</sup> The fact remains, however, that no *positive* indications have ever been adduced to support the localization of Temenouthyrai precisely at Aktaş – in contrast to the set of reasons that may be marshalled, as we shall see, in favor of placing this city at Uşak.

Concerning the site at Aktaş a different theory may be proposed. KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN remarked that the type (form and decoration) of the gravestones found at Aktaş is «aufs nächste verwandt» with that of the gravestones found at Güre, the site of the city of Bagis.<sup>54</sup> In view of this close similarity between the funerary monuments belonging to these two sites, which are located near to one another in the same plain to the south of the Hermos, there exists at present no evidence to disprove the view that in Roman times the *katoikia* Lyendos at Aktaş simply formed part of the territory of the city of Bagis.<sup>55</sup> If this is correct, as I

<sup>53</sup> Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien, DenkschrWien 80, 1962, 34–35. As HERRMANN observed, however, if the etymology proposed for the second portion of the name Temenouthyrai is correct (see *supra* n. 32), then this toponym must have existed since very early times – certainly earlier than the Hellenistic period. The theory that Lyendos was later succeeded on the same site by Temenouthyrai would seem therefore to require the rejection of this Lydian etymology.

<sup>54</sup> Zweite Reise 125. Unfortunately deductions drawn from this observation must rest provisionally upon the pronouncement of KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, since part of the material upon which it is based, recorded by them at Bagis in 1908, is still unpublished; cf. op. cit. 132: «Die hier in Abb. 82 veröffentlichte Stele [photographed at Beyler Han] gibt ein besonders wohl erhaltenes und gut ausgeführtes Beispiel eines Grabsteintypus, der uns bisher nur in der Umgebung von Ak Tasch begegnet ist und in einer dort oder in der Nähe betriebenen antiken Steinmetzwerkstatt ausgebildet worden zu sein scheint. Zu ihm gehören noch zwei nicht veröffentlichte Stelen aus Gjüre, ferner n. 239. 241. 242 aus Ak Tasch.»

<sup>55</sup> It is true that P. HERRMANN, Chiron 2, 1972, 528 n. 32, partially published a fragmentary inscription from the village Hopuş, about 7 km northwest of Aktaş, which contains the date ἔτους ρλθ', μη(νὸς) Ἄρτε[μίσίου . . .] / ὥς δὲ Βαγνηοὶ ἄγουσ[ι . . .]. HERRMANN comments: «Für Bagis hatten KEIL–PREMIERSTEIN, 2. Reise S. 125, so wie für Aktaş die aktische Ära angenommen, was möglicherweise durch den Neufund, der aus dem Grenzgebiet zwischen beiden Ortsnamen stammen kann, zu revidieren ist.» Indeed it is certain that the Actian era of 31 B. C. was employed at the site of Aktaş (cf. KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, op. cit. 129), since an inscription found there, dated ἔτους ρξη' (168), mentions a Π(όπλιος) Αἴλιος Θεογένης, his wife Αἴλια Ἀμμία and his children Αἴλιος Τύραννος, Αἴλιος Θεογένης and Αἴλιος Πανλεῖνος: the presence of these Aelii renders necessary use of the Actian era which yields 137/8 A. D. Now if Aktaş was in fact the site of a *katoikia* in the territory of Bagis, then the latter must obviously have employed like-

believe, then the boundary between Bagis and Temenouthyrai will have run from north to south along the line of the steep descent from the high plateau of Uşak to the valley of the Hermos.

Let us now examine what facts can be mustered to support the localization of Temenouthyrai at Uşak. The accounts of the early travellers concerning the varied and numerous antiquities which they saw at Uşak have already been cited; at this point it may be worthwhile to glance at the numismatic evidence. Already ARUNDELL stated that he had «seen at [Uşak], and frequently received from thence, medals of Bagae, and some with the Omonoia of Temenothyrae;» furthermore, «when I was there [at Uşak] the first time, I saw among other medals of Cotyaeum, Eumenia, etc. one which was nearly illegible, but with the termination ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.<sup>56</sup> Some time after, a very fine copper medal of large size was sent to me from Ushak, and which had been dug up there, with the legend ΦΛΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, (Flaviopolis,) with the *Omonoia* on the reverse of *Temenothyrae*.<sup>57</sup> Another, precisely similar, was subsequently purchased by my friend Mr. Borrell, also found at, and sent from Ushak.»<sup>58</sup> In his turn W. H. WADDINGTON<sup>59</sup> purchased at Uşak coins of Grimenouthyrai, Sebaste, Ankyra Sidera, the Mysi Abbaitai, Tiberiopolis, Clannouda, Metropolis (in southern Phrygia) and Sala. Subsequently RAMSAY was struck by the fact<sup>60</sup> that «I have found coins of

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wise the Actian era. But the inscription from Hopuş contains no evidence obliging us to abandon KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN's view that this was in fact the case; on the contrary, it seems preferable to maintain their interpretation and conclude that the inscription at Hopuş comes from a border region between the territory of Bagis, which used the Actian era, and that of a city to the north which employed the Sullan era of 85/4 B. C.

<sup>56</sup> Discoveries in Asia Minor 64 and 116. Cf. Seven Churches 253–54: «Of four medals which were shown me, one was of Cotyaeum, the second of Eumenia, third nearly illegible, but with the termination . . . ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, and the fourth a silver lower empire coin of John Zimisce.»

<sup>57</sup> ARUNDELL misinterpreted this coin as a Homonoia issue and consequently distinguished two separate cities, «Flaviopolis» and «Temenothyrai» (error repeated by RADET and RAMSAY and refuted by IMHOOF-BLUMER, *supra* n. 40); he suggested (75 n. 1) that the latter city might have been located near the village Yenişehir between Silandos and Bagis, where he had been told that there existed numerous rock-cut tombs and where he had himself seen and bought many coins, of which he unfortunately does not mention the period or the mint(s).

<sup>58</sup> It is interesting to note that the BMC Phrygia mentions three coins of Temenouthyrai acquired from ARUNDELL in 1839: 409 no. 8 (obv.: Ἀθήμιος Φλαβιοπολεϊτῶν, rev.: Men); 409 no. 10 (obv.: Ἐρεῖα Βουλῆ, rev.: Artemis); 414 no. 29 (obv.: Otacilia Severa, rev.: Apollo). The «precisely similar» coin mentioned by ARUNDELL as having been found at Uşak and purchased by BORRELL is doubtless op. cit. 408 no. 5 (obv.: Ἀθήμιος Φλαβιοπολεϊτῶν, rev.: Athena or Roma), which was acquired from H. P. BORRELL in 1832 together with other coins of Temenouthyrai.

<sup>59</sup> Voyage en Asie Mineure au point de vue numismatique, Paris 1853, 78, 34, 11, 38, 35, 20, 28, 33.

<sup>60</sup> Historical Geography 148.

Temenouthyrai offered for sale in great numbers at Uşak.» Unfortunately KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN report no numismatic observations in this city.

At the time of my first visit to Uşak in 1968 Mr. DOĞU GÖKSEL, representative there of the Service of Antiquities and Museums, kindly showed me the coins in his keeping, which had been found, he stated, in various excavations for foundations of buildings within the city. Among them I noted a bronze of Alexander the Great<sup>61</sup> and twenty coins struck by Greek cities of Asia Minor, which are of interest as providing a slight indication of the monetary circulation here during Roman times.<sup>62</sup>

Two of these coins were struck by Temenouthyrai itself, under Philip II,<sup>63</sup> and another by the neighboring city of Grimenouthyrai (pseudo-autonomous: on the obverse the symbolic bust of the Δῆμος; on the reverse, Zeus enthroned).<sup>64</sup> From Sebaste came a coin struck under Augustus, with a reverse depicting Zeus,<sup>65</sup> and from Stektorion in the Pentapolis a coin of Severus Alexander with, once again, Zeus on the reverse.<sup>66</sup> The city of Lysias furnished an issue under Gordian III with a reverse depicting Cybele,<sup>67</sup> and still further to the east Prynnessos was represented by a bronze with the bust of Tiberius and on the reverse the goddess Justice, patron of that city, with the name of the benefactor Ἀρτᾶς φιλόπατρις.<sup>68</sup> From the

<sup>61</sup> On the obverse, the head of Heracles; on the reverse, a bow in case and a club: cf. SNG Copenhagen, Macedonia, Copenhagen 1943, nos. 1034–44.

<sup>62</sup> In the paragraphs which follow, one reference only is cited for each coin, since the purpose of these references is not to provide a bibliography of the publications of each issue but rather to identify the coins in question. It is to be hoped that these coins are now in the collection of the Uşak Museum and that more have been added since, if possible with records of their provenience.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. SNG Copenhagen, Phrygia, 1948, no. 744 (for the type *v. infra* n. 99).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. op. cit. no. 404. For the hypotheses that have been advanced concerning the site of Grimenouthyrai see the bibliography given by W. RUGE in RE (1941) s. v. Phrygia col. 829; for a coin of this city which I saw at Çivril, in the territory of Eumeneia, see my: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV n. 97.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. BMC Phrygia 373 nos. 21–22. For coins of this city found in the territory of Eumeneia see: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV nn. 54–55. Numerous inscriptions have been carried from the site of Sebaste to Uşak, and some are now in the museum there (*v. supra* n. 44). For an inscription of Sebaste for the emperor Tiberius see: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter I no. 7.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. SNG von Aulock, Phrygien, Berlin 1964, no. 3960. Another coin of this city was found in the territory of Eumeneia, see: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV n. 58.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. SNG von Aulock, Phrygien no. 3881. For the site of Lysias see provisionally DREW-BEAR, *Historia* 21, 1972, 79 no. 10, and HABICHT, *JRS* 65, 1975, 86, and for a coin of this city in the territory of Eumeneia see: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV n. 59.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. BMC Phrygia 364 nos. 20–21. For an inscription honoring Septimius Severus, doubtless from Prynnessos, at Afyonkarahisar see TH. DREW-BEAR and W. ECK, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 289–290 no. 1, and on the city in general see L. ROBERT, *Journal des Savants* 1975,

great city of Apameia to the southeast, of which coins are found throughout Phrygia, came two pseudo-autonomous bronzes, one with the symbolic bust of the City and the triple Hecate<sup>69</sup> and the other with the symbolic bust of the City Council and a cult-statue of Ephesian Artemis;<sup>70</sup> from the important center Kibyra far to the south I saw a coin of Augustus with a depiction of Zeus on the reverse,<sup>71</sup> and from the little city of Herakleia Salbake another coin of the same emperor which shows Heracles on the reverse.<sup>72</sup> The presence of this coin here is especially interesting since no other issues of this minor city have been found outside the plateau of Tabai, with the exception of three seen at Aphrodisias.<sup>73</sup>

Continuing towards the north, the large city of Laodikeia was represented by a coin of Caracalla depicting Tyche,<sup>74</sup> and the major city of Hierapolis contributed a coin of Augustus (on the reverse, a tripod with the name of the monetary magistrate Παππιας Ἀπελλίδου),<sup>75</sup> one of Antoninus Pius showing a hero with a double axe,<sup>76</sup> and one of Caracalla depicting Demeter beside an altar.<sup>77</sup> The neighboring city of Dionysoupolis was the origin of a pseudo-autonomous coin with the symbolic bust of the Sacred Council and an archaic cult-statue of Artemis;<sup>78</sup> from Tripolis in Lydia I saw a coin of Philip I depicting on the reverse Zeus enthroned,<sup>79</sup> and from Antioch, likewise on the Maeander, a pseudo-autonomous bronze with the bust of Athena and the god Hermes.<sup>80</sup> From central Lydia came a coin of Hypaipa with the bust of Salonina and Artemis Anaitis, bearing the name of the στρατηγὸς Κονδιανός,<sup>81</sup> and from Thyateira a pseudo-autonomous issue with the bust of Athena or Roma and Athena on the reverse.<sup>82</sup> Finally, Ephesus – from

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171–73. For the title φιλόπατρις which appears on this coin see my: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV no. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. SNG von Aulock, Phrygien 3475.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. P. DE SAXE-COBURG, RN 1892, 82 and Pl. II 4.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. SNG Copenhagen, Phrygia no. 280.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. L. and J. ROBERT, *La Carie II*, Paris 1954, 219; the coin bears the name Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου.

<sup>73</sup> One was seen by L. and J. ROBERT, but «nous avons oublié, avant de l'avoir noté, le type de cette monnaie de grand module» (loc. cit. n. 2); two others were brought to the excavators at Aphrodisias by local villagers: see D. J. MACDONALD, *Coins from Aphrodisias*, *British Arch. Reports Suppl. Series 9*, Oxford 1976, 10 nos. 363–64.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. SNG von Aulock, Phrygien no. 3859.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. BMC Phrygia 244 no. 99.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. SNG Copenhagen, Phrygia no. 458.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. BMC Phrygia 269 no. 21.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. op. cit. 183 no. 9 and Pl. 23. 5. On this city see TH. DREW-BEAR, *GRBS* 17, 1976, 261–62.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. BMC Lydia 376 no. 70. It is interesting to note that I saw three coins of this city in the territory of Eumeneia, see: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV nn. 67, 68, 92.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. SNG Copenhagen, Caria, 1947, no. 30.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. SNG Copenhagen, Lydia, 1947, no. 204.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. op. cit. no. 580.

which coins circulated in small numbers throughout Phrygia – was represented here by an issue depicting on the reverse Artemis standing to right with a stag.<sup>83</sup> It is interesting to observe the preponderance, in this small sample, of coins from Phrygian cities over those from Lydia: a testimony to the main direction followed by the commercial exchanges and voyages undertaken by the citizens of Temenouthyrai.

After this numismatic testimony we may return to the archaeological evidence, for in this domain also it is possible to confirm the accounts of the early travellers, which contrast with the negative conclusions reached by KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN. MACHTELD MELLINK in her chronicle of archaeology in Asia Minor was recently able to publish the following bulletin:<sup>84</sup> «Dr. Nezih Fıratlı kindly reports that in the course of construction opposite the Ulucami many ancient remains were brought to light, including columns and architraves. This proves that Uşak indeed stands on an ancient site.» In 1973 I visited myself the large and deep excavations which had been made in the center of town near the Ulu Cami (mosque) for the foundations of an important building. At a depth of about 3½ m tile fragments were visible in the scarp. The excavation attained a maximum depth of ca. 5 m in its eastern portion; in the scarp here (ca. 1½ m below ground level) was what appeared to be a stratum of ca. 50 cm which showed traces of burning. At the bottom of the excavation, pushed to one side by the bulldozers, lay a white marble architrave block broken at one end (l. ca. 1 m 90, th. ca. 60 cm, h. ca. 45 cm): one side displayed three fasciae, each projecting a little beyond that below, surmounted by an egg-and-tongue moulding, whereas the other side, more roughly finished, was decorated with a cyma moulding and showed in its upper portion two rectangular cuttings; at the preserved end, the face was prepared to meet the adjoining epistyle block by anathyrosis. Nearby lay a similar architrave block, ca. 70 cm long, on which was carved the letter *sigma*;<sup>85</sup> a third, protruding from the earth over a visible length of ca. 1 m 60, displayed on one side two more rectangular cuttings in its upper portion, roughly finished above a cyma moulding. Also visible was an unfluted column fragment of white marble with a projecting band at top

<sup>83</sup> I was unable to identify the emperor on the obverse (the ethnic on the reverse is legible). A coin of Ephesus for example in the territory of Eumeneia: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Chapter IV n. 72.

<sup>84</sup> AJA 78, 1974, 128.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. A. KOERTE, *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*, *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Universität Greifswald* 1902, 31–32 no. 56: at Uşak BURESCH had seen a «magnum architravi fragmentum muro templi, quod vocatur (Kurşunlu Cami), immissum: litterae permagnae» with the inscription (thus restored by KOERTE, who rightly comments «quae supplevi non certa sunt»): [Αὐτοκρατορὶ Καίσαρι Ἀντωνίνῳ] Σεβαστῶι Εὐσεβεῖ \*{αἰ – –} (IGR IV 613). For another architrave block at Uşak with three fasciae and the inscription [ – – θ]εοῖς [π]α[τ]ρίοις \*{αἰ – –} see KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* 136 no. 249. From the same building?

(diameter ca. 50 cm); another, apparently *in situ*, emerged from the earth to a height of ca. 50 cm, and next to it lay a third, ca. 2 m long, which had apparently belonged to the same column. Numerous square and rectangular rather roughly finished blocks of white marble had been jumbled and piled along one of the edges of the scarp. It is interesting to observe the considerable depth at which these ancient remains were found, a witness to the rise in ground level since antiquity, doubtless due to continuous occupation of this site at the base of a hill.

After considering this archaeological evidence for the existence of an ancient site at Uşak, let us see whether the epigraphical testimony allows us to give this site a name. The city of Temenouthyrai, or its ethnic, is attested by the following inscriptions, and only by them (the list is complete):

1. PH. LE BAS and W. H. WADDINGTON, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure* no. 727 and CIG 3865 1, after a copy by LE BAS (W. M. RAMSAY, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* II 558 no. 444; IGR IV 630): recorded at Uşak.

ἔτους τ'ξ' γ' μην(νός) Περειτίου ι'<sup>86</sup>

Εὐτύχης Εὐτύχου Τατί-

α γυναικὶ καὶ πατρὶ μνή-

4 μης χάριν Χριστιανοί,

καὶ ἑαυτῶ· Φελλίνας, Τημενοθυρεῖς<sup>87</sup>

L. 5: the last letters are inscribed vertically on the right border. The ethnic was

<sup>86</sup> KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN, who copied this text at Uşak in 1908, read τξί' (facsimile). E. GIBSON, *The Christians to Christians Inscriptions of Phrygia*, Cambridge 1978, no. 36, dates this inscription according to the Sullan era, which yields (with the reading τξγ') 278/9 A. D. The remark in Chiron 2, 1972, 528, that the era utilized at Temenouthyrai was that of the battle of Actium, rests upon the supposed location of this city at the site of Aktaş; but a city located at Uşak, in western Phrygia, might well be expected to use the Sullan era, as did the other cities in this region (GIBSON suggests that this gravestone was transported to Uşak in modern times from the site of Akmonia, where the Sullan era was certainly employed).

<sup>87</sup> GIBSON proposes the correction Τημενοθυρε(ύ)ς. PH. LE BAS, who travelled through Asia Minor in 1843/4, saw this stone at Uşak «dans la sacristie de l'église des Arméniens». Half a century later BURESCH, *Aus Lydien* 162, states that he had rediscovered this inscription in the ruins of the Armenian church «und dabei erfahren, daß sowohl sie als einige gleichartige, ebendort befindliche Grabsteine von Ahatkjöi [Akmonia] stammen.» Clearly it is possible that this family of citizens of Temenouthyrai could have lived and died at Akmonia; but their epitaph had stood in the Armenian church at Uşak at least two generations, and possibly much longer, before BURESCH's visit: under these conditions it is hardly probable that BURESCH's informants any longer possessed specific information as to its provenience, and in fact they doubtless based their statement merely upon the general truth that ancient marbles are frequently brought to Uşak from the site of Akmonia. In any case, other doorstones, recorded at Uşak, must certainly be attributed to Temenouthyrai rather than to Akmonia: see *infra* n. 118.

recognized by WADDINGTON and by BURESCH, *Aus Lydien* 162. RAMSAY restored [λατύπος] after the ethnic, without taking into consideration the form of the monument (cf. the fac-similé published by LE BAS), which renders the restoration materially impossible. This doorstone, now in the Basmane Museum at İzmir, is republished with a photograph by GIBSON (n. 86).

2. K. BURESCH, *Aus Lydien* 164: on one of the stones extracted from the 'Taşhane' at Uşak.

Εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένω, τίνος εἰκών; Λουκίου εἰμί.  
 στῆσε δὲ τίς σε, φρασεῖς; Τημενιδῶν γενεή.  
 ἀντὶ δὲ τεῦ, λέξεις; πανσόφου ἀντ' ἄρετῆς.  
 4 Πουφίδιον στήσαν Λούκιον εὐγενέω  
 δόγματι Τημενιδῶν παῖδες ἔδν πατέρα

The inscription occupied the base of a statue of Lucius Fufidius, erected by his children in accordance with a decree of the citizens of Temenouthyrai (which granted permission to set up this statue in a public place). As BURESCH remarked, «die Τημενίδαι, d. i. Nachkommen des Temenos, sind natürlich nichts anderes als die Einwohner von Temenouthyrai, welches ja nach den oben erwähnten Münztypen<sup>88</sup> einen Temenos als seinen Gründer nannte.»

3. S. REINACH, *REG* 3, 1890, 57 no. 11, after a copy by Captain CALLIER (*RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics* II p. 613 no. 519; *IGR* IV 620): «sur un bloc de pierre à Uşak».

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Φλαβί]-  
 οπ[ο]λειτῶν [Τ]ειμενοθ[υρέ]-  
 ὶων ἐτείμησεν Εὐξίν 'Α[πο]-  
 4 λωνίου ἤρωα τὸν ἑαυτῷ[ν]  
 εὐεργέτην

RAMSAY doubted that the name of the honorand had been read correctly<sup>89</sup> and

<sup>88</sup> Cf. for example BMC Phrygia 407 no. 1, a pseudo-autonomous coin bearing on the obverse a beardless male bust identified as that of [Τ]ήμενος οἰκιστής (on the reverse Σκοπελιανὸς Τημενοθυρεῦσι: see *infra*) and 411 nos. 18–19 (obverse similar; on both coins, Τήμενος κτίστης); also SNG Copenhagen, Phrygia no. 737, etc. On the equivalence of the terms κτίστης and οἰκιστής see L. ROBERT, *BCH* 102, 1978, 438.

<sup>89</sup> CALLIER, followed by REINACH (and by IGR) had read Εὐσιν, but RAMSAY remarked «The name Eusis is very suspicious. General Callier's copies, which M. Reinach used, are very defective, and the restoration does much credit to his ingenuity [but there is no question of restoration here, since Reinach merely transcribed Callier's copy without change]. Perhaps Euxis, an abbreviated form from Euxitheos, is the right form.» BECHTEL, *Personennamen*, Halle 1917, cites an attestation of this name at Thasos; in view of the numerous compounds in Εὐξι-, the masculine Εὐξίς here is quite plausible.



suggested a slight emendation of CALLIER's copy, which I have adopted here. The title borne by the city in this text is attested also on coins of Temenouthyrai.<sup>90</sup>

4. E. LEGRAND and J. CHAMONARD, BCH 17, 1893, 265 no. 49 (RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics 612 no. 517; IGR IV 615): according to the first editors «dans le bazar; provenant de la démolition d'un khan» at Uşak.<sup>91</sup>

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ · ἡ βουλὴ	ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόρων
Αὐρήλιον Κλώδιον	8 ἐτέιμῃσεν, ἐπιμελησα-
Εὐτύχην ἰππικόν, κ(αί)	μένου τῆς ἀνασ(σ)τάσε-
4 ἡ λαμπροτάτῃ Τημενο-	ως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
θυρέων πόλις ἡ πα-	Αὐρηλίου Σκοπελιανοῦ
τρὶς τὸν εὐεργέτην	12 Ζεύξιδος βουλευτοῦ

5. S. REINACH, REG 3, 1890, 56 no. 10, after a copy by Captain CALLIER; BCH 19, 1895, 555, after a better copy by V. BÉRARD, without knowledge of the first edition (RAMSAY, Cities and Bishoprics II 612 no. 518: reproducing only the copy by CALLIER, though with a reference to the superior text published in BCH 1895; IGR IV 619, following the text of BÉRARD): according to BÉRARD the inscription was engraved on a «base, dans une maison» at Uşak.

τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον ἄρ-	θόντα, ἡ λαμπρο-
χοντα · α · τῆς λαμπροτάτης	8 τάτῃ Ἀμοριανῶν
Τημενοθυρέων πό-	πόλις καὶ σύμμαχος
4 λεως διὰ πασῶν ἄρ-	Ῥωμαίων καὶ δεξιάις
χῶν καὶ λειτουργι-	τετεμημένη πολλά-
ῶν ἐνδόξως ἐλ- <i>leaf</i>	12 κὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέων, κα(τὰ)

<sup>90</sup> None of these however antedate the third century; cf. for example LANE, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 78 no. 2: obv. Δῆμος Φλαβιοπολεϊτῶν with the symbolic bust of the People, rev. Πουβ. Λονγάς ἄρχ. α' Τημενοθυρεῦσι with Men standing («time of Severus Alexander» according to BMC Phrygia 409 no. 8); IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Griechische Münzen* (repr. Graz 1972), 202 no. 638 (cf. *Festschr. Benndorf* 208) and BMC Phrygia 408 no. 6: same obv. type as preceding, on rev. Μᾶρκος ἄρχ. α' (cf. BMC 408 no. 5: same obverse die and same magistrate's name, which appears also on an issue with the bust of Severus Alexander, *op. cit.* 413 no. 26); BMC 409 no. 11 (under Gordian III), etc. For other types under Philip II see *infra* n. 99. According to CHR. HABICHT, JRS 65, 1975, 77, the title was granted (and the city founded) by Domitian rather than by Vespasian, as MAGIE, *Roman Rule* I 570, had held.

<sup>91</sup> This *han* must be the Taşhane described by BURESCH, who copied also this inscription (he alludes to it in: *Aus Lydien* 164: the city «tituliert sich wie auf der einen Basis Calliers [no. 5 here] ἡ λαμπροτάτῃ Τημενοθυρέων πόλις»). He did not however publish it in this book, which includes only a selection of his epigraphical discoveries, nor did KOERTE publish it in his *Inscriptiones Bureschianae* (*supra* n. 85) because the latter edited therein only texts which had not been previously published elsewhere (cf. his explanation, *op. cit.* 3-4), and the publication of LEGRAND and CHAMONARD had already appeared.

τὰ δόξαντα καὶ ψη-	γένους ἄξιαν τοῦ ἀν-
φισθέντα ὑπὸ τε τῆς	δρὸς καὶ τ(ὰς) περὶ ἑκα-
παρ' αὐτῇ βουλῆς τε	τέρας τὰς πατρίδας
16 καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τὸν κοι-	24 αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσίας καὶ
νὸν τῶν πατρίδων εὐ-	φιλοστοργίας· ἐπιμελη-
εργέτην ἐν τῇ ἀδελ-	σαμένου τῆς τειμῆς
φῇ ἀνέστησεν πόλει,	τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Αὐρ. Θεσ-
20 ἀμειβομένη τήν τε ἐκ	28 σαλοῦ Μακεδῶνος βουλευτοῦ

This inscription contains numerous features of interest, which it is not the place to discuss here; the anonymous honorand, chief archon of Temenouthyrai, was also a citizen and benefactor of Amorion (the title claimed here by the latter city, σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων, explains the numerous pseudo-autonomous coins of Amorion which bear on the obverse the bust of Θεὰ Ῥώμη and on the reverse two clasped hands).<sup>92</sup> This inscription adorned the base of a statue which was certainly erected, like the three preceding monuments, in a public place of the city of Temenouthyrai.

6. BCH 19, 1895, 557: «base (a été publiée par M. Contoléon dans un journal de Smyrne)», whence IGR IV 618; likewise at Uşak.

κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βου-	8 μισθότατης μητροπόλε-
λῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς λαμ-	ως Σμυρναίων πόλεως
πρωτάτης μητροπόλε-	ἡγησάμενον Μουσείου,
4 ως τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς Τη-	ἐπὶ τῶν νόμων ἐνπειρί-
μενοθυρέων πόλεως,	12 α καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν τῶν
Μᾶρ[κον] Ἀριστόνεικον Τε[ι]-	ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔθνους
μο[κρ]άτη καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λα-	πρόκριτον γενόμε[νον]
	15 ἐπιφαν[— — — — —]

This inscription informs us that Temenouthyrai bore the title of μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς, on which see the discussion *supra*. The Μουσεῖον of Smyrna, attested also by an epitaph of that city, has been discussed by L. ROBERT,<sup>93</sup> who explains also that the phrase παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔθνους πρόκριτον means that the honorand «faisait partie des jurés grecs qui assistaient le gouverneur dans ses assises judiciaires.»

<sup>92</sup> Cf. for example SNG von Aulock, Phrygien 3395 and 3396, BMC Phrygia 49–50 nos. 16–21, etc. As is remarked in BCH loc. cit., «Quant à δεξίαις τετεταγμένη ὑπὸ βασιλέων, je crois qu'il faut prendre δεξίαι dans le sens de σπονδαί (v. *Thesaurus*) et βασιλεῖς dans celui d' αὐτοκράτορες et traduire «fréquemment honorée dans des traités par les empereurs; les empereurs ont souvent renouvelé et ratifié le pacte d'alliance qui unit Amorium au peuple romain, et la ville s'en fait une gloire.»

<sup>93</sup> Etudes Anatoliennes, Paris 1937, 147–48. For ἐμπειρία νόμων cf. the references cited by ROBERT, BCH 102, 1978, 436 n. 18.

7. MDAI(A) 25, 1900, 467, after a copy by G. WEBER (IGR IV 614), built into the wall of a mosque at Uşak.

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 [[A]ϣγουστον] τὸν [γῆς]  
 κ̣εθαλάσσης δεσπότην  
 ἡ λαμπροτάτη Τη[μενο]-  
 θυρέων πόλις *vac*

The copy of WEBER gives in l. 1: II [Σεβαστ]ὸν τὸν, but an unpublished facsimile by J. KEIL (of which I owe my knowledge to the kindness of P. HERRMANN) allows the transcription given here.

These seven inscriptions, all of which mention expressly the name of Temenouthyrai, were all recorded in the city of Uşak. Furthermore, no-one has yet discovered a single inscription bearing the name of Temenouthyrai anywhere outside Uşak. To these seven texts must now be added an eighth that can also be attributed with certainty to Temenouthyrai, on the grounds of a prosopographical identification which has escaped previous editors.

8. This inscription was published by E. LEGRAND and J. CHAMONARD, BCH 17, 1893, 265 no. 50; re-edited in IGR IV no. 617 and by L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940, 156–157 no. 127. It was found «dans une fontaine» at Uşak.

[φамиλία]	8	λαρίου, ὑπατικῶν
μονομάχων Γ. <sup>94</sup> Ἀρουν-		ἀνεψιοῦ καὶ συν-
τίου Νεικομάχου		γενοῦς, ἀρχιερέ-
4 Τιβερεϊανοῦ υἱ-		ως πρώτου τῆς πα-
οῦ καὶ ἐγγόνου, ἀρ-	12	τρίδος, καὶ Τυλλίας
χιερέων Ἀσίας ἀπο-		Οὐαλερίας ἀρχιε-
γόνου, πρεμιπτε-		ρείας, γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ

This document commemorates the gladiatorial combats organized and paid for by Aruntius Nicomachus, and was doubtless erected near the site (theater or stadium) where these combats had taken place.<sup>95</sup> It is possible to identify the city which

<sup>94</sup> The first line of this text was restored by ROBERT, loc. cit. In l. 2 the copy of LEGRAND and CHAMONARD shows here the bottom of a vertical stroke: *gamma* or *tau*, but an unpublished facsimile by KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, of which I owe my knowledge to the kindness of P. HERRMANN, indicates by the position of this vertical *hasta*, near to the preceding letter and separated from the following by a dot, that *gamma* is doubtless what stood on the stone.

<sup>95</sup> For this custom see ROBERT, op. cit. 63–64; the inscription may well have accompanied a depiction in sculpture of the gladiatorial combats presented by the generosity of Nicomachos: *ibid.* 55–58.

benefited from these liberalities; for Aruntius<sup>96</sup> Nicomachus also financed the minting of a rich variety of coins for his native town, among which is a remarkable pseudo-autonomous issue: on the obverse, Ἰερὰ Σύνκλητος, with the draped bust of the Senate, and on the reverse Ἀρού(τιος) Νεικόμαχος ἀρχιερεὺς ἀρχ(ων) α' τὸ β' Τημενοθυρεῦσι, legend surrounding a depiction of Heracles, with lion's skin and club, facing a tall column surmounted by a statue, with a small Eros in the field at left. This scene has recently been studied in detail by MARGARET THOMPSON, who compares it to an almost identical depiction which occurs on a unique bronze medallion, from the city of Pautalia in Thrace, that was recently acquired by the American Numismatic Society.<sup>97</sup> THOMPSON knows of no parallel for this particular rendering of the motif of Love combatting or conquering Strength, but suggests the possibility that «its prototype was a painting of the Pergamene school, a painting which has left no other record but which was famous enough in antiquity to have inspired two die engravers working at different times in quite different parts of the Greco-Roman world.»

This medallion of Pautalia, which reproduces the same scene in superb high relief (in contrast to the coin of Temenouthyrai, which displays a «fairly typical example of provincial workmanship during the period of Roman domination: flat relief, careless modelling and lettering, and a generally spiritless quality»), is dated by the legend on its reverse: ἡγεμ(ονεύοντος) Πομπεί(ου) Οὐοπ[είσκου], for Pompeius Vopiscus was governor of Thrace under Antoninus Pius.<sup>98</sup> Aruntius Nicomachus on the other hand may be assigned to the reign of Philip II and Otacilia Severa, since several of the numerous issues which bear his name carry on the obverse the portraits of these sovereigns.<sup>99</sup> Whatever the explanation for the reappear-

<sup>96</sup> On this *nomen* in Phrygia see my: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, 17. Two coin issues of Temenouthyrai, which bear on the obverse the busts of L. Verus and Commodus respectively, show on the reverse the divinity Men with the following inscription: Γ(άιος) Ἀρόν(τιος) Ματέρνος ἀσιάρχ(ης) Τημενοθυρεῦσι (the first two words appear only on the latter issue): see LANE, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 80–81 nos. 7 and 8. This Gaius Aruntius Maternus, also attested by an inscription at Sardis, Sardis VII. 1, Leiden 1932, no. 77, is surely a relative of our Aruntius Nicomachus, as was suggested by M. ROSSNER, *Stud. Clas.* 16, 1974, 115.

<sup>97</sup> ANS MN 22, 1977, 29–36.

<sup>98</sup> See the attestations collected for this official by B. E. THOMASSON, *Laterculi Praesidum: Moesia, Dacia, Thracia*, Göteborg 1977, 54–55.

<sup>99</sup> For example: 1. BMC Phrygia 414 no. 31, SNG Copenhagen, Phrygia 744, SNG von Aulock, *Nachträge*, Berlin 1968, 8452: obv. Philip II as Caesar, rev. divinity with double-axe riding right, Νεικόμαχος ἀρχιε(ρεὺς) Τημενοθυρεῦσι. 2. BMC 414 no. 32, Copenhagen 745, von Aulock, *Nachträge* 8453: obv. same die as preceding, rev. Hephaistos forging shield, legend as preceding. 3. BMC 414 nos. 29–30, von Aulock 4007: obv. bust of Otacilia Severa, rev. Apollo standing, legend similar to preceding. 4. BMC 411 no. 15, von Aulock 4001: obv. bust of the city-goddess Φλαβιάπολις, rev. Hermes standing, legend as above. 5. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Festschr. Benndorf* 208 no. 3, von Aulock 4002: obv. same die as preceding, rev. bull standing right, legend as above. 6. BMC 411 no. 16, Copenhagen 740,

ance of this singular type in Phrygia one century after its first attested occurrence in Thrace,<sup>100</sup> the identification of the benefactor named on these coins with the *munerarius*<sup>101</sup> mentioned by the inscription now enables us to assign without hesitation also this document, discovered at Uşak, to the city of Temenouthyrai.

Also attributed to Temenouthyrai is the epitaph on a doorstone found by KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, Zweite Reise no. 262, at Uşak «im Hofe der Entaply-Medresse außen am Bibliotheksbau eingemauert» and now in the museum there:

Τατιανὸς καὶ Κλήμης [Ἰσ]κοπελλιανῶ π[α]τρὶ  
γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ μητρὶ Σεουήρᾳ ζώσῃ μνήμης χάριν

As GIBSON points out, Αὐρήλιος Σκοπελιανὸς Ζεύξιδος is known to have been βουλευτής of Temenouthyrai by our text no. 4; and another Σκοπελιανός, who appears on coins of that city, is identified by GIBSON with the homonymous individual named in this inscription.<sup>102</sup>

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von Aulock 4003: obv. bust of Athena, rev. lion walking right, legend similar to preceding. 7. BMC 410 no. 13: obv. Rome personified Θεὰ Ῥώμη, rev. Sarapis and Isis, Νεικόμαχος ἄρχιερ(εὺς) ἄρχ(ων) α' τὸ β' Τημενοθυρεῦσιν. 8. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Festschr. Benndorf 208 no. 4, BMC 410 no. 14: obv. same die as preceding, rev. Dioskouroi standing, legend as above. This list, not meant to be complete, provides an indication of the extraordinary variety of coin types offered to his city by Aruntius Nicomachus (this is the meaning of the benefactor's name in the nominative followed by the ethnic in the dative, sc. ἀνέθηκεν: verb which appears in full for instance on coins of the city of Alia which I discuss in ANRW II 7).

<sup>100</sup> The profusion of issues signed by this wealthy individual, unusual in its variety for a single benefactor, justifies the conclusion that Aruntius Nicomachus had a special, personal interest in coinage; is it unreasonable to suppose that he may have possessed in his private collection a specimen (perhaps acquired in the course of his military service) of the remarkable medallion of Pautalia, which he then caused to be reproduced on the coins of his native city?

<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to note that on all of the coins mentioned here Aruntius Nicomachus bears the title of ἄρχιερεὺς, which also occurs on his inscription – i.e. chief priest of the imperial cult, for only priests of the Emperors, whether at the provincial or the municipal level, were permitted to hold gladiatorial exhibitions. These coins were therefore all struck during Nicomachus' tenure of this priesthood, which was the occasion for his presentation of gladiators; concurrently he held also the office of first archon for the second time (cf. n. 99 nos. 7 and 8, and the pseudo-autonomous issue with Heracles). This exceptional activity may be placed in relation to the phrase in ll. 10–12 of Nicomachus' inscription, ἄρχιερεὺς πρῶτου τῆς πατρίδος: surely not 'first' chief priest in a chronological sense, for Temenouthyrai had certainly possessed high priests of the imperial cult before the reign of Philip II, but rather 'foremost' chief priest, none other being able to boast of generosity on such a lavish scale.

<sup>102</sup> GRBS 16, 1975, 441. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Festschr. Benndorf 207 no. 2, cites a coin with the bust of Antoninus Pius and the magistrate's name Σκοπε( ): cf. WADDINGTON, op. cit. (*supra* n. 59) 67 no. 2. KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN attribute their no. 262 to Akmonia, without however offering any reason for their theory; we have now a second doorstone erected by the same family, at Uşak.

The same family reappears on another doorstone, likewise now conserved in the museum at Uşak and published by GIBSON, *op. cit.* 439–42 with Pl. 8; this tombstone bears a metrical epitaph, of which the editor gave the following text:

[Κε]ῖται κάλος ἔχουσα κρ[— — — — —]  
 [Σ]ευῆρα ἦθους μὲν σεμνοῦ δι' ὃ κ[ληθεῖς']  
 ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος πληροῦσα, πρόμ[οιρα].  
 4 Κλήμης τῇ θυγατρὶ Σεβήρα μνήμης χάριν

These verses present several problems. During a visit to Uşak in 1961 before the construction of the present museum, P. HERRMANN saw the tombstone of Severa at a time when its top right portion, containing the end of each of the three lines of this epigram, was still intact; it is a pleasure to thank him for kindly communicating to me his photograph (Pl. 8a), which permits the establishment of a new text of the poem:

[*vu*]κεῖται κάλος ἔχουσα κρύγεις λαμπροῖσιν ὁμοία  
 [Σ]ευῆρα ἦθους μὲν σεμνοῦ δι' ὃ καὶ [ἐ]κ πάντων ἐφιλήθη  
 ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος πληροῦσα πρόμοιρος ἀπῆλθεν

Ligatures: l. 2 *nu tau*, l. 3 *eta rho*, l. 4 *eta mu eta, tau eta, mu nu eta*. Also the top left angle is slightly better preserved than when GIBSON saw the stone. In l. 1 only the bottom portion of the dotted letters (but only the top of *lambda alpha*) is preserved, and in l. 2 likewise.

At the end of l. 2 the stone appears at first glance to have ΕΠΑΗΘΗ. But the horizontal stroke does not extend to the left of the first vertical *hasta*, as it does in the same letter in the preceding word and in each of the last three words of the epigram; in fact, what appears to be the left vertical stroke of a *pi* is only the edge of a break, just to the right of which may be faintly discerned the lower portion of the vertical *hasta* and the small circle of a *phi*.

In the following line GIBSON restored πρόμ[οιρα], but since this is a compound adjective, it normally has the same ending -ος in the masculine and feminine singular. The metrical difficulties presented by the second verse are now resolved, since it is clear that Clemens simply added to the beginning of this line, *contra metrum*, the name of his dead daughter; evidently the author of this inscription employed verses that had been previously written for a different occasion. The elision καὶ ἐκ will have been facilitated by the pronunciation, normal in this period, of καὶ as κέ. The third verse would scan correctly if its first word were ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης,<sup>103</sup> but this would leave the following participle bereft of an object; on the other hand, after ἦθους μὲν σεμνοῦ one expects to find described also a second element of Severa's character, which does not in fact appear. One may conclude that in its

<sup>103</sup> Several lines beginning with this word are registered in W. PEEK, *Verzeichnis der Gedicht-Anfänge zu den Griechischen Vers-Inschriften I*, Berlin 1957, 22.

original version this poem was somewhat longer, and that it was shortened and adapted for use on the present tombstone.<sup>104</sup>

The theme of the deceased who was universally beloved is too frequent in epitaphs ancient and modern to require comment. Severa is said to have merited this affection by her ἡθος σεμνόν, a quality often singled out for praise in epitaphs and honorific inscriptions composed under the Empire.<sup>105</sup> The most interesting feature of this little poem is the simile now revealed by the last words of the first verse: the beauty of Severa is compared to bright lilies. At Uşak itself a funerary epigram commemorates<sup>106</sup>

δυσμο[ί]ρους παῖδας Δημητ[ρ]ί[ου, ὦ]ν τὸ τέλειον  
μοῖρ[α] π[ρὶ]ν ἡλικίης ἄνθος ἐνοσφίς[α]το

The comparison of deceased girls (and also boys) to various kinds of flowers is of course widespread;<sup>107</sup> cf. for example the instances cited by AD. WILHELM to support his restoration of an epitaph at Laodikeia in Lykaonia<sup>108</sup> ἑξαπίνης ἔμαρ[άν]θη ὡς ῥόδον ἀρχόμενον, notably a text at Rome<sup>109</sup> in which Pluto is thus addressed:

οἷα γὰρ ἀρχόμενον ῥόδον εὐπνοον εἶαρος ὦρεν  
ἑξέτεμες ῥείζης, πρὶν χρόνον ἐκτελέσει

The lily, κρίνον or also λείριον,<sup>110</sup> served as a symbol of chastity<sup>111</sup> and was held

<sup>104</sup> In a Festschrift to appear next year I examine an example of such a poetic motif in a new funerary epigram from the region of Aizanoi, for which close parallels, including often the repetition of an entire line, are to be found in the most varied locations throughout the Greek East. Elsewhere I discuss in detail three interesting metrical epitaphs (one Christian) from the district of Appia, which are now in the museums of Afyonkarahisar and Kütahya.

<sup>105</sup> For the theme of σεμνότης in such documents see my: *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, 77–78.

<sup>106</sup> KEIL and VON PREMERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* no. 252; also in W. PEEK, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I, Berlin 1955, 1272. Cf. the phrase [—] ἀνθήσας ἔτη in a mutilated epigram for a person dead in his youth at Salamis (Cyprus), BCH 96, 1972, 427.

<sup>107</sup> For the wish that the corpse may itself be transformed into flowers, and for the theme of the flower of life, see R. LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana 1942, 129 ff. and 195 ff. respectively; the best example of the former motif, at Cagliari, is discussed at length by G. COPPOLA, *RAL* 1931, 398 ff.: εἰς ἴα σου, Πώμπιλλα, καὶ ἐς κρίνα βλαστήσειεν | ὁστέα, καὶ θάλλο[υ]ς ἐν πετάλοις ῥόδων | ἡδυπνόου τε κρόκου κτλ. Cf. the same theme at Cyzicus, H. GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1922, no. 9: ἰς ἴα [κὲ] ῥόδα τ[ῆ]ς ὁστέα σου. Cf. also PEEK, *op. cit.* 1409.

<sup>108</sup> *Byzantion* 6, 1931, 461, on MAMA I 102.

<sup>109</sup> IG XIV 2040 (PEEK, *op. cit.* 1595) ll. 3–4.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Nicander, *Fr.* 74 l. 27: ἃ κρίνα λείρια δ' ἄλλοι ἐπιφθέγγονται ἀοιδῶν.

<sup>111</sup> It was therefore disliked by Aphrodite: on the symbolism of the lily see J. MURR, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der gr. Mythologie*, Innsbruck 1890, 251–52.

in great esteem throughout classical antiquity.<sup>112</sup> Thus it is the first flower named by Meleager in the introductory poem of his 'Garland':<sup>113</sup>

πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς  
λείρια, καὶ Σαπφοῦς βαιὰ μὲν ἄλλὰ ῥόδα

Without exception ancient poets described the lily as 'white' or 'shining white', λευκόν, ἀργεννόν, ἀργῆεν, *clara, lucida, candida, candentia, alba, argentea*;<sup>114</sup> it is interesting to note however that our modest epigram at Uşak furnishes what is apparently the first instance of the adjective λαμπρόν used to qualify this flower.

Among the inscriptions copied and photographed by P. HERRMANN at Uşak in 1961 is also the doorstone published by GIBSON, op. cit. 436–37 no. 3 with Pl. 5, as follows:

[ca 10] ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα σεαυτῇ καὶ Διογᾷ σ[υμβί]-  
ω  
[ἐπισκόπ]ω μνήμης χάριν

Comparing an inscription copied by BURESCH at Uşak<sup>115</sup> Διογᾷς ἐβίσκοπος Ἀμμῶ πρεσβυτέρῳ μνήμης χάριν, and an epitaph on another doorstone likewise at Uşak<sup>116</sup> Δειογᾷς Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ἐβισκόπ[ω] ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ μνήμης χάρι[ν], GIBSON correctly concluded that all three inscriptions refer to the same person, and restored accordingly l. 2 of the present text. This restoration can now be confirmed by the photograph of HERRMANN (Pl. 8b), taken at a time when the inscription was undamaged; the complete text reads:

Αὐρ. Τατιανὴ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα σεαυτῇ καὶ Διογᾷ συνβ[ί]-  
ω  
ἐβισκόπω μνήμης χάριν

The spelling ἐβίσκοπος corresponds to that in the two other epitaphs. The name of the bishop's wife, which is now recovered, enables us to assign this text to a period not too long after the 'Constitutio Antoniniana', an early date for these phanero-Christian monuments.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Pliny, N. H. 21. 22: *lilium rosae nobilitate proximum est*. For the high value accorded to the lily see K. LEMBACH, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit*, Heidelberg 1970, 166.

<sup>113</sup> The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams, ed. A. S. F. GOW and D. L. PAGE, Cambridge 1965, 214 ll. 5–6. Likewise when Meleager compares the boys of Tyre to a garland of flowers arranged by Eros, no. 78 l. 3, the lily is the first flower mentioned: ἐν μὲν γὰρ κρίνον ἡδὺ κατέπλεξεν Διόδωρον.

<sup>114</sup> The attestations of these adjectives have been collected by J. MURR, *Die beschreibenden Epitheta der Blumen bei den gr. und röm. Dichtern*, Jahresbericht des K. u. K. Staats-Gymnasiums in Marburg a/D., 1894, 8–10.

<sup>115</sup> KOERTE, *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*, no. 55.

<sup>116</sup> GRBS 16, 1975, 435–36 no. 2; as GIBSON remarks, «doubtless Diogas was the successor of Artemidoros, but not yet appointed at the time this inscription was carved because in it he bears no title.»



K. BURESCH, who himself adopted and defended the view that the city of Temenouthyrai was located at Uşak, proceeded nevertheless to draw the conclusion that all the gravestones with representation of a door, which have been seen in quantity by successive travellers at Uşak, must necessarily have been carried there in modern times from the site of Akmonia, since the representation of a door on gravestones is characteristic of Phrygia and «Temenouthyrai war eben *lydisch* und führte deshalb . . . die Portal-Grabsteine nicht.»<sup>117</sup> But this is merely a circular argument; for if the *a priori* assertion that Temenouthyrai was a city of Lydia is once abandoned, and as we have seen the ancient sources provide no compelling ground to assign the city to Lydia rather than to Phrygia, then there remains no reason to believe that all tombstones representing a door must necessarily have been brought to Uşak from elsewhere. On the contrary, the epitaphs of the family of Severa and those connected with the bishop Diogas form a compact group, all examples of which have been found at Uşak; and to these may be added a series of other doorstones likewise found at that city.<sup>118</sup> Indeed the presence of Phrygian cultural characteristics at Temenouthyrai would be hardly surprising for a city located at Uşak, on a site which, as we have seen, is geographically beyond any doubt part of Phrygia.

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<sup>117</sup> Aus Lydien 162. BURESCH remarks that «dazu stimmt vortrefflich die Tatsache, daß sie [the doorstone no. 1 *supra*] wie die andern sehr zahlreichen, in den Laufbrunnen von Uşhak vermauerten gleichartigen Grabsteine nicht in Uşhak zu Hause, sondern von außen her, angeblich aus Ahatkjöi, eingeschleppt sind»; but marbles could also have been brought to Uşak from Traianoupolis (v. *supra* n. 28).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. the similar doorstones published by KEIL and VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise* 139, and by GIBSON, *op. cit.* Pl. 3–8. This type is different from that of the doorstones of Akmonia, of which I have recorded numerous unpublished specimens in the course of my repeated visits to Ahat Köy and the surrounding villages undertaken in preparation for my *Corpus of Akmonia*: cf. GRBS 17, 1976, 249.



1. Doorstone from Uşak with metrical epitaph.



2. Doorstone from Uşak with epitaph. Photos: P. Herrmann. Ad p. 275 ff.