THE DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY OF
ELEMENTS OF THE NATIVE CULTURE OF ROMAN PHYRGIA
WITH REFERENCE TO THEIR ETHNIC ORIGIN

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"Nunc enim tantum in membrorum fragmentis haeremus; corporis solida compages constitui nequit."

Conclusion to the assembly of Greek literary references to Phrygia by Reiner Reineccius in the Historia Julia (Helmstedt, 1594) I, 158ff. (quoted from G. & A. Koerte, Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900, 1).
FOREWORD.

The survival of elements of the civilisations of Asia Minor of the second and first millennium B.C. into the Roman period has long been recognised. Much was done by Sir William Ramsay to isolate and explore these survivals, especially in the field of religion, using mainly the evidence of the inscriptions he had recorded during his numerous travels in the country. For the most part, Ramsay distinguished merely between Anatolian and Greek or Greco-Roman culture. To analyse the former element into its constituents required a knowledge of earlier Anatolian civilisations that was largely lacking in his day.

Since Ramsay's time progress has been made in the study of the ethno-cultural groups of the Greek and Roman periods in Asia Minor, as defined by the worship of various gods and by linguistic evidence. Our knowledge of earlier Anatolian civilisations has also increased. The relative richness of the evidence for these earlier civilisations has meant that elements of the native cultures of the Greco-Roman period can often be shown with a high degree of probability to derive from well-defined earlier cultural strata, even when some links in the chain of evidence are missing. What can be achieved in the field of religious studies has been well demonstrated by A. Laumonier in his work Les Cultes Indigènes en Carie. Linguistic evidence is difficult to handle, but that it can be made to yield impressive results of general interest has been shown, for example, by Houwink ten Cate's Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period.

Hitherto, it has been for the most part to those areas where it has appeared most likely that cultural elements which could be traced back at least to Hittite times, would be encountered, chiefly the South and West of Asia Minor, that study has been directed. Phrygia is a far
more difficult area to handle. The Phrygians are variously said to have migrated from Europe to Asia Minor before or after the Trojan War. Very little can be said with certainty about their archaeological record in Europe; we still have to rely on the literary testimonies concerning their origins and migration, to interpret as best we may. Despite the numerous seasons of excavation at Gordium, the Phrygian capital in Asia Minor, and minor excavations elsewhere, we still know little about the Phrygians in Asia Minor before the eighth century B.C. and little from the *floruit* of their civilisation in the eighth to sixth centuries that elucidates the native culture of the area in the Roman period. The Persian and Hellenistic periods continue to be dominated by conjecture, especially the former. Research in other areas has shed light on pre-Phrygian cultural elements in Phrygia, but there remains much to which no certain origin can be attributed.

The aim of this thesis is to prepare the way for enquiries into the history of the cultural traditions of Phrygia in the Roman period by re-examining present views and by highlighting the gaps and uncertainties in our knowledge. Several familiar topics — the literary evidence for the extent of Phrygia, the distribution of the inscriptions in the late Phrygian language, the cults of Kybele, Apollo Lairbenos, Sabazios and Zeus Bronton and Zeus Basileus, and finally the traditions embodied in the late Phrygian curse-formulae — are discussed from the point of view of their geographical distribution and, so far as possible, historical development, with special regard to their ethno-cultural origin.

Kybele, Apollo Lairbenos and his *paredros* Mother Leto will be recognised as being pre-Phrygian. They are included in this study for two reasons: first, as they are often loosely classified as Phrygian, the sense in which they are so must be clarified; secondly, their distribution roughly complements that of true, European Phrygian cultural elements, such as the language used in some of the grave — curses and possibly the cult of Zeus Bronton, enabling us
to delimit a Phrygian area which may be compared with the literary testimonies on the extent of Phrygia and with the physical geography of the country. To enable this to be done the accounts of the ancient geographers are examined in order to decide whether they are talking of politico-administrative or ethno-cultural boundaries and how far the two coincided with and altered one another. Sabazios is commonly described by modern scholars as a "Thraco-Phrygian" god. The account of the god given below attempts to show that he was purely Thracian and that his cult was introduced into Asia Minor in Hellenistic times.

The study of the linguistic evidence has become the domain of the philological specialist, although in earlier days valuable contributions were made by scholars with broader interests, such as Ramsay and the late Sir William Calder. Little that is new on the subject of the Phrygian language is said here. Linguistic links between Phrygia and Europe, especially Thrace, are discussed in the chapter on settlement in Phrygia, as are the difficulties of identifying Phrygian place-names. Current interpretations of the language of the Phrygian funerary curses are recounted and assessed in the light of comparative material from elsewhere in Asia Minor. An attempt is made to put the Phrygian curses into their cultural context and roughly date their origins.

The sources of information used are primarily inscriptions and coins. A variety of authors, especially those, such as the lexicographers, who preserve information from the Hellenistic period, are drawn upon, but the chief consideration of the literary evidence is in connexion with the extent of Phrygia. The inscriptions of Phrygia are, on the whole, uninformative about the rites in which the gods of the country were worshipped. Most simply record the setting up of an altar as testimony of a prayer or as a thank-offering. The only notable exception is in the case of the cult of Apollo Lairbenos. The emphasis in the studies that follow is therefore on iconography. For the most part I have attempted
merely to distinguish Greek, Phrygian and pre-Phrygian elements. This is the most I feel competent to do, and is what is relevant to the exercise in hand. I have not attempted to do more than indicate in general terms the cultural strata to which pre-Phrygian elements belong.

As the area with which we are concerned took its name from the late second millennium immigrants, it is natural to look first for elements of local culture that can be ascribed to them. However, some of the features peculiar to the region are of earlier and later Anatolian origin. An example of the former is the phraseology of the protases of both Greek and Phrygian funerary curses; of the latter, the apodosis of many of the Greek funerary curses found in Phrygia and the style of the tomstones. Any long-lasting cultural area probably has geographical limits that separate its development from that of other areas, encouraging, for example, the retention of old common customs that have died out elsewhere and of peculiar ones, and the creation of new differences. All these differences are important and worthy of study, whatever their date. Cases where the distribution of various cultural elements differs are as important as those where it coincides and must be considered in the light of the historical origins of those elements and of the physical geography of the country. Such historical analysis also inevitably raises the delicate question of cultural continuity and imposes a close consideration of the relationship between culture and population group, and of the ways in which the latter may be defined. Such problems have become all too familiar to prehistorians in the past few years.

What has been said above illustrates both the uses and the dangers of distribution-patterns. Because the unchanging facts of physical geography may impose similar, if not identical, patterns on cultural phenomena of different periods and origins, it is important to bear in mind that the history of such phenomena can only be elucidated using historical, not geographical, evidence. Nevertheless, dis-
tribution patterns can support or cast doubt on theories of origin, even if they cannot prove or disprove them.

Some of the scholars whose works are relevant to this thesis have already been mentioned. For the British student especially, the field is still dominated by Sir William Ramsay, who for so many years made Phrygia his own. Much epigraphic material, all the more valuable for being illustrated, was published in the series *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, of which Sir William Calder was the alpha and the omega. In recent years, British scholars have tended to interest themselves in the native cults of the Roman Empire only in so far as these impinged on central themes of imperial history. Basic conceptions about Phrygian ethnography and religion were propounded by P. Kretschmer in his work *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1895), and have remained unchallenged. An important study of the literary evidence for the extent of Phrygia was made by A. Koerte. More recently, O. Hess has devoted numerous papers and a monograph to the Phrygian language. Apart from these, few scholars can be singled out for their work on Phrygian culture. However, one is indebted to the numerous contributors to Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopaedie der Altertumswissenschaft* and Roscher's *Auszfuhrliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, also to the authors of encyclopaedic works, such as A. B. Cook, *Zeus* and M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, for assemblies of evidence, ideas and references. The "cultural stratification" of religious cults, beyond what was done by Ramsay, first seems to have been attempted by J. Keil in his article "Die Kulte Lydiens", written for Ramsay's *Festschrift*. The caution needed in treating the sort of evidence used below has been advocated and demonstrated for many years by L. Robert in his numerous publications.

The question of the survival of native culture into the fourth century and later is not discussed. This is a separate, although related, subject. Of the various classes
of inscription that appear in the classical world only
the funerary ones continue in any number. The pagan de-
dications naturally vanish. The local coinages cease with
Gallienus. Only the literary evidence continues, and that
is of a sort radically different from that of earlier
centuries. It would, in addition, require taking account of
a substantially altered geopolitical and social background.
For these reasons I prefer to leave the subject aside. The
link posited by Ramsay between temple- and imperial estates
is no longer accepted. The former are discussed in an appendix
to the chapter on Lairbenos, but the latter more properly
fall within the sphere of imperial administration. Nor have
I considered Ramsay's now neglected theories about the
imperially inspired revival of native culture to combat
Christianity. A full study of this subject would again fall
within the scope of a work which considered Roman Phrygia
from the top downwards rather than from the bottom up, as
this does. Suffice it to say here that there does not appear
to be any strong evidence to support such theories.

The first three years of the research for this thesis
(1969 - 1972) were spent at the University of Newcastle
upon Tyne with the aid of a Major State Studentship pro-
vided by the Department of Education and Science. I am
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MAPS.

Outline Map of Asia Minor, showing position of Phrygia.
1:1,000,000 Relief Map of Phrygia and adjoining areas
showing distribution of religious cults and Phrygian
language.

Both are in the wallet at the rear of the work.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

The work for this thesis has been done over a relatively
long time in a number of places and with access to libraries
of varying qualities. In addition, the scope of the thesis has
changed as work has progressed. It is therefore probably inevitable
that there will be omissions in the corpora of inscriptions (coin-
citations I have not attempted to make comprehensive) and in
the doxologies. I hope these omissions do not seriously reduce
the validity of my conclusions and that I have not done any
scholar the injustice of attributing to him views he did not or
does not hold. I regret I have not been able to edit the work
thoroughly enough to remove all the variations in the spellings
of Turkish place-names and have rarely had access to the latest
official spellings.
A work of which one of the aims is to establish the geographical extent of an ethnic area clearly must begin with a description of the country, its mountains, rivers, routes, to serve as a background for the rest of the study, for these factors inevitably exercise a permanent influence on human activity. However, the nature of that influence is in turn dependent on various aspects of man’s activity, and cannot be assessed without taking the historical evidence into account. Thus, the geographical distribution of a national religious cult depends as much on settlement-pattern, political circumstances and means of communication as on the configuration of the land pure and simple. A description of the country, therefore, must be followed by a brief history of man’s settlement in it, so far as this is known to us for the period in question.

A detailed definition of the area anciently called Phrygia is out of place here, for the definition of that area is one of the aims of our study. Nevertheless, the area involved is in general terms clear enough, and indeed modern geographers have found it convenient to refer to it by its ancient name 1). Phrygia is conveniently considered in two sections 2). These two are, however, intimately linked. The more easterly consists of the western part of the central plateau of Asia Minor and contains the basin of the river Sakarya (the ancient Sangarios), at an altitude of just under 1,000 metres. Low hills separate the district from the barren plain of the Tuz Gölü (L. Tatta) to the East. North and South lie the important cities of Ankara and Konya (Ankyra; Ikonion). Beyond these rise outliers of the Pontic and Tauric mountain chains. Further to the West these chains merge in a confused mass of hills rising to 1,500–2,000 metres. From these intermittent arms run Westwards to the Aegean, between them flowing the great rivers of western Asia Minor, the Büyük Menderes (Maender) and its tributaries the Aksu (Lykos) and Banaz Çay (Senaros)
and the Gediz Çay (Hermos) being the most important to us here. It is this confused hilly area and the upper parts of the Aegean valleys that constitute the western part of Phrygia. As a whole the region is articulated by its mountain masses as much as by its rivers. The general pattern of vegetation, nowadays at least, is for the richer ploughlands and the gardens to be confined to the valleys and to depressions in the plateau. The hills and uplands are poorer and sometimes covered with scrub. Forest is confined to the higher mountains and consists mainly of oak, juniper and pine.

As an inland area it is natural that Phrygia did not receive the attention of European explorers until a fairly late date. However, accounts of its geography are now abundant enough ³). In the first half of the nineteenth century the country was explored by W. J. Hamilton, who has left a universally admired account, P. von Tschihatscheff and soon afterwards by H. von Barth. More detailed surveys were later made by A. Philippsen and W. von Diest, but in the main these cover only western and northern Phrygia. A volume on geology and geography was prepared by R. Chaput for the French series on the archaeological exploration of Phrygia edited by Gabriel. Brief accounts appear in Dewdney's recent monograph on Turkey. District-by-district accounts of the scenery are to be found in W. M. Ramsay's Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. Much information gleaned from the writings of modern geographers and combined with that from ancient writers such as Strabo is to be found in the article on Asia Minor prepared by T. R. S. Broughton for Tenney Frank's Economic Survey of Ancient Rome ⁴).

The Sakarya basin is roughly triangular in shape. To the East it is bounded by the low upswellings of the Haymana Yaylası and Cihanbeyli Yaylası, which only on the northern edge of the Konya basin assume the proportions of small mountains. To the North lie the Koroğlu Dağları (Koroğlu Tepesi 2378), outliers of the Pontic chain. Parallel to these, between Eskişehir (which represents
the ancient Dorylaeum) and Ankara, are the Söndiken and
the rugged Sivrihisar Dağlarları, culminating to the East in
the Arayit Dağ (1820m.). Between these last two ranges
flows the Porsuk Su (Tembris or Tembrogios) to join the
Sakarya near Polatlı. The latter then continues westwards
in its middle reaches in a narrow defile between the
Söndiken and Koroglu Dağlarları, until North of Eskişehir it
turns northwards to the sea. To the South-West the basin
is bounded by the ranges of the Gavur, Emir (2295m.),
Şaphane, and Türkmen Dağlarları. On all sides the edges of
the basin are serrated by small plains running back into
the hills and traversed by tributaries of the two major
rivers, tending, as a result, to be more fertile than the
main part of the basin. The latter receives some of the
lowest rainfall in Anatolia, but nevertheless more than
other parts of the central plateau, and yields good crops
of grain. Ironically, the most arid area is that
immediately around the Upper Sangarios 6). The East-West
trend of the northern mountains naturally tends to confine
movement to that direction. The mountains to the South-
West also restrict the choice of routes in that area.

East of the Çavuscuo Gül, we find little more than
dry downland and undulating hills 7). The Konya basin,
too, is dry, but the broken offshoots of the Taurus
South and West of Konya and around Kadin Han and Ladik
(Laodikeia Katakekaumene) are better-watered and in places
more fertile. 8)

A range of bare hills extending North from the Sultan
Dağlarları, outliers of the Tauric mountains, separate this
area and the plain of İlgın from that of Akşehir
(Philomelion). The latter lies at the end of a long
valley running South-Eastwards from Afyon, enclosed by the
Emir Dağ and Gavur Dağ and Sultan Dağlarları (2531m. at North
end). Akşehir Gölü and Eber Gölü are fed by the Aker Çay
(Keystros), which rises west of Afyon. South of Bolvadin
(Polybotes), the land is marshy, but higher ground
supports cereals, woods, orchards, and gardens. This land
lying beneath the wall of the Sultan Dağları was the ancient Phrygia Paroreios 10).

Near Çay, the Sultan Dağları turn South-Westwards. Between this inverted "V" and the main massif of the Taurus to the South, and most easily accessible from Konya in the East and Dinar (Apameia) in the West, lie the Pisidian lakes and their associated plains. Despite the impressive barrier that the wall of the Sultan Dağları offers to communication directly from the North, this district was closely linked with the rest of Phrygia. 11)

The hills and valleys to the North-West of the Emir Dağları afford one of the routes from the Sakarya basin to central Phrygia. Towards Afyon, in the wooded hills bordering the Sakarya basin, numerous springs produce good pastures 12). Only around İñçhisar (Dokimion) is the land really barren. From one of the limestone outcrops near here the famous "Symmadic" marble was quarried 13). North of the Şaphane Dağ the mountains die away and we pass into the so-called "Phrygian Highlands", which extend towards Eskişehir and Seyitgazi (Nakoleia) and culminate to the North-West in the Türkmen Dağ (1829m.). The country is undulating, with frequent upstanding blocks of volcanic rock which gave ample opportunity for rock-cut architecture. Streams are numerous, producing good pastures and ploughland, and even today the hills are thickly wooded. Nearer Eskişehir however, the land once more takes on the parched appearance typical of the central plateau 14). On the other side of the Türkmen Dağ, to the South-West, the country is again undulating. The streams everywhere run into the upper reaches of the Porsuk Su. This river runs through green, marshy valleys, often quite narrow, and cornfields, as far as a point roughly mid-way between Kutahya (Kotiaeion) and Eskişehir, where it breaks out into the open plain. West of Eskişehir, the plain extends as far as Bozuyuk, where it is separated only by low hills from the course of the lower Sakarya 15). Passes lead West-Northwestwards through the basin of the Gök Su (Gallos)
down to Bursa (Prusa ad Olympum) and the plains surrounding the sea of Marmara. In the hills at the end of the Arganthonian peninsula North-East of Bursa, lies İznik (Nikaia) and its lake (L. Askania).

South of Afyon is the high volcanic chain of the Kumalar Dağ (2250m.). To the North it ends in a series of isolated outcrops in the plain of the Akar Çay. To the South it contains high, frequently marshy valleys. Ultimately, it sinks into bald, rounded hills separating the Çul Ovası (Metropolitanus Campus) from the Dombai Ovası (Aurokra). The latter is the most southerly of the three depressions lying beneath the Kumalar Dağ and closed to the West by the Ak Dağ (2449m.) and Ahar Dağ (1898m.). These depressions are all drained by tributaries of the Kufi Çay (Glaukos), which forms in the northernmost fertile plain of Sandıklı and runs South-Westwards between the Ak Dağ and Burgaz Dağ (1990m.) to join the Menderes 16). The Çul Ovası is one of a number of small plains lying between the Kumalar Dağ and the Horu Dağı, one of the South-Western extensions of the Sultan Dağları bounding Pisidia. North-Eastwards follow the irregular valley of the Oinan Ovası and the long marshy valley of Keremik. The land then slopes up to a low ridge past Bazar Ağacı before descending sharply to the plain of the Akar Çay 17). High in the hills to the North-West of these valleys lies the plain of Şuhut, the ancient Symnada 18).

The sources of the Menderes lie around Dinar 19). The river first flows north-westwards beneath the slopes of the Ak Dağ and Samsun Dağ. Turning south-westwards South of İşekli (Bumeneia), it traverses the flat, grassy Baklan Ovası, then, a few miles South-East of Demirciköy, the river turns abruptly to the West and then to the North, flowing through a narrow gorge into the Çal Toprak. It continues in a broad arc to the South to meet the Aksu (Lykos) near Sarayköy 20). The valley of the Aksu forms a rough triangle. To the North-East it is bounded by the Büyük Çökeles Dağ (1840m.), on the South by the Akbaba
Tepesi (Salbakos; 2308m.) and Honaz Dağı (Kadmos; 2571m.). The smooth hills before these mountains meet in front of the Honaz Dağı and rise uniformly but steeply to the East to the level of the plain of Aci Göl (L. Anava) 21). To the North-East of this lake is the plain of Taz Kiri, which extends to the Menderes a little East of İşekli Gölü. 22)

From the Honaz Dağı, the Sivri Dağı and Eşler Dağı (2254m.) stretch South-Eastwards, finally dying down by Tefeni. The hills rise up again to the great Rahat Dağı, which runs North-East - South-West and forms a part of the Tauric chain. South-East of the Akbaba Tepesi are Kızılhisar Tepesi (2241m.) and the Boz Dağı (2421m.). Southwards lies the Davas Ovası, named after the ancient Tabai. Between the two predominately North-West - South-East trending ranges lies the Acipayam Ovası, separated by rising ground from the basin of Horzum / Gölhisar (Kibyra). In the middle of the plain the Horzum Çay (Indos), flowing Northwards from the Rahat Dağı, and the ancient Kazanes, flowing Southwards, unite to form the Daleman Çay, which, breaking through the western side of the valley, flows South-Westwards to the sea 22). In the hills to the South of the Eşler Dağı around Tefeni rise streams which unite to form the Eren Çay and flow Northwards into the broad plain of Burdur Gölü (L. Askania). The upper end of the valley is open and fertile, but further down the river flows mostly in a gorge, finally bursting through the hills into the plain. 23)

The district just described, South of the Menderes, has been reckoned to Phrygia and is therefore included in this description. However, we shall see that it had little in common with the rest of the area.

We turn now to western Phrygia North of the Menderes. West and South of Kutahya, rise the Acem Dağı and the Murat Dağı (1902 m. and 2312 m.). From the eastern slopes of these mountains flow tributaries of the Persuk Çay and Akar Çay.
Between the two mountains to the West is first of all a region of rolling, dry grassland with an occasional line of hills. Beyond is the more fertile plain of the Koca Su (Rhyndakos), which contained the city of Aizanoi (Çavdarhisar). After forming in the plain, the river flows Northwards in a narrow wooded valley to the wide rich plain of Tavşanlı, and then North-Westwards via the Apolyont Gölü (L. Artynia) to the Sea of Marmara at Başaz. To the West of the Murat Dağ are the Şaphane Dağ and over a low watershed from the latter the long chain of the Demirci Dağlı. Between the Demirci Dağlı and the Alacam Dağlıleri and the Ak Dağ is the elevated plain of Simav. The centre of the plain is occupied by the lake, surrounded by extensive marshes that sometimes spread right out to the feet of the hills encompassing the plain. This narrow stretch was the Abbaeitics. From the West end of the plain the Simav Çay runs West and then North to the sea, receiving on its way the outfall of the Apolyont Gölü. From North of the plain of Simav a number of streams run either West to join the Simav Çay or North to the Koca Su.\(^{24}\)

The Gediz Çay rises primarily between the Murat Dağlı and the Saphane Dağlı (2121 m.). Further West it receives streams running off the southern slopes of the Demirci Dağlı. The broad valley of the river is separated from the almost parallel course of the Banaz Çay by the chain of volcanic hills running South-Westwards from the Elma Dağlı and finally dying away North of Alaşehir (Philadelphia). This volcanic district was known to the Greeks as the Katakekaumene, the "burnt country"\(^{25}\). The Banaz Ovası is a gently undulating plain with an altitude of 500–1,000 m. To its East rise the Burgaz Dağlı (1990 m.) and Ahar Dağlı (1898 m.). Running South-Westwards from the watershed between the Murat Dağlı and the Ahar Dağlı is the narrow valley of the Ahat Koy Su. Entering the Banaz Ovası at its North-East corner it joins other streams to form the Banaz Çay, which crosses the plain in a deep canon to join the Mendezes. The Banaz Ovası is separated from the plain of
The only real hindrance to movement on the plateau is offered by its relative agricultural poverty, a problem which could be overcome by good organisation. It is possible to regard lines of communication there as being determined by the pattern of settlement rather than vice versa (although, of course, settlements did grow up, or were sometimes deliberately planted, along pre-existing routes) and, of course, by factors outside the area. We may note especially the thinness of settlements around the Salt Lake. From the North-West and South-West the plateau may be approached via the valley of the lower Sakarya and from the plain of Antalya (Attaleia) by passes over the Taurus. The approach from the Aegean coast via the Menderes valley up to Dinar is long but easy. From Dinar the traveller may turn Northwards towards Afyon or North-Eastwards towards the Akar Çay valley, according to his destination. If he leaves the Menderes lower down or follows the Gediz Nehri further North, then he must follow the generally North-Easterly course of the Kufi Çay or Banaz Çay, or continue with the upper course of the Gediz Çay into the mountains bounding the plateau to the West. However, the absence of any pronounced grain in these mountains means that among them there is a multiplicity of possible routes. In the East, routes approaching the plateau have to divide to avoid the Salt Lake and the barren area surrounding it. Beyond, we may note the existence of the Hittite state based on Hattusas (Boğazköy) in the North and of civilizations in Northern Syria to the South as factors influencing the direction of lines of communication. The discussion of the routes that assumed importance at various times in antiquity is the business of the historical geographer.

The natural boundary of Phrygia to the North is clear cut; in every other direction, it is less so. The
centrifugal pattern of the encircling mountains and valleys and the openness of the plateau may make the land ideally suited to contain the capital of a unified Anatolian state, but it could never constitute an obvious core of cultural or political resistance to foreign domination. The fringes of the area and communities on major routes were inevitably subject to outside influences. The degree of uniformity in the local culture is one of the subjects of our investigation.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.

1) The classical regional names were abandoned with difficulty by Dewdney in favour of the present-day provincial names used in Turkey (J.C. Dewdney, Turkey, ix-x).

2) These correspond roughly to Dewdney's regions of Western Anatolia and Central Anatolia (Sakarya Basin, Ankara and Konya Districts) (op. cit., 183 ff. and 187 ff.).

3) For recent changes of opinion about the geomorphology of the country, see Dewdney, op. cit., 15ff.

4) W.J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia, 2 vols. (1842).
   J.C. Dewdney, *Turkey.*
   A. Philipppson, "Reisen und Forschungen in westlichen Kleinasien, III", *PM Erg. band XXXVIII* (1914), Erg.heft 177 (1913), 21ff., 83ff., 97ff.; "Reisen...IV", *PM Erg. band XXXVIII* (1914), Erg.heft 180 (1914), 60ff.

I have not attempted to assemble the accounts of travellers of the early nineteenth century and before, e.g. W.M. Leake (this has been done for the "Phrygian Highlands" by C.H.E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia,* I, 1ff.), or articles on vegetation or economic geography. However, the list above does include most descriptive accounts that are easily accessible. It is to be regretted that Dewdney, in the first monograph...
English on the geography of Turkey, deliberately restricts his biblio-
to works in English when, as he admits, so much important work has
been published in other languages.

5) On the central plateau, see W.J. Hamilton, op. cit. II, 432 ff.;
P. v. Tschihatscheff, art. cit., 28 ff.; H.V. Barth, art. cit.
J.C. Dewdney, op. cit., 22, 187 ff. The works of H. Wenzel, Sultan
Dagh u. Akschehir-Ova: eine landeskundliche Untersuchung in Inner-
amatien (Kiel, 1932) and Forschungen in Inneranatolien, II: Die
Steppe als Lebensraum (Kiel, 1937) have not been available to me.

6) This was probably the Axylon referred to by Livy. For illustrations
see, for example, P. Lambrechts, "De Opgravingen... te Pessinus"
De Brug XI, 4 (1967), pl. 5; "De Vijfde Opgravingscampagne... te
Pessinus" De Brug XV, 4 (1971), pl.5; "De Zevende Opgravings-
campagne ... te Pessinus", De Brug XVII, 4 (1973), pl. 10; "Rapport
sur la première Campagne de Fouilles à Pessinus", TAD XVI, II
(1968), 126, fig. 1, 128, fig. 7; "Rapport sur la 2ª Campagne de
Fouilles a Pessinus" TAD XVII, I (1969), 87, pl. 1.


8) P. v. Tschihatscheff, art. cit., 52 ff.; W.J. Hamilton, op. cit
II, 189 ff.; L. Robert, Hellenica XIII (1965), pls. V-X. H. Hei-
mann, Konya; Geographie einer Oasenstadt (Diss. Berlin, 1935)
has not been available to me.


10) W.J. Hamilton, op. cit. II, 182 ff.; D.G. Hogarth, "Notes on
Phrygia Paroreius and Lycaonia", JHS XI (1890), 151 ff.; J.G.C.
Anderson, "A Summer in Phrygia, II", JHS XVIII (1898), 111-114.

11) B.M. Levick, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor, 7 ff., pls.
Ia & b and Vlb; L. Robert, Hellenica XIII (1965), pl.s. XI-XXI.

(1913 ), 118 ff.

13) On these quarries, see now the lengthy technical study by J.
Röder, "Marmor Phrygum: die antiken Marmorbrüche von İsehisisar
in Westanatolien", Jdt LXXXVI (1971), 253 ff. I deliberately
refrain from giving any references on the administration of

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these quarries.

14) Their imposing rock-cut monuments have ensured that the Phrygian Highlands, as Prof. C.H.E. Haspels has named them, are by far the best-known part of this area of Asia Minor. Numerous plates illustrating the landscape appear in volume II of her work, *The Highlands of Phrygia: sites and monuments*. For the Eskişehir district, see A. Philippsen, *art. cit.* (1913) 90ff.; P. von Tschihatscheff, *art. cit.*, 28. Illustrations in *MAMA* V, pls. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.


18) Illustrations in *MAMA* IV, pl. 3.


27) For a brief study of this subject, taking in a broad time-span, see F. Taeschner, "Die Verkehrslage und das Wegenetz Anatoliens im Wandel der Zeiten", *PM* LXXII (1926), 202ff. In his work *Kleinasien und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 39ff., E. Gren gives a brief sketch of the changes in the major Anatolian road systems in antiquity, with special reference to the links with Europe. His bibliography (39, footnote 7) covers a wider period than does the text.
CHAPTER TWO: THE EVIDENCE FOR THE PHRYGIAN MIGRATION AND FOR THE EXTENT OF PHRYGIA.

The history of settlement in Phrygia from the time of the Phrygian migration through the third century A.D. may be conveniently divided into three phases; down to the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Hellenistic period and the Roman imperial period. The evidence upon which our knowledge of settlement is based is also capable of a triple division which corresponds to these phases. In the last two phases it is closely bound up with prominent characteristics of the settlement.

Our knowledge of the first phase is dependent on scattered references in the Greek and Assyrian literary sources and to a lesser extent on the results of archaeological investigation. The natives were at best proto-literate. The archaeological evidence that we have is useful, once the complex world it reflects is appreciated, and it increases yearly, but Phrygia is still a comparatively neglected area in Iron Age and Classical archaeology. The literary evidence consists primarily of passages in the Assyrian annals, Homer, Herodotos and Xenophon. In addition we learn much about this period from Strabo. From whom Strabo got his information for the earliest times we are often ignorant. In one connexion he cites Xanthos of Lydia, a contemporary of Herodotos. Elsewhere he cites Ephoros, Skylax and Theopompos 1).

According to Stephanus of Byzantium, Midaeion was mentioned in the Deukalioneia of Hellanikos, which thus clearly at least touched on Phrygia. In none of these cases was it the prime purpose of the writers to give a general account of Phrygia — indeed, the confusions of Herodotos' descriptions, for example, of the Royal Road, suggest that an accurate topographical account of the interior of Asia Minor could not have been written by a Greek of this period — rather, Phrygia is mentioned briefly and, allowing for Herodotos'
discursive style, only so far as it is relevant to the main theme. On the other hand, a Phrygios Logos is attributed to the fifth century writer Demokritos of Abdera. The communities known to us from this period are Anava, Gordion, Ikonion, Kelainai, Keramon Agora, Kolossai, Midaeion, Peltai, Thymbria, Tyriaeion and, in Hellespontine Phrygia, Kyzikos.

When the struggles of Alexander the Great's immediate successors had been resolved, Phrygia found itself under the rule of the Seleucids. Through the southern part of the country, up the Maeander valley and across the plateau, ran the great trade route, the Ἀγανθία later described by Artemidoros. This linked the old Greek world with the Seleucid heartland of Syria, and along its course through Phrygia were planted the cities of Laodikeia on the Lykos, Apameia, Laodikeia Katakekaumene. To the South, on the borders of the untamed Pisidians, Apollonia and Antiocheia were founded and, at some unknown date in the Hellenistic period, Neapolis. Additionally the Attalids founded Dionysopolis and Eumeneia, perhaps to secure the line of a more direct road from Sardes and Philadelphia than that leading up the Lykos valley to Apameia. At various times local dynasts and military commanders made their own foundations such as Lysias, Philomelion, Dokimion and possibly Themisonion. Traces of Hellenistic military organisation have been found in inscriptions from Eukarpeia. Towns of probably earlier origin to receive colonists were Blaundos on the Lydian border, Peltai, whose earlier existence has already been noted, Synnada and possibly Kibyra and Tabai (but not now Kadös). The presumably native community of Hierapolis seems to have been reorganised in some way by the Seleucids. It is towards the end of the period that we hear for the first time of Aizanoi, Akmonia, Ambason, Ankyra, Aphrodisias, Beudos, Diniai, Euphorbion, Gordiouteichos, Kibyra, Nakoleia, Metropolis and Tabai. Dorylaeion, Ipsos, Kotiaeion and Pessinous appear a little earlier.

As the Greeks colonised the land, so they studied it.
Hellenistic writers known to have composed works on Phrygia are Alexandros Polyhistor and Hermogenes. Of a more specialised nature was the χρονικό φωναγμον of Neoptolemos of Parion. Information on the country is also supplied by Apollodoros, Artemidoros, Demosthenes, Eratosthenes, Euphorion, Menekrates, Poseidonios, Promathidas and Timotheos. For the most part these accounts survive only fragmentarily in quotations in later works. However, much of their content may be regarded as having been epitomised in the Geography of Strabo. It is only too obvious from the very wealth of information on a variety of topics in the Geography how much of value has been lost.

From the Roman period we again have literary accounts, but apart from the two books on Phrygia by Metrophanes, a native of Eukarpia, they are brief and specialised: an account of the conventus and their chief cities in the Natural History of the elder Pliny; what is virtually a series of map-references compiled province-by-province and district-by-district by Ptolemy; finally, of less use to our present purpose, the Antonine Itineraries and the Peutinger Table. The Roman period saw the rise of secondary cities in areas that had remained backward: Iulia, Hadrianopolis, Tiberiopolis, Flaviopolis, Traianopolis and Sebastce, to name only those founded with imperial blessing. The cities of Epiktetos and Abbacitis, known from Strabo or even earlier, abandoned their federal coinage. The coinage of the Eukarptiae plain also disappears, to be replaced by those of the individual communities, of whom we now hear for the first time. Dokimion, called a kome by Strabo, assumed the status of a city. Literacy and prosperity spread across the country to numerous hitherto-obscure settlements, and inscriptions and coins attest their names, sites and status. The tracing of these developments of the Roman period requires a study of its own. The essentially local nature of the evidence, epigraphic and numismatic rather than literary, by which we know so many

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of these communities is appropriate to the restricted contexts in which they flourished.

The major foundations attributable to each period by direct evidence have been listed above. There remains a number of important settlements about the origins of which we have no explicit information. We know the time of their first appearance in the surviving literary record — the only type of evidence with any great time-span — but the fact that during the era in question this record increases in detail, as explained above, means that the appearance of a settlement at a certain time does not allow an argument from silence that it did not exist at an earlier date, even though we may conclude that it was of less importance. In such cases we have to fall back on the information to be derived from the place-name itself or from any foundation-legend we may have; we do not have enough archaeological evidence for that to be useful. Another consequence of the nature of the evidence is that, while we may attempt to deal with settlement chronologically, assigning as many named sites as possible to a particular period, we cannot treat the evidence in its natural chronological order. However, we shall deal with the evidence for the boundaries of Phrygia chronologically, making due allowance for incompleteness in early works and anachronisms in later ones, for the discrepancies among the accounts reflect the changing boundaries of the land as a result of political events.

Many of the foundation legends known to us are preserved in the Ethnika of Stephanus of Byzantium, a few in Pausanias. Others, again, are alluded to on coins. Some of these were current very much earlier, as is apparent from the sources cited by Stephanus. However, the interpretation of even those legends which were localised at an early date is difficult, while the localisation of "pan-Phrygian" legends, especially those popularised by Homer, may well be a late phenomenon, and perhaps a sign of hellenisation.
The Migration from Europe.

A thorough understanding of the evidence for the European homeland of the Phrygians, inseparable from that for their migration, is an essential prerequisite for the study of their culture in Asia Minor. For instance, Strabo explained the similarities observed between the religious rites of the Thracians and the Phrygians by the fact that the Phrygians were Thracian colonists. Similarly, modern scholars have regarded Dionysos and Sabazios as "Thracophrygian" gods. Parallels between the toponymy of Thrace and the Troad were observed by Strabo; similar parallels between Thrace and Phrygia have been sought, on the assumption that the two peoples were closely related.

According to Herodotos, the Phrygians were called Briges while they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbours of the Macedonians. Elsewhere he mentions Brygoi as a Thracian tribe in Macedonia at the time of the Persian invasion of Greece. The historian localised the legend of Midas and the Silen at the foot of Mount Bermio. Strabo in a fragmentary passage records that Paonia was the homeland of the Phrygians and, conversely, that the Paionians themselves were Phrygian colonists. Herodotos mentions a migration from Troy to Paonia. In another fragment, Strabo repeats Herodotos' information about the original name of the Phrygians and their situation about Mount Bermio. Elsewhere, he simply calls them Thracian colonists. He records as variants of the name Brygoi and Bryks. Together with Briges, about whom he cites Herodotos' information, Stephanus of Byzantium lists the presumably cognate Macedonian place - names Brygas, Brygion, and the Thracian ethnics Brykes, Brykai, Brykeis and Brykei. Further, under Bryx, he says interestingly that they are a Macedonian tribe close to Illyria.

It will be helpful in considering the Phrygian
migration to take into account those of other folk as well. The presence of Dardanos in the Trojan genealogies and of a group of Dardanians led by Aineias in the Iliad may suggest that the Dardanoi, who would have been the northerly neighbours of the Paionian Phrygians, also migrated to Asia Minor \(^25\). Paionians are mentioned by Homer as allies of the Trojans, but we need not assume a migration, for the poet also lists Thracians on the Trojan side\(^{26}\). The appearance of Mygdon as a Phrygian leader in the Iliad and, at a later date, of Mygdones on the Propontic coast, seems to indicate that some of the Mygdones, the southerly neighbours of the Paionian Phrygians, also moved to Asia Minor \(^27\). The Mysians also appear among the Trojan allies, coming from Askania. Homer mentions other Mysians on the European coast of the Black Sea and it is from here, according to later writers, that the Asian Mysians came \(^28\). After the Trojan War Strabo records numerous migrations from Europe to Asia and also movements within Asia Minor. The Propontic coast, including the later Bithynia, was occupied by Bebrykes and Dryopes. The Mysians first occupied Bithynia, the Arganthonios peninsula and the land around Mount Olympos, but were driven from the last-named area by the Phrygians after the latter had killed a king of Troy, and took up residence around the headwaters of the Kaikos. The Phrygians also occupied the land about Kyzikos. Other Mysians who had lived in Teuthrania moved to the Plain of Thebe \(^29\). Strabo suggested that the Bebrykes the Mariandynoi and the Kakones were all Thracian, although he recorded that the last named tribe was also said to be Pelasgian \(^30\). Apollodoros says explicitly that the Bebrykes were Phrygians \(^31\). Later, Abydos was occupied by Thracians. There were Edonians at Antandros before the Kimmerian invasion. At the time of that invasion the Therioi, another Thracian people, migrated to Asia Minor, as did, according to Arrian, the Bithynians. According to Herodotus, the Bithynians called themselves Strymonians \(^32\).

If we consider the area from which the Phrygians were
said to have migrated, it seems unlikely that related
groups of people, sharing the same name, should have been
found in Macedonia and on the Black Sea coast, whence
Xanthos of Lydia says that the Phrygians came\textsuperscript{33}). In view
of the more abundant and more detailed information con-
cerning the Phrygians in Macedonia, it is reasonable to
suggest that their true homeland was in that country
rather on the coast of the Euxine. It is tempting to
associate Xanthos' "Black Sea Phrygians" with the Mysians.

That the Phrygians crossed to Asia before the Trojan
War is implied by the references to them in the \textit{Iliad}. A
pre-Trojan War migration was accepted by Strabo. How-
ever, he also cites Xanthos' opinion that the migration
occurred after the war\textsuperscript{34}). There are eight references to
Phrygia and the Phrygians in the \textit{Iliad}. In II, 862 f.,
near the end of the catalogue of Trojan allies, we learn
that the Phrygians came from Askania and were led by
Phorkys and Askarios. In III, 184 ff., Priam tells Helen
of the time when he went to fight with the Phrygians, led
by Otreus and Mygdon, against the Amazons on the banks of
the Sangarios. In XVI, 714 ff., we hear of Asios, uncle of
Hektor, who lived in Phrygia by the banks of the Sangarios.
In \textit{XXIV}, 543 ff., we learn that the dominions of Priam
were once bounded to the North by Phrygia. In \textit{XVIII}, 288 ff.
many of the treasures of Troy are said to have been lost
to Phrygia and Maonia "when Zeus was angry". No useful
information is added by the remainder of the references\textsuperscript{35}).
The reference in the catalogue is the weakest, as this
list could easily have been added to by a poet eager to
show of his ethnographic knowledge and as more peoples
came to be known to the Greeks. In the other references
the poet locates the Phrygians firmly about the Sangarios
and in Askania. This district is reasonably thought to
correspond to that around L. Askenia near Nikaia, although
there was another lake of the same name in south-western
Phrygia, and the god Mên was worshipped with the epithet
Askaenos near Antioch — towards — Pisidia. He also makes brief mention of Phrygian activities in Asia Minor before the Trojan War, including possibly a war against Troy. Homer shows no awareness of the European homeland of the Phrygians or of their migration.

It is interesting to compare the five references to the Mysians in the Iliad. In II, 858, we are informed that Chromis and Bunomos led the Mysians. In XXIV, 277 ff., mules given by the Mysians are said to draw the wagon containing the ransom for Hektor's body. In XIII, 792 ff. Morys and Askanios, the sons of Hippotion, are said to come from Askania. According to Strabo, Palmys, Morys and Askanios were all Mysians. The deaths of Morys and Hippotion, together with that of Hyrtios, another Mysian lord, are recorded in XIV, 511 ff. The most interesting passage is XIII, 4 ff., where Zeus is said to ignore the fighting at Troy and look out "over the land of the Thracian riders and the Mysians who fight at close quarters, and the proud Hippomolgoi, drinkers of milk, and the Abioi, most righteous of all men". That Homer was indeed referring to European Mysians in this passage was argued by Poseidonios and supported by Strabo. In Strabo's day these people were called Moisoi. That the Anatolian Mysians came from beyond the Ister was stated by Artemidoros. This passage may simply show Greek awareness of the European coast of the Black Sea at the time when this part of the Iliad was composed. On the other hand, the poet's awareness of both European and Anatolian Mysians may have been the result of a migration recently having taken place. It is noteworthy that apart from naming their leaders and locating them in Askania (and both Askania and Askanios they shared with the Phrygians), the poet has little to say about the Mysians, which perhaps suggests that they had only recently taken their place in the epic.

Working from the literary evidence, we may now attempt to reconstruct the sequence of migration. The only evidence
for a pre-Trojan War migration is the appearance of the Phrygians in the *Iliad*. It has been suggested that in the epic they are a well-established Anatolian people, whereas the Mysians appear as newcomers. On the other hand, we may compare Xanthos' testimony that the Phrygians migrated after the war with Strabo's mention of a Bebrykian migration and, again, Xanthos' statement that Skamendrios led the Phrygians from Askania with the tradition of a Phrygian colonisation of the Kyzikos area. With Apollodoros, we may equate the Bebrykes with the Phrygians, on the basis of similarity of name. The hint in the *Iliad* of a Phrygian conquest of Troy perhaps refers to the same event as that attested by Strabo. Again, in the traditions in which the Trojan and Phrygian leaderships merge, with Askanios, now the son of Aineias, ruling from Skepsis after the Trojan War and Hektor's son Skamendrios becoming a Phrygian leader, we may see a reflection of a post-Trojan War Phrygian conquest of Troy.*A Phrygian migration to the Propontic coastlands and the Troad after the War seems firmly attested then. Whether there was a Phrygian migration before the Trojan War must remain very doubtful; their well-established place in the *Iliad* vis à vis the Mysians may simply be the result of the poet's greater familiarity with them, occasioned by their conquest of the Troad. We may note that for the Phrygians to have displaced the Mysians from around Mount Olympos the Mysian migration into that area at least must have preceded the Phrygian.

So far, we have considered only the Greek literary evidence for the Phrygian migration. This is, indeed, the only explicit literary evidence on the subject from antiquity. However, a "Mita of Mushki" is mentioned in the Assyrian annals of the eighth century and was equated with the Phrygian king Midas by Winckler.*Mushki are again mentioned in the Assyrian annals of the eleventh century. At this time, according to M. J. Mellink, the Mushki were probably situated around the upper Tigris, while in the

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eighth century they appear near the Euphrates, where at one
time they came under the rule of Araras of Carchemish, and
were in contact with Urartu and Tabal. The Mushki are
probably to be identified with the people known to the
Greeks from the time of Hekataios onwards as Moschoi. In
the tribute - list of the Persian Empire given by Herodotos
they appear along with the Tibarenoi, according to Mellink
the remnants of Tabal. In Strabo, the Moschian mountains
appear to lie between the Upper Euphrates and the Buxine.
P. Meriggi believes that a hieroglyphic inscription in the
fortress on the Kızıl Dağı near Çumra, South - East of Konya,
mentions the Mushki. The name may also appear in the stem
of Mazaka, the later Kaisareia. Koerte suggested that
the Mushki should be identified with the Phrygians and that
those of the eleventh century mentioned as being near the
Tigris should be regarded as the ancestors of οἱ περὶ Νικέτου
Μυγδόνες attested by Strabo. We have already seen that
the Mygdonians may have formed a sub - group in the Phrygian
migration from Macedonia. As Mellink pointed out, it seems
strange to find the Phrygians so far East at such an early
date. It seems more likely that the attestation of
Mygdonians has its origin in a Macedonian settlement of
Hellenistic date, a possibility that Koerte considered but
rejected. E. Akurgal has tried to relate the name Mushki
to Mysoim and Mysos, but without discussing the philo-
logical problems. It seems best to accept that the
Phrygian kingdom became known to the Assyrians by the name
of its eastern members, the Mushki, with whom they were
familiar, and that the kingdom was in fact a joint one.
The eleventh century Mushki are probably irrelevant to the
question of the Phrygian immigration into Asia Minor.

The traditional archaeological evidence for the
Phrygian migration consists of finds of "knobbed" and
angular - handled pottery ( Buckelkeramik; knickhenkel )
in Troy VII b 2. Knobbed ware occurs in Hungary and the
angular handle, which is also found at Gordion, occurs in
Macedonia and Bulgaria. In addition, the timber graves of South Russia and Bulgaria have been compared with the eighth century tumuli at Gordion\(^49\). On the other hand, the dating of the European tumuli seems to be doubtful, and N.K. Sandars has denied the intrusiveness of "Buckelkeramik" in Troy VII b 2\(^50\). Sandars has followed Morintz in comparing the apparently foreign pottery from Troy VII b 2 with that from Babadağ, a large promontory-fort near the mouth of the Danube. M. Garašanin has detected comparable pottery to that at Troy and Babadağ at Pshenichevo in Thrace\(^51\). It is tempting to relate this archaeological evidence to Xanthos' account of the Phrygians coming from the left-hand side of the Black Sea after the Trojan war, and to Strabo's story of the Phrygians killing a king of Troy.

In an article entitled "Die Phrygische Episode in der Geschichte von Hellas", P. Kretschmer drew attention to Ptolemy's mention of a place called "Phrygisatis", the "seat of the Phrygians", in free Germany\(^52\). Polaschek believed Phrygisatis could be located in the valley of the Vltava, South of Česke Budějovice in southern Bohemia\(^53\). From Phrygisatis the Phrygians moved South, according to Kretschmer, to the Adriatic coast and through Macedonia to Greece. Recently, in a paper aiming to show that Apollo was originally the legendary ancestor ("Ahnerr") of the *Peluni, a name he gives to the bearers of the "eastern barrow culture" (Östliche Hügelgräberkultur), H. Kothe has proposed a migration of these people in the thirteenth century B.C. Southwards to the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia and thence to Italy and to Greece where they became known as Pelasgoi ("die vom Stämme der Pel"). The Pelasgians and the god Apollo, as it noted, assisted the Trojans against the Greeks. This migration has clear parallels with that proposed by Kretschmer. Kothe attributes the Hungarian *Buckelkeramik* to his *Peluni and regards the presence of *Buckelkeramik* in Troy VII b 2 as confirmation.
of the presence of Pelasgians at Troy, as related by Homer\textsuperscript{54}). Both J. Bouzek and M. Garašanin have recently compared Macedonian "Lausitz" ware with pottery found in Middle Danubian areas\textsuperscript{55}).

There may therefore be limited philological and archaeological evidence for a migration from Central Europe to the Aegean area in the late second millennium B.C. The archaeological evidence may suggest that the last stage of this movement took place through Macedonia. The Macedonian Phrygians may have taken part in this migration.

It is reasonable to look, as Kretschmer did, for linguistic links between Thrace and Phrygia. He correctly observed that whereas many Thracian personal and place-names are compounds, Phrygian personal names are for the most part Lallnames, and the place-names are often composed of a personal name with the ending -ion. Nevertheless, he did detect some common names, as he believed: Kotys /ias, Daos and Deidas were, he suggested, "Thraco-Phrygian". Of these, Daos has not yet been found in a secure "ethnically Phrygian" context. Kotys /ias is certainly Thracian, but again has not been found in a secure Phrygian context. Deidas is a Lallname which is native to both Thrace and to Anatolian peoples; it is difficult to judge, therefore, the origin of the Phrygian examples of the name. To the ending -atos in Phrygian Tegatos and Konklatos he compared Torkouatos, which is surely merely the Latin Torquatus in Greek guise, Audata and Pleuratos\textsuperscript{56}.

In both Phrygia and Thrace we find the place-names Bria and Germa. The Phrygian Abrostola may be compared with the Thracian Dourostolos (for the second element) and Abrozelmes, Abroupolis and Abrotonon (for the first element). Aulokrene recalls Aulouporis and Aulaicuteichos. An Akmonia is to be found both in Phrygia and in Dacia. Other shared feminine place-names are Beroia in Macedonia and Otroia in Asia Minor. It is convenient to list here
further links listed by N. Jokl: Siberis, a river in Galatia, and the Soubaras in Illyria, Kelainai, the Greek Kolonos and Lithuanian Kalnas; a series of suffixes characteristic of Thracian, Illyrian and Phrygian names: -ap-/op-, -on-, -ist-, -ak-, -ul-, -r-, -d-, -at-, -mo-, -out-. Jokl concluded that the Phrygian language was related on the one hand to Greek, on the other to Balto-Slavic, but that the links with Thraco-Illyrian were closest. As further evidence for the last relationship we may now add "βασίλευς" "king", which was apparently shared by all three languages.

For the non-philologist it is almost impossible to judge the soundness of the linguistic links that have been suggested. Given the frequency of migration through south-eastern Europe into Asia Minor, of which the invasion by Alexander the Great is the last with which we have to deal, it will not be surprising to find similar place-names in the two areas. However, it is necessary to stress the need to set the place-names in a historical context, so that they may be assigned to one particular migration.

Phrygian Settlement in Asia Minor: The Literary Evidence for the Boundaries of Phrygia.

We must now attempt to define the areas occupied and controlled by the Phrygians in Asia Minor. There is no archaeological evidence to help us until the eighth century, and that evidence is far from straightforward in its significance. It is not appropriate to reconsider it here in detail. Two diagnostic cultural features come into the discussion: pottery and tumuli. The decorated pottery found in eastern Phrygia has long been recognised as related to other eastern Anatolian wares, notably that of Alışar IV, while the grey ware of western Phrygia may be a direct descendant of the western Anatolian grey
wares of the second millennium. Those Phrygian tumuli of the eighth century that have been examined display their own typical methods of construction which distinguish them from those of neighbouring areas, Lydia, Karia and Lykia, and from those Anatolian tumuli of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, a distribution map of these tumuli has yet to be compiled.

The first literary evidence is again provided by Homer, who locates the Phrygians on the lower Sangarios. So far as it goes, this testimony is quite probably correct, but it need not be complete. The Phrygians mentioned by Homer would be the ones who would most naturally have been involved in the Trojan war. Those on the lower Sangarios meet the requirement admirably, while any situated further inland do not. We cannot therefore conclude from Homer's silence about them that there were no Phrygians living further inland.

We have already mentioned Winckler's equation of Mita of Mushki with the Phrygian Midas. In the Assyrian texts of the eighth century, Midas appears as the ruler of an important kingdom, operating in eastern Asia Minor. In the reigns of Tiglath Pileser III and Sargon II, the Assyrians had conquered the neo-Hittite states of Sam'al, Qu'e, Carchemish, Tabal, Kammanu, Gurgum, Kummahu and Meliddu, and succeeded in attacking the capital of Urartu. At first, the Phrygians seem to have maintained good relations with Assyria. Later, however, the Phrygians seem to have become alarmed at the expansion of the Assyrian empire, and were blamed by the Assyrians for instigating revolts in their Anatolian territories. Finally, four expeditions against Phrygia were mounted from Qu'e between 715 and 709 B.C., the first led by Sargon himself. The Phrygians were forced into submission.

This Assyrian information is valuable in showing the importance of eighth century Phrygia and its involve-
ment in affairs on its eastern frontier, just as the information that Midas married a daughter of the king of Kyme and dedicated a throne at Delphi indicates that the state was aware of the world to its West also. However, it does not tell us directly of the boundaries of the Phrygian state or the limits of Phrygian population to the East. Again, it is the Greek literary evidence that offers the best information for constructing a useful account of the extent of Phrygia.

In 713, the Kimerians, forced onwards by the Scythians through the Caucasus, came into contact with the Assyrians. Soon afterwards, still in the reign of Sargon II, they drove into Asia Minor and sacked Gordion, according to Eusebius in 696/5 B.C. Midas committed suicide, but it seems that kings of his house continued to rule Phrygia after the Kimerian invasion. A Phrygian prince Adrastos, the son of a Gordios and uncle of a Midas, appears at the court of the Lydian king Kroisos. Nevertheless, in the seventh century, Phrygian political power declined. Gyges had the Hellespontine coast under his control. Daskylion was founded in the reign of Sadyattes. When Alyattes finally drove the Kimerians out of Asia Minor, he may have advanced as far as the Halys and so come into conflict with the Persians. The fact that he went so far East through Phrygia has been taken to imply that he controlled that country. In the reign of Kroisos, Herodotos explicitly tells us that the Halys divided the Phrygians and the Matienoi, the former being in the Lydian Empire. In 546 Kroisos crossed the Halys to attack the Persians, and, as the Delphic oracle had foretold, destroyed a great empire. Phrygia remained under Persian rule until Asia was conquered for Hellenism by Alexander.

Alexander died in 323 B.C. At this time the satrapy of Greater Phrygia was in the hands of Antigonos. To this was added Lykia, Pisidia and Pamphylia. Hellespontine
Phrygia was given by Perdikkas to Leonnatos, and following Perdikkas' death it was assigned at the meeting at Triparadeisos to Arrhidaios. Subsequently, Antigonos turned against both Arrhidaios and Kleitos in Lydia in an effort to obtain the mastery of the whole of Asia Minor. By 302, it looked as if Antigonos might reconstitute the empire of Alexander under his rule. The other kings moved against him: Lysimachos moved from Thrace, and Seleukos from Syria. Antigonos was killed at the battle of Ipsos in 301; the two Phrygian satrapies were allotted to Lysimachos. In his turn, Lysimachos created alarm by the growth of his power. In 281, Seleukos began operations against him in Asia Minor, and after a few weeks defeated and killed Lysimachos in a decisive battle in the plain of Kyros West of Sardis.

The Seleucids nominally ruled most of Asia Minor from 281 to 189 B.C., but their hold was frequently weak, and minor dynasties continued to flourish. Of these, the most important, of course, was that of Philetairos. When Seleukos defeated Lysimachos, Philetairos was in charge of Lysimachos' treasury in Pergamon. He maintained his real independence, although professing allegiance to Seleukos, and his successors gradually built up a considerable kingdom. Attacks by Antiochos Hierax (241 - 239), brother of Seleukos III and rebel ruler of Seleucid Asia Minor, and by Seleukos III himself, were beaten off, but that in 223 by the Seleucid general Achaios deprived the kingdom of most of its territory. However, while Achaios was campaigning in Pisidia, Attalos I took the opportunity to recover his losses, and when Achaios revolted against Antiochos III in 213, sided with the Seleucid king. Achaios was defeated, and Attalos' reward was confirmation in his recent conquests. However, in 197, Antiochos invaded Asia Minor in an attempt to restore Seleucid rule. The cities on the southern coast belonging to the Ptolemies were subdued. Eumenes II became alarmed and
managed to bring in the Romans on his side. The ensuing war was ended by the peace of Apameia. By the terms of this treaty, Antiochus ceded to Rome all his lands beyond the Taurus in Asia Minor. These were divided between Pergamon and Rhodes. Except for a few free cities, Karia and Lykia were assigned to the Rhodians, while the Pergamenes received the rest of Seleucid Asia Minor and the Thracian Chersonnese, which Antiochus had conquered in 197. In 133 B.C., the last king of Pergamon, Attalos III, died childless and bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. Phrygia was at first granted to Mithridates V of Pontos, but reclaimed by Rome on his death in 12065).

Another Anatolian kingdom we must consider is that of Bithynia. Alexander made an unsuccessful attack on the kingdom, but paid no further attention to it. Attacks by Lysimachos were warded off by Zipoites. In 278/7 B.C., Nikomedes, the son of Zipoites, at war with his brother, also called Zipoites, over the succession, invited the Gauls who had reached the European bank of the Hellespont to assist him. With their help, Nikomedes won his struggle. Subsequently the three Gallic tribes began to plunder other parts of Asia Minor: the Trokmoi took the Hellespontine coast, the Tolistobogioi Ionia, and Aiolis, and the Tectosagei took the inland areas. Miletos, Priene, Erythrai and Kyzikos were ravaged. The last-named place received help against the Trokmoi from Pergamon. The Gauls also maintained themselves by hiring themselves out as mercenaries. In payment for services to Mithradates of Pontos, before 266, the Tectosagei received land around Ankyra. The Tolistobogioi settled around Pessinus and the Trokmoi East of the Halys around Tavion. In 230, the Tolistobogioi were defeated at the sources of the Kaikos by Attalos I of Pergamon, who took the title "King" to celebrate the victory66).

Nikomedes' successor, Ziaelos, expanded the kingdom Eastwards. Ziaelos' son, Prusias I, expanded Westwards as
well. As a reward for his support of Philip V of Macedon against Attalos of Pergamon, he obtained Myrleia and Kios. In 198 Prusias held the so-called Phrygian Epiktetos and part of Mysia, but lost it about 183. A further war between Bithynia and Pergamon in 157 – 5 was settled by the Roman Senate on the basis of the status quo ante. In 74 B.C., Bithynia was annexed by Rome.

Having quickly surveyed the political and military history of Asia Minor in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, we may now attempt to analyse the literary evidence for the boundaries of Phrygia through that time.

For our knowledge of the fifth century satrapies of Asia Minor we are largely dependent on Herodotos, for those of the early fourth century on Xenophon. The Hellespontine regions, we learn from Herodotos, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Kappadokia, were in the satrapy of Daskylon. To the West lay the second satrapy of Sardis, comprising Mysia, Lydia, Maonia and Kabalis.

Adramyttion, Aiolis and Mysia came at varying times under the sphere of activity of the rulers of the third and second satrapies. Xenophon describes the Phrygian town of Keramon Agora as "the last settlement towards Mysia", and therefore presumably near the boundary of the satrapies. After 408, the third satrapy was divided into a Kappadokian and Greater Phrygian satrapy and Lesser or Hellespontine Phrygia satrapy. To the South-East, Xenophon described Ikonion as the last city of Phrygia. Beyond lay Lykaonia, which then lay in the satrapy of Kappadokia. In the North we may guess that the boundary between Phrygia and Kappadokia remained at the Halys, and that in the South-West that between Phrygia and Lydia was at Kydrara, where Herodotos tells us that the Lydian kings set it.

This is the sum of our knowledge of Phrygia as a whole during the Persian period. Its vagueness and
patchiness reflect the inevitable limitations of the knowledge of our Greek informants about a land in hostile hands. As we have already observed, this knowledge grew tremendously in the Hellenistic period, and much of it has been preserved in Strabo's Geography. However, before attempting to delimit the whole of Phrygia in detail with the help of the writings of Stabo and later writers, we shall first deal with the Hellespontine district. Here we have a relative wealth of testimonies dating from the late fourth century onwards, which allow us to analyse the nature of the boundaries and the ways in which they changed, in some detail. The situation of the district, accessible to Greek mariners sailing through the Propontis, and also near to the Troad, the geography of which attracted much scholarly attention, may be held to account for the amount of information available on it.

The pseudo-Skylax' Periplous, written in the fourth century B.C., in one passage includes the whole coastline from Kios to Antandros in Phrygia. Elsewhere he subdivides this area, assigning the coastline between Abydos and Hamaxitos to the Troad and that between Hamaxitos and Antandros to Aiolis. To the North-East, Kios marked the boundary with Mysia, part of which existed in isolation, sandwiched between Phrygia and Bithynia (which was then confined to the land North of the Gulf of Olbia) and comprising the peninsula of Arganthonios. The Hadrianic writer, Dionysios Periegetes, probably basing himself on the third-century B.C. geographer Eratosthenes, included the coast from Kios to the Hellespont in Βασιτερη φρυγια. The Tiberian commentator on Apollonius Rhodius, Theon, allots the coast from the Aisepos to the Rhynndakos to Phrygia74)

In the Periplous, both administrative boundaries and those of "popular geography" seem to be used. Antandros probably represented the contemporary limit of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. On the other hand,
the assignment of stretches of the Hellespontine coast to the Troad and to Aiolis, and of the Propontic coast to Mysia, does not reflect any administrative divisions, the Mysian "island" of the Argythoonion peninsula, like Bithynia to the North, presumably being included in the Hellespontine satrapy. The same restriction of Phrygia to the benefit of the Troad and Mysia is found in Dionysios Periegetes (= Eratosthenes?) and again, in the case of the Troad, in Theon. The latter admittedly places the boundary at the Aisepos rather than at Abydos, but, as Strabo tells us, the extent of the Troad was a matter of dispute. We may gather from the arguments used and perhaps from the very existence of the dispute, that the Troad of Hellenistic and Roman times was probably an artificial creation based on Homeric sentiment. Theon's eastern boundary of Phrygia, at the Rhyndakos, probably reflects the fact that this river became the western limit of the province of Bithynia early in the reign of Augustus. Once the Persian satrapies had passed into history, the custom of including the coastline as far as Antandros in Phrygia seems to have vanished almost entirely.

Strabo attempted to resolve the contradictions of the various earlier accounts and to combine the general picture they presented with the existence of Phrygia Epiktetos. The result is confusion. He attempted to equate Lesser Phrygia on the Hellespont and around Olympos, with Epiktetos. In his discussion of the Hellespontine coast, Phrygia is not mentioned. Instead, he assigns this coast to Mysia. The coast to the West of the Aisepos he assigns, after a lengthy discussion of the Homeric evidence, like Theon, to the Troad. The westernmost limit of Bithynia seems to be Myrleia, where it was until 20 B.C. He sets no exact south-western limit to Bithynia, but states that Prusa ad Olympum lies on the borders of Mysia and Phrygia. He allows
there to be both Mysians and Phrygians South of the Mysian Olympus, i.e. in the general area of Epiktetos and Abbaeitis. On the Hellespontine coast, Strabo places the two tribes of the Doliones and Mygdones. To be consistent, he should have made it clear that he regarded these as a sub-group of Mysians, but in fact he distinguishes them from the Mysians.

Before we close this discussion of the Hellespontine region, we must examine Strabo's abandonment of the name "Hellespontine Phrygia" for the area anciently known by that name, which he classed as part of Mysia. In this, he was followed in the second century A.D. by Ptolemy. One may guess that the origins of this change lay in the Southward expansion of Bithynia, separating Hellespontine Phrygia from Greater Phrygia. The inclusion of the cities of Hellespontine Phrygia - Kyzikos, Skylake, Miletopolis, Apollonia, Poemanon - in the Roman convens of Adramytion along with the cities of Mysia must have confirmed the separation of the district and facilitated its inclusion in Mysia.

At first sight, the late Persian and Hellenistic writers, before Strabo, appear to have used both administrative and other boundaries together without explaining the rationale behind their choices. If we consider the non-administrative boundaries that they attest, it is remarkable how closely they seem to reflect the history of the migrations in the region which we have already reconstructed from scattered statements in Strabo. The survival of Mysians in the hills of the Arganthonios peninsula, of Mount Olympos, and around the headwaters of the Kaikos, corresponds well with Strabo's statement that the Mysians were forced inland by Phrygians and Bithynians. The denomination of the Propontic coastline West of Kios as "Phrygian" could well have had its roots in the post-Trojan war movement of Phrygians into the area. The extension of the name Phrygia over the
whole of the Troad may reflect Phrygian conquest of the district. On the other hand it may be due to the inclusion of the district in the same satrapy as Hellespontine Phrygia. We may, therefore, call these non-administrative boundaries ethnic boundaries. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to what we shall find in later periods (e.g. in the case of the expansion of Bithynia in the Hellenistic period, and in the Geography of Ptolemy), the expansion of the Lydian kingdom to the Halys and to the Propontis seems to have had no effect on boundaries or regional names. We may conjecture that the reason was that the conquest had been too short-lived, had not involved any movements of population, and that the old ethnic groupings were still too strong.

In general, the administrative boundaries of the Persian satrapies, where they separate rather than unite ethnic areas, also seem to reflect the pattern of migration into the Hellespontine region. It is therefore probable that these administrative boundaries coincided with, rather than modified, pre-existing ethnic boundaries. For instance, the inclusion of the Propontic coast in the third satrapy of Phrygia reflects Strabo's (Xanthos') information about Phrygian migration into the area.

Herodotus, Xenophon and the author of the Periplus, therefore, would probably not have recognised any clear distinction between administrative and ethnic boundaries, and quite possibly thought primarily in terms of the latter, although doubtless aware that the former sometimes coincided with them. However, during the Hellenistic period, as we have seen, the political boundaries of the new states changed, while presumably the old ethnic groups remained unchanged. In addition, scholars tried to define the Homeric Troad. However, it was not simply the changes of political boundaries that caused the complications in the accounts of scholars who may have been used to the idea of administrative or political and
ethnic boundaries coinciding. Pergamene power, for example, expanded North-Eastwards to Apollonia on the Rhynndakos, but this is not mentioned by the geographers\textsuperscript{82}). Rather, it was the emergence and expansion of old ethnic areas as political or administrative entities that caused complications. The two major examples are Bithynia and Phrygia Epiktetos. Theon, like Strabo, allotted the land West of the Aisepos to the Homeric Troad, that to the East to Phrygia, in doing which he was talking in ethnic terms, and the district East of the Rhynndakos to Bithynia. However, this Bithynia was not ethnically Bithynian, but only administratively so. Theon was presumably tempted to combine the use of the ethnic district of Phrygia with that of the administrative province of Bithynia because the latter bore the name of one of the old ethnic areas. Likewise, Strabo attempts to extend the old ethnic-administrative area of Hellespontine Phrygia to cover the recent political creation of Phrygia Epiktetos. However, it is to Strabo's credit that elsewhere he does give us the historical information necessary to an understanding of the various boundaries.

Strabo stated that the Romans had divided up Asia Minor in a completely new manner, ignoring the old boundaries. He himself seems mostly to have ignored the new divisions\textsuperscript{83}), but they do appear a century and a half later in the work of Ptolemy. Ptolemy lists the cities and tribes province by province, dividing them up within each province according to whether they were coastal or inland and according to the ethnic area to which they belonged. When an ethnic area was divided between two provinces, the two parts of that area with its cities would appear separately under each province. The modifying effect of administrative or political boundaries on ethnic ones, already observable by Strabo's time in Hellespontine Phrygia, may be detected elsewhere in Ptolemy.

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We may now move on to consider the rest of the boundaries of Phrygia, going Southwards from the Hellespont. Epiktetos comprised a large strip of northern Phrygia, including, according to Strabo, the cities of Midasion, Dorylaeion, Kotiaeaion, Nakoleia, Aizanoei and Kadoi. As we have seen, it was probably acquired by Pergamon about 216 B.C. The area had no real geographical unity, but nevertheless continued as an administrative unit — at least as far as the minting of coins was concerned — after the end of the Pergamene kingdom. Of the cities listed, only Kadoi was questionable in regard to its attribution to Phrygia. Strabo informs us that others assigned it to Mysia. Strabo himself states that the Hermos, at the head of which lay Kadoi, rose on Mount Dindymon in Mysia. According to Ptolemy, Kadoi lay in Maionia. According to some, says Strabo, Maionia was part of Mysia; according to others, part of Lydia. Strabo himself included Maionia in Mysia, which he allowed to extend as far South as Philadelphia. The Romans included the city in the conventus of Sardis, thus presumably regarding it as for all practical purposes Lydian.

In the second and first centuries B.C., Kadoi was probably, contrary to Strabo’s testimony, in Mysia, as an inscription there records a dedication by the demos of the Mysian Abbaeitae to their “forefather” Chromios. Apart from this inscription, there is also the evidence of coin-legends that Abbaeitis was in Mysia. However, Strabo assigned Ankyra to Phrygia, just as he did Kadoi, although admitting it was in Abbaeitis. Ptolemy assigns Ankyra, Synaos and Tiberiopolis to Phrygia.

The sequence of events may have been as follows: in the first century B.C., the Abbaeitai, who considered themselves Mysians and who possessed the towns of Ankyra and Synaos, and probably Kadoi, seem to have been closely associated with the Epikteteis; at least, they jointly
thanked a legate of Lucullus for their preservation in the Mithridatic war. The Phrygian connexion seems to have prevailed over the Mysian; hence Strabo, and later Ptolemy, could assign the cities of Abbaeitis to Phrygia. While convention could not be stretched to include Synaos and Ankyra in Epiktetos, Kadoi, being on the border, could be so included. However, being also on the border with Lydia, it became subject to further changes of attribution.

About the settlements of Maonia, which would have bounded Phrygia to the West, Strabo has little to say, although he remarks on the volcanic nature of the Katakekaumene country which he identified with Maonia. Presumably they were of little importance in his time. From Maonia Southwards to the Taurus, he admits to having great difficulty in defining the boundaries of the various regions because of the extent to which they were interwoven. He confines himself to enumerating the major mountain massifs, Tmolos and Messogis, and the major plains, Kayster, Kilbian and Hyrkanian in Lydia, Peltene in Phrygia and Tabene and Killanian with mixed Phrygian-Pisidian populations. Elsewhere, Strabo seems to place Tabai in Pisidia on the borders of Karia and Phrygia. It was presumably on the strength of the partly Phrygian population of the Tabene plain that Strabo assigned Aphrodisias, to the North-West, to Phrygia. Under the Empire it was in the conventus of Alabanda. He also puts Amblada, South of Lake Karalis, on the borders of Pisidia and Phrygia. He quotes Artemidoros as including Amaboura, to the South-West of the Killanian plain, in Pisidia. Of the Kibyrtis he tells us that it was populated by Lydians and then by Pisidians who imposed themselves on the native Solymoi of the Kabalxis. In placing Tabai on the borders of Karia and Pisidia, he must be including Kibyrtis in Pisidia. About the district South of Apameia he has little to say; the nearest Pisidian city was Sagalassos. However,
Apollonia, to the East of Apameia, he puts in Phrygia. If we turn now to Ptolemy, we find, of course, that his testimony is more precise than that of Stabo. In general terms, he gives the same picture, but there are some interesting differences of detail. The most puzzling feature of Ptolemy's account is his classification of Trajanopolis, Grimenothrae, Alydda and Praepenissos among the inland cities of Greater Mysia. Such a classification would have been reasonable when Abbaeitis to the North-West was considered part of Mysia. The disputed Lydian-Mysian land of Maionia lay to the West and South, and beyond that again was Philadelphia, which Strabo simply classed as Mysian. However, Ptolemy himself classes the cities of Abbaeitis under Phrygia, as we have seen. Kadai to the North he admittedly assigns to the land of Maionia, together with Daldeia and Saittai, but Philadelphia he lists under Lydia. According to Pliny, Philadelphia, naturally enough, was in the conventus of Sardis. Temenothyrai to the West Ptolemy does not mention, but that city, together with Silandos, claimed to be a metropolis of Mokkadene, and the Mokkadenei Ptolemy lists among the peoples of Phrygia. A.H.M. Jones has conjectured that Ptolemy's four supposedly Mysian communities belonged to the Apamene conventus. Thus, if we follow Ptolemy, the four communities form a Mysian island - something that seems improbable. It is reasonable to suggest that his information here belongs to a time, presumably before that of Strabo, in whom we have seen changes of attribution already taking place, when Mysia could be said to comprehend Abbaeitis and Maionia and extended as far South as Philadelphia.

Further South, Ptolemy assigns Blaundos to Phrygia. The city is mentioned by Strabo in a passage in which he may suggest that he regards it as in Phrygia, but his intention is uncertain. Sala and Hierapolis he also
includes in Phrygia. Laodikeia on the Iykos, however, he assigns to Karia\(^{109}\). The coin-types of this city make it plain that it was situated on the boundary of Phrygia and Karia\(^{110}\). Strabo places the city in Phrygia\(^{111}\). According to Pliny it was in the conventus of Kibyra, which, according to him and to Ptolemy, was in Phrygia\(^{112}\). Now until after the Mithradatic war Kibyra was the centre of a kingdom, and only came to be incorporated in Phrygia by numbering Laodikeia among the cities that belonged to the conventus of which it was the nominal head. It is therefore impossible for Kibyra to be described as Phrygian without Laodikeia also being so described. We know of no time during the period under consideration when Laodikeia could in any way be described as being part of Karia. Surprisingly again, he assigns Eriza, in between the "Phrygian" cities of Themison and Kibyra, to Karia\(^{113}\).

As for the Lysis valley to the North-East of Kibyra, Ptolemy assigns Olbasa at its head to the Pisidian part of Provincia Pamphylia\(^{114}\). Kormasa, lower down, he includes with Seleukeia of Pisidia, Baris, Konane, Lysinia and, presumably by mistake, Vetus Beudos, in "Phrygia Pisidia" in the same province\(^{115}\). Whether Ptolemy intended to suggest that all these places were in an area of mixed population, or that the north-western ones, i.e. Lysinia, Baris, Konane, were in Phrygia, Kormasa and Seleukeia in Pisidia, is unclear, and we have no other information to help us.

North-Eastwards from Konane, we find that Ptolemy includes Apollonia and Antioch (now, perhaps significantly, called "Antioch of Pisidia" rather than "Antioch towards Pisidia") in the Pisidian part of Provincia Galatia\(^{116}\). South-South-Eastwards from Antioch, Neapolis, said to belong to Phrygia in an inscription of the second century B.C., and Strabo's border town of Amblada, are similarly classed\(^{117}\). It seems that the subtleties of Strabo's
account, such as his mixed Phrygian-Pisidian population in the Killanian plain, have vanished, probably in the face of Roman administrative obtuseness: a colony was founded at Antioch to watch over the Pisidians; it was reasonable, therefore, to assume it was actually situated in Pisidia\textsuperscript{118}.

We have seen that Xenophon placed Ikonion on the border of Phrygia with Lykaonia. In Acts of the Apostles it seems to have occupied a similar position\textsuperscript{119}. Strabo, repeating Artemidoros' description of the ἡ Κατακαυμένη places Laodikeia Katakekaumene, and so a fortiori Ikonion, in Lykaonia. The last place in Phrygia he names is Tyriaeion\textsuperscript{120}. Ptolemy, on the other hand, mentions no place in Phrygia South-East of Philomelion, placing Tyriaeion in Lykaonian Galatia\textsuperscript{121}.

Lykaonia never seems to have been an independent unified area. Under the Persians it was part of the same satrapy as Kappadokia. After the conquest of Alexander it eventually passed to the Seleucids, and following the defeat of Antiochos the Great, to Pergamon. After the death of Attalos III the Romans gave it to the sons of Ariarathes V of Kappadokia in return for their father's service and death in the war against Aristonikos\textsuperscript{122}. After 101/100 B.C. Lykaonia came under the governor of Asia\textsuperscript{123}. Between 56 and 49 B.C. the Laodikeian, Apamene and Synnadic conventus of Phrygia were attached to Kilikia. The Lykaonian assizes were held at Philomelion, and continued to be held there until 44 B.C. at least\textsuperscript{124}. In 39 B.C., Antony gave Polemo Ikonion together with parts of Lykaonia and Kilikia, while Amyntas received Pisidia. In 36 B.C. Amyntas received Polemo's portion of Lykaonia, and Pamphyelia as well. On the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. all this was incorporated into the province of Galatia\textsuperscript{125}.

The first problem we must try to solve is how Ikonion and places to the West of it came to be assigned to

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Lykaonia. We know that the Attalids held Lykaonia and Phrygia. They must also have held Ikonion. We may guess that the change in the ethnic attribution of Ikonion (which was in any case on an ethnic boundary) and the other places came at a time when they were politically united with Lykaonia and politically separated from Phrygia. We have no information to suggest this happened before the time of Attalid rule, and it did not happen under them. Such may have been the case in the first years of Roman rule. We may suggest that at first the Roman province of Asia extended as far as Tyriaeion, and that Laodikeia and Ikonion were included in Kappadokian-held Lykaonia.

To carry the study of this area any later involves entering the problem of locating Ptolemy's Pros-eilemmenitai and Pliny's "Tetrarchia ex Lycachia qua parte Galatiae contermina est". Unfortunately, Ptolemy names the Proseilemmenitai together with the "Obizenoi and a part of Lykaonia", and then gives a list of communities, ranging from Petenissos in the North to Vasada in the South, without assigning them to any one of the three groups. Of these communities, it seems reasonable to assign Laodikeia, and certainly Perta, to Lykaonia. In view of the fact that Artemidoros, quoted by Strabo, puts Tyriaeion on the Lykaonian border, and that Pliny includes it in the Lykaonian conventus, one may suggest that Ptolemy intended that town also to be classed as Lykaonian in his account. The Proseilemmene probably lay between Petenissos in the North and Laodikeia in the South. Of the location of the Obizenoi we are ignorant. Ramsay suggested that the Proseilemmene and the tetrarchy were synonymous, but admitted that Ikonion and Vasada were probably not added to it until 36 B.C. As long as the province of Kilikia retained its importance and included any of the Phrygian conventus, then Ikonion and Lykaonia must
have been in Roman, not Galatian hands. If Pliny's description of the location of the tetrarchy is accurate, it cannot have equalled the Proseilemmene as we have defined it. Lykaonia did not bound on ethnic Galatia, for Strabo assigns Lake Tatta, and presumably the land West of it, to Phrygia\textsuperscript{129}). However, Lykaonia did bound on the extended Galatia which took in the Proseilemmene. The tetrarchy, then, did not include the Proseilemmene, but was an addition to it.

Ramsay suggested that the Proseilemmene / Tetrarchy could have been seized by the Gauls in 164 B.C. or given to them by Aquillius in 129 B.C. The latter date was accepted by Stähelin\textsuperscript{130}). A firm decision cannot be made. At least, it seems unlikely that the area of the Proseilemmene would have been included in the Phrygian part of the province of Asia, constituting as it did a narrow wedge of poor land between independent Galatia and Lykaonia.

The tetrarchy is more difficult to define and to date. We know that it included Ikonion, and, as it bounded on the extended Galatia, must have taken in the land to the North. Pliny assigns to Lykaonia proper Thebasa and Hyde (Ide)\textsuperscript{131}). At the time when the tetrarchy could have been established, i.e. 39 B.C. or later, after the collapse of Provincia Cilicia, Antipater held Derbe and Laranda\textsuperscript{132}). These places establish a south-eastern limit to the tetrarchy. Vasada, to the North-West of the Homenadeis, whom Amyntas died trying to conquer, perhaps represents the extreme south-western limit\textsuperscript{133}). To the North-West lay Pliny's "Lycaonia in Asiaticam iurisdictionem versa cum qua convenient Philomelientes, Tymbriani, Leucolithi, Peeteni, Tyrienses"\textsuperscript{134}). This presumably represents the part of the Lykaonian conventus centring on Philomelion that was eventually returned to Asia. It is probable that Philomelion was recovered for Asia when Pisidia to the South was given to Amyntas and the Ikonion area to
the East to Polemo. The tetrarchy therefore consisted of the central portion of Lykaonia. It was probably this that was given to Polemo in 39 B.C. and then to Amyntas in 36 B.C. It may not have received the title of tetrarchy until the latter date, when it came to be incorporated into Amyntas' extended Galatia.

Moving North from the disputed area of North Lykaonia, we may recall that Strabo allows Greater Phrygia to extend right up to Lake Tattra. To the North of this he places Galatia, i.e. the original, ethnic Galatia. This latter area was originally Phrygian, Phrygia extending, according to Herodotos, up to the Halys. According to Strabo, the district around Pessinou, the Orkaorkoi (probably on the right bank of the Sangarios) and Ankyra, was held by the Tektosegeis.135) On the other hand, Livy, who gives us our earliest information on Galatia, in connexion with the raid of Manlius Vulso, places the Tolostobogii around Pessinous and Gordion, and the Tektosegeis around Ankyra.136) Pliny also assigns Pessinous to the Tolostobogii.137) Ptolemy's account is again more detailed and includes the Roman colony of Germa, but except that it omits any mention of Gordion, which had probably ceased to be of any significance, it is in agreement with Livy and Pliny.138) For the Phrygian origin of Galatian Ankyra we have only the evidence of the foundation-legend preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium. The first sign of Galatian influence at Pessinous is the mention of a high-priest Aisiorix in a letter from Eumenes II and Attalos II. In 58 B.C. Clodius passed a plebiscite deposing the reigning high-priest and installing Brogitaros, tetrarch of the Trokmoi, Deiotoros, tetrarch of the Tolostobogii, ejected Brogitaros. Thus Pessinous came explicitly into his power. However, Deiotoros did not make Pessinous his capital, but continued to reside at Bloukion and kept his treasury at Peion.139) Under the empire the Galatian tribes were
organized into civitates. Pessinous was doubtless from the first the capital of the Tolistobogii, and its importance grew at the expense of that of the tribe. The coin legend "Sebasteni Tolistobogii" is later replaced by "Sebasteni Tolistobogii Pessimuntii". Finally, the tribal name drops out altogether.\(^{140}\)

Among the southern and western settlements of the Tolistobogii Ptolemy enumerates Tolastochora and Vetiston, while Abrastola was in Phrygia and Petenisso in the Proseilemmene.\(^{141}\) Further to the North-West, Akkilaeion and the Troadnadeis were in Asia, and therefore in Phrygia.\(^{142}\) The Roman boundary Westward lay with Bithynia, along the mountain range to the South of the middle course of the Sangarios, North of Dorylaeion and then along Mount Olympos to the Rhynidakos. The first part of the boundary was probably that of Pergamene Epiktetos. Changes of boundary in the Hellespontine area have already been discussed. Before the expansion of the Bithynian kingdom, when the Arganthonios peninsula was still classed as Mysian, we may conjecture that the Phrygian folk-boundary extended West-Northwestwards from Dorylaeion, past present-day Bozüyük to the basin of the Gallos (Gökusu) and the Hellespontine coastal plain. The hilly district North-West of Dorylaeion to the Sangarios is likely to have been a mixed area.

To conclude then, we may summarize the boundaries of ethnically Phrygian territory as follows: the coast-line of the Propontis from Kios Westwards, possibly including the Troad as far as Adramyttion; from East of Mount Olympos South through present-day Tavşanlı to Aizanoi (the attribution of the Abbaeitan cities to Phrygia is late), then, keeping to the high land East of the Hermos (Gediz Çay) and of the plain of the Senaros (Banaz Çay) to the confluence of the Maeander and Lykos. The population of the Tabene plain South of Laodikeia was supposedly partly Phrygian. Eastward from Laodikeia
lay Lake Anava with plains to the West and North East, but separated by hills from Lake Askania and Pisidia. From Lake Anava the boundary would have run up to Kelainai–Apameia, and then Eastwards past Apollonia down the valley to the twin lakes, now Hoyram Gölü and Eğridir Gölü. The Killanian plain directly over the water had a mixed Phrygo–Pisidian population, as did presumably the adjoining plain East of Lake Karalis. Amblada to the South of that lake was on the border with Pisidia. Ikonion was originally Phrygian. In the intervening area the boundary probably marched with the Pisidian Homonadeis. From Ikonion the border must have run to Lake Tatta. In this flat, sparsely-populated land we need not expect an ethnic or cultural boundary to be well-defined. To the North of Lake Tatta Phrygia originally reached the Halys, but from the third century B.C. onwards, a district North of the lake, from the Halys to Akkilaeion, was lost to the Galatians. There appears to have been some Galatian settlement in the Proseilemmene and as far South as Ikonion. From Akkilaeion the boundary continued westwards in the mountains South of the Sangarios, eventually coming down to the Hellespontine coast at Kios.

The Literary and Philological Evidence for Phrygian Settlement.

One of the most basic characteristics of an ethnic group is its language, by which it is united and conspicuously separated from outsiders. The distribution of an ancient language, both survivals of everyday speech and place- and personal-names, may provide indirect confirmation of the attribution of a geographical area to a certain people in the literary evidence. However, the use of such linguistic evidence is beset with methodological and other problems. Another source of
indirect evidence which may usefully be considered together with place-names is constituted by foundation legends.

We possess 113 inscriptions in the "late Phrygian" language, mostly from the second and third centuries A.D. The vast majority have been interpreted as curses on tomb-violators. The detailed interpretation of the inscriptions is discussed in a later chapter. Ramsay, followed by Calder, argued that these late Phrygian inscriptions were to be found chiefly on imperial estates and were the products of an imperially-inspired revival of native Anatolian culture aimed at halting the spread of Christianity. Much of the evidence cited by Ramsay to show the existence of these estates is now discounted. It is still possible to compare the distribution of Late Phrygian inscriptions and imperial property, both being found, for example, in the plain East of Karalis around Laodikeia Katakekaumene and, near Prymnessos, at Ipsos and Bulendra, and in the Upper Tembris valley. However, there is no direct evidence linking the two phenomena. All the personnel of imperial properties known to us are attested in Latin or Greek inscriptions. None of their tombstones has a Phrygian curse appended to the Greek or Latin dedication. Moreover, in the Tembris valley, where there was some sort of imperial property, we find the most overt attestation of Christian faith, the Christavoi Christavoi formula on Montanist tombstones. According to Ramsay and Calder, it was the strength of Christianity, attested by these inscriptions, that provoked the pagan revival. The same inscriptions may equally well demonstrate the absence of such a revival. Ramsay's theory must be rejected for lack of supporting evidence. Gusmani has suggested that the Phrygian curses known to us from inscriptions of the Roman period were merely fossils, the language having died out several centuries before.
He then has to argue that the Phrygian Selinos, of whom Sozomenos says οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν πτέρυγον οὔτ' Ἐφνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλξῆσθαν κτλ., spoke not Phrygian, but merely a Phrygian dialect of Greek. There is no reason to accept this. When we examine the contents of the inscriptions, we shall see that while some of the formulae can be traced back many centuries, others are likely to have been adopted more recently from Greek curses.

However, we cannot straightforwardly accept the late Phrygian inscriptions as evidence of the existence of Phrygian speakers, and their distribution as showing the area in which the language was spoken. Most of the inscriptions are appended to Greek dedications giving the name of the erectors of the tombstone and that of the deceased. By Phrygian standards the Greek is competent. The erectors of these tombstones, therefore, did not have the inscriptions carved in Phrygian because it was the only language that they knew, but because they chose to do so. Returning partly to Gusman's idea, the reason may have been purely antiquarian sentiment. Nevertheless, it seems justifiable to deduce from the presence of late Phrygian inscriptions that the language was spoken in certain areas, if not by the dedicators of the tombstones with Phrygian inscriptions themselves.

The absence of any late Phrygian inscriptions (with two exceptions) West of a line from Dorylaeion to Apameia may be put down to the thorough Hellenisation of that region\(^\text{147}\). The two inscriptions from South of Kotiaeion may attest the relics of a Phrygian population extending West to Aizanitis. The presence of seventeen inscriptions in the valley of the Kaysters is at first sight surprising, but we must remember that the modern centre of Afyon had no ancient equivalent from which Greek culture might spread\(^\text{148}\). The native language also seems to have survived near Synnada. Again, despite its role as a Roman conventus centre and headquarters for
the administration of the Dokimian quarries, the city was no centre of hellenisation\textsuperscript{149}). On the other hand, there are no Phrygian inscriptions from the rather obscure Bukarptic plain. There is no sign of the language in the Tabene plain, South of Laodikeia, where, according to Strabo, there was a mixed Phrygo-Pisidian population. However, memory of its Phrygian character was preserved in the foundation-legend of Gordicouteichos, discussed below. On the other hand, his attestation of a similar mixed population further East in the Killanian plain is borne out, at least as regards the Phrygian side, by four inscriptions\textsuperscript{150}). Strabo's inclusion of Apollonia / Mordiaeion in Phrygia is likewise justified by the finds of Phrygian inscriptions in the valley running Eastwards from the city to the Limnai\textsuperscript{151}). The language also survived strongly in the remote areas to the North-West and North of Ikonion, confirming that the attribution of the first area to Lykaonia and of the second to Galatia was purely political, although in the second case the presence of Celtic personal-names shows that the political possession was to some extent followed by a movement of population. We may note that the Greek influence which presumably radiated from the κοινή οἰκεία and the settlements along it was by no means strong enough to destroy the native language altogether. The inscriptions in the Sangarios basin and the Highlands are to be expected. Calder has drawn attention to the absence of Phrygian inscriptions from ethnic Galatia. His explanation, that there was no place for a third language in addition to Galatian and Greek, is reasonable\textsuperscript{152}). However, given the predatory habits of this warlike folk, one wonders whether a large part of the Phrygian population did not leave the area.

The distribution of the late Phrygian inscriptions is consistent with the boundaries of Phrygia as defined by the literary evidence. In the case of the land East of Apollonia, the Killanian plain, and "ethnic" Galatia,
it adds welcome corroboration of these boundaries as meaningful folk-boundaries. Where the native language appears to have been driven back well within the boundaries of Phrygia, this can usually be explained reasonably as the result of hellenisation. On the other hand, we must remember that what we are considering is the fashion for writing Phrygian, not the habit of speaking it. The latter may have been more widespread. However, it is probable that it was in those areas where it became fashionable to write Phrygian that the language survived most strongly.

The basic study of Phrygian place-names remains that by P. Kretschmer in his Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, published in 1895. The subject has been neglected by more recent students. Kretschmer characterised Phrygian place-names as consisting of a personal name with the ending -ion or -ia. Among his examples were: Akkilaeion from *Akkilas, Daskylion from Daskylos, Dorylaeion from Dorylas, Dokimion from Dokimos, Koti/yaion from Kotys, Gordion from Gordios, Midaeion from Midas, Themisonion from Themison and Tibeion from Tibios. His examples of names ending in -ia were Akmonia, Bria, Legeania and Otroia (from Otreus)\textsuperscript{153}).

The difficulty immediately arises that neither place-name ending is confined to Phrygia. Indeed, among Kretschmer's own examples were Tieion, Parion, Ilion and Selymbria, all outside the area of Phrygian population in Asia Minor as we have established it, although arguably within the sphere of people linguistically related to the Phrygians. Ramsay had already pointed out that Dokimion was in all probability founded by the Macedonian general Dokimos. To Dokimion we can now add Philomelion, possibly Themisonion\textsuperscript{154}) and, according to my interpretation of the local foundation-legend, Dorylaeion (see below) as Hellenistic foundations. Given the frequency of Kotys and Kotias as Thracian personal-
names, and their absence from Phrygia except in circumstances which make it likely that their bearers were the descendants of Hellenistic settlers, it is possible that Kotiaesion should be assigned to this period\textsuperscript{155}). On the other hand, there is a variety of native Anatolian names with the stem Kot-. Most of these are admittedly found in inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman period in Southern Asia Minor - Karia, Isauria, Pisidia and Kilikia - but a Kotys, the son of the Lydian Menes is mentioned by Herodotos, so the name may well have once been current in Western Asia Minor\textsuperscript{156}). The stem of Kotiaesion may therefore be Anatolian. It is suggested below in the discussion of foundation-legends that Euphorbion may also be a Hellenistic settlement. According to Aristotle in his Politics and to anonymous authors cited by Stphanus of Byzantium, ADrmyttion was named after ADrmys, son of Alyattes of Lydia. Strabo too testifies that the city was a foundation of the Lydian kings\textsuperscript{157}). Likewise Daskylion is probably named after one of the Lydian Daskylois, of the family of Gyges\textsuperscript{158}). The variety of historical origin of the small number of names we can discuss in detail shows clearly that we cannot automatically assign all place-names ending in -ion in Phrygia to the Phrygians. Kretschmer himself saw that some Phrygian place-names ending in -ion have stems occurring elsewhere in Asia Minor and probably belonging to pre-Phrygian languages, for example Tembrion, comparing the Trojan Thymbrios, Lydian Thymbrara, Karian Thymbria and South Phrygian Tymbrianassos\textsuperscript{159}).

Thus, while the ending -ion is certainly common in Phrygia, it occurs in conjunction with stems of various origins. The stems must be studied as well in order to obtain the full picture. Akkilaion recalls the Pisidian personal name Akel(i)as\textsuperscript{160})(appropriately, in view of its southern location) Kinnaberion possibly the Ilykian Kindabyris, as was suggested by Kretschmer\textsuperscript{161}). Manesion,
attested only in Stephanus' Ethnika, is clearly formed from the Lydian heron-name Manes. Mordaeion is possibly formed from the Pamphylian, Pisidian, South Phrygian, Paphlagonian name Morz/dios\(^{162}\). Meineke, in his edition of the Ethnika, suggested that Amorion was the same name with the -d- omitted and with prothetic A-\(^{163}\). There are two places named Tyriaeion in Phrygia, one in the Paroreios, known as early as the time of Xenophon, and another in the plain of Karayük Bazar\(^{164}\). The same stem is probably to be found in the Lydian Thyateira and Teira, and the western Phrygian Grimenothryrai. The names with the stems T(h)y/eir- and T(h)y/embr- probably belong to pre-Phrygian settlements. On the other hand, place-names with stems consisting of Anatolian personal-names could have come into being after the Phrygian immigration. Midas himself, the Phrygian king par excellence, who is surely commemorated in Midaeion, had a pre-Phrygian Anatolian name. The only name ending in -ion which can be argued to have a Phrygian stem is Tavion. Tav- may be related to the Thracian "Daos", either as a personal name or as meaning "wolf"\(^{165}\). No certain examples of Daos as a Phrygian personal name have been found. Those found in south-western Phrygia may well belong to the descendants of Hellenistic settlers. On the other hand, a common Thraco-Phrygian word for "wolf" seems quite likely. A derivation from a Hittite name Tawiniya has been suggested\(^{166}\).

Thus, the stems of many Phrygian place-names often represent a native Anatolian element. The -ion ending may represent the Phrygian contribution to the formation of the name. On the other hand, the stems of some of the -ion names found in Hellespontine Phrygia seem to indicate a Greek origin, which could be consistent with the known early Greek colonisation of that area. The stem of Kokkylion may be compared with the Greek κοκκωσ, "kernel, berry". The -ulos suffix is common in Greek.
Iopadion may be connected with λωπὸς or the diminutive λωπάδον, "platter". Ophryneion may be connected with ἐφρύς, "brow". The -ion place-name ending is frequently found in the Greek world and may well be Greek in these Hellespontine names as well. Likewise, the -ion endings of place-names from Inland Phrygia could be the product of the hellenisation of those names. There remain the following -ion names in Phrygia on which no comments can be offered: Agrilion, Aristion, Bloukion, Gambrión, Gryneion, Ikonion, Rhoeteion and Stektorion.

The following names ending in -ia (excluding the obviously Greek examples) occur in Phrygia: Alia, Akmonia, Appia, Bria, Kindryia, Kisia, Okoklia, Otroia, Sangia, Sibia, Vindia. We shall see below that Akmon, the legendary founder of Akmonia, has Lydian connexions. Appia may be derived from one of the Lallnemen with the initial consonant App-., or from a stem ἄπ- meaning "water". Bria means "stronghold" and is also found in Thrace. It could be a common Thraco-Phrygian word. Kindryia, like Kinhaborion, could be formed from the stem Kn-.. Okoklia could be connected with Hittite Kukulli with prothetic O-. Otroia is discussed at length below. Sibia could be formed from the Karian, Isaurian and Kilikian name Sibilos.167)

The amount of work needing to be done on Phrygian place-names is clear. In the absence of historical information about the origin of a name, it seems that there is everything to be gained by studying the whole name, both stem and ending. The results reached so far do not constitute a useful source of information for the student of Phrygian settlement.

Of more use at the moment, although difficult to interpret, are the foundation-legends concerning a number of Phrygian cities. Some are preserved in the Ethnika of Stephanus of Byzantium, others in Pausanias.
Others again are alluded to in a variety of literary sources and also in local coin-types. It will be convenient to study all these legends together.

Midas appears as founder on the coins of Kadoi, Prymnnessos and Midasion. His foundation of the last-named place is also attested by Tzetzes. According to Pausanias, he also founded Ankyra (later in Galatia), according to Stephanus, Gordioyteichos in the Tabene plain. Midas’ father, Gordios, is clearly the eponymous founder of Gordion. The -ion endings of Midasion and Gordion are consistent with a Phrygian origin, as is the early date of their first literary attestation - the fifth century B.C. The -essos ending of Prymnnessos is clearly pre-Phrygian. The second element of Gordioyteichos is Greek. No attempt has yet been made to assign the names Kadoi and Ankyra to any ethnic or linguistic group. The first syllable of Kadoi may perhaps be compared with similar elements in other, pre-Phrygian, names. Arnobius names Midas as the king of Pessinous in his version of the Angdistis-and-Attis story, but the king may have owed his acquisition of this rôle, at the expense of the local hero Gallos, to his widespread fame rather than to the support of an alternative tradition.

Otreus was regarded by the ancients as the legendary founder of Otroia in southern Bithynia (originally Hellespontine Phrygia). His name can also be linked with Otrous in the Bucarpitic plain. B.V. Head recognised the figure of a warrior depicted on coins of Geta, naked but for a chlamys and armed with a spear, stepping onto the prow of a ship, as Otreus. However, Babelon, followed by Regling, named this figure Aindas. Aindas is depicted on other coins of Otrous making his escape from Troy together with Anchises and Askanios. On coins of the neighbouring city of Stektorion Regling has identified two representations of Heクトo, with helmet and cuirass, once, like the figure on the Otrous coin,
with a foot on the prow of a ship, but this time with a
torch in his hand, in the other type, in a chariot. Both
types also appear at Ilion, where the legend explicitly
identifies the figure as Hektor. According to Pausanias,
a tumulus near Stektorion was said by the local in-
habitants to be the tomb of Mygdon. A standing armed
figure on a coin of Stektorion has been named Mygdon
by Head. Regling raised the possibility that this
figure might again be Hektor, or even Ares.

Because of its name alone, one would expect to find
Otreus honoured at Otrous, and the more so as his
Homerian companion Mygdon was honoured at Stektorion.
It is tempting, therefore, to accept Head's identification
of the naked figure depicted on the coin as Otreus. For
what it is worth, it may be pointed out that on the other
coin-type of Otrous cited above, Aineias is depicted in
full armour. The fact that the first character is naked
may indicate that someone else, namely, a semi-divine
founding hero, is being represented. If this identification
is accepted, we find that the coin-types show the
following development: Otrous – Otreus (Geta); Aineias
fleeing from Troy (Geta); Stektorion – Mygdon (Severus
Alexander; Philip Senior and Junior); Hektor (Philip
Senior). It is natural that Otrous, because of the
connotations of its name, should be the first to mint
these Homerian coin-types, with Stektorion later pro-
ducing others, and adopting Otreus' companion Mygdon,
in rivalry. However, the testimony of Pausanias concerning
the existence of the tomb of Mygdon near Stektorion
indicates that the dating of the adoption of these
heroes by the cities of the Bakharpitic plain suggested
by the coins is too late. Nevertheless, in view of the
fact that no independent link between Stektorion and
Mygdon is known, the relative chronology suggested by
the coinage, i.e. the appearance of Homerian legends
first at Otrous, then, in imitation, at Stektorion,
remains the most plausible. Presumably the local Phrygian heroes were adopted first, the other, more famous heroes, Aineias and Hektor, later.

Regling suggested that the Greek settlers in Phrygia from the Hellenistic period onwards adopted the Phrygian heroes known from the Iliad as their own. In fact, I suggest that what the coin-types just discussed reflect is the more complicated process of the attempt by two cities, both quite possibly of Phrygian origin, to demonstrate that they were part of the Greek world by attaching to themselves parts of the story of the Iliad. Given their origin and their location, it was inevitable that the heroes with whom they tried to associate themselves should be Phrygian or Trojan. Trojan and Phrygian genealogies were linked in as far as Aineias' son and one of the Phrygian leaders shared the name Askianos. However, the choice of hero was surely no more important than the display of hellenization constituted by the demonstration of knowledge of, and association with, parts of the Iliad, the foundation of Greek culture. The centre of hellenisation in the plain was Eukarpeia itself, which probably received a Macedonian military colony. Here, significantly, no "Homerian Phrygian" types are to be found.

Non-Homeric heroes are to be found at Akmonia. According to Stephanus, the city was founded by Akmon. Akmon and Doias, who gave his name to the Δούκας τῶν πελάγων, were the sons of Manes. This legend attaches the city to Lydia rather than to Phrygia. Again, to the Akmonian coins of the reign of Elagabalus showing Zeus enthroned on two snaky-tailed giants we may compare the tale which makes Manes a dragon-slaying hero, and Strabo's accounts placing the dragon Typhon, variously said to be slain by Zeus or the king Arimos, in the Katakekaumene. The dragon-slaying activities of Manes are also alluded to on coins of Sardis from the reigns of Severus Alexander.
and Gordien. On the other hand, if the European origin of the name Akmonia, cited above, is accepted, one can point to the fact that Akmon and Doias are said to be the sons of Manes as being chronologically significant, just as Askanios and Skamandrios, according to Xanthos the leaders of the post-Trojan war migration from Askenia, were the sons of Aineias and Hektor. It may be that Akmonia was a Phrygian foundation which was absorbed into a Lydian environment. However, we can conclude from the very poverty of information, and from the abundant attestation of the Jewish settlers probably placed there by Antiocchos III, and of the Pergamene cults of Athena and Dionysos Kathegemon, that the dominant tone of the city in Roman times was that of a thoroughly hellenised, but fairly cosmopolitan Hellenistic foundation, with only the weakest ties to its Phrygo-Lydian environment.

According to Herodian, Aizanoi was founded by Atzen, the son of Tantalos. In Greek legend, Tantalos was the grandfather of Atreus. However, by the time of Xanthos, he had also become localised in Lydia. According to Euripides' Orestes he was the son of Tmolos, according to the scholium, the son of Zeus. His tomb was on Mount Sipylos. His daughter, Niobe, was said to have died on Mount Sipylos, and his son, Pelops, to have a throne there over the sanctuary of the Plastene Mother. According to Herodotos Pelops was a Phrygian conqueror of Lydia. The Hittite rock-relief of the Mother near Magnesia ad Sipylum was attributed by the local inhabitants to Brotoes, the son of Tantalos. Aischylus in his Niobe, quoted by Strabo, says that the family of Tantalos has an altar to Zeus on the Idaean hill. He also mentions Sipylos in the Idaean land and Mount Ida in Berekynthia. His mother was Plouto, "the rich", the daughter of Kronos, according to Nonnos, a Berekynthian nymph. There are therefore also allusions
linking him to Phrygia and the Troad. À propos of Tantalos and Sipylos, Strabo accepts the ancient accounts that placed them in Phrygia, and merely questions whether they were in Greater or Lesser Phrygia. Elsewhere he makes a more general condemnation of the tragedians for totally confusing Lydia and Phrygia\textsuperscript{192}). This latter judgement is a fair one, and Tantalos should be regarded as a purely Lydian figure\textsuperscript{193}). Tantalos is therefore both a pre-Phrygian figure and one located outside Phrygia. According to the tradition preserved by Herodian, therefore, Aizanoi seems to have a pre-Phrygian origin. On the other hand, we may again notice that Aizan is the son of Tantalos. This may be significant.

According to Hermogenes, in Stephanus of Byzantium, Ethnika, the proper name for Aizanoi was $\ddot{E}xou\nu\nu\nu$\textsuperscript{194}). In order to relieve a famine, Euphorbos sacrificed a fox ($\mathrm{ou}x\nu\nu\nu$) and a hedgehog ($\xi\nu$). The city took its name from those of the two animals. Hermogenes or his source was clearly trying to find an etymology for the name of the city as he had heard it (we may remember that the earliest coins of the city have the legend EZEANITON). What is interesting is the involvement of Euphorbos. In the Iliad Euphorbos is the son of the Dardanian Panthoos\textsuperscript{195}). In our discussion of the Phrygian migration we tentatively suggested that Dardanians may have been associated with the movement of the Paionian Phrygians. The family of Aineias was honoured by the probably Phrygian city of Otrous, and Hektor was likewise honoured at Stektorion. The appearance of Euphorbos in a rôle akin to that of a founder at Aizanoi may be another example of a hellenised way of indicating a Phrygian origin, as at Otrous and Stektorion, or simply that the city lay in Phrygia. The two foundation-legends, one Lydian, the other Phrygian, may attest a Phrygian take-over of a pre-existing city, or may simply reflect the western situation of the city. We may note here the existence of the city of Euphorbion, attested by Pliny\textsuperscript{196}). Given the Homeric allusion of the
name, I am inclined to think that it was a foundation of the Hellenistic period, rather than a true Phrygian one. In pre-Roman times, it is perhaps more likely, as Regling suggested, to have been established and named by Greek settlers than by hellenised natives.

According to Stephanus, Ikion took its name from the clay images (eikones) of human beings which Zeus ordered Prometheus and Athena to make in order to begin the repopulation of the earth after the flood of Deukalion. Here we are dealing with a superficial attempt at establishing the etymology of the name of the city. Calder, followed by L. Malten, suggested that the Baukis and Philemon legend recounted in Ovid’s Metamorphoses should be located around Lake Trogitis. According to Zenobius, the story of Nannakos (Amnaks in Stephanus), the king of Ikion immediately before the flood, was told by the probably Hellenistic writer Hermogenes in his Peri Phrygias. Stephanus may have used Hermogenes, whom he cites in his entry on Aizanoi, as his source on the flood. On the other hand, in his entry on Midaion, Stephanus cites the Deukalioneia of Hellenikos. This work may have been Stephanus’ immediate source, or the indirect one, if its material was reproduced by Hermogenes. The story is clearly a pre-Phrygian one. It is not surprising to encounter it at Ikion, in the extreme South-East of Phrygia. We shall find other aspects of pre-Phrygian culture surviving in the area. None of this excludes the possibility that the -ion ending of the name may attest a Phrygian take-over of the city (borne out by Phrygian language inscriptions from the neighbourhood) or even a Phrygian re-foundation, but of any such events we must remain ignorant.

The mention of the Hellenikos Deukalioneia in connexion with the northern city of Midaion is interesting. We may cite other evidence for the localisation of this
legend in North Phrygia. In Arnobius' version of the Pessinuntine myth, probably based indirectly on Alexander Polyhistor, Pyrrha and Deukalion cast stones from Agdos, "the rock", onto the depopulated earth after the flood and created the Mother\textsuperscript{201}. Again, Midas is supposed to have discovered an anchor at Ankyra Galatiae (whence the name of the city)\textsuperscript{202}. This may be regarded as a relic of the flood. The anchor, depicted as an attribute of Zeus on the coins of the Abbaeitan Ankyra, is almost certainly borrowed from the eastern city of the same name, to which it properly belonged, and has no local significance. The survival of this pre-Phrygian flood-legend in North-East and South-East Phrygia parallels that of the cult of the Mother.

A Greek hero who was popular as a city-founder in Phrygia was Akamas, the son of Theseus. Five inscriptions from Dorylaeion honour a certain Q. Voconius Ailius Stratonicus. One of these, and two others, which we may infer relate to the same man, name him "Akamantios". One of these also compares him to Dorylaos and calls him "a child of Herakles or a new Akamas". These inscriptions date from just after the Constitutio Antoniniana. A Latin inscription of A.D. 233 gives the city the extra name of Akamantia\textsuperscript{203}. Another dedication by Stratonicianus Timaeus honours "Dorylaos the Eretrian the founder".\textsuperscript{203A} J. Weiss and A. Körte accepted Kretschmer's argument that Dorylaeion was a Phrygian name, and suggested that Dorylaos was the legendary founder of the native city, and that Akamas was the founding-hero of the Greek settlers of the imperial period\textsuperscript{204}. Körte argued that Dorylaos was called an Eretrian in imitation of Akamas, who was said to have set off to the Trojan War from Euboia. Weiss noted the prominence of the name Attikos at Dorylaeion and tentatively suggested, especially as Akamas also gave his name to one of the Athenian tribes, that there may have been an Attic colony at Dorylaeion.
We also meet Akamas at Synnada, in the note on the city by Stephanus of Byzantium and on a coin of the reign of Antoninus Pius. Stephanus tells us that after the Trojan War Akamas "gathered together in Asia many Macedonian settlers from Greece". Ionian and Dorian settlers at Synnada are attested on numerous coins of the second and third centuries A.D. The presence of Ionians is probably sufficient to explain the appearance of Akamas as founder. Although Stephanus places the Greek settlement in the time immediately following the Trojan War, the truth may be reflected in his strange expression "Macedonian settlers from Greece". That the settlers did indeed come from Greece is indicated by the coin-legends. In what sense, then, were they "Macedonians"? I suggest that this Greek settlement took place during the period of Macedonian rule, i.e. the Hellenistic age, or, more precisely, under the Seleucid kings, whose empire constituted the Imperium Macedonicum par excellence.

If this interpretation of the Synnadic legend is correct, it adds weight to Weiss' suggestion of an Attic colony in Dorylaeion. L. Robert has drawn attention to the attestation of the Macedonian name 'Aθελάος on an inscription of Dorylaeion, which he suggested was sufficient to show the existence of a group of Macedonian colonists there. G. Radet had long ago suggested such a settlement. A new settlement at Dorylaeion in the Hellenistic period seems probable. It may be, as Weiss and Körte have suggested, that a community with the name Dorylaeion had existed from Phrygian times. On the other hand, given that the Greeks at Dorylaeion had their own hero, Akamas, it seems strange that they should try to hellenise the native hero, Dorylaos, by attributing to him the same origin as Akamas. I should prefer to take the words of the inscription honouring "Dorylaos the Eretrian, the founder" literally, and see in him the leader of
the Greek colonists of the Hellenistic period and the founder of the city\textsuperscript{208}). It is in the early third century B.C. that we first hear of the city\textsuperscript{209}). As has been pointed out above, this fact does not preclude the previous existence of the city. On the other hand, if the suggestion just put forward should be correct, then the date of the first appearance of the city in the literary evidence may be significant. Strabo mentions two Dorylaoi, one a military expert and friend of Mithradates Euergetes, the second the nephew of the first and a son of Philetairos\textsuperscript{210}). Both lived too late to have founded Dorylaion, but an earlier member of these families could have been the founder.

Akamas is named on an undated imperial coin of Metropolis\textsuperscript{211}). This city had been founded by the time of Alexander Polyhistor\textsuperscript{212}). Its name indicates that it was a Greek foundation; like that of Eukarpeia it is unusual in having no dynastic connotations.

To draw any general conclusion from this review of foundation-legends is difficult. They seem to reflect an attempt both by the Hellenistic Greek foundations and, presumably in imitation, by the native communities, to give themselves a respectable Homeric ancestry. We may perhaps infer from the legends a Phrygian origin for Otrous, less probably for Stektorion (although this does have a name ending -ion). Aizanci could be Phrygian or pre-Phrygian Lydian. Akmonia also seems to be closely related to Lydia. The Ikonion legend is clearly pre-Phrygian. The cities claiming Midas or Gordios as founder are, apart from Midasion and Gordion, very mixed. Their choice of hero may reflect no more than a lack of plausible connexions with Homeric heroes and an absence of Greek settlement. The fact that the certainly pre-Phrygian Prymnessos and the probably pre-Phrygian Kaoi claimed Midas as their founders suggests that the choice of founder reflects not the origin but the location of

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the cities. This may also be the case with Akmonia and Aizanoi, whose Lydian foundation—legends are consistent with their western location. It is strange to find Kadai claiming Midas as its founder, given the attribution of the city to Maonia and Lydia as well as to Phrygia (Pliny’s apparent implication that it was a Macedonian colony need no longer worry us). The influences governing the distribution of the late Phrygian inscriptions have already been considered. We may note here that while these inscriptions are found in the vicinity of Greek cities with Greek foundation—legends, suggesting that the hellenising influence of Synnada or Dorylaeion, for example, was not all-pervading, they are not found, except rarely, near Otroas, Stektorion or Aizanoi, which cities acknowledged their native origin through the adoption of Homerian Phrygian or Trojan heroes. In these cases, self-hellenisation, in the Euakarpitic plain helped admittedly by the Hellenistic settlement at Euakarpeia itself but also by the proximity of Apameia, had perhaps also eliminated the native language. On the other hand, in the Euakarpitic plain, the absence of any sign of Phrygian culture apart from the foundation-legends and the presence of the Mother (Artemis) on the coins of Euakarpeia casts doubts on the strength of Phrygian settlement there. By contrast, late Phrygian inscriptions are numerous around Prymnessos, which honoured the native hero Midas.

Having examined the interrelationship and development of the boundaries of Phrygia, administratively and ethically defined, from the Lydian to the Roman period, and compared the limits of Hellasprotine Phrygia with what is known about the Phrygian migration, we shall now attempt to fill part of the chronological gap in the first half of the first millennium B.C., namely the period when a Phrygian state is attested. The difficulties in using the contemporary material available for determining the limits of this state have already been mentioned.

It is reasonable to assume that the extent of Phrygian
population in the eighth century B.C. was no less than that which has already been suggested from our interpretation of the various later literary sources. Whether all Phrygians were united in a national state ruled from Gordian we do not know. Körte and Hage suggested that parts of Lydia may have once come under Phrygian control, citing as evidence the connexions of Tantalos and his family with Phrygia. As we have seen, these connexions are based on vague allusions in the tragedians, who were castigated by Strabo for their geographical inaccuracies. Again, it was in the Lydian Pactolos that Midas bathed to wash away the beneficent gift of turning everything he touched to gold. Here, the legendary wealth of the Phrygian king is used to explain the fact that the Lydian river carried gold-dust. Both of these essential elements in the story were known to the Greeks from the fifth century. However, the story itself first appears in Ovid. As R. Pettazoni has pointed out, the confession of sin required of Midas and his ritual bathing are taken from pre-Phrygian Anatolian cults. One is inclined to set the formation of the Ovidian story (assuming it is Greco-Roman, not native Anatolian) in the Hellenistic period, when the details of Anatolian cults first became widely known. The story need tell us nothing about the extent of the Empire of the historical king Midas. In the valley of the Lydian Kaystros, near the modern Darmara, an inscription published by Keil and von Premerstein names an Άλμουργιον Φρυγικό χωρίο. Hage implied that this constituted further evidence for an ancient Phrygian presence in Lydia. The editors of the inscription wisely refused to commit themselves on the origin of the settlement. It has been suggested that the Heraklid dynasty of Lydian kings was of Phrygian origin. This question is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The political expansion of Phrygia to the South-
East in the time of Midas, ultimately resulting in conflict with Assyria, has already been discussed. The so-called "Black Stone" of Tyana, which mentions the name Midas, may be the surviving epigraphic evidence for this expansion. The frontier could not have been much further to the South-East for the watershed of the Taurus marks the natural boundary with Kilikia, the Assyrian province of Qu'e. However, political control, especially when it is short-lived, need not imply colonization, and there is no reason to suspect a Phrygian population in this area.

Turning to the North-East, we have seen that, according to Herodotos, under Lydian rule, Phrygia extended as far East as the Halys. By this time, Phrygia must have contracted somewhat in this area, for previously it extended so as to make contact with Urartu, this north-eastern part of the kingdom perhaps comprising the Mushki, if these people were the Moschoi of the upper Euphrates. It may be the Mushki to whom Herodotos is referring when he says that the "Armenians" were Phrygian colonists, as they were situated at least near to Armenia. As regards the reference to colonists, these need have comprised no more than a few scattered garrisons and traders. The absence in the Roman period of Phrygian inscriptions and other signs of Phrygian culture need not surprise us.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.


2) E. Wellmann, "Demokritos 6", RE V, 1 (1903), 135 ff.

Gordion: The existence of Gordion is implied by Alexander's visit to it, discussed here in Chapter Six.
Ikonion: Xenophon, Anabasis, I, 2, 19.
Theopompos in Strabo XIII, 4, 12, C678.
Keramon Agora: Xenophon, Anabasis I, 2, 10.
Kolossai: Herodotos VII, 30; Xenophon Anabasis I, 2, 26.

Peltai: Xenophon, Anabasis I, 12, 10.
Thymbriion: Xenophon, Anabasis I, 2, 13.
Tyraceion: Xenophon, Anabasis I, 2, 14.
Kyzikos: Herodotos IV, 76.

4) Laodikeia on the Lykos: Ruge, "Laodikeia am Lykos (Λαοδίκεια)", RE XII (1924), 722 ff.
Apollonia: Pergamene according to Hirschfeld, "Apollonia", RE II (1895), 116, followed by V. Tscherekower, Die hellenistischen Stadtegründungen, 171 and E.V. Hansen, The Attalide of Pergamon, 162 ff., but the connexion with the queen Apollonis has been denied by L. Robert, Villes, 32 and 102. B.M. Levick, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor 17 points to the discovery of an ἀγαλμα[α θεών]|νυκτόρος, SEG, VI, 592 as evidence for Seleucid colonisation.


Eumeneia: W. Ruge, "Eumeneia", *RE VI* (1907), 1082.


Dokimion: W. Ruge, "Dokimion", *RE V*, 1 (1903), 1273.


Kadoi: I previously inclined to the view that the "Macedones" of Pliny *Nat. Hist.* V, xxx, lll, might conceal the name Μάκαιαννος, a known tribe of the area; the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙ is conspicuously absent from the coins of Kadoi. The mystery is now partly solved by the inscription from Ephesos published by Habicht, "New Evidence on the Province of Asia", *JRS LXV* (1975), 64, where Macedonians are mentioned in the conventus of Sardis together with Kadoi, but separated from it by other names (col. I, ll. 1 ff and commentary 71 f).

Where these Macedonians were settled remains unknown.


Amorion: Strabo XII, 8, 13, C576. The coinage of the city dates from the second or first centuries B.C. (F.M.Cat., xxvii).
Ankyra: Strabo XII, 5, 2, C567.
Aphrodisias } A.H.M. Jones, CERP², 57; L. Robert, Etudes
Tabai } Anatoliennes, 338; Villes, 64. Tabai: Livy XXXVIII, 13;
Beudos: Livy XXXVIII, 15, 14.
Dinia: Livy XXXVIII, 15, 12.
Euphorrhion; Pliny, Nat. Hist. V, xxix, 106.
Gordioutichos: Livy, XXXVIII, 13, 10.
Kibyra: Livy, XXXVIII, 14, 3; 15, 1.
Metropolis: Livy, XXXVIII, 15, 13; Pliny, Nat. Hist. V, xxix, 106.
Nakoleia: Strabo XII, 8, 12, C576.

Ipsos: references in Ruge, "Ipsos", RE IX (1916), 2031.
Kotiaeion: Polyaenus VI, 12.
Pessinous: existed in the time of Timotheos; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πέσσινος.
(F.Gr. Hist. 3A, no. 273, frag. 74).

Neoptolemos of Parion: Hesychius s.v. Ἕπτως.
Apollodorus: Strabo XII, 3, 24, C552; XIV, 5, 22, C677-29; C681.
Artemidorus: Strabo XII, 7, 2, C570; XIV, 2, 29, C663.
Eratosthenes: source of Dionysios Periegetes on Hellespontine
Phrygia; see footnote 74) below.
Euphorion: Strabo XII, 4, 8, C566.
Promathidas } see footnote 11 under Pessinous.
Timotheos

14) On Pliny and Ptolemy, see A.H.M. Jones, CERP², Appendices I & II, 503 ff.
15) See D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, index. s.v.
B.V. Head, B.M. Cat. Phrygia, lvii f.

17) Strabo XII, 8, 14, C577. The coinage of Dokimion appears to begin under Claudius; it must therefore have been a city by this time.

18) I hope at least to assemble the relevant information in the commentary to the relevant sheets of the Tabula Imperii Romani.

19) Herodotos VII, 73: Cf. VI, 45; VII, 185 for "Brygoi" in fifth century Macedonia.

20) Herodotos VIII, 138. In Xenophon, Anabasis I, 12, 13 the legend is transferred to Phrygia; cf. Pausanias I, 4, 5.

21) Strabo VII, frag. 38.
Herodotos V, 13. According to Kretschmer, Einleitung, 185, the place-name Paim in the Thracian Chersonese attested by Skylax, 67, may show the Eastward movement of the Paionians.

22) Strabo VII, frag. 25.

23) Strabo X, 3, 16 C471; VII, 3, 2, C295. He also calls them a Thracian people in VII, frag. 25. Strabo XII, 3, 20, C550.

24) Βρυνης και Βρυναί. ἔθνος Θρυμης. λέγονται καὶ Βρυκεῖς καὶ Βρυκηνεῖο. Βρυς το ἕθνος, καὶ Βρυκηνος τον Βρυς το θρυμικον Βρυκηνος και Βρυκηνος εις Καθμηνος ετιοι δε Μακεδονικον έθνος προσεχει τιμηριοι.

25) On these genealogies, see in brief H.J. Rose, "Dardanus", OCD2, 313. Dardanians led by Aineias: Iliad II, 819. Kretschmer, Einleitung, 185 suggests they were related to the European Dardanians.

26) Paionians: Iliad XVII, 350; Thracians: e.g. Iliad X, 434.

27) Mygdon: Iliad III, 186. Mygdon on the Propontic coast: Strabo XII, 8, 10, C575; XII, 8, 11, C576.
28) For the Homeric evidence, see below. See also Strabo XII, 3, 3, C542; XII, 3, 20, C550 (said to be colonists of the Thracian Moisoi); XII, 8, 1, C571 (citing Artemidoros for the view that they came from beyond the Danube; cf. VII, 3, 2, C295; VII, 3, 10, C303.

29) Strabo XIII, 1, 8, C586; XII, 3, 3, C541.


31) Apollodoros, cited by Strabo XIV, 5, 23, C678.

32) Strabo XII, 8, 3, C572; XII, 4, 8, C566; XII, 8, 1, C571; XIII, 1, 8, C586; XIII, 1, 22, C591. Edonians at Antandros: Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀδώνις'. Treroi: Strabo XIII, 1, 8, C586.

33) Bithynians: Arrian, FGrHist. 2B, no. 864, frag. 60. Herodotos VII, 75. From the Thracian name 'Ἀστάκος'. Kratschmer, Einleitung 211 infers that Astakos on the Propontis was one of their foundations.

34) Xanthos apud Strabo XIV, 5, 29, C680 (=FGrHist. 3C no. 765, frag. 14). On the "left hand side of the Euxine", see Strabo XII, 3, 2, C541.

35) Iliad III, 401; X, 431.

36) Strabo XII, 4, 5, C565.

37) Strabo VII, 3, 2, C295. On other North Pontic peoples see Strabo XI, 2, C493.

38) Strabo XII, 8, 1, C571.


In his work Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler (10-14, 16-20, 27, 71, 129-30, 153, 172, 231, 234-35, 239) and in Acta Antiqua XVIII (1970), 30-69, O. Haas has proposed a division, primarily on linguistic grounds, of the Phrygian population into "North-East Phrygians", who migrated from Macedonia in the ninth - eighth centuries B.C., and with whom the eighth century civilisation at Gordion is to be associated, and an
earlier "Great Phrygian" population, whose descendants were responsible for the late Phrygian inscriptions. The linguistic arguments have been rejected by A. Heubeck, Gnomon XXXIX (1967), 581 and W. Dressler, Sprache XIV (1968), 40-9. It is dangerous to put much weight on the archaeological evidence from Phrygia, which is still restricted to virtually one site. Furthermore, the straightforward association of archaeological cultures with population groups defined by other criteria is now recognised to be an unsound procedure.


42) Strabo XI, 2, 15, C497; XI, 12, 4, C522; XI, 14, 1, C527; XII, 3, 18, C548.


45) G. and A. Koeste, Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900, 10 ff., citing Strabo XI, 14, 2, C527; XVI,1,23. C747. Accepted by Barnett, art. cit., 7.

46) According to Strabo XVI, 1, 23 the name Ὕββων was first applied by the Macedonians; cf. Pliny Nat. Hist. VI, 72 "totam eam Macedones Mygdoniam cognominaerunt a similitudine". See F.H. Weissbach, "Mygdonia: 2)" RE XVI, 1, (1933), 998 ff. Likewise, I suggest that the "Mygdonia" of South Phrygia mentioned in an inscription from near Antioch towards Pisidia (JRS II (1912), 80 ff.) and by Pliny Nat. Hist. V, 145 recalled not the Phrygian hero Mygdon, but the "Macedonian" (in its widest sense: see C. Edson, "Imperium Macedonicum" CP LIII (1958), 153 ff.) origin of Antioch.

47) E. Akurgal, Kunst Anatoliens, 4.
48) Perhaps the incorporation of the eastern Moschoï in the Phrygian empire was the factual basis for Herodotus’ puzzling statement that the Armenians were Phrygian colonists (VII, 73).


51) M. Garasianin, "Ethnographic Problems of the Bronze Age in the Central Balkan Peninsula and Neighbouring Regions", Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean, 121. I am grateful to the late Prof. T.G.E. Powell for bringing this article to my attention.


53) Cited by M. Gimbutas, Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe, 337 ff.


56) P. Kretschmer, Einleitung 183 f., 200 f. On "Daos", see below, Chapter Five.

57) N. Jokl, "Phryger", Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte X (1927-8), 141 ff. On "Balen", see below, Chapter Six.


59) Herodotus I, 14; Pollux IX, 83; Arist. frag. 611, 37 Rose.

61) Herodotos I, 34 ff.

62) Strabo XIII, 1, 22, C592.

63) J. Friedrich, art. cit. 890, 11, 1 ff., citing Herodotos I, 16 and 74.

64) Herodotos I, 28 and 73.


68) In general, see E. Meyer, Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasiien, 1 ff.

69) Herodotos III, 90 ff.

70) In Thukydides V, 1, Diodorus Siculus XIII, 73 and Polyaeus VII, 26, Adramyttion is assigned to the third satrapy, Aiolis to the same satrapy in Xenophon Hell. III, 1, 10, with the exception of Larissa, Hamaxitos and Kolonai. However, in Thukydides VIII, 108, 4 we find Arsakes, a subordinate of Tissaphernes, ruler of the second satrapy, operating in Adramyttion.
Xenophon, Anabasis I, 2, 11.

72) See Meyer, *op. cit.*, 4 f.

73) Herodotos VII, 30.

74) pseudo-Skylax, *Periplous* 96.
Dionysios Periegetes 809 f.
This evidence is assembled and discussed by G. and A. Koerte,
Gordian, 3 f.

74A) See the discussion in Strabo XIII, 1, 1 C581 ff. both for
ancient views and for the fascination of the subject. The
geographer comments in the first paragraph of his discussion
ὅς (στῇ Τραϊάς) τὸ πολυθράλητον—όμοιος πολυθράλητος διὰ τὴν
ταχύτατην παράξειν τῇ γραφῇ. See also XII, 4, 6, C565.


75) Strabo XII, 8, 1, C571: Ἡμιγι' τε γή ό μν' καλλιτευτική γεγονήτα—
—καὶ ἢ θα μικρά, ἢ ἐφ' ἐκληροντος καὶ ἢ περὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπόν, ἢ καὶ Ἐπίστημος λέγομένη XII, 4, 3, C564; cf. XII, 4, 1, C563.

76) Strabo XII, 4, 5, C564.

77) Strabo XII, 8, 10, C575.

78) Strabo XII, 4, 3, C564.

79) Strabo XII, 8, 1, C571.

80) Strabo XII, 4, 4, C564; XII, 8, 10, C575; according to
Apollodoros, cited by Strabo XIV, 5, 23, C678, the Doliones
were included among the Phrygians in Homeric times.

81) Strabo XII, 4, 5, C564
Ptolemy V, 2, 2 assigns the coastline from Kyzikos to Sigeion
to Ἑλλησπόντου ἤ Μυκενική ἢ Ἑλλησπόντου.

82) Jones, *op. cit.* 54, 86 and 400, citing Strabo XII, 8, 11, C576.

83) Strabo XII, 4, 6, C565.

84) Strabo XII, 8, 12, C576.

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85) F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Prägorte der Abbaiter, Epikteter, Grimenothyriten und Temenothyriten", Festeschrift Benndorf, 201 ff.

86) Strabo XIII, 4, 5, C626.

87) Ptolemy V, 2, 16.

88) Strabo XII, 8, 12, C576; XIII, 4, 5, C625; XIV, 5, 24, C679; XII, 8, 3, C572.

89) Strabo XIII, 4, 11, C628; XII, 3, 20, C550 (Maionians = Mysians).

90) LB-W III, no. 1001. See also the inscription cited below, footnote 94).

91) On the coins, see F. Imhoof-Blumer, art. cit.

92) Strabo XII, 5, 2, C567; XII, 8, 11, C576.

93) Ptolemy V, 2, 17.

94) CIL XIV no. 2213 (IG XIV, 1121; OGIS no. 445).

95) Strabo XIII, 4, 11, C628; XII, 8, 12, C576.

96) Strabo XIII, 4, 12, C628.

97) Strabo XII, 7, 2, C570.

98) Strabo XII, 8, 13, C576.


99) Strabo XII, 7, 2, C570.

100) Strabo XIII, 4, 16, C630 f.

101) Artemidoros, cited by Strabo XII, 7, 2, C570.

102) Strabo XII, 8, 13, C576.

103) Ptolemy, V, 2, 17.

104) Strabo XIII, 4, 10, C628.

105) Ptolemy V, 2, 14; Pliny Nat. Hist. V, XXX, 111.

106) IGRR IV, nos. 618 and 1380; Ptolemy V, 2, 18.

107) A.H.M. Jones, CERP², 71.

108) Ptolemy V, 2, 17; Strabo XII, 5, 2, C567: τούτων ἐπὶ ὅλην φεῖοριν

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110) B.M. Cat. 317 no. 228; SNG v. Aulock, h. 9. Phrygian, no. 3856. See also Imhoof-Blumer, KIM I, 273.

111) Strabo XII, 8, 13, C576.


113) Ptolemy V, 2, 15.

114) Ptolemy V, 5, 7.

115) Ptolemy V, 5, 4.


120) Strabo XIV, 2, 29, C663.

121) Ptolemy V, 2, 17; V, 4, 8.

122) W. Ruge, "Lykaonia", RB XIII² (1927), 2253 f.


125) Appian Bell. Civ. V, 75; Dio XLIX, 32, ii; Strabo XII, 5, 4, C568; XII, 6, 1, C568; XII, 6, 3-4, C569; XII, 7, 3, C571; XIV, 5, 6, C571.

126) Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXV, 95.

127) Ptolemy V, 4, 8.

128) The discussions are summarised by D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor II, 1307 f.

129) Strabo XII, 5, 4, C568.
130) Stühelin, Geschichte der Kleinasiatischen Galater, 86 (non vidi; cited from Magie, loc. cit.)


132) Strabo XII, 6, 3, 3569; Cicero, ad fam. XIII, 73, 2.


134) Pliny, Nat. Hist. V

135) Strabo XII, 5, 2, 3567.

136) Livy XXXVIII, 18-19; 24-5.


138) Ptolemy, V, 4, 5-6.


140) A.H.M. Jones, op. cit., 119 f.

141) Ptolemy V, 4, 5 (Tolastochora and Vetuston); V, 2, 17 (Abrostola); V, 4, 8 (Peteinissos).

142) See the discussion in Jones, CERP², 391, footnote 56.

143) See below, Chapter Seven.


147) *CINFhr*, no. 2 from Üç Üyük; no. 97 from Aizanoi (Çavdarhisar). No. 1 from Zemne is a mixture of Phrygian and Greek.

148) *CINFhr*, nos. 3, 7, 90, 91 from Afyon; 4, 5, 6 from Sulmenli; 4 bis from İçcehisar; no. 9 from İskiklar; no. 10 from Akşehir; nos. 42, 43 from Fileli; no. 62 from the Bolvadin - Çay road; no. 63 from Bolvadin; no. 73 from Günyük; no. 89 from Güz Oren; no. 96 from Süglün. See the distribution-map given by O. Haas, *Die Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler*, 70.

149) *CINFhr* nos. 8, 38 from İnli; nos. 39, 68 from Karadilli; no. 40 from Eşesultan; no. 92 from İcıklı.

150) *CINFhr* nos. 26, 27, 94 from Sarkikaraağaç; no. 44 from Doğanhisar.

151) *CINFhr* nos. 37 from Senirkent, no. 25 from Borlu, no. 29 from Buyuk Kabaca, no. 93 from Alıbar, nos. 28 and 95 from Yazi Viran.

152) W.M. Calder, *MAMA* VII, XV.

154) See footnote 6) above.

155) For Kotys in south-western Phrygia, see below, Chapter Five.

156) L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen 249 f. 706 - 708 Herodotos IV, 45. According to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, I, 27, Kotys was the grandson of Manes.


158) Nicholas of Damaskos, FGerHist. 2 A, no. 90, fag. 44.
In the following fragments we also learn of a second Daskylos, the son of the first. In addition, the father of Gyges was called Daskylos. J. Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, 236, attributes the settlement to Gyges' father.

159) P. Kretschmer, Einleitung, 193.


162) L. Zgusta, op. cit., 332, 963. The possible connexion was first pointed out by Ramsay, "The Graeco-Roman Civilisation in Pisidia", JHS IV (1883), 36.

163) A. Meineke, Stephan von Byzanz, Ethnika, s.v. Ἀπολλωνίων, in the apparatus criticus on Ἄπολλων, suggests that Ἀπολλών is a contracted form of Ἀπολλώνιων.

164) Xenophon, Anabasis I, 2, 14. On the Tyriaeion in the plain of Karayük Bazar, see L. Robert, Villeg., 123 f.


166) F. J. Carmody, "Toponymie Anatolienne", RHA XXX (1972), 8


Midaion: Mionnet IV, 343, no. 860; Inv. Wadd. no. 6416; SNG v. Aulock no. 3891 (Gordian III).


171) For personal names with the stem καὶ́, see M. Zgusta, op. cit., 207 f., 500. For comparable place-names compare Kadyanda.

172) See below, Chapter Four.

173) Strabo XII, 4, 7, 5566.

174) B.M. Cat. 345, nos. 12 - 13 and pl. XL, 6; K11 M. I, 290, note on no. 2; SNG v. Aulock nos. 3905 - 6.

175) Inv. Wadd. nos. 6369 and 6371; K. Regling, "Hektor auf Münzen von Stektorion" Klio VIII (1908), 489 ff.

176) B.M. Cat. 345, no. 14 and pl. XL, 7. (Geta); Inv. Wadd. no. 6368 (Caracalla).

177) Regling, art. cit.; in K11 M. I, 290, no. 2, SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 692 (both from the reign of Philip I), the figure boarding the ship is called Mygdon. In Inv. Wadd. no. 6505, the figure in the chariot is called Ares.

178) Pausanias X, 27, 1.


180) K. Regling, art. cit.

181) On Eukarpeia, see footnote 7) above.

182) Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκιμονία and Δειόντες πέδανον.

183) K11 M. I, 217, Weber M. 491 (Severus Alexander), Inv. Wadd. no. 5515 (Severus Alexander), 5525 (Gordian I). Cf. the snake-footed relief from Akmonia; GR I, 2, 626.

184) Steph. Byz., Ethnika, s.v. Αξάων (ΦΓΡHist., 3C, no. 795, frag. 3).

185) Euripides Orestes, 5 and scholiwm.

186) Pausanias V, 13, 7.

187) Herodotus VII, 11, in a speech of Xerxes.

188) Pausanias III, 22, 4.

189) Strabo XII, 8, 21, C580 (Aischylos Frags. 158, 2; 162, 2; 163 (Nauck)).

190) Scholiwm on Pindar, Olympia, 41.

191) Nonnos, Dionysiaka, 48, 730.

192) Strabo XII, 8, 2, C571; XII, 8, 7, C573; XIV, 3, 3, C665; XIV, 5, 16, C675.

193) See p. 64.

194) Steph. Byz. s.v. Αξάων (ΦΓΡHist. 3C, no. 795, frag. 3). For

195) Iliad XVI, 806 ff; XVII, 59. a priest of the founder [unnamed]


198) W.M. Calder, in Discovery: a monthly popular journal of
knowledge, III (1922), 207 ff; JNEOS X (1923), 14 ff.; XI
(1924), 30 ff.; Klio XXIII (1930), 88; L. Malten, "Motiv-
geschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Sagengeschichte, II: Noch
Einmal Philemon und Baukis", Hermes LXXV (1940), 168 ff.,
in re Ovid, Met. VIII, 616 ff.

199) Zenobius, Prov. 6, 10 (ΦΓΡHist. 3C, no. 795, frag. 2).


202) Pausanias I, 4, 5. For further speculation that Asia Minor
was once covered by the sea, prompted by the alleged
discovery during a drought of the shells of marine fauna
normally found only in the sea, in lakes of Armenia and
Lower Phrygia, see Xanthos, FGrHist. 3C, no. 765, frag. 12
(Strabo I, 3, 4, C49).

203) See the discussion by J. Weiss, "Zur Gründungssage von
Dorylaion", JOAI XVI (1913), Beibl. 71 ff. The inscriptions are:
Radet, nos. V (IGRR IV no. 526), VI (IGRR IV no. 525);
Ath. Mitt. XIX (1894), 309, no. 5 (Radet no. VII); G.G.A.
(1897), 400 ff., nos. 45, 46; Ath. Mitt. XX (1895), 16
(G.G.A. CLIX, 2 (1897), 399; Radet no. IV; IGR IV, no. 527);
G.G.A. 400, no. 44. The Latin inscription (a diploma from
the region of Constanța) was published in the Buletinul
Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice II, 3 (1909), 113 ff. and
is re-published by Weiss, art. cit. The fragmentary dedication

203A) Radet no. III.

204) P. Kretschmer, Einleitung, 183, cited by Weiss, art. cit.,
76, and A. Koerte, G.G.A. CLIX, 2 (1897), 403.

205) Steph. Byz. Ethnika, s.v. Δωριάς; B.M. Cat. 397, no. 30,
pl. XLVI, 13; 397, no. 27 (Claudius - Gallienus).

206) E.g. B.M. Cat. 396 nos. 23, 26 (Ionians; Claudius - Gallienus),
397 no. 29 (Dorians and Ionians; same time), 30 (Dorians;
same time); 405 no. 67 (Ionians; Gallienus); 406 nos. 70 -
73 (Ionians; Salonina)
Inv. Wadd. nos. 6525-9 (Ionians), 6532 (Dorians), 6538-9
(Ionians; Antoninus Pius), 6546 (Dorians and Ionians;
Macrinus); 6547 (Ionians; Elagabalus), 6556 (Ionians;
Gallienus), 6559-60 (Ionians; Salonina).

207) L. Robert, Hellenica XI - XII (1960), 101, footnote 1;
G. Radet, Em Phrygie, 89.

207A) The mention of a φυλή Μητροπας in G.G.A. (1897), 400, no.
44, may well point at least to a substantial native element
in the population.

208) Radet, Em Phrygie no. IV. I suggest that the statue of
Δοριάς Ερημίτης is κτήτορ ας was erected by Statoneikianos
Timaioes, possibly a descendant of C. Voconius Aelius
Stratonicus, in return and thanks for those presented by the tribes of the city to his relative, whom they compared to Akamas and Dorylaos.

209) According to Diodorus Siculus XX, 108, 6 f., Lysimachos camped nearby.

210) Strabo X, 4, 10, C477; XII, 3, 33, C557.

211) Imhoof-Blumer, K. M.


213) See footnote 8 above.


215) Ovid, Metamorphoses XI, 85 ff.


218) K-Pr. III, no. 142.


220) See especially 90-93.

221) Strabo XI, 2, 15, C497; XI, 12, 4, C521; XI, 14, 1, C527; XII, 3, 18, C548. On the Old Phrygian inscriptions from East of the Halys, see O. Haas, Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 179-184.
CHAPTER THREE: HELIOS APOLLO LAIRBENOS, MOTHER LETO AND
ZEUS MEGISTOS.

Of the native Anatolian divinities with whom we are concerned, Helios Apollo Lairbenos (hereafter Lairbenos) has, after Kybele, certainly been the most intensively studied. We may therefore be excused from treating every aspect of the cult in extenso, but may concentrate on those which serve our present purpose of setting limits to the nature and geographical distribution of Phrygian culture.

The Sanctuary of Lairbenos and Mother Leto lay on the southern side of the Maeander gorge, near the northernmost point of the bend made by that river on its way from the Bumeneian plain to join the Lykos below Laodikeia and Hierapolis. It was discovered by Ramsay and Hogarth in 1887. Inscriptions and reliefs relating to the cult have been found at the site of the sanctuary and in the villages of Bahadınlar, Develiler, Ortaköy and Sazak. One inscription has also been found built into a church at Sebaste, raising the possibility of another sanctuary of the god in that area, although the stone was more probably transported there from the Maeander. The sanctuary lay in the territory of Hierapolis, at least from the time of Caracalla onwards, and the image of the god appeared on the coins of that city. These inscriptions and coins, along with a few reliefs, are our principal source of knowledge about the cult and the iconography of the god. The inscriptions divide themselves into two main categories, confessions of sins and Katagraphai. Only the first will be considered for the moment. The second will be dealt with in the appendix to the chapter together with temple-estates.

The confessions have been studied in detail by F.S. Steinleitner and R. Pettazoni. Where the sin committed
against the god is specified in the confession, it is usually an infringement of ritual regulations. The sinner was normally punished by the god with illness and expiated his sins by engraving a public confession on a stele\textsuperscript{5}. These confessions are paralleled by very similar ones of the Roman period from Maonia and by defixiones of the second and first centuries B.C. from the sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos\textsuperscript{6}. In Maonia, the confessions were made to a variety of gods and goddesses, individually or together. As well as punishing straightforward ritual offences, the gods also often punished perjury before a divine tribunal by a party in what was originally a secular case\textsuperscript{7}. In the Knidos arai, it was envisaged that the offending party would be forced to confess their sin as a result of the prayed-for divine punishment. A related confessional practice was connected with the sanctuary and spring of Zeus Asbamaios near Tyana in the Hellenistic period. Perjurers who drank from the spring were afflicted in their eyes, hands and feet and remained in the sanctuary, confessing their sin\textsuperscript{8}. Outside Anatolia, confession is also found in the cult of the Dea Syria, described by Plutarch and Lucian\textsuperscript{9}.

Traces of confession are found from an earlier period on Samothrace, where fugitives, before being admitted to the mysteries, were purified by a kaves. Fugitives were, of course, more likely than others to have committed sins, especially murder, that would pollute the sacred island. Confession was an inevitable part of purification\textsuperscript{10}.

From Hittite times we have the confessions of Mursilis II, made to exorcise the plague. Here the sins were not ritual ones but, in the first case, the rebellion by Mursilis' father, Suppiluliumaš, against his elder brother, Tuthaliyas; in the second, the violation by Suppiluliumaš of a treaty he had made with Egypt. The pestilence was considered to have continued after
the death of Suppiluliumas because sacrifices made by former kings to the river Mala had been omitted. The first confession may be compared with the Maionian perjury confessions and was made to the mountains, rivers and fountains invoked as witnesses of oaths; the second to the "God of Heaven" and other gods invoked at the end of oaths and treaties. Confessions connected with affairs of state were also made by Rib-Addi, governor of Byblos, to the goddess of that city, and are mentioned in a letter of his to Pharaoh Amenoph III.

Pettazoni has emphasised the connexion of confessional practices with the cult of a great goddess, such as the goddess of Byblos and the Dea Syria. He points to the presence and antiquity of the mother-goddess found in the Maionian and Phrygian cults in an attempt to show that the confessions associated with them are derived from the ancient Near East, rather than being imported along with the Hittite, Greek and Persian names, Ἡρα, Leto, Artemis and Anaitis, imposed on the goddess, or with the supposedly Phrygian Sabazios. Influence from the Hittite and Babylonian confessions, which deal with different sorts of sin from the later Anatolian ones and which do not involve a mother-goddess, he argues, is formal and secondary.

This is, I believe, an excessively rigid view. One can easily accept the near-eastern origin of confession if only by the process of eliminating other possible sources by lack of evidence, without having to accept such a vital connexion with a great goddess. In Phrygia, the confessions could have been made to Apollo or Leto. In fact, with one possible exception, they are all made to Apollo. Given the presence of Leto as a pareidos in the cult, it is all the more noticeable that the confessions are not addressed to her. Similarly, in Maonia, the confessions are addressed to goddesses, to gods and goddesses together, or to gods alone. There is
no hint of a goddess in the cult of Zeus Asbamaios; to rely, as Pettazoni does, on the proximity of Ma of Komana is special pleading\textsuperscript{15}. The confessions of Mursilis were made to the gods appropriate to the sins committed. Pettazoni has argued that the sexual sins mentioned in the Anatolian confessions are appropriate to a mother-goddess. In fact, in Phrygia at least, the sexual sins were committed against a male divinity. The behaviour required was appropriate to ministrants of the gods in general\textsuperscript{16}. The fact that the sexual element is absent in the confessions of Mursilis has nothing to do with the fact that we are dealing with an advanced culture, as Pettazoni would have it. Mursilis was a king and confessed the sins committed by his father \textit{qua} king, \textit{i.e.} those involving affairs of state.

It is true that the earliest examples of confession in the Near East are associated with goddesses. However, this may simply be the result of the importance of goddesses in those societies, rather than of any organic link. The appearance of ancient goddesses in various connexions with the practice of confession in Roman Anatolia is not necessarily significant. It is as likely to be explained by the fact that both happen to have survived in culturally conservative, because remote, areas, as by any original association.

We may, therefore, accept these confessions found in the far West of Phrygia as being derived from an ancient, pre-Phrygian, near-eastern practice. Elsewhere in Anatolia they are found in areas where other traces of pre-Phrygian culture survive. On the Maeander and in Maonia, I suggest they form part of a quite distinct cultural boundary.

Next, the divinities themselves. Apollo Laurbenos appears on reliefs and coins as a radiate, double-axe bearing god, sometimes on horseback\textsuperscript{17}. We find several Anatolian gods portrayed on horseback, notably Apollo,
Ares, Herakles-Kakasbos, Mên, Plouto, Sozon and Zeus Panamaros. The double-axe appears frequently in the hands of the Lydiam and Phrygian Apollo. At Hierapolis the god is represented on coins from the reign of Augustus through the third century. Most frequently the god is depicted standing or on horseback, always carrying the double-axe. These types are never radiate. However, on some coins which probably do not pre-date the Severi, under whom it is possible that the sanctuary first passed into the territory of Hierapolis, the god is represented by a radiate head with the legend ΑΠΒΗΝΟΣ. We may suggest that the more hellenised image of the radiate head was thought more suitable when the god became more closely associated with the city by his sanctuary being included in its territory, and when he occasionally represented the city on its homonoia coins instead of the traditional Apollo Archegetes. However, the old "native" types survived alongside this hellenised type. Elsewhere, a double-axe bearing rider-god appears on the coins of the Phrygian cities of Ankyra, Dionysopolis, Rumeneia, Stektorion, Synaos, Temenothyraei, Trajanopolis and of the Abbasitai. In no case is the god named and only on Rumeneian coins from the reign of Geta is he radiate, and so it is not automatically to be identified as Apollo. However, at Rumeneia we have a representation of a standing god with double-axe and raven, who is presumably to be identified as Apollo, and of a double-axe entwined by serpents, presumably to be associated with Apollo. A coin from the time of Pius shows the double-axe bearing god with laurel branch, tripod and snake. The motif of the double-axe also appears in relief on altars dedicated to Apollo Propylaioς from the Rumeneian area. This god enjoyed a cult of high standing in the city. In these circumstances, it is difficult to see that the rider-god on the coins of Rumeneia can be other than Apollo. The appearance of the rider-god at Stektorion may do no more than show the close links
of the Eukarpitc plain with Eumeneia via the Glaukos valley. Dionysopolis would be open to influence from Hierapolis, or indeed directly from the shrine of Lairbenos, and from Eumeneia. The four remaining cities whose coins show the god lie in the extreme West of Phrygia, where influence from the local Maionian Apollos, who were similarly represented, and from the more prestigious Helios Apollo Tyrimnaios of Thyateira\textsuperscript{22}, must be taken into account.

The double-axe by itself appears on coins of the Abbacitai, the political predecessors of the cities of Ankyra and Synaós, Eriza and Eumeneia, in addition to Hierapolis. The obverses of the Abbacitan coins, which are of the second century B.C., feature the bust of Apollo. Obverse and reverse cannot always be linked, but, given the other evidence, it is reasonable to do so in this case. A standing god with double-axe and arrow, who is presumably Apollo, is found at Hadrianopolis\textsuperscript{23}.

Sculptural representations of the radiate rider-god with the double-axe, probably Apollo, are also found in northern Phrygia\textsuperscript{24}.

The origin of Apollo has been much debated, and as yet little common ground has been reached on the etymology of the name\textsuperscript{25}. The recent re-assertion by H. Kothe of the European origin of Apollo has been mentioned above in connexion with the Phrygian migration and will be discussed again in relationship to the cult of Zeus Basileus. More can be said with certainty about the iconography and nature of Apollo in Anatolia. The double-axe immediately connects the god with the Karien Zeus, Sozon, Jupiter Dolichenus and Sandon-Herakles of the Roman period. A. Laumannier, following A.B. Cook, has seen a prototype for later double-axe bearing gods in the representation of Sarruma at Yazılıkaya.\textsuperscript{26}

This derivation is in need of modification. On
closer examination the god at Yazılıkaya appears to be carrying not a double-axe, but a long-Headed single-axe. However, the derivation of the Anatolian Apollo from this Hittite god has other good grounds to commend it. The earliest animal associated with Apollo was the lion. The lion is the support of Ṣarruma at Yazılıkaya. The Lyco-Prygian Apollo of Roman times admittedly appears on horse-back, not standing on a lion, but, following E. Will's theory about the appearance of rider-gods, we may suggest that the horse replaced the lion as a result of the prestige of the cavalry in Hellenistic times. The area in which this would have occurred, the western edge of the Anatolian hinterland, was strongly colonized in the Hellenistic period. By then, the lion was no longer regularly associated with Apollo in Greece, and so would more easily be replaced in western Asia Minor. There is, however, some evidence which may bridge the iconographic gap that we can otherwise only fill with conjecture. This consists of coins of Laodikeia on the Lykos with, as a reverse type, an animal identified as a lion with a double-axe across its shoulder. To link Apollo with Ṣarruma we may also compare the arms on the tripod of Apollo depicted on the Axos Mitra with the sword carried by Ṣarruma.

Plutarch tells us that Herakles, having taken the double-axe from the Amazon Hippolyte, whom he had just slain, gave it to the Lydian queen Omphale and that it was subsequently handed down among the kings of Lydia as a sacred heirloom. He then explains how the double-axe passed to the Karian Zeus. The story sounds like an adaption for the veneration of the double-axe by the Lydian kings. It does not appear in Greek literature until Plutarch and may well be a local East Greek or Lydian myth, dependent on the fact that Herakles was the mythical ancestor of the second dynasty of Lydian kings. Now we know from Herodotus that Kroisos, admittedly a
Mermnad, was specially given to the worship of Apollo\textsuperscript{34}). The lion's head on the electrum coins of Gyges probably attests the popularity of the cult of this god at an earlier date\textsuperscript{35}). It is tempting to suggest, although there is no direct evidence for it, that it was one of the Lydian kings, presumably of the Heraklid dynasty, who first put the double-axe into the hands of their favourite god. In view of the association of the lion with Apollo, the fact that the concubine of Meles, a Heraklid, is said to have borne him a lion, supports our suggestion for Heraklid interest in the cult of Apollo\textsuperscript{36}). Like his Hittite predecessor, Šarruma, Apollo may already have carried a single-axe. This would have opened the way for the attribution to him of the bipennis.

It has been suggested that the Heraklids were in fact alien to Lydia, and that they were rulers of a conquering caste of early Iron Age invaders, possibly related to the Phrygians, known to history as the Maionians. The Mermnad dynasty, with its second millenium-type names, has been seen as the champions of a resurgent native population\textsuperscript{37}). However, the Heraklid kings also had good second millenium names\textsuperscript{38}). The names Ninos and Belos cited by Herodotos are mistakenly interpolated into the list of Heraklid kings by the historian from the Babylonian foundation saga\textsuperscript{39}). For what it is worth, the genealogy quoted by Herodotos rules out any link between Heraklids and Maionians: according to the historian, the dynasty of the Heraklids was preceded by that of Lydos, son of Atys, whence the name Lydiens. The name Maionian preceded this\textsuperscript{40}). As regards the fall of the Heraklids, Herodotos does not imply that anything more than a palace-revolution took place\textsuperscript{41}). We may, therefore, have no hesitation in looking for Heraklid involvement in native Anatolian cults.

According to Herodotos, the name of the god worshipped by the Lydian kings was Apollo. This was the name of the
god in Roman times, and so we have been content to call him so far. However, it is accepted that in his account of the Thracian divinities, Herodotos means Bendis when he speaks of Artemis. We shall argue below that by Dionysos he probably meant Sabazios\textsuperscript{42}). There is therefore the possibility that when he speaks of the Lydian Apollo he is making an interpretatio graeca without admitting it\textsuperscript{43}). Johannes Lydus, in his account of the Herakles-Omphale story, gives Herakles the extra name Sandon, which he bore at Tarsos\textsuperscript{44}). Now Sandon at Tarsos was a god. Was therefore the god worshipped by the Lydian kings called by them Sandon? The evidence of Lydus is weak, as he is attempting to explain why Lydian clothes were called "Sandýkes" or "Sandones". However, attestation of Santa (Santas or Sandon) in a Sardian funerary curse makes it highly probable that a god was worshipped under this name in Lydia\textsuperscript{45}). Herodotos also mentions Lydians called Sandanis and Sandokos\textsuperscript{46}).

At Tarsos, Sandon-Herakles was depicted on coins of the second century B.C. onwards as a robed figure carrying sword, shield, double-axe, bow and lotus-flower \((=\) thunderbolt?), standing on a horned lion on top of a pyramid that has been interpreted as a pyre\textsuperscript{47}). Sword, axe and lion immediately link the god with Ṣarruma at Yazılıkaya, and the axe and lion are again shared with the western Anatolian Apollo. The lotus is also carried by two Ṣarruma figures on Late Hittite reliefs from Malatya\textsuperscript{48}). When the double-axe replaced the single-axe that we may conjecture that Sandon, like Apollo, must originally have borne, is unknown. Sword and shield on a tripod flanked by lions are represented on the mitra from Axos\textsuperscript{49}). The tripod in all probability ensures that the other motifs are to be assigned to Apollo. Finally, while Apollodoros names Sandakos, the founder of the Kilikian city of Kelenderis and presumably identical with Sandon, as husband of Pharnake and father of
Kinnyras, Hesychius names Apollo. The legend confirms the identity Sandon - Apollo and shows Sandon in local genealogies in Kilikia just as Herakles was in Lydia. Given the identification of both Apollo and Herakles with Sandon, the association of the Heraklid dynasty with Apollo becomes readily understandable. In reality, the Heraklid kings worshipped the god from whom they claimed to be descended. However, while in Kilikia Sandon, identified with Herakles, fulfilled the role both of hero and god, in Lydia, perhaps in a more Greek way, the heroic role was assigned to Herakles, the divine to Apollo, but we may conjecture that they were in fact one and the same figure.

Here we may pause to note further evidence for the divine descent of the Lydian kings. According to Dionsios of Halikarnassos, Manes, the first king of the Lydians, was the son of Zeus and Ge, while Diodorus Siculus tells us that Maion, the king of Lydia and Phrygia, was the husband of Dindyme. Like Ge and Dindyme, Omphale may also have been an earth-goddess.

A difficulty with A. B. Cook's association of Helios Apollo Tyrimnaios, or Propator Tyrimnos, with the Hittite Šarruma and the Phrygian Helios Apollo Lairbenos was that the Thyateiran figure was originally a hero, while Šarruma and Lairbenos were always gods. At first, Tyrimnos was simply called "Propator", but gradually the divine aspect dominated over the heroic and the adjetival form of the name - Tyrimnaios - became merely an epithet of the god who was identified as Apollo. However, we now see Sandon-Herakles playing a heroic role in Kilikia, as founder of Kelenderis and Archegos of Tarsos. Another originally "heroic" Apollo in Lydia was Apollo Kareios, attested in a Hellenistic inscription from Hierapolis. According to Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Τέρρης, in Torrhebis there was a mountain-sanctuary of Karios, the son of Zeus and Torrhebia. This genealogy may be
compared with that of Sandes (i.e. Sandon), according to Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Ἀφροδίσις, the son of Heaven and Earth, and that of the Lydian kings⁵⁶).

In view of the fact that there are so many points of contact between Sandon-Herakles and the Lydian Apollo, it is strange that so little trace of the native name of the god has been found in Lydia, apart from one inscription in the native language and the theophoric names. This could be put down to the thorough and early hellenization of the country⁵⁷). However, it is reasonable to look for traces of the god Sandon in Karia, Pisidia and Lykaonia where personal names containing the stem Sand- are still found in the Roman period⁵⁸). I should like to suggest that this gap may be filled by the hitherto enigmatically named god Sozon. The names of the two gods are very similar⁵⁹), and Sozon is represented as a Greek or Anatolian Apollo-like figure. On an inscription from Philomelion in Phrygia Paroreios, Sozon is called "son of Leto", clearly equating him with Apollo, and one from Sizma (Zizima) in the extreme South-East of Phrygia mentions Apollo Sozon⁶⁰). In Lydia the god is represented on a coin of Mastaora as a naked Apollo with lyre, plectrum, bow and quiver with the legend ΣΩΣΩΝ. Other hellenized types appear on the coins of Nysa, Antiocheia on the Maeander and possibly Herakleia Salbake in Karia. Coins from Aphrodisias with the legend ἈΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΣΕΩΝ ΣΩΣΩΝ have the motif of the double-axe. Elsewhere in south-western Asia Minor we may note that Sozon appears on the coins of Themisonion as radiate bust, with the title ΛΥΚ ΣΩΣΩΝ⁶¹). Additionally, three deities are represented on another coin of Themisonion, identified as Hermes, Herakles and Sozon, the last standing radiate, holding a horse⁶²). We learn from Pausanias that there was a sanctuary of Hermes, Herakles and Apollo outside this city — this may be another case of interpretatio graeca⁶³). On reliefs the
god appears on horseback, sometimes radiate with double-axe, spear or sword, or rarely as a Greek Apollo.\textsuperscript{64}

The rarity of the theophoric names, the small number of attestations of the god and his Greek guise in Lydia may be put down to the advanced hellenization of the country. It is strange that North of Hierapolis, in Maeonia and in Abbaeitsis, the god survived with a primitive iconography but nevertheless with his Greek name, Apollo. Linguistic hellenization clearly outstripped artistic. It may be significant that the name Sozon survived only as far North as the Maeander valley, on the borders of the much more conservative district of Karia.

In the Phrygian cult of Apollo Lairbenos the goddess Leto seems to have been in the background, and received little attention. In the related cults of Apollo in Lydia and Sandon-Herakles in Kilikia, no goddess appears at all, but goddesses do appear in the mythology, with Ge as the mother of Sandon, and possibly Omphale to be regarded as the mother of Herakles/Apollo.\textsuperscript{65} The existence of divine couples in Anatolian religion was noticed long ago by Ramsay.\textsuperscript{66} So far as the evidence allows us to judge, the relationship seems to vary: Apollo - Leto appears to imply mother and son; Pluto and Kore, consorts. However, it is not the details of the relationship I wish to emphasise here, but the mere existence of divine couples and their distribution.

We find the same couple as on the Maeander, Apollo and Leto, in Lykia, of course. In Pisidia, there are dedications to Pluto and Kore and Sabazios and Demeter. In Karia we have Zeus associated with Hera at Labraunda, Stratonekeia, Panamara and Kannoka; Apollo with Artemis at Olymos, Khalketor, Hydra, Koliorga, Hyllarima, Didyma, Klaros, on Khios, at Erythrae and Keos, at Keramos; Apollo and Hekate on Kos; Athena and Zeus Askraios at Pedasa; Athena and Ares on Rhodes. In Kilikia we have Jupiter
Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena. In Maionia there are numerous dedications to Mên and (Artemis) Anaitis and to Sabazios with Meter Hipta or Anaitis. Strangely only in two cases does the native Apollo in Lydia appear with a paredros. At Pergamon we find Zeus Megistos and Hera Basileia. At Amastris Zeus Strategos and Hera were προστάτες τῆς πόλεως 67).

From Ionia, Kyzikos, and Aktaņ in western Phrygia we have a number of reliefs depicting the Mother, named either Meter Phrygiē or Angdistis, accompanied by her lions, attended by an older god, named in one inscription as (Zeus) Patrois, or by a younger one, or by both. The younger god is sometimes characterised by his petasos and kerykeion as Hermes and is depicted in his role of propołos pouring a libation into a patera held by the Mother. On the other hand, an inscription on a fragmentary relief names the god Apollo Aristonax 68). The two gods attending a goddess recall the Samothracian cult of the Kabeiroi. One may also compare that of Zeus, Hera and Dionysos on Lesbos 69). J. Keil was led by the names Meter Phrygiē and Angdistis applied to the goddess to seek the origin of the Ionian triad in Phrygia, and once suggested as a prototype the group Zeus - Meter Angdistis - Attis found in the Pessinuntine legend. He later supposed that the Mother and propołos group was the original one, with the older god being an addition. However, he recognised that the younger god on the Ionian reliefs was not characterised as Attis, and supposed that the conception of the god as Hermes was the result of hellenisation 70).

E. Will has suggested that the Hermes who was depicted as propołos of the Mother had his own Anatolian origin independent of Attis and was comparable with the Castores of Jupiter Dolichenus, Cautes and Cautopates in the cult of Mithras and Omanos and Anadatos in that of Aneitis at Zela, and had nothing to do with Attis, who was a far less important figure in Lydia than at Pessinous 71).
We shall see in the next chapter that originally Attis was merely a legendary mortal associated with the Mother, and therefore not strictly comparable to her divine propóloí. He is therefore unlikely to have formed the prototype for them. Finally, we may note the distinction between the propóloí of the Ionian Mother and the Mother-son relationship of the Phrygian Leto and Apollo.

The above is only a selection of examples without pretence to completeness, drawn from various sources, but all relying on epigraphic evidence. The names of the divinities are of varying origin. Nevertheless, with the exception of Sabazios, the gods themselves are probably old Anatolian ones. It is the basic pattern of couples that is significant. Excluding the Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi, such couples are rare in Phrygia, apart from the borderlands, in the inscriptions and coin evidence, and it was on the borders that Lairbenos and Leto were worshipped. They may nominally be Phrygian, but in fact they belong among the pre-Phrygian divinities worshipped in the South and West of Asia Minor.

The only epigraphic evidence I can cite comprises the dedications to Zeus Bronton and a local Mother from Kurucu Köyü (Mihaliççik) in north-eastern Phrygia, to Zeus and Dindymene from Artaki, and to Apollo and Leto from Kayacık on the Pisidian border. An unnamed god, plausibly identified as Zeus Bronton, is depicted together with a goddess on reliefs from north-western Phrygia. A joint cult of Zeus and Mèter Steunene at Aizanoi is apparently attested by a dedication to the two divinities and by the fact that the crypt of the Hadrianic temple of Zeus was probably used for the worship of the Mother. On the other hand, as Prof. Lambrechts has pointed out, the association of the two divinities probably does not pre-date the erection of that temple. Up to that time, the Mother had been worshipped alone at her rock-sanctuary 3, 5 kms. outside the city. Her removal to the temple of
Zeus probably indicates her adoption, along with Zeus, as a protector of the city. Apart from these, there is a dedication to Angdistis and Apollo from Midas City. However, this is a unique and probably ad hoc combination and need not attest a joint cult. The coins show Zeus and Hera together at Ankyra and Brouzae, Athena and Hermes at Hierapolis, Apollo and Artemis among the Hyrgaleis, Zeus and Demeter / Kybele at Ókokleia. None of the types occur frequently enough to suggest joint cults.

Until we understand more about Phrygian religion, it is difficult to say what the significance is of this absence of divine couples. For the moment, it seems that these couples appear in a semi-circle around the area that, on other grounds, may be expected to have been ethnically Phrygian, and to be absent within it. The representations of Tequb, Ἱεπατ and ῾Ερμουμα in the main gallery of the Hittite sanctuary at Yazilīkaya offer prototypes for both the husband-wife and mother-son relationships, although the manner of the representation there is more suggestive of the triads of the Ionian coast than the couples of the interior. Divine couples are common in Late Hittite art, although the gods involved vary. From Darende there is a relief of ῾Επατ enthroned, accompanied by ῾Ερμουμα standing on a lion. From Malatya there is one of Kubaba enthroned and Karuha or ῾Ερμουμα standing on a lion. A god and goddess also appear together on a relief in the Sarre collection. Pairs of gods again appear in the procession-reliefs: at Malatya, Karkemis and Zincirli. It seems reasonable to use the appearance of these divine couples to establish a folk-boundary in Roman times between the descendants of the second-millennium Anatolian peoples and those of the Phrygian immigrants. Over a more limited area, and with an extension into the Phrygian Highlands, the distribution of the double-axe follows the same pattern and may be used in the same way. What we cannot yet establish is the
influence the patronage of the Lydian Kings may have had on the distribution of the cult of Apollo.

We have suggested that the Anatolian Apollo, or, to give him his native names Sandon and possibly Sozon, was descended, in his nature at least from the Hittite Sarruma. However, it has long been recognised that the name Sandon is descended from Santaš. This equation has posed a problem because Santaš, on the famous rock-relief at İvriz, is represented as a vegetation-god holding ears of corn and a bunch of grapes. This god, represented after the manner of an enthroned Greek Zeus, but with his own distinctive attributes, appears on fourth-century coins of Tarsos in the time of the satrap Datames. W. M. Calder identified a god named Zeus Megistos represented on a Phrygian relief with the same attributes as a descendant of the god of İvriz. In fact these attributes occur twice on representations of Zeus Megistos in Phrygia. In two other cases they decorate the altars of Zeus Phaemios and a Zeus without epithet. As one would expect for the descendants of a pre-Phrygian Anatolian god, the distribution of the monuments of Zeus Megistos and the two gods related to him is confined to the South of Phrygia, and especially to the South-East. In attempting to resolve the apparent dual nature of Santaš / Sandon, I think it has to be accepted that we are probably dealing, not with two differing conceptions of one god, (the differences are surely too great to allow this) but with two gods to whom, for some reason, the same name has been applied.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.

1) Bibliography up to 1931 in Oppermann "Lairbenos", RE Suppl. Bd. V, 535; up to 1950 in M.P. Nilsson, GGR\textsuperscript{1} II, 553, footnote 1.


4) F.S. Steinleitner, \textit{Die Beicht} in Zusammenhange mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike; R. Pettazzi, \textit{La Confessione dei Peccati}, parte secolo, volume terzo. With a few criticisms and changes of emphasis it is Pettazzi's account of the Anatolian confessions and their background that I follow here.

5) The sins recorded are: desire of a man to remain with his wife (presumably when he should have been attending the god and practising sexual abstinence) \textit{JHS} VIII (1887), 382, no. 13 (\textit{JHS} X (1889), 220, no. 5; CB I, 1, 151, no. 46; \textit{Rêv. Arch.} (1888), part 2, 220, no. 4; \textit{St}. no. 23; \textit{SIG}\textsuperscript{3} 985, note 21; \textit{MAMA} IV, no. 284); unspecified impurity, \textit{JHS} VIII (1887), 383, no. 14 (\textit{JHS} X (1889), 220, no. 6; CB I, 1, 151, no. 48; St. no. 24; \textit{JOAI} (1929), Beibl. 115, no. 11); eating unsacrificed goat's meat, \textit{JHS} VIII (1887), 388, no. 17 (CB I, 1, 150, no. 43; St. no. 32); violation of a hiera, \textit{JHS} VIII (1887), 381, no. 12 (\textit{JHS} X (1889), 219, no. 4; CB I, 1, 150, no. 45; St. no. 22); failure to erect a stele, \textit{JHS} X (1889), 218, no. 2 (CB I, 1, 149, no. 42; St. no. 33; \textit{MAMA} IV, no. 286); an offence involving a freedman, \textit{MAMA} IV, no. 279; failure to attend the "mysteries" of the god, \textit{MAMA} IV, no. 281; violation of the sanctity of the temple and its surroundings by sexual impurity, \textit{MAMA} IV, no. 283; unspecified impurity, \textit{MAMA} IV, nos. 288, 289.

6) See R. Pettazzi, \textit{op. cit.}, 75 f.

7) See. R. Pettazzi, \textit{op. cit.}, 65 f. The confessions are dedicated to: (goddess alone) – Meter Anaeitis, St. no. 17; Meter Phileis, St. no. 12; Meter Theon, St. no. 18. (god and goddess together) – \textit{JOAI} (1926), Beibl.5f,1,2, (Artemis) Anaeitis and Meis Tiamou; Artemis and Meis Tiamou, St. no. 6; Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaeitis.
St. no. 14; Zeus Sabazios and Meter Hipta, Pettazoni, B7; Meter Tazene, Mên Labanas and Mên Artemidorou, St. no. 1; Meter Tazene Mên Petraeites and Mên Labanas, St. no. 8 (god alone)—Zeus Sabazios, St. no. 15; Mên Axiottenos, St. nos. 10, 20; Apollo Bozenos St. no. 13; Mên Petraeites and Mên Labanas, St. no. 9; Mên Tyrannos and Zeus Ogmenos, St. no. 11. References to unspecified goddess in St. no. 16 and Pettazoni B3; unspecified god, St. no. 3.

To these add now P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in nordostlydien, nos. 18, Meter Tarsene, Apollo Tarsios, Mên Artemidorou Axiottenos; 45, Meter Hipta and Zeus Sabazios; 21, Mês Axiottenos; 41, Mên cê Aesoreou; 42 Mên ko/p...Nos. 51-2 are fragmentary. See also P. Herrmann and K.Z. Polatkan, Das Testament des Eirikrates, 58, no. 15, Zeus Trosou.

In secular cases we may envisage a course of events as follows: the plaintiff denounced the offender to the god. The latter was brought before the "sceptre of the god" and perjured himself by protesting his innocence. For this insult he was punished by the god; see Herrmann, Ergebnisse, etc., 30-1 & Pettazoni, op. cit., 70 ff. Such cases certainly show the support given to law by religion, but we cannot infer from them that in early times, priests, not secular judges, generally administered justice (assuming divine and secular authority were distinguished; the Hittite kings were also the chief priests; see O.R. Gurney, The Hittites 1,132). Mundane penalties were often reinforced by threats of divine wrath; see Chapter Seven. Contra, J. Keil, "Zur religiösen Gerichtsbarkeit Mitteleuropäischer Heiligtümer", Anz. Wien ph. Kl. (1946), no. 5, 51 f. and J. Zingerle, "Heiliges Recht", JOAI XXIII (1926), Beibl., 10 ff.

8) Aristot. Mir. Ausc. 152 (Philostr. Vita Apollonii 1, 6); Suda, s.v. Ἀειφαμαῖς.

9) Plutarch, ἐπὶ διδακτισμοῦς VII, 168c; Lucian, de Dea Syria, 39.

10) See in general Pettazoni, op. cit., 163-85. He cites the evidence for words related to kaves in western Asia Minor, and accounts for the shared vocabulary by invoking Herodotos' statement that the native population of Samothrace was Pelasgian, to
which stratum he attributes the Kabeiric cult (Hdt. II, 51).
The practice of confession need not belong to the same ethnic
stratum in the two areas, if indeed it need belong to a particular
stratum at all.

11) See Pettazoni, op. cit., 39 - 44 and A. Goetze, Kleinasiën, 151.
13) Pettazoni, op. cit., 107 - 114.
14) JHS IV (1883), 385, no. 7 (JHS VIII (1887), 390, note 1; CB I, 1,
153, no. 53; St. no. 31; ABSA XXI (1914 - 6), 172, no. 2).

16) Compare the Hittite regulations for ministrants, mentioned by O.R.
Gurney, The Hittites², 150, A. Goetze, Kleinasiën, 162, with their
emphasis on ritual purity.

17) A relief at the Denizli depot from Zeive Koy shows Apollo with
tunic and mantle, double - axe on left shoulder, riding to the
right on horseback. The inscription reads ᾿Αρταμένως ᾿Αρπάγως ᾿Αἴκυνος.
(L. Robert, Hellenica VII (1949), 57 and pl. ix, 1). A similar, an-
epigraphic relief from Denizli appears as MAMA VI, no. 34. MAMA
VI, no. 1, also from Denizli, a dedication to Zeus and Hermes,
also has a relief of a double - axe. We may also mention here
a cornice from the hieron of Lairbenos on which a bipennis is
carved (MAMA IV, no. 273, pl. 56) and a confession, MAMA IV, no. 281.

18) On Apollo, see in general Cook, Zeus II, 1, 561 - 72. On Mên,
see E.M. Lane, Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Del Menis; on
Sozon, Weinreich, "Sozon", RE IIIA, 1 (1927), 1248 ff.; on
Kakasbos, L. Robert, Hellenica III (1946), 38 ff. (a book on
this god, together with others, from S. Phrygia and Pisidia,
is promised by Robert, Hellenica X (1955), 5 and 78.); on
Plouton and Ares, see Robert, op. cit., 63 and Hellenica XIII
(1965), 26, Hellenica VII (1949), 56. On Zeus Panameres, see
A. Laumonier, Les Cultes Indigènes en Carie, 333ff. There is
also an isolated attestation of Zeus Trosou on horseback at
Hierapolis (JHS X (1889), 224, no. 13 = MAMA IV, no. 268; cf.
83 ff compared the epithet Trosou with Trosobios, one of the
three Solymian heroes killed by Kronos. This triad may also
be compared with Lykian, double - axe bearing triads: see
L. Robert, Hellenica III (1946) 75; VII (1949), 51; X (1955), 6;
Villes, 215 - 17.

19) Coin references are assembled by Oppermann, "Lairbenos", RE
Nat. Mus. and v. Aulock add nothing. For the probable in-
corporation of the hieron in the territory of Hieropolis
under the Severi, see L. Robert, Villes, 138 - 142. A radiate
bust surmounting a double - axe had appeared on a coin of the reign
of Augustus, B.M. Cat. 245, no. 106, Kl. M. I, 239, no. 22.

20) Ankyra: B.M. Cat. 67, no. 49 (Otacilia); SNG v. Aulock, no.
3441 (Geta Caesar); Inv. Wadd., no. 5652 (Geta).
Dionysopolis: B.M. Cat., lv.
Eumeneia: B.M. Cat., 218, nos. 50 - 51 (Domitian), 220, no. 59
(M. Aurelius Caesar); Inv. Wadd., no. 6022 - 3 (quasi - auton.; un-
dated), 6033 (Domitian), 6041 (Geta); SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., nos.
396 (M. Aurelius Caesar), 397 (Geta); SNG v. Aulock, no. 3595 - 6
(M. Aurelius Caesar), 3597 (Geta; radiate).
Stektoron: B.M. Cat. 386, no. 17 (Philip Senior); SNG Dan. Nat.
Mus., no. 695 (Philip Senior).

Synaos: B.M. Cat. 391, no. 21 (Philip Senior); SNG v. Aulock, no.
3967 (M. Aurelius).
Temena: B.M. Cat. 414, no. 32 (Philip Junior); 416, no. 37 (Galienus); SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. 74
Trajanopolis: B.M. Cat. 426, nos. 10 and 11 (Trajan to Caracalla)
429, no. 28 (Gordian), Kl. M. I, 302, 2 (Gordian).

21) Standing god with bipennis and raven: B.M. Cat. 217f., nos. 413 (Nero) 47 - 9
(Domitian); Kl. M. I, 230, no. 6 (Domitian); Inv. Wadd., nos. 6029 -
31 (Nero), 6034 (Domitian); SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 394 (Nero);
SNG v. Aulock, nos. 3590 - 1 (Nero).
Bipennis entwined by serpents: B.M. Cat., 212, nos. 12 - 19
(together with tripod; after 133 B.C.), 217, nos. 42 - 3 (as
obverse countermark; Nero), 218, nos. 49 - 51 (as reverse counter-
mark; Domitian); Kl. M. I, 230, no. 7 (as countermark;
Nero and Domitian; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 394 (as obverse
countermark; Nero); SNG v. Aulock, no. 3583 (together with tripod;
after 133 B.C.

God standing with bipennis, laurel - wreath, tripod and snake,

The double – axe appears on the following dedications to Apollo Propylaios: BSA XI (1904 – 5), 28, no. 1 from Ἰσεκλί; CB I, 2, 374, no. 195 from Koçak; Ballance, Archaeology of Central Asia Minor, 6, no. 2 from Koçak (relief of bipennis and snake); JRS XVI (1926), 66, no. 187 from Balcık Hisar. CB I, 2, 374, no. 196 from Ἰσεκλί, Τ. Καλάδες Πρόεργων μὲν κυρήφω της Μεγάλης Κρήτης Προσωπικότητας suggests, in view of the obvious importance of the priest (Roman citizen), that the cult was of some standing in the city. This accords with the prominence of Apolline types on the Eumenean coinage of the second half of the first century, matched only, in the later second and first centuries B.C., by Athena types, these recalling that the city was an Attalid foundation. The early date of the inscription is made probable, but not certain, by the praenomen and nomen of the priest, and corroborated by the spelling κυρήφω rather than κυρέφω.

The fact that the sanctuary was outside the city, to be inferred from the epithet Propylaios, may explain why we have dedications to the god. Dedications rarely appear on major city sites in Phrygia. Ballance, op. cit., 2, locates the sanctuary at Koçak. The corpus of dedications to Apollo Propylaios is completed for the moment by the inscription published in Byzantion XXI (1951), 425 ff., from Istanbul. L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique", REG LXVI (1953), no. 129, suggests that the stone had been carried from Eumeneia; cf. "Bull. Epigr.", REG LXXVII (1964), no. 277.

22) On Apollo Tyrimnaios, see Cook, Zeus II, 1, 561 ff. for an assembly of the evidence. For the rural Apollos of Maonia, see J. Keil, "Die Kulte Lydiens", Anatolian Studies...Ramsay, 251, nos. 7 – 9, Apollo Theos Bozenos, Apollo Nisyreites and Apollo Tarsenos. To these add P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien, nos. 18, 28, 29, 34, I. in the West of Phrygia, double – axe reliefs are found on K. Pr. II, 41, no. 266 from Gediz (cf. the Trajanopolis coins); MAMA VI, no. 246 from Yenice and the Hekate-Men relief from Kutahya, BCH XX (1896) 64.
23) Abbaeitis: B.M.Cat., 2, nos. 9 and 10.
Eriza: B.M. Cat., 202, no. 4 (1st. cent. B.C. or later).
Eumeneia: B.M. Cat., 216, no. 40 (Nero).
Hadrianopolis: SNG v. Aulock, no. 3605 (Faustina Junior).

24) GGA (1897), 408, no. 50, (JOAT XI (1908), Beibl. 199, fig. 117)
from Eskişehir, a dedication by two protohieraeis to the "Holy and Just", shows a radiate rider with double - axe, who is at least related to Apollo. Compare Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 431, no. 54 from Başören, 45 kms. North - East Of Eskişehir, a dedication to Theion and Apollo, with a plain bearded bust(Theion) at the top, and a radiate rider with double - axe (Apollo) below. On the interpretation, see L. Robert, Anatolia III (1958) 113 f. Also Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 431 no. 54 and Rev. Phil. LXV (1939) 203 ff.

25) On the etymology of the name Apollo and of his chief epithets, see the summary by W. Fauth, "Apollo", Kleine Pauly I (1964), 441 ff.

26) A. Laumonier, Les Cultes indigènes en Carie, 88.

27) E. Akurgal, Stathethitische Bildkunst, 94. For illustrations of the relief of Sarruma at Yazılıkaya, see, for example, H. Frankfort, Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, pl. 261 and E. Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites, pl. 76 upper, 77 lower.

28) The lions of Apollo are discussed by H. Cahn, "Die Löwen des Apollon", Mus. Helv., VII (1950), 185 ff., who traces them to Lydia, thence to the Hittites.


31) B.M. Cat., 287, nos. 57 - 9, pl. xxxiv, 14 (time of Augustus), described as "lynx or panther (?)"; Gr. M., 218, 712 a, SNG. Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 512, described as "lion or panther".
32) For Sarruma, see note 27 above. For the Axos mitra, see Ch. Picard, "Apollo sur la Mitra d'Axos", Studies presented to D.M. Robinson, I, 655 ff.

33) Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 45. For a valuable discussion of this story, see O. Seel, "Herakliden und Mermnaden", Navicula Chiloniensis, 37 ff., especially 53 ff., who sees the double-axe as the pignus imperii of the Heraklids, is prepared to accept its reality and suggests that the story is of an early date.

34) Herodotos I, 50 (Kroisos' gifts to Delphi; these may not be relevant, and may simply reflect the growing prestige of Delphi and the importance of Greece. Similar gifts had already been made by Midas), I, 86 (Kroisos prays to Apollo to extinguish his pyre).


36) Herodotos I, 84. Meles is said to be a Heraklid in Eusebius, Chronica I, 69.

37) G.M.A. Hanffmann, "Prehistoric Sardis", Studies presented to D.M. Robinson, I, 480 ff.; "Lydiaka", HSCP LXIII (1958), 71. R. Gusmani, "Masnes e il Problema della Preistoria lidia", Parola del Passato XV (1960), 327 f. and 333 ff., believed the establishment of the Heraklid dynasty to have coincided with the Aegean migration, but the invaders to have been the Lydians, not the Maionians.

38) For a list of the Heraklid kings, see H. Kaletsch, "Zur lydischen Chronologie", Historia VII (1958), especially the tables on pages 2 and 8.


To Alyattes, compare Laroche, op. cit., 25 ff., nos. 20 - 40, Al-.

Myrsos is presumably cognate with Myšilos, cf. Hittite Mursilis. Alyattes recurs as the name of a Mermnad, as does Ardytos in the related form Ardy. On Kandaules, see below.

40) Herodotos I, 7.


42) Chapter Five, 167 - 173, especially 172.

43) The Ἥδαινς ταύσαις found in Lydian inscriptions and long interpreted as Apollon Megas, means, according to A. Heubeck, *Lydika* 15 ff., Megas (Μῆν) basileuōn. The hieroglyphic Hittite Apulunas and cuneiform Appalunas may attest the name of Apollo in Asia Minor at an early date. These references have been used to support the theory of an Anatolian origin for the god; see Fauth, "Apollo", *Kleine Pauly* I (1964), 445, 11. 51 ff.

44) Johannes Lydus, *de Magistr.*, III, 64.


46) Herodotos I, 71 (a counsellor of Kroisos); VII, 194 (the governor of Kyme under Dareios).


48) W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethnischen Kunst*, 235 ff. Malatya A/10, pl. 41, c and Malatya B/4, pl. 42, f. According to Orthmann, the dress worn by these figures and the lituus they carry are reminiscent of the second millennium Hittite sun god. On p. 361, Orthmann names the second figure Karhuha rather than Ṣarruma.

49) See Ch. Picard, *art. cit.*

50) Apollodoros III, 14, 3, 1; Hesychius s.v. Κινὼνδρας

51) Coins of Kelenderis depicting "Apollo" have the legend ΕΑ or ΕΑΝ which may be read as Sandakos; see Höfer, "Sandas", *ML* IV (1909 - 15), 324, 11. 23 ff., citing Mionnet.

51) Dionysios I, 27; Diódoros Siculus III, 58.


53) Tyrimnos is mentioned in *BCH* XI (1887), 478 f., no. 57 (propylaia of temenos of Tyrimnos), *CIG* 3493f (agonothete of Tyrimnos), *BCH* X (1886), 420 f., no. 29 (hieron of propator
Tyrimnos). CIG 3497 mentions a priest of propator theos Tyrimnos, while BCH XI (1887), 453, no. 14 and 463, no. 29 mention Apollo Tyrimnos. In CIG 3500 and BCH XI (1887), 101 f., no. 24 we find propator theos Helios Pythios Apollo Tyrimnaios. The equation with Apollo goes back at least to the reign of Trajan, when coins depict Tyrimnos standing naked holding a double - axe and branch of bay (Imhoof - Blumer, Lydische Stadtmmunzen, 151 f., pl. 6, no. 10, = Zeus II, 1, 561, fig. 439; B.M. Cat. Lydia, 294, and pl. 29, no. 5, 303 and pl. 31, no. 1). He is first depicted in a solar chariot in the reign of Alexander Severus (Lydische Stadtmmunzen, 151, no. 59 and pl.6, no. 17 = Zeus II, 1, 563, fig. 443). However at Mostene he is shown with a radiate crown on a coin of the time of Lucius Verus (B.M. Cat. Lydia, 163 and pl. 17, no. 12 = Zeus II, 1, 563, fig. 446).

54) Ammianus Marcellinus XIV, 8, 3.

Dio Chrysostom, Tarsica Oratio 1 (Or. 33). p. 16, 21 Dindorf, names Herakles, with whom Sandon was identified, as ᾿Aρχηγός of the city.


55) Steph. Byz. s.v. Τερρηβος, citing Nikolaos of Damascus. The relevance of this passage was first pointed out by L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique", REG LXXVIII (1967), 543 ff. See also Villes, 314.

56) Further on the divine descent of the Lydian kings, see next chapter.

57) See the conclusions of L. Robert, Noms Indigenes, 321 f.

58) L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, 454 f., §1370-1 - 12.

59) Prof. R.A. Crossland informs me in litteris (Æ iii:75) that he thinks it unlikely that Sozon is a dialectal variation or hellenised variation of Sandon, but, given convincing iconographic similarities between the two gods, the name Sozon might be considered to have been formed from Sandon by "popular etymology".

60) Philomelion inscription: Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 444 (Rev. Phil.
(1922), 132, no. 20: Διτυμίας Ευστομία καὶ Χειρὶ βασιλῆς κτλ.
Sizma inscription: CR XIX (1905), 368, no. 1. There is also a
dedication to Sozon from Lodik, MAMA I, 8 a/b.
61) Mastaurea: Kionnet IV, 83; B.M. Cat. Lydia, 156, nos. 3 and 4;
Lydische Staatmunzen, 95, no. 1; K.I. M. I, 299.
Nysa: Nysa ad Maeandrum, 78, no. 46, Apollo with tripod and
snake, legend ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΣΟΖΟΝ.
Antiocheia: CB I, 1, 263, no. 1; B.M. Cat. Caria, 16, no. 14;
Monnetales Grecque, 304, no. 8; K.I. M. I, 299, standing draped
male figure with drapery and branch in left, legend ΣΟΖΟΝ.
Herakleia Salbake: B.M. Cat. Caria, 119, no. 20, standing
figure with patera and double - axe ; no name.
Aphrodisias: B.M. Cat. Caria, 39, nos. 90 - 93.
Themisionion: B.M. Cat., 419, nos. 5 - 6; K.I. M. I, 299, no. 1;
Weber Cat., 540, no. 7197.; CB I, 1, 262 - 63; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. 250
62) B.M. Cat., 420, no. 10, SNG v. Aulock, nos. 4020-1(Maximinus), 4022
(Philip I); Inv. Wadd. 6570 ?
63) Pausanias X, 32, 3.
64) Relief from Karamantli: BCH II (1878), 172, no. 4 (BCH IV (1880),
293, no. 2; JHS VIII (1887), 236, no. 18). Anepigraphic reliefs:
JHS VIII (1887), 235 ff. Two examples are illustrated in BCH IV
(1880), pl. IX. In all these, Sozon carries a double - axe. With
sword or spear: BCH II (1878), 170, no. 2 (BCH IV (1880), 293,
no. 1; Sterrett, Ept. Journ., 96, no. 65; CB I, 1, 305 f) from Tefeni. Sozon is depicted standing with a horse on the
Sizma relief. On a relief in the Konya Museum, from Antalya
or Isparia, Sozon is depicted in Greek guise with lyre and
serpent (BCH XXXVI (1902), 220, no. 1; JHS XIV (1924), 28, no.
6). Note also, from Dengereköy in the Kaza of Tefeni, a stele
showing a woman standing between two horsemen, of which the one to
the left carries a double - axe (MAMA VI, no. 409).
65) The Sizma dedication is a joint one to Apollo Sozon, Angdistis
and the Mother Zizimmne. It is not clear how closely Apollo
was thought to be associated with the goddessess. J. Keil, "Die
Kulte Lydiens", Anatolian Studies... Ramsay, 251, no. 9, lists
one example of a dedication to Apollo Tarsios and Meter Tarsene.
P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien, 24, no. 18,
mentions the above couple and Mën Axiottenenos, while in 59, no. 54

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we find Apollo and Anaeitis. Meter Tarsene is certainly the logical paredros for Apollo Tarsios, but the couple is scarcely firmly attested.

66) eg. CB I, 1, 264. Ramsay here shows signs of recognising the absence of divine couples in Phrygia, but not of how complete the absence is.

67) For Leto and Apollo in Lykia, see Cook, Zeus II, 1, 453 ff. Pluto and Kore in Pisidiae; JHS VIII (1887), 258, no. 43; Anat. St. X (1960), 48. There are also examples from Perta in Lykaonia (MAMA VIII, no. 260; Pluto and Demeter) and from Maonia (P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise...51, no. 46). See also L. Robert, Hellenica III (1946), 43, XIII (1965), 27 and 65. For Demeter and Sabazios, see below, Chapter Five.

For Karia, see A. Laumonier, Les Cultes indigènes en Carie, 714 ff. and index, S.V. Artemis, Athena, Hera. I have tried to exclude divine couples that may be of Greek origin.

For Lydia, see J. Keil, "Die Kulte Lydien", Anatolian Studies...Ramsay, in the list of epigraphically attested divinites, 250 ff., and P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien nos. 27, 45, 46. on nos. 18 and 54, see note 65 above.

Zeus and Hera at Pergamon: L. Robert, Études Anatoliennes, 70, with further references.

Zeus and Hera at Amastris: see below, Chapter Six.


70) J. Keil, art. cit. (1915), 77.


BCH XII (1888), 188 from Artaki.

BCH XIII (1878), 174, 6 bis (CB I, 1, 305, no. 100) to Apollo and the Mother of Apollo from Kayacık.


L. Robert, Rev. Phil. XIII (1939), 202 f. (Hosia ?)


74) P. Lambrechts, "Het Natuurheiligdom van Meter Steunene bij Aezani", ANAMNÉSE: Gedenkboek E. Leemans, especially 239 ff.

75) MAMA VI, no. 394. The only other possible examples of divine couples I can cite are MAMA I, no. 13 from Ladi Khal (relief showing the Mother seated between her lions, and a god (?) with a sceptre standing in front) and C.R. XIX (1905) 368, no. 1 from Sizma (homoios with dedications on three sides to Apollo Sozon, Angdistis epeskoos and Meter Zizimmene).

76) I exclude Isis and Sarapis and Asklepios and Hygieia, and include only divinities appearing together on the same side of a coin. Gods depicted on different sides of a coin may be related, but this cannot be assumed. Pairs of gods on homoioa coins, where the two gods represent the two cities involved are, of course, also to be omitted.

Ankýra: B.M. Cat., 65, no. 42 (Caracalla), 66, nos. 44 - 46 (Philip Senior); Kl. M. I, 204, 6 (Severus), 7 - 8 (Philip Senior); Inv. Wadd., nos. 5650 (Caracalla), 5654 (Philip Senior); Weber Cat. no. 7023 (Septimius Severus); SNG v. Aulock, nos. 3438 (Septimius Severus), 3440 (Caracalla).

Brouzos: B.M. Cat., 113, nos. 18 - 19 ( Gordian III).

Hierapolis: B.M. Cat., 249, no. 129 ( Trajan); Kl. M. I, 236, no. 6 (time of Trajan); Inv. Wadd., nos. 6151 ( Trajan), 6156 (M. Aurelius); SNG v. Aulock, nos. 3655 (M. Aurelius Caesar), 3658 ( Elagabalus).

Hyrgaleia: B.M. Cat., 273, nos. 3 and 4 (Caracalla - Severus Alexander), 275, no. 8 (Julia Domna); Inv. Wadd., no. 6199.

Okokleia: B.M. Cat. 342, nos. 5 and 6 ( Gordian III); Kl. M. I, 281, no. 3 ( Commodus); Inv. Wadd., no. 6362 (Gordian III); SNG v. Aulock, no. 3899 (Gordian III).
For illustrations, see the references, note 27).

W. Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 361, Daresde 1.

ibid., 360, Malatya B/4, pl. 42f.

ibid., Sammlung Sarre X/1.

ibid., Malatya A/5a; Karkemis C/1-3; Zincirli, B/13 - 15.

Philipp, "Sandon l)", RE IA^2 (1920), 2264 ff.

e.g. Cook, Zeus I, 1, 594, fig. 453; H. Frankfort, Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, 306, pl. 359; W. Orthmann, op. cit., pl. 14c; Höfer, "Sandas", M.IV (1909), fig. on 331.

See Höfer, art. cit., 331, ll. 60 ff. Examples are discussed in detail by Cook, op. cit., 596.

Note on MAMA VII, no. 1: "This Zeus of ca. A.D. 200 is the Anatolian peasant god, in direct line of descent from the god of Ivriz". Compare W.M. Ramsay, JHS XXXVIII (1918), 135, on the dedication to Zeus Phatniōs from Kadīn Han: "This is the ancient Lycaonian god, the giver of corn and wine, who is represented on the monuments from the Hittite period till the end of Paganism". L. Robert, Hellenica X (1955), 108, discussing a similarly represented but anonymous god on an altar in Istanbul museum, cautiously writes: "Il n'y a pas de raison de voir dans ces diverses figures adorées dans les régions très différents (Zeus Bronton, Dios, Epikarpios, Eukarpios, Karpodotos, Karpophoros, Zeus Telesphoros) "the god of fertility", "the Anatolian agricultural god, elsewhere called Dionysos".

This is correct. I discuss in Chapter Six, the difficulty of attributing any significance to the reliefs of ox - heads and grape - clusters on the altars of Zeus Brohto. However, the particular combination of grape - cluster and ears of corn seems to be fairly rare, to have a fairly restricted distribution in the South - East of Phrygia, and is probably to be traced back to the god ofIVER.
and 135 (JHS XVIII (1898), 123, no. 70), from Meydanlı and Eldeş respectively. Other reliefs of Zeus with the same attributes: Ath. Mitt. XIII (1888), 237, no. 10 (JHS XXXVIII (1918), 135, no. 11; MAMA I, no. 7) from Kadın Han (Zeus Phathnios); MAMA I, no. 5 from Şar Ören.

The other epigraphic attestations of Zeus Megistos known to me from Phrygia are: BCH X(1886), 453 f., no. 3 from Hierapolis; BCH II (1878), 173 f., no. 6 (JHS VIII (1887), 226 f., no. 4; CB I, 1, 307, no. 114) from Sazak; Ath. Mitt. IX (1884), 134 from Bayat (Zeus Megistos Karpodotes); JRS II (1912), 252, no. 7 from Felleli; MAMA I, no. 373 from Sengen; MAMA VII, nos. 107 from İlgin, 130 from near Mahmut Asar, 432 from Dik Kulak, 521 from İnsuyu; JHS XIX (1899), 129, no. 148, also from İnsuyu; GR XIX (1905), 370, no. 4 from Sizma; Ev, 209, no. 227 (BCH XI (1886), 505, no. 10; JRS XVI (1926), 213, no. 5) from Konya, 210, no. 228, ibid.

Zeus Megistos has been pronounced Anatolian by J. Schaefer, de Iove anud Cares culto, 403, Kazarow, "Megas", RE XV, 1, (1931) 223, 11. 25 ff. and A. Laumonier, Les Cultes indigènes en Carie, 598 f. The evidence cited by Kazarow is the lateness and rarity of attestations of the god in Greece, their earliness and frequency in Asia Minor. Drexler's emendation of Hesychius' gloss γαγίος ο μάταιος η ζω η βρύς μέγας πολύσεχεας cited by Kazarow, is to be rejected; see below, Chapter Six, 239.

87) In her article "Sandôn and Herakles", Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear, 164 ff., H. Goldman attempted to show that the Greek Herakles was not derived from Sandon, as the first identification of the latter was with Zeus. In so doing, she conflated the double - axe bearing Sandon and Santana - Baal Tars - Zeus Tersios. Goldman argued that the sword and shield borne by Sandon and also depicted on the Axos mitra on a tripod must be associated with Zeus as on fourth century B.C. coins of Axos a thunderbolt is shown by the side of a tripod. The shield and sword also appeared on Kilikian rock - reliefs together with the club, associated in that district with Zeus of Olba, Zeus Tersios and the Kappadokian Zeus worshipped on Mt. Argaios. Sandon may also be connected with Zeus Tersios in that both of

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them carried the lotus (i.e. thunderbolt) and were depicted in a triangle which may be a mountain. This symbol is also shown on the coins of an unidentified Kilikian city flanked by grape-clusters such as were carried by Zeus Tersios. Zeus Tersios is not himself shown in connexion with a mountain, although other eastern Anatolian types of Zeus were; see Cook, Zeüs I, 1, 602. An eagle crowns the pyramids of Sandon. There seems to be reasonable evidence to link Sandon with other manifestations of a mountain, solar (?) Zeus (cf. the link observed by Orthmann between the Late Hittite Ṣarruma and the sun-god, note 48 above), but less to link him with the "agricultural" Zeus Tersios.

Goldman argued that the identification of Sandon with Herakles took place in the Hellenistic period and was based on the fact that the former carried a bow and club, was depicted in connexion with a mountain, and that his worship included a fire-ritual. In attributing the club to Sandon, Goldman confuses him with Zeus Tersios. Again, Sandon does not appear with a bow until the second century B.C. Whether he had one earlier, which facilitated his identification with Herakles, or whether he borrowed Herakles' bow as a result of an identification made on other grounds, we do not know. Ṣarruma did not carry the weapon. Surely the most obvious common element, not mentioned by Goldman, was the lion.
CHAPTER FOUR: KYBELE AND ATTIS.

The field of enquiry opened by a study of the Anatolian goddess commonly called Kybele is potentially a vast and diverse one. This fact is reflected in the monumental size and scope of H. Graillot's *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux*, to name only the best known and largest of numerous works on the mother-goddess\(^1\). It would be difficult for any study of Phrygian culture, except the most narrowly specialised, to avoid the subject altogether. In keeping with the object of this thesis we shall examine the evidence for the cult with an eye to recognising the peculiarities of its Phrygian form.

We shall begin by examining the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the cult in the Roman period. There are fifteen epigraphic attestations of the Meter Theon without a qualifying ethnic\(^2\), twelve of the Meter Zizim(m)ene (once described as the Meter Theon Zizimene), three of Minerva or Athena Zizimene, two of the probably cognate Meter Dindymene\(^3\) and four examples of Meter Theon with other epithets. There are fifty one other attestations of the goddess and twenty five different epithets\(^4\), the majority of them ethnics. Among these attestations, there are twenty one examples of the name A(n)gdistis. In two cases, A(n)gdistis is described as Meter Thea, in seven cases, A(n)gdistis is simply called Thea, in eleven, A(n)gdistis alone, in one, Meter Theon A(n)gdistis. There is only one dedication to Meter Kybele\(^5\). The titles Meter Theon and Angdistis, the ethnic Dindymene and the name Kybele are recorded by Strabo as being applied to the Phrygian mother. The ethnics Idaia and Sipylene which he also records are not to be expected in Phrygia. I have found no examples of his *Phrygia Theos Megale*, but dedications to the Meter Phrygien occur, as we have seen, at Ephesos. The fact that the epithet Phrygic was not applied to the goddess inside Phrygia need cause no surprise. On the
other hand, given the prestige of the sanctuary at Pessinous, it is strange that the goddess does not carry the epithet Pessinuntis in any inscriptions.

The epithets Dindymene and Lobra are found applied to the goddess at Kyzikos\textsuperscript{7}. A Meter Andeirene is found at Andeira on the Adramyttene Gulf, but given their location in the far South-East, the Phrygian inscriptions mentioning a goddess with the same ethnic must imply the existence of another place of the same name\textsuperscript{8}. A(n)gdistis is found outside Phrygia, in the rest of Asia Minor and beyond; within Phrygia the name is found with only a few exceptions in the Highlands\textsuperscript{9}. The worship of the Meter Zizim(m)ene centres on the area around Zizima, South of Laodikeia Katakekaumene\textsuperscript{10}. With only a handful of exceptions, the inscriptions mentioning the Mother taken as a whole are again confined to the Highlands and the extreme South-East of Phrygia\textsuperscript{11}. Priests are attested at Ballihisar (Pessinous), Ladık (Laodikeia Katakekaumene), Konya (Ikonion), Yukarı Ağız Ağık, Midasşehir and Keskîn\textsuperscript{12}.

Like the Idaian and Sipyrene Mothers, the Meter Lobra and Meter Dindymene were mountain goddesses. Rock-sanctuaries, apart from the ancient ones at Midasşehir and elsewhere in that neighbourhood, are known near Aizanoi, the seat of the Meter Steunene, and above Pessinous, and may be inferred for the Murat Dağ and Türkmen Baba\textsuperscript{13}. According to Arnobius, A(n)gdistis was named after ἀγδος, meaning "rock", from which she was born\textsuperscript{14}.

In six reliefs, the goddess is depicted accompanied by lions; in one the lion alone is represented\textsuperscript{15}. Lions were, of course, the normal attributes of Kybele in classical art, having first appeared in Phrygia in the sixth century B.C. on the rock-reliefs of the Highlands. They also appeared on the naiskoi found on the Aegean coast and at Marseilles\textsuperscript{16}. The association of lions with a goddess was, of course, much older: they are depicted with a female figure, interpreted as a mother-goddess, on figurines from the neolithic sites at Çatalhuyuk and

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Hecaté; the goddess Ἡφαίστεια is depicted standing on a lion in the Hittite sanctuary at Yazilikaya; the lion again accompanies goddesses in Late Hittite art. There are certain problems concerning the development of the iconography of the goddess and the spread of the name "Kybele" in the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. These will be dealt with below. However, the evidence of the Roman period just reviewed requires little more comment.

On fifteen dedications, mostly to Angdistis and all from the Dorylaesion - Highlands area, we find ox-heads, bucrania or horns and vine and crater. The monuments from this area, taken as a whole, are characterised by their exuberant decoration. Ox-heads appear frequently on dedications to Zeus Bronton, to whom they are appropriate. The vine and crater motif is found on those of Zeus Bronton and, of course, Dionysos. In only two instances where altars of the goddess have ox-head decoration is the dedication explicitly made ἄρτης Νάου or ἄρτη τεραμοδέα\. If we were to regard the bull as in some way specially connected with the goddess, we might compare Artemis Tauropolos. The Amazons were said to have established a statue of Artemis Tauropolos at Ephesos. Strabo tells that Cretes and Iphigeneia brought the rites of Artemis Tauropolos from Tauric Scythia to Komana of Kappadokia and to Kastabala. The goddesses worshipped at these places may be regarded as hypostases of the Mother. However, there is only one epigraphic attestation of Artemis Tauropolos in Phrygia, from Tatarlı, and few from the rest of Asia Minor. Moreover, it is in the Highlands that we find the oldest monuments in Phrygia attesting the worship of Kybele, and on these she is depicted accompanied, as we have said, by lions. The association of the goddess with bulls seems, therefore, to have been a late development rather than part of an old tradition, and it is perhaps safer to attribute it to a regional fondness for that motif rather
than to any element in the nature of the divinity. The appearance of the vine and crater motif may also be put down as a regional peculiarity. 25A

Coins depicting the goddess were minted by the following Phrygian cities: Aizanoi, Akmonia, Amorion, Ankyra, Appia, Dokimion, Dorylaeion, Eukarpeia, Eumenia, Hierapolis, Hieropolis, Ikonion, Julia, Kadoi, Kidyessos, Kotiaesion, Laodikeia on the Lykos, Laodikeia Katakekaumene, Lysias, Metropolis, Midaeion, Okkleia, Otrous, Peltai, Prymessos, Sebaste, Stektorion, Trajanopolis, and by the Koinon of the Hyrgadis 26. This list excludes the two more famous cult centres Kyzikos and Pessinous. Most of the coins are scattered through the later second and the third centuries 27. This may reflect increased importance attaching to the cult in Rome from the time of Pius as a result of the establishment of the public taurobolia. In several west Phrygian cities — Aizanoi, Akmonia, Eukarpeia, Trajanopolis — Kybele types had already appeared under Hadrian. In the case of Aizanoi, this is explicable by the erection of a joint temple to Zeus and the Steunene Mother. We may also note the linking of certain empresses, especially Agrippina, Domitia, Sabina, Faustina and Julia Domna with the goddess. However, those of several cities reach back to the first century: Aizanoi, Dokimion, Dorylaeion, Kotiaesion, Ikonion, Laodikeia Katakekaumene. Several of these last-named cities also experimented with a variety of representations of the goddess, apart from the standard one showing her enthroned with lions at her sides. Coin-types of the Mother on the coins of Kotiaesion are so frequent that one must conclude that the goddess enjoyed an important cult in the city, probably the most important. The agonistic lions on coins of Philip Senior presumably attest games in honour of the goddess. Despite this, no priests are attested epigraphically. The urban cult presumably had its roots in the strong local cults in the Highlands that we have already observed. At Dorylaeion,
such types are rather less frequent and again, no priests are attested. It is unclear whether the coins reflect an urban cult or the local rural ones; an urban cult may be implied by the existence of a tribe Metrois. The same is the case with Dokimion, on the southern side of the Highlands. A cult in that area is perhaps alluded to by Statius, when he says that the Synadic marble received its coloured streaks from the blood of Attis. The Aizamitan coins presumably refer to the cult of the Steunene Mother, who had a rock-cut sanctuary outside the city and later a cave-like one in the vault beneath the temple of Zeus. However, had we not known of the sanctuaries from their physical remains and from epigraphic testimony, their existence could hardly have been proved from the coin-types, so rare are they. The same goes for Laodikeia Katakekaumene, where a priest is known. The coin-types, although well-distributed, are not numerous. On the other hand, coins of this city are rare altogether. Here again, the urban cult that we may infer existed presumably had its origins in the strong rural one of the Heter Zizimene. The inscription mentioning the priest contains a list of names of what may have been members of a cult-association. Kystai may be mentioned in an inscription recording donations made to the goddess by a priest of Jupiter and Vesta at Laodikeia. Further caution in the interpretation of coin-types is required by the fact that a sanctuary is alluded to epigraphically at Midaelon, where the numismatic evidence consists merely of two examples of the standard enthroned Kybele type, minted under Caracalla and Maximus. At Ikonion, the epigraphic reference to Minerva or Athena Zizimene suggests that after the city was raised to the status of a colony by Hadrian, a prestigious cult of the Mother, attested by coins of the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, and by a mention of a high-priest, was merged with one of the Roman Minerva.

To return to Kyzikos and Fessinous, coin-types of
the Mother seem to be very rare on the coins of the
first-named place, where a cult of the goddess is at-
tested by Herodotos and by inscriptions and reliefs\textsuperscript{32}. The "Kore-Soteira" depicted on numerous coins of the
city may well be a \textit{hypostasis} of "Kybele", but the icono-
ography shows us no trace of the relationship. "Kybele"-
types are again rarer than one might expect at Pessinous,
being apparently confined to coins of the first century
B.C., and the reigns of Claudius, Iucius Verus, Marcus
Aurelius and Caracalla\textsuperscript{33}. We may note in advance that
it was Claudius who established the "Phrygian" cult of
Kybele as a public one in Rome, and just before the time
of Verus that Attis was deified.

This survey of the epichoric evidence for the cult
of the Mother in Roman Phrygia reveals two perhaps sur-
prising absences: those of Attis and of the name Kybele.

Sir W. M. Calder once suggested that the name Attis
was only used in the mysteries, and that on public
monuments he was called \textit{Mên}\textsuperscript{34}. There is no evidence to
support this theory and no need for us to resort to it.
The key to solving the problem has been given by P. Lambrechts,
who pointed out that originally Attis was merely a
mythical example of a mortal who loved a goddess and
suffered for it: "those whom the gods love, die young"\textsuperscript{35}. This was also partly perceived by H. Hesdorff, who cited
as parallels Hyakinthos, Linos, Hylas, Bormos, Kyzikos,
Narkissos and Achilles'... R. D. Barnett adds Actaion,
Anchises, Endymion, Broteas, Karmanor and Tmolos. It was
not until the reign of Antoninus Pius that Attis was
invoked as a god in a Latin inscription and acquired his
own temple at Ostia. At the same time, he appeared on
the Roman coinage. Again, under Pius or perhaps later,
the \textit{Hilaria} commemorating the resurrection of Attis were
instituted\textsuperscript{37}. The role of Attis in the cults of the
Mother at Dyme and Patrai in Greece, as recorded by
Pausanias, was shadowy\textsuperscript{38}. The divinization of Attis was

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essentially Roman. It is therefore not surprising if we do not hear of him in Phrygian inscriptions containing prayers for supernatural aid.

We have observed in the preceding chapter that in Phrygia divine couples occur rarely. No more do we find goddesses with young male attendants. Thus, while reliefs outside Phrygia showed at an early date, as we have seen, the Mother attended by Hermes and by an older god, and those of a later but uncertain date showed her flanked heraldically by both Hermes and Attis (an association which probably reinforced the presumably superhuman status of the latter), on archaic and Roman reliefs in Phrygia the goddess reigns alone\(^{39}\). Attis appears on the coins of Kyzikos and Pessinus, but, even so, rarely. The Attis types at Kyzikos belong to the late fifth – early fourth century B.C. and to the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus\(^{40}\). The appearance of the Roman types may perhaps be attributed to the upsurge in the importance of Attis and his deification under Pius. At Pessinus Attis appears even more rarely: a type of the time of Deiotaros shows busts of him and the Mother together, while another of the same time shows Attis alone\(^{41}\). His increased importance in the time of Pius does not seem to have been reflected in the Pessinuntine coinage.

The several versions of the myths concerning Attis have been assembled and discussed with admirable clarity and insight by Hepding\(^{42}\). With the late forms of the myth we are not concerned. Hepding distinguished two basic varieties of the myth: a Lydian one, alluded to by Herodotos, and recorded by Diodoros, Pausanias and the scholiast of the Alexiphrarmaco of Nikandros, and a Phrygian one\(^{43}\). The earliest Greek version of the Phrygian myth is that told by Pausanias. As it was from Phrygian Pessinouns that the cult of the Mother was imported into Rome, it is natural that it was the Phrygian,
Pessimontine myth that became established there, and having established itself in the capital of the empire, became the standard version at the expense of the Lydian one. Early Roman writers to mention the Pessimontine myth are Catullus, Ovid, Statius and Martial. The longest account in Latin is that by Arnobius. Pausanius cites as his source for the Lydian version of the myth the elegiac poet Hermesianax. Arnobius cites as his source the theologian Timotheos, whom he probably used through a Roman intermediary. Stephanus of Byzantium, in his gloss on "Gallos" cites information from Timotheos from a reference in the third book of Alexander Polyhistor's προέκτιος. It is probable that Alexander served as the immediate source for Pausanius' account of the Pessimontine myth.

In the story recorded by Diodoros, Kybele was the daughter of Maion, a king of Lydia and Phrygia, and Dindyme. She fell in love with Attis, by whom she became pregnant. Attis was murdered by Maion and his body left unburied. Subsequently a plague fell on the country. To lift it, the Phrygians had to bury Attis and worship Kybele as a goddess. As the body of Attis had already vanished, an image was made, over which they mourned. This rite, says Diodoros, was practised to his day. At first, altars were set up to Kybele, but these were replaced in the reign of Midas by a temple at Pessinus, which he helped to adorn. The statue of the goddess was accompanied by lions and leopards, as she had been reared by these beasts when abandoned as an infant. According to the scholiast of the Alexipharmacace, Attis was a Phrygian shepherd who, as a result of his singing hymns to the Mother of the Gods, was loved by her. Zeus became jealous and sent a boar to kill him. He was mourned by the Phrygians in the spring. According to the "Lydian" tale of Pausanius, Attis was the son of the Phrygian Kalaoe. The Mother caused him to be sterile from birth.
When he grew up, he moved to Lydia where he established the rites of the Mother, and became so beloved of her that Zeus in jealousy sent a boar to kill him and other Lydians. This was the origin of the Galatian practice of abstaining from pork. Pausanias emphasises that this story was the one told by Hermesianax, and that a different one was told at Pessinous, which he then goes on to recount.49)

The résumé below of the Pessinuntine myth combines the stories of Pausanias and Arnobius, but passages where the authors diverge or add anything are bracketed.50)

(In Phrygia there was a huge rock called "Agdos" by the local inhabitants. Instructed by Themis, Deukalion and Pyrrha cast stones from it onto the depopulated earth. Thus the Great Mother was created. When she was asleep on the rock, Zeus tried to have intercourse with her, but spilled his seed on the ground. (Pausanias says that Zeus spilled his seed in his sleep). The rock bore prematurely a bi-sexual monster called Agdistis (who, in his strength and wildness upset both gods and men; Arnobius). The gods in their fear cut off Agdistis' male organs (according to Arnobius, Liber tied a noose around his genitals while he slept, having made him drunk by putting wine in the spring from which Agdistis drank, and attached the other end of the rope to a tree. When Agdistis rose, he castrated himself). From the blood sprang an almond tree with the nuts already ripe. These were picked by Nana, the daughter of Sangarics. When she put them in the fold of her dress they vanished and she became pregnant. (Her father shut her away to die of starvation, but she was fed by the Mother: Arnobius). The child she bore was exposed, but a goat kept him alive. (He was called Attis, either because the Lydians call handsome youths such, or because the Phrygians call goats "Attagoi": Arnobius). Agdistis fell in love with him, but Attis' relatives sent him to marry the daughter of the king of Pessinous (Midas, who closed...
the city gates at the time of the marriage to prevent anything untoward happening: Arnobius). The marriage hymn was being sung when Agdistis appeared. (The Mother knew the true destiny of Attis and that he would only be safe while unmarried. To enter the city, she lifted the walls up onto her head; as a result she is depicted with a mural crown). Agdistis drove Attis (and the crowd: Arnobius) mad and he castrated himself under a pine-tree (as did the bride's father: Pausanias. Arnobius says that a certain Gallos committed suicide). (The bride, whom the pontifex Valerius called Ia, committed suicide. From her grave sprang an almond tree: Arnobius). Agdistis regretted what she had done to Attis (The Mother carried the tree to her cave, where she mourned with Agdistis, beating her breasts: Arnobius). Agdistis asked Zeus not to allow Attis' body to decay. (According to Arnobius, Jupiter was asked to restore Attis to life. He refused, but granted that his body should not decay, that his hair should continue to grow and that his little finger should contigue to move. Agdistis was satisfied and dedicated Attis' body at Pessinous and established annual ceremonies and a priesthood in his honour).

Both "Lydian" and Pessinuntine tales are clearly aetiological. We need not examine here all the points they raise. However, we may note that the first type of the myth is concerned to explain the establishment of the cult of Kybele both in Lydia and Phrygia, with a centre in the latter region at Pessinous, the mourning of an effigy of Attis in a spring festival, the animals accompanying the statue of the Mother, and possibly the castration of the Galloi (the aition being that Attis was sterile from birth). We may note that Diodoros alone calls the goddess Kybele.

In the Pessinuntine tale, we may note first of all the local detail, especially the appearance of Nana, the daughter of the personified Sangarios, and that of Gallos
who bore the same name as a river at Pessinous. The
goddess is called Agdistis, as in the Phrygian in-
scriptions we have listed above. (Arnobius clearly
cannot accept that the castrated, and therefore female,
Agdistis should be equated with the Mother. In his
version the two therefore appear in parallel). The
principal motif in the story is the self-castration of
Attis. This clearly provided the aition for the cast-
ration of the Galloi. Hepding has pointed out that cast-
ration is, according to the principium talionis, the
proper punishment for adultery, of which Attis was, in
a sense, guilty, and that the introduction of adultery
as a motive for Attis' self-mutilation was a psychological
refinement which would have appealed to the literary
spirit of the Hellenistic age, in which this version of
the saga may well have taken shape\textsuperscript{51}). One is tempted to
attribute a major role in the refining of the myth to
Timotheos, who also helped Ptolemy I to establish the
new cult of Sarapis in Egypt\textsuperscript{52}).

M. Waelkens has suggested that the Galloi gave their
name to the river Gallos which flowed through Pessinous
and which formerly was called the Terias. He has also
argued that the enigmatic Gallos who is mentioned by
Alexander Polyhistor and Arnobius as having castrated
himself along with Attis and having settled by the river,
was the anonymous king of Pausanias' account. Arnobius
confused this version with a different one in which
Midas was the bride's father and king of Pessinous. It
seems clear that Gallos, a double of Attis, was the
prototype of the Galloi and explained their self-cast-
ration, their name and that of the river.

As was observed by Gruppe, Attis' death by a boar
has an obvious parallel in the similarly-caused death
of Adonis\textsuperscript{54}). Recently, P. Lambrechts has suggested that
the motif was in fact borrowed from the Adonis myth\textsuperscript{55}).
However, as Hepding observed, the motif seems to be an
old one in the Attis myth, as it appears to be alluded to by Herodotos\textsuperscript{56}. It also occurs in the tale of Idmon, the founder of Herakleia in Bithynia and Karmanor, son of Dionysos and Alexirrhoe\textsuperscript{57}.

The parallelism between the theogony of the Pessimantine myth and the "Phoenician theogony" was observed by Gruppe. It was rejected by Hepding, but nevertheless seems valid\textsuperscript{58}. The close connexion between the Greek theogony of Hesiod and those of the ancient Near East has been recognised and explored by a number of scholars\textsuperscript{59}. In the Greek theogony, Ouranos is overcome by Kronos, and Kronos and the Titans in their turn by Zeus. By Gaia Ouranos begot Kottos, Gyes, Briareus and Kronos, the Cyclopes and others. However, Ouranos feared his sons when they were born and forced Gaia to absorb them within herself again. To put an end to this, Gaia persuaded Kronos to castrate Ouranos with an adamantine sickle. From the blood Gaia conceived the Furies and Giants and the Meliai-ash-tree nymphs. From the genitals themselves came Aphrodite. Kronos, in his turn, would not tolerate the children whom his consort Rhea bore to him, having heard that they were destined to overthrow him. He therefore ate them as soon as they were born. Rhea appealed to her parents, Gaia and Ouranos, for their help in putting an end to this. When Rhea bore Zeus, Gaia received him in Crete and reared him, and Rhea gave Kronos a stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes to eat. Subsequently, Kronos vomited the stone. When Zeus grew to manhood, he released Kottos, Briareus and Gyes, whom Ouranos had bound, and with their help defeated Kronos and the rest of the Titans and cast them into Tartaros\textsuperscript{60}.

In a fragmentary Hurrian legend, we hear how Alulmu, the king of heaven, was defeated by the sky-god Anu. Anu reigned for nine years, but had his genitals bitten off by his son Kumarbi. However, Kumarbi swallowed three
gods. Two of them, Tasmis and the Tigris, he managed to spit out, but vomited the weather-god only after eating a "Kunkumuzzi stone". There is then a lacuna in the text. After a battle, the weather-god assumed power. In the sequel in the Song of Ullikummi, Kumarbi plots against the weather-god. He lies with a huge rock, which bears a stone child, Ullikummi. The child grows to such a size as to threaten the gods by disturbing communications. However, he has his feet cut through and is overthrown by the gods. The parallelism of Anu with Uranos, Kumarbi with Kronos, and the weather-god with Zeus is clear. In a text of the Hurrian legend from Ras Shamra, Kumarbi is given the Phoenician name El, whom the Greeks again equated with Kronos.

Another story which shares some of these motifs was recorded in the Phoenician History of Sanchumiaatha, translated into Greek by Hermnias Philo of Byblos and known to us mainly from Eusebius. In this story Elion (Hypsistos) has Ge for consort, on whom he begets El (Kronos), Baitylos, Dagon and Atlas. He also has children by other women. He tries to destroy Ge's children, but she manages to protect them until Kronos and Hermes Trismegistos drive him out. Kronos' rule turns out to be tyrannical. Ouranos makes war on him, but is castrated. As a result of a plague, Kronos sacrifices his only son to Ouranos, and he and his supporters castrate themselves.

The birth of Agdistis from the rock has its most obvious parallel in that of Ullikummi, although the father is in the first case Zeus, in the second Kumarbi / Kronos. The castration motif appears in all the theogonies, although not in exactly the same context as in the Agdistis story. The growth of the pomegranate-tree from the blood of the castrated Agdistis is paralleled in Hesiod's Theogony by that of the Melias from the blood of Ouranos. The self-castration of Attis may be adequately explained as providing an ation for the self-castration.
of the Galloi; no connexion need be sought with the castrations recounted in the theogonies. In addition to these similarities, one may note those observed by R. D. Barnett between a) the Phrygian myth of the self-castration of Agdistis, planned by Dionysos, leading to the creation of Kybele (or again Agdistis in Pausanias, Mother Agdistis in the inscriptions); b) the decapitation of Medousa ("the Queen", i.e. a form of the Mother?) by Perseus (= the Hittite war-god Pirura?) leading to the birth of the horse Chrysaor (probably a divinity, as there was a cult of Zeus Chrysaor in Karia) and of Pegasos; c) the decapitation of Humbaba, leading to the creation of Kubaba (?)\(^64\).

The question that, it seems, cannot be answered at the moment is the date of the appearance of the Agdistis-myth at Pessinus. The popularity of parallel tales elsewhere in Asia Minor, attested, for example, by the Perseus-types on coins of cities from Ikonion to the Kilikian coast, suggests that we may be dealing with localised variants derived from an archetype of high antiquity\(^65\). The nature of the archetype and the history of the development of the derivatives are unknown. However, the parallelism between the Pessinus theogony and the Song of Ullikummi suggests something similar to the latter as being the archetype. We know even less about the appearance of the Attis myth. Possible Hellenistic modifications of the Attis-myth at Pessinus have already been discussed in detail. Whether Timotheos also modified the theogony is unknown. He quite possibly introduced the Greek names Zeus, Ge and Dionysos.

Another question that must be discussed regarding the Phrygian cult of the Mother is that of the name "Kybele". We have already observed that it is well-nigh absent in inscriptions. The name of the western Anatolian goddess Kybaba or Kybebe was compared with that of the second millennium eastern Anatolian and northern Syrian
goddess Kubaba by W. F. Albright⁶⁶). The early history of Kubaba has been set out clearly by E. Laroche and need not be discussed further here⁶⁷). In the Late Hittite period the goddess became important as the "Queen of Carchemish". In the ninth to eighth centuries B.C., her cult burst through the Anti-Taurus and took root in the kingdom of Tabal, on the eastern frontier of Phrygia, where several reliefs attest her worship. From Tabal, Laroche assumes the cult continued to spread westwards, to Pessinous and Sardis, thence to the west coast of Asia Minor, where the goddess is assumed to be represented in small naikoi, the earliest of these being dated to c. 530 B.C.⁶⁸). There is the problem that none of the sculptures which constitute the Phrygian evidence for the cult can be dated before the end of the first quarter of the sixth century. However, a black-figure amphora in the British Museum, dated to soon after 550 B.C., depicts the goddess⁶⁹). A Lydian inscription mentioning the goddess is dated before 570 B.C.⁷⁰). The Siphnian frieze at Delphi, which depicts the goddess, is dated to c. 530 B.C.⁷¹). We are faced with the two difficulties of a chronological gap between the eighth century monuments around Kayseri and the sixth century Phrygian ones, and of an apparently very rapid spread westwards to Greece from Phrygia. A further problem, and a possible solution, is posed by the publication by M. Guarducci of a potsherd of the late seventh or early sixth century with the inscription γὰρ Κυβάλας . This comes from the Epizephyrian Lokroi. Guarducci has suggested that the cult came to Lokroi via the probably Kolophonian colony of Siris⁷²). Such a date requires the appearance of the cult in Ionia earlier than in Phrygia. However, Guarducci has observed that in this inscription we probably have the original form of the name with -α- in the second syllable, while the -γ- or -ε- normally found is due to Ionian influence. Now whereas the Lydian inscriptions attesting the name of the goddess have the original form
of the name, in the sole Phrygian inscription we have the form "Kubile", which is clearly derived from the Ionian form\(^7\). This suggests the idea that the cult of Kybele may have spread westwards, not overland, but by sea, probably by the agency of Greek traders, from North Syria to Ionia. Thence it travelled westwards to mainland Greece and to the colonies in Magna Graecia, and eastwards to Lydian and Phrygia. The cult must have reached Ionia before the end of the seventh century. It is to be found in Lydia before 570 B.C., and in Phrygia perhaps ten years later. At first, the eastern form of the name of the goddess persisted, but by the time the cult had reached Phrygia the Ionic form predominated. Such a hypothesis avoids the difficulty created for the overland theory by the chronological gap between the monuments in Tabal and Phrygia.

The Ionian trait observed in the archaic Phrygian statues are in keeping with the Ionian origin of the Phrygian cult just suggested. It seems that the introduction of the goddess was accompanied by the creation of numerous impressive monuments in her honour. Of the motivation for this sudden outburst of religious activity we are ignorant. However, we may conjecture that it was the use of religion as monarchical propaganda that produced the rock-façades at Midasšecri. We have already noted the relationships the Lydian kings claimed for themselves with the Mother\(^7\). Pausanias tells us that Pelops, the son of Tantalos (who had been a Lydian figure since the time of Xanthos), had his throne above the sanctuary of the Plastene Mother near Magnesia ad Sipylum\(^7\), and Broteas, another son, was the first to make an effigy of the Mother\(^7\). Now the earliest structural remains on the plateau above the façades at Midasšecri belong to buildings of some pretensions\(^7\). The site may well have been the seat of power of a sixth-century Phrygian dynasty, who bolstered his temporal

\(^7\) However,
power by residing on a hill sacred to the Mother, to whom he may have claimed to be related. This link between king and goddess may resolve a problem. On the plateau at Midas'- şehri are two thrones, side by side. Two thrones are again found above the façade at Kalchisar in Paphlagonia. It is reasonable to suggest that one throne was for a movable image of the goddess, placed there during festivals. Akurgal rightly rejected the idea that the other might be for Attis, who is unattested in archaic Phrygia. It is possible, in the light of Pausanias' testimony, that the other was for the temporal ruler. If this is correct, then what we have at Midas'- şehri is the expression of a Lydian rather than a Phrygian ideology. Given that the settlement flourished after the Phrygian national state had collapsed and had fallen under Lydian domination, this is not surprising. Western, Lydian domination would explain the Ionian traits in the cult.

The Phrygian statues have been discussed in detail by Akurgal, Haspels and Young, and there is no need to cover the ground again here. However, in view of the revised dating suggested above for the East Greek cult, it will be useful to reconsider some of the sculptural evidence from the Anatolian coast, and also from Marseilles (Massalia, founded by the Phocaean c. 600 B.C.). The most primitive East Greek representation of Kybele appears to be one of those published by S. Reinach from Kyme. The goddess sits in a naisskos and has a lion on her knee. The arms and legs of the figure are but poorly distinguished, and no folds are shown in the drapery. The figure may be compared with the earliest seated statue from the Sacred Way at Didyma, dated by G. Richter to 600–580 B.C. Of the Kybele reliefs from Marseilles assembled by Esperandieu, nine appear to be of a fairly primitive type, with legs undistinguished and no folds in the drapery. In these, however, the arms do stand out. In
all these cases, we are probably dealing with second-rank work not susceptible of close dating. Nevertheless, a date well before 530 seems quite possible. The naiskos in which the goddess is represented remains a problem. Akurgal has suggested a Phrygian origin\(^{84}\). However, as the earliest relief from Kyme does not necessarily post-date the Phrygian statues, and as the latter show other features of Greek art, one is tempted to suggest that the naiskoi in which they were placed reached Phrygia from the art of East Greece. The archaic relief of Kybele sitting on a throne in a naiskos, found at Ağa Hamam near Ilgın, was long ago compared with the East Greek reliefs by G. Mendel, who regarded it as a sign of Ionic influence deep in the interior of Asia Minor\(^{85}\). Haurell suggested an origin for Ionian cult-naiskoi in similar naiskoi from Egypt. It is tempting to find some of the inspiration for the Kybele naiskoi and rock-facades in the relief of the Plastene Mother, assigned by Akurgal to the thirteenth century B.C.\(^{86}\). Nevertheless, the fact that the cult of Kybele does not appear in Phrygia until the sixth century does not mean that there was no cult of the Mother in the area before that time. Hepat is depicted as a lion goddess in the Hittite sanctuary at Yazılıkaya and was probably worshipped in Phrygia. We have suggested that the theogony involving Agdistis known at Pessinus had probably developed over a long period. However, the new cult resulted in the crystallization in Greek art of the canonical type of the Mother—the goddess enthroned in a naiskos, sometimes with her cult-instruments, flanked by one or two lions. However, the new name for the goddess did not become universally popular. Apart from settling her iconography, the sixth century Kybele does not appear to have had any great effect on the goddess of Roman times.

We are unable, for lack of evidence, to say anything
about the rites with which most divinities were worshipped in Phrygia. However, a fair amount can be said about the Phrygian rites of the Mother and Attis, thanks to the relatively large quantity of literary evidence. In his description of the festival of the Mother seen by Anacharsis at Kyzikos, and later imitated by that traveller on his return to Scythia, Herodotos mentions a *pannychis, tympana* and *agalmata*. *Tympana*, together with the other familiar instruments of the cult, *auloi* and *krotola* are referred to in Homeric Hymn 14, while *kymbala* may be mentioned by Pindar. The two divine attendants of the Kybele statue from Boğazköy have *auloi* and a lyre; the latter instrument seems to have become uncommon in the cult. As Hepding has pointed out, Phrygian flute-melodies were regarded as specially fitted for mourning rites. The *agalmata* were probably the *prosthekhidia*, the sheet-metal reliefs of the goddess in a *naïskos*, of which a number have survived.

For further details of the festivals of the Mother we must turn to the Roman calendar of Philocalus, dated to A.D. 354. This gives an account of the major events in the annual "Phrygian" festival of Kybele and Attis, first allowed in public by Claudius, with its subsequent modifications. We may assume that the priests had from the first continued to practise the "Phrygian" rites in private. The development of the "Phrygian" festival in Rome has been thoroughly discussed by P. Lambrechts, and there is no need to cover all the ground again. The first event on the 15 March was "Carnea intrat". P. Cumont has suggested that this rite commemorates the exposure of Attis as an infant by the banks of the Sangarios. On the 22 March followed "Arbor intrat". Cumont again regarded the tree which had been cut down as representing the dead Attis. Diodoros, who at the beginning of his account of the myth of Kybele and Attis plainly states that he is repeating a local tale, says that to his day the Phrygians mourned an image of Attis in commemoration.
of the first time they did this, to get rid of a plague; his body, which they had been commanded by the oracle to bury, having disappeared. Now Diodoros died before the "Phrygian" cult was allowed in public at Rome by Claudius. When he speaks, therefore, of Phrygians performing this rite, he probably means Phrygians in their homeland, not in Rome. On 24 March is the entry "Sanguem". On this day was commemorated the self-castration of Attis. In their frenzied grief, the devotees of the Mother would gash their limbs, and some would go as far as to castrate themselves, thus becoming Galloi. We may be sure that this part of the festival was celebrated at Pessinous. In the calendar of Philocalus, the next event was the Hilaria (25 March). This commemorated the resurrection of Attis. As Lambrechts has pointed out, the deification of Attis (of which resurrection is a part) does not pre-date the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the earliest information for the Hilaria in fact comes under Severus Alexander. The Hilaria may therefore be omitted from the true "Phrygian" rites of the goddess. After a day of rest, there followed the lampadephoria and the lavatio (27 March). Hepding believed that this was a lustral bathing of the goddess after her Ιως ζυμος with the risen Attis. However, Lambrechts has shown that the ancient texts clearly state that the lavatio followed, and washed away the traces of, the blood and grief of the previous few days. Arrian states that this was a Phrygian custom. At Pessinous we may imagine that the washing took place in the Gallos. The festival of the Mother that was transferred from Phrygia to Rome therefore centred on the death of Attis and was one of mourning. If there had been any other important festivals of the Mother celebrated in Phrygia, we could expect these to have appeared in Rome also and to have been mentioned in the literary evidence.

Of the exact date of the festival of the Mother in
Phrygia we are not directly informed, except by the scholiast of the Alexipharmaca, who says it was in spring. He may, however, be working back from the Roman festival. We may guess that it was about the same time as that in Rome, but exactly how closely the dates corresponded we cannot be sure). The statement by Plutarch that the Phrygians believe that the god (unnamed) sleeps in winter and wakes up in spring is of no relevance here, as Attis never seems to have been, so far as the Phrygians were concerned, a god, and the spring festival, far from celebrating an awakening, celebrated Attis' death.

Hepding has observed that in the festival at Kyzikos no mention is made by Herodotos of Galloi. Likewise, none appear at Athens. He attributes the introduction of castration in the cult to "Semitic influence. Assuming that the festival that Herodotos describes is the spring one whose Phrygian form we have just attempted to reconstruct (and there is no reason to assume the existence of any other important ones) it would seem that Herodotos mentions only one part of it, the Panymchis or Lampadephoria. From an inscriptional mention of a college of θολάκται, priestesses of the Meter Plakiane, we may infer that the rite of lavatio also took place at Kyzikos, although unmentioned by Herodotos. It may be, therefore, that nothing can be deduced from Herodotos' silence, although, as Hepding points out, self-castration was the sort of outdated practice that would have appealed to his curiosity. However, Hepding also points more cogently to the absence of the castration-motif from some versions of the Attis myth. It may indeed be significant that the castration-motif only appears with certainty in the Pessimuntine version of the myth, where Galloi are known, and that in commenting on the cult of "Rhea Lobyne" and Attis at Kyzikos mentioned in the Alexipharmaca, the scholiast says that Attis was killed by a boar). We may suggest that had there been
Galloi at Kyzikos, the version of the myth according to which Attis met death by self-castration might have been expected to be current at Kyzikos and to have appeared in the scholium. The coins showing the castrated Attis from the reign of Antoninus Pius minted at Kyzikos may well simply reflect the myth current at Rome and the developments in the cult in that reign noted above, rather than any change in myth and cult-practice at Kyzikos. Although we may conclude that Herodotos' silence about Galloi at Kyzikos may be significant, his silence about other elements of the festival is less likely to be so. We have already observed that there is evidence for a lavatio. This should imply a festival of mourning, and indeed such mourning is mentioned in the scholium just considered, although it is not said explicitly to take place at Kyzikos.

Elsewhere in Phrygia, we find occasional mention of eunuch-priests. "Galloi" are mentioned by Strabo at Hierapolis, and an "archigallos" is attested epigraphically there. An archigallos is also mentioned in an inscription from Suwerek, where he was probably associated with the cult of the Zizimene Mother. The establishment of the archigallate in Rome seems to be connected with that of the "Imperial" taurobolia, but given the apparent lack of any other sign of a close relationship between the Roman cult of the Mother and those in Phrygia, there is no need to infer this in the case of the Phrygian archigalli.

In the same way that we were able to suggest from the apparent absence of Galloi at Kyzikos that the "Lydian" version of the myth was current there, it may be that we can infer that the archigallos from Suwerek would have quoted the "Pessinuntine" tale of Attis' self-castration as the aition for his self-mutilation. Pessinous was distant neither in space nor in culture. However, at Hierapolis we are much further away from
Pessinous, and much nearer to Karia, where eunuch-priests are also found in the cults of Hekate at Stratonikeia and Latina, and to Ephesus, where they again appear in the cult of Hekate\textsuperscript{104}). The goddess worshipped at Hierapolis is not necessarily to be recognised as the Phrygian Mother at all. "Kybele" does admittedly appear on coins of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Caradalla, but in the third century we also meet a Hygieia-type with \textit{tympanon}\textsuperscript{105}). Until we are surer of the nature of the goddess it will be better not to attribute myths to her on the grounds of the presence of eunuch-priests, especially when we know that other goddesses in the region, to whom we have no reason to attribute similar myths, were also served by eunuch-priests.

Outside Asia Minor, "Galloi" are attested in the cults of the Dea Syria and Aphrodite of Aphaca in Syria\textsuperscript{106}). According to Lucian, the "Galloi" of the Dea Syria had a mythical forerunner in Kombabos for their self-castration\textsuperscript{107}). We have already observed the parallelism between the Humbaba (Kombabos) story and the Pessinuntine theogony. In the same way as it is difficult to be sure of the origin of the myth, so it is with the institution of eunuch priesthood.

To conclude, then, we may say that there was probably a cult of the Mother in Phrygia, in some form or other, from the earliest times. At some unknown date she took on a role in a theogony similar to those known from the powerful second-millennium civilisations to the East. Likewise, at an unknown date, she had attached to her the legend of a youth, Attis, who loved her and perished for his love. Like some other Anatolian goddesses, she had in some places a priesthood of eunuchs. In the sixth century B.C., the cult of Kubaba / Kybele was imposed on a pre-existing cult of unknown importance. The new name, Kybele, did not become fashionable. On the other hand, her animal-attribute, the lion, did. Possibly
in the Hellenistic period, the story according to which Attis died as a result of self-castration assumed importance as providing an action for the self-castration of the Galloi. Following the politically-motivated adoption of the Pesinusuntine goddess in 204 B.C. as one of the protectresses of the Roman state, the initiative in the development of the cult lay in Rome, not in Asia Minor. Roman modifications of the cult were but weakly reflected in Phrygia, in occasional coin-types. The main concentrations of inscriptions and coins of the Roman period attesting the cult of the Mother are from the Highlands or the cities nearby, and the South-East of Phrygia. In both areas one would expect to find traces of pre-Phrygian culture. Unlike goddesses in other parts of Asia Minor, in Phrygia the Mother almost never has a divine paredros or divine propoloi. However, it is difficult to assess the importance of this difference or decide on its origin. We know too little about the religion of the European Phrygians to be able to attribute this difference, or any other facet of the cult of the Mother in Phrygia, to them with certainty. The distribution of the cult just observed suggests that it was probably the predecessors of the Phrygians, rather than the Phrygians themselves, who were the chief bearers of the cult in Phrygia. However, we may note somewhat tentatively that whereas outside Phrygia the great goddesses have names: Artemis, Anaeitis or Hipta / Hekate in Lydia, Hekate or Artemis in Karia, Leto in Lydia, Artemis in Pisidia, etc., in Phrygia the goddess is often anonymous; she merely has the title of "the Mother of such-and-such a place", although in the Maeander valley she is called Leto and Hekate, and Artemis in western Phrygia. Now the name Artemis found applied to goddesses in so many inscriptions in Lydia and Pisidia is probably derived from that of the great goddesses worshipped at Ephesus, Sardis and Perge. The virtual absence of the name from Phrygian inscriptions
may simply reflect the distance of the area from the major cult-centres of the goddess. However, the use of the names Leto and Hekate or Hipta in various parts of Asia Minor may represent local traditions going back to Hittite times at least. The absence of such old Anatolian names for the goddess in Phrygia may reflect a weakening of cultural continuity caused by the Phrygian invasion. The appellation Agdistis remains enigmatic. The derivation from "Agdos", "rock" preserved by Arnobius may simply be aetiological, the object being to equate Agdistis with the Ἁκτης. R. Guzman has recently suggested that the word is derived from the Hittite "antuhšaš" meaning "man". However, it is common in inscriptions only in the Highlands. The general distinction between Phrygia and the rest of Asia Minor in the naming of the goddess remains.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.


2) Meter Theon: BCH XXIV (1900), 409, no. 96, Bayat; Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia, nos. 98-9, Yeniköy - Göçenoluk; 102, Akoluk; 110, Sandıklı Özu; 115, Gülüllü Dere; 119-20, Turkmen Baba; AJA XXXVI (1932), 461, no. 20 (MAMA VII, no. 363), Sarıkaya; CIG 3993 (MAMA VIII, no. 297), Konya; MAMA I, no. 408, Guluşlu; ATH. MITT. XXII (1897), 31, no. 6, Surmene; ATH. MITT. XIII (1888), 237, no. 8, Ladik; ATH. MITT. XXII (1897), 38 f., no. 23 (IGRR III, no. 230), ATH. MITT. XXV (1900), 437, no. 63 (IGRR III, no. 225), Ballihisar. Haspels, op. cit., no. 116 from Gülullü Dere has the enigmatic dedication Μητριά: ἡ Ἑλληνιστική Ναὸς κτῆτος.

3) Meter Zizimene: MAMA I, no. 2, Suwerek; CR XIX (1905), 368, no. 1, Sizma; Rev. Phil. XXXVI (1912), 72 f., no. 45a, Sizma; ATH. MITT. XIII (1888), 237, no. 9 (MAMA I, no. 2d); AEM XIX (1890), 31, no. 10 (JHS XXII (1902), 342, no. 65); Rev. Phil. XXXVI (1912), 72 f., nos. 45 (JRS XIV (1924), 27, no. 4), 46; JHS XXII (1902), 341 f., nos. 64, 65a Konya; MAMA VII, no. 515, Çatak; CIG 3988 (IGRR III, no. 248); JHS XXXVIII (1918), 1301), 3994 (JHS XXXVII (1918), 138, IV), Kadin Han.

Minerva Zizimene: CIL III, 13638 (IGRR III, 1471; JHS XXXVIII (1918), 170, XIII); IGRR III, no. 260 (JHS XXXVIII (1918), 170)

Athena Zizimene: JHS XXXVIII (1918), 171.

Meter Dindymene: BCH XII (1888), 188, Artaki; MAMA VIII, no. 363 Çarlık Saray.


The Meter Theon Kra[t]o(u)smegalou should probably have her name restored so as to be identical to the Μητριά.
(1955), 122, Asar Ardi, near Cavdarhisar.


M. Tyraxene: JRS XVI (1926), 94, no. 228, Selçukler.

M. (no epithet): Haspels, op. cit., no. 121, Türkmen Baba.

M. ("""); Haspels, op. cit., no. 122, ""

M. ("""); Haspels, op. cit., no. 52, Kilise Orhanye.

M. ("""); JHS VIII (1887), 504, LXXIX, Eskişehir.

M. ("""); MAMA VIII, no. 2, Ladik.

5) MAMA V, no. 213 from Seyit Gazi / Nakoleia.

6) Strabo X, 3, 12, G469 (part of his "Theological Excursus").

7) Scholium on Nikandros, Alexipharmaca, 8; Apollonius Rhodius I, 1092 ff.


9) See footnote 4) above.

10) See footnote 3) above.

11) See footnote 4) above, and map.

12) Ladik/Laodikeia: MAMA I, no. 13; CIG 3994 (JHS XXXVII (1918), 138, iv).

Konya/Ikonion: AEM XIX (1890), 31, no. 10 (JHS XXII (1902), 342, no. 65) (hierarches); JHS XXII (1902), 341, no. 64 (archhierarches).

Yukarı Ağış Açık: MAMA VII, 257.

Midasşehir: MAMA VI, no. 394.


Örenköy (Viranköy): Ἑπάκας conjecturally resored in AJA XXXVI (1932), 454, no. 8, but not in the MAMA edition (vol. VIII, 396).

Ballihisar and Midaeion: Ath. Mitt. XXII (1897) 38 no. 23 (IGRR III, no. 230); Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 437, no. 63 (IGRR III, no. 225). The first inscription mentions a seat of the goddess at Midaeion. For priests in the second century B.C., see C.B. Welles, Royal Correspondence, 241ff., nos. 55-61.

13) On the Meter Lobra, see Nikandros Alexipharmaca 8 and schol.

14) See footnote 50) below.

15) Goddess with lions: MAMA I, nos. 2a and 13, Ladik; 2c, Kadin Han; MAMA VII, no. 475, Karanli Kale; MAMA VII, no. 6a, Nevine; *JRS* xv (1925), 167 ff. no. 159, pl. xxi, nos. 159a and 159b. Lion alone: *Rev. Phil.* XXXVI (1912), 72 ff., no. 45a.

16) On these early reliefs, see below, 131 and footnote 80, § 83).

17) Çatalhöyük: *Anat. St.* XIII (1963), 88, fig. 24 = pl. xxi b; 96-7, figs. 31-2 = pl. xxiv; *XIV* (1964), discussion, 73 ff. Hacilar, *Anat. St.* XI (1961), 54, fig. 14 = pl. ix a; 60, figs. 22-3 (=pl. xii and xiii respectively).

18) E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, pls 75 (lower), 76 (upper), 77. " " " , *The Art of the Hittites*; see also 111, fig. 19.

19) W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethischen Kunst*, 275-8, Karkemis F/76 (pl. 23 f); 275-81, Taimat X/1, Zinciri X/1 (pl. 70 a - Taimat); 285-6, Nimrud S/20, S/26 (pl. 69 f), with references to parallels in U-I Millennium BC. Near Eastern art.
20) MAMA V, no. 213 from Sıyıtgazi (prayer to Mother Kybele): traces of ox-head; ibid. no. 7 from Eskişehir (prayer to Meter Akreana); vine; ox-head; C.H.E. Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia I, no. 102 from Akoluk (prayer to Meter Theon): two ox-heads; ibid., no. 115 from Gullü Dere (dedication to children and prayer to Meter Theon): horns; MAMA VI, no. 390 from Midasşehir (prayer to Angdistis): two-handled amphora; two boukrania; ibid., no. 391 from Midasşehir (prayer to Angdistis): amphora; boukranion; ox and man; ibid., no. 395 from Midasşehir (prayer to Meter Thea Angdistis): amphora and corn-stalks; boukranion; ibid., no. 396 from Midasşehir (prayer to Thea Angdistis): two boukrania; ibid. no. 397 from Midasşehir (prayer to Meter Theon Angdistis): two boukrania; amphora; ibid. no. 398 from Midasşehir (prayer to Meter Thea Angdistis): grape-bunch, amphora, two boukrania; Haspels, op. cit., no. 9 from Midasşehir (prayer to Angdistis Thea): four pairs of horns; ibid. no. 10 from Midasşehir (prayer to Angdistis Thea): four pairs of horns, ox-head; ibid., no. 11 from Midasşehir (prayer to Angdistis Thea): ox-head; ibid. no. 12 from Midasşehir (prayer to Angdistis Thea): four pairs of horns, amphora, ox-head; JHS XIX (1899), 303, no. 237 from Kucuk Hasan (prayer to Meter Tetraprosopos): Boukrania at corners. Vine leaves and grape bunches also appear on AJA XXXVI (1932), 457 no. 13 (MAMA VII no. 100) from Agalar (dedication to Meter Andeirene).

21) See below, chap. Six, footnote 91

22) MAMA V, no. 213; JHS XIX (1899), 303, no. 237. Prayers ἡπιαὶ also occur on the following altar without the decoration: Haspels, op. cit., no. 99 from Yehikoy-Göçenoluk

23) Diodoros II, 46, 1.

24) Strabo XII, 2, 3, 535; XII, 2, 7, 537.

one from Karia and the other from Lydia.

25A) Any link between these oxhead reliefs and the Roman rite of the taurobolium must be hypothetical and if proved would be distant. As P. Lambrechts, "Les fêtes "phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis", Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome (1952), 157 f. and J.B. Rutter, "The three phases of the Taurobolium", Phoenix XXII (1968), 226 ff., have pointed out, the taurobolium was first incorporated into the rites of the Magna Mater by Antoninus Pius as a sacrifice for the safety of the emperor. In the few attestations of the rite known from before this time, it was performed on behalf of Athena and Vehus Caelestis, in other cases not on behalf of a goddess at all. Bull-sacrifices seem to have been appropriate to the Mother but we have no explicit evidence for them in Phrygia.

26) Aizanoi: (Kybele enthroned); Livia, B.M. Cat. 31, no. 57; Hadrian, ibid. 36, no. 99; Inv. Wadd. no. 5576; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 94; Gallienus, B.M. Cat. 43, no. 137; Imperial, B.M. Cat., 25, nos. 13-15 (M. Aurelius-Gallienus ?) SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 54. (II cent.-B.C.-Gallienus); SNG v. Aulock, no. 3339 (mid III cent. A.D.).

Akmonia: (Kybele enthroned); Hadrian, B.M. Cat. 12, no. 54; Inv. Wadd. no. 5497; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 31; SNG v. Aulock no. 3375; Julia Domna, B.M. Cat. 13, no. 62; Inv. Wadd., no. 5503; Caracalla, B.M. Cat. 15, no. 72; Inv. Wadd. no. 5507; Julia Mammeea, B.M. Cat. 18, no. 87; Inv. Wadd. no. 5519; Weber Cat. III, 482, no. 6982; Maximinus Thrax, B.M. Cat. 18, no. 90; Inv. Wadd. no. 5520; SNG v. Aulock, no. 3378.

Amorion: (turreted head on obverse; lion running to right on kerykeion on reverse); after 133 B.C., B.M. Cat. 47, nos. 6-7; Kl.M. I, 198, nos. 4-5.

Ankyra: (Kybele enthroned); Antoninus Pius, B.M. Cat. 62, no. 25; M. Aurelius, ibid. 63, nos. 30-1; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. nos. 140-1; SNG v. Aulock, no. 3435; Inv. Wadd. no. 5643; Septimius Severus, B.M. Cat. 64, no. 40; Inv. Wadd. no. 5648; Geta, Inv. Wadd. no. 5653; Otacilia Severa, B.M. Cat. 67, nos. 50-2; Inv. Wadd. no. 5655; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 145; SNG v. Aulock no. 3447.
Appia: (Kybele enthroned); Trajan, B.M. Cat. 107, no. 5.

Dokimion: (City-goddess or Kybele); Agrippina Junior, B.M. Cat. 190, no. 16.
(cult-statue of Kybele standing between two lions); Claudius, B.M. Cat. 190, nos. 14-5; Inv. Wadd. no. 5963; Nero, B.M. Cat. 191, no. 18; Inv. Wadd. no. 5954; Faustina Junior, B.M. Cat. 192, no. 23; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 358; SNG v. Aulock, no. 3550.
(Kybele standing beside Mt. Persis); Macrinus, B.M. Cat. 193, no. 29; Weber Cat. III, 508, no. 7085; SNG v. Aulock no. 3554.
(Kybele riding on the back of a lion); M. Aurelius, B.M. Cat. 191, no. 21; SNG v. Aulock no. 3549; Lucius Verus, B.M. Cat. 192, no. 25; Caracalla, B.M. Cat. 192, no. 26; Gordian III, SNG v. Aulock, no. 3556.

Dorylaeon: (Kybele enthroned); Vespasian, B.M. Cat. 195, no. 1; Trajan, B.M. Cat. 195, nos. 5-6; Sabina, Kl. M. I, 226, no. 2; Commodus, Inv. Wadd. no. 5970; SNG v. Aulock no. 3559; Elagabalus, SNG v. Aulock no. 3563.
(Kybele riding on the back of a lion); Philip Junior, Inv. Wadd. no. 5980.

Eukarpeia: (Kybele enthroned); M. Aurelius as Caesar, B.M. Cat. 206, no. 16.
(Artemis with bow and stag, accompanied by a small cult-statue of Kybele); Augustus, B.M. Cat., 205, no. 13; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. 367; Hadrian, B.M. Cat., 203, no. 2; time of Marcus Aurelius, B.M. Cat., 204, nos. 6, 11; Geta Caesar, B.M. Cat., 207, nos. 18-9; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 371; Inv. Wadd. no. 5996; time of Septimius Severus or later, B.M. Cat., 205, no. 12; Maximinus Thrax, SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 372; SNG v. Aulock no. 3578; Volusian, B.M. Cat., 210, nos. 31-3; SNG Dan. Nat. no. 376; SNG v. Aulock no. 3581; Inv. Wadd., no. 6007; II-III cents. A.D., SNG v. Aulock no. 3577; quasi-autonomous, Inv. Wadd., no. 5988.
(Kybele standing to front with long chiton, kalathos, veil and peplos; to her right, a lion seated); Sabina, B.M. Cat., 206, no. 15; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 369; Maximus Caesar, B.M. Cat., 208, no. 26.
(Kybele standing to front between 2 lions); Sabina, Kl. M. I, 227, no. 1; Inv. Wadd., no. 5994; Maximus, Inv. Wadd., no. 6003.

ImMoof-Blumer, Kleinasiatische Münzen I, 228, no. 3, interprets the small figure depicted in the second type as an archaic cult-statue of Artemis rather than Kybele. I suggest that we are probably dealing with a local Mother, hellenised by the Greek settlers of Eukarpelia as Artemis. The frequency of the second type in particular suggests a local cult, but other evidence is lacking.

Eumelia: (Kybele enthroned); Agrippina Junior, B.M. Cat., 217, nos. 44-6; Imperial times, Inv. Wadd., no. 6017; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 383.

Hierapolis: (Kybele enthroned); Trajan, B.M. Cat., 250, no. 131 Kl. M. I, 241, no. 30; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 457; M. Aurelius, SNG v. Aulock, no. 3657; Caracalla, Inv. Wadd., no. 6162; imperial times, Inv. Wadd., nos. 6101, 6104.

Hierapolis: (Kybele enthroned); Faustina Junior, B.M. Cat., 268, no. 15; Inv. Wadd., no. 6189; Weber Cat. III, 519, no. 7125; Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 268, no. 17; Elagabalus, Inv. Wadd., no. 6192; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 479.

Ikonion: (Kybele enthroned); Vespasian, Inv. Wadd, no. 4764; Titus and Domitian Caesars, B.M. Cat. Lycaonia etc., xxii f.

Julia: (Kybele enthroned); Faustina Junior, Inv. Wadd., no. 6205; Cornelia Supera, B.M. Cat., 277, no. 6.

Kadoi: (Kybele enthroned); time of Septimius Severus (?), B.M. Cat., 116, no. 3; time of Gordian, B.M. Cat., 118, no. 10; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 244; II or III cents. A.D., SNG v. Aulock no. 3681; undated, Inv. Wadd. nos. 5772-3; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 233.

Kidyessos: (Kybele enthroned); Domitian, B.M. Cat., 150, no. 4; Kl. M. I, 259, no. 1; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 307; Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 151, no. 7; Inv. Wadd., no. 5851; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 308; SNG v. Aulock no. 3760.

Kotiaeion: (Kybele enthroned); Agrippina Junior, B.M. Cat., 164, nos. 31-2; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 321-2; time of Galba- Vespasian, B.M. Cat., 158, nos. 1-3; Weber Cat. III, 504, no. 7071; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 313; Domitia, B.M. Cat.
165, no. 39; Inv. Wadd. no. 5897; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 323; time of Commodus, B.M. Cat., 158, no. 4; Geta, Kl. M. I, 262, no. 3; Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 167, no. 48; Inv. Wadd. no. 5901; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. nos. 327, 329; Philip Senior, B.M. Cat., 174, no. 80; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., no. 333; time of the Philips and later (?), B.M. Cat., 159, nos. 6-8; SNG v. Aulock, no. 3772; Valerian, B.M. Cat., 176, no. 191; time of Valerian, B.M. Cat., 161, nos. 14-6; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 316; SNG v. Aulock no. 3773; imperial, Inv. Wadd. nos. 5881-5, 5887-9; alliance coin with Ephesos under Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 180, nos. 107-8.

(Kybele standing); Caracalla, Inv. Wadd. no. 5902 (B.M. Cat., 168, no. 50) (Kybele enthroned in a car drawn by lions); Philip Senior, B.M. Cat., 173, nos. 74-5; Inv. Wadd. no. 5917; SNG v. Aulock no. 3786; Valerian, B.M. Cat., 178, nos. 97-101; Inv. Wadd. nos. 5923-4; Weber Cat. III, 505, no. 7076; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 336-7; SNG v. Aulock no. 3792.

(Kybele enthroned in a car drawn by lions with agonistic urns on a table on their heads); Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 169 f nos. 49, 53; Severus Alexander, B.M. Cat., 171, nos. 65-7; Philip Senior, B.M. Cat., 174, no. 78; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 332; SNG v. Aulock no. 3787.

(Kybele riding on a lion); Valerian, B.M. Cat., 177, nos. 92-3; Inv. Wadd. nos. 5925-6; Gallienus, B.M. Cat., 179, no. 105; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 342; SNG v. Aulock no. 3794.

(Herakles holding a statuette of Kybele); Severus Alexander, B.M. Cat., 170, no. 63; time of Gallienus, ibid., 162, nos. 18-9.

Laodikeia on the Lykos: (Kybele standing); M. Aurelius, Kl. M. I 271, nos. 42-3; Inv. Wadd. no. 6287.

(Kybele enthroned); Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 319, no. 236; Inv. Wadd. no. 6304.

Laodikeia Katakakeumene: (Kybele enthroned); Titus and Domitian as Caesars, B.M. Cat., xxii f; Inv. Wadd. no. 4779; Maximinus, Inv. Wadd. no. 4780; Philip Senior, Inv. Wadd. no. 4782.

Lysias: (Kybele enthroned); M. Aurelius, Inv. Wadd. no. 6329; Gordian III, B.M. Cat., 332, nos. 5-9; Inv. Wadd. no. 6330; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 618; SNG v. Aulock no. 3881.

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Metropolis: (Kybele enthroned); Philip I, SNG v. Aulock no. 3883; Inv. Wadd. no. 6333; Trajan Decius, Inv. Wadd. no. 6335.

Midaion: (Kybele enthroned); Caracalla, SNG v. Aulock no. 3889; Maximus Caesar, B.M. Cat., 338, no. 16; Inv. Wadd. no. 6344

Okokeia: (Kybele enthroned); Gordian III - B.M. Cat. 342, nos. 7-8; SNG v. Aulock 3900-1; Kl. M. I, 280, no.

Otrous: (Kybele enthroned); Geta, B.M. Cat., 344, nos. 9-10.

Peltai: (Kybele standing); Kl. M. I, 285, no. 7.

Prymnessos: (Kybele enthroned); Julia Domna, B.M. Cat., 366, no. 30; Inv. Wadd. no. 6426; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 669; imperial times, B.M. Cat., 363, nos. 11-14; Inv. Wadd. no. 6419; Weber Cat. III, 533, no. 7171; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. no. 661; SNG v. Aulock no. 3935.

Sebaste: (Kybele enthroned); Julia Domna, B.M. Cat., 374, no. 32; Kl. M. I, 288, no. 6; Inv. Wadd. no. 6483; Gordian III, B.M. Cat., 376, nos. 39-40; Inv. Wadd. no. 6485; SNG v. Aulock no. 3953; imperial times, B.M. Cat., 369, no. 4; Inv. Wadd. no. 6469.

Stektorion: (Kybele enthroned); imperial times, Inv. Wadd. no. 6496.

Trajanopolis: (Kybele enthroned); time of Hadrian, SNG Dan. Nat Mus. no. 760; Trajan to Caracalla, B.M. Cat., 426, nos. 7-9; Caracalla to Gordian, B.M. Cat., 427, nos. 16-18; Inv. Wadd. no. 6583.

Koinon of the Hyrgaleis: (Kybele enthroned); Julia Domna, B.M. Cat., 275, no. 8; time of Severus Alexander, SNG v. Aulock no. 3676.

27) See footnote 25A) above.


29) On the sanctuaries of the Mother at Aizanoi, see the references cited in footnote 13) above.
30) See footnote 12) above.

31) See footnote 3) above. The question is briefly discussed in CR XIX (1905), 368.

32) Herodotos IV, 76. See also the scholia on Nikandros, Alexipharmaca, 11. 6-8. The epigraphic and sculptural evidence is listed by Schwenn, "Kybele", RE XI (1922), 2287, s.v. Kyzikos and W. Drexler, "Meter", ML II (1890-97), 2852 ff., s.v. Kyzikos.

33) Pessinous: II - I centuries B.C.: B.M. Cat. Galatia etc., 18, nos. 1-2 (bust of Kybele); SNG v. Aulock, 14 heft, Galation, nos. 6205 (busts of Attis and Kybele), 6206 (bust of Kybele); Inv. Wadd. nos. 6649 - 6652 (bust of Kybele); no. 6653 (bust of Kybele, obverse; bust of Attis, reverse).
We may also note here SNG v. Aulock, 14 heft, no. 6207 with an obverse type of Attis with crescent on his shoulders.


35) P. Lambrechts, Attis: van Herdesknaap tot God. The argument is summarised in the French résumé, 61 ff.

Περί Ἑνυμμυνας θερής ἀλλοι τε περὶ ἀλλων ἀληθειῶν περὶ
τινος καὶ θερής γενετερί δοκοῦντων παραδοτες ἡτανης
ολι ξηλιών ὤπι.

37) Π. Λαμβρέχτς, art. cit. (footnote 25A) above), 149 ff.
38) Pausanias VII, 17, 5 (Dyme); 20, 2 (Patrai).
39) On the Mother and her Ἐνυμμυνας outside Phrygia, see above,
Chapter Three.
40) H. von Fritze, "Der Attiskult in Kyzikos", Nomisma IV (1909),
33 ff.
41) See footnote 33) above.
42) H. Hepding, Attis, 98 ff.
43) H. Hepding, Attis, 121.
44) Catullus, LXIII; Ovid, Metamorphoses, X, 103 ff, Fastes IV
221 ff; Statius, Silvae I, 5, 36 ff.; Martial, Epigramma II,
86, 4f; Arnobius adversus nationes V, 5-7. These texts are
assembled by Hepding, Attis, 13 ff., 18 ff., 23 ff., 37 ff.
45) Pausanias VII, 17, 5.
46) Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Γάλλος. Γάλλος ποταμός Φρυγίας οἱ
περίοικοι καὶ τῶν Τιμόθεων Ποταμογαλητίων, καὶ τῶν Προμενίδων
Ποταμογαλητών, οἱ περίκτισι χάρις τῶν Φρυγίων. Καὶ τῶν
Φρυγίων καὶ τῶν Αττικῶν ἀναποκών τῷ αἰδοῖν καὶ τῶν μὲν
Γάλλων ἀλεθέως ἐπὶ τῶν τυχίων ποταμών καὶ ἔκθεσιν, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν
Γάλλων καλέσας: ἐπὶ ἐκείνου γὰρ τοὺς τομομελένους τῷ αἰδοῖν γάλλων
καλέσαν.
47) Diodorus Siculus III, 58.
48) Scholium on Alexipharmac of Nikandros, 8.
49) Pausanias VII, 17, 9.
50) Pausanias VII, 17, 10 - 12. Arnobius adversus Nationes V,
5 - 7. The sources cited in the last four footnotes are
assembled in H. Hepding's collection of sources in his work
Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult.
51) H. Hepding, ibid., 218: "Eine psychologisch feinere Weiter-
bildung ist es, wenn in der Üblichen Sagenform Attis der
Göttermutter wegen eine Nymphe untreu wird und dann zur Strafe
von ihr in Raserei versehlt sich selbst entmannt."


53) M. Waalkens, "Pessinonte et le Gallos", Byzantion XLI (1971), 359 ff (Gallos King of Pessinous), 364 ff (Gallos and the Galloi). Midas appears as the founder of the temple of Kybele at Pessinous in Diodorus. According to Theopompos (apud Ammianus Marcellinus XXII, 9, 7) he gave Pessinous its name. Hyginus Fabulae 191 and 274 calls Midas the son of Kybele. Koerte, "Kleinasiatische Studien", Ath. Mitt. XXIII (1898), 97, believed that this Midas was an ancient Phrygian god, brought by the Phrygians from Europe, who came to be accepted in the circle of the Mother. There seems no reason to suppose that the legendary Midas could not have had his origin in the real Phrygian king, who, being the most memorable Phrygian figure, had numerous deeds falsely attributed to him. There is in fact no firm evidence for a god Midas. Hyginus' affiliation of Midas to Kybele does admittedly suggest that the goddess was involved in the ancestry of the Phrygian monarchy, but this tradition sounds like the borrowing of a Lydian idea (see above, Chapter Three, 93). The tradition involving Zeus Basileus (on whom see below, Chapter Six, 236f.) in the establishment of the Phrygian monarchy is much stronger.


55) P. Lambrechts, De Fenomenologische Methode in de Godsdienst- wetenschap, 42.

56) Herodotos I, 34 - 45, cited by Hépding, ibid.


58) Gruppe, Griechische Kulte und Mythen I, 513 ff; H. Hépding,


64) R.D. Barnett, *art. cit.* (fn. 61), esp. 149.


We have no evidence for Pessinous at this time. On Kybele at Sardis, see Herodotos V, 102. A votive of Naïskos of Kybele (?) has been found during recent excavations; M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", AJA LXVIII (1964), 164 and pl. 52, 18 – 19 (mid VI cent.?)

69) K. Schefold, "Statuen auf Vasenbildern", JdI LII (1937), 30 ff., especially 38 and pl. v (CVA III He, plate 35, 2a): "bekleidete Kultbild in einem Bau auf Basis, zwei ionischen Säulen und Architrav dargestellt, über dem ein Lüwe sich nach rechts zum Sprunge duckt". I am grateful to Mr. B.B. Shefton for bringing this representation to my attention.

70) See below, footnote 73).


73) E. Littmann, Sardis VI, I; Lydian Inscriptions, 43, A, a: Kufad-; R. Gusmani, "Der lydische Name der Kybele", Kadmos VIII (1969), 158 ff. reads Κωνών- on a graffito on a jug to be dated before 570 B.C. Gusmani casts doubt on the final -d of the name in the first inscription; λ(ν) can be read as well as λ(δ). Phrygian inscription from Ayazin: J. Friedrich, Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler, 126, no. 9: μοιραί Κυβελή(ς)-

74) See above, Chapter Three.

75) Pausanias V, 13, 7.

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78) Midasshrī thrones: E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst*, 97 and fig. 55, pl. 44; *idem* Kunst Anatoliens, no HAND pl. 74; Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia I, 94 ff. and pls.

Kalehisar thrones: E. Akurgal, *ibid.* 100 and pl. 55.


80) E. Akurgal, Kunst Anatoliens, 85 ff.; Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia I, 73 – 111; R.S. Young, *AJA* 76, 4 (1972), 446. I follow Young's dating of the religious monuments at Midasshrī.

81) S. Reinach, *art. cit.* (footnote 72), pl. viii, Right.

(E. Akurgal, Kunst Anatoliens, pl. 89).


83) E. Esperandieu, *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine I*, 46 ff., nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 19, 20.

84) E. Akurgal, Kunst Anatoliens, 242.


86) Haurell, "Naiskos", *RE XVI*, 2 (1935), 1589. On the sanctuary of the Plastene Mother, see above, footnote 76.

87) Herodotos IV, 76; Dioskorides, *Anth. Pal.* VI, 220, 5;
Pindar frag. 61 Bowra, 1. 9; Rhianus Cretensis, Anth. Pal. VI, 173, 1; Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica VIII, 239-42, mentions "festae...taedae".

88) **Tympanon:** Homeric Hymn XIV, 3 ; Euripides Bacchae 58, 128.  
**Auloi:** Homeric Hymn XIV, 5 ; Euripides, Bacchae 128.  
**Kymbala:** The passage of Pindar quoted by Strabo X, 3, 13 (Loeb edn.) has kymbala. The same passage in Bowra's edition (frag. 61, 1. 7) has tympana.  
**Krotala:** Homeric Hymn XIV, 3 ; Pindar frag. 61 Bowra, 1. 8.


90) H. Hepding, Attis, 128.


92) F. Cument, Les Résidences orientales dans le Paganisme romain, 52-3.


94) For the reforms of Claudius, see P. Lambrechts, "Les fêtes Phrygiennes etc.", 147 ff.

95) P. Lambrechts, "Les fêtes Phrygiennes, etc.", 159 ff.

96) H. Hepding, Attis, 216.

97) P. Lambrechts, ibid. 166 ff.

98) Arrian, Taktika, 33, 4: "καὶ ὀς λαυρᾶν ἐτήν, ἢ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πυθῶν λήμνοτα τῶν φρυγίων νόμου λόγωι.

99) Scholium in Nikandros, Alexipharmaca, v. 8: "ὅτι κατ' οἰκονομώμεν' αὐτόν ἔθεθεν, οὐ δὲ φράγης καὶ ὁ ἅπαξ ἐπηρρυθμήν αὐτὸν.

100) Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride LXIX.

101) H. Hepding, Attis, 217.

102) *OIG* 3657.


105) See footnote 26) above.

*Hygieia*: *B.M. Cat.*, 236, nos. 57-9; 242, no. 86; 254, no. 153 (Ostacilia Severa); *SNG v. Aulock*, nos. 3626-7; *KL. M. I*, 236 f. 8-10.

Compare also the Demeter types: *Inv. Wadd.* 6128, 6163 (Caracalla), 6172 (Philip the elder).

*Hekate*: *B.M. Cat.*, 236, nos. 55-6; *SNG v. Aulock* 3649 (Agrippina); *KL. M. I*, 235, no. 3; 241, no. 29 (Vespasian), 242, no. 36 (Philip).

106) Nock, *ibid*.


108) Leto: *MAMA* IV, no. 314, Bekilli; *JOAT* XXIII (1926), Beibl., 309 f.; relief of Leto (?), Isparta; *MAMA* IV, no. 295, Bahadînlar.

Hekate: See the list in *JRS* XVI (1926), 88, to which add *MAMA* XX, no. 402, a triple Hekate from Emir Dağ.


CHAPTER FIVE: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF SABAZIOS.

A study of Sabazios carries with it implications for two much wider subjects, the relationship of the Phrygians to the peoples of Thrace and Macedonia, whence they came, and to their new neighbours in Asia Minor. For the basic contradiction contained in the literary evidence, which assigns Sabazios both a Thracian and a Phrygian origin, has been explained by scholars from Rapp to Nilsson by the theory that the god was imported into Anatolia by the Phrygians at the time of their migration from Europe to Asia. Such a position has the support of Stahle, who explained the similarities in religious rites that had been observed between Thrace and Asia Minor by the Thracian origin of the Phrygians. In Anatolia, Sabazios is supposed to have been assimilated to the native Attis. It is the Anatolian or Phrygian cult about which we are best informed, and the god has frequently been called simply "Phrygian" by both ancients and moderns. This imbalance in the evidence led Eisele to reject the generally-held theory, and instead to suggest that Sabazios may have been a pre-Phrygian Anatolian god imported into Thrace at a relatively early date.

The inscriptions in Anatolia which mention the god are restricted to Bithynia, Pergamon, Sardis, the district of Maonia, Plarasa, Mylasa, the Phrygo-Pisidian borderland, and Tlos. None come from the heart of Phrygia itself, and no evidence has ever been brought forward to show that the cult died out in Phrygia while surviving in the places listed above. It is certainly possible to argue that Maonia and the Phrygo-Pisidian borderland constituted culturally conservative areas, in which the cult could have survived in isolation, and that Mylasa and Plarasa were situated in yet another such area - Karia. However, the problem would then be raised why this
one sign of Phrygian culture should survive in otherwise non-Phrygian areas. Moreover, one could reasonably expect the cult to have survived also in the Phrygian Highlands, another conservative area, if the god had indeed been Phrygian\(^7\). Rather, the distribution of the cult, in an arc encircling Phrygia to the West, appears to support Eisele's suggestion of a pre-Phrygian god\(^8\). However, no trace of the god has ever been recognised in Hittite or Late Hittite material, as might be expected if Eisele were correct. Another possible interpretation of the distribution of the inscriptions is that Sabazios was an immigrant from the West, whose cult failed to penetrate Phrygia.

The origins of the Phrygo-Pisidian and Maionian cults of Sabazios will be dealt with first. These cults may be adequately explained as survivals of that introduced into Pergamon by Stratonike, the wife of Rumenes II and later of Attalos II, from Kappadokia, and officially adopted there\(^9\). The inscriptions from south-western Phrygia\(^10\) lie on or near the road from Laodikeia on the Lykos to Attaleia, the Pamphylian port founded by Attalos II\(^11\), whence, appropriately, a bronze "Sabazios hand" is said to come\(^12\). The possibly second century B.C. civic cult of the god at Tlos in Lykia must be explained as an offshoot of that in Attaleia\(^13\).

From the Phrygo-Pisidian borderland, there is some evidence, which, while not conclusive, supports this theory. In the lists of mystai of Sabazios and other associated inscriptions preserved for us, the name Attalos is overwhelmingly the most frequent non-Anatolian name\(^14\). It is reasonable to suggest that the bearers of this name preserved the memory of men settled by the Attalid kings to safeguard the routes from their kingdom, past the kingdom of Kibyra, to their new port on the Pamphylian coast, and who had taken the king's name. In addition, at least two Thracian or Macedonian names, Daos
and Seuthes, appear in these lists and in other inscriptions of the Roman period from the same area\(^{15}\). Again, the ancestors of the bearers of these names may have been Attalid settlers. L. Robert has drawn attention to the importance of Macedonians in Attalid colonies, and to the appearance of the Macedonian shield, frequent on the coins of Macedonian colonies, on osteothekai and sarcophagi from Pisidia\(^{16}\). The original military colonists could be expected to maintain faithfully the worship of their rulers' gods. Given their isolated situation, it is not surprising that the cult survived among their descendants.

Maionia presents a similar picture of Attalid occupation. There, the god is attested in inscriptions from the city of Maionia, Gülde, Kula, Sandal, Uşakmuğ, 'Ayaşwaran, and on the borders of the district from Sardis, Philadelphia, Koloe and Blaundos\(^{17}\). Of these, Philadelphia was an Attalid foundation, while Blaundos received at some time a colony of Macedonians and would have been a settlement of importance. Sardis was a major centre of the kingdom, and the dedication by Menophilos, priest of Zeus Sabazios and a member of the royally-named tribe Bumeneis, to Bumenes II, shows the high status of the cult there, presumably reflecting its status in Pergamon. Near the city of Maionia, soldiers are attested at Emre under the Pergamene kingdom\(^{18}\).

Neither Mylasa nor Flarasa were in the kingdom of the Attalids. The cults in these two cities are probably best regarded as the result of the extension of the prestige of the god beyond the limits of Attalid rule\(^{19}\). If we may anticipate the conclusion that is reached below, that the cult of Sabazios spread from Thrace to Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period (with the possible exception of Bithynia, where the cult may be earlier), it could be suggested that the cult at Mylasa was introduced
when the colony of Eupolemos was established there in 314 B.C. The fact that the colony was a Macedonian one would support the theory. In judging between the possibilities, all that can be said is that this theory is, for the moment, pure conjecture, as there is no actual evidence for a pre-Attalid cult of Sabazios in western Anatolia, while the establishment and spread of the Attalid cult are matters of fact. It is, therefore, more economical to regard the cult in Mylasa as an extension of the Pergamene one.

Eisele, followed by Schaefer, has cited some cistophori minted at Laodikeia an the Lykos, Apameia and Symmada as evidence for a Phrygian cult of Sabazios. A small head depicted on the reverse of one coin is supposed by Eisele to be wearing the pointed cap normally worn by Sabazios. E. V. Head, describing the coin, speaks of the turreted head of a city-goddess. Eisele also compares the Kerykeion on the reverse of other cistophori with that depicted on a votive hand and on bronze reliefs showing the god. If one could be certain that these coins, with their depiction of the cista mystica and snakes, did refer to the cult of Sabazios, then the representation of the kerykeion might be significant. However, no such connexion has been established, and we are not compelled to assume that the kerykeion has any more relevance to the main motifs of the coin than, for example, do the little representations of Artemis on the cistophori minted at Ephesus.

The cista and snakes depicted on these coins are normally said to be Dionysiac, but the case appears never to have been argued in detail. The cista mystica and snakes are attested both in the cults of Dionysos and Sabazios. The small representations of Dionysos that appear on the reverse of some coins need not imply that the main motifs were Dionysiac, for other divinities, for example Artemis, as noted above, also appear. Some
cistophori minted at Pergamon depict a snake-entwined thyrsos. This snake must be Dionysiac, and to distinguish it from Sabazian snakes in the rest of the design seems excessively subtle. Other coins showing the cista in close association with a thyrsos and panther-skin imply that the cista should also be regarded as Dionysiac. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the ivy-wreath encircling the obverse design is Dionysiac, as ivy does not appear in the worship or iconography of Sabazios.

Eisele attempted to support his argument that the cistophori are Sabazian by citing the appearance of these coins as the chief currency of Pergamon at about the same time as the introduction of the cult of the god. However, the date of the cistophoric coinage is now in doubt, and could be as late as about 166 B.C.

The emphasis given to Sabazios' Phrygian origin depends not so much on the epigraphic and numismatic as on the literary evidence, and it is to this that we must now turn. The earliest testimonies are those of Aristophanes. In the Aves, performed in 414 B.C., Sabazios is mentioned together with the Great Mother of the Gods, with a pun on the words φωλικός and φωλικός (ll. 873ff). The scholiast on line 876 says that the Phrygians call Ἄμολος, ὁπικάλος and consequently call Dionysos Sabazios. They also call Bacchoi and the sacred places of Sabazios "Saboi". The various identifications made here were adopted by the scholiast of the Lysistrata, Plutarch and the lexicographers. In the Horae, Aristophanes mocks τὸν φωλικόν, τὸν Ναυληράμ, τὸν Ναυληράμ. The god is also mentioned in the Vespae, produced in 422 B.C. (on which see further below) and the Lysistrata (411 B.C.).

By the later fifth century, therefore, according to the literary evidence, Sabazios had arrived in Athens, was associated with the Great Mother of the Gods and was
said to be Phrygian. The important question of his relationship to Dionysos, already opened by some of the sources quoted above, will be dealt with below when the rest of the evidence will be considered. In assessing the value of Aristophanes' statements, we must remember that he was a comic poet, and therefore cannot be assumed to be telling the simple truth. In the passage in the *Aves*, it is reasonable to suggest that his description of Sabazios as φρυγικός (that is, φρυγικός) may have been influenced by his association with Kybele, who is mentioned a few lines later and was generally recognized as being Phrygian. In the *Horae*, although only a fragment is preserved, the poet's sneering tone is clear, and presumably reflects the Athenian's disdain for the Asiatic "barbarian". This time, Sabazios is probably Phrygian *qua auletæ*. The aulos again was associated with Kybele. These arguments are supported by the scene depicted on a crater from Valle Trebbia, which has been convincingly interpreted by E. Simon as representing Kybele and her younger *pamedros* Sabazios seated side by side in a *naisskos*, surrounded by a crowd of ecstatic worshippers who carry, *inter alia*, Kymbala, *tympana* and *auloi*. All these instruments belong to the cult of Kybele. They continued to be associated with Sabazios, being represented on some of the bronze hands dedicated to him in the Roman period. It seems, therefore, that while Sabazios was undoubtedly associated with the Phrygian Kybele, and borrowed elements of her worship, he need not be Phrygian himself except by this association. A century later, the cries *αυδα* and *ὑπ᾿ ἄνησ* are quoted by Demosthenes in his description of the rites of Sabazios in the *de Corona*. Of these cries, Strabo says *κα不断地 γὰρ ἢ τὸν Σαβάζαντι καὶ Μηράζια*. The geographer also comments καὶ ἐν Σαβάζιας εἰς τὸν Φρυγικὸν ἢ τὸν *τρέπον τινα τῆς Μηράζας τὸ πυξίν περαδεῖς πὰ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ αὐτός*. We may note that Strabo says that Sabazios has a role in the "Phrygian
rites", not that he is a Phrygian god.

The literary evidence for the Thracian origin of Sabazios, on the other hand, is quite straightforward. The scholiast to Aristophanes Vespae, line 9 informs us that the Thracians call Dionysos Sabazios, and his priests, Saboi. A passage of Saturnalia of the late-fourth or early-fifth century A.D. writer Macrobius identifies Liber (i.e. Dionysos) and the sun in the Thracian religion, and adds that "Alexander", probably the first century B.C. writer Alexander Polyhistor, states that the Thracians call Dionysos Sebadius and worship him in a temple on a hill called Zilmisssus\(^{40}\). Now we know that Alexander wrote a series of books on Phrygia, and so would presumably have had the opportunity to consider any evidence for Sabazios being Phrygian\(^{41}\). His statement, therefore, that the god was Thracian gains in authority. It is in the context of a possible Thracian origin that the identification with Dionysos becomes important. As well as in Alexander, the identification occurs in the scholia of the plays of Aristophanes just discussed, in the lexicographers, in Diodorus Siculus and in Cicero\(^{42}\). A comment in Harpocration allows us to attribute such an identification made in the scholium on Aristophanes' Aves, line 874 to the third or second century B.C. historian Amphitheos\(^{43}\).

The only slight variant on this identification that we need to consider for the moment is the statement of Mnaseas of Patara, preserved by the lexicographers, that Sabazios was the son of Dionysos. This has reasonably been explained by Riese as signifying a likeness between the two gods that did not extend to complete identification\(^{44}\).

Before we enter the problem of Sabazios as a Thracian Dionysos, it will be best to pause to consider several other pieces of evidence which may link the god with that country. One is Amerias' statement,
abbreviated in Hesychius, that the Macedonians called the Silens "Sauadai". This word has been linked etymologically with the name Sabazios, and supposedly was applied to the mythical attendants of the god. However, this etymology was rejected by Tomaszek, who cited the derivation by Cornutus Theologus of the variant "Seuidai" from συλις, "to rush". If this derivation is correct, and that of Sabazios from a verb σαβαζω, meaning σαβαζω, is also correct, then "Sauadai" cannot be connected with Sabazios. However, one wonders whether the verb σαβαζω was really primary, or whether it was not itself derived from the name of the god to describe the action of one participating in his worship. If this is so, then "Sauadai" and Sabazios could still be related. The words are even more alike when one considers that in the Anatolian inscriptions a "u" or an "o" often replace the "b", while the spelling "Seuidai" is paralleled by the variant Sebazius found in the Thracian inscriptions. Macrobius takes us even further with his spelling Sebadius. The link between Sabazios and Sauadai may serve as a valuable geographical pointer, but it also raises a problem in the very close parallelism that it implies between the cults of Sabazios and Dionysos. We have already observed that the two gods were identified by the ancients, but shall find in due course that there were significant differences between them. We are well informed about the mythical attendants of the Greek Dionysos, but about those of Sabazios all we have is Amerias' equation of Sauadai with the Silens. On the other hand, if Hesychius' explanation of ιωδης ( probably to be read as ιωδες ) as Bacchae is correct, and the word refers to the human devotees of the god, then the problem disappears.

Another piece of evidence is a fourth century B.C. inscription from Delphi mentioning a Macedonian from Europas on the Axios by the name of Sabbataras. Again,
from the Peutinger Table we learn of a place called Sabation in Thrace\textsuperscript{50}). If these are theophoric names derived from Sabazios, they imply a long-established cult, the place-name more so than the personal-name; while the latter, being the earliest explicit evidence from the region, may give us a firm \textit{terminus ante quem} for the appearance of the god in the Balkans. A final piece of linguistic evidence is the similarity between Saboi, the name of the worshippers of the god, and Sepai, that of the inhabitants of the Thracian coast opposite Thasos\textsuperscript{51}).

None of this linguistic evidence can be said to provide a sufficiently firm base on which to build, although it becomes interesting when a Thracian cult of Sabazios is independently established. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the evidence of Alexander Polyhistor and the scholiast of Aristophanes' \textit{Vespae}, that Sabazios was the Thracian name for Dionysos.

Our earliest relevant information about the cult of "Dionysos" in Thrace is contained in the summary of Aischylus' \textit{Bassarae} preserved by Eratosthenes\textsuperscript{52}). Here we learn that Orpheus rejected the worship of Dionysos in favour of the sun, which he identified with Apollo and whose rising he greeted on Mount Pangaion. Dionysos in anger sent the Bassarai to tear him apart. Later, Herodotus tells us that there was a mountain sanctuary of Dionysos in the territory of the Satrai, a division of the tribe of the Bessi. The mountain he refers to is probably Pangaion, as he also speaks of the Satrai working the gold and silver mines there. He also says that Dionysos, Ares and Artemis were the only gods worshipped by the Thracians\textsuperscript{53}). Pangaion is explicitly stated to have a sanctuary of Dionysos in Euripides' \textit{Rhesus}\textsuperscript{54}). Sanctuaries on Pangaion and Haimos are mentioned by the scholiast of Euripides' \textit{Hecuba}\textsuperscript{55}), while Rhodope and Haimos are mentioned, along with
Orbelus, by Pomponius Mela. According to the pseudo-
Aristotelian de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, there was
a sanctuary of Dionysos in Krestonia, a Thracian district
near Macedonia. As the Pangaion sanctuary was in
Macedonia before Roman times, it was presumably the
Bessian sanctuary on Mount Haimos that was visited by
Gn. Octavius during his campaign against that tribe in
60/59 B.C. The same sanctuary was earlier visited by
Alexander the Great, and again it was probably the same
one that was taken from the Bessi and given to the
Odrysaei by M. Licinius Crassus in 28 B.C., but later
recaptured by its former owners. Another sanctuary
is said by Macrobius, quoting the Theologoumena, which
he attributes to Aristotle, to have existed among the
Thracian Ligyræans. Seure suggested that Alexander
Polyhistor's Zilmissus should be identified with Pangaion,
but there seems no reason to assume this.

Can we extend the explicit identification of
Dionysos with Sabazios, which we can first attribute
to Amphitheatres, back to the time of Aischylus, and assume
that all the sanctuaries named above belonged to a god
whom the Thracians would have called Sabazios? It seems
reasonable to do so in the case of the Haimos sanctuary
at least, for it is from the districts around Mount
Haimos, from Serdica and Nicopolis ad Istrum, that most
of the dedications to Sabazios from the Roman period
come. In the former area, the god sometimes bears the
ethnic Athyparenos, in the latter place, Arsilenos. Admittedly, as was noted by H. Seyrig, most of the
inscriptions are from major sites on important routes
and three of the dedications are by soldiers.

Nevertheless, the ethnics, especially Athyparenos, which
contains the frequent Thracian place-name element
para, show that we are dealing with a well-established
god with local cults rather than a newly imported one.
Whereas the literary evidence, which is admittedly
lacking in detail, suggests only one sanctuary on Mount Haimos, it is clear from the ethnics that there were at least two on or near the mountain, one near Serdica, the other probably South of Nicopolis ad Istrum. There is no explicit evidence to connect any of the other sanctuaries with the god.

To do this requires an attempt to dissociate them from "Dionysos"⁶³). This immediately involves us in the question of the origins of Dionysos and the reasons for the identification of Sabazios with him. Against the background of a general acceptance of the Thracian origin of Dionysos, Voigt regarded Sabazios as simply an ecstatic appellative for that god, while Farnell and Cook suggested the name was simply a local one for a god known generally in Thrace by a name which was hellenized as Dionysos. Eisele, in support of his theory that Sabazios entered Europe from Anatolia, argued that the two gods were fundamentally different, and emphasised the lateness of their identification⁶⁴).

A full and fair statement of the evidence (apart from the philological) for considering the Thracian "Dionysos" as the prototype of the Greek one was given by Farnell⁶⁵). With the literary evidence we are not for the moment concerned. What is relevant to the sanctuaries of the god has already been set forth, and its value in the question of a Thracian origin will be discussed later. Unfortunately, few of the ritual elements supposedly linking the two gods in fact have a place in the cult of the Thracian Dionysos. The ivy so prominent in the cult of the Greek Dionysos has been compared with the ivy with which the Thracians are supposed to have decorated their weapons⁶⁶). However, we nowhere hear of ivy used in the Thracian cult of Dionysos. It does admittedly appear in descriptions of the Macedonian cult, but I believe there is good reason for distinguishing between that and the Thracian
one. Similarly the Mimallones and Klodones, equivalents of the Maenads belong to Macedonia. The Laphystian 
καρπασοὶ γυναῖκες mentioned by Lykophron in association 
with Mount Kissos are not to be placed, with that 
mountain, in Macedonia, but, as the scholiast half 
realized, in Boiotia, like Mount Laphystos.67) Plato's 
statement that the Scythians and Thracians drank unmixed 
wine tells us nothing in itself about any cult of 
Dionysos in those parts68), but that in the Theologoumena, 
quoted by Macrobius, that the Thracian Ligyræans used 
wine as a vehicle of oracular inspiration in their 
cult of Dionysos, does offer a point of contact with 
the rites of the Greek god69).

This brings us to the major difference between 
the Thracian and Greek gods, the oracular nature of 
the former. Apart from the oracle just mentioned among 
the Ligyræans, we also know from Herodotus of one on 
Pangaion, compared by the writer to that of Apollo at 
Delphi70). The oracle in Krestonia is described in the 
de mirabilibus auscultationibus: whenever the god 
intended to send a good year, a great light would 
appear around his temple when sacrifice was offered. If 
the year was destined to be a poor one, the light would 
fail to appear71). With this phenomenon, I should like 
to compare the story recorded in Suetonius' Augustus. 
When Gna. Octavius, the father of the future emperor, 
was campaigning in Thrace, he visited a shrine of 
Dionysos—quite possibly that near Mount Haemus. He 
asked the priests about the destiny of his son. When 
they poured wine on the altar, a flame shot up above 
the roof of the shrine. This, according to the priests, 
had happened only once before, when Alexander the Great 
sacrificed at the shrine72). Farnell, emphasising the 
word ἀμφικύκλου in the description of the Krestonian 
oracle, argued that the god was primarily a vegetation— 
god, which was reasonable for one born of Semele, the
earth-goddess per excellence. He also invoked Diodoros' description of the older Dionysos, "whom some call Sabazios", as the first agriculturist, and suggested this might have been a Thraco-Phrygian tradition. The comparison with Diodoros can be rejected immediately, as this author is recounting an Orphic tradition. A version preserved by the late author Themistius makes Orpheus himself the first agriculturist. I suggest on the analogy of the story recounted by Suetonius, that the light-oracle could imply not only agricultural prosperity but good fortune in a much wider sense. The fact that the Kastorian oracle gave yearly prophecies, while the one consulted by Gn. Octavius apparently gave much rarer ones, need not detain us. One is entitled to suspect that the rarity of the light-oracle was invented, either by the priests or by imperial propaganda, to emphasise the parallelism between the Roman emperor and Alexander.

The Dionysiac motifs which occur from the beginning of fifth century on the coins of the coastal cities of the Chalkidike and western Thrace now seem to have appeared first on the coins of the native tribes of the area in the sixth century. How far they need reflect a local cult is uncertain; the prominence of motifs connected with wine is noticeable and may reflect the success of the local wine trade. At most, they probably reflect the beginning of the identification of the local god with the Greek Dionysos, which found its first literary expression in Aischylus. As we have seen, wine may have played a part in the cult of the native god, but it was hardly an important one.

However, the fact remains that Sabazios and Dionysos were identified by the Greeks and that some of the tales of Dionysos were located in Thrace. The most famous attribute of Sabazios was the snake. Indeed, from Theophrastos we learn that the pious regarded the snake as the embodiment of the god. On the other hand, later on we
shall see that there are reasons for doubting whether this idea was universal. On the Valle Trebbia krater, snakes are shown being carried by the worshippers of the god, and on the headgear of the god himself. Snakes had been depicted in connexion with Dionysos from the sixth century, and so may be seen as an element linking the two gods. One might also possibly compare the mountain sanctuaries of Sabazios—firmly attested by Alexander Polyhistor and also shown to exist on Mount Haimos at least—with the oreibasiai which survived in the cult of Dionysos until Roman times. The ecstatic dances in which Sabazios was worshipped, especially by women, are depicted on the Valle Trebbia crater, and must again have suggested resemblances to the rites of Dionysos. It is tempting to invoke Plutarch's description of the rites practised by the Macedonian queen Olympias, which offer similarities both to those of Sabazios and Dionysos, and the appearance of a liknon on the Valle Trebbia krater, which immediately recalls the liknon in the cults of Dionysos at Delphi and Chaireneia, as extra evidence for similarities between the two gods. However, both of these pieces of evidence contain difficulties which will be discussed in due course, and are both best left out of account for the moment.

We can therefore admit that there were a few, at least superficial, resemblances that might encourage the Greeks to recognize their Dionysos in the Thracian Sabazios. However, there were aspects, especially the oracular nature of the Thracian god, which prevent us regarding them as basically related in any straightforward way. This oracular aspect seems to link all the local manifestations of the Thracian god, and if we are correct in suggesting that the Sabazios dedications of the Roman period in Thrace may be linked with the Haimos sanctuary of "Dionysos", and that it was the latter that was visited by Gnaeus Octavius when he was
given his oracle, it is possible to regard all the sanctuaries of Dionysos in Thrace as belonging to Sabazios.

What then of the ancient tradition that places Dionysos in Thrace? As H. Jeanmaire has pointed out, this apparently goes back, in literature at least, only to the time of Aischylos. At this time, Athenian interests in the region of the lower Strymon and of Pangaion were multiplying; Aischylos himself served there under Kimon. The presence in the area of a god with at least some resemblances to Dionysos may well have suggested to the tragedian the idea of locating the tales of the god there. We have already suggested that the Dionysiac coin-types of the northern Greek cities and the Thracian tribes may indicate that the Greek and Thracian gods were already identified in the local traditions. It is appropriate that we do not learn of the sanctuary on Mount Haimos, much further inland, until later, from the scholiast of Euripides’ Hecuba.

It was suggested by Perdrizet, on the strength of the identification of Liber - Sabazios and Sol in Macrobius and of one of the Thracian inscriptions which mentions "Helios Sabazios", that Sabazios was a solar god. This evidence was dismissed, rightly, I believe, by Usener and Eisele, as being accounted for by the influence of late solar monotheism. On the other hand, sun-worship is well attested among the Thracians by Sophokles and by archaeology. The most interesting piece of information is the preserved summary of Aischylos' Bessaras. We learn that Orpheus worshipped Melios - Apollo on Mount Pangaion, later associated exclusively with Dionysos, that is, Sabazios, as we have argued. It may be that part of Orpheus' sin, for which he was torn apart by the Bacchic women, was that, having deserted Dionysos, he then worshipped his new god on Dionysos' own mountain. On the other hand, we must not forget the oracular aspect of the god of Pangaion, which caused Herodotus to compare
him with the Delphic Apollo. It is possible that another Apolline element— the sun—had already been seen by Aischylos. Unfortunately, we do not know what tradition about the death of Orpheus Aischylos knew, for his is the earliest information we have about the legendary figure. Is it possible that Aischylos started from a tradition according to which Dionysos caused Orpheus to suffer death by sparagmos and provided a motive for his death by making a double interpretatio graeca of the god of Pangaion, separating the Dionysiac and Apolline elements and setting them in opposition? To this admittedly weak evidence we may add the light-oracles of the "Thracian Dionysos", which seem appropriate to a solar god.

Now that we have established with some probability that the identification of Sabazios with Dionysos goes back to the time of Aischylos and probably led to the tragedian locating his plays about the latter god in Thrace, we are in a position to explain why, in the earliest explicit depiction of the god, the Valle Trebbia crater, he is shown as the paredros of Kybele. Dionysos was associated with Zeus and Hera on Lesbos, as we learn from Alkaios, who describes Hera, like the Mother, as πανθεόν ἔνθος (89). According to Anakreon, the god was the son of the Euboian Artemis Aithiopia (90). He is mentioned together with the Mother of the Gods by Pindar (91). In Euripides' Bacchae he has become the young associate of the Phrygian Kybele (92). There is no firm evidence associating Sabazios closely with a goddess in Thrace (93). Given that Dionysos had become the paredros of Kybele by the late fifth century, it must have been natural for his double, Sabazios, to take on the same status. In later works of art Sabazios is depicted alongside Kybele in the company of her other protégés, Attis and his Greek equivalent, Hermes, from whom Sabazios took over various attributes (94).
The next important piece of information we have to consider in the development of the cult is the passage in Demosthenes' de Corona, in which the orator attacks Aischines for taking part in the religious ceremonies organised by his mother. The rite of purification with mud mentioned by Demosthenes was connected by Harpokration with the mythology of the Orphic Dionysos: the Titans covered themselves with lime in order to make themselves invisible so that they could capture and rend the god. Influence over the cult of Sabazios by the Orphic rites was recognized by Eisele, in which he was safely correct. This Orphic influence explains one, or possibly two cult-instruments mentioned by Demosthenes. One is the liknon. The appropriateness of its symbolism in its function of separating grain from chaff or godd from evil to a rite of purification is obvious. The use of the liknon in carrying the infant Dionysos at Delphi is of no relevance here, as, so far as we know, Sabazios was never conceived as an infant god. This instrument had already appeared on the Valle Trebbia crater. Either, then, the cult must have come under Orphic influence very soon after its introduction into Athens from Thrace, and at any rate by 440 B.C., when the crater was produced, or the liknon must have been native to the Thracian cult. Unfortunately, we do not have enough detailed information about the cult in its homeland to be able to judge this latter possibility. Another possible sign of early Orphic influence is the use of the verb ἐκκολαίειν in Aristophanes' Evesae for worshipping the god. The word is frequently found in Orphic contexts.

The cista mystica seems first to have appeared in the cult of Demeter, who had a prominent place in the Orphic theogony. According to this account, Rhea took the name Demeter after the birth of Zeus. Zeus raped his mother, who gave birth to Persephone. As a result
of the subsequent intercourse of Zeus - in serpentine form - with his daughter, was born Dionysos\(^{99}\). According to Diodoros, this Dionysos was called by some Sabazios\(^{100}\). Exactly why the cista should have passed from the rites of Demeter to Sabazios is unclear, but the reliefs on the Lovatelli urn from Rome show Persephone and Demeter, the latter seated on a cista, by the side of which is a snake, presiding over a rite of purification involving a liknon, possibly similar to the rite described by Demosthenes\(^{101}\). The two instruments, liknon and cista, should perhaps be seen as belonging to rites involving a number of divinities, rather than to individual gods.

The rites practised by Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, have been brought into connexion with the cult of Sabazios. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, tells us that, before Alexander's birth, Olympias was seen by her husband in the embraces of a serpent. The biographer suggested that the origin of this tale was to be found in Olympias' enthusiasm for the Orphic and Dionysiac rites practised, he says, by all the Macedonian women\(^{102}\). These Macedonian maenads he calls, like various scholars from the time of the mid-second century B.C. writer Kallixenos of Rhodes onwards, Klodones and Mimallonès\(^{103}\). The equipment carried by the women in these rites were "mystic" likma, thyreoi, garlands, ivy and seemingly numerous snakes. Finally, Plutarch states that these practices had much in common with those of the Edonian women and the Thracian near Mount Haïmos.

It is tempting to compare Olympias' intercourse with a snake with the rite of the Σάλος θεάς described by Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius\(^{104}\). In this ceremony, the participant had a golden snake passed down the front of his or her dress, the aition being Zeus-Sabazios' rape, in serpentine form, of
Persephone. One could then argue that Alexander's divine father was Sabazios. The similarity of the rites practised by Olympias to the Thracian ones, which we have argued were held in honour of Sabazios, then becomes readily perceptible. However, at this time Sabazios was identified with Dionysos rather than Zeus. This latter identification seems to have been made first by the Pergamene kings, as we shall see later. On the other hand, it is possible that the rite of the ζαλωτα θεός preceded the myth that explained it, and that Olympias, as a worshipper of Sabazios, practised it. The Delphic oracle named Zeus Ammon, who was sometimes represented as a snake, as Alexander's father; such a parentage was of obvious political advantage to the conqueror of Egypt. However, as Jeaumaire has suggested, we should perhaps regard the story of Alexander's birth as designed to justify his imitation of Dionysos. The Orphic account of the god's birth was known to the propagators of the story, and was possibly adopted by them because in it Zeus took the form of a snake, and the snake was prominent in the rites practised by Olympias. The story about Alexander's birth therefore does not tell us the native name of the god worshipped by Olympias.

If we now look closely at these rites, we shall see that they pose a problem. The likna and the prominence of snakes suggest similarities with the cult of Sabazios, while ivy and thyrsoi were exclusive to that of Dionysos. One may of course question the accuracy of Plutarch, who wrote long after the event. It is possible that he mentioned the Orphic rites of the Macedonians and the mystic likna simply to explain more fully the use of the Orphic theogony in the story about the birth of Alexander, without any firm evidence on the subject. In addition, Thrace — and it was Thracian rites that Olympias was said to have imitated — was
the traditional home of Orpheus. On the other hand, the snakes, thyrsoi and ivy were probably real enough. Kallixenēs of Rhodes, describing a Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos mentions women crowned with convolvulus, vines and ivy. Some had snakes on their heads, others had snakes or daggers in their hands. These women he names as Macedonians, "Bassarai" and Lydians). Kallixenēs does not mention thyrsoi, but these do appear in Euripides' Bacchae which, as Baige observed, seems to give a remarkably accurate account of the Macedonian rites.

Despite this analysis of the evidence, it is still impossible to decide whether to call the Macedonian god Dionysos or Sabazios. It is probable that in antiquity the matter was already complicated by the hellenizing policies of the Macedonian kings. The adoption by Philip II of Dionysiac coin-types, popular in the Greek cities of the North Aegean, may signify the identification of the native Macedonian god with the Greek Dionysos and possibly also the beginning of the hellenization of their god). Unfortunately, the scantiness of our evidence does not allow us to decide the exact nature and extent of any hellenization. However, it will be fair if we recognise, along with Plutarch, that the Macedonian rites of "Dionysos" did resemble those practised in Thrace.

Although it is not part of our present purpose to study the cult of Dionysos in the Hellenistic period, it will be appropriate to say a few words about the cult of the god in Pergamon in order to attempt to resolve the question of the cistophoric coinage. The cult of Dionysos had long been established on the western coast of Anatolia; Alkniōs speaks of him being worshipped along with Zeus and Hera on Lesbos). A society of Dionysiac artists had its headquarters on Teos. Under Rumenes II this guild was augmented by

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actors of the Attalid court theatre and became known as τὸ κοσμὸν τῶν περὶ τῶν Δίονυσον τεχνίτων τῶν ἐπὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἐλλη-
πότως καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν καθηγέμενον Δίονυσος. The headquarters of
the guild was moved to Ephesos by Eumenes II after a dispute
with the Teans, and then by Attalos III to Myonnesos.\textsuperscript{112} Exactly when Dionysos Kathegemon was adopted as the
protector of the Attalid dynasty seems uncertain. It
was Eumenes II who organized the court theatre of
Dionysos, built the temple of Dionysos Kathegemon and
appointed his relative Sosandros priest of the god.\textsuperscript{113} H. von Frott has suggested that the god was adopted by
the Pergamene kings as their protector in imitation of the
Kappadokian royal family, who were watched over by
Sabazios.\textsuperscript{114} However, the oracles preserved by Pausanias
and in the Suda seem to refer to Attalos I, whom the
first calls "son of the god-nourished bull", the second
"bull-horned", both referring to Dionysos.\textsuperscript{115}

In inscriptions relating to Dionysos from Pergamon
and other cities of western Anatolia we come across
terms we have already met in connexion with the Orphic-
influenced rite of Sabazios. In several inscriptions
from Pergamon we find references to βασκάλει, ἀριστελεί
and μυσταί.\textsuperscript{116} The word βασκάλει is used of worshippers
of Sabazios in Aristophanes' \textit{Vespae}, 10, and of
Dionysos in Euripides' \textit{Antiope} and in the \textit{Athenaion
Politeia}. It was frequently found in Orphic contexts.\textsuperscript{117}

From an inscription at Apollonia we also learn of
\textit{liknophoroi} and \textit{kistophoroi}.\textsuperscript{118} We have already
attributed the \textit{likon} and \textit{cista} in the cult of Sabazios
to Orphic influence. O. Kern has shown that the society
that composed the Orphic hymns was centred on Pergamon,
and had close connexions with the \textit{temenos} of Demeter
there.\textsuperscript{119} Orphic influence on the cult of Dionysos in
the city, therefore, comes as no surprise and is ex-
plicitly attested by the identification of Attalos I
with the specifically Orphic horned Dionysos. To it we
can attribute the cista represented on the Pergamene coinage, while the prominence of the snake in the ceremony described by Kallixenos — admittedly in Egypt — will prepare us for its appearance as well.

We must now return to Sabazios. Our task is now to show how his cult passed from Thrace to the Kappadokian royal family. Here the only evidence we have to go on is the description of the god as ἀρησπαφάτος. If we examine Stratonike's parentage, we shall find that she was descended, both via her mother Antiochis, daughter of Antiochos III and, more straightforwardly, via her grandmother, another Stratonike, daughter of Antiochos II, from the Stratonike who was successively the wife of Seleukos I and Antiochos I and who was the daughter of Phila, herself the daughter of Antipater, the Macedonian general. We know that rites akin to those of Sabazios were practised by Olympias, presumably in the company of other noble women. If we may assume that the god whom they worshipped was called, in some quarters at least, Sabazios, then, remembering that it was especially women who were given to the cult, we may postulate the adoption and maintenance of the worship of the god by Stratonike's female ancestors until at last it was taken up by that princess.

E. Ohlemutz, in his study of Pergamene cults, was unable to find any substantial reasons for the identification by the Attalid kings of Sabazios with Zeus, and contented himself with attributing it to their "Kluge Religionspolitik." We can perhaps go further than this. As we have seen, Sabazios had been identified, quite probably from the early fifth century, with Dionysos. However, Dionysos was the protector of the Attalid dynasty. It seems possible that it was felt necessary to distinguish him from Sabazios, especially as both Sabazios and the Dionysos of the Attalids had been subjected to Orphic influence. Furthermore, the identification of
Sabazios with the Orphic horned Dionysos must have fitted badly the conception of that god — if it was as prominent as all have assumed — as being a snake. The remedy taken was to identify Sabazios with Zeus. The fact that, in the Orphic theogony Zeus coupled with Persephone in the form of a serpent, would have been a factor prompting the identification. We may perhaps attribute the revision of the mythology surrounding Sabazios to members of the Orphic sect at Pergamon.

In two of the inscriptions from the Phrygo-Pisidian borderland, Sabazios appears along with Demeter. In other inscriptions from the same area, we read Zeus Sabazios, and we may imagine that it is Zeus Sabazios who is intended in the first two inscriptions. In the appearance of Demeter we may see the influence of Orphic mythology. In Lydia, however, despite the fact that we are much nearer to Pergamon and that centres of the kingdom such as Sardis and Philadelphia are near to hand, the cult shows strong signs of native Anatolian influence. The wife-mother of Zeus Sabazios, Demeter, does not appear. Instead, the god appears in the company of Artemis Aneitis and Meter Hipta. The first, in name at least, was Graeco-Persian, the second wholly Anatolian, probably being a direct descendant of the Hittite Hepat. To Sabazios alone, or in company with a goddess, confessions were addressed. The practice of inscribing the confessions of sins on a stele dedicated to the divinity who had been offended has been discussed in greater detail above. Here suffice it to say that it was an ancient Near Eastern custom that survived into the Roman period in remote areas in the Lydo-Phrygian borderland.

The appearance of divine couples was a feature of Anatolian religion that can be traced back into the second millenium B.C. Both the relationships mother-son and husband-wife are found. The relationship of Zeus
Sabazios to the goddesses with whom he was associated in Lydia cannot, unfortunately, be determined. All we learn from the Orphic Hymns, in which we have the sole early literary references to Hipta, is that this goddess reared the infant Dionysos brought to her by Zeus Sabazios in his thigh\(^{129}\). The rearing of Dionysos by the Anatolian Mother of the Gods – of whom Hipta was a hypostasis – first became prominent in Euripides' Bacchae, and received its fullest treatment in Nonnus' Dionysiaca\(^{130}\). While considering the relationship of Sabazios to other gods, it is worth remembering that in Strabo, Sabazios is said to be "in a sense, the son of the Mother". This suits the status of Sabazios when he was identified with Dionysos, and so a nursling of the Mother, but not that of Zeus Sabazios, the real son of Rhea-Demeter. Either we must argue that Strabo's statement was out of date when it was written, or that the old conception of Sabazios as a double of Dionysos continued, or that Rhea-Demeter was identified with Kybele. The depiction on a bronze triptych of the Roman period of Sabazios together with the Mother and her protégés, Attis and his Greek equivalent Hermes, may imply that Sabazios was regarded, like these, as being under the protection of the Mother, and so confirm the second interpretation of Strabo's statement\(^{131}\). On the other hand, while the Mother, flanked heraldically by Attis and Hermes, is shown on the centre plaque, Sabazios is represented on the one surviving side plaque. In view of his depiction apart from the central group, his status must be slightly doubtful. However, on a bronze plaque from Tekiye is depicted a goddess, probably the Mother, feeding a snake from a patera, while on another is a god recognized as Sabazios\(^{132}\). The feeding of the snake by the goddess could well be a symbol of the kourotophia implied by Strabo. The continued association of Zeus Sabazios and Kybele, or more precisely the Thea Ideia Megale, is attested by an
inscription from Bulgaria\textsuperscript{133}, and by the artistic evidence.

A hitherto rather puzzling statement has been that of Proclus in his commentary on the \textit{Timaeus} : παραλήφθησθαι καὶ περὶ φραξίν Μῆνι τῇ Σαβαζίων ύμνον γένομεν καὶ ἐν μέροις τοῦ Σαβαζίων τελεῖται \textsuperscript{134}). A figure guiding the chariot on the Kolos relief dedicated to Sabazios has been recognised as Mên because of the small crescent just in front of him, but, in view of the fact that he holds a kerykeion, is better recognized as Hermes\textsuperscript{135}). More substantial evidence for syncretism between Mên and Sabazios is provided by a small bronze figure from Ankara in "Phrygian dress", giving the \textit{benefictio latina} associated with Sabazios and with a crescent behind his shoulders. The figure bends forward slightly, as if it had sat in the curve of a "Sabazios hand"\textsuperscript{136}). Although we have no explicit evidence for contact between the two gods there, it is worth pointing out that, judging by the epigraphic evidence, the Mên cult flourished in Maonia as did that of Sabazios, and that Mên, like Sabazios, frequently appears in the company of Artemis Adea\textsuperscript{137}). Mên appears in one of the Orphic hymns, and it is upon such an Orphic source that Proclus, who elsewhere displays a knowledge of the hymns, may have based his statement\textsuperscript{138}).

Of the Anatolian inscriptions dedicated to Sabazios, those from Bithynia remain to be considered. In one inscription, the god is called Sabazios Narisaranoς, in the other two, Zeus Sabazios. Another monument possibly relating to the cult is an altar with a relief showing a snake drinking out of a bowl. From the European side of the Bosporos we have a relief dedicated to Sabazios found at Byzantion\textsuperscript{139}).

We have argued above that the cults of Sabazios of Zeus Sabazios in Asia Minor attested by the inscriptions of the Roman period were survivals of the royal
Pergamene one. This may also be the case with the Bithynian and Byzantion inscriptions, the prestige of the god having spread Northwards beyond the limits of the Attalid kingdom, just as it did Southwards to Plarasa, Mylasa and Tlos.

On the other hand, the Bithynians were Thracian immigrants into Asia Minor, and in their linguistic culture betrayed their origin even in the Graeco-Roman period. The inscriptions from Bithynia come from the ethnically Bithynian area, not from the districts incorporated into the kingdom during its expansion. Having established, so far as the evidence will permit, the Thracian origin of Sabazios, we must reckon with the possibility that the Thracian immigrants brought the god into Bithynia at the time of their migration. Unfortunately, the internal evidence of the inscriptions cannot be made to support conclusively either theory of origin. In favour of a Pergamene origin can be adduced the syncretism with Zeus, whilst in favour of a Thraco-Bithynian origin is the dedication to Sabazios, not identified with Zeus, with the epithet Narisaranos, suggesting a well-established local cult. The appearance on one of the inscriptions of a Thracian name may also support the latter theory. Against both of these pieces of evidence objections can be brought: against the first, that the syncretism with Zeus was adopted from the Pergamene cult and imposed on an already-established god; against the second, that in the Pisidian borderland, where the Pergamene cult survived, we find examples of Sabazios not identified with Zeus, whilst in addition, in Lydia, we find a mention of Sabazios with the epithet Nealeautes. Other signs that the god rapidly took on native traits in Lydia have already been discussed.

To examine all the influences at work on the cult of Sabazios is not the purpose of the present study. However, the question of Jewish influence on the cult must be considered, as it involves its development in Asia Minor.
The subject was first brought to the fore by F. Cumont and was further discussed by W. O. E. Oesterley. According to Valerius Maximus, the Praetor Peregrinus Gn. Cornelius Hispalus in 139 B.C. banished those Jews who had tried to corrupt Roman morals with the cult of Jupiter Sabazios. Dionysos-Sabazios was identified with the Jewish god by Plutarch, and by Iydus with Sabaoth. One might suspect here a simple confusion of the names Sabazios and Sabaoth. However, Cumont and Oesterley argued that the identification had a factual basis. They suggested that the Jewish colonists settled in Phrygia and Lydia by Antiochus the Great about 200 B.C., having lost their exclusiveness along with their native language, began to influence the local pagan cults. Specific examples of influence on the cult of Sabazios were his titles Kyrios, Pankoiranos, the appearance of a "bonus angelus" in the frescoes on the sarcophagus of Vincentius, an "antistes Sabazis", in the catacomb of Praetextata in Rome, and, again outside Asia Minor, the dedication by a Thianos Sabazianos to the Theos Hypsistos at Serdica. The title "Theos Hypsistos" was one under which the Jewish god was worshipped, and hands similar to those found in the cults of Sabazios, Jupiter Dolichenus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus were dedicated to the Theos Hypsistos.

One piece of evidence, the title "Pankoiranos" on a Bithynian inscription, which was compared to the title "Pantekrator" applied to the Jewish god, can be disposed of at the outset. The inscription has been read afresh by L. Robert, who proposes, for Pankoiranos, the ethnic Narisaraanos.

The rest of the evidence we are now able to assess more accurately thanks to our greater knowledge of the development in the Christian period of Graeco-Roman
paganism. This we owe above all to the writings of A. D. Nock. Nock has suggested that such titles as "kyrios", which appears from Hellenistic times onwards, show the assimilation of the gods to the absolute rulers of the East\textsuperscript{149}). This theory may require more detailed justification than Nock gave it, but what is true is that such titles became very widespread. It would be wrong, therefore, to attach too much significance to the application of the title "kyrios" to one god, Sabazios, when it is clear that he was merely enjoying a glorification of his power in the same way as many other divinities. It is noteworthy that Sabazios does not have the title "kyrios" in Asia Minor, but only in the Balkans\textsuperscript{150}).

It was observed by Schäfer that the title Theos Hypsistos, or Hypsistos alone, occurs frequently in the canonical books of the Old Testament\textsuperscript{151}). However, as Nock pointed out, the oldest dedications to Zeus Hypsistos are from the old Macedonian capital at Edessa, and he may well have been a national or royal Macedonian mountain-god. Dedications to Zeus Hypsistos are found in Asia Minor, in the Macedonian colonies there and in other cities\textsuperscript{152}). It is possible that we should regard Theos Hypsistos as having been, initially at least, a title used in private dedications. These being addressed to the god, not to the public, there was no need for him to be named\textsuperscript{153}). It is notable that this anonymous god does not appear in public documents, for example, on coins\textsuperscript{154}). As to the title "hypsistos", this is but one of many epithets (like "Kyrios", above), in which the power of gods was exalted. There are, admittedly, examples of the title "Theos Hypsistos" being used in probably Jewish contexts from Asia Minor; for example, there is a funerary curse invoking the wrath of the Theos Hypsistos from Akmonia, where Jews are well attested. The phraseology of the curse makes it virtually certain that its author was a Jew or Christian. There
is also a prophet τοῦ θεοτάτου θεοῦ, ἡψίστου κατηραῖος from Miletus155). Here there may be direct Jewish influence at work, or via the syncretizing theology of the Klarion oracle. However, as Nock argued, there is no reason to assume that the title "Theos Hypsistos" would suggest Yahwe to anyone but a Jew or a Judaeizer156).

Moreover, if we consider the evidence that links Theos Hypsistos and Sabazios, it is tenuous and ambiguous. A single inscription from near Serdica records a dedication by a thiasos Sebaizionae to the Theos hypsistos. One may compare the dedication (presumably of a statue) of Zeus Sabazios Neauleites to Zeus Koryphaios in Lydia, or of a statue of Apollo Alexikakos to Helios Apollo Lairbenos in Phrygia157). These are dedications of one god to another, and may indicate that the two gods involved were considered to be related. It could be that the thiasos saw something in common between their own god and the Theos Hypsistos. On the other hand, it may be simply that by "Theos Hypsistos" the thiasotai were referring to their own god, Sabazios.

Angels were also widespread in pagan contexts. An oracle mentioning the angels of god is preserved in the Tübingen Theosophie, in Lactantius and in an inscription at Oinoanda. The versions all vary, but it seems likely that we are dealing with one oracle. Nock has suggested that the two literary versions are derived from a work of Porphyry, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ λογίων ἱεράς, known from Eusebius. The oracles collected by Porphyry were allegedly those of the Klarion Apollo, and Lactantius attributed the oracle he quoted to Kolophon. L. Robert, on the other hand, has suggested that the oracle should be attributed to Didyma158). Another oracle preserved by Porphyry and again allegedly from Klaros, states that only the Hebrews, along with the Chaldaeans have attained wisdom and worship the ultimate godhead. It is possible, therefore, that these mentions of ἅγγελοι

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owe their appearance to Jewish influence at Klaros\textsuperscript{159}).

However, at Stratonikeia in Karia we meet a Theios Angelos, an Agathos Angelos (of which, of course, the bonus angelus on the Vincentius Sarcophagus is a literal translation) and a Theios Angelikon, while from Temrek, near Borlu, in Lydia, an inscription mentions an Angelos Hosios Dikaios\textsuperscript{160}). The Karian angels are associated with Zeus Hypsistos, while the Lydian inscription mentions a prophet, but in neither case need we assume direct Jewish influence. F. Sokolowski has argued that the Angelos found at Stratonikeia should be regarded as Hekate, normally associated there with Zeus Hypsistos, and has cited other chthonic deities known as "angeloi": Hermes was the \textit{angelos} of Persephone, while some \textit{defixiones} name Hermes Katachthonios, Hekate Katachthonia, Pluto, Kore, Persephone and the Moirai all as "angeloi"\textsuperscript{161}).

Sokolowski's theory was rejected by Nilsson, who suggested an answer. The philosophical tendencies of the Roman period favoured the idea of a single, remote god. This remoteness created a need for intermediaries; hence the \textit{angeloi}. There is no need to look for the traditional Greek gods among those angels, although the oracles mentioned above tried to equate the \textit{angeloi} with the old gods\textsuperscript{162}). However, the late date of these developments still allows the operation of Jewish influence in the emergence of \textit{angeloi}, even if indirectly.

In the emergence of angels in the religion of western Asia Minor, therefore, Judaism may have played a part, but it was only one of several influences at work. However, we must remember that the monument with which we are concerned, the Vincentius sarcophagus, is Roman, and we cannot assume that exactly the same balance of influences was to be found there as in Anatolia.

The bronze hands dedicated to Sabazios certainly link him with gods to the South East, Jupiter Dolichenus
and Jupiter Heliopolitanus\textsuperscript{163}). However, the \textit{benedictio latina}, the gesture of blessing given by the hand, is found also with the "Thracian Rider"\textsuperscript{164}). It is possible that first the \textit{benedictio latina} was associated with Sabazios, and that then the idea of the bronze hand was taken over from oriental cults to allow the representation of this gesture in a permanent form. The emergence of the Sabazios hand is a subject which requires far more detailed study than it has yet received, especially with regard to its chronology and geography. It is possible that, as F. Cumont suggested, it was the Jewish colonists in western Asia Minor who introduced the idea of the bronze hand. However, we do not know where the bronze "Sabazios hand" first appeared, whether it was in Asia Minor or elsewhere. Nor can we assign to the Jews all those hands dedicated to Theos Hypsistos, for this title was applied in the Beqa' region of Syria to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, to whom we know hands were dedicated.

In general, therefore, it appears that Sabazios, like other divinities, was subject to Oriental influences in the Roman period. Among these influences that of Judaism cannot be ignored. However, there seems to be little strong evidence for a specific syncretism between the Jewish Sabaoth and Sabazios except for the one isolated passage of Valerius Maximus.

The traditional view of Sabazios as a Thraco-Phrygian god must, if the arguments presented above are accepted, be abandoned in favour of his having a purely Thracian origin. It is true that some of the links in the chain of development suggested are tenuous, but this, I submit, is the result of the fragmentary state of the evidence available to us, especially for the Hellenistic period. What is more certain, and fatal to the traditional theory, is the weakness of the early evidence for a "Phrygian Sabazios" and the lack
of attestations for the cult in Phrygia itself. With the disappearance of the Thraco-Phrygian Sabazios goes also a major piece of evidence for a simple, close relationship between the Phrygian and Thracian peoples and for the community of their cults.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE.


3) The ancient literary evidence is discussed below. Among modern scholars, see, for example, Eisele, *art. cit.* 232, l. 5, 235, ll. 56 ff.; Schaefer, "Sabazios", *RE* I A, 2, (1920), 1540, ll. 54 ff. W. Fauth, *art. cit.* 1478, l. 28, speaks of a "Thraco-Phrygian" god, but later (ll. 59 ff.) seems to suggest that the god was originally Phrygian and only reached Thrace and Macedonia after the fifth century B.C.


5) See map at end of work.

6) I have not found any evidence for cultural community between the Phrygo-Pisidian borderland and the rest of Phrygia. A treatment of the anthroponymy of the Ormeleis of the former district has been promised by L. Robert, *Noms Indigènes*, 299 and 325. On the ethnography of nearby Kibyra, see Strabo XIII, 4, 17, C631, who says that Lydian, Solymian, Pisidian and Greek were spoken there. On Maonia, see 64.

7) Compare the distribution of dedications to the Mother, with their concentration in this area.

8) Compare the distribution of double - axe bearing gods, discussed

10) EJ, no. 37 (AJA III (1887), 363; CB I, 1, 272, no. 97; ECH XXIV (1900), 61) from Agran Koy, South of Acipayam: a priest of Demeter and Saoazos.

EJ, no. 81 (CB I, 1, 305, no. 1) from Kaljk, North East of Tefeni: priest of Demeter (and Saoazos ?).

ECH II (1878), 55 (CB I, 1, 293) from Sazak, North East of Tefeni: altar with relief of snake. There is no inscription, and the snake need not indicate that the altar was dedicated to Sabazios.

EJ, no. 59 (CB I, 1, 288, no. 125) from Tefeni. Collegerium of six priests of Zeus (i.e. Zeus Sabazios ?).

EJ, nos. 44 and 46 (CB I, 1, 290, no. 127; ECH II (1878), 56 f. no. 7; IGRR IV, no. 889) from Karamanli, North East of Tefeni, in the demos of the Ormeleis: mystai of Zeus Sabazios; A.D. 206-7.

EJ, no. 44B (CB I, 1, 295, no. 2 and 310, no. 127) from Karamanli: continuation of the list of mystai, mentioning priest of Zeus Sabazios and of Hermes.

EJ nos. 38/40 may also contain the names of priests of Zeus Sabazios; see W. Ruge, "Σῆμας Σαβάζιοι" RE XVIII, 1, (1939), 1104, II 6 ff.

11) D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor II, 1137 ff. suggests a route via Themisodion and Kormasa; Cf. E.V. Hansen, The Attalids of Pergamon, 165. No such road is shown on Calder and Bean’s revision of J.G.C. Anderson’s Classical Map of Asia Minor, but there must have been a route from Pergamon to Attaleia, probably via Laodikeia and presumably avoiding the independent kingdom of Kibyra. On Attaleia, see A.H.M. Jones, CERP^2, 129 ff. S. Jameson, "Attaleia", RE Suppl. Bd. XII (1970), 110 ff. has nothing relevant to add.

12) C. Blinkenberg, Archäologische Studien, 77, E 16. Another hand listed by Blinkenberg, 69, A 1, is also supposedly from Asia Minor, but there is no exact provenance.

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13) SIG, 4239 (TAM II, 2, no. 582), lines 11 ff. To the best of my knowledge, this inscription has not previously been noted by students of Sabazios. I therefore quote the relevant lines from the TAM edition:

[T]ις μυθερκεῖος τει[λ] τις δ' ἐθνος η βουλή καὶ ὁ δὴ ἐτεμποιησεν .... (the name is missing) ....

11 ff. — καὶ ἑρμησάραν ο ἔδι διού πρὸ πόλεμος Σ𝜒𝜒瘼 Javascript, (sic) προλογίας κτ.

14) Apollonios Attalou Moundionos: EJ, nos. 41-2 A, line 9, from Karamanli (Ech (1878), 56, no. 9; CB I, 1, 291, no. 9 & 312; IGRR IV, 890). Apollonios Menis Attalou Moundionos: ibid., line 13. The same name also appears in EJ no. 46, line 20, from Karamanli.

Attalos Apolloniou: EJ nos. 41-2 A, l. 15.

'Attalos γ' Ερμιου : EJ no. 43 (Ech II (1878), 56 ff. no. 10; CB I, 1, 289, no. 126, and 310; IGRR IV, no. 891) line 25, from Karamanli.

Attalos: EJ, nos. 47-50 (Ech II (1878), 56, no. 12; CB I, 1, 313, no. 131; IGRR IV, no. 892) A, line 12, from Karamanli, and nos. 72-5, line 26 from Ece.

Osaeis Attalou: ibid., line 21. The same name also appears in EJ, no. 44 B, line 6 and no. 46, line 16. An Attalos Osaei is mentioned in 44 B, line 6 and no. 72-5 A, line 7, from Ece.

Osaeis Attalou ves is found in nos. 53-5 C, line 22.


Neikolaos Attalou [8?] Neikolaou: EJ nos. 38-40 (Ech II (1878), 56, no. 8) B, line 33 from Karamanli.


No. 41-2 constitute a dedication for the safety of Septmius Severus, Annia Faustina and the deme of the Ormeleis, no. 43 for the safety of the last two. Nos. 47-50 and 72-5 are lists of monetary contributions in honour of the σιγ. Rostovtzeff, JOAT IV (1901), Beibl. 39, has suggested that nos.
53-5 contain the name of mystai, but this is uncertain. On the
dating of the inscriptions, see W. Ruge, "Σημειώσεις ἐπιγραφῶν" RE
XVIII, 1, (1939), 1102, 45 ff. Nos. 46 and 53 are probably con-
temporary. Nos. 38-40 and 44 B are later than 46, which is
dated A.D. 206-7. Nos. 38-40 post - date the Constitutio
Antoniniana.

15) Ed, nos. 38-40 A, line 1: Kalpornios Daos; nos. 53-5 C, line
12: Kalpornios Daos Sournou; line 18: Kalpurnios Sournos Daou.
CB I, 1, no. 168 from Yazılı Koy: Poplios Seuthou. BCH III (1879),
479: Menis Daou, near Kemer. Ramsay claimed to be able to read
Menidos Daou in the otherwise indecipherable part of CB I, 1,
305, no. 101 from Kalkık. I prefer to accept the reading of CB
I, 1, 304, no. 98, Attalou, in a Karamanli inscription rather
than Amad[ok]ou in BCH II (1878), 172, no. 4 and IV (1880), 293,
o. 2. L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, 144, footnote
64, cites Detschew and L. Robert in support of Daos being Thracian
and Phrygian. It is certainly Thracian, but the examples cited
above do not show that it is also Phrygian; rather, given the
other Thracian names in the neighbourhood and the lack of un-
equivocal signs of Phrygian population, they should be regarded
as attesting Thracian colonists. No examples of the name in a
Phrygian context are known to me. On Seuthes, see L. Robert,
Noms Indigènes, 114.

16) L. Robert, Villas², 33 and 250; Macedonian shield on Pisidian
St. IX (1959), 73 f., and J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigra-
phique", REG LXXIV (1961), no. 728. There is no proof that the
Thracians and Macedonians were settled in the area by the Atalids.
The Macedonian shield appears on coins in Asia Minor as early as
the time of Euplemos, who founded the colony at Nyssa. We
know of no Hellenistic foundations at all in the Lysis valley.
Themistion was probably a foundation of the Belucid period
and may have been at Karayük Bazar (Ramsay, CB I, 1, 260; A.H.M
Jones, CERP², 49; L. Robert, Villas, 112) and there were
phylakital at Eriza before 250 B.C. (CB I, 1, 256 ff.), while
Antiochos III attempted to establish a royal cult there (M.
Holleaux, "Nouvelles remarques sur l'édit d' Eriza", Etudes
de l' Epigraphie et de l' Histoire Grecques III, 165 ff.). There
could therefore have been Macedonians around Themisonion and Eriza before the period of Attalid rule. However, the presence Macedonians and Thracians in the Lysis valley (ΕΑ, nos. 38-40) and 53-5; CB I, 1, 304 f., nos. 98 and 101) is best explained by the existence of an Attalid settlement guarding the junction of roads from Pergamon and Apameia to Attaleia. A fortiori, we do not know the nature of any Attalid settlement. Cautionary comments about the necessary distinctions to be drawn in discussing settlements have been made by L. Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes, 191 ff.

17) K-Pr. II, 83, no. 168 from Maonia: prayer to Zeus Sabazios; Hellenistic.

Μεσ. (1880), 169, no. τατλίζ' (K-Pr. II, 96, no. 188) from Golde: dedication to Meter Hipta and Sabazios. J. Keil, "Die Kulte Lydiens", Anatolian Studies..., W.M. Ramsay, 258, footnote 22, records an otherwise unpublished fragment of an inscription attesting the god, recorded by Ramsay at Golde.

BSA XXI (1914-6), 169, no. 1 from Kula: confession to Zeus Sabazios and Meter Hipta.

Μοσ. (1880), 164, no. τατλίζ' (Buresch, Aus Lydien, III) from Sandal: confession to Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaeitis.

Μουσ. (1880), 167, no. τατλίζ' (JHS X (1889), 225, no. 17) from Sandal: confession to Zeus Sabazios.

Μουσ. (1880), 171, no. τατλίζ' (Buresch, ibid., 78) from Sandal: prayer to Sabazios.

K-Pr. II, 113, no. 218, from "Çumüş".


Μουσ. (1875), 120, no. ω' (BCH I (1877), 308; IV (1880), 130; K-Pr II, 84, no. 2). Alaşehir / Philadelphia. Dedication of a relief of Zeus Sabazios Neauletes to Zeus Koryphaios.

Wagener, Memoires Couronées par l'Académie de Belgique XXX
(1861) 5, no. 1 (BCH I (1877), 308; Hellenica VI (1948), lllff and pl. XXVI, 2; Ch. Picard, Rev. Arch. (1961) 2, 136, fig. 2 and 165, fig. 13). Also illustrated in A.B. Cook, Zeus II, 1, fig. 180 and in Eisele, "Sabazios", ML IV (1909 - 15), 244, fig. 3. Dedication of a statue of Zeus Sabazios by Katoikia of Koloe, A.D. 101.


S.E. Johnson, art. cit, 546, recognised the probability of the Lydian cult being dependent on the Pergamene one. There are also dedications to Sabathikos from Gülde (Maus. (1880), 167, no. ηλ' ) and from Bebekli (K-Pr. II, no. 224).

J. Keil, art. cit. supra, 263ff, distinguishes Sabathikos from Sabazios and suggests the former is Jewish. Certainly the form is reminiscent of the Jewish Sabaoth. On the other hand, -θ- and -ς- may in fact have represented the same sounds; R. Gusmani, La Parola del Passato, XIV (1959), 205, has argued that -θ- in inscriptions was probably pronounced -tz-, so Sabathikos and Sabazios may have been more closely related in sound than would appear on paper. In favour of Keill's distinction it may be said that in all the Lydian inscriptions so far discovered, Sabazios is identified with Zeus, while Sabathikos is not so identified.

18) Philadelphia and Blaundos: A.H.M. Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces 2, 44ff; V. Tscherikower "Die Hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit", 25, 33 and 187; M. Launey, Recherches sur les Armées Hellenistiques, I, 341 and 343 respectively. E.V. Hausen, The Attalids of Pergamon, 161 suggests that the settlement at Blaundos was established by Antiochos I. Troops at Emre: P. Hermann, art. cit., 5, no. 1. For troops at nearby Menye under Roman command during the war against Aristonikos, see ibid, no. 2. It is not absolutely clear whether the troops at Emre were on active service, or
constituted a military colony, as defined by L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliennes*, 191ff. The latter often appear as *Mauzéres*; see *Villes*, 76ff. We do not yet know of any Macedonian names from the district of Maonio; on Macedonian names in Lydia, see L. Robert, *Villes* 2, 32ff., 249ff., 265.

19) Mylasa: *BCH* V (1881), 106, no. 8. Plarasa: *BCH* XIV (1890), 610, no. 5 (*JHS* XX (1900), 75, no. 4).


22) Eisele cites *BM. Cat.* pl. I, no. 7 (= *cistophoros* (189–133 B.C.) from Laodikeia on the Lykos, 278, no. 1). B.V. Head's description is "in field r., wolf r., above turreted head of city-goddess r."

23) *Kerykeion* on pl. I, 10, 11, 13, 14 (cistophori from the same city, after 133 B.C., 279, no. 4; 280, no. 9; 281, no. 15 (56–53 B.C.); 282, no. 21 (53–51 B.C.). The *Kerykeion* was, of course, the attribute of Hermes, alongside whom Sabazios appears as a protégé of the Mother.

24) E.g. *B.M. Cat.* Ionia, 63 ff., nos. 143, 158, 174 (cult-statue of Artemis Ephesia); 144 (head of Artemis Ephesia); 145 (head of Greek Artemis); 147, 150, 175 ("Artemis huntress"); 148 (bow and quiver alone).

25) E.g. Regling, "Kistophoren". *RE* XXI, 1 (1921), 524 ff; Nilsson, *GG* II 2, 172 presents a complicated picture: "sie (i.e. the cista) ist dionysisch, da sie von einem Epheu-kranz umgeben ist; die Rückseite zeigt zwei Schlangen die einen Behälter mit einem Bogen umgeben. Sie sind auf den mit Dionysos identifizierten Sabazios zu beziehen, da die Schlangen gerade für diesen bezeichnend ist." E.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* V (Oxford, 1909), 261, although suggesting that the cistophori were first minted at Ephesius before 200 B.C., where, as he says, there was no cult of Sabazios.
nevertheless connects the cista and snakes with that god.

26) On the cista in the cult of Sabazios, see below; in the cult of Dionysos, e.g. F. A. Voigt, "Dionysos" ML I (1884-90), especially 1086, ll. 46 ff; Mau, "Cista", RE III, 2 (1899), 2591, ll. 47 ff.

27) e.g. B.M. Cat. Mysia, 124 ff, nos. 95 - 125 and pl. XXVI, 3 - 4.

28) e.g. SNG. von Aulock, I. heft: Pontus etc., nos. 59 - 60 (Amisos). Obverse: Dionysos. Reverse: Cista mystica, panther-sk and thyrsus.

29) Accepting the reading κυτταρός for κυτταρός in Demosthenes de Corona, XVIII, 260. The ivy - wreath has also been accepted as decisive by Voigt, art. cit., 1086, ll. 54 ff. and Nilsson, GGR² II (1961), 172 (see above, footnote 25).

30) C. Bohrer, Zur Chronologie Mittelhellenistischer Münz- serien 220 - 160 B.C., 44 gives the date as 190 - 188 B.C. On the other hand, F. Kleiner, American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 17 (1971), 117; 18 (1972), 17, n. 1 seems to suggest a date c. 166 B.C. I am grateful to Mr. G. K. Jenkins of the British Museum for these references.


On these lines, the scholia are (according to G. Dindorf, Aristophanes Comediae IV, 3, Scholia Graeca) 220, ll. 9 ff. καὶ φρύγικας Σεβάστικος: παίζει πρὸς τὸ ὠρομμα, ἐπεὶ οἱ φρώτες τῶν Σεβάστων τίμῳ. Τις δὲ ἔτιν φιλοῦσε ἡ θεά ἡ Ἡρακλέωτης πείρα Ἡρακλέωτας ἐκ τῆς β' φησιν ὡς φιλοῦσε δ' ἔγερεν ἑλκυσθέντον σεβάθην οὕτως. Παυταχώς ὁ φόρτιος μὲν Σεβάστιος ἐπί θεᾶς τοι ἔτιν φιλοῦσε τιμής περὶ τῶν γυνῶν περὶ αὐτῶν θεομελών. Τοῦ γὰρ εὔσκευεν ὁ βαρβαρικός σεβάθην φανερῆς ὣθεν ἐπί τῶν Ἐλευθέρων τινες ἀκολούθουσαν τῶν Ἐλευθέρων σεβασμὸν λέγουσιν. (FGrHist: 3B, 431, 13, 1b) Ἀλλαῖοσ παίζει πρὸς τὰ ὠρομμα ὡς φράγμα τὸ εὔσκευον σεβασμὸν λέγουσι καὶ τοῦ τοῦτον σεβασμὸν τῶν Ἐλευθέρων λέγουσιν, ἡ ὄμολος εἰς τὰς ἔργας τοὺς Ἐλευθέρων ἔργας. Ἐδιέθεν καὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους αὐτῷ...

Scholia (Dindorf, op. cit., 353, 11. 25 ff.): ἑξελιμήσει: διάργυρον τῶν ἑξελιμηθέντων, ὥσπερ μὲν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνυψωθῆς ὑποελήφθη ταχέως ἢ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν. Ὡς γὰρ εἶναι ὅτι θιάκως ἐξαίρεσιν ἐλέγον, ὡς δὲ εἰς ὅσιον ὅθεν ἐξαίρεσις καὶ διόνυσος πολλοὶ μεταφράσατο κομικοῖ.

Plutarch, Moralia IV, 6, 2 (671 F). ἑξαηθοί γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὅπερ πολλοὶ τῶν βάλκους κατοίκησιν καὶ ταύτην αὐτὴν την πυρίνην ὅταν ὑμεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πότιον εἴην (ed. C. Hubert, Teubner, 1938). Harpokration s.v. Εὔσβης. Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κηπερίαντος (Demosthenes, De Corona XVIII, 259) ὃς μὲν ἑξαηθοὶ λέγεται τοις τελομένοις τῆς ἑξαηθῆς, τοιοῦτοι τῆς Διονύσου καθάπερ τῆς βαρύτης βάλκους. τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἑξαηθοὶ καὶ Διονύσους φαίνει άλλοι τε καὶ Ἄρταρίαν οἰκείον περὶ Πριακέως. (FHV III, 14) αὐτὸ δὲ γεγονον καὶ τῶν βαλκόνων ἑξαηθοὶ κατοῖκοι. Μενεκές δὲ δ' ὅτι Πατραρχὸς μὲν εἶναι φησὶ τῆς Διονύσου ἑξαηθῆς. (FHV III, 155).

( the whole passage is quoted in ForHist 3. Teil, B, no. 431, 1). Hesychius, s.v. ἑξαηθῆς: ἐπωνυμὼν Διονύσου. οὐ δὲ μὲν Διονύσου καὶ βάλκον ἐνότα κατοίκων αὐτῶν. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι ἑξαηθῆς.

Photius, s.v. ἑξαηθοί καὶ ἑξαηθοί καὶ ἑξαηθοίς τοῖς βαλκνοῖς τῆς ἑξαηθῆς. τοῖς βαλκνοῖς τῆς ἑξαηθῆς. τοῖς βαλκνοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλκνοῖς περὶ τῶν βαλκνοῖς περὶ τῶν βαλκνοῖς τῶν ναῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλκνοῖς τῶν βαλκνοῖς τῶν ναῶν τῶν βαλκνοῖς τῶν ναῶν τῶν αὐτῶν. οὖν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλκνοῖς τῶν ναῶν τῶν βαλκνοῖς τῶν ναῶν τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν μεταφρασμένων αὐτῶν τοῖς καὶ τῶν βαλκνοῖς αὐτῶν. The texts of the lexographers are assembled by Cook, Zeus I, 395.
33) See the scholia to the passage in the Aves, quoted in footnote 31), above.

34) For the text in the Lysistrata, see footnote 32), above.

35) See above, Chapter Four.

36) E. Simon, "Das opfernde Götterpaar auf dem Krater vom Valle Trebb", Opfernde Götter, 79 ff. I am indebted to Mr. B.B. Sheftton for bringing this work to my attention.


38) Demosthenes, De Corona XVIII 259. Further on this passage, see below, 174.

39) Strabo X, 3, 18; X, 3, 15.

40) Aristophanes, Vespae, 9 ff. οἰκετής β': ἂν η περαρρωσίς ἐτέον ἑ κοπραυντίας; οἰκετής Α': οὐκ', ἄλλ' ὑπας μ' ἐχεῖ τ' έκ εὐβασίον. οἰκετής β': τὸν αὐτὸν ἱερόμοι βιωνόμες εὐβάσιον.

Scholia:
Εὐβάσιον ὑπὲ τὸν Δίονυσον οἱ θεῶν καλοῦσι καὶ οἴκους τοὺς ἱεροῖς αὐτῶν.


On Sabazios and the sun, see below, 172f.


= FGrHist. III, no. 273, 74. For the comments of the lexicographers, see above, footnote 32).
42) Diodorus Siculus IV, 4, 1, ἡ Μακεδονίαν ὡς τινας καὶ ἄλλην διόνυσον γεγονομένην πολῖς τὸν Χρώνας προστεθείς τοινοῦ. Φαθίν γὰρ αὐτὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ θεαματικῇ. Διόνυσον γενότομον τὸν ἄλλην τίτιν ἐξαφάνον ὁμολογοῦν... Cicero, de Natura Deorum, XXIII, 58: Dionysos multos habemus... tertium Cabiro patre, eumque regem Asiae praefuisse dicunt, cu Sabazia sunt instituta...

45) Hesychius, s.v. Σαβαζίους. Ἀμφείκα τοῦ Σαβαζίους σύμων κελεύεται φίλοι καὶ μακεδόνων.
48) Hesychius s.v. Σαβαζίους. Σαβαζίους τοῦ Σαβαζίους σύμων κελεύεται φίλοι καὶ μακεδόνων.
49) BCH XX (1897), 473.
50) Wesseling, Itineraria, 639.
51) See Wesseling, Ad Hierodem, 633; Lobeck, Aglaophamus, 297; Perdriset, Cultes et Mythes du Parnée, 80.
52) Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 24, 140 (Aeschyli Fabulae, ed. N. Wecklein, Part I, 487). It was also Aischylos in his Edomians who first located the episode of Lykourgos in Thrace; see H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos, 60 ff, especially 64. See also
footnote 43) below.

53) Herodotos VII, 11. On the other hand, he could mean Rhodope, as he first mentions Pangalon after the mountain-sanctuary of Dionysos. Such a view was adopted by Kazarow, "Thrake (Religion)", RE VIA, 1 (1936), 489, 46 ff. See also footnote 54) below. On Dionysos, Ares and Artemis, see Herodotos V, 7.

54) Euripides, Rhesos, 972, where Rhesos is said to be the prophet of Dionysos.

55) Scholium on Euripides' Hecuba, 1267 of μὲν περὶ τῆς παγίας εἵνεκα τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ Διονύσου, αὕτη περὶ τῶν Ἀρμον.

56) Pomponius Mela II, 17.

57) Pseudo-Aristotle de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, 122.

58) For the visits by Gn. Octavius and Alexander the Great, see Suetonius Octavius Augustus, 94. On the dispute between the Odrysai and Bessi - over the ownership of the temple, see Dio Cassius LI, 25 and LIV, 34. According to Kazarow, loc. cit. (footnote 53), this temple was an Rhodope, but Dio does not state this. I. Welkow, "Der Fels im Kultus der Thraker", Festschrift für Rudolf Egger, I, 29 - 30, suggests the same thing. Like the Bessi, the Odrysai occupied the land between Haimos and Rhodope (see Perdrizet Cultes et Mythes du Pangee, 40 and Huéck, "Das Odysenreich in Thrakien", Hermes (1891), 76 ff). The disputed temple could have lain anywhere in this area.

59) Macrobius Saturnalia I, 18, 1. The Thracian Ligyræans are otherwise unknown. The text is probably corrupt.

60) Seure, Rév. Arch. (1908), 2, 44. cf. Perdrizet, Cultes et Mythes du Pangee, 43.

61) For the Thracian inscriptions I cite only references to Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae (IGB), as this is now the most convenient corpus for the area. The earlier publications have, in addition, mostly been unavailable to me. They are cited in IGB. IGB IV, 1927, Sofia (Serdica). Dedication by a priest of a
temple to Kyrios Sebazios Athypareno. Third century A.D.

IGB IV, 1985, Buhovo ( territory of Serdica ). Dedication by an adiutor cornicularii to Epekoos Theos Sebazios Metrikos. Third century A.D.

IGB IV, 2015, Mramor ( territory of Serdica ). Priest of Zeus Sebazios.

IGB IV, 2023, Maslovo ( territory of Serdica ). Dedication of a work ( τὸ ἔργον ) to Sebazios Epekoos by a praetorian of Caracalla.

IGB IV, 2034, Dragoman ( territory of Serdica ). Thank offering to Kyrios Sabazios by a soldier of Legio II Parthica. Third century A.D.

AEM X (1886), 238, no. 2. Pirot ( Sofia - Niš Road ). Dedication of an altar to Theos Hypsistos by a Thiasos Sebazios.

IGB IV, 2076, Hisarlaka ( territory of Pautalia ).

IGB IV, 2103, Pautalia. Dedication to Zeus Sebazios.

IGB IV, 2196, Grobo, near Tavalicevo ( territory of Pautalia ). Dedication of an altar to Kyrios Sebazios epekoos.

IGB IV, 2233, Sopotela ( territory of Pautalia). Dedication to Kyrios Sabazios.


Sbornik na naredni Outmotyorenia (1900), 79 (Rév. Arch.(1907)), 2, 427, no. 3; Ath. Mitt. XXXVII (1912), 18, no. 80) ibid.

Kyrios Epekoos Sebazios Arsilenos.

Année Epigraphique (1908), no. 141, Eski Đzumaia. Dedication ( in Latin ) to Sebađus and Mercurius.


Kazarow found the groundplan of a shrine of Sabazios and an
associated rock-cut niche on a summit called Tschepean near Dragoman (Schaefer, "Sabazios", *RE* IA2 (1920), 1546, ll. 15 ff.). It is tempting to see this as the home of Sebazios Athyparenos, but it is noticeable that in the inscription from Dragoman the god does not receive that epithet.

By their geographical location, the dedications from East of Pautalia might suggest a cult of Sebazios centred on western Rhodope, but in none of these dedications does the god bear an ethnic, which one would expect him to do if this were the case.

Schaefer, *RE* IA2 (192), 1546, ll. 36 ff. implied that there might have been a temple of Sebazios Arsilenos at Kispitlil, but G. Mihailov in his commentary on *GR* III, 2, 1588, is certain that the inscription was brought from Augusta Traiana. The centre of the cult presumably lay between that city and Nikopolis ad Istrum, but we cannot be more precise.

For the association with Hermes / Mercuvius and other divinities in the monuments from Eski Dzumaia and Philippopolis, see below 131 and footnote 131). On the association with the Mother, see below 133 and footnote 93). The Thracian cult, as attested by the inscriptions, shows the Greco-Anatolian influence that would be expected.

62) H. Seyrig, *BCH* LI (1927), 211.

63) H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: Histoire du Culte de Bacchus*, 431, suggests that Rhesos was the name of the god of Pangaion. However, Euripides, *Rhesos* 970 ff., clearly says that Rhesos would be a prophet of Dionysos on Pangaion after his death, "τὴν ἕσθησεν Ἰδέαν θεόν ἔστιν". He should probably be classed, like Orpheus and Lykourgos, as one of the human but divinised servants of the god, more or less identified with him. Cf. Strabo X, 3, 16, c471 on the identification of Dionysos (whom Strabo regards as Phrygian) and Lykourgos by the Thracians.

64) Voigt, "Dionysos" *ML* I (1884 - 90), 1031, ll. 30 ff. "Der Name Sabazios, der dem thrakischen Dionysos . . . zukommt, erweist erstens die enge Verwandtschaft der Thraker und
Phryger, zweitens wird dieser Name ausdrücklich auf die orgiastische Verehrung bezogen und war (wohl als Anrufung) in dem ekstatischen Rufe εικ' οαβει, Dem. de cor. 260, enthalten."

L.R. Farnell, Calts of the Greek States V, 94.
A.B. Cook, Zeus II, 1, 269 ff.

65) L.R. Farnell, op. cit., 89 ff.

66) Pliny N.H. XVI, 34.

67) Lykophron 1237: κασσάς ετέρ αιτιν' πράσινα καὶ λαφυσιάς κερατοφέρους γαμάκινας.

The scholiast comments: λαφυσιάς ο Διόνυσος απο την βοστιά λαφυσιάς ορόσης. λαφυσιάς ο Διόνυσος από την άφυτη λαφυσιάς ορόσης βοστιά, οτὲ απο λαφυσιάς ατ' ως Μακεδονίας βεμέχθη, καὶ καὶ Μιμαλόνες ἐκείλουσε, χδ τὸ μυθείδει αυτὸ τὸν Διόνυσον. κερατοφόροις γι' αυτω κατὰ μύθην Διονύσου. τιμορθοθανός γι' ψυχοθετάτην καὶ διαμαρθείτην.

On Kiossas, the scholiast gives Kiošas ὥς ὅρας Ἀκρωτηρίων ἔθα ὁ Ἀιναίας μετά τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ὡκείν τέρ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰσομείεσθαι. . Cf. Hezychius s.v. Kiossas ὥς ὅρας ὧς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἤτο πόλις.

Macedonian bacchants are nowhere else called Laphystiae.

One wonders whether Lykophron really meant to imply this, or whether he was simply mentioning together two Bacchic subjects: a mountain in Macedonia named "ivy", an important attribute of Dionysos, and some Boetian devotees of the god, presumably named after the mountain on which they practised their rites (cf. the oreibasia of Kithairon in Euripides' Bacchae). The two topics are alike only in their obscurity. The scholiast was evidently confused by Lykophron's display of learning.

Mimallones and Kloidones: Callixenus Rhodius apud Athenaeus V, 198e (= Call. Rhod. frag. 2 FGrHist. IIIe, no. 627, F. 2, (p. 169); Schol. Pers. I, 100; Schol. Lykophron 1237 (see above); Strabo X, 468; Plutarch Alex. 2; Polyaeus IV, 1; EM, 587, 53; 588, 43 (Mimallones); 521, 48 (Kloidones); Suida s.v. Μιμαλλώνες and Κλάδωνες. Mimallones
are mentioned by Eustathius ad Iliadem 989, 25, along with Μακέδων (i.e. Μακεδονικός), without being said to be Macedonian. Hesychius mentions Mimallones and Klódones, but does not give their country of origin.

68) Plato, Leges I, 637E.

69) Macrobius, Saturnalia I, 18, 1. (FOH III, 210, 151; ForHist. 3A, no. 273).

70) Herodotos VII, 11.

71) Pseudo-Aristotle, de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, 122.

72) Suetonius, Octavius Augustus, 94.

73) Farnell, op. cit. (note 61), 95 ff. Diodorus Siculus IV, 4, 2. Λέγουσιν οὖν τὸν Θεόν γενέσθαι πρὸς θεον θεότητι συνεγερθέντα καὶ πρῶτον ἐπικρίθην Μακεδόνας καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν σπόρων τῶν κυρτῶν ἐπισήλθεν. Αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ κυρτὰ λόγων συνεργάσθησαν. Of this older Dionysos, the son of Zeus and Persephone, Diodorus also says (V, 75, 4): τούτων δὲ τῶν θεόν γενέσθαι πρῶτος θεόν καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν κυρτῶν τῶν κυρτῶν διὰ τούτων τῶν κυρτῶν ἐπισήλθεν. (O. Kern, Orph. Frag., no. 303)

74) Themistius, Or. XXX, 349b: οὐ μὴν οὖν ὁ Ορφεὺς τελείται τεκνὶ ὄργια γενομένη ἐκτὸς συμμετεχόν τίνι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται, πάντα κυρίων τε καὶ θέλειν τῶν ὀρφικῶν κληρῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν κυρτῶν τῶν ὁμορίων ἐν γενομένων παραχθῆναι μήρωσθαι πάντων ὁμορίων φιλῶν καὶ θερήμα διαιτῶν, καὶ τὸ εὐ τούς φυκῶς θερμώσας ἐκέφιμοι καὶ ὁμορίωσαν. καὶ τὸ θερήμα ἐν τῷ μέλης κυρίων ὑποτελεῖ θυσίας τε πάσας καὶ τελείας διὰ τῶν ὀργών παρατιθέμενος καὶ τῶν ὁμορίων νόμων ἐν τούτων ἀκούσας. (O. Kern, Orph. Frag. t. 112)

75) I quote examples and dates from W. Baeger, de Macedonum sacris, 96 ff.

Lete: c. 500 B.C. and later: obverses: naked satyr seizing Maenad; Satyr kneeling.


(Baeger, 96 ff.)

Skapsa: pre 480 B.C.; obverse Calix on ass.
Mende: c. 500 - 480 B.C.; obverse: crow on back of ass. In front of a vine, an ass or an ass's head.

Skione: c. fifth century B.C.; obverse: youthful head bound with taeniae; reverse: grape-bunch.

  424 - 358 B.C.; obverse: head of Zeus Ammon; reverse: kantharos or eagle.

Torone: c. 500 - 480 B.C.; obverse: amphora, often decorated with grapes, or oenochoe.
  c. 480 - 424 B.C.; obverse: oenochoe; reverse: goat.
  c. 424 - 400 B.C.; obverse: naked Satyr looking into oenochoe; reverse: goat; obverse: oenochoe; reverse: goat-head, or forepart of goat. Obverse: stork inserting its beak into the neck of a large oenochoe.

Akanthos: second half of the fifth century B.C.; obverse: lion attacking bull; grape-bunch and vine-leaves.

Tragilos: c. 450 - 400 B.C.; obverse: grape-bunch.

Amphipolis: c. 400 B.C.; obverse: youthful head bound with taeniae; reverse: torch; grape-bunch.
  c. 185 - 168 B.C.; obverse: head of Bacchus crowned with vine-leaves.
  pre-88 B.C.; obverse: youthful head of Dionysos; reverse: goat.
Thessalonike; c. second to first centuries B.C.; obverse: head of Dionysos; reverse: grape-bunch or goat standing. c. 185 168 B.C.; obverse: ivied head of young Dionysos; reverse: goat standing.

Apollonia Mygdoniae; c. third to second centuries B.C. (?); obverse: youthful head crowned with ivy; reverse: amphora.

For the tribal coinage of the later sixth century B.C., see M. Price, *Coins of the Macedonians*, 5-6.

76) See W. Baege, *op. cit.*, 101 and, for example, J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 224.

77) Theophrastos, *Characters*, 16, 4. Before the Pergamene kings united Sabazios with Zeus, he had been identified by the Orphics with the horned Dionysos; see 174 and 180. This suggests that the conception of Sabazios as a snake-god may not have been as strong as is thought.

78) E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion*, 118 f., citing the depiction of the snake as a helper of Dionysos against the Giants on vases listed by M. Mayer, *Giganten und Tyrannen* (1887), 320-8, and on a vase by Pamphaios, c. 500 B.C., showing a Maenad using a snake to ward off the advances of Satyrs and Silens.


80) On Dionysos liknites, see Gr. Kruse, "Liknites", *RE* XIII, 2 (1926), 536 f. A liknophoros in a Dionysiac festival at Chaironeia is mentioned in *CIG* 3392, cited by L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V, 188.

81) H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos*, 64 ff. Jeanmaire's comments were ignored by W. Fauth, "Dionysos", *Kleine Pauly* II (1967), 78, ll. 21 ff., who regards the Homeric Lykourgos story as being located in Thrace.

83) Having proposed a radical explanation which makes irrelevant much of the evidence on the origin of Dionysos, it is probably incumbent on us, without going fully into the complex nature of that god, to suggest some positive ideas about his origins. The problem was summed up by W. Fauth, "Dionysos", Kleine Pauly II (1967), 78, ll. 47 ff: "Der Annahme eines originärer Kret. D. . . . mit in eines Doppelgängers des Zeus Diktaios . . . ., bereitet die Tradition des thra. phryg. anatol. Ausgangsgebiets gewisse Schwierigkeiten. . . ., welche den Kern des D. Problems ausmachen."

In fact, the Phrygo-Anatolian component of Dionysos' character lies in his alumnus-relationship to "Great goddesses" (listed by Fauth, art. cit., 79, ll. 7 ff.). This fits loosely at least with his Cretan character (see below, footnote 93). A description of him as belonging to the type of an Aegean-Anatolian son-god would account for much of his character. The evidence is listed by Fauth, art. cit., 77, 57 ff. On the other important component of his make-up, his association with vegetation, see H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos, 12 ff.

In favour of a Thracian origin there remains some linguistic evidence. The forms Ζώνωμος and Διόνυσος imply, according to Kretschmer, a basic form *Δως νώμος, which may be compared with the Thracian Δωσώμως = Αιωνάς (Fauth, art. cit., 77, ll. 14 ff.). The fact that the two, perhaps primitive, dialectal forms quoted, the first Aeolic, the second Thessalo-Cretan, suggest links with Thrace, perhaps tells us more about those dialects than about the name itself. If a "Thracian" form, similar to one of those quoted, had been standard throughout Greece, in contrast to the Δω- form found in most compounds involving the name, then perhaps this would have been evidence for a Thracian origin.

The name of Dionysos' mother, Semele, is more awkward to explain. The word presumably means "earth", and is reasonably compared to the Σεμέλως in the Late Phrygian inscriptions. The relationship of the Phrygians and Thracians is a question on which more positive evidence is needed, but in view of its basic nature, we can perhaps assume that Semele is a Thracian word. Whether an earth-goddess Semele
was worshipped by the Thracians in their homeland is uncertain (but see the hieros gamos scene, Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria, 63, no. 275). The presence of Semele in Boeotia is perhaps to be connected with that of "Phrygians" on the Attic - Boeotian border at Oita. If Semele ever was a goddess, this was forgotten in Boeotia, where she became a princess, the daughter of Kadmos. Why this one Thracian element was incorpored into the mythology of an otherwise apparently non-Thracian god I cannot explain.

84) P. Perdrizet, Cultes et Mythes du Pangée, 59 ff. Perdrizet attributes the identification of Sabazios with Helios (Sol) to Macrobius' source, Alexander Polyhistor. That is possible, but what Macrobius quoted may also only have run from "quem" to "tectum".


86) Sophokles, frag. 520 Nauck: θης ἐπερμήαν ἄρα μέσω τῆς τέθη του θεοῦ ἔνοικα ὑπάλληλον προσήχεσαι, ἐπιτερπομένος το τῆς νυκτὸς κατὰ τήν ἀπελθίαν, ἐπὶ το ὄρος το καλούμενον Πάγγον (αὐτῆς) προσέξειν τῆς ἀντιλήψεως ὑπὲρ τον θεόν πρῶτον (πρώτον)." ἄφθων ἡ ἀπαίχως ὁρμήθηκε αὐξών ὑπὲρ με τὰς Βασιλείας, ἐκ θεοῦ Ἀλκάλας ὑποτιθέτει, αἰτίας αὐτῶν ηὐκτήμονοι καὶ τῇ μέλῃ Σιδερίῳ ἤπρος ἐκτίμησα, αἱ σε Μοῖραι πανοξυστικὴ ἐκθέαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄττικον Λεμβηθρίου.

87) Eratosthenes, Catasterismi 24, p. 140 (Aeschylis Fabulae, part I, ed. N. Wecklein): τον μὲν Διόνυσου πάν ὡμίχ, τὸν δὲ Ἡλίους μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν ἐνοίκα ἐνωθη, οὐ καὶ Ἀπόλλων προσήκεις, ἐπιτερπομένος το τῆς νυκτὸς κατὰ τήν ἀπελθίαν, ἐπὶ το ὄρος το καλούμενον Πάγγον (αὐτῆς) προσέξειν τῆς ἀντιλήψεως ὑπὲρ τον θεόν πρῶτον (πρώτον). ἀφθων ἡ ἀπαίχως ὁρμήθηκε αὐξών ὑπὲρ με τὰς Βασιλείας, ἐκ θεοῦ Ἀλκάλας ὑποτιθέτει, αἰτίας αὐτῶν ηὐκτήμονοι καὶ τῇ μέλῃ Σιδερίῳ ἤπρος ἐκτίμησα, αἱ σε Μοῖραι πανοξυστικὴ ἐκθέαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄττικον Λεμβηθρίου.

88) See the discussion of this topic by F.A. Voigt, "Dionysos", ML I (1884-90), 1051, 11. 13 ff. & roses (interpreted as the sun) appear with the head of Dionysos (?) on a Thracian coin of the late 6th cent; Price, Coins of the Macedonians, pl. I. On pls. I, 7 and II, 7 we see the rose by the side of two women lifting an amphora (B.M. Cat. Macedonia, uncertain towns, l).

89) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus XVIII 30 ff and pl.6, no. 2165. Cf. C. Picard, BCH LXX (1946), 455 ff.

90) Anakreon Frag. 135.

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91) Pindar, Dithyrambi, frag. 61, 3 f... εἰς... οἷς βρομίου... τινα... ς...[πτ]...ν...κατ...ρένα...ν...ομο...φόνοι...ο...στοτήν...ς...μέν...κατάρτιον...ματέρι...παρ...μεγαλόν...ρομβο...πυρ...ο...να...κεκληκ...κροταλ...ανθρωπον...τε...δέ...σο...ζαν...πε...πού...ποίησις... 

92) Euripides Bacchae, 11. 58 ff., 78 ff. 120 ff.

The evidence cited in the last four footnotes, attesting the association of Dionysos with goddesses related to Kybele, has been deliberately limited to uncontroversial and late material showing a kourotrrophic relationship. However, the passages of the Bacchae cited, with their identification of Kybele and the Cretan Rhea, do beg the question of a Cretan prototype for Dionysos, the real son of Rhea. Cf. footnote 83) above.

93) Cf. Strabo: X, 3, 15 καὶ... εἰς...[φρ]...σφυ...κρόουν...τινα...ς...Η...μετρο...τε...μνήμα...παμφρόκσς...τι...το...Αἰσχύλου...καὶ...ἀλτάς...E. Simon, Opfernde Götter, 84, comments: "Dieses τρόπον τιμά (gewissersmassen) soll wohl nicht besagen, dass Kybele nur die Pflegerin des Kindes war, sondern drückt eine geheimnisvolle, nicht weiter analysierbare mystische Verbindung aus, die weder eine Ehe noch das verhältnis Mutter-Kind zu sein braucht." She goes on to compare Strabo's statement that at Koroneia, Athena and Hades were worshipped alongside one another "κατα...τιμά...φρα...μυστικά...απίνω..." (IX, 29).

Kretschmer, in his Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, 198 ff. suggested that the Phrygian Sabazios was the son of Semele and Zeus Bronton. If we equate Sabazios with Dionysos, this is reasonable as a hypothetical construction. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that Semele was a Phrygian goddess (although it is theoretically possible); Zeus Bronton cannot be proved to have been the Phrygian weather-god (see below, Chapter Five), and we are engaged in demonstrating that Sabazios was not Phrygian.

In his commentary on his edition of the Bacchae, E.R. Dodds goes further (76 ff., notes on 11. 78-9) and suggests the pattern of an Anatolian / Thraco-Phrygian /
Cretan goddess, Kybele / Zemelo (i.e. Semele) / Rhea and her son Dionysos / Sabazios / Zeus Diktaios, with the essential unity of the local variants, and especially the relationship between the Mother and Dionysos, which had hitherto been unperceived, being recognised when Asiatic immigrants to Athens in the fifth century introduced the joint cult of Kybele and Sabazios. If one ignored the fact that Sabazios is probably not Phrygian at all, but Thracian, and that we are ignorant of any relationship to a goddess in Thrace, and overlook the difference between Zeus Diktaios, the real son of Rhea, and Dionysos, the alumnus of Kybele and other goddesses, then this would have been a good exercise in comparative religion. This sort of comparison does help us to understand why the Greeks made equations between at least some of these divinities, but does not help with the antiquity of the equations. (Strabo, in the theological excursus in book X of his geography (X, 3, 7 - 23), having observed the similarities in religious rites between Thrace and Asia Minor, attributed this to the fact that the Phrygians emigrated from Thrace, without discussing this transmission in detail (see X, 3, 15 ff.). In this, he is guilty of the same fault as Dodds. For a study of this excursus, see H. Jeanmaire, Couroi et Courêtes : Essai sur l'Education spartiate et sur les Rites d'Adolescence dans l'Antiquité hellénique, 593 ff.)

F. Lénormant, Rev. Arch. (1874), 380, suggested that in Thrace Sabazios was associated with Kotytto. Now certainly Aischylos, quoted by Strabo X, 3, 16, said that similar instruments were used in the rites of Kotytto and Dionysos (used by Strabo as evidence for Thracio-Phrygian unity, as in the preceding section he said that Dionysos was a Phrygian god), and Herodotos, V, 7, said that the Thracians worshipped only three gods, Dionysos, Artemis (i.e. Kotytto?) and Ares. However, this evidence by itself is too weak to allow us to say that Sabazios and Kotytto shared a joint cult, or that Sabazios was an alumnus or the like of Kotytto. We cannot therefore use any Sabazios-Kotytto relationship as a prototype for the Sabazios-Kybele relationship in evidence in
Athens. The monuments described by Lémormant in support of his theory are of the greatest interest, but show clearly a great deal of Greek influence. They can hardly be taken as representing the Thracian religion in its pure form. The Paros relief to which he refers is discussed by O. Walter, "Курий статуя", JOAI XXXI (1939), 70f. and footnote 25. Lémormant believed that the Sabazios-Kotytto couple, like Attis-Kybele, were derived from an archetypal Phrygian divine couple Pappas-Ma.

As regards the priority of the Dionysos-Kybele association to that of Sabazios and Kybele, it must be admitted that in mainland Greece this is slight. A terminus ante quem for the fragment of Pindar quoted (footnote 91) is the death of the poet in 438 B.C., while the Valle Trebba crater, according to E. Simon, was produced c. 440 B.C. However, the testimony of Anakreon and Alkalos suggests that the association of Dionysos with a "great goddess" in East Greece was earlier, and may have spread thence to the mainland. The prevalence of divine couples in western Anatolia is presumably relevant here.

P. Lambrechts has done well to insist that, in the comparative study of religious cults, differences between the cults being compared must not be neglected, but rather, that the method is well suited to emphasise such differences. However, we must not expect the ancients to have been as scrupulous when making equations between gods (e.g. Dionysos and Sabazios, Kybele and Rhea) as Prof. Lambrechts insists that modern scholars should be ("De. fenomenologische Methode in de godsdienstwetenschap", Mededelingen van de Kon-Vlaamse Akademie van België, Kl.de.Lett., XXVI (1964), nr. 6, especially 50).

94) See Appendix Two below. It is on the artistic evidence that arguments for the identification of Sabazios and Attis must rest. For discussions of the subject, see the bibliography in footnote 2) above. The origins of an identification have been explained in the text.

95) Demosthenes, de Corona, XVIII, 259 – 60, quoted by Hepding,

96) Harpokration s.v. ἀπομακρύννειν. cf. μὲν ἀπλοκοίνεταις σικυώμενοι αὐτὶ τῶν απομακρύννεσ, ἡλικίας ἢ περιγράφων, οὗν περιπλάσσων τῶν πηλῶν καὶ τῶν πτώρων τοῖς τελουμένοις, οὐκ ἁγεμόνας ἀπομακρύννεσθαι τῶν ἀδριαντά τηλεού. ἔλαθον γὰρ τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τῶν πτώρων τοῖς μυστικοῖς, ἐκμυστικοῖς τὰ μυθολογεῖσι τῷ ἑλεούν τοῖς διόνυσοι ἐλευθέρω ἐγώις νασταπλασσάμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν μὲ γνώριμοι γνώσθησαν. τούτῳ μὲν ὡς τὸ ἔθες ἐκλιπήν, πηλῷ δὲ ύστερον καταπλάσσησθαι

νομίμου Χάριν (=Kern, loc. cit. supra ). W. O. E. Osterley, "The Cult of Sabazios: a study in religious syncretism" in S. H. Hooke, The Labyrinth, etc., 146, regards the cry " ἕκυψιν καὶ κατακαίον, ἔκυψιν καὶ κατακαίον " quoted by Demosthenes, and the reference by Iamlichus de Mysteriis III, 10 to παιμαν μνηματοδ οικρινοῖς as attesting Orphic influence.

98) Quoted footnote 40) above. See also below, 178 and footnotes 16-71.
99) Diodorus Siculus V, 75, 4 - 5. In III, 64, 1 - 2 he allows Sabazios / Dionysos to be the son of Persephone or Demeter. Clemens Alexandrinus, Cohortatio ad Gentes II, 5 (PG VII (1891), 76 ff.)

Arnobius, adversus Gentes V, 21 (PL V (1844), 1123 ff.).

100) Diodorus Siculus IV, 4, 1 μυθολογεῖσι εἶναι καὶ ἕπερον διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολλὰ τοῖς χρόνοις προτερόλλητα τόποι. ὡς γὰρ εἰς δεῖοι καὶ φερετοῦ καὶ κατακαίον γνώσθησαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκθέκαιον σικυωμένον, - - -

101) The similarity was seen by Eisele, "Sabazios", ML IV (1909 - 15), 260, 11. 53 ff., according to which the person above whose head the liknon is held is being sprinkled with plaster. This recalls Harpokration's explanation of ἀπομακρύννειν τῷ πηλῷ. The Lovatelli urn was originally published by E. C. Lovatelli, "Di un vaso cinerario con rappresentanze relative ai Misteri de Eleusi", Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma VII (1879), 18 and pls. i-v. It has recently been discussed by G. E. Mylonas, Eleusis and
the Eleusinian Mysteries, 205 ff. and pl. 83, from whom I cite the original publication. A similar scene is depicted on a sarcophagus from Torre Nova (Mylonas, op. cit. 207 and pl. 84).

102) Plutarch, Alexander 2. The section dealing with the rites practised by Olympia, but not that concerning the birth of Alexander, is quoted by W. Baеge, de Macedonum Sacris, 82.

103) See above, footnote 67.

104) Clemens Alexandrinus, Cohortatio ad Gentes, II, 15: παθηρ και φθοραις κόρης ε ζας· ημι μπινωτα δρικων γενεμενος · δε ευ, ελεγχθεις. Σαβαστϊων γενα μνητηρϊων εμπολον τοι μυσρινον ε δε κοιμηθεν θεος. δρικων εκ ουδενος, εικονμενος τοι κοιμηθεν τοις τελευκτων.

Arnobius, adversus Gentes V, 21: Ipsa novissima sacra et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebaiois nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati, in quibus aures coluber in simum dimittitur consecratis, et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus portibus atque imis.

105) See below, 179f. When Diodorus Siculus, IV, 4, 1, speaks of the shameful secret nocturnal rites of Sabazios, it may be this that he is alluding to.


107) H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos, 404.

108) Athenaeus 5, p. 198e (=Callixenus Rhodium, frag. 2; FHG, 3, 60; FGrHist IIIc no. 627, frag. 2.); quoted by W. Baеge, de Macedonum Sacris, 83.

109) W. Baеge, op. cit. 84: "Quarium mira quadam ratione consuetudinem moresque (sc. Bacchorum Macedonicarum) Euripidis Bacchis illustrari omnes fere nunc credunt."

110) I cite coin-types from Baеge, op. cit., 86: thrysos or kantharos as symbols on coins showing the head of Apollo; kantharos on those with the head of Heracles.

Eisele, "Sabazios" ML IV (1909 - 15), 253, 64 ff. mentions in connexion with the story about Olympia a Macedonian
bronze coin from the time of the Diadochæ depicting a cista mystica, Mionnet, Description des Médailles I, 560. This work has not been available to me. I have found no other references to this coin, and have found no parallels in other catalogues.

111) See above, footnote 89.

112) See C. B. Welles, Royal Correspondence, 219 ff., commentary on no. 53.

113) Fränkel, Die Inschriften von Pergamon I, no. 248 (OGIS I, no. 331), quoted in part by G. Quandt, De Baccho ab Alexandri Aetate in Asia Minore Culto, 120 ff., 11. 5 ff.: Basileos Ἀτταλος ἀνεγορασάτο τῷ ἀγαθῷ χαίρεσιν. Ἐξωνδνέρακι τῶι συντρόφωι ἤμων, τινὶ δὲ μαμβρεῖται κατὰ σταθήτως ὑπὸ τὰ δέκαρη βασιλείας τῶι Κυθηνεράνωι διονύσσου ἰέρως.


115) Pausanias X, 15, 3: τάξα γὰρ οὐρὰ δοσσητηριό τερινίων ἑκάκει, τιμώρας διατρεφείς φίλον μικρόν, ὡς πυσίν γελάτην διέλθειν ἤκουσε ἐρίπτει.

πείτε δὲ ἐπὶ ταύρον τὸν Εὐεργέμηρον βασιλεῖς εὐκάρπον ἄτταλον τὸν δὲ ἐκτὸν τῶιν καὶ ταυρόκερων προετήρηκεν χρυσότρειβαν. Εὐδα, ἐν ἰερείᾳ ταύρων, ταυρόκερως, ζέες βασιλείδας τιμῆν, καί πείτεν παῖδες τῶιν χερίν, καὶ πείτεν παῖδες τοῖς καὶ μὲν σιδήροι παῖδες.

Both passages are quoted by G. Quandt, op. cit., 125.

116) e.g. Ath. Mitt. XVII (1892), 190 (Inscr. von Pergamon I, no. 222); SIG II, 743 (Inscr. von Pergamon II, no. 485); Ath. Mitt. XXIV (1899), 179, no. 31; ibid. 180 (Inscr. von Pergamon II, no. 486a); Inschr. von Pergamon II, nos. 487-8. The texts of the above inscriptions are assembled by G. Quandt, De Baccho ab Alexandri Aetate in Asia Minore culto, 123 f.

117) Aristophanes, Vespae, 10; Euripides, Antiope, Nauck FTG, 421, frag. 203; Lucian, περὶ Ἓλεος 79 (Orph. Frag., t. 209). ἑλεος is found in an inscription from Perinthos (Orph. Frag., t. 210), on a third century B.C. papyrus from Gurob (Orph. Frag., pars Post, no. 31, 1. 25), in Clem. Alex., Protr. II, 20, 1-21 (Orph. Frag., pars post. no. 52) and in Orphic
Hymns I and 31.

118) Apollonia: CIG 2052.


121)

Antipater (397-319 B.C.)

Phila

Stratonike(i) = Seleukos I (319-324 B.C.)

Antiochos I (324-261 B.C.)

(287-246 B.C.)

Antiochos II = Laodike

Seleukos II (c. 265-225 B.C.)

Ariarathes III = Stratonike

Antiochos III (c. 242-187 B.C.)

(c. 250-220 B.C.)

220-163 B.C.) Ariarathes IV = Antiochis

Stratonike = Eumenes II

Attalos III

122) Compare the description of Olympias' rites in Plutarch, Alexander 2.

123) E. Ohlemutz, Die Kälte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon, 272. "Ich möchte also, wenn sich darüber auch nichts Bestimmtes sagen lässt, in unserem Falle geneigt sein, den Namen Zeus Sabazios aus dem Klugen Religionspolitik der pergamenischen Könige zu erklären".

123A) The detail that Zeus coupled with Persephone in the form of a serpent is only added by the late writers Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius. However, it may be implied by the story of Alexander's birth, as interpreted above.

124) See footnote 10) above.

125) See A. Heubeck, Lydiaka, 63, on Ἡπατ = Ὡπτα.

126) See above, Chapter Three, footnote 7).
127) See above, Chapter Three, 87.

128) ibid., 95.

129) Orphic Hymn XLVIII

130) On Euripides, see footnote 92 above.

Nonnos, Dionysiaka I, 147 ff


133) See footnote 61 above, IGB II, no. 678. Compare also IGB IV 1985, a dedication to Epokoos Theos Sebazioi Metrikos.

134) Proclus in Timaeum 251c.


137) For attestations of Sabazios and Artemis-Anaetis in Maonia, see above, footnote 17). For other attestations of Artemis-Anaetis, including those with Mên, see J. Keil, "Die Kulte Lydiens", 250, III; also P. Herrmann, Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien, nos. 24, 25, 26 (Anaetis alone), 27 (with Mên Tiamat), 55 (with Mên Axiotitenos). No. 54 names Apollo and Anaetis. These associations were noted by M.P. Nilsson, GGR2 II (1961), 672.


140) The limits of "ethnic" Bithynia were the Astakene gulf, the Bosporos and Euxine, and the Sangarios, Hypios or Kales. The inland border was more vague. See E. Meyer, "Bithynien", RE III, 1 (1897) 514, 11. 8 ff.

141) See map.

142) See footnote 17) above.


144) Valerius Maximus, I, 3, 2.

145) Plutarch, Quaest. Conviv. IV, 6, 2. 671E ff. Ξήμαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν συμβατῶν σφραγῆς μή παντοκίκιν απροσδιόνυσον ἔθησαν. Σαμβούκα γὰρ καὶ τῶν ήτοι πολλοὶ τῶν βασιλέως κυρίων καὶ τοῦτον ἀφίκας τὴν φωνὴν ὅταν ἀρρένας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πολλοῖς. Ἡ σφραγῖς καὶ παρὰ Δημοκράτιος λαβεῖν καὶ παρὰ Μενάδρου, καὶ σακί ἀπὸ τρόπον τις ἣν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς παντοκίκιν παραπεσόντα πρὸς τινὰ σέβηται, ἢ κατέχει τοὺς βασιλείας.
Lydus de Mensibus IV, 53, p. 11.

146) For the last, see footnote 61). For the frescoes in the tomb of Vincentius, see C. 52, 2, 253, Abb. 5.

147) See especially the discussion by A. D. Nock et al., "The Gild of Zeus Hyspistos", Essays in Religion and the Ancient World I, 423, with references to earlier literature (paper first published in HThR. XXIX (1936), 34 ff.).


DuSSaud suggested that the Theos Hyspistos named on the votive hands discussed in his article was Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

148) See footnote 13) above.

149) A. D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire", JHS XLV (1925), 84 ff. (Essays on Religion and the Ancient World I, 33 ff.)

150) See footnote 61) above: IGB IV, 2034.

151) Schürer, S. B. Berlin (1897), 200 ff.


153) A. D. Nock et al., ibid.

154) A. D. Nock et al., ibid.

155) CB I, 2, 682, no. 563.


156) A. D. Nock et al., art. cit., 425.

157) Dedication of Zeus Sabazios Neauleites to Zeus Koryphaios: Moug. (1875), 120, no. 93' etc. (footnote 17) above).

Dedication of a statue of Apollo Alexikakos to Helios Apollo Lairbenos: MAMA IV, no. 275a.

158) A. D. Nock, "Oracles Théologiques", REA XXX (1928), 280 ff. (Essays etc. I, 160 ff.)
The "Tübingen Theosophia" consists of a collection composed under Zeno (A.D. 474 – 91) with the title Χρησμοί τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Θεῶν, aiming at justifying Christianity by pagan documents. An alleged answer of 16 lines by the Elean oracle of Apollo to the question "What is god?" ends:

αὐτοφημίς, ἀδιάσκοσ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀσυμφέλης, οὕροιμη μηδὲ λόγῳ Χρυσούμενος, εἰς παρὰ ναϊν, ταῦτα θεὸς, μηδὲ ὥς θεὸς μηδὲ ἄγγελος ἅγιος

According to Lactantius Just. Div. I, 7, this is the príncipium of an oracle of 21 lines given by Apollo at Kolophon. 21 lines (3 7) are suitable to Apollo. We need not assume that there are five lines missing at the end of the first version; there could have been two editions. They were probably derived from an original preserved in Porphyry (G. Wolff, Parphryris de Philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquaæ, 106).


159) Porphyry, ed. G. Wolff, μοίων Χαλκίας σοφίην λαχνών ἐν ὅλη Ἐβραίοις, αὐτοφημίων κύματα στρακτέρνων θεῶν ἁγίων.

On Jewish angels; see L. Robert, Hist. XI-XII (1960), 430 ff.

On Jewish influence at Klaros, see A.D. Nock, art. cit., 165.

160) Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos and Theios Angelos = BCH V (1881), 182, no. 3; to Zeus Hypsistos and Agathos Angelos:

LEW no. 515; to Theion Angelikon: BCH LVII (1934), 337;


164) H. Seyrig, "Quatre Cultes de Thasos" BCH XLI (1927), 210 ff.
CHAPTER SIX: ZEUS BRONTON AND ZEUS BASILEUS.

Apart from the worship of the goddess Kybele, impressively attested by the rock-facades of the Phrygian Highlands that form an architectural setting for statues of that divinity, and by other sculptural representations, we have little local evidence for the religion of the Phrygians during the floruit of their civilisation in Asia Minor in the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. Both Kybele and the "Master of the Beasts", who is the only other divinity in evidence – being represented on a cylinder-seal from Gordian\(^1\) – are beyond doubt oriental. It is natural to look for a male divinity brought by the Phrygians from Europe. According to accepted opinions, Sabazios may be seen as such a god, his appearance both in Asia Minor and Europe testifying to the kinship of the Phrygian and Thracian peoples asserted in ancient literature. Kern believed that, because of this same kinship, the cult of the "Thracian" god Dionysos would have been found in Phrygia in strength, had not the entrenched cult of Kybele, with similar, ecstatic, rites, offered competition that severely restricted his popularity\(^2\). However, it has been argued above that Sabazios was first introduced into Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period, except possibly in Bithynia, where his cult may be earlier. The links of Dionysos with Thrace are tenuous; for the most part he neatly fits the position of an Aegaeo-Anatolian son-god\(^3\). Much of the literary evidence linking him with Thrace may well refer to Sabazios\(^4\). The search for a common Thraco-Phrygian god, or at least one sharing a common name, is vain.

Arrian, writing in the first half of the second century A.D. about events of the late fourth century B.C., tells us that Alexander the Great visited the acropolis at Gordian and saw the chariot supposedly dedicated to
Zeus Basileus by Gordios. There is also the gloss of Hesychius, giving, according to the standard text, "Bagaios" as a title of a Phrygian Zeus\(^5\). These encourage us to look for a Zeus as a native Phrygian god.

Sir William Ramsay in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* suggested that the Phrygians brought with them from Europe the cult of Zeus Bronton. The suggestion was repeated by Cox and Cameron in their introduction to Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, volume V. A. Koerte compared the distribution of the cult of Zeus Bronton with that of the Phrygian population\(^6\). However, the origin of the god has never been discussed in detail. There is no ancient literary evidence to enlighten us. Apart from the dedications in Rome, presumably made by Phrygians living in the capital, his worship is scarcely found in Europe, so it is by no means obvious that he originated there\(^7\). However, it must be remembered that our evidence for the cult of Zeus Bronton belongs to the second and third centuries A.D. About fourteen hundred years had passed since the Phrygians migrated to Asia Minor, accepting the evidence of the ancient writers that they did so about the time of the Trojan War. In Asia Minor, Zeus Bronton, if he was the god of the European immigrants, had been Hellenized, most obviously in name. The surprise would be if the god could easily be shown to be of European origin by comparing him with a god worshipped in Europe in the Roman period. Given the present evidence, the best that can be done is to show that the god does not appear to belong to any other ethno–cultural stratum, and therefore by the process of elimination may well be Phrygian.

Before we proceed further, we must pause to glance at the other Zeus cults of Phrygia. Zeus Soter,
occasionally found together with Herakles, is attested chiefly in Western Phrygia where he was popular as an "official" god. The cult, and the association with Herakles, was a Greek one, and was popular in Pergamon, whence it probably spread to Phrygia. With these two gods, we also find the enigmatic Papias. To him we shall return shortly. Zeus Magistos has already been discussed. There are, of course, many dedications to Zeus in Phrygia with different epithets or no epithet at all. However, most of the dedications are so uninformative in their wording and in any reliefs they may have, and most of the epithets occur so rarely, that little or nothing can be said about them. The worship of Zeus Bronton is, on the other hand, abundantly attested, and his iconography is sufficiently developed to encourage study.

We must now deal with Papias. Sometimes Papias appears as a title of Zeus Soter, elsewhere as an independent deity, but accompanying Herakles, and so still to be identified with Zeus Soter. Again, he may appear together with Zeus Soter, and so must be distinguished from him. Finally, Papias may appear alone.

F. Léonard suggested that Papias was a Phrygian god from whom Sabazios and Attis were derived. It may be said straightaway that there is no evidence for any connexion between Papias and Sabazios. Likewise, there is no evidence to support the suggestion of Foucart, taken up by Léonard and W. M. Calder, that Papias was a Phrygian god who in Asia Minor became the consort of the Mother, nor for Kretschmer's suggestion that Zeus Papias had a Phrygian goddess for a consort. Indeed, as we have seen, such divine couples are conspicuous by their absence from Phrygia.

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The identification Papas-Attis is soundly based on literary evidence. Diodorus Siculus and Hippolytus both inform us that the Phrygians called Attis Papas. Arrian, quoted by Eustathius, says that the Bithynians called both Zeus and Attis Papas⁰¹. Both Papas and Attis mean "father", the former being European and the latter Oriental; the one is in all probability a straightforward translation of the other⁰². Papas, therefore, qua Attis, was not a Phrygian figure, but simply the Phrygian name for a native Anatolian one.

Arrian's statement complicates the matter. The Bithynian practice of calling Zeus "Papas" is exactly paralleled by the usage on the Phrygian inscriptions. We may reasonably assume that again Papas simply means "father". Given the wide distribution that one can reasonably expect a llallwort such as Papas to have had, it is legitimate to compare the Scythian Papatos, equated by Herodotos with the Greek Zeus Pater⁰³. However, it is also possible to suggest that the application of the title Papas to both Zeus and Attis implies an equation between these two. The only direct ancient evidence for such an equation is the late writer Psellus⁰⁴.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Zeus Soter sometimes called Pap(i)as was in any way an Attis-like figure. Again, when Papas appears alone or with Herakles, it seems reasonable to envisage him as a Zeus-like god, even though he is not explicitly said to be so. However, a problem arises when we find in one inscription Zeus, Herakles and Papas named in that order. Here Papas cannot be identified with Zeus. There is no direct iconographic or other evidence to indicate the nature of the god. Is he then, in accordance with the literary evidence, to be recognised as Attis under a different name? There are several objections to this solution. It would be surprising to find Attis in the
company of Zeus and Herakles, rather than that of the Mother. Secondly, there are no other epigraphic dedications to Attis in Phrygia. Therefore, to attribute dedications to him under a different name is perilous. Furthermore, a close study of the evidence has shown that in fact Attis was not worshipped as a god in Phrygia\textsuperscript{17}. The Pap(i)as mentioned in the inscriptions certainly was a god, and so cannot be Attis.

However, the link between Pap(i)as and Attis could still be of help. Two inscriptions link the cults of Zeus Soter and Zeus Bronton, one of them apparently uniting the two gods in one\textsuperscript{18}. There are two representations of Herakles on reliefs dedicated to Zeus, in one case possibly to be identified as Bronton, which parallel the association of Herakles with Zeus Soter\textsuperscript{19}. Another god who appears several times on dedications to Zeus Bronton, although he is named only once in an inscription, is Hermes\textsuperscript{20}. Now Hermes appears in East Greek art as a parallel figure to Attis, \textit{qua pro-polos} of the Mother\textsuperscript{21}. Could, therefore, the name Papas have been applied to Hermes, or a similar figure, as well as to his "double", Attis?

It must be said at once that the link suggested here is tenuous in the extreme, and can be considered no more than a possibility. There certainly seems no solid reason why Hermes should have been called Pap(i)as. On the other hand, the reliefs to which we have referred show considerable sophistication of religious thought and bring together a number of gods\textsuperscript{22}. The complex has still to be fully unravelled, and it is difficult to judge possibilities. In favour of our suggestion, it can be said that the triad Zeus-Soter – Herakles – Papias is exactly paralleled by that of Zeus Bronton – Herakles – Hermes.
The conclusion of this enquiry must be that while Papas may well have been the Phrygian translation of the native Anatolian name of the mythical lover of the Mother, Attis, the nature of the god Pap(i)as (as distinct from Zeus Papias) found in northern Phrygia, and his ethnic origin are for the moment uncertain. The title Pap(i)as applied to Zeus could be Phrygian, but this too is not wholly certain. As we have noted, Arrian stated that the Bithynians called Zeus Papas. The Phrygian Highlands, where most of the dedications to Pap(i)as occur, lay in Epiktetos, the district won from Bithynia by Pergamon. We must therefore entertain the possibility that the cult of Pap(i)as in the Highlands had a Bithynian origin. On the other hand, only the promontory of Chalkedon was ethnically Bithynian23). The one dedication we have to Zeus Papos in Bithynia comes from Prusa ad Olympum, in what was originally Hellespontine Phrygia. In addition, when Arrian speaks Bithynians, we do not know whether he is referring to the immigrants from Thrace, or to the inhabitants of the extended kingdom of Bithynia, who must have included the descendants of earlier Anatolian peoples. The fact that Arrian also refers to Attis perhaps tilts the balance in favour of the latter possibility. Zeus Pap(i)as may therefore be Phrygian. However, Pap(i)as is here merely a title, not the name, of a god. It does not help us in the search for the name and nature of a Phrygian god.

It has already been mentioned that A. Koerte compared the distribution of the cult of Zeus Bronton with that of the ethnically Phrygian population. The vast majority of the dedications to the god come from the Highlands, where sanctuaries are known or can be inferred at Dorylaeion / Eskisehir, Nakoleia / Seyitgazi, Acusada / Avdan, Serea / Kuyucak, Alpanas, Ilica, Kirka and Kuzkaya24). The best indicator of Phrygian population, the Late Phrygian funerary curses, do not show a similar concentration in
that district, which is, on the contrary, striking for its pre-Prygian characteristics, especially the cult of Kybele. The large number of inscriptions found at the Highland sanctuaries distort our picture of the distribution of the cult, if this is built up in purely statistical terms\(^{25}\). Nevertheless, if we count sanctuaries rather than inscriptions it is clear that the cult was concentrated in the Highlands. Outside the Highlands we may note the attestation of priests of the god at Ermeni Bazarcık, West North-West of Dorylaeion and at Palaia Issaura.\(^{26}\)

The rest of the inscriptions are to be found mainly along a line West and East of Dorylaeion. Exceptions come from Nikomedia / İzmit in Bithynia and from Pınarbaşı, Tavşanlı, Ulaşlar and Yağmurlar in Aizanitis and the district to the North of it. The example from Emre may be regarded as an outlier of this group\(^{27}\). From the South East there is one inscription from Kadın Han\(^{28}\). This records a dedication by a high-priest. The priest would have been connected with the Imperial cult, probably at Laodikeia Katakekaumene, but the fact that such a person made a dedication to Zeus Bronton suggests that the god was of some importance in the city. Given the rarity of coins of that city, the absence of Zeus-types need not worry us. It is surprising to find the god at Palaia Issaura. However, there are areas where late Prygian inscriptions have been found but where Zeus Bronton is noticeably absent: the upper Kaystros valley, the district East of Apollonia / Mordiaeion, the Killanian Plain and the Proseilemmene.

In the Apollonian district we find a number of dedications to Zeus and Apollo, some of an "official" character\(^{29}\). These gods were the protectors of the Seleucids, who founded Apollonia\(^{30}\). However, apart from these, we also find Zeus Eurydamesos attested\(^{31}\). His ethnic shows him to be a local god. Around L. Karalis, we are not surprised to find a strong cult of Mên
Askaenos. In the Sangarios basin the cults of Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petaraios flourished. However, in the Proseilkemmene, there is a lack of strongly-attested cults. Zeus Alsenos Eurydamenos and Petaraios may be local variants of Zeus Bronton; in all cases, the iconographic evidence—the only evidence there is—is too weak to support or deny the identification. The distribution of dedications to Zeus Bronton is compatible with a Phrygian origin for the god, but by no means proves it. If such an origin is established, the virtual confinement of the cult to the northern part of Phrygia must be explained.

The title of the god, Bronton, "the thunderer", does not help us with his origin. Thunder and lightning are the natural weapons of a sky-god. Rome had a cult of Jupiter Tonans. The thunderbolt, i.e. lightning, was the characteristic weapon of Near Eastern sky-gods and of the Greek Zeus. Such a weapon would obviously be the most appropriate to Zeus the Thunderer, although the titles Astrapon, Astrapaios or Keraunios would be the most appropriate to the weapon. There are three examples of the title Astrapon being linked to Bronton. It is tempting to link Zeus Bronton with the Zeus Brontaies of the Hellespontine coast and so trace the cult Thraceward, but we have little evidence to indicate how closely the two gods were related.

The altar-reliefs depicting Zeus Bronton show as a rule a bust of a bearded, long-haired god with an eagle or thunderbolt. Two coin-types have been held to represent the god. One, recognised on the coins of Dorylaeion by Cavedoni, shows Zeus seated on a throne to the left, carrying a thunderbolt in his left hand and a sceptre in his right. The other, found on coins of Nakoleia, was identified by Ramsay. It shows Zeus standing naked, with the thunderbolt in his right hand and an eagle on his left hand, which is extended. We have
already suggested that there were probably sanctuaries of the god in these two cities. B. V. Head named a Zeus-type on the coins of Hieropolis, identical to that found at Nakoleia, Zeus Bronton, but the identification has not been taken up by other scholars\(^{41}\). In no case does a coin-legend name the god depicted as "Bronton".

Before we accept these coin-types as representing Zeus Bronton, we must examine them more closely. Neither, of course, were original. The enthroned Zeus with sceptre and thunderbolt was an old Attic type. It was re-worked by Pheidias for the centre-piece of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon and was naturally frequently copied. On the Parthenon relief, Zeus faces right and has an eagle beneath his throne\(^{42}\). A variation of the type, showing Zeus sitted left on a cippus, thunderbolt in his outstretched right hand, his left on a sceptre, appeared on the coins of Apollonis in Lydia in the second or first centuries B.C. Zeus, enthroned to the right, his right hand on the sceptre and his thunderbolt in his left, appeared on those of Kotiaeion under Tiberius. On both types, the eagle is missing. The Zeus type at Dorylaeum appeared under Titus and Domitian\(^{43}\). However, exactly the same type had already appeared at Ikonion before the time of Claudius and at Amorion under Claudius. In the latter city it continued to appear on coins of the reigns of Nero and Vespasian, then, after a break, on those of Geta and Julia Domna. Coins of Vespasian, Marcus Aurelius, Geta and Julia Domna show the same type in an intercolumniation of a temple-façade\(^{44}\). Coins of Dokimion of Faustina Junior and Lucilla carry a similar type, with the god enthroned to the right\(^{45}\). Variants of the same basic type appear sporadically elsewhere in Asia Minor, but they seem to begin later than the Phrygian examples\(^{46}\).

The striding naked Zeus with eagle and thunderbolt
was an early fifth century type, used to represent Zeus Ithomatas. Large-scale examples of the type were carved by Aristonous and dedicated by the Aeginetans at Olympia, and by Hageladas for the Messenians. They probably provided the reverse design for some coins of Olympia and other cities. In Asia Minor, it appeared on quasi-autonomous coins of Tabai under the Julio-Claudians. It was used on coins of Attoula under Septimius Severus and of Ephesos under Valerian. The Nakoleian coins belong to the time of Geta, those of Hierapolis to that of Lucius Verus, Caracalla and Elagabalus. The type appears elsewhere in Phrygia at Synaos in the time of Otacilia.

Neither coin-type, therefore, appears exclusively in those areas where Zeus Bronton was worshipped. The rarity of the Zeus types on the coins of the Phrygian cities forbids us to link their appearance with the presence of the locally-based cults of Zeus Bronton that are attested or implied by the epigraphic evidence, rather than to fleeting fashion for a particular type. The same goes for a representation of Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre which appeared on coins of Dorylaeon under Philip Senior. The tribal name Deias at Dorylaeon does not help us.

However, the frequency of the Zeus types at Amorion in the second half of the first and in the early third centuries A.D. does strongly suggest a cult of that god in the city. The existence of the cult may be confirmed by the mention of a θυατήριος in two inscriptions from Göme. The city involved is probably Amorion. Zeus and his symbols had already appeared on coins of the city in the first century B.C., but, as we shall see, these do not necessarily attest a local cult. We are unable to say whether the Zeus worshipped at Amorion was nicknamed Bronton. No dedications to the god have come from near the city, whereas numerous ones to Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petaraios have done so. We
may be sure that the cult of Zeus at Amorion was of high enough standing to require a member of one of the leading families for priest. If we possessed the inscriptions which were doubtless set up in honour of members of the city aristocracy, we should probably know more about the cult, including the title of the god. Unfortunately, the necessary inscriptions have not been recovered. The dedication by the demos of the Lalandeis to Zeus Soter, who, we have already seen, is frequently found as an official god, suggests that divinity as a candidate\(^{53}\).

There are two considerations in favour of the suggestion that the Zeus depicted on the coins of Amorion was related at least in nature to Zeus Bronton. The first is that, despite the examples of the Zeus-with-thunderbolt coin-types cited above, this type was in general little favoured on the coins of the cities of Asia Minor during the Imperial period. In Phrygia the majority of a large number of representations of Zeus can be analysed into a few basic types namely, Zeus seated or standing, carrying eagle and sceptre or phiale and sceptre. There are also examples of Zeus Nikephoros, usually depicted seated, once standing\(^{54}\). Sometimes the god is draped from shoulders to feet, sometimes naked or nearly naked in the more usual Greek fashion\(^{55}\). In these circumstances the choice of a coin-type showing Zeus with a thunderbolt must have been unusual. If the local Zeus was surnamed Bronton, the choice becomes understandable. The Zeus type found at Nakoleia was also unusual, and if it had appeared more often could be held to represent Zeus Bronton. If one could assume that the two coin types represented the god, their rarity everywhere but at Amorion could be explained by suggesting that the cult was of low status in the various city territories\(^{56}\).

The second consideration is that a few of the altars are decorated with reliefs showing an eagle standing on a thunderbolt\(^{57}\). This motif appeared on the first coins of Amorion, dated to the second or first centuries B.C., and
continued down to the reign of Claudius\textsuperscript{58}). It had first appeared together with a bust of Zeus on the coins of Ptolemy I Soter about 300 B.C. and then on those of the Seleucid king Antiochos IV in 167 B.C.\textsuperscript{59}). The eagle and thunderbolt were the symbols of the Olympian Zeus and appeared on coins of Elea, minted at Olympia about 520 B.C.\textsuperscript{60}). The cult of Zeus Olympios had been favoured by Alexander the Great, and the god was subsequently adopted as one of the protectors of the Seleucid house. Zeus Nikephoros, whose chryselephantine statue had been created for the temple at Olympia by Pheidias, appeared on coins of Seleukos I, who took over the type from his defeated enemy Antigonos. Zeus aetophoros and Zeus Nikephoros appeared together for a while, but after the reign of Antiochos I both types fell out of fashion and Apollo became the chief god of the Seleucids. In the reign of Antiochos IV Zeus Nikephoros once again began to appear on coins. A statue of the god was erected by the king at Antioch\textsuperscript{61}). The obverse/reverse combination of bust and eagle-on-thunderbolt adopted by Antiochos became popular on the coins of many Anatolian cities in the second and first centuries B.C., among them Amorion\textsuperscript{62}). In the Imperial period the combination became rare and the appearance of the motifs separately was at best sporadic.

The fact that the eagle-on-thunderbolt motif appeared later on the altars of Zeus Eronton does not imply that its appearance on the coins of Amorion referred to a cult of the god in that city. In fact, it is only from the Claudian-Vespasianic coin-type that we can deduce that there was a local cult of Zeus. The earlier type could well have been adopted because of the prevailing fashion. On the other hand, in view of the fact that a local cult of Zeus is firmly attested later, it is possible that the existence of the cult was responsible for the choice of the earlier type. The eagle and thunderbolt could have decorated the altars of any Zeus. However, the fact is that the motif appears, in Phrygia at least, only on the altars of Zeus

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Bronton, although eagle and thunderbolt appear separately on the altars of various local types of Zeus, as indeed they do also on those of Bronton. This exclusiveness may be significant. With one exception, from Yağmurlar in the Tavşanlı district, the eagle-on-thunderbolt altar reliefs are all from around Dorylaeion / Eskişehir. The motif does not appear on the coins of that city. Given the northern location of the altar-reliefs, the appearance of the motif as a countermark on tetradrachms of the Bithynian kings Prusias II and Nikomedes II, III and IV may be relevant. However, the fact that the motif continued to appear at Amorion later than it did elsewhere suggests the coins of that city as a source. There remains a gap between the last of the coins and the altar-reliefs, of which the one that can be dated belongs to the time of Julia Domna. Most Phrygian inscriptions of the poorer sort belong to the second or third centuries A.D. This may imply that the ancestors of their erectors were too poor to set up inscriptions, that earlier inscriptions were destroyed in antiquity or that they will only come to light with excavation. However, it is reasonable to assume that there were some predecessors to the altar-reliefs we have been discussing that would fill the gap. One Zeus Bronton inscription, for instance, mentions Ailioci and may therefore be considerably earlier than the majority. To conclude, the Zeus depicted on the coins of Amorion is unlikely to have been called Bronton, but the two gods do seem to be related in their iconography.

The iconographic evidence that can be used to establish the origin of the god is, therefore, restricted to that provided by the altar reliefs. The thunderbolt cannot safely be used to distinguish him from a purely Greek Zeus, although in the hands of the latter the weapon is increasingly replaced by the eagle, the messenger of a god whose power is assumed. On the other hand, the distinctive weapon of the Anatolian Zeus in the Roman period was the double-axe. This is found in the hands of the various local
forms of the Karian Zeus and in those of Jupiter Dolichenus. A. Laumonier has seen an origin for these gods in the supposedly double-axe bearing Šarruma portrayed in the Hittite sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, and in the single-axe bearing god shown on a late Hittite relief at Zincirli\(^69\).

However, as E. Akurgal has pointed out, the double-axe does not in fact appear in Hittite or Late Hittite art\(^70\). We must go back to the tale of Plutarch discussed in our consideration of Apollo Lairbenos. Plutarch relates that Herakles, slaying Hippolyte, took the weapon and gave it to Omphale, queen of Lydia. It was handed down among the Lydian kings until Arselis, having come from Mylesa to help Gyges in his revolt against Kandaules, slew both of the Lydians and took the double-axe back to Maria, where he put it in the hands of Karian Zeus\(^71\). The double-axe, therefore, may have become an attribute of the Anatolian Zeus at a relatively late date. Nevertheless, as it is probable that it replaced an earlier single-axe borne by the Anatolian predecessors of Zeus, the double-axe can be contrasted with the thunderbolt of the possibly non-Anatolian Zeus Bronton\(^72\).

Another attribute which may distinguish Zeus Bronton from the Anatolian Zeus is the spear carried by the latter. Zeus Labraundes was also known as Stratios, and was depicted with a spear on a mid-fourth century B.C. relief from Tegea\(^73\). Schaefer long ago compared the Karian Zeus Stratios with the god of the same name worshipped in Amaseia, Herakleia Pontica and Nikomedia, and the Zeus Strategos of Amastris\(^74\). The last appears on coins with a spear\(^75\). The spear appears regularly as a divine attribute in Late Hittite art, although it is not confined to the weather-god\(^76\). In Roman times it appears to be confined to Asia Minor\(^77\). The local Anatolian forms of Zeus bearing the weapon may therefore have inherited it from the gods of Late Hittite times.
and be themselves direct descendents of those gods.

If Zeus Bronton had been an Anatolian, pre-Phrygian god, one would probably have expected him to bear one of these distinctive attributes. It is unlikely that he was so hellenized that his native attributes would have been completely suppressed, especially in a conservative area like the Highlands. If his cult had overlapped geographically to a significant degree with that of the double-axe bearing Apollo, it would have been possible to argue that that weapon, if it had been an attribute of Zeus Bronton, might have been suppressed so as not to confuse the two gods. However, in the area of Zeus Bronton worship examples of the double-axe are few\textsuperscript{78}. This possibility must therefore be rejected. Indeed, their mutual exclusiveness geographically is worth remarking upon. A pre-Phrygian god who, in Phrygia at least, does not bear either double-axe or spear, and in one case possibly does bear a thunderbolt, is Zeus Megistos. However, that god has his own quite distinctive attributes, the corn-stalks and bunch of grapes, that allow his descent to be determined with some probability.

The other chief attribute of Zeus Bronton, the eagle, is of less help. In Greece, the bird had probably been the symbol of the Lykaian Zeus since Mycenaean times\textsuperscript{79}. In Phrygia, it appeared on numerous hellenized coin-types of Zeus. It decorated altars dedicated to various types of Zeus\textsuperscript{80}. The bird does not help us to distinguish Zeus Bronton from a Greek Zeus. No more does it distinguish him from various types of Anatolian Zeus. The eagle appeared beside Zeus Labraundos on coins from the time of the Hecatomnads Pixodaros onwards\textsuperscript{81}. Laumonier considers the bird a native symbol of the god, rather than a sign of hellenization\textsuperscript{82}. It also appears on the pyramids containing representations of Sandon-Herakles on the coins of Tarsos\textsuperscript{83}. A. B. Cook cited the supposed solar nature of Sandon-Herakles in support.
of R. Dussaud's theory that in Levantine art the eagle represented the sun. It is interesting that in the Hittite story about the disappearance of the god Telepinu the bird is the messenger of the sun-god. In Roman Phrygia, perhaps by coincidence, the eagle decorates an altar dedicated to Zeus Magistos, who, I have argued above, is a descendant of the Santaš depicted at Ívriz. This Santaš is related by name to Sandon-Herakles, but differs considerably in iconography.

G. Mylonas has pointed out some interesting variations in the role of the eagle as the bird of Zeus. He has shown that whereas the eagle of the Lykaian Zeus of the Peloponnese was the embodiment of that god, in the Iliad, which he suggests expresses religious ideas current in north-western Asia Minor, the bird can be the messenger of Zeus, or can be simply a bird of omen, unconnected with any god. Unfortunately, the evidence does not allow us to decide whether the eagles represented on the altars of Zeus Eronton were held to be the embodiment of the god or his messengers. In Arrian's tale about the way in which Midas came to be King of Phrygia, the eagle that settled on Gordios' plough is certainly to be regarded as the messenger of Zeus. However, P. Frei has argued that Arrian's version of the story, in which an eagle appears, is later than that preserved in Justin, and that Arrian's eagle is a lectio facilior for the whole flock of birds mentioned by Justin. Moreover, as we have seen, the eagle was already the messenger of the sun-god in Hittite times. To support his theory that the Syrian funerary eagle was an eagle of apotheosis, Cumont quotes a passage of Artemidoros' Oneirokritika, in which he says that eagles are believed to announce the deaths of kings and other important people, who as a result had long been depicted as being carried on eagles. There is therefore nothing specifically Phrygian about the idea of the eagle as a divine
messenger.

From Arrian's story we know for certain that there was a legend involving Zeus Basileus in fourth-century Gordian. We may assume that the Zeus was Phrygian. However, the title "Basileus", although appropriate to the god concerned in the establishment of the Phrygian monarchy, was by no means exclusive to Phrygia. We know that the Greeks identified Zeus Basileus with the Persian Ahuramazda, who was worshipped by the Persian kings. We must therefore reckon with the possibility that Zeus at Gordian was called "Basileus" as a result of the popularity of that title in the Persian period.

A piece of literary evidence which must now be considered in connexion with Zeus Basileus is Hesychius' gloss: βαγαῖος ὅματαιος ἦ Ζεύς Φρύγιος. Μέγας, πολύς, ταχύς. R. Gosche in 1847 compared βαγαῖος with the Iranian "baga", "god", Torp and Kretschmer with *bhagos or Φήγιος, suggesting that the epithet implied an early "oak"-god, to whom A. B. Cook compared Zeus Bronton with his supposedly "Dionysiac" attributes of bunches of grapes and ploughs. These "Dionysiac" attributes supposedly made Zeus Bronton a "Traco-Phrygian" god. However, before we begin to construct theories such as these, the text of Hesychius' gloss must be looked at more closely. That βαγαῖος meant μάταιος is confirmed by another gloss of Hesychius: βαγαῖα ματαιά, λυσικριτῆς, βαγαῖα γιρ ὡς τις ἐπικουρεῖ. It seems a priori unlikely that the other meanings attributed to the word in the text are correct. M. Schmidt and K. Latte in their editions regarded μέγας, πολύς, ταχύς as an interpolation from the entry βαλαίνον μέγας, πολύς, ταχύς. R. Schmitt has now made the attractive suggestion that the gloss Ζεύς Φρύγιος belongs to an entry βαλαῖος, comparing a dedication from the Bithynian-Paphlagonian borderland Λύ βαλήν. The word βαλήν, explained by Hesychius as βασιλεῶς φρυγιοτί, probably belongs to the same stem.
O. Haas has suggested that "Balen" was said to be Phrygian for want of certain knowledge about the origin of the word. He points out that the dedication to Zeus Baleos was Bithynian, but draws no conclusions. The evidence allows us to be more positive. As we have seen above, in discussing Sabazios, Hesychius is no more reliable than his sources. However, "Balen" and related words are unanimously said to be Phrygian by Sextus Empiricus, Eustathius, the pseudo-Plutarchian de Fluviiis citing the second book of Phrygiae of the mythical Hermesianax the Cypriot, and probably Euphorion. Of these, Euphorion seems to have had a particular interest in glosses. The evidence of the de Fluviiis is not to be discounted automatically because of its false attribution; in other such cases it has been shown to be likely that the information comes from a perfectly good source.

On the other hand, the Etymologicum Magnum gives "Balin" as a Thracian title of Dionysos. A related title of the same god may be "Eurubalindos", preserved by Hesychius. There is also the Illyrian kings' name "Ballaioi". It may well be that the stem was common to Illyrians, Thracians and Phrygians. Given that the Bithynians were immigrants from Thrace, it becomes hard to decide how much the title of the Zeus Baleos attested in the inscription may owe to Bithynian influence and how much to Phrygian. Certainly, tombstones of Phrygian type are known from the areas around the lower Sangarios, but this Phrygian influence cannot be said to be very strong or very close. Finally, despite Tumpel's note on "Ballenaioi" for Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopaedie, it must be stated that there is no obvious link between "Balen" and the Semitic Baal, for which the Greek was βαλαios.

If we accept βαλαίοι instead of βαγγός, we may have the native Phrygian title for Zeus Basileus. However, if we emphasise the meaning of βαλαίοι as μέγας, then Zeus Balaios could be compared with Zeus Megistos.
The fact that this latter god is normally depicted in Phrygia holding a grape cluster and ears of corn makes Drexler's emendation πολυσταχός for πολὺς, ταχύς more attractive. The implication would be that the Zeus Balaios worshipped at Gordian was a pre-Phrygian god, related to Santa. This surprising conclusion need not force itself upon us. It is more natural to take Balaios as meaning Basilikos. An extension of the use of Balaios to mean μάγος, πολύς, ταχύς is quite understandable; Drexler's emendation is unnecessary. There is one dedication to Zeus Basilikos from Phrygia in the Roman period.

It is still possible that the story about Zeus Basileus, especially the version preserved by Justin, may offer a way forward in the characterization of the Phrygian god, if not in his recognition in the Roman period. P. Frei, in his recent discussion of this story, has isolated the three elements of flocks of birds, chariot and prophetess and pointed out that these occur in Celtic king-making rituals known to us from Irish legend. He suggested that these shared rites may indicate that at one time the Phrygians and Celts were neighbours, probably in the Middle Danubian region. We have suggested that the Phrygians may have been associated with the Apollo-worshipping *Peluni. According to H. Kothe, Apollo was the legendary ancestor ("Ahnherz") of these people. Can we associate the legend of the coming from the North of this figure, originally royal rather than divine, in a swan-drawn chariot accompanied by two women, Opis and Arge, with the Phrygian and the Celtic king-making stories?

Here we may recall that another god whom Ramsay suggested might be Phrygian was Zeus Bennios or Benneus, who was worshipped in the area South-West of Nakoleia and apparently as far West as Aizamitis. Ramsay
connected the epithet applied to the god with the Gallic word "benna", meaning, according to Festus, a wagon. Similar, and presumably related stems were recognised in Thracian by Deecke\textsuperscript{108}. A representation of such a wagon-god has been found in the area in which Zeus Bennios was worshipped\textsuperscript{109}. Ramsay also suggested that "bennos" may mean a fertility sacrifice, the verb being "bennuein". In this suggestion he has been followed by O. Haas\textsuperscript{110}. However, W. Dressler has argued that Zeus Bennios was a thunder-god first and a fertility-god second, and that "bennos" and "bennuein" are accordingly derived from the epithet of the god, rather than vice versa\textsuperscript{111}. The limited iconography of the god - eagle, thunderbolt, grape-cluster and ox-head - may bear out Dressler's argument\textsuperscript{112}. No special mention of agricultural fertility is explicitly made in the prayers addressed to the god.

If one could be sure that Zeus Bennios was a wagon-god, it would be tempting to see in him the descendant of the national Phrygian god. We should then have to explain how his cult had come to have such a restricted distribution in the North-West of Phrygia. On the other hand, it is quite uncertain how closely the chariot was associated with the Phrygian Zeus; that attribute, if indeed it was an attribute, could easily have been lost or partly lost in the course of time. As for the epithet Zeus Basileus, we have seen that this may have applied to the god as late as Persian times. The use of the epithet and the distinctiveness of the god are likely to have waned with the memory of the Phrygian monarchy. Once his chariot and epithet are removed, no known distinguishing characteristics remain to the Phrygian Zeus, and we have little to guide us in seeking his descendant among the various Zeus cults of Roman Phrygia. Zeus Bronton remains the best candidate, but the weakness of the evidence is clear.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX.

1) AJA LXVIII (1964), 281 and pl. 84,8. The "Master of the Beasts" is related to the Anatolian son- and lion-god; see A. Laumonier Les Cultes Indigènes en Carie, 577.

2) O. Kern, "Dionysos", RE V, 1 (1903), 1026, 11. 11 ff. K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, Dionysiaca Sarcofagi in Baltimore, 23 suggest that it was the popularity of Zeus Sabazios that restricted that of Dionysos in Phrygia.

3) In general see W. Fauth, "Dionysos", Kleine Pauly II (1967), 78, 11. 54 ff. and above, 173.

4) See above, 166 f.

5) Arrian, Anabasis Alexandri, II, 3, 1 ff. On "Bagaios", see below, 237. The inscription on a statue-base at Pompeii informs us that the base once carried a representation of a Zeus Phrygios. Nothing can be extracted from this tantalizing notice.


7) The inscriptions from Rome are: CIG 5931 (IG XIV, 982; IGRR I, 59), CIG 5933 (IG XIV, 983; IGRR I, 60 and 1382), CIL VI, 2241, 733 (ILS 4226; Cumont, Textes et Mon. fig., 104, no. 61), 432 (Matz-Duhn, Ant. Bildwerke in Rom, 3773; ILS 3046). These correspond to ZB 1 - 5 respectively in Cox and Cameron's corpus (MAMA V, 172). Dio Cassius, LIV, 4, translates Jupiter Tonans as Zeus Brohtton, but in the Greek translation of the Res Gestae of Augustus at Ankyra, section 19, the Roman god is called Zeus Brontesios (cf. MAMA IV, no. 143, B 23 from Apollonia in Pisidian Galatia). Cox and Cameron reasonably argued that the origin of the Roman god owed nothing to the Phrygian Zeus Bonton. Neither is there any evidence to suggest that the Phrygian god was influenced by the Roman.

IG XII, 3, suppl. 1359 is from Thera and İşvestija Akad. Ross. II, 80, no. 8, which I cite from MAMA V, 172, ZB 6 (SEG II, no. 481) was dedicated by the Παρθίας Κώτεινος on the South side of the Cimmerian Bosporos. I cannot satisfactorily explain the distribution of these two inscriptions.
8) The dedications from Phrygia known to me are: (Zeus Soter alone) Reisen in Lykien II, 187, nos. 246 - 8 from Kibyra; JHS VIII (1887), 394, no. 23 (Rev. Arch. (1887), 355; CB I, 1, 155, no. 61; MAMA IV, no. 309) combined with a dedication to the Theoi Sebatoi and the demon of the Motellenoi, from Medeile; CB I, 1, 155, no. 58 from Ortakoy; CIG 3886 (ECh VIII (1884), 237, no. 7; CB I, 2, 246, no. 88) between Omerkoy and İşekli; CB I, 2, 600, no. 471 from Ekvaz Baba in the Banaz Ovası (largely a restoration; only the final -s of the genitive Ἴσης and none of Ἅδης survives); Anat. St. IX (1959), 81, no. 25 from Ilyas, combined with a dedication to the Theoi Sebatoi and the fatherland; REG II (1889), 22, from N.N.E. of Asar (Amorion), a dedication by the Lalandias; MAMA I, no. 6 from Ladık; Belleten 45 (1948), 182 from Konıyıa; Statuette from Uşak; Cat. Const. 16, no. 813.

(Zeus Soter with Zeus Bronton): CIG 3822 from Kymak; MAMA V, no. 151 from Supi ıren. The former refers to two gods, Zeus Soter and Zeus Bronton, the latter apparently to one, Zeus Bronta and Soter.

(Zeus Soter described as Pap(i)as: MAMA V, no. R 19 from Seyitgazi - Nakoleia; CIG 3817 from between Seyitgazi and Eskişehir (with Herakles).

MAMA V, no. 182 from Kuyucak is a dedication to Zeus, Herakles and Papias. MAMA V, no. R 18 from Seyitgazi is to Papias and Herakles. JHS V (1884), 260, no. 12 from Seyitgazi is to Zeus Papias. Dedications to Papas alone are: JHS V (1884), 257, no. 8 (AA XLVIII (1933), 115; MAMA V, no. 213 bis) from Seyitgazi; MAMA V, R 16 and 17 from Seyitgazi; MAMA VII, no. 303 from Alikel.

Ath. Mitt. XXII (1897), 32, no. 8 (Ἀρέμπος Ταμη) from Bayat could be funerary, although A. Koerte preferred the stele to be votive because of its small size. See also the dedication to Zeus Papos from near Bursa, APe VII (1883), 175, no. 17, and that to Papias from Büyük Belen in Lydia, P. Hermann & K.Z. Polatkan, Das Testament des Epikrates, 42 ff., no. 5.

On Zeus Soter see F. Dornstieff, "Σωτήρ", RE IIIA, 1, (1927) 1211 ff.; Höfer, "Soter", ML IV (1909 - 15), 1262 ff.; Fehrle, "Zeus", ML VI (1924 - 37), 661. The literary evidence assembled by Höfer shows that the association of Zeus Soter and Herakles goes back at least to the beginning of the fourth century. The
cult of Zeus Soter at Pergamon is discussed by E. Ohlemutz, "Die Kulte und Heiligtumer der Götter in Pergamon"; 68 ff., 77 ff., 83, 89, 167, 218.

9) Chapter Three, 99.


12) See above, Chapter Three, 95 ff. For Kretschmer's theories, see also Chapter Five, 210 ff.; cf. Gravou, Le Culte de Cybèle, 14 ff.

13) Diodorus Siculus III, 58, 24 ff.; Hippolytus, Refutatio Omnium Haeresium V, 9, 16; Eustathius, in Homeri Iliadem E 408 (FGr Hist 2B, no. 22, Arrianos, fr. 156). The texts are conveniently assembled in H. Hepding, Attis, 16, 35, and 77 respectively.


17) See above, Chapter Four, especially 110 ff.

18) See above, note 8).

19) L. Robert, Rev. Phil. XIII, 3 (1939), 202 ff., publishes a stele from Eskişehir in the Louvre. A draped, long-haired bust accompanied by an eagle, shown in a niche at the top of the stele, he calls Zeus Bronton. In the third register Herakles is depicted with a club. Herakles, who may here also hold the purse of Hermes, is also shown on another stele from Eskişehir de-
dicated to Zeus Chryseos, published in Hellenica X (1955),
104 ff. and pl. xiv.

20) Inscription: Denkmaler aus Lykaonien, no. 146, where both gods are
also shown in relief.

Reliefs: Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 417, no. 28 (Cat. Const. III,
48 ff., no. 843 (1099)), 418, no. 30, both from Inonu. Hermes
is also shown on the stele published by Robert in Rev. Phil.
in 1939. Note also the Herakles - Hermes figure on the dedication
to Zeus Chryseos. Hermes is also depicted together with a god
identified as Zeus Broton in an anepigraphic relief probably
from the Phrygian Highlands discussed by G. Rodenwaldt, "Zeus
Brontus", Jdt XXXIV (1919), 77 ff. For a dedication to Zeus and Hermes
in Bithynia, see L. Robert, Hellenica X
(1955), 33 f. and pl. VIII, 1. See also fn. 37
below.

21) See above, Chapter Four, 121.

22) See below, Appendix Three.

Kleine Pauly I (1964), 908 f.

24) For the distribution, see map. According to my calculations,
there are 169 dedications to Zeus Brontus from Asia Minor. To
the list in MAMA V, 172 ff., add BSA XLIV (1954), 14, nos. 6 -
8 and 15, no. 9 (no. 10 = MAMA V, no. R 5) and C.H.E. Haspels,
The Highlands of Phrygia, nos. 103, 127 - 9, 135 - 8, 142 - 3,
147 - 51, 154, and JOAI XXXII (1940), Beibl., 110 ff., nos. 1 - 3

A sanctuary of Zeus Brontus has allegedly been found at
Alpanos. It is reasonable to infer the existence of a sanctuary,
even if only a humble one, at those places where we find priests
of the god. They are also presumably attested by the ethnics,
such as Aquadios, carried by the god. At those places where we
may infer the existence of a sanctuary from evidence such as
that cited above, we usually also find more than the usual one
or two dedications. Even when we have no more definite evidence,
we may then tentatively suggest the existence of sanctuaries at
places which have produced groups of inscriptions. I list the
evidence for each sanctuary below:

Dorylaeion: (inscriptions only) CIG III, 3810 (JHS V (1884), 255,
no. 5; AEM VII (1883), 178, no. 29; Radet, no. XIV; SERP, 272,
no. 3); SB. Berlin (1888), 866, no. 10 (Radet, no. XIX; MAMA V,
no. 17), 11 (Radet, no. XIII); *Ath. Mitt.* XIX (1894), 311, nos. 9, 10, 11 (Radet, nos. XV - XVII), 12 (Radet, no. XVIII; *MAMA* V, no. 18); Radet, no. XII (GGA (1897), 404, no. 12; *SERP*, 276, no. 7; GGA (1897), 408 ff., nos. 52 - 54, 56; *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII (1898), 161 (*RSA* XLI (1954), 12 ff., no. 3); *Echos d' Orient* IX (1906), 358 ff., no. 3 (*SERP*, 276, no. 10; *MAMA* V, no. 13), 5, 6, 8, 9; nos. 4 and 7 (*SERP*, 277, no. 11 and 270, no. 1 respectively); *BCH* XXVIII (1904), 192 ff., nos. 3 - 8; *MAMA* V, nos. 14 - 16, 19, KB 1, 2; *JOAT* XXXII (1940), 110 ff., nos. 1, 3.


Serea: (priest and ethnic) *MAMA* V, no. 181 from Kuyucak (priest); *JHS* V (1884), 258, no. 10 (*MAMA* V, no. 176) reads: Μόρος [Μόρος - Κων] Αν Βροντω旷, και Βενες. Σερεάνος στεφανον. Here it is hard to tell whether Βροντων and Βενες are to be taken as two adjectives referring to one god, or whether Αν should be taken and Κωνων with both adjectives, so that we have two gods. The ethnic Sereanos seems to be linked to Benneus. There are another seven inscriptions attesting the cult of Zeus Bronton in Serea, including one dedication made by the Sereanoi as a body (*MAMA* V, no. 177). On balance, therefore, we are probably dealing with one god, Zeus Bronton Sereanos, who on one occasion is identified with Zeus Benneus. The other dedications are: *MAMA* V, nos. 178, 179, 180, R 9, 10, 11.

Alpanos: (remains of sanctuary, priest, inscriptions) *RSA* XLI (1954) 14 ff. nos. 8 and 9 (priests); *BCH* XLV (1921), 558, nos. 2 - 4; *RSA* XLI (1954), 14, nos. 6 and 7; *MAMA* V, no. R 5 (*RSA* XLI (1954), 15, no. 10). Architectural remains that might
belong to a sanctuary were seen by Karbounis, Politeia, 25th
July - 17th August 1921 (BCH XLV (1921), 557 ff; non vidi).
The dedications in BCH do not, I think, link this god with Zeus Megistos,
but are rather to be compared with the acclamations μεγάλος (μέγας).
On these see L. Robert Hellenica X (1955), 84 ff., quoting an inscription (no. 103)
found by Radet at Malek Ghazy, c. 3 - 4 kms. S.E. of Arab Oren:
μεγάλος Ἐσσάης Ἑρμῆς. See BCH V, 174 f., Z.B. 82 - 85.
Kirka: MAMA V, nos. 170 (priest), 171.
Kuzkaya: MAMA V, nos. 78, 79 (priest).

25) Compare the large number of inscriptions from the sanctuary
of Men Askenos near Antioch towards Pisidia, for which see
E.N. Lane, Corpus monumentorum Religionis dei Menis I: The
Monuments and Inscriptions, nos. 170, 248, 256 - 8.

26) Ermeni Bazarcik: AEM VII (1883), 174, no. 16.
Palaia Isaura: Denkm. Lyk., 72 f., no. 156.

27) Nikomedelia: BCH XXV (1901), 327, no. 5.
 Finarbas: Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 409, no. 9.
Ulaşlar: MAMA V, 176, Z.B. 89.
Yağmudar: MAMA V, 175, Z.B. 88.
Emre: K. Böresch, Aus Lydien, 76, no. 37.


29) Ballance, Archaeology of Central Asia Minor, 142, no. 143:
cylindrical bomos with the inscription μεγάς, from Uluborlu.
W.E., no. 597 (MAMA IV, no. 137); dedication to Zeus on behalf
of the δήμος Πλανητος, found some distance South of Uluborlu.
MAMA IV, no. 141: priest of Zeus honoured by the δήμος, from
Uluborlu. The editors suggest that this inscription belongs
to the first century B.C.

BCH IX (1885), 343, no. 26 (MAMA VI, no. 158) from Medet:
dedication to a priest of Apollo (Kathegemon ?) and of Sarapis
and a protarchon by the archons. The title Kathegemon is
reminiscent of Archegos used in the Seleucid cult.
MAMA IV, no. 121 from Tatarli: priest and prophet of Apollo and
agonothete honoured by the δήμος.

BCH XVII (1893), 258, no. 38 from Uluborlu: priest of Apollo.
30) See text above, 15 and footnote 61 below.

31) JHS XVIII (1898), 96, no. 36 (MAMA IV, no. 213) from Ulu-
borlu; W.E. no. 589 (JHS XVIII (1898), 96; SERP, 360; Expositor
III (1907), 75, no. 1; Klio XXIII (1929), 243 f.; MAMA IV, no.
226) from Buyuk Kabaca, a priest of Zeus Eurydemos; CR (1908)
41b, no. 8 from Genc Ali, a priest of Zeus Eurydemos.

32) E.N. Lane CMRDM I, nos. 170-248, 246-8

33) Zeus Alsenos: Klio X (1910), 242, nos. 15 and 16 (MAMA I, no.
435) from Çoğu; MAMA VI, no. 307 from Bolvadin, at Afyon;
MAMA I, no. 435 a, at Azizie, probably from Çoğu; Ann. Arch.
Mus. Ist. XIII - XIV (1966), 175 ff., nos. 1 - 16 from Kuru-
dere in the district of Azizie.
Zeus Petaraicos or Petarenos: JHS VIII (1887), 501, LXX from
Baglica; JHS XI (1890), 160, no. 6 from Çağul; L. Robert, Noms
Indigènes, 123, in Istanbul Museum, probably from the Emirdağ
district; Ath. Mitt. XXXIII (1908), 156, no. 15 (Sardis VII
(1932), no. 100) from Sardis, certainly transported thither;
See also W. Ruge, "Petara", RE XIX, 1, (1937), 1119. On both
gods, see also L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique", REG LXXI
(1968), no. 526.

34) Cox and Cameron, MAMA V, xliiv, reasonably suggested that the
Roman god was not influenced by the identically - named Phrygian
one; the reverse also appears to be true.

35) Cook, Zeus II, 1, 722 ff. On the thunderbolt in the Near East,
see especially 764 ff., also E. Akurgal, Spaethetithische
Bildkunst, 94 ff., W. Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur späthe-
thischen Kunst, 238 f., 252, A. Vanel, L'Iconographie du Dieu
de l'Orage dans le Proche - Orient Ancien jusqu'au VIIe
Siècle avant J.C., index, s.v. foudre; summary, 164 f.

36) IG XII, 3, Suppl. 1359 from Thera; Ath. Mitt. XIII (1888),
235, no. 1 from Kedin Han. K. Buresch, Aus Lydien, 76, no. 37
from Emre is a dedication θείος καὶ βραχύτηται ἐπὶ Καισαρείας.

37) LBW, no. 1099 (Ath. Mitt. VI (1881), 134, no3 from Mihalic;
(see for illustrations Le Bas - Reinach, Mon. Fig.pl. 132, 2;
Cook, Zeus II, 1, 834; Cat. Const.III, no. 842) a dedication
to Zeus Hypsistos Brontaicos; Hermes is also depicted in the
accompanying relief; JHS XXVII (1907), 66, no. 12 from near Gañirca; BCH XXI (1897), 95, no. 7 from Han Köysouth of Viran şehir in Paphlagonia; G. Jacopi, Dalla Paflagonia alla Commagene, 4 and fig. 7, from Kastamonu. Two more important dedications have been published by L. Robertson; "Bulletin Epigraphique", REG LIV (1941), 241, and LVII (1944), 276a (Hellenica VII (1949), 32) from West of Ionopolis, recording the gift of a statue of Zeus Brontaioi, and Hellenica VII (1949), 30, from near Yalova, a prayer to Zeus Brontaioi and Demeter; Hermes is again shown in the relief. The appearance of Hermes with Zeus Brontaioi and with Zeus Brontos is a factor linking the two gods. The association of Zeus Brontaioi with Hera and Demeter parallels that of Zeus Brontos with Meter Dindymene at Erdek(Artaki). On the other hand, the association of Zeus Brontos with a goddess is relatively rare; see above, Chapter Three.

38) Ath. Mitt. XXIII (1898), 161 (EBA XLIX (1954), 12 f., no. 3) from Eskişehir: stele with relief of the lower part of a standing figure holding a thunderbolt; Ath. Mitt. XXIV (1899) 443, no. 38 from Gañirik: altar with rough bust of a bearded, long-haired god; Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 416, no. 26 from Kumbet: altar with bust of Zeus with an eagle on his right shoulder; 417, no. 28 from İnegöl: altar with a bearded, long-haired bust of Zeus; 418, no. 29, also from İnegöl: head of Zeus with eagle; JOAT XXXII (1940), Beibl. 111 ff., no. 2 from Zemzem: bust of clothed god with curly hair and beard; Denkm. Lyk., 72-3, no. 146 from Palaia Isaura: bust with sceptre and fulmen; MAMA V, 175, Z.B. 87 from Terziler: bearded draped bust with long curling hair. For possible representations of the god, see ibid. 176. A bust of Zeus Brontos in the round comes from Eskişehir, CIG III, add. 3817b (B.M. Cat. Sculpture III, 3, no. 1521; illustrated in Cook, Zeus II, 1, fig. 794): clothed, bearded god without attributes. Cook has noted, op. cit, 744 ff., that whereas the Greek Zeus was usually naked, or nearly so, the Anatolian Zeus was clothed. In this respect, Zeus Brontos was similar to pre-Phrygian Anatolian varieties of Zeus, but it would be unwise to put much weight on this similarity. If the coin-types discussed below do represent Zeus Brontos, no real
difficulty is presented by the fact that the coins show the
god naked, while the reliefs show him clothed. The former are
faithful to their Greek originals, while the latter show him
in peasant Anatolian fashion.

39) Cavedoni, Ann. d. Inst. XIX (1847), 132, citing Mionnet IV,
285, 520 and Suppl. VII, 857, 327 (reference to Cavedoni cited
from F. Cumont, "Bronton", RE III (1897), 891, 11. 23 ff.; non
vidi); Cox and Cameron, MAMA V, xli, independently of Cavedoni,
citing B.M. Cat. pl. XXV, i & 8.

40) JHS III (1882), 124. Cf. Fehrle "Zeus (Beinamen)" ML VI
(1924 - 37), s.v. Bronton, 613, 11. 60 ff., and Cox and Cameron
MAMA V, xl. Cox and Cameron cite as examples Mionnet IV, 346,
no. 872 and Suppl. VII, 602, no. 524 (non vidi). Neither Fehrle
nor Cox and Cameron refer to Cavedoni's identification.

41) B.V. Head, Historia Numorum 2, 676 and in his description in B.M.
Cat. Phrygia, 267, no. 14; 268, no. 16; 269, nos 23-4

42) Cook, Zeus II, 1, 753 ff. and pl. xxxiii.

43) Apollonis: B.M. Cat. Lydia, 19, no. 2.
Dorylaeion: B.M. Cat., 195, nos. 2 - 4; Inv. Wadd., nos. 5964 - 5;
SNG v. Aulock, 3557.

44) Ikonion: Inv. Wadd., no. 4760; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus. Lykaonia etc.,
no. 2; SNG v. Aulock, h. 12, Pisidien etc., no. 5364.
Amorion: (Claudius) KL. M. I, 198, no. 9; (Nero) ibid., 199, no. 10; B.M.
Cat. 52 no. 31 (Vespasian) B.M. Cat., 52, no. 34; Inv. Wadd., no. 5612;
SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., 123 - 4; SNG v. Aulock, no. 3403; (Geta
Caesar) B.M. Cat. Phrygia, 56, no. 53; SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., 127 -
9; SNG v. Aulock, 3418; Inv. Wadd., nos. 5621 - 2; (Julia
Domna) B.M. Cat., 53, no. 39; Inv. Wadd., no. 5618.
(same type in temple - façade) (Vespasian) SNG v. Aulock, 3404;
KL. M. I, 199, nos. 11 - 12; (Marcus Aurelius) B.M. Cat., 53,
no. 36; (Geta) Inv. Wadd., no. 5624; (Julia Domna) SNG Dan.
Net. Mus., 126.

45) B.M. Cat., 194, no. 32; SNG v. Aulock, 3551-2; no. 3545 is II. M. cent. AD.

46) e.g. Alabanda: B.M. Cat. Caria, 6, no. 31 (Vespasian).
Baris: B.M. Cat. Lycia etc., 207 ff. nos. 1, 3, 4a, 5
(Hadrian, Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Tranquillina)
K.I. M. II, 367, no. 6 (Julia Mamaea).
Bageis: B.M. Cat. Lydia, 38, no. 41 (Geta).
Lyrbe: Kl. M. II, 465, no. 1 (Gordian).
Kibyra: SNG v. Aulock, 3739 (Diadumenian).
Palaeopolis: B.M. Cat. Lycia, 231, no. 1 (Antoninus Pius).
Tios: SNG v. Aulock, h.3; Pontus, 952 (Septimius Severus).
Tavlon: B.M. Cat. Galatia, 24, no. 3 (Titus - Septimius Severus); 27, no. 17 (Caracalla).
Sillery: Kl.M. II, 351, no. 7; this is possibly the earliest example. According to Imhoof-Blumer, it may be as early as the second century B.C.


48) Tabai: B.M. Cat. Caria, 162, no. 20 (early Imperial, up to the time of Nero).
Attouda: ibid., 65, no. 20.
Ephesus: B.M. Cat. Ionia, 101, no. 357.

49) For the Nakoleian coins, see above, footnote 39.
Hieropolis: B.M. Cat., 267, no. 14; Kl.M. I, 244, no. 4 (Lucius Verus); B.M. Cat., 268, no. 16 (Caracalla); B.M. Cat., 269, nos 23-4; SNG v. Aulock, 3673 (Elagabalus).
Synnaos: SNG v. Aulock, 3970 (Otacilia Severa).

50) B.M. Cat., 198, no. 16. Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre also appears at Alabanda, Apameia Kibotos, Attalia, Hyaipa, Kibyra, Kolybrassos, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Magnesia ad Sipylum Miletos, Orthosia, Pergamon, Sibilla and Synnada.

51) GGA (1897), 400 f., no. 45;

52) REG II (1889), 17 f.

53) REG II (1889), 22; from 2 miles North - East of Ammon. E. Ohlemutz, Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamom, 88 ff., discusses the sculptures of the various types of Zeus worshipped at Pergamom, but says nothing about a cult-type of Zeus Soter which might enable us to recognise him on coins. The statuette Cat. Const M. 16, no. 813, shows a bearded laureate Zeus with phiale.
54) The following list has been compiled from the B.M. Cat., Phrygia Kl. M. I, SNG Dan, Nat. Mus., and SNG v. Aulock. I have ignored minor variations of the basic types.
Zeus enthroned with eagle and sceptre: Kibyra, Kotiaeion, Philomelion, Prymnessos, Sebaste, Synnada, Temenothyrai.
Zeus enthroned with phiale and sceptre: Akmonia, Brouzos, Dorylaeion, Eriza, Grimeneothyrai, Julia, Kibyra, Kidyessos, Kotiaeion, Okoklea, Philomelion, Sebaste, Stektorion, Synnada.
Zeus standing with phiale and sceptre: Akkliaesion, Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Kadoi, Midaesion, Otrous, Siblia.
Zeus Nikephoros: standing: Laodikeia on the Lykos.

55) Cook, Zeus II, 1, 744 ff.

56) For the relationship between coin-types and cult, see especially the evidence for the Mother, Chapter Four.

57) MAMA V, nos. 15, 17 from Eskefehir, no. 85 from Egrigoz, no. 176 from Kuyucak, no. Z.B. 88 from Yagmurlar.

58) B.M. Cat., 47 ff., nos. 1 - 5; Kl. M.I, 197, nos. 1 - 3; Inv. Wadd., nos. 5600 - 5603, 5605; Weber Cat., 488, nos. 2008 - 9;
SNG Dan. Nat. Mus., 113 - 116 (all second - first centuries B.C)
Caligula: Inv. Wadd., no. 5609.
Claudius: B.M. Cat., 51, no. 28; Inv. Wadd., no. 5610.

The similar type of an eagle standing on an animal bone appears in the same period. It is more frequent than the eagle-on-thunderbolt type under the Empire, and continues down to the reign of Vespasian.


The motif continued to appear on the Ptolemaic coinage, e.g.:
ibid., pls. lix, 1, 2, and 4 (Ptolemy IV, c. 210 B.C.; Hill, A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks, pl. xxxiv, 29 (Ptolemy V, 204 - 181); Seltman, op. cit., pl. lix, 5 (Ptolemy VI, c. 160); lix, 6 (Ptolemy XIII, c. 60 B.C.); lix, 7 and 8 (Cleopatra, 47 and 30 B.C.). It also appeared on the coins of Perseus of Macedon c. 175 B.C., Seltman, op. cit., pl. li, 3, and of Balas, who claimed to be the second son of Antiochus IV, c. 150 B.C., pl. liv, 2.

60) Seltman, op. cit., 96 and pl. xiii, 9 and 10.

61) On Alexander and Zeus Olympios, see for example Cook, Zeus II, I, 760 ff. and Seltman, op. cit., 205. For the Seleucids and the god see M. Rostovtzeff, CRAT (1935), 298 ff and JHS LV (1935), 58, 60 and 63; H. Seyrig, Syria III (1939), 29, footnote 6; L. Lacroix, BCH LXXIII (1949), 163 ff.; A. Dupont-Sommer & L. Robert, La Déesse de Hierapolis - Castabala, 96 ff.

62) To cite examples from the B.M. Catalogues alone: Pontus, 15, nos. 22-9 (Amisos; time of Mithradates Eupator); 30, no. 1 (Gazioura; same time); 36, no. 2 (Pharnakeia; same time); 84, nos. 5 and 6 (Amastris; same time); 99, no. 37 (Sinope; same time); 138, nos. 1 - 3 (Dia; same time). Mysia, 2, no. 1 (Adramyttion; II cent. B.C.); Caria, 136, no. 17 (Myndos; II - I cents. B.C.). Lycia, 73, no. 1 (Oinoanda; II cent. B.C.). Lydia, 68, no. 2 (Clanuda; II - I cents. B.C.); 336 ff., nos. 69-70 (Troleis; II - I cents B.C.); 42 f., nos. 1 - 3 and 6 - 10 from Etraundos are similar, but the eagle stands on a plain line.

This obverse/reverse combination occurs in Phrygia only at Amorion, but the two types frequently appear separately. The related type of the winged thunderbolt was also popular.

63) Eagle on dedications to: Zeus Megistos, MAMA VII, no. 130 from near Mahmut Asar; BCH X (1886), 453 f., no. 3 from Hierapolis; Zeus Dagoustenos, SERP, 270 f., no. 2 from Eskişehir; Zeus Euphranor, BSA XLIX (1954), 11 f., no. 1 from Eskişehir; Zeus Telephoros, Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 418 f., no. 31 from İmın; Zeus Bennios: JHS V (1884), 258; no. 11 from Karagya; Zeus without epithet, MAMA IV, nos. 137 from Uluborlu, 267 from
from Hançallar, 113 a (AEM XIX (1896), 36, no. 7) from Karadilli;
JRS II (1912), 258, no. 18 from Afyon; MAMA IV, no. 49 from
Şuhut Kasaba (c. 200 B.C.)
Thunderbolts on dedications to: Zeus Ktesios, MAMA VI, no. 87 from
Yerengume; Zeus Megistos, JHS XVIII (1898), 123, no. 70 (MAMA VI
no. 135) from Eldeş (according to Calder in MAMA VII, the object
could be a thunderbolt or a sheaf); Zeus without epithet, MAMA
IV, no. 49 from Şuhut Kasaba; MAMA VII, no. 105 from İlgin.

Eagles alone appear on the following dedications to Zeus Bronton:
MAMA V, nos. 79 from Kuzkaya, 111 (?) from Sultandere, 174 from
Ayvacık, 179 from Kuyucak; Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 416, no. 26
(Cat. Const. III, 51 f., no. 845 (756)) from Kumbet; SERP, 277,
no. 11 from "Dorylaeum", i.e. Eskişehir or Şar Huyuk (Echos d’
Orient IX (1906), 358, no. 4); JOAI XXXII (1940), Beibl. 110 f.,
no. 1 from Eskişehir

64) e.g. SNG v. Aulock, h.1, Pontus etc., nos. 251 - 4 (Prusias II),
261 - 2 (Nikomedes II), 263 - 4 (Nikomedes III), 265 - 9 (Nikomedes IV)

65) At Amorion, the type continued until the reign of Claudius. Else-
where, the eagle-on-thunderbolt appears in Phrygia during the
Imperial period only at Sebaste on a quasi-autonomous coin
dated between the reigns of Nero and Gordian (B.M. Cat., 369,
no. 1) and on a coin of the time of Agrippina Junior (Weber Cat.
534, no. 713).

66) MAMA V, no. 85: Domnos.

67) Cf. ASAA XLI -II (1963-4), 351 ff., text 1, an oracle of Apollo
Kareios dating to the second or first centuries B.C., re-used in
the foundations of the temple of Apollo at Hierapolis.

68) MAMA V, no. 134. Perrot, Exploration Archéologique, 116, no. 77,
is dated to the year 240 of the Sullan era, i.e. A.D. 156-7.

69) A. Laumonier, Les Cultes Indigènes en Carie, 88.

70) E. Akurgal, Spaethethitishe Bildkunst, 94.

71) Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 45. The legend is dismissed by
Laumonier, op. cit., 85 ff., in my view with inadequate reason.

72) On Anatolian single-axe bearing gods, see Akurgal, loc. cit.
73) Monuments Piot XVIII (1910), 163, fig. 8; Laumonier, op. cit., pl. III, 2.

74) J. Schaefer, De Iove apud Caeres culto, 371 ff.

75) Examples are assembled by Cook, Zeus II, 1, 707.

76) See E. Akurgal, op. cit., 98, according to whom it is borne by two representations of a Weather-god from Malatya, a "Schutzgott" from Kültepe and a god depicted on orthostat reliefs from Zincirli, the last also carrying a shield. Spear and shield are also carried by a "Schutzgott" depicted on a relief of the imperial Hittite period.

77) Cook, Zeus II, 1, 704 ff. quotes examples from Hydrosos in Karia (cf. Laumonier, op. cit., 186 ff.), from Amastris and a possible one from the eastern side of the Thracian Bosporos.

78) See above, Chapter Three, 83, 105, and Appendix Three, 32 ff.


80) For the coins, see the outline list in footnote 54), for the altar-reliefs, footnote 63).

81) Babelon, Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines, pl. xc, 12; Laumonier, op. cit., 63.

82) Laumonier, op. cit., 85.

83) Cook, Zeus I, 600 ff., figs. 465-8.

84) Cook, ibid.; R. Dussaud, Rev. Arch. (1903), 134 ff (Notes de Mythologie Syrienne, 15 ff); on the Telepinus myth, see the passage quoted in translation by O.R. Gurney, The Hittites, 2, 185. On the nature of Sandon - Herakles, see Chapter Three, footnote 87).

85) G.E. Mylonas, art. cit., citing Iliad XII, 237 ff.

86) The eagles depicted on the coins of Amorion have a kerykeion across their wings, presumably indicating their function as the messenger of Zeus. However, as we have seen, these coins cannot be proved to reflect a cult of Zeus Bronton. None of the eagles shown on the altars of Zeus Bronton have a kerykeion.


91) Cook, *Zeus* I, 399 ff. Bunches of grapes are shown on the following dedications to Zeus Brontos: *MAMA* V, nos. 78, 134 (also crater), 126, 226, R. 22 (also crater); *Ath. Mitt.* XXV (1900), 416, no. 26 (also crater), 417, no. 28 (also crater), 424, no. 37, 437 no. 61 (also crater); Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia*, nos. 103, 142, 143 (also crater), 147, 149 (also crater), 154 (also crater). A crater alone is depicted on *MAMA* V, nos. 221, 227, 229, 231. Ploughs appear on the following: *Ath. Mitt.* XXV (1900), 416, no. 26, 417, no. 27 and no. 28; Haspels, *op. cit.*, no. 103.

However, of these, *MAMA* V, nos. 134, 226-7, 229, 231; *Ath. Mitt.* XXV (1900), 424, no. 37, 437, no. 61; Haspels, *op. cit.*, nos. 103 and 149, are certainly funerary and the following are possibly so: *MAMA* V, nos. 78, 221, R. 22; *Ath. Mitt.* XXV (1900), 416, no. 26, 417, nos. 27-8; Haspels, *op. cit.*, 142-3, 149. Plough and oxen also appear on a dedication to Zeus Semantikos, which may also be funerary (Haspels, *op. cit.*, no. 104) and to Zeus Dios (or Ἀδριανος), certainly funerary (*AGA* (1897), 409, no. 55 (*BCH* XXII (1898), 237; *JHS* XIX (1899), 127, no. 142; *BCH* XXVIII (1904), 194, no. 10; *SERP*, 275, no. 4).

Vines were frequently depicted on Phrygian tombstones; see M. Waelkens, "Un exemplaire aberrant inédit de stèles funéraires à double étoile", *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d’Hist.* L (1972), 83, who attributes the popularity of the motif to the regional success of the cult of Dionysos, and P. Carrington, "Some Motifs on Anatolian and Balkan Tombstones", *Avrupa - Anadolu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2-3 (1974), 244. Ploughs and oxen were also frequently depicted on Phrygian tombstones, showing the
occupation of the deceased; see my article, cited above, under "Flough and Oxen" and L. Robert in N. Piratli, Les Stèles Funéraires de Byzance Gréco - Romaine, 170, with further references. For another interpretation, see M. Guarducci, "Note di Epigrafia Sepolcrale", Rend. Linc., ser. viii, XXV (1970), f. 7-12, 393 ff.

It can therefore be argued that these "Dionysiac" motifs appear on the altars of Zeus Bronton because the latter are, in at least some cases, funerary, and that the motifs need tell us nothing about the nature or origin of the god.

In addition, the grape-cluster decorates the altars of various gods in Phrygia, so to draw conclusions from its appearance on those of Zeus Bronton is dangerous. Apart from Dionysos himself, the divinities are (excluding Zeus Megistos, on whom see Chapter Three, footnote 86.) : Zeus Telesphoros, Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 418 f., no. 31 from İnönü; Hosios, MAMA V no. 148 from Erenler Pınar; Hosion kai Dikaios, MAMA V, no. 10 from Eskişehir (also crater); Meter Andeirene, AJA XXXVI (1932), 457 (MAMA VII, no. 106) from Ağalar; Theos panepkoos, MAMA I, no. 8 from Ladik; Theion and Apollo, Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 431, no. 54, from Başören (also crater); Zeus Dios (or Ἴδης ), GGA (1897), 409, no. 55 etc. from Eskişehir; Zeus, MAMA VII, no. 105 from İlgın; Mên Selmenos, MAMA VII, nos 243-5 from Gözören; Meter Akreane, MAMA V, no. 7 from Eskişehir. The bias towards the North-West of Phrygia in the distribution of vine and grape decoration on these votive altars suggests that, to some extent at least, it should be regarded as a regional peculiarity. The ox-head motif, which Cook would have done better to cite than the plough and oxen as evidence for the "Dionysiac" nature of the god, is, of course, perfectly appropriate to Zeus. The oxhead motif may represent a survival of the "Mediterranean" fertility god who was absorbed by the "northern" sky-god Zeus, but who also influenced the Greek Dionysos; see A. Vanel, L'Iconographie du Dieu del'Orage, 130. Like the grape and vine motif, that of the oxhead is found on the altars of various divinities in Phrygia, namely Zeus (without epithet), Meter (see above, Chapter Four, footnote 20), Apollo, Apollo Lairbenos, Dionysos, Sozon, Zeus Dionysos, Zeus Helios, Zeus Epikarpios, Zeus Megistos,
Zeus Petarenos, Zeus Syreanos, Zeus Telesphoros, Herakles, Hesion kai Dikaion, Thea Tetraprosopos, Mên. Representations of an oxhead or ox on altars recording a prayer ὑστὲρ βοῶν must, of course, be excluded, as here the oxhead probably represents the animal prayed for rather than the nature of the god. Examples are: Zeus Basilikos, MAMA V, R. 8 from Kuyucak (JOAT XXXII (1940), Beibl. 120, no. 5); Zeus, JHS XIX (1899), 77, no. 35; Hellenica (1955), 35; Zeus, Herakles and Papias, MAMA V, no. 182 from Kuyucak; Papias, MAMA VII, 303 from Alikel; Papias, Zeus Soter and Herakles Aneiketos, CIG 3817, 8 miles North of Seyitgazi.

L. Robert, Hellenica X (1955), 108, states that the depiction of an oxhead on an altar with a relief of Zeus shown with cornstalks and a cluster of grapes (cf. Zeus Megistos) indicates that the dedication was made ὑστὲρ βοῶν. As the altar is epigraphic, we cannot be certain. The relief of the oxhead could well show that the god was, at least in origin, a bull-god, or that a bull was considered his proper sacrifice. Further on dedications and the like, see Robert, Hellenica X (1955), 33 ff., Rev. Phil. XIII, 3, (1939), 204 and Collection Froehner, 60 ff. Robert, has promised a study of the subject, complete with maps, in an envisaged study of the native cults of Asia Minor; see Hellenica X, 5, footnote 1 and 108, footnote 3. The importance of the oxhead motif in showing a "Dionysiac" aspect in Zeus Brontos was also doubted by Cox and Cameron, MAMA V, xliii.

92) R. Schmitt, "Der angebliche phrygische Gott Bagaios", Die Sprache IX (1963), 38 ff. Dedication: Atl. Mitt. XX (1894), 373 from Çardak. H. Schwabl, "Zeus, I: Epiklesen", RE XA (1972), 285, s.v. Bagaios, is still prepared to accept this title as a local epithet, comparing the Lydian place - name Bagaios and the Celtic dedication Iovi Baginati, CIL XII, 2383, the latter raising the possibility of Zeus Bagaios being Galatian. Nevertheless, he concludes "In jedem Falle darf auf dem Z.B. ...nicht gebaut werden".

93) O. Haas, Die Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 159, s.v. bagos.

94) Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos, I, 313; Eustathius in Iliadem, 381, 15 ff.; ps. Plutarch, de Fluviiis XII, 3 f. (FGrHist 3 C, no. 797 (Hermesianax v. Kypros), 1; Euphorion is cited in the scholium on Aischylus' Persae, 658, where Meineke reads Φρούρεων
for θεοποιον.

95) R. Keydell, "Euphorion, 3", Kleine Pauly II (1967), 432 ff. and the comment, 433, ll. 25 ff.; "Die Reste zeigen Behandlung entlegener Mythen, glossenreiche Sprache, andeutende Erzählungsweise".

96) According to F. Atenbadt, Hermes LVII (1922), 231 ff., the source in this case is probably Alexander Polyhistor. To his comments, add now those of F. Crevatin, "Note Frigia, I: norikon "otre"", Zeitschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf. LXXVI (1972), 178 ff.

97) Et. Magn. 186, 32:

98) Hesychius: ἐρυθέλενδος ἡ λόφονος.

99) R. Schmitt, art. cit.

100) G. Mendel in BCH XXIV (1900), 400 on the tombstones of the region of Golpazar, adjoining the lower Sakarya valley.


102) W. Drexler, "Bagaios", ML II (1890 - 97), 2552. Cf. Cook, Zeus II, 1, 295, footnote 2 and Kazarov, "Megas", RE XV, 1, (1931), 223, ll. 62 ff. Drexler's reading has recently been taken up again by E. Heitsch, Glotta XLVI (1968), 74 ff and applied to Attis qua vegetation-god. Attis was not a god in Phrygia; see above, Chapter Four.

103) Πραξιον VII (1922), πιστικτ = 2, fig. 1 (MAMA V, R.8) from Kuyucak.


105) Chapter Two, 24.


107) W. M. Ramsay, HGAM, 147. Cf. MAMA V, xlv.

The attestations of the god are: JHS V (1884), 259, no. 11 from Karaağaç; JHS VIII (1887), 514, no. 95 (IGRR IV, no. 535) from Yalnız Saray; JRS XVIII (1927), 27, no. 241 (Perrot, Exploration Archéologique, 123, no. 86; LEW, no. 774; CIG add. 38571; IGRR IV

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no. 603) from Altıntaş; CIG 3857 from Tatar Bazarcık; MAMA V, no. 210 from Sğıtgağı. For still unpublished inscriptions found by Cox and Cameron in 1925 in Aizanitis, see JRS XVIII (1928), 37 and the complaint of L. Robert, Hellenica XIII (1965), 238. The remaining inscription is JHS V (1884), 258, no. 10 (MAMA V, no. 176) from Kuyucak, on which see footnote 24) above.

108) JHS VIII (1887), 512, citing Festus, ep. 32, 14: "Benna lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur, unde vocantur combennones eadem benna sedentes"; Deecke, Rh. M. XXXVIII (1882), 385.

109) JRS XVIII (1928), 36 ff, no. 253 from Çukurler. Unfortunately the inscription on the monument is funerary and mentions no god.

110) W. M. Ramsay, on SERP, 127 (MAMA I, no. 390) from Midasşehir:
χαρε μακαρ πολυαλβέ θεών, ἕπερειν οὐκ ἔρματον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγὼ ἐνεῳκύνης παρισμαί τοῦ θεοῦ.

and SERP 345 (JHS XXXII (1912), 162): "... ἐνεῳκύνης τῇ κόμῃ (ἐπὶ) ρ' εἶ τὸν γένεσας Βεννας ἐὰν καὶ ἐμφανῶς ὑπὲρ κυρίου.

Compare O. Haas, Die Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 160.

111) W. Dressler, Sprache XIV (1968), 41.

112) An eagle standing on a thunderbolt and an oxhead are depicted on JHS V (1884), 258, no. 10 (MAMA V, no. 176). The eagle standing on a thunderbolt is usually found only on the altars of Zeus Bronton, with whom we are probably dealing in this inscription; see above, footnote 24). The oxhead is also frequently found on the altars of Zeus Bronton. Only the eagle and the bunch of grapes on JHS V (1884), 258, no. 10 can certainly be associated with Zeus Benneus. The radiate head also depicted on this monument is probably to be explained by the influence of late solar monotheism on a local cult.
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE CONTENT OF THE LATE PHYRGIAN FUNERAL CURSES.

Until the last century our knowledge of the Phrygian language was confined to glosses, mainly those preserved for us in Hesychius. The first inscriptions in the Phrygian language were recorded by the elder Nordtman, who, however, thought that they were Armenian. They were recognised as Phrygian by Moriz Schmidt. Phrygian is now divided into two categories, Old Phrygian, comprising graffiti from Gordian and elsewhere and inscriptions, on the "Black Stone" of Tyana and on the cult-facades in the Phrygian Highlands, and Late or Neo-Phrygian, comprising over one hundred inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. Two corpora of Late Phrygian inscriptions were compiled by Ramsey; others have been assembled by W.M. Calder, J. Friedrich and lately by O. Haas. To this last corpus must now be added the inscriptions from the Highlands published by C.H.E. Haspels. A corpus of Old Phrygian inscriptions is being prepared by M. Lejeune and the French Institute of Archaeology at Istanbul. A critical edition of the Late Phrygian inscriptions remains a desideratum.

Insufficient progress has been made in the translation of the Old Phrygian inscriptions for them to be of much use to the historian. However, the later inscriptions have proved slightly more tractable. Most of them are appended to Greek epitaphs, and have been interpreted from the beginning as curses on would-be violators of the tomb. It is to this numerous class of Late Phrygian inscriptions that the following discussion will be confined; the interpretation of the remainder is still too hazardous for it to be profitable here. The wording of the protases of the curses show a few variations, while again the apodopes make use of a number of different formulae. Much progress in the interpretation of the inscriptions has been made by the application of the comparative method in word-separation, of a basic knowledge of phonetics and by a study of the Greek
funerary curses from Asia Minor likely to be comparable. R. Meister and O. Haas have made greater use of the etymological method\textsuperscript{2}). The reliability of the results obtained by this method can only be judged by other philologists, but those obtained by the first methods can be more widely evaluated. Such an evaluation is attempted here, and is begun with a survey of comparative Greek and Anatolian material.

In both Greece and Asia Minor the earliest curses we know are usually directed at potential breakers of particular types of laws, for instance, treaties and constitutional laws, to whom we may guess that the State felt itself particularly vulnerable, for such offences directly threatened its very basis. Indeed such laws were felt to be sacred. These curses were probably derived from those directed at religious offenders, whose actions threatened another basic order, the relationship between man and the gods, and for which a curse, in Greece thought of as being pronounced by, rather than invoking the gods, was the obvious penalty\textsuperscript{3}). As early Anatolian examples A. Parrot has cited the Hittite curses closing the treaty of Hattusilis and Ramses II, and those for stealing ritual offerings\textsuperscript{4}). The most famous Greek examples are those sworn by the members of the Delphic Amphictyony at the end of the Sacred War, by the Greeks at Plataia and those protecting the constitutional laws of "eos\textsuperscript{5}). The idea of protecting the constitution by curses also appears in Greek literature.\textsuperscript{6)} As we shall see, the continuity of the formulae used makes it clear that it was from curses such as these that the Greek grave-curses of later date were derived. Other important early Anatolian curses are late Hittite ones on defacers of statues of divinities and fourth century curses in the Lydian language from Sardis\textsuperscript{7}).

K. Latte has pointed out that the essential difference between the Greek and Anatolian curses is that Greek curses bring worldly misfortune in general on the accursed person and are imagined as being pronounced by the gods, while Anatolian curses specifically invoke divine wrath.\textsuperscript{8)} For
instance, the Teian curses read: [...] κ[ένον ἀπόλυσθων: καὶ σο[ῦτον 
καὶ γένος :το νέον :]. On the other hand, in the Lydian curses 
from Sardis, the wrongdoer is condemned to the vengeance of 
Artemis, Santaς and Kubaba etc9). A fourth century de 
cree of στελεια at the Karian sanctuary of Simuri reads: [ένω χ]: τι 
ταύτα παρακαλῶν ή ἀκμα παρακαλῶν ταύτα είς αὐτός τε καὶ το ἄ[τον] 
του θεον τουτου10). In a decree from Termessos establishing a 
cult of Ptolemy III and Arsinoe, a curse is laid on the 
people and the archon if they fail to carry out the annual 
sacrifice: ἀμαρτωλοι ἐστίσων θεον πάντων —11). Needless 
to say, the distinction did not remain rigid; sometimes the 
gods do appear in Greek curses, as in the one pronounced 
against offenders against the sanctuary at Delphi: [και εἰ- 
οροκοιν και μι με εις πόλει και ἀγνωθη], ἐφιορκοκοιν δι [θεομ] και 
Ἀπόλλων Πανθεο και Λαγκ και ἄρτεμις και τεστιν και πάρ αἰθίου 
και θεον πι[ρετε και πάντοι κοκκίνη τόλθω την] συνηρίσαν μει [ἀσάλω]υ 
μή τε νήμαμης στορόμα μήτε νερόν], μήτε αἰσχρός κακόννες ἐλάδων ἐμέ [περίμ 
και με] εἰς τοὺς ἄπαντανταν διαντα ἀκραλος ει ἐφιορκοκοιν12). 
[ει το μέος εορ 

The appearance of the Greek type of curse in Asia Minor 
merely reflects the hellenisation of the country. A decree 
of ἀταιείς of the time of Artaxerxes Ochos establishing 
the right of asylum for the temple of Dionysos ends: κρο 
σπός ἀπεικονος Διονύσου Βασιλείου, τον ἱκέτην μη ἀδικο 

c

in the precinct of the Ephesian Artemis has a similar curse, 
as does a religious law from Priene14). Finally, in the 
same tradition we may include the Gangra oath, in which 
delegates from the cities of Paphlagonia swore allegiance to 
Augustus when the kingdom of Deiotaros was annexed on the 
king’s death in 25 B.C.: ἐαν ἐν τι ὄσοντον τοῦ τοι τῶν ὄρων] 
ποίου ἐν μὴ στοιχείωσης κυρίως ἀμωμορίως, ἐπαρίσκομαι ἀυτός τε καὶ 
ἑαμον και σφηκαστο τοι ἐμαυτοι και φυσις και τις καὶ τέμπων 
καὶ παντος τοι ἐμαυτοι γέφυρα] καὶ συντελετας ἐξολειου καὶ παλαιουμε 
τοις σφηκαστο τοι[ν ὄρεον καὶ τοι]ν ἐμαυτοι παντοι καὶ μητε φεμικα 

c

[15] η ἡ θελομεν οδηγητο 

The archaic phraseology of this 
curse is reminiscent of the Amphictyonic and Plataean curses,
of a number of imprecactions of the fourth and third centuries B.C., and was followed by the curse attached to the epitaph of Herodes Atticus and to one at Neokaisareia.\textsuperscript{16}

In Athens we find curses being used to protect private testaments as well as public treaties and laws. J. Merkel once suggested that it was in this way that curses came to be used to protect Greek graves.\textsuperscript{17} In Asia Minor the earliest grave-curses and fines in the Greek language come from Lykia, and their development is complicated. An analysis was published by W. Arkwright in 1911 and accepted by A. Parrot in his \textit{Malédictions et Violations de Tombes}\textsuperscript{18}. Lykian tombs were generally large family ones which might be used for several generations. The testaments inscribed on them govern the freedom of use of the tomb by the builder's descendants. The offences forseen were contraventions of these regulations, in particular introduction of the bodies of strangers. In the earliest inscriptions, of the third century B.C., we simply find a curse pronounced on the offender. However, also in the third century, we find a curse and a fine. To whom the fine was payable is not stated, but it may be assumed that it was to the heirs, the case being one of damage to private property. It appears that the heirs were not always reliable enough in ensuring the observation of the regulations concerning the use of tombs, for we later find the right of accusation being extended to anyone who wished to undertake it, the fine being divided equally between the accuser and the city, the latter thus receiving an incentive to encourage such trials. After the annexation of Lykia by Rome in A.D. 43 we find the fine being divided three ways, among accuser, city and the Roman treasury. Such a division of the sum exacted was clearly inconsistent with its characterisation as damages for a civil wrong obtained by a trial of \textit{dike}\textsuperscript{19}. In various parts of western Asia Minor in the imperial period we find inscriptions apparently threatening the tomb-violator with fines payable to the temples of the local gods for \textit{hierocylia} or \textit{asebeia} and fines payable to the civil authorities for
tymborychia. It appears that the latter could include not only the physical act of opening the tomb, but also a wide range of offences against testamentary provisions. It may be that the fine to the temple for asæbeia had replaced the curse. Whether the earlier offence of ἀμαρτία had also been accounted for by payment of a fine is unknown. The crime most commonly forseen continued to be the introduction of the body of a stranger.

It is noteworthy that these local Anatolian laws bear little relationship to the Roman laws on sepulcri violatic, which were chiefly concerned with the destruction of tombs and the despoliation of corpses, the last offence carrying the penalties of exile, condemnation to the mines or even death. Nor do they agree with the probably Augustan inscription from Samaria which again threatens death for tymborychia. Where in Anatolian inscriptions we find a charge of tymborychia added to the fines, it is conceivable that we are dealing with the Roman charge of sepulcri violatic, but the fact that in Anatolia the crime forseen was insertion of a stranger's body or other contravention of testamentary provisions, in Roman laws the removal and despoliation of the corpse, makes this unlikely.

In Phrygia, as in other parts of Asia Minor, we find both fines and curses in Greek. The former are, by and large, confined to the areas surrounding the Greek cities in the West and South of the country. This is readily understandable: ready access to a strong civil authority was necessary for them to be enforced. They were generally payable to the local city and to the Roman treasuries. In keeping with the usual laconic nature of the inscriptions of Phrygia compared with those of other areas, the name of the crime for which the fine was payable is unspecified; the deed was, as usual, insertion of an alien body into a family tomb. Four standard formulae in the apodoses of the Greek curse may be distinguished: ὄφηνα τεκνά λιποίς, Μην βιάν, σικον ἐρίνς, τεκναν ἄμαρτον περιπεισοίτε συμφρόντ. Εσται αὕτη πρός τον Θεον; ἔξει τον Μηνα κεχολωμένον. The first is found in eastern Phrygia, the
second in the West of the country. The third has been shown
to be Christian in the Eukarpitic plain and around Apameia
and Dumencia, and Jewish around Akmonia. The last is con-
fined to the South-East of Phrygia
Apart from these
standard formulae, there is a considerable number of curses
whose composition reflects the individual taste of their
authors
In all cases, the protasis is ης δυν τηλω γραμ
ωμην χειρα προσελθει or the like.

The first two types are noteworthy for being of the
Greek rather than the Anatolian type, in that they directly
invoke worldly misfortune, in particular destruction of the
offender's family, rather than the wrath of the gods, on
the tomb-violator. The sentiments of the Teian curses and
others that we have already discussed are essentially the
same. The first curse is also a faulty hexameter, the
second a trimeter. Numerous metric funerary inscriptions are
found in Phrygia and Lykaonia—a deliberately conspicuous
attestation of at least a veneer of hellenisation
The Greek character of the content of the curses may be held
to have been intended to demonstrate the same thing.

The protases of the Phrygian curses have posed few
problems. They run: ιος νι σεμνουν κωμματε καινουν οδακτ
αφφερετ; "Whoever does/bears harm to this grave...". Κωμματε
may be amplified by ανι μενκά or ανι πεμα; "or to(this)
monument", "or to(this) stele". Like the usual protases
of the Greek curses of Phrygia, those of the curses in the
native language seem to be concerned with physical damage
to the funerary monument rather than with the insertion
into a family tomb of a stranger's body. In this they are
reminiscent of the Lydian curses from Sardis and perhaps
of the late Hittite curses on defacers of statues. Perhaps
we may see concern with damage to the tomb as a native
Anatolian characteristic, concern with the use of the tomb,
which is admittedly found at an early date in Lykia, as
owing its ubiquitousness to the spread of the Greek testa-
mentary tradition. As we have seen, Roman law was also con-
cerned with damage to tombs rather than their use, but it seems unlikely that this influenced the composition of the funerary curses found in Phrygia, whether in the Greek or native language.

The apodoses of the curses are more varied and pose a number of problems. The simplest forms are \(( τοσ \ νι \ ) με δεως δεμελους κε ετιτεικμενοι ειτου \) and \(( τοσ \ νι \ ) ετιτεικμενος ατι αδειου 28\). \( τοσ \ νι \) has been argued by Gusmani to be resumptive, taking up the introductory \( τοσ \ νι \ ... 29\). \( δεως \) is now agreed to mean "gods". The root of δεμελους is almost certainly cognate with Slavic semlia, "earth"30. Kretschmer took the word to be Semele and thought δεως δεμελους as represented a Phrygian divine couple Zeus and Semele 31.

However, such a couple is otherwise unattested in Phrygia, and δεως is better taken to mean "gods" than Zeus. The phrase could be the equivalent of θεοι οὐρανοί καὶ καταθόντος, if δεως by itself could imply "heavenly gods" and δεμελους by itself "earthly gods"32. Ramsay, followed by O. Haas, well argued that δεμελους in fact meant "men", citing Hesychius δεμελους παραβαίνον αδριμπουν (this usage is paralleled by Lat humilis from humus)33. Cursing before gods and men is attested in the Greek curses of Asia Minor, although less frequently than before heavenly and chthonic gods34. (ετιτεικμενος ειτου has usually been taken to mean "accursed"35. Recently, O. Haas has suggested that it means "branded", being cognate with the Greek συκε36. Haas believes he has found support in literature for the branding of tomb-violators, but the passages he cites are very weak, while the suggested etymology has not convinced other philologists37.

In αττις (ςτε), Calder and R. Meister recognised the "god" Attis 38. O. Haas has rightly objected to this interpretation on the ground that Attis is otherwise unattested in Phrygian inscriptions. Instead, he has suggested that the word should be regarded as an intensifying particle to be taken with the verb. By comparing αττι αδειου with αττι (ςτι) ανειου, he concludes that the original form was *ad-stie or *an-stie,
a particle of verbal origin like the Greek ἄγε, perhaps ἀδ-στείετ, *an-stieet, an optative form of *stae. In fact the division *τι νεκρον is not certain, as the prefix is nowhere firmly attested. On the other hand the prefix αδ- is attested in τεκνενος was κνατοια, "accursed to the grave" (?) and elsewhere. I should prefer to follow Meister and separate αδ- = Th (η, ε), αδ Τιαν, "before Zeus", Τι (η, ε) being Dative and Τιαν, Accusative. The Genitive of the same stem, Τιος, was recognised by Fraser and Meister and has been generally accepted. Such an interpretation makes sense of the three examples of the apodosis, nonsensical on Hans' translation, αδ Τιαν, and improves the sense of others. If these interpretations are accepted, the sense of the first two types of curse corresponds very closely with that of some Greek curses in Phrygia: ις θεος και ομοιομενος τι να, θεος ομοιοι και ομοιομενος η τι [ω] and Ευνου προς και τ [ω] ι [ω] 11. 11.

Other formulae involving Zeus are: γερμαμεναν ενεβον Τιοσ ωταν or γερμαμεν αν κε ενεβον Τιοσ ωταν and Μοναμορ τι σον ενεβον γερμαμεν ονυ may have the sense of, and be related to, the Greek ις θεον. γερμαμενα has been assumed to be a form of γαρμαμενα or κερμαμενα. These formulae have been found only at Bulduk, Küçük Başkavak, Kerpipli, Kelhasan, Kozanlı and Binanlı, located in a small East-West stretch in the Proseilemmene. All these curses mentioning Zeus are of Latte's Anatolian type, in that they invoke divine wrath on the wrongdoer. They go well with the prayers to Zeus Bronton appended to funerary monuments in the Highlands, interpreted by Cox and Cameron as a variant of the normal curse, and confirm the importance of Zeus in Phrygian and as a protector of the dead (pace Ramsay, the Mother does not appear in this role in Phrygia).

On the other hand, we do find Phrygian curses which parallel the more elaborate Greek ones. Σακ νος με βηρετ on inscriptions from Geynik and Kilise Orhanoğlu, is probably a translation of μητ εν οι κερνη ων ἑνετικ 50.)
A similar formula may be αὐκαλος αὐκαλος τι ἐφετημετον, of which three examples again come from Buldük, Kelhasan and Sinanlı. O. Haas translates: "and may his bread and water be untouchable (lit. uneatable, undrinkable). Finally, there is the curse γεγραγμενος α ἐ βαταν τευτων. Haas believes γεγραγμενος is derived from the same stem as the Greek χαραγμενος and again means "brand". κεχαρισμενος, "devoted", found in Greek curses, he believes is a borrowing from γεγραγμενος, based on a superficial etymology. As βαταν τευτων means "to the land of his people." If this etymologically based interpretation is correct, then the sense is similar to that of the Greek formula μητε γη βατα... etc. Of the three examples of this formula, one comes from Kozanlı, the other two from Sinanlı. κεχαρισμενος is found in a Greek curse from nearby Modanlı, as well as one from Senirkent.

Greek curses from the earliest times invoked misfortune upon the family and descendants of the wrongdoer, as well as on the wrongdoer himself. It is probable that such a custom is also to be found in the Phrygian curses. In five inscriptions, from Afyon, İlgin, Kadin Han and Sinanlı we come across the terms ἁρρα, ἁρρῶν, πεῖς, ὀμα. According to Haas, both ἁρρα and πεῖς probably mean "children", with ἐ(α)ρρα, a collective form meaning "descendants". ὀμα means "his".

Agreement has yet to be reached on the exact meaning of the Phrygian curses. Nevertheless, it is probable that the interpretations suggested above of important phrases are correct in outline. It will be apparent that while the use of particular words and phrases may be paralleled in the Greek curses of Asia Minor (not particularly of Phrygia), there very few close parallels for whole curses and no true bilinguals. Evidently the origins of the Phrygian curses are fairly complicated ones. The apparent absence of any chronological sequence in the inscriptions means that a line of development cannot be demonstrated. Nevertheless, it is possible that the apodoses με δεωσ ἰορεως κι επτετετετετραμενος
reflecting the Anatolian tradition of invoking the wrath of the gods, are the earliest, and that the more complex apodoses invoking human misfortune do not predate the generally tardy Hellenisation of the remote eastern districts where they are attested. Their composition may attest at least superficial Hellenisation of thought (or fashion), combined with a pride in the continued existence of the native language. If our assessment of the dating of these more complex curses is correct, then Gusman's theory that most of the Late Phrygian inscriptions were written in a language dead for several centuries and that only the non-funerary inscriptions, not discussed here, were written in the current language, must be at least partly rejected. This could be true of the simpler curses found in the more Hellenised areas, but cannot be proved. Again, Haas has observed that on some stelai carrying Phrygian curses, the accompanying Greek inscription replaces an earlier, erased one. In other cases it is clear that the Greek inscription was cut independently of, and sometimes in a different hand from, the Phrygian one. He concludes that some of the stelai carrying Late Phrygian inscriptions had been re-used after a considerable interval, during which the penalty of branding referred to in some of the inscriptions had become illegal under Roman law and was not referred to in the new Greek inscription. We may certainly accept that some of the stones were re-used, the Greek inscriptions being re-cut, the Phrygian ones being retained out of antiquarian or religious sentiment, and that in other cases standard curses were engraved by the stone-mason when he was first cutting the stone, the Greek epitaphs being added later, not necessarily by the same man, when the stone was eventually sold, without conceding the need for the period involved to be a long one. The more elaborate curses, if the proposed interpretations are remotely correct, must surely be based on Greek ones and so cannot be early. The inscription of a standard curse by a mason fits well with the restricted distribution we have observed of the more elaborate curses.
Haas has also cited passages from Clement of Alexandria and Origen in support of the idea that curses or prayers in the native tongue of a land were particularly effective, hence the survival and re-use of stelai with Phrygian curses. He believes, from the small number of archetypes, frequently repeated, that Phrygian was no longer in common use\textsuperscript{59).} There may have been some truth in this, but if the feeling recorded by Clement and Origen had been a deep one, one would expect traditional curse-formulae to have been used, especially in eastern Phrygia, whereas we actually find imitations of Greek ones. We may expect the language used in these curses to have been a conservative one, not wholly typical of that used in everyday speech in the Imperial period, but the fact that new curses were composed in it at a fairly late date shows that it was not entirely dead\textsuperscript{60).}

On the new French corpus in preparation of old Phrygian inscriptions, see *Anat. St.* XXI (1971), 24 ff. The last corpus was that compiled by Friedrich, *op. cit.*, 125 ff., with additions in his article "Phrygia (Sprache)", *RE* XX, 1 (1941), 869, and by W. Dressler, *Sprache XIV* (1968), 40 ff (review of Haas, *op. cit.*). A full bibliography of the subject to the time of writing (1932) was given by Friedrich, *op. cit.*, 124. A new one has been promised by Haas, *op. cit.*, 3. An account of research on the Phrygian language is given by R. Gusmani, "Studi sull' antico Frigio", *RIL*, Classe di Lettere, XCII, 3 (1958), 841-3.


5) Curse on transgressors of the agreement not to cultivate the plains of the destroyed cities of Kirrha and Akragalidas before Apollo Artemis, Leto and Athena Pronaia καὶ ἔσεχθαι καὶ ιερᾶς χεῖρας γης ῥητὰς στέφειν μήτε γυναικῶν τεές τότεν γυνέων ἄνθρωπον οἰκίσοντα ἔλλει πέμπουσι, μήτε βοσκεῖται κατὰ φάσιν γυναῖκα ποιεῖται, ἥτταν οὐ αὐτοῖν δίνω τὰ πόλεμον καὶ ἐκμάζων καὶ ἄγορον καὶ ἔγκλημα δίνω.
μαὶς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένους ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, Aischines III, 111.

For the curse concluding the alliance made by the Greek states before Plataia, engraved on a stele at Acharnai, see L Robert, Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques, 307 and "Bulletin Epigraphique", RPE LXVII (1954), no. 105.


6) See for examples Ziebarth, art. cit., 60 ff. and K. Latte, Heiliges Recht, 68 ff.

7) On the continuity of curse-formulae, see, for example, P. Moreaux, Une imprécation funéraire à Neocésarée, 22; L. Robert, Hellenica VI (1948), 13 ff.; VII (1949), 64 ff.; VIII (1950), 76. Hittite curses: e.g., J.D. Hawkins, "Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions of Commagene", Anat. St. XX (1970), 97, text I, 11. 5 ff; text II, 11. 9 ff., from Boybyeşnari; text from Ancoz, 104. The practice was also a Babylonian one according to A.D. Nock, "Tomb violations and pontifical law", JBL LX (1941), 95 (Essays in Religion and the Ancient World II, 532). Lydian curses: E. Littmann, Sardis, VI, Lydian Inscriptions: Part I, 23-54.

8) K. Latte, Heiliges Recht, 77.

9) E. Littmann, op. cit., nos. 24-30A, 42Ab, 49E - Artemis; 43Aa - Santas and Kubaba. The meaning of σαβιλας in 42Ab is uncertain. It may mean βασιλειας, and σαβιλας tenas may represent Μεξα (Μη) βασιλειας; see A. Heubeck, Lydiaka, 15 ff.

10) L. Robert, Hellenica VII (1949), 64.

11) BCH XIV (1890), 164.

12) BCH XXVII (1903), 107, Bl4. Compare also the curse of the Delphic Amphictyony, footnote 5) above. K. Latte, Heiliges Recht, 77, comments "Was hier nur akzessorisch eine von den Folgen des Fluches ist, schiebt sich in Kleinasiern in den Vordergrund".

13) CIG 2919. On the date, see Judeich, Kleinasiatische Studien, 230 ff.

Priene: Inschr. v. Priene nos. 201-3

15) Gangra oath: Studia Pontica III, 75f., no. 66; Vezir Köprü.

16) L. Robert, Études épigraphiques et philologiques, 313; P. Moraux, Une impiéation funéraire à Néocésarée, 21.

17) J. Merkel, "Sepulkralmulent", Göttinger Festgabe für Jhering

18) W. Arkwright, "Penalties in Lycian epitaphs of Hellenistic and Roman times", JHS XXI (1911), 269 ff.; A. Parrot, Malédiction et Violations de Tombes, 103 ff.

19) K. Latte, Heiliges Recht 91, raises the public right of accusation and the manner of the distribution of the fine as objections against Arkwright's interpretation of the process originally being a civil one. However, a process assimilable to one of διότι ιδιος attested as being in force in Lykia in the 1st cent. B.C. οι ἄλλοι δὲ μηδὲν έξεστο ταράνων ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ τάφῳ ἦ αποτελεόταν δ' θυμίων τῷ κάδῳ μεθ' ἑρμήσιον δραχμέω προσθεμιάς καθάπε τόδε τύχα (JHS XV (1895), 104).

20) In some cases it is possible that the fine payable to the city was the penalty for tymborychia; in others, the charge of tymbo- rychia is stated to be additional to this fine. Difficulty in interpretation is caused by the lack of precision in the wording of the inscriptions, which are presumably popular renderings of well-known local laws. The formula used varied from one city to another; for example, Termessos, Aphrodisias and Kyzikos all had their own distinct versions, possibly reflecting different local laws. The subject deserves a thorough re-examination, but the number of inscriptions involved is too large for it to be attempted here.

21) See, for example, P. Herrmann & K.Z. Polatkan, Das Testament des Epikrates, 14, 11, 94-7 and page 34.

22) Dig. XLVII, 12: de sepulcro violato.

23) The extensive literature on the Διάταξι καίσαρος is cited by Gerner, "Tymborychia", RE VII A 2 (1948), 1744. To it should be added A.D. Nock, "Tomb violations and Pontifical law", JBL LX (1941), 88 ff. (Essays in Religion and the Ancient World II, 527 ff.). Nock points out that the absence of repercussions
from the inscription in other provinces suggests that it was purely local in application.

24) ὅφεις ἄγαν λίπος κατακαίμεν ἦν: e.g., CIG 3990k, near Laodikeia Kata-
kekaumene; 4000, Ikonion; Heberdey-Wilhelm, Reise in Kilikien
no. 272, Karacaören; MAMA I, nos. 126, Kadiın Han, 294, Atlanti,
332, Örek Yayla, 404, Bashara; MAMA IV, nos. 20, İsgıklar, 85a,
Efe köy; MAMA VII, Nos. 23, Kestel, 28, Kadiın Han, 147, Doğan
Hisar, 214, Durגut, 231, ibid., 254, Gözören, 266, Peribeyli,
433, Dik Kulak, 498, Kozanlı, 585, Ínsuyu; CIG 3862, Uşak,
3875, Oturakçay.

τεκνων ἄλωρων περίπεσον σώματα: CIG add. 3827, Alekiam;
JOAI XXX (1937), 50, no. 53, Kutahya; JRS XV (1925), 155, no.
141; 159, no. 147, Kutahya; CIG 3893, Eumeneia, 3814, 3815
(Radet nos. XXX, XXI respectively), Eskişehir, 3843, Çavdar-
hisar; CB II, 654, no. 574, Susuz; 661, Çalca Köy; 702, no. 636,
Uruk; 389, no. 238, ; no. 527 (MAMA VI, no. 303), Gumulu;
MAMA IV, no. 310, Jogha Ali (Motella); MAMA VI, nos. 291,

εἰς τοὺς ἀμφότεροις τῶν θεῶν: see W.M. Calder, "The Eumeneian
Formula", Anatolian Studies...W.H. Buckler, 15 ff.; idem,
25 ff.; idem, MAMA VII, xxxvi ff.; L. Robert, Hellenica XI-
XII (1960), 386 - 413.

εἰς τοὺς Μυρα κυκλωμένων: R. Phil. XXXVI (1912), 65 f., 30,
33, Konya; BJ 200, no. 211, Konya; BCH X (1886), 503, no. 6
(BCH XXVI (1902), 217, no. 8; JHS XXII (1902), 118, 42), Konya;
MAMA VIII, nos. 234, 234b, Yali Bayat; Ballance, Archaeology
of Central Asia Minor, 210 f., nos. 198, Kuçuk Bornik, 199,
Giymir.

All the above inscriptions are cited by way of example
only and are not intended to represent a corpus.

25) See the selection quoted by O. Haas, Die phrygischen Sprach-
denkmäler, 37 - 47.

26) See L. Robert, Hellenica XIII (1965), 53:
"Cette culture (littéraire en Lycaonie) a donné aussi les
nombreuses épitaphes en vers, sous l'Empire et au Bas - Empire,
dans la Lycaonie comme dans la Phrygie. Ces épigraphes témoi-
gnent incontestablement du goût pour la culture grecque et de la
volon'te de la manifester".


28) με δευς Σεμέλως κ' επιτετηρικέος ετούς: CINPhr. nos. 4, 5, Sulmenli; 21, Asğı̄ Peribeyli̇ (με Σεμέλως only); 40, Efesultan; 63, Bolvadin; 75, Sarikaya (Σεμέλως only); 92, İcikli; 93, Alcibar; 96, Sülgülü̇; 97, Cavdarhisar; Haspels, op. cit. no. 56 Kilise Orhaniye (με δευς only); Haspels, op. cit., no. 57, ibid.-epitētērion με τη αδειται: CINPhr. nos. 7, Afyon; 11, Arğı̇tahanî; 12, İlgin; 44, Değanhisar (με τη αδειται only); 45, Mahmud hisar; 51, Suwerek; 54, Boğrı̇delik (με τη αδειται only); 56, Kilük Beşkavak (με τη ειτού); 57, ibid.; 61, Ladik; 65, Kurşun; 67, Kestel; 70, Ladik; 72, Hofunun Yayı̇lȧst; 76-7, Kelhasan; 80, No. of Hofunun Yayı̇lȧst; 85, Çeşmelı̇ Zebir; 86, Geynik; 87, Beykoy (με τη αδειται); 94, Sarkikaraağaç; 100, Modanlı̇; 101, Soğukpinar; 102, İlgin; 106, Kozanlı̇; 108, Bulduk.

29) The following inscriptions combine the two formulae: 25, Borlu; 62, E. of Bovadin - Cay road; 103, Durgut.


30) O. Haas, op. cit., 93.

31) P. Kretschmer, Aus der Anomia, 17 f.; Einleitung, 225 f.. It was also suggested by Solmsen, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XIV (1897), 55. Cf. the verdict of Calder, MAMA VII, xxix: "This error has become canonical".


33) W.M. Ramsay, "Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period", Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. XXVIII (1887), 397; O. Haas, op. cit., 92 ff

34) E.g. Viller 2, 330 from Kaysar and BOH IV (1880) 178, no. 38 from Teos for curses before men and gods. Curses before heavenly and chthonic gods are not particularly numerous; curses before chthonic gods alone are far more common.

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35) See, for example, R. Gusmani, art. cit., 890 ff.
36) O. Haas, op. cit., 87 f.
37) Haas, "Neue spathrygische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 19 ff., Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmaler, 53 ff., cites the fifth minbalambad of Herondas (third century B.C.): Bitinna wishes to punish her lover, the slave Gastron, for infidelity. She has another slave, Pyrrias, bring him to the Σητραγων. Gastron begs her to forgive him; if he sins again, she may brand him. Bitinna decides to call Kosis, the brander. Bitinna's maid, Kudilla, comments: δοξα τις ευλογηθης συνεδριαν συνεργασιων αλλα σηματων μερα. An edict of Constantine ordered that those condemned to forced labour should be branded on their hands and ankles, not their faces. Haas concludes that those condemned to the Σητραγων would normally have been branded. Even if this is correct, it is dangerous to assume from this passage that a tomb-robber would normally have been condemned to the Σητραγων. The σηματων μερα is surely cited not as a type of criminal condemned to the Σητραγων, but as one who was universally despised. Haas also connects the description of tomb violators in imperial inscriptions in Asia Minor as guilty of ἔρωσις with Plato's recommendation (Leges IX, 854d) that slaves and foreigners guilty of ἔρωσις should be branded. Again, it seems dangerous to assume that Plato's recommendation reflects actual legal practice in a backward area on the fringe of the Greek world. A. Heubeck, Gnomon XXXIX (1967), 581 comments: "Der Zusammenhang der Texte verlangt u. E. für die Partizipation gegen κριμανος und (επι) κριμανος, die H. als "gebrandmarkt" versteht (87 ff., 94 ff.), eher die Bedeutung "weffflucht!"
39) O. Haas, "Neue spathrygische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 22 ff.; op. cit., 92. The absence of Attis from the Greek inscriptions of Phrygia is also remarked on by Gusmani, art. cit., 892, but
he does not propose any resolution of the problem.

40) The only possible example is CINPhr. no. 30, l. 4: [......] ουτε μαθειτ ποις ην Μετανοιενεις, which is unique and where the word—division is consequently more uncertain than usual.

41) CINPhr. no. 20 from Asaği Peribeyli. Compare nos. 33 (as επαν τευτους), 35 (as ανακριται παιναν ην ημομνισθην.), 36 (ας [?] επαν τευτους). To no. 20 compare also the Greek curse, footnote 53.

42) The division as Τιαν επτου was first proposed by R. Meister, Xenia Nicolaitana, 169 and was accepted by Calder, MAMA VII, xxix and by A. Heubeck, loco cit. The division at Τιαν (= Τιαςκε) επτου was proposed by Meister in IG Forsch. XXV (1909), 318, but was dropped by him in his paper in Xenia Nicolaitana. The incorrect addition of ὥς to accusatives is well attested in Phrygian Greek, e.g. MAMA VIII, no. 151, μητέραν. Calder, JHS XXXI (1911), 172, no. XIV and 1977 no. LIII read the name of a goddess Astia, as Τιαν επτου occurs in CINPhr. nos. 6, 44, 53, 99.

43) R. Meister, Xenia Nicolaitana, 166 ff.; Fraser, Trans. Cambri. Phil. Soc. VI, 2 (1913), 20; Gusmani, art. cit., 899, thinks that ης, like ης is a resumptive pronoun following ης in the protasis; A. Heubeck, art. cit., 16; O. Haas, "Phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 91; "Neue spatphrygische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 21; Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler 67, 86, 114. Haas does not make it entirely clear whether he thinks ης means "of Zeus" or "of god".

44) CINPhr nos. 44 from Doğanhisar, 54 from Boğrudelik, 56 from Küçük Beşkavak, 87 from Beykoz, which read αττι επτου or αττι επτου, do not make good sense on Haas' interpretation, "let him go". No. 39, --επτεττετετετετετο ης επτου is much improved if we regard αττι ης επτου as adding to the sense rather than just to the strength of the verb επτου. In no. 25, τοι νι [οη ης] υμελω βοι κατ [-] επτεττετετο επτου, I should restore κατ [τι] τηρα. The conjunction κατ only makes sense if αττι is a substantival comparable to ης υμελωτι. The same is true of no. 62, --αττι ις [οη ης] υμελωτι επτεττετετο επτου; cf. A. Heubeck, Gnomon XXXIX (1967), 582.

45) SERP, 209, nos. 6 and 7, from Kuyucak and Eirk; ADA XXXVI (1932), 456, noll. MAMA IV no. 164 is also comparable. On κεκαμενοι see text below and footnote.

46) R. Meister, IG Forsch. XXV (1909), 317; Calder, on the advice of Sayce, JHS XXXI (1911), on no. XXXII; on the advice of Ramsay 182, no. XXXIII; A. Heubeck, art. cit., 19. O. Haas, "Phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 91; Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 67, 87, 109, suggests the word is connected with a verb ςου-, as in νοισματος, no. 48, "to curse". Gusmani, art. cit. 898, comparing this formula with CB I, 1, 391, no. 256, --οις το υφραμένον πρόετειμον, thinks σουτο-ς may represent a monetary penalty.

47) Ramsay in his second corpus took γεραμένων to mean γεραμμένην. However, after the discovery of no. 64 from Beşkavak, in which the Greek curse concludes το χρημα δειτε, both Ramsay and Calder decided that the word equaled the Greek κεραμένην; see Calder, CINPhr., JHS XXXI (1911), 180, no. XXXII. O. Haas, Ezikovedski Mladenov, 463 (cf. "Neue Spatphrygische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 21; "Phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 91; Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 67, 87; non vidi) suggested that the word strictly meant "painted, decorated" and compared the place-name Grimenothyrai. However, he translates the word in these curse-formulae with the sense of γεραμ-μένην.

48) Cox and Cameron, MAMA V, xliii.

49) W.M. Ramsay, "Sepulchral Customs in Roman Phrygia", JHS IV (1885) 254 ff; SERP, 274 ff. On the other hand, in Lydia, funerary fines are payable to the Meter Sipylene.

Interpretation of the lions and eagles decorating funerary monuments is difficult; see for discussions H. Graillot, Le Cütle

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de Cybèle, 402; S. Ronzevalle, "Notes et Etudes d'Archéologie orientale X; l'aigle funéraire en Syrie", Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Syrie): Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale V, 2 (1912), 45 ff.; F. Cumont, Etudes Syriennes, 117 ff.; L. Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes, 393 ff.; H.v. Gall, "Die paphlagonischer Felsgräber", Int. Mitt. Beiheft I (1966), 44-50; idem, "Felsgräber im pontischen Kleinasiën", Jdt, AA (1967), 587-9. It is natural to assume that a lion represented on a tomb in an area where the cult of Kybele was strong was intended to put the tomb under the protection of that goddess, but Robert denies this in the case of the funerary lions of south eastern Phrygia and Lykaonia. It is perhaps permissible to assume that funerary lions and eagles (the former concentrated in south-eastern Phrygia, the latter in north-western) indicate the protection of the appropriate divinity, Kybele or Zeus, if those divinities also appear in the local curses. This, we have, argued, is true of Zeus, but is not true of Kybele.

50) CINPhr. no. 86 from Geinik; Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia I, 321, no. 57. On the interpretation, see O. Haas, "Neue spät-phrygische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 26 ff.; "Phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 83 ff.; Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 66f., 84 ff., 139. This is broadly accepted by Gusmani, art. cit., 900 f.

51) CINPhr. nos. 108, Buldük, 76, Kelhasan, 33, Sinanlı. See O. Haas, locc. cit. for the interpretation. A. Heubeck, "Bemerkungen zu den neuphrygischen Fluchformeln", 16 Forsch. Ums (1958-9), 23 ff., rejects the translation of ἡγεῖος as bread, which is attested by Herodotos II, 2, and translates instead as τέκνος, the formula meaning the same as τέκνων αὐρων προσεκτος συμφέρῃ. Heubeck's main objection to Haas' interpretation seems to be that there are no local Greek parallels: "Da nun im Übrigen kaum eine einigermaßen deutbare Partie in den phryg. Fluchformeln zu finden ist, die nicht in aufbau und Gedanken ihre Parallelen in griech. Inschriften derselben Gebiete und derselben Zeit fande wird ἡγεῖος "'Brot', äußerst verdächtig". In fact, as we have seen, there seem to have been very few close parallels between the apodoses of the Phrygian curses and those of the local Greek
curses. Both Haas and Heubeck agree in relating -στρας to τραγω, the most complicated philological point in the interpretation of the curse. καλείς, "water", is plausible, and there seems no reason to reject Herodotus' testimony on Ῥεώς.

52) CINPhr. 79, Kozanili; 33, 36, Sinanli. Compare also no. 88 from Baglica for γεφυριμένος.


54) See the curse from Senirkent cited in footnote 45) above.

55) εἰρήν εἰς τὸν διώκοντα: CINPhr. no. 7 from Afyon; 33 and 36 from Sinanli. nεαις: CINPhr. nos. 12, Ilgin; 69, Kadin Han.

Calder, JHS XXI (1911), 171, no. XII, suggested that nεαις meant "children"; O. Haas, "Neue spätphyrgische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 15, 24; "phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 90; Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 89 f. Haas interprets the word θερα, which occurs with those just discussed and which has elsewhere been interpreted as "hand" (as part of a protasis cf. the Greek εἰς τις προσβαίνει θερά τῆς βαρυτοθόνεις), as "lifetime", cf. διω καὶ qράων. For the traditional view see A. Heubeck, "Zu den neuphrigischen Fluchformeln", IG Forsch. LXXV (1958-9), 17 f. and Gusmani, art. cit., 889, 895. Gusmani, arguing that the malediction was directed specifically at the violator's body, suggested nεαις = PES. In fact, injury to a specific part of the body is rarely mentioned, but see Calder, MAMA VII, xxxv, quoting a Kilikian curse: ἦν τέκνον ἃτάτοε γενήσεται.

56) O. Haas, locc. cit.

57) R. Gusmani, art. cit., 839: "La nostra conclusione è pertanto che il frigio, come lingua autonoma e viva, deve aver cessato di esistere durante l' età ellenistica e che la lingua delle iscrizioni neofrigie rappresenta un resto arcaizzante del frigio di quell' epoca".

58) O. Haas, "Neue spätphyrgische Texte", Sprache VI (1960), 13,
citing CINPhr. nos. 14, 29, 32, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64, 79, 84, 91, 103 as examples where the script of the Phrygian inscription differs from that of the Greek. For re-use of stelai, see "phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 85 ff., discussing nos 5 and 9.

59) O. Haas, "Neue spatphrygische Texte" Sprache VI (1960), 13; "phrygische Inschriften", Sprache VII (1961), 88; Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler, 59 f., 18, 21. The most judicious summary remains that of Ramsay in his first article on the subject, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. VIII (1887), 382: "Two reasons are conceivable why a curse against the violator of the tomb should be expressed in Phrygian, while the rest of the epitaph is in Greek: either the former was thought more religious and more likely to be efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or it was more intelligible to the mass of the people. Whatever is thought on this point, the following inscriptions prove that in some districts Phrygian was understood by the persons who engraved them", and footnote 1: "Some of the texts might be explained as traditional formulae, but the variations in certain others, and the length of one or two, prove that they were expressed in a spoken tongue".
CONCLUSION: THE NATURE AND ROLE OF NATIVE CULTURE IN
ROMAN PHRYGIA.

The topics covered in this investigation, although traditional, have also been determined by the nature of the evidence available; their treatment has been dictated by the current state of research. It will be clear that, except in the case of Language and of the Roman cult of Kybele and Attis, little that is substantial has been added to our knowledge of Phrygian culture for many years, and the theories of the great scholars active in the forty years centring on 1900 have become incorporated into the main body of our ideas about the Greco-Roman world. Only in the case of Ramsey's theory of the evolution of temple estates into imperial estates have old ideas been decisively rejected. It is in order to clarify the origins of theories, obscured by frequent repetition, that I have given doxologies on certain major questions.

Except in the case of Sabazios I have proposed nothing startlingly new. On the questions of the Phrygian homeland in Europe, the migration to Asia Minor, the geographical delimitation of Phrygia, the history of the supposedly "Lydo-Phrygian" Apollo, and the importation into Phrygia of the cult of Kybele, I have attempted to make our knowledge more precise than before. On the other hand, much has been said that is destructive of established theories without the proposal of any replacements. It remains true that it is much easier to progress in the study of things pre-Phrygian than in the study of things Phrygian. One is left agreeing with the verdict of Reineccius quoted at the beginning: "solida compages constitui nequit"; we cannot, apparently, produce a coherent story.

Yet, the absorption of the Phrygians into their Anatolian environment in the archaic period is archaeologically well-attested, for instance in the sphere of painted pottery\(^1\)). When, in the political sphere, we
consider the dealings of Midas with the Assyrian king Sargon, the fact that the Phrygians were fully integrated in their Near-Eastern environment becomes obvious. The beginning of the hellenisation of the country once it had fallen under Lydian domination is impressively attested by the style of the rock-façades of the Highlands. It may be that the apparent virtual absence of a distinct "European Phrygian" culture in Roman times, contrasting with those of the older-established Anatolian peoples in neighbouring areas, ought not to be regarded as a problem requiring further research, but simply as a sign of the initial cultural inferiority of the immigrants vis-à-vis the established population, and of their cultural receptiveness. Cultural distinctiveness should probably be sought primarily in the adoption and adaptation by the Phrygians of the culture which they found in Asia Minor. Archaeological research in Phrygia is still at an early stage, and one can perhaps hope for the discovery of inscriptions, sculptures and shrines to confirm and clarify this process.

In Roman times this "Anatolian Phrygian" culture must be seen primarily in relationship with the Greek culture of the day; Roman culture was largely confined to the administrative superstructure. The crucial period in the hellenisation of Phrygia had been that following the conquest of Alexander; numerous cities were founded, where Greek culture might take root and whence it might radiate to the countryside, and their names preserved those of their founders, their tribes and cults the worship of the gods who protected their founders. Thus we find Apollo Archegetes, protector of the Seleucids, at Hierapolis; Zeus, another of their patrons, at Laodikeia on the Lykos, Apameia, Synnada, and, together with Apollo, at Apollonia. Dionysos appears on the coins of the Attalid foundation: Dionysopolis, Athena on those of Eumeneia, while both are attested at Akmonia, indicating an Attalid interest in
that city 4). On the other hand, at the smaller hellenistic settlements, Dorylacia (?), Dokimion, EuKarpeia, Euphorbion, Lysias, Philamelion and Thamisonion, although some of these were well aware of their ancestry, the popular dynastic cults of the period either were never established or failed to survive into the Roman period. The former possibility is the more likely, for the Pergamene cult of Sabazios survived strongly in the remote communities of the Phrygo-Pisidian borderland and Maonia. The obvious limitations to the depth of the hellenisation achieved may be indicated: the ancient rite of the confession of sins survived in the back-country of Hierapolis, just as it did in Maonia; the native iconography of the double-axe bearing Apollo survived not only in these places and in northern Phrygia, but at the gates of the Attalid foundation of Eumeneia. By contrast, the probably related god Sozon, who had a similar iconography in Kibyrratis and at Aphrodisias, was represented as a wholly Greek Apollo at Mastaera, Nysa, Antiocheia on the Maeander and possibly Herakleia Salbake. The Seleucid settlements at Apollonia (Mordiasion) and Antiocheia towards Pisidia did not eradicate the native language or the local cults of Zeus Burydamenos and Mên Askaemias. The native language survived along the line of Artemidarae to Ikonion. The minor settlements had even less direct impact on native culture.

The native culture of the Roman period, in which the rural cults of Sabazios in Maonia and south-western Phrygia should perhaps be included, comprised scraps from a variety of sources, often modified by old "high cultures", surviving primarily among the peasantry. When due allowance has been made for hellenisation in the West and the Gallatians in the East, the distribution of the funerary inscriptions in the Phrygian language — the most basic and tenacious of ethnic-cultural characteristics — comes closest to corresponding to the limits of Phrygia in-
icated by the literary evidence. The strength of the cult of the pre-Phrygian Mother in the South-East of the country shows the degree of cultural overlap that may be found in a borderland whose marked fertility, in contrast with the steppe in front and the mountains behind, made it attractive to, and able to support, both immigrant and established populations. At Pessinous and in the Highlands, on the other hand, it survived in isolated pockets. In the Highlands the cult of the Mother is surrounded by those of Zeus Bronton and Zeus Benneus, the former continuing westwards into Aizanitis, and by the late Phrygian inscriptions. It is tempting to see in Zeus Bronton the national Phrygian god, but there is no historical or iconographic evidence to prove this, and his distribution is largely confined to north-western Phrygia. The attestations of the Phrygian language in the South-East are admittedly matched by one of the god at Kadın Han, with an outlier at Palaia Isaura, but the geographical gap is disturbing. If Zeus Petaraicos, Aisenos and Eurydamenos, whose distribution roughly matches that of the late Phrygian inscriptions in the Kayster valley and the valley of Apollonia, could be shown to be related to Zeus Bronton and Zeus Benneus, the problem would be solved. Only the few villages West of Lake Tatta producing Phrygian inscriptions would be left without a Zeus cult.

The place-names Otrous and possibly Stektorion suggest Phrygian settlement in the Bukarpitic plain, which lies well within the conventional boundaries of Phrygia. On the other hand, no sign of the native language has been found there, although it survived to the East near Symnada. It has been suggested above that the proximity of the plain to Apameia, the "greatest emporium of Asia" as Dio Chrysostom called it, and the establishment of a hellenistic colony at Bukarpeia, led to its complete hellenisation. Although there is as yet no inscriptive evidence, the numerous coins of Bukarpeia showing Artemis with a small
cult-statue of Kybele may indicate a Hellenised cult of
the Mother there, and so possibly a pre-Phrygian
population).

If Strabo's statement that the Tabene plain had a
half-Phrygian population is to be accepted, the Phrygians
penetrated by some route from the plateau to the Maeander
valley. That via Afyon and Dinar is the one familiar to
the modern traveller, but the major route in antiquity,
followed by the κατα τοίχος, went down the valley of
Metropolis. Again, one tends to think of the valley of
Apollonia being approached and settled from the West, as
it was from Hellenistic times onwards, but it can also be
approached, via the Killeman plain, from the North-East
and East. The southern border of Phrygia seems to provide
a clear example of the impossibility of assuming a simple
relationship between physical geography and human settlement.
The wall of the Sultan Dağ, seen, for example, from
Philomelion, would seem to provide the obvious boundary
between Phrygia and Pisidia. Instead, the Phrygians went
beyond it, and gradually merged with the Pisidiots around
Lake Karalis. Why, again, they should choose to occupy the
obscure Tabene plain, when their influence in the Maeander
valley must already have been weak, is unclear. Most of
the attestations of Zeus Bronton are found in the hills
on either side of the Tembris valley and its extensions,
but they also continue into Aizanitis, which has no link
with the former area and no clear physical boundaries. On
the other hand, unlike the rest of western Phrygia, it
does not actually look away from the plateau.

With the exception of the valley of Apollonia, the
south-western and western parts of Phrygia reflect in their
culture their centrifugal drainage patterns. Thus we find
the double-axe bearing god worshipped not only near
Hierapolis, but also at Bumeneia and perhaps at Stektorion
in the Eukarpitike plain. The formation of the land and its
effect on population may account for this distribution of

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a basically south-western Anatolian god. The representations of the god on the coins of Ankyra, Synaos, Temenathyrai and Trajanopolis may reflect the prestige of the Maionian and Thyateiran cults which were survivals, we have argued, of a royal Lydian cult. Two explanations seem possible for the appearance of the god around Dorylaeion in the cult of the Theoi Hosioi Kai Dikaioi: as a royal Lydian god he could have reached the district in the sixth century B.C., at the time when the cult-façades in the Highlands were being carved, probably under Lydian patronage, or he could have been incorporated into the cult in Maonia and transmitted with it to northern Phrygia. In either case, the existence of the cultural channel from north-eastern Lydia to northern Phrygia posited by Calder for the spread of Montanism, is illustrated. We may again draw attention to the cults of Heōate in the Koibiaeion district and of Hipta in Maeonia.

Some of the obvious limitations to the penetration of Greek culture have already been mentioned. These may now be put into perspective. First, although the native language survived, the vast, overwhelming majority of inscriptions, including those recording native rituals such as the confessions of sins to Apollo Lairbenos, are in Greek. The fact that the Greek is often poor by Classical standards shows, not the limitations of hellenisation, but the limitations of education among the lower classes and, indeed, the evolution of the language. Secondly, with the possible exception of Sozon, which may be a hellenised version of Sandon, not all the gods had Greek names and were often fitted into a Greek theogony. Thirdly, some of the funerary inscriptions in the native language appear to comprise curses of a characteristically Greek type.

A question of importance for the study of the cultural history of the Roman Empire as a whole is whether the native culture gained ground at the expense of Greco-Roman culture, especially in the third century. The question
is a familiar one to students of Phrygia; one of Ramsay's favourite themes was the conflict between the Greek and Asiatic spirits. So far we have sketched in outline the Greek and native cultures of the Roman period as self-contained entities, the balance between them being roughly that which had emerged during the Hellenistic period. We must now look more closely at the points at which they came into contact.

At first sight, the simplest class of evidence to consider is coinage. As soon as the centralised control of the Hellenistic kingdoms was removed, the dynastic coin-types rapidly vanished except in a few places, and the Greek cities began to explore their local cults and legends as sources for new types. The most firmly established Greek cities seem to have taken the lead in this movement: some of the bronzes minted at Apameia under the Roman republic have types of Marsyas; Apollo Lairbenos was represented on the coins of Hierapolis from the time of Augustus. Lesser places followed: the Mother appeared on first-century coins at Dokimion, Dorylaeion and Laodikeia Katakkaumene. On the other hand, unless all the relevant early coins have perished, Sozon, who had a sanctuary outside Themisonion with Hermes and Heracles, did not appear on the coins of that city until the third century. The conventional representations of the Mother on the coins of many cities during the Antonine period and later reflect religious developments, not in Phrygia, but in Rome. All this was certainly a step back from the "cultural imperialism" of the Hellenistic period, when the official art of the new Greek cities was untouched by native culture, but it was no more a defeat for hellenism than was the appearance of the Mother on the frieze of the Siphnian treasure-house at Delphi. The gap left in official art by the disappearance of the Hellenistic monarchies was filled not only by the elevation of native culture, but by the glorification of Rome, the new centre of power.
The appearance of native gods on coins may indicate the recognition by the Greek cities of the indigenous culture surrounding them; it certainly does not tell us reliably of its status. Apollo Lairbenos had appeared on the coins of Hierapolis from the time of Augustus; in the early third century he became important enough for his name to appear on their coins as well. The change that had taken place was the incorporation of his sanctuary into the city's territory. Whether the god received a leading citizen as his priest we do not know. At Dumeneia, the appearance under Nero and later emperors of numerous coins with the representation of Apollo Propylaios suggests that his cult had been officially adopted, and this is borne out by inscriptive evidence. First century coin-types at Dokimion, Dorylaeion and Laodikeia Katakakeumene reflect local cults of the Mother, but none of these are numerous enough to enforce the conclusion that there was a major urban cult, but each may be inferred from epigraphic evidence at Dorylaeion and possibly at Laodikeia. On the coins of Eukarpeia the goddess does not appear until the reign of Hadrian, but thereafter she is represented frequently enough for us to guess that there was a local cult of some standing, either inside the city or in its territory.

The adoption of these native gods by the ruling circles in the Greek cities certainly suggests that they were "going native", but the evidence for this is patchy; the appearance of Artemis Anaeitis on republican bronzes of Apameia shows that the originally Persian cult had survived, perhaps cultivated inconspicuously by descendants of noble Persian families throughout the Hellenistic period. Again, the evidence for an urban cult of the Mother at Dorylaeion consists of the tribal name Metras. If the city was established, or an older community re-founded in the Hellenistic period, the tribal name, and an associated cult, could go back to that time. The apparent purity of
Hellenistic culture may have been superficial. The apparent concentration of coins depicting native gods in the later second and third centuries is slightly misleading; it reflects the intensity and extent of coining as a monetary phenomenon during that period, rather than any cultural shift. Admittedly, cities which began or recommenced minting in this period could put Greek, Roman or native figures on their coins, and many of them chose their native ones. However, if we examine their choices more closely, apart from those cities in western Phrygia which selected the native Apollo ( or Mên, with whom we have not dealt), a large number chose Kybele, by then as much a Roman as a native goddess. On the other side of the balance, we have seen that the Zeus worshipped at Amorion, who was quite possibly a native god, was represented on coins by the eagle and thunderbolt, symbols of Zeus Olympios, and by a figure-type found on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Again, in the Fucarpic plain, where we have seen that a local Mother may have been hellenised as Artemis, we find the veneration of the Homeric Phrygian heroes Otros and Mygdon.

In conclusion, it seems that the idea of a conflict between Greek and native cultures in the Roman period is too simple: once the at least superficial cultural uniformity imposed by the Hellenistic kingdoms was removed, it was inevitable that the native culture should re-emerge, and that the country should show a cultural diversity, such, indeed, as could be found in mainland Greece, given the inherent difficulty in the Romans dominating the East culturally. To judge how successfully the Phrygians were brought into contact with the rest of the Greek world, we should look, not at how far they imitated Classical or Hellenistic Greek culture, but at how far they took part in the international cultural developments of their own day. That must be the subject of a separate study.
FOOTNOTES TO CONCLUSION:


2) See also the imports of Greek pottery beginning with the Rhodian "bird-bowl" of 650 - 40: R.S. Young, "Gordion on the Royal Road", *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* CVII (1963), 348 ff.

3) See the comments on the use of Latin in Phrygia in *MAMA* VII, xxx ff. For the Italian culture of Antiocheia-towards-Pisidia, see B.M. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, 130 ff.

4) Dionysos Kathegemon at Akmonia: CB I, 2, 644, no. 546 (*MAMA* VI, no. 239); cf. *LBW* no. 768 (*CIG* 3858 f.); CB I, 2, 645, no. 547; *MAMA* V, no. 240) and CB I, 2, 660. Athena at Akmonia: e.g. B.M. Cat. 4 f., nos 1-2, 6-9; 6, 15; 12, 55. Interestingly, all these coins except the last (from the reign of the philhellenic Hadrian) belong to the first century B.C. Compare the early date of the Athena-types at Eumeneia.

5) Ramsay, CB I, 2, 693 f., plausibly suggests that the Inner Lykaonos of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* V, XXIX, 105 and Ptolemy V, 2, 18 were a pre-Phrygian people and locates them west of present-day Afyon, to the North of the Eukarpitic plain. This is accepted by M.H. Ballance, *Archaeology of Central Asia Minor*, 74. Their presence there suggests that there was no movement South-Westwards of Phrygian-speaking people from the plateau into the Eukarpitic plain.

6) e.g. *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 23 f.; SERP, 282 ff.


APPENDIX I: THE HIEROI OF APOLLO LAIRBENOS.

The object of this appendix is to enquire into the background of the organization of the cult-personnel attached to the sanctuary of Lairbenos. This will involve a recapitulation of the much-discussed question of temple-estates in Asia Minor\(^1\), with a rather closer consideration of the histories of the larger temples.

According to a theory first formulated by E. Curtius and eagerly espoused by W. M. Ramsay, in pre-Hellenistic times most of Asia Minor was under the control of temples, the native population being the servants of these temples. Under the Diadochs these temples were gradually stripped of their temporal possessions, the land being used for founding cities or becoming the crown-land of the monarchs and ultimately the imperial estates of the Roman period\(^2\). Nevertheless, a few of the old temple estates survived; Strabo, who is our chief source, names those of Mâ at Komana in Kappadokia and Komana in Pontos, of the Mother at Pessinous, of Zeus at Venasa in Morimena, of Anaeitis at Zela in Pontos, and of Mên at Kabeira in Pontos and near Antiocheia towards Pisidia\(^3\). To this literary evidence, Ramsay added that of theophoric place-names such as Atyochorion, Attiokome, Dioskome, Dioshieron, Hierakome, Hieropolis and Menokome, all of which, he suggested, attested communities under the control of temples\(^4\). Of these, Atyochorion was supposed to be the name of the sacred village attached to the sanctuary of Lairbenos, the name surviving from an earlier stage of the cult\(^5\). The sanctuary, with its obvious domination of the lives of the local population, was supposedly a survivor of the powerful temples of earlier times.

The derivation of Roman imperial estates from Hellenistic crown-land is not our concern here. The question has recently been discussed by B. M. Levick with reference to the Pisidian colonies of Augustus. Suffice
it to say that such a derivation can nowhere be demonstrated, and, whatever the fate of the Hellenistic crown-lands, such evidence as there is suggests that the imperial estates were built up by legacy and confiscation. The principal piece of evidence in the destruction of the theory that the temples lost much of their land in the Hellenistic period has been an inscription found at Aizanoi recording the restoration under the direction of Hadrian of land given to the temple of Zeus by Attalos I and Prusias I, but which later slipped into private ownership. The importance of other evidence attesting gifts of land to temples by Hellenistic monarchs—by Philoteiros to the temple of Apollo in Aigai; by Attalos II to that of Athena at Ilion; by Antiochos III or IV to the temple of Zeus at Baitokaike; and by Antiochos I of Kommagene to the tomb-sanctuaries of his wife and father—has since been realised. Moreover, if we look back to the period of Persian rule, it seems that temple-land was not always then secure from the attention of the secular authorities. From an inscription of the reign of Dareios relating to the estate of the temple of Apollo at Magnesia on the Maeander, we learn that the Persian satrap Gadatas was trying to bring sacred land into cultivation and exact tribute from the peasants on the estate. As Herodotos, Thukydidès, Xenophon and Aristotle make clear, under Persian rule, all land was practically, if not also in theory, in the gift of the Great King, to whom tribute was payable. The immediate control of the land was in the hands of natives of high rank, or of royal officials, to whom part or all of the tribute was ceded, as well as of temples, such as that at Magnesia. It was presumably the right of the Persian government to exact tribute from all cultivated land and the population thereof that Gadatas was trying to exercise. The continuation of this system into the Hellenistic period is well attested; the Mnesimachos inscription from Sardis well exemplifies the complications caused in land transactions by the fact
that much land remained in the gift of the king, and that the possibility that he might re-possess it was a real one. On the other hand, we also find land passing into absolute ownership and being joined to city territories\textsuperscript{12}. In the cases of the dedications to Zeus of Baitokaike, to the royal hierothesion of Kommagene, of the dedication of land which he had bought from Laodike to Zeus Osogoa at Mylasa by Olympichos, strategos of Seleukos II, and possibly in the case of the dedication to Athena of Ilion, the land seems to have passed into inalienable ownership, as it was dedicated \(\epsilonισ\ άπαντα τον Χρόνον\) or the like\textsuperscript{13}. The land leased by Mnesimachos to the temple of Artemis at Sardis was only held as γ\(\gamma\) \(\epsilonν\ \deltaωρε\(\delta\).

Thus, the evidence suggests that at least from the fifth century onwards, temples were not the dominant land holders, and certainly not the dominant land owners in Asia Minor, and that, if anything, temple-estates were in general growing rather than diminishing during the Hellenistic period. However, the attitude of the Diadochs to individual temples seems to have varied according to political circumstances. Generally, it was favourable; on the other hand, the temple of Artemis at Sardis was probably deprived of its land by Antiochus III as a punishment for the support given by the city to the pretender Achaios, while the gifts of land to the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi by Attalos I and Prusias I may be interpreted as attempts to win support in newly-conquered territory. We may also compare the Attalid gifts of a temple and porticoes at Pessinous, where Rumenes II engaged in negotiations with one of the high priests, probably in his efforts to control the Galatians\textsuperscript{14}. What is clear is that these temples were organizations of considerable influence. At Pessinous and Komana in Pontos they served as centres for emporia. Strabo tells us that the priest of Mâ at Komana in Kappadokia was generally of the same family as the King.

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and ranked second in the kingdom after him. Likewise at the bimannual festivals at Komana in Pontos, the priest ranked second after the King. More vaguely, the geographer says that the priests of Pessinous were formerly "dynasts". When Pompey was operating in Asia Minor, he decided that the temples at Komana and Zela in Pontos were important enough to be worth enlarging into principalities, with their respective priests as their heads. Likewise, the priest of Zeus at Olba became dynast of Kilikia Tracheia. A comparable influence at a later date on the part of village sanctuaries is attested in a passage of Libanius pro Templis (c. 9) quoted by Zawadski: ουτοι γερ αν ερην εκκοιμον αγροι, τετυφλωνα τε και κειται και τεσσαρα. Θωκη γαρ, ὡ βασιλεῖ, τοις αγροῖς τα ερέμα προσώμα της εν τοῖς αγροῖς κτίσεως γεγενημένα καὶ εἰς πελλίν γενεὰν εἰς τοὺς νῦν ὡντας αἰρεμένα.

It is probably also reflected in the title (ἡν κόμην) βασιλεωντες attached to various Lydian deities, and in the theophoric place-names used by Ramsay to show the existence of temple-estates.

Strabo, speaking of Komana in Kappadokia with its sanctuary of Mā, appears to divide the population into two groups, the hierodouloi, for whom the priest was kyrios, and the rest of the Kataonian population, obedient in the first instance to the priest, but ultimately to the king. The use of the word kyrios suggests that the hierodouloi were straightforward slaves. Zawadski has suggested that the hierodouloi were concerned primarily with ritual tasks, while the Kataonians were scattered in villages and cultivated the hiera chorai. We might then expect these Kataonians to have had the status of serfs, with the same relationship to the priest as other Anatolian peasants to their feudal landlord. However, there are several objections to this view. An inscription of the imperial period from Oinoanda records that two slaves were liberated in order
that they might become *hierodoulai* of the *Meter Oreia*, but these *hierodoulai* of the imperial age may have had more in common with the *hieroi* of Lairophos than with the *hierodouloi* of the Hellenistic period. Moreover, when Strabo says that the Kataonians were ἢκλυπα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆ βασιλεία τεκτόνεοι, τοῦ δὲ ἔρεως ὑπακούοντες ὑπὸ πλέον he seems to suggest that the priest ruled them as a semi-independent royal official. By contrast, he probably held the *hiera chorē* and the *hierodouloi* in inalienable possession, and was *kyrios* in that he could not be deprived of them and was free of royal interference in that field. Strabo mentions that the priest of Pontic Komana could not sell his *hierodouloi*, and the same applied to those dedicated by Antiochus I of Kommagene. However, this demonstration, if it is correct, that the secular power of the priest of Kappadokian Komana preceded Pompey’s operations in Asia Minor, does not imply that the same was true elsewhere. It seems to have been a local arrangement, based on the personal relationship of priest and king, which possibly had its origin in the desire of the kings to bolster their authority with the spiritual influence exerted from the temple, and was restricted in geographical extent.

To assign the origin of temple-estates to any one ethnic or cultural stratum is difficult. We must first define the characteristics of these estates. The mere fact that a temple owned land and slaves is not enough, for this was done by Greek as well as Anatolian temples. The acquisition of land by numerous western Anatolian temples in the Hellenistic period could be a continuation of a Greek tradition. However, it was the large number of *hierodouloi* attached to the Anatolian temples that seems to have attracted Strabo’s attention and is perhaps to be regarded as a distinguishing characteristic. In the far East of Asia Minor *hierodouloi* were to be found among the Armenians of Akiselene and among the Albanians. The temple as centre for an *emporium*, attested at Komana
in Pontos and at Pessinous, also seemed noteworthy to the geographer. Goetze suggested that the idea was of Mesopotamian origin. It is natural that it should have become popular in rural areas, such as Kappadokia and Galatia, where the temple was the only large centre of life. On the other hand, Strabo also states that an emporium was held at the Panegyris of the Delian Apollo, so such a thing was not exclusively eastern. Again, temple-prostitution, which Strabo attests at Komana in Pontos and in Akisela in Armenia, is Semitic according to Goetze. Herodotus attests it in the cult of the Assyrian goddess Mylitta. When the historian says that the Lydians prostitute their daughters, he is probably referring to temple-prostitution. As E.N. Lane has pointed out, temple-estates with large numbers of hierodoulai and/ or emporia are attested for gods of various origins: the Iranian Anaetis, Mâ at the two Komanas, Angdistis at Pessinous, Zeus at Venasa and Mên at Kabeira and near Antiocheia-towards-Pisidia, all of whom are best described as Anatolian, although Mên may be Iranian-influenced. Likewise they are found among various populations: the Iranian-influenced population of Kappadokia and Pontos, the originally Phrygian population of Pessinous, and the mixed Phrygo-Psidian population around Antioch.

Whatever the origins outside Asia Minor of the distinctive characteristics of the temple-estates, and although the latter certainly existed in Asia Minor in Hittite times, there seems to be a little circumstantial evidence to suggest that they owed their popularity in Asia Minor to the period of Persian rule. They seem to be strongly linked with deities who were of Iranian origin or who had been subject to Iranian influence. The temple of Anaetis, Omanos and Anadatos at Zela was established by the Persians, who may have provided it with a hiera Chora and hierodoulai. Likewise, of the Armenians who were especially given to the worship of Anaetis and dedicated
slaves and prostituted their daughters to her service, Strabo says, ἢπαντα μὲν σὰν τὰς τῶν Περσῶν θεῖα καὶ Μῆνοι καὶ Ἀρμενίους τετιμέκας 32). Μῆν is a god of complex origin, but recently the importance of the influence of the Persian. Māo has been emphasised 33). Persian sanctuaries of Anaéitis at Hierokaisareia and Hermokapelea are attested by Tacitus and Pausanias 34). Mên is frequently found mentioned in Lydian inscriptions in the company of Anaéitis 35). Such an association of divinities by itself proves nothing, for we also find the Thracian Sabazios associated with Hipta, a direct descendant of the Hittite Ḥepat, but in the Killianian plain below the Antiocheian temple of Mên, the name of one who was possibly a descendant of Persian colonists has been found. It may be more than coincidence that most of the Persian names found in Phrygia occur in the eastern part of the area, where the worship of Mên was popular 36).

In the case of the cult and sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, the distinctive features of the temple-estates are lacking. There is no evidence for hiera chora, hierodouloi, emporium, nor, pace Hogarth, for temple-prostitution 37). On the other hand, we do have a number of dedications (katagraphei), mostly of threptoi by inhabitants of neighbouring cities - Blaundos, Hierapolis and Motella 38). The threptoi were probably children born in slavery 39), and it has been argued that the dedication to the god was a way of manumitting them. A. Cameron has pointed to the act of steleography itself and to the fines imposed on those who might attempt to seize the dedicated slaves as paralleling other manumission documents 40). In comparable dedications to Mâ Aniketos from Edessa, we also find mention of the condition of paramone applied to "dedicated" slaves. This again recalls manumission documents. Sokolowski has argued that the origin of sacral manumission is to be found in the dedication by a refugee slave of himself to the god.

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in whose temple he had sought asylum. With the help of the
god, who was now his protector, he could change his
position vis-à-vis his old master. However, the former
slave was now bound to the service of the god, and
sometimes his children as well\(^\text{41}\). We may assume that
this service did not constitute regular slavery; if it
did, then the slave could simply have been sold to the
sanctuary by his master without any need for the stelography and threats of fines on any who might try to seize
him.

The confessions of sins, mainly ritual ones, have
already been discussed. Some of these are by hieroi\(^\text{42}\). Sokolowski has suggested that we should see in these
hieroi the former slaves dedicated to the god\(^\text{43}\). This
seems reasonable. However, confessions of ritual offences
are not confined to hieroi; they were also made by people
from the neighbouring cities not described as hieroi\(^\text{44}\). Presumably anyone could fall foul of the god's wrath by
entering the sacred area in an impure state when they
were visiting the temple for worship, or even in passage,
or by false swearing; they need not have been in the
service of the god. However, in one inscription we find a
citizen of Eleuthdos compelled to confess his failure to
attend the mysteries of the god, while in another a
citizen of Motella confesses wishing to remain with his
wife, when presumably he should have been attending the
sanctuary and abstaining from sexual intercourse\(^\text{45}\).

Like the confessions, the dedication of hieroi to
Lairbenos attests the influence exerted by the god over
the lives of the local population. The hieroi themselves
seem to have no exact parallel for their status. Their
service was probably of a more occasional nature than
that of the eastern hierodouloi and was probably of an
entirely ritual nature\(^\text{46}\). Sacral manumission is attested
both in the Near East and in Greece\(^\text{47}\). In so far as the
slave chose to seek asylum in order to change his status,
and so became bound to the service of the god, he resembled the free men who were bound to attend the god. To them we may compare a group described by Strabo at Komana in Pontos: καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλοι μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐπιστελλόμενοι θεοὺς ἐπιστελλόμενοι τῇ ῥωμὶ and the theophoretoi of Komana in Kappadokia. Perhaps the most that can safely be said is that the elaborate provision of servants of various sorts for the god has an eastern flavour, while the provision of some of these from the ranks of regular slaves by the method of sacral manumission may be of Greek origin.
FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX ONE.

1) A good resume of the subject with an extensive doxology has been given by T. Zawadski, "Quelques Remarques sur l'Etendue et l'Accroissement des Domaines des Grands Temples en Asie Mineure," Eos XLVI (1952 - 3), 83 ff.


3) Komana in Kappadokia: XII, 2, 3, C535; XII, 2, 6, C537.
Komana in Pontos: XII, 3, 32, C557 - 36, C559.
Pessinous: XII, 5, 3, C567.
Venasa: XII, 2, 6, C537.
Zela: XI, 8, 4, C512; XII, 3, 37, C559 - 60.
Kabeira: XII, 3, 31, C557.
Antiocheia: XII, 3, 31, C557; XII, 8, 14, C577.

4) W.M. Ramsay, CB, especially I, 1, 10; Rostovtzeff, loc. cit.; T.R.S. Broughton, "Asia Minor", ESAR IV, 683 and D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor I, 140 ff., are both cautious in their attitude to this theory. It was also accepted by Graillot, Le Culte de Cybèle, 115.

5) W.M. Ramsay, CB I, 1, 102, 132. This location was refuted by L. Robert, Villes d'Asie Mineure, 129 f. On the supposed importance of the sanctuary of Lairbenos as a survivor of the temple - estate system, see M. Rostovtzeff, SEHW² I, 504.
Graillot, op.cit. 391, suggests the names Lebo-Apollo were imposed on Kybele-Apis.

7) T.R.S. Broughton, "New Evidence on Temple Estates in Asia Minor", Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of A.C. Johnson, 236 ff. The truth had already been guessed at by Dittenberger in his commentary on OGIS 502, note 3, by Broughton "Asia Minor", ESAR IV, 644 and Jones, The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian, 310. The Aianan inscriptions have recently been re-published with a long discussion, including numerous references to other temple estates in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, by U. Laffi, "I Terreni del Tempio di Zeus ad Aizanoi", Athenaeum, n.s. XLIX (1971), 3ff.


Baitokaike: C.B. Welles, op. cit., no. 70; IGLS VII, no. 4028.

on the date, see Zawadski, art. cit., 94ff.

Kommagene: OGIS no. 383 (IGLS I, no. 1); F.K. Dorner, Th. Goell, Arsameia am Nymphaios, 40 ff.

Examples of donations of land by Hellenistic kings to temples outside Asia Minor are listed by L. Robert, art. cit.,

9) BCH XII (1889), 529 (SGDL no. 5736; Inschr. v. Magnesia, no. 115; SIG² no. 22).

10) Herodotos IX, 116 (theory that the whole of Asia belongs to the Persian king).

Thukydides I, 138, speaking of Themistokles: μην μεν ὁμοίως οὐν αὐτῷ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Άρεισιν ἐν τῇ ἄγορῇ ταύτῃ ἐν τῷ ἱππείῳ τῇ Χάραι, δόντος βασιλείας αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαι μὲν ἀρτομίη προσέφερεν κυνηκάτω ταλαίπωροι τούτω ἐναυτῷ Αἰασκοῦν ἐπὶ ψυγχίνον (ἐδοκεὶ ἀπὸ παλαινόστατον τῶν τότε εἰναὶ) μισώντω ἐν ὑμνῶν.

According to Xenophon, Anabastae I, 4, 9, the revenue of some Syrian villages went exclusively εἰς δῶνην of the queen Parysatis. Xenophon, Hellenika IV, 1, 15 mentions the villages around the palace of Pharnabazos at Daskyleion.
I do not think that any conclusions can be drawn from two passages cited from Xenophon by Zawadski (Anabasis IV, 4, 2 and IV, 4, 7), in which Tiribazos, the governor of western Armenia, is said to have allowed the Greeks to be billeted upon some villages. We cannot infer that Tiribazos normally drew rent from the villages. We must distinguish between the area a Persian official governed qua official and that which he might control qua landholder.

11) Compare, B.M. Levick, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor, 218; "...much of the activity that has been taken to show that the whole of the land belonged in theory to the king was merely the brutal manifestation of absolute power and reagrded no theory whatsoever".


Kommagene: OGIS no. 383 (IGLS I, 1), 11. 191 ff; Arcameia, §II, II. 73 ff.


H. Kreissig, art. cit. (footnote 8), believes the same to have been true of the land of Athena at Ilios.


On Phrygia Epiktetos see Chr. Habicht, "Über die Kriege zwischen Pergamon und Bithynien", Hermes LXXIV (1956), 90 ff.

Attalid gifts to Pessinus; Strabo XII, 5, 3, C567. Inscriptions: C.B. Welles, Royal Correspondence, 241 ff., nos. 55 - 61.

15) Komana in Kappadokia; XII, 3, 3-4, C535.

Komana in Pontos: XII, 3, 32, C557.

Pessinous: XII, 5, 3, C567.
16) Komana in Pontos: Strabo XII, 3, 34, C558; Zela: XI, 8, 4, C512, XII, 3, 37, C560; Olba: XIV, 5, 10, C672.

17) T. Zawadski, art. cit., 86 ff.: "Ces inscriptions prouvent seulement le rôle prépondérant qu'il exercait le culte de ces divinités ainsi que l'influence qu'elles avaient sur la vie de la population de ces contrées, éloignées des grands centres urbains, chose typique pour les sociétés de l'Ancien Orient".

18) Strabo XII, 2, 3, C535:

πόλις δ' εστίν γειολογὸς, πλεῖστον μέντοι τὸ τῶν θεοφορίκων πλῆθος μεί τῶν ἱεροδούλων ἐν αὐτῇ. Κατάλογος δὲ ἔστιν ὁ ἑνεκός, ὁ ίδιος μὲν ὕπο τῶν βασιλέων τεταχμένος, τοῦ δὲ ἱερέως ὑπάκουόντες τῷ πλέον. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κυρίας ἦν καὶ τῶν ἱεροδούλων,----

19) T. Zawadski, art. cit., 91 f.

20) Compare OGIS no. 383 (IGLS I, no. 1).


24) He counts more than 6,000 at Komana in Kappadokia (XII, 2, 3, C535), at least 6,000 at Komana in Pontos (XII, 3, 4, C558); almost 3,000 at Venasa (XII, 2, 6, C537), "many" at Kabeira (XII, 3, 31, C557).


26) Emporium at Komana in Pontos: XII, 3, 36, C559; at Pessinous, XII, 5, 3, C567.
27) A. Goetze, *Kleinasiien* 167 - Emporium at the Delian Panegyris, Strabo X, 5, 4, C486. One was suggested at the Festivals of Apollo Tarsenos in Maionia by A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Königsbriefe*, 35 ff.


29) Mylitta: Herodotos I, 199, who says that girls had to prostitute themselves in her temple before they were married. In Lydia (Herodotos I, 93), girls prostituted themselves to raise a dowry. It was possible that this was done at a temple as in Assyria. The Lydian and Akiseleneian practices were compared by Strabo XI, 14, 16, C532 f., who says that the girls of Akiselene also prostituted themselves before marriage.


31) Strabo XI, 8, 4, C512.

32) XI, 14, 16, C532. On the other hand, Herodotos' statement that the prostitutes helped to build the tomb of the Lydian king Alyattes means that in that country at least prostitution was pre-Persian.


36) MAMA VIII, no. 360 from Karaağaç; Μεθρῆς; cf. L. Robert, Hellenica XIII (1965), 94. Other Persian names in eastern Phrygia: MAMA I, no. 130 from Kadin Han, Ρατοκάτης; MAMA VII, no. 126, Μιθρῆς and JHS XIX (1898), 123, no. 71, Μαυρωτείς, both from Ilgin; TAPA LVII (1926), 202, no. 8 (MAMA VII, no. 37) from Nevine, Ρατοκάτης; MAMA IV, no. 175 from Uluborlu, Τηλυμιθρῆς; MAMA VII, no. 290 from Azizie, Αρβακαδής; no. 264a from Yukari Peribeyli, also Αρβακαδής; no. 581 from Sarıkaya, Μιθραδάτης; no. 555 from Kuyulu Zebir, Μιθραδάτης; JHS XVIII (1897), 281, no. 38 from Moimil, Μιθρῆς; MAMA I, no. 114 from Meidan, Μιθραδάτης.

IGHR IV, 780 (MAMA VI, no. 180) and MAMA VI, no. 182, Μιθραδάτης and Μιθραδάτινος, both from Apameia, which was, of course, a major centre in Phrygia during the Persian period (under the name Kelainai); see Herodotos VII, 28 and Xenophon, Anabasis I, 2, 7-8. On the hellenistic moneyer of Apameia, Maiphernes, whose coins carried the image of Anaitis, see L. Robert, "Perses a Apamée! Noms Indigènes, 348 ff. "Maï-," probably meant "moon", Maiphernes, "given by the moon", Maiphateis, "protected by the moon"; see L. Robert, op. cit. 514 ff.

For dedications to Men in Phrygia, see E.N. Lane, Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis, nos. 87-117, 121-4, 127, 130, 145-53. Dedications from eastern Phrygia are: JHS XIX (1899) 96, no. 76 from Topaklı, to Μέν Andronenos, the ethnic implying a sanctuary; Klio X (1910) 241, no. 14 from Çoğu to Μέν Askaenos (MAMA I, no. 430); MAMA IV, no. 230 from Pise, the ethnic again implying a sanctuary; MAMA VII, no. 4 from Hacilar to Μέν Askaenos; Klio XXIV (1930), 62 (MAMA VII no. 311) from Yağcıoğlu; MAMA VII, no. 486 from Beşkavak - dedication of temple etc. to Men -pykenos; MAMA VII nos. 243 - 5 from Gözören to Μέν Selm(e)enos (nos. 243 and 244 = JHS XIX (1899), 299, nos. 220 and 221 respectively). In the district of İkonion, Μέν Katakchthonios is invoked in funerary curses; see above, Chapter Seven, with references. Lane, CMEDM I, no. 152 is a dedication from Kaya. New dedications are Lane CMEDM I, nos. 112-6 from Goy, 117 from Çavdarlı Tepke.

37) D.G. Hogarth, "Apollo Lermenus", JHS VIII (1887), 391;

"Even without the dubious inscription no. 16, we should naturally infer the character of the worship to be orgiastic, like Phrygian worship in general and that of Leto the Mother in particular, and possibly its sexual element may account for
the reluctance of Apelles to allow his wife to take up her required residence at the shrine (no. 13)". The crucial inscription (re - published as MAMA IV, no. 284) is a confession by Apelles of wishing to remain with his wife. It is more natural to assume that it was he who was required to attend the shrine (cf. MAMA IV, no 281 for another man who failed to attend the mysteries of the god), and that far from the worship being "orgiastic", sexual abstinence was required. For other sexual sins committed against the god, see above, Chapter Three, 100, footnote 5. Hogarth attributes too great a prominence to Leto in the joint cult.

38) MAMA IV, nos. 275 B (i) (dedication of son by a female citizen of Blaundos and Motella), 275 B (ii) (dedication of a thremenos by a man of Motella), 276 B (dedication of son by a man of Motella); JHS IV (1883), 380, no. 3 (CR I, 1, 147, no. 38) (dedication by a hieros and his wife of the threntos of a citizen of Motella); JHS VIII (1887), 376, no. 1 (CR I, 1, 147, no 37; IGRR IV, no. 758; MAMA IV, no. 277 A (ii)) (dedication of a threpte by a man of Motella); MAMA IV, nos. 276 A (iii) (dedication of children by a woman of Hierapolis), 276C (dedication of a threpte by a Hieropolitan and his wife); JHS IV (1883), 381, no. 4 (CR I, 1 146, no. 39) (dedication of a te-thremenous by a Hieropolitan and his wife); MAMA IV, nos. 276 A (ii) (dedication of a thremene; origin of the dedicator unstated), 277B (dedication of son by priest); JHS VIII (1887), 379, no. 8 (CR I, 1, 148, no. 40) (dedication of a thremenos; origin of the dedicator unstated); JHS VIII (1887), 378, nos. 2 and 7 are fragmentary. On MAMA IV, no. 279 see A. Cameron, art. cit. (fn. 21), 155 ff. and F. Sokolowski, "The Real Meaning of Sacral Manumission", H Th R XLVII (1954), 180 f.

39) A. Cameron, "Θερετον in Asia Minor Inscriptions", Anatolian Studies...Buckler, 39.

40) A. Cameron, "Inscriptions relating to Sacral Manumissions and Confessions", HThR XXXII (1939), 143 ff. and the article cited in the footnote above, 40 f. W.L. Westermann, "The Freedmen and the Slaves of God", Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc. XCII (1948), 63, argues that those dedicated to Lairbenos were not slaves
and hence the katagraphai are not manumissions, but that we are simply dealing with child - oblates, like the Babylonian Shirke. In this argument he ignores the implications of the word threptos. Cameron, in his article on threptomoi, 41, suggested that in those inscriptions in which parents dedicate their children - a state of affairs which would appear to support Westermann's argument - we are dealing with the children of slaves, dedicated by their parents rather than by their masters or bought by freedmen in order that they might be manumitted. Oppermann, "Lairbenos", RE Suppl. Bd. V (1931), 524 ff., regarded the katagraphai as manumissions, but thought that the "liberated" slaves were the property of the temple.

41) F. Sokolowski, art. cit., 173 ff.

42) Confessions by hieroi: JHS VIII (1887), 381, no. 12 (CB I, 1, 150, no. 45; St. no. 22), 389, no. 18 (CB I, 1, 152, no. 51; St. no. 27); MAMA IV, no. 282.

44) MAMA IV: nos. 281 (Blaundos), 283, 284, 287 (Motella); JHS X (1889), 217, no. 1 (CB I, 1, 149, no. 41; St. no. 29) (Hierapolis).


45) MAMA IV, nos. 281 and 284.

46) Cf. L. Robert, Rev. Phil. LV (1929), 134: "La qualité de ἐφές dans les villes d' Asie, survivance d' un lointain passé indigène, a dû comporter des conditions très différentes, allant depuis l' esclavage dans le sanctuaire jusqu' à un lien très lâche de dépendance, qui n'était pas incompatible avec la dignité de citoyen".

47) See the articles of Cameron and Sokolowski in HThR.

48) Strabo XII, 3, 36, C559; XII, 2, 3, C535.
APPENDIX TWO: SOME ASPECTS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF SABAZIOS IN WORKS OF ART.

It is not the intention here to list all the monuments that depict Sabazios and discuss them exhaustively. As Ch. Picard showed in his paper devoted to the god in the *Revue Archéologique*, there are several distinct artistic types of the god: an aged Greco-Oriental god in a long cloak, a "western" semi-naked Jupiter-type figure, a rider-god, a purely Oriental god with a "Phrygian" cap. Some of the bronze plaques and the more elaborate "hands" display a multiplicity of attributes, doubtless to emphasise the omnipotence of the god, which recalls the pantheistic monuments discussed by Weisshaupl. A corpus and a discussion of these monuments within the context of the monotheistic tendencies in the religions of the Roman Empire are clearly called for.

The present object is to call attention to those aspects of the representations of the god in art which may be better understood in the light of the account of the development of his cult given above.

As we have seen, the snake seems to have been one of the earliest and most basic attributes, or even conceptions, of Sabazios. Apart from the Valle Trebbia crater and bronze hands, it appears on the following monuments: the reliefs found at Blaundos, Koloe and Nemele (Eisele, nos. 1, 2 and 3 respectively) and Istanbul and the bronze reliefs from Copenhagen, Toscana (Eisele no.17), Ampurias and Tibiscum.

The connexion of Sabazios with Dionysos is indicated in several ways: he is shown with a thyrsos on an altar relief in Rome (if this is indeed Sabazios; Eisele no. 4), on the relief from Plovdiv and the bronze plaque from Ampurias and on bronze hands E 14, 17, 26 and 29. On the plaque from Ampurias, the head of Dionysos himself also

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appears, as does a Kantharos (also on the Copenhagen plaque). The head of Dionysos also appears on the hand from Avenches.

Sabazios is also depicted with Kybele and her other young male associates, Attis and Hermes, from whom he took over various attributes (pedum, kerykeion). I leave out of account the Phrygian dress and bonnet, which were common to several gods (see E. Will, Le Relief Cultuel Gréco-Romain, 255 ff) and the pine-cone, which Sabazios and Attis shared with Mên. A kerykeion appears on the Sabazios hands, E 7, 13 - 19, 24 - 25, 28, 30. On the Sabazios hand from Avenches, heads of Hermes, Kybele and Dionysos appear (Eisele 12; Blinkenberg no. E 12). Hermes alone also appears on hands E 23 - 26. Kybele, Attis and Hermes appear on the central panel of the bronze triptych in Berlin and Sabazios, with kerykeion and pedum, on the surviving side-panel (E 16). Kerykeion and pedum also appear on the single bronze plaque in Copenhagen. On one of the plaques from Tekiye, the god identified as Sabazios actually appears to hold a kerykeion. On another of these, a goddess identified as Kybele feeds a snake from a patera. Kymbala appear on hands E 13, 14, 18, 23, 26, 29, 30. A third plaque shows Tyche with a cornucopia. On the relief from Plovdiv, we find Hermes with purse and kerykeion, Pan and Tyche. Double pipes appear on hands E 7 - 9, 11?, 13, 14, 15?, 17 - 19, 25, 26, 28 - 30. Pan belongs to the entourage both of Dionysos and the Mother. Tyche, who is depicted also on the Tekiye plaques, appears regularly with Hermes, but not, apart from these two instances, with Sabazios. Daphne, who normally appears with Apollo, is also represented. A Hermes-head and kerykeion also appear on the Ampurias plaque.

Other motifs that may be related to the rôles of Kybele and Rhea-Demeter and Persephone in the Sabazios myths are the woman with a snake in her lap depicted on
a relief at Palatitza in Macedonia\textsuperscript{12}), the woman with an infant on her knees and a snake in front of her on a coin of the reign of Valerian from Isinda in Pisidia\textsuperscript{13}), and the woman nursing a child in a cave on a number of hands and on the plaque from Ampurias\textsuperscript{14}). A liknon is depicted on the hand from Jena (E 28).

The Hermes conducting the chariot on the Koloe relief should probably be regarded as being shown in his role of messenger of the gods or psychopompos, rather than a companion of Sabazios in the entourage of Kybele, and the eagle is probably that of apotheosis, rather than representing Sabazios' identification with Zeus / Jupiter.

C. H. E. Haspels has published four elaborately decorated 

\textit{bomoi} from the Phrygian Highlands\textsuperscript{15}). On these we find snakes, kentharoi, grapes, Pan or goats and trees (trees also appear on Sabazios reliefs, but I do not discuss them here) frequently represented. They are reminiscent of the more elaborate Sabazios reliefs. On the strength of the snakes, M. P. Nilsson identified the Dionysos or Zeus Dionysos, to whom the altars were dedicated, as a hellenized Phrygian Sabazios\textsuperscript{16}). However, if we are correct in denying that Sabazios was a Phrygian god, we cannot regard these attestations of Dionysos as referring to Sabazios in Greek guise. We must accept that the god is Dionysos.

Sabazios is also depicted with eagle and thunderbolt, although these motifs together seem to be restricted to representations of him as a western military-type Jupiter. They appear on the plaques from Vichy (Eisele 5) and Tibiscum. An eagle alone appears on the Berlin and Toscana reliefs (Eisele 16 and 24 respectively). The eagle and thunderbolt also appear on hands E 1, 13, 15, 24, 27?, 28, 29.

The evidence putting Sabazios in the male entourage of Kybele is ample and clear, and may justify Strabo's
comment καὶ ὁ ἔξωθος δὲ τῶν Φυλακών ἐστὶ καὶ τρέπον τινὰ τῆς Μητρὸς τὸ παιδίον κτλ., although his status is not made absolutely clear by the artistic evidence. On the other hand, it is not so certain that the motif of woman and child refers to Persephone's rearing of the young Dionysos, begotten on her by Zeus Sabazios. The coin from Isinda is strangely isolated. The relief from Palatitza may represent the kourotrophia of Sabazios by Kybele; it is also reminiscent of Plutarch's story about Olympias' intercourse with a snake. Again, those instances where the head of Dionysos appears may reflect the situation where Dionysos was regarded as the son of Zeus-Sabazios. On the other hand, they could represent Sabazios' alter ego.

Allowing for the fact that they are mostly poorly dated, it is clear that these monuments do not always reflect the orderly development of the mythology of the cult described above. For instance, Hermes and Kybele appear on the hand from Avenches, along with the mother and child, tentatively identified as Persephone and Dionysos. The groups of figures belong to different historical stages in the mythology of the cult. Again, on the Berlin plaques, where Sabazios is associated with Kybele, Attis and Hermes, an eagle, presumably identifying Sabazios with Zeus, is depicted in the pediment above the god. On the Ampurias plaque, we again find Hermes and Dionysos and Persephone (?). It is of course quite possible that the latest, Orphic, myth about Sabazios does not tell the whole story and that relationships from the time before he was identified with Zeus survived in the later cult of the god. The inscriptions evidence for this has been considered above.
FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX TWO.


5) On the Valle Trebbia Crater, see E. Simon, "Das opfernde Götterpaar auf dem Krater von Valle Trebbia", Opfernde Götter, 79 ff., and my comments above, 163. For snakes depicted on bronze Sabazios hands, see Blinkenberg, art. cit., 70 ff., Cl-5, DI-3, EI-23, 25-30. (E28 = M. Macrea, art. cit. supra, footnote 1, 328 f. (Cf. Ch. Picard, art. cit., 144, fig. 7; 145, fig. 8)).

6) See A.B. Cook, loc. cit. supra, footnote 1; Cf. Ch. Picard, art. cit., 166, fig. 14.


9) See D. Mano-Zissi, *op. cit. supra*, footnote 1, pl. xxvi and 103 ff.


11) For the relationship Hermes - Sabazios, see also the inscriptional evidence, *BU* no. 44B (CB I, 1, 295, no. 2 and 310, no. 127) (footnote 10) above in Chapter Five and *Année Epigraphique* (1908), no. 141. A. Bruhl, *art. cit.*, 38, commenting on the Ampurias plaque, sees Hermes primarily in his role of *psychorompos*, as on the fresco in the catacomb of Prætextata. As this plaque was found with a burial, such an interpretation is probably correct. However, it is qua protégé of Kybele that Hermes probably became associated with Sabazios.


13) B.M. Cat. Lycia etc., 227, no. 221 and pl. xxxvi, with the description: "the mother-goddess seated right on a throne, holding infant on knees; in front of her, a snake". The editor, G.F. Hill, identified the snake as Sabazios.


17) Strabo X, 3, 15 C470.
APPENDIX THREE: THE "HOLY AND JUST".

A discussion of the Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi (or to Hosion kai Dikaion) has been promised on various occasions for many years by L. Robert\textsuperscript{1}). When it appears, it will, barring the subsequent discovery of revolutionary new evidence, become established as the standard work on the subject. However, as discussions in this thesis (à proposito double - axe bearing gods, Sabazios and Herakles) have impinged on these gods a number of times, a provisional treatment for the sake of completeness may perhaps be forgiven.

The monuments attesting these divinities, together with the reliefs, are listed and described at the end. It will be convenient to discuss the inscriptions and reliefs separately.

The epithets hosios and dikaios are applied to a divinity or divinities normally otherwise anonymous. However, in one case they are applied to Mên, in another to Sozon and Helios. Otherwise, we find dedications Theos dèios kai Dikaios, Theos dèios kai Dikaios, Ægis dèios kai Dikaios, Ægis dèios kai Dikaios alone, Ægis kai Dikaios, and even simply Ægis Dikaios. Except in the cases of the dedications to the Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi and the Theos Hosios kai Dikaioi, it is unclear whether we are dealing with one god who is "Holy and Just", two gods each personifying one of these virtues, or a single, neuter divine power which embodies them both. There are also examples of a goddess Hosia, a Theion Hosion kai Dikaion, one of Hosios/n alone, and one of an Angelos Hosios kai Dikaioi. It will be apparent from the list and description of the monuments that the reliefs do not help to resolve these problems. It is probably wrong to imagine that there was any clear, standardised conception of these divinities.

The term angelos provides a good starting point from which to analyse this religious movement. We need no longer always see angeloi as attesting immediate Jewish influence;
rather do they reflect a widespread need in Greco-Roman paganism for intermediaries between the increasingly remote classical gods, especially Zeus, and mankind. The angels of Zeus Hyspistos at Stratonikeia have already been discussed. We find mentioned with Zeus Hyspistos an Agathos Angelos, Theios Angelos, Theion Angelikon and Theion. At Manisa we find a dedication to Zeus Hyspistos and Mega Theion Epiphanes. Epiphanes conveys much the same idea as Angelos. We may, therefore, see the god or divine power "Holy and Just" and Theion as well, at least in some cases, as being essentially an intermediary between men and the higher gods. In a still-unpublished inscription from Pisidia found by J. and L. Robert, Hosion kai Dikaion is called the "new-born child of Herakles". We have already considered the reliefs in which Herakles and Hermes appear together with Zeus Bronton and Zeus Soter, presumably as their agents. The affiliation of Hosion kai Dikaion to Herakles confirms this divine power in the role of intermediary.

The epithets applied to the divinity are entirely appropriate to this status. The words ἀγαθός and ἀγαθος are frequently found occurring together in Greek literature. They were often used as virtual synonyms, but in some cases slight differences in application can be detected. Plato's definition, whereby ἡμιος was used of one's actions towards the gods, ἰετος of one's actions towards men, does not seem to have been generally adopted. Rather, ἀγαθός seems to have been used of things of "secondary" religious status, for instance customs such as the cult of the dead, established by men but hallowed by the gods, as opposed to things of "primary" religious status, for instance temples. Hesychios opposes ἀγαθός to θειος, making it a synonym of ἀνθρωπίης. We need not be surprised at finding the two adjectives together when they were applied to divinities, but quite how these adjectives, describing essentially human qualities, came to be applied to gods we do not know. On the other hand, their application to intermediaries between men and the more remote divinities does have a certain appropriateness.
We turn now to the reliefs. It is not intended to comment individually on the inscriptions accompanying them. Frequently, the divinities named cannot be made to correspond in detail to the figures depicted on the reliefs. The usually female figure with scales is clearly Dikaiosyne (who is also represented on coins of Prymessos; see MAMA V, note on p. 11). The groups of two standing figures must be plural, anthropomorphically conceived, Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi. The male busts, sometimes radiate, are reminiscent of the bust of Theion on a dedication Ἑως καὶ Λ΄πολλωνι, and may represent the epigraphically attested Theion Hosion kai Dikaion. The trinity of busts on one altar is reminiscent of the Lykian trinities. The rider-god, and possibly the radiate youths, are Apollo-like figures. The angelic role that might be played by Apollo is illustrated by a line from an oracle of the Clarian Apollo preserved in an inscription at Oinoanda: ἐνερρά' ἐν θεοὶ μὴ ἀνέρχονται ἡμῖν. The same oracle describes the ultimate godhead (Theos) as ἐνερράναι ἡμῖν. This corresponds well with the radiate busts that we have suggested may represent Theion. The depiction of an "intermediary" or "angelic" god as a horseman was, of course, particularly appropriate, although the horseman—Apollo was much older. A.B. Cook, Zeus II, 1, 838 ff., has drawn attention to the connexion between Zeus Bronton and Apollo on a relief at Rome and also in an inscription from Kurşunlu (ABM VII (1883). 174, no. 14), and has suggested that Zeus Bronton had an "Orphic" side to his character. It is probable that here again Apollo is the angel of a supreme Zeus. A horseman, presumably Apollo, is depicted together with Herakles, Hermes, and two standing figures, presumably the Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi, on the stele from Eskişehir in the Louvre, published by L. Robert. The chariot god who appears in some of the reliefs, again being conspicuously mobile, may have been a parallel figure to the rider god, but if so, it is strange to find him appearing together with the rider god.
We have already noted the couples of standing male and female figures. The radiate youth and goddess constitute another such couple. We may also note the presence of Kybele and of a female bust (Hosia ?) in another of the reliefs. L. Robert has identified as Hosia female busts on the dedication to Zeus Chryseos and on the Louvre relief (?). The divine couple Theos Hosios kai Dikaios and Hosia kai Dikaia are attested epigraphically, as is Hosia alone. In the Roberts' unpublished inscription from Pisidia a Chrysea Parthenos is mentioned. In an inscription in Manisa museum a relief of the Thea Larnene is dedicated to Zeus Hypcistos and the Mega Theion Epiphaneis. In all these we may see survivals of the widespread Anatolian liking for divine couples. We have already seen that only rarely are the epithets hosios and dikaios applied to the older gods. Nevertheless, it is clear that Apollo in his Anatolian guise, Zeus and the Mother had a considerable role in the cult, especially in its iconography.

Finally we must consider the acclamation μεγας (ο θεος ) which in three cases is applied to Hosion Dikaion and in two to Theion. It seems to have been addressed first to Sarapis in Egypt. In Asia Minor it was applied to a variety of gods, most notably, of course, the Ephesian Artemis (Acts of the Apostles XIX, 28, 34).

The evolution and spread of the cult of the "Holy and Just" is completely dark. There is no historical sequence of information to help us, nor is the distribution of the cult, over the coastlands of Anatolia and the more backward parts of Lydia and Phrygia, immediately suggestive. The idea of "angelic"gods presumably reached the back-country of Lydia and Phrygia from the coastal cities, where, in a more hellenised atmosphere, the epithets hosios and dikaios had been applied to them. It was probably after their arrival in the inland districts that they became associated with, and assumed the iconography of, the old native gods. The two standing figures, one with scales, the radiate youth,
Zeus and perhaps Apollo, may have been associated with the cult from the beginning. On the other hand, the Mother in her various forms and Apollo qua rider-god probably appeared later. The Phrygian cult was concentrated on Dorylaeion and Kuyucak (Serea ?) in the North, whither the cult probably arrived from the West coast via north-eastern Lydia. The route was similar to that by which Montanism spread from Christianised Philadelphia. However, in Phrygia at least, the cult of the Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi seems to have flourished in an area where Christianity appears to have been weak\(^\text{14}\). Conversely, the cult of these gods does not appear in the Eukrptic plain or the Maeander valley, although it does appear further East along the \(\omega\varepsilon\nu\gamma\) \(\delta\nu\varsigma\oslash\) at Philomelion and Laodikeia Katakekaumene. On the other hand, angel-worship is attacked in Colossians II, 18, and was said to be widespread in Phrygia by Theodoret\(^\text{15}\). Presumably in the Maeander valley the same tendencies of the age manifested themselves, but in a context in which Christianity had already achieved a dominating position.
FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX THREE.


2) See above, Chapter Five, 187, and references there cited.

3) Agathos Angelos: LEW no. 515.
   Theios Angelos: BCH V (1881), 182, no. 3.
   Theion: BCH V (1881), 182, no. 4; XV (1891), 418, no. 1.

4) L. Robert, art. cit., 112.

5) CRAI (1948), 401; Hellenica X (1955), 105.

6) J.C. Bokstein, Oinoanda en Éuzébios, 189 ff.

7) L. Robert, art. cit. (fn. 3), 114.


10) On the rider-god as saviour, see E. Will, Le relief cultuel gréco-romain, 124.


12) L. Robert, art. cit. (fn. 3), 112.


14) On the absence of Christianity in northern Phrygia, see MAMA V, xxxii ff. This view must now be modified in the light of the following inscriptions: Haspela, Highlands of Phrygia I, nos. 34-38, 49?, 53-54, 55?, 60, 65.

MONUMENTS OF THE CULT OF THE THEOI HOSIOI KAI DIKAIOI IN PHRYGIA.

Eskişehir: GGA (1897), 408, no. 50 (JOAT XI (1908), Beibl. 197 f.; Cat. Const. III, 847) - stele; in arched pediment, horseman to R., axe in raised r.h.; field, 3 women st. to front, outer ones with r.h. raised; bottom, radiate god, both hands raised, torch in r.h., in 4-horse wagon to R. Dedication Ὄσις Ἁμαῖς.

MAMA V, no. 11 - bomos; in front, draped male bust, radiate; right, draped male bust; wolf st., facing l.; left, draped male bust; back, full-length female figure with conical headdress, scales in r.h. Dedication Ὄσις Ἁμαῖς.

AEM VII (1883), 177, no. 24 (JOAI XXXII (1940), Beibl. 122, no. 6) - base; oxhead. Dedication Ὄσις καὶ Ἁμαῖς.

BSA XLIV (1954), 12, no. 2 - stele; in pediment, figure with pair of lions (Kybele?); in field l., draped male figure in chariot drawn by four horses; r., bust of female figure. Dedication Ὄσις καὶ Ἁμαῖς.

Kuyucak: MAMA V, no. 1R6, stele. Dedication Ὄσις Ἁμαῖς.

MAMA V, no. 183 - stele. Dedication Ὄσις καὶ Ἁμαῖς καὶ Ὅσις καὶ Ἁρκελώνι.

MAMA V, no. 184 - stele; krater. Dedication on behalf of the κατακλία Ὅσις καὶ Ἁμαῖς.

MAMA V, no. 185 - bomos; Dedication Ὅσις καὶ Ἁμαῖς.

Basören: Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 433 f., no. 55 - stele; standing youth in short chiton, radiate, spear in l.h., with r.h. holds l.h. of goddess (?), who also wears a short chiton, and is radiate, and has a torch in r.h. On sides, boukrania. Dedication Ὅσις καὶ Ἁμαῖς.

Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 431, no. 54 (Cat. Const. III, no. 846; REA VIII (1906), 188). - Stele; bearded bust at top. Radiate rider in field, bipennis in l.h. On l.
side, krater; on r., eagle and ox-head. Dedication Θεία καὶ Τόρεων.

Avdham: Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia, no. 145 - stele; Dedication Θεία Δικαίᾳ.

Akin: W.M. Ramsay HGAM, 435 (JOAI (1905), Beibl. 104; Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia, no. 152) - bomos; ox-head. Dedication Θεία [καὶ] Δικαίᾳ.

Erenler Pinar: MAMA V, no. 148 - stele; 2 grape-clusters. Dedication Θεία.

Gülte Dure: Haspels, Highlands of Phrygia, no. 116 - bomos; 2 busts of radiate god and goddess with high polos and veil. Dedication Λιθοφάρμον Θεία [καὶ] Δικαίᾳ ...


Kütahya: JRS XI (1925), 161, no. 150 - bomos; radiate bust. Dedication Θείᾳ καὶ Δικαίῳ.

Zemmel: JHS VIII (1887), 513, no. xciv - Dedication by δάμος of Tribanta (?) δέσιν [Δικαίῳ Εὐποίῳ].

Kirgül: RRG III (1890), 51, no. 1 - stele; Dedication Μην Θείῳ ἐξεήλθε καὶ δικαιώρ by Alianon Katoikia.

Yükürük (NNE of Afyon): MAMA VI, no. 389 - stele; 2 male figures. Dedication Θείᾳ.

Near Tut Agaç: JHS XIX (1899), 80, no. 44 - altar; 2 figures, one holding spear. Dedication Θείᾳ καὶ Δικαίῳ.

JHS XIX (1899), 79, no. 43 - bomos; female bust at top; below, Apollo, holding Marsyas by neck in r.h.; lyre in l.h.

Akşehir: Rev. Phil. XLVI (1922), 139, no. 20 (Ath. Mitt. XXV (1900), 444) - bomos. Dedication to Sozon son of Leto and Helios Basileus δικαιώσατο καὶ δοξαί θεόν.
Ladik: SEEP, 176 no. 70 (MAMA I, 9a) – bomos; Dedication
θεός θεός ή θεός [καὶ δικαίος] θεός. (MAMA). The
former is supported by L. Robert, Anatolia III (1958)
114 f.

Kara Ağil: MAMA VII, no. 132 – bomos; 2 male figures with
eagle between them. Dedication: Ὄσιος καὶ Δίκαιος.


Compare also:

Eskişehir: R. Phil. LXV (1939), 203 ff – stele (in Louvre,
from Eskişehir); Attōp, Zeus (Bronton) with eagle;
to l. and r., sun and moon; below, Hermes with purse
and kerykeion and Herakles; bust of woman; to l.,
horseman with double-axe galloping right; 2 standing
figures with balance and staff. Dedication: Ἡλικτός Δικαιος.

Hellenica X (1955), 104 ff. – stele; top, Zeus with
eagle, l. and r., sun and moon. Below, l., Hermes/
Herakles (?) figure; r., bust of goddess. Dedication
Δῆ Χρυσέα.

Kütahya: BCH XX (1896), 64 – stele; triple Hekate; l.,
Men, r. youth with double-axe and dog. Dedication to
Hekate Soteira.

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APPENDIX FOUR: PHRYGIAN FUNERARY MONUMENTS

It was originally intended to include a chapter on Phrygian funerary monuments, primarily "doorstones", in this thesis. However, these are now the object of detailed study by M. Waelkens of the University of Ghent. To have duplicated his work would have been wasteful and would have involved devoting an unreasonable portion of the present work to one topic, while to produce a work less thorough would be pointless. It seemed best, therefore, to produce a summary which avoided detail and draw hopefully sound, though not novel, general conclusions relevant to the whole work.

The type of tombstone most characteristic of Phrygia is the "doorstone", although stelai and bomoi are also found even alongside the doorstones. Cox and Cameron noted in the introduction to MAMA V the following distribution area: it was especially favoured at Dorylaeion, Kotiaeion, Aizanoi and the valley of Emet, but not in the plain of Synoos, nor around Kadoi. Examples have been found North of Dorylaeion, the most north-westerly being one from Yenişehir. It occurs in the upper Tembris valley, and many have come from around Akmonia and Sebaste. There are few from Nakoleia, but many from the area between Midasşehir, Orkistos and Amorion. Only scattered examples are known South - West of Prymnessos. In the East and South - East, doorstones are found extending as far as Ankyra and Iznik. A considerable number have recently been uncovered by P. Lambrechts at Pessineus. In the extreme South, examples are known from the valley of Apollonia and the plain around Lake Karalasi. Their absence from the upper Maeander valley, the Tabene plain and the Bukarpitcan plain may be explained by the thorough hellenisation of those districts. The same, of course, goes for Hellespontine Phrygia. None need be expected from the area between Laodikeia and Kibyra, which was.
only administratively part of Phrygia. With these exceptions, the distribution of the doorstones corresponds closely with the boundaries of Phrygia as defined by the literary and linguistic evidence.

Geographically, therefore, "doorstones" may certainly be said to be Phrygian. Did they have their origins in Phrygian culture of an earlier period? Before we can answer this question, we must examine the nature of the monuments more closely. Hitherto, doorstones have been published merely as free-standing stelai. However, they were certainly intended to represent the entrance to a chamber-tomb, and it is reasonable to suggest that some of them may indeed have formed part of such tombs.

Given that they were so highly decorated, the doors at least of the tombs must surely have been above ground. We may compare the idea of doorstones, whether free-standing or built into chamber-tombs, with the chamber-tombs and architecturally conceived sarcophagi found in most other districts of western Asia Minor. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The depiction of the deceased in a small aedicula on numerous bomoi and stelai from eastern Phrygia, presumably derived from the custom of showing divinities at the entrances to their shrines, may also be a way of representing the idea of a chamber- or temple-tomb.

Wooden tomb-chambers in pits in the original ground surface covered by tumuli were used by the Phrygians in the eighth century B.C. However, stone tumuli with circular chambers approached by dromoi are known from the ninth century in Karia. These may have been derived from similar Mycenaean tombs. Chamber-tombs are also found occasionally in Hittite times. From the sixth century onwards, we find Lydian tumuli with gabled rectangular stone chambers approached by dromoi. In Lykia, the first known tombs of this period seem to have been simple chests on top of high pillars; in time
this developed into an architecturally more-or-less elaborate chamber or sarcophagus on top of a podium, a type that became very popular in south-western Asia Minor in the Roman period\textsuperscript{16}. Again in the sixth century we find the first architecturally-conceived Greek sarcophagus, from Samos\textsuperscript{17}. Before the Persian conquest, the first rock-cut tomb appears in Phrygia. This had a plain, rectangular chamber. Later ones had gabled roofs, then, probably from the Hellenistic period onwards, vaulted ones. It is probably only in the late Persian period that Phrygian rock-cut tombs began to have architectural façades on the smoothed outside surface of the rock\textsuperscript{18}. From the fourth century onwards we find rock-cut tombs in Lykia and Paphlagonia, the former having the façade of a Greek temple, the façades of those in the latter area being in a Persian-influenced style\textsuperscript{19}. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, tumuli with one or more chambers and dromoi remained popular in much of the west-central and north-western parts of Asia Minor\textsuperscript{20}. This was probably encouraged by the popularity of the tumulus in Macedonia\textsuperscript{21}.

F. Noack in 1894 argued that the Phrygian doorstones of the Roman period were derived from the rock-cut chamber-tombs of the Highlands, and that the plain doorstones preceded those covered with reliefs of a variety of domestic objects. The covering of the doors with these objects, he believed, represented a stage when the original symbolism of the door had become obscure\textsuperscript{22}. To deal with this minor point first, it now appears that the difference in elaboration is a geographical, not a chronological, one, the plain doors predominating in the East of Phrygia, the more decorated ones in the centre and West\textsuperscript{23}. As regards the predecessors of the "doorstones", we must certainly include the rock-tombs of the Highlands. On the other hand, these were the ancestors of the doorstones only as far as the idea of the chamber-tomb was concerned, and this could also be said of the
other rock-cut tombs of Asia Minor, some of which were almost as near to parts of the area in which doorstones are found as were the Highland tombs. There is a considerable gap between the expression of the idea of the chamber-tomb in the form of a room cut out of the solid rock and its expression in the form of a built tomb or merely a stele decorated with false doors. Far from being the fundamental expression of the chamber-tomb idea, from which others evolved, the rock-tomb must have been a specialized one, conceived to take advantage of geographical conditions in restricted areas. The structural predecessors of the doorstones in Phrygia have still to be discovered. If we were to find a long chronological sequence, we might expect to see a succession of architectural and decorative influences from a variety of sources at work, and, again, the degree of elaboration might be expected to vary considerably, depending on the wealth and taste of the purchaser and the skill of the mason.

Our provisional conclusion must be, then, that the Phrygian "doorstones" were merely the local expression of a pan-Anatolian idea, and that there is not yet sufficient evidence to trace their evolution in any detail. The remarkable fact remains that their distribution coincides so closely with the boundaries of Phrygia. On the other hand, decorative features associated with doorstones, such as the horseshoe-arch and reliefs of domestic objects, are also found in Maonia, Bithynia and Paphlagonia. A common tradition, perhaps created and reinforced by the geography of the country, may be partly responsible, but the problem cannot be solved in detail without an attempt to define local styles and locate the workshops and the sources of the stone used. Such an undertaking is beyond the scope of the present work.
FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX FOUR.

1) P. Lambrechts, M. Waelkens, "Réflexions critiques sur un monument funéraire récemment découvert à Pessinonte", Zetësia, 617, footnote 83. I am grateful to Professor Lambrechts for a copy of that article.


3) Ikonion: J.R.S. Sterrett, ED, 225.

4) Lambrechts and Waelkens, art. cit. supra, 602, footnote 2, bibliography.

5) See the brief discussion in my article "Some motifs on Anatolian and Balkan tombstones", GüneyDoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2 - 3 (1974), 239 f., with further references.

6) See above, Chapter Two.

7) Chapter Two, 145 f.

8) Especially the "double doorstones", e.g. Lambrechts and Waelkens, art. cit., figs. 1 and 3, which I suggest formed the end panels of tombs such as that illustrated by Lambrechts, "De Opgravingen van de Gentse Universiteit te Pessinus (Turkije)", De Brug (1967), no. 4, pl. 3.

9) I assume that the doorstone forming the back panel of an underground chamber-tomb found at Sebaste (Firatlı, art. cit. fig. 52) must be re-used. Its position there is completely illogical.

10) For examples of these representations, see the present author's paper, cited above, (footnote 5) 242 ff. and fig. 6. On the motif, see B.L. Trell, "The cult-image on temple-type coins", NCIV (1964), 242 ff.


12) W. Radt, "Siedlungen und Bauten auf dem Halbinsel von


   Paphlagonia: H. von Gall, *Die Paphlagonischer Felsgräber*.


24) See my article, cited above, 242.
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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used are those recommended in the American Journal of Archaeology. E.M. Cat. (of Greek Coins) and SNG v. Anloch without further qualification refer to the Phrygian volumes of these catalogues. Where other volumes are referred to, they are specified.

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E. Will, Le Relief Cultuel Gréco-Romain.  
ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER FIVE.

L. Robert has recently published (CRAI (1975), 303 ff.) a cult-regulation from Sardes, probably dating to 365 B.C. This records the erection of a statue of Zeus Baradate\ô (probably = Ahuramazda) by Droaphernes, son of Barakes, satrap of Lydia. The neokoroi therapeutai who enter the sanctuary of the god and garland him are forbidden to take part in the mysteries of Sabazios, Mê and Angdistis. This new document makes incorrect my statement that there is no explicit evidence for a pre-Attalid cult of Sabazios in western Asia Minor. The degree to which Sabazios was involved in the native cult-practices of Lydia in the Roman period becomes less surprising if he had been established in the country since the fourth century B.C.

However, the new document does not affect the case against a "Phrygian" Sabazios; indeed, it strengthens the non-Phrygian distribution pattern already observed. It is reasonable to suggest that Sabazios reached Sardes through the medium of Aegean traders. The god had reached Athens 100 years before, and by this time must have been well established in the Greek world as a geographically-unattached, semi-barbarian mystery god with Orphic connexions. Sardes may have been slightly more cosmopolitan at this time than Robert suggests. The cults of the god at Mylasa and Plarasa may possibly, and that at Tlos on the Lykian coast quite probably, have the same origin.

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Neolithic and Chalcolithic cults involved rites of considerable complexity using, inter alia, anthropomorphic figurines and the burning of probably aromatic, possibly hallucinative, substances in special pots. Snake and solar cults existed. Fertility of the soil and protection of the individual were natural motivations. During the latter part of the Chalcolithic (or Late Neolithic) period the anthropomorphic figurines became increasingly stylised, often in forms which suggest an expansion of solar worship. In settlements of the Chalcolithic period are buildings almost certainly used for cult purposes; a number of clay models of such 'temples' have been retrieved.

The second half of the fourth millennium BC introduced the Early Bronze age. Severe destruction, desolation, depopulation was followed by the emergence of a new dominant ethnic group or combination of groups. Anthropomorphic representation disappeared. Burials discovered to date fall into four categories: intra-mural, tumulus, flat cemetery and infant burial beneath house floors. In many cases grave goods indicate a belief in a life after death. Inhumation, the skeleton in a crouched position, was general, but cremation is reported to have been practised in the north-west.

Representation of animal horns on pottery was widespread during the Early and Middle Bronze ages and doubtless has a ritual significance reflecting the increased importance of domestic animals in the new culture. A symbolic meaning must also attach to miniature axeheads of carefully polished, fine quality stone. miniature wheels, some decorative motifs on ceramic and probably certain shell pendants are likely indications of a solar cult. No archaeological evidence of man-built sanctuaries has been observed.

Evidence of religious practices during the Carpatho-Balkan Middle Bronze age (here defined as approximately the first three-quarters of the second millennium BC) is minimal. The outstanding cult find of this period is the Vulci Trun treasure, the 'pedigree', date and exact purpose of which is still a matter for debate.

In the north-west, the expansion of the Urnfield cultures introduced the Girla Maro culture, an intrusive, foreign element, exerting little influence in the Thracian
In the late bronze age (circa XII–XIII century B.C.) the situation is also obscure. The rock niches, rock tombs and dolmens found in south-east Bulgaria are generally assigned, on the basis of potsherds found in or near some of them, to the XIII–VII centuries.

The earliest burial in a long-used cemetery at Dolno Sahrane, near Kazanluk, was a mound containing ten probably contemporary crouched inhumations with grave-goods that may be attributable to the late bronze age. Sun symbols occur on some late bronze age pottery and chance finds of miniature axeheads ornamented with animal heads, usually pendants, are attributed to the final period of the Carpatho-Balkan Bronze age or to the beginning of the Early Iron (VIIth century B.C.).

From circa early VIIth century B.C. the situation gradually becomes somewhat clearer. Cemeteries of the VII–Vth centuries reveal considerable variety of ritual. Tumulus graves predominate. Inhumation and cremation are both used, sometimes in the same cemetery, the latter being the more common, especially during the VIth century and later. Grave goods - clay and metal vessels, ornaments, tools and weapons - often valuable in their context, are those used in life and demonstrate a belief that they will continue to be needed after death. Royal graves at Douvanli and elsewhere (circa VIth–IVth centuries) illustrate this vividly, as well as the equal consideration shown towards men and women of rank, some of the latter perhaps possessing priestly-magical functions.

Anthropomorphic representation remains noticeably absent, except in the vicinity of the Greek coastal cities and among ruling circles profiting from Greek trade. Early Thracian examples are the Vratsa gold jug, and parts of the Loznitsa and Lukovit treasure, all attributed to the IVth century. Three reliefs of a Horserman–Hunter from a Thracian temple at Galata, near Varna, have been assigned to the Hellenistic period (IIIrd–IIInd century B.C.). Lato Hellenistic reliefs depicting a horseman and dedicated to a Thracian 'Horus' have been found in Varna itself.

A fortified palace or temple complex excavated in the IIIrd century B.C. Thracian city of Southopolis is considered to be the temple of the Great Gods mentioned in an inscription found in the city that also records a sanctuary of Dionysos and, at Kabyle, a Phosphorion. Otherwise, except in or close to the Greek coastal cities, no built temples or sanctuaries can be dated prior to the Roman period when, except in the Danubian region, Hellenistic culture was imposed on the whole Thracian interior. But although archaeological evidence for their earlier use is lacking, the fact that almost all were situated at powerful springs or sources of mineral waters suggests that many sites possessed an earlier ritual significance. Built tombs under mounds are noted for their architectural qualities and the Kazanluk tomb is also a unique illustration of Thracian funerary concepts.
Cults also developed among the Thracians. "Asad da
di" worship was found in western central
Thrace, locally known as Ares. Controversy exists
whether they should be attributed variably to the 8th
and 7th century BC to the 4th-3rd, or whether they
are Thracian or Cilician.

The Greek-influenced aristocracy and inland
neighbours of Greek cities and such Hellenistic-influenced
cities as Southopelis excepted, anthropomorphic repre-
tation remained totally foreign to the Thracian population
until the Roman-Hellenisation of the interior early in the
1st century BC. Isolated cases of this nature, where the
Thracians possessed no written language, there is no
archaeological evidence for such gods as Zephyrus, Helios, Hestoros,
Hephaistos, mentioned by Herodotus. Nor is there Perseus,
Dionysos or Orpheus, nor even for the goddess Hestia,
archaeologically attested in Attica circa 550 BC and
mentioned in much later Latin inscriptions from the Philipic
Drama region of Macedon Thrace.

As a consequence of the Roman-Hellenisation of Thrace
in the 2nd century AD was to mask Thracian religion with
a Greco-Roman theology and iconography. The process
invariably involved some syncretisation, but fundamentally
the earlier Thracian cults persisted. Tumulus burials
continued into the early 2nd century. In the countryside,
and often in the cities, the sanctuaries built on the site
of healing springs and very often dedicated to gods especially
connected with healing - such as Asklepios and Apollo - were
usually associated with the Thracian Horseman, although
sometimes with the Three Nymphs. Over 2,000 examples
of tablets depicting the Horseman in various aspects have been
found in Bulgaria alone. Oftentimes without inscription, sometimes
named 'Heros' occasionally followed by a Thracian epithet,
or else identified with a Greek god, he represents an
essentially Thracian concept associated with an afterlife.