

CULTS OF PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD

The region of Phrygia known as Phrygia Epiktetos rarely features in ancient literary sources. For example, Strabo mentions it only eight times and in four cases, he identifies it as the Little/Hellespontine Phrygia¹. With its six urban centres – Aizanoi, Nakoleia, Kotiaion, Midaion, Dorylaion, and Kadoi (the last one often ascribed to Mysia, as Strabo himself notes, or to Maionia, according to Ptolemy)², – and their numerous inscriptions (Dorylaion alone boasts nearly 1000 published and unpublished inscriptions), it is a very attractive region for a student of ancient pagan cults.

The main city of the region was Aizanoi, an agricultural centre in a fertile plain, founded by the Attalids³ on the upper course of the Penkalas River⁴ (modern Çavdarhisar Suyu). The oldest pottery finds of Late Hellenistic and Early Roman times come from the cave of the Mother of Steunos (mod. Kesik Mağara) situated 3.5 km SW of the town, where, according to a local tradition, Zeus was born⁵. The religious life of Aizanoi was dominated by their particular cult of Zeus known as Ζεὺς Αἰζανῶν and Zeus Ἐζεανίτης⁶.

¹ Strabo 2. 5. 31 (Phrygia Epiktetos part of Phrygia); 12. 1. 3 (Epiktetos one of the regions west of the Halys River); 12. 3. 7 (Phrygia Epiktetos same as Hellespontine Phrygia); 12. 4. 1 ('the so-called Phrygia Epiktetos, also called Hellespontine Phrygia'); 12. 4. 3 (identical with Little/Hellespontine Phrygia); 12. 4. 4 (position of Epiktetos vis-à-vis Mysia Abaitis and Bithynia); 12. 4. 5 (Epiktetos a purely continental region); 12. 8. 1 (Greater and Little Phrygia, the second one also known as Epiktetos); 12. 8. 12 (cities of Phrygia Epiktetos); cf. RE XX 1, 1941, s.v. Phrygia (Topographie), coll. 801–802 (W. Ruge). During the Bithynian-Pergamene wars in 184/3 BC Eumenes II won Phrygia Epiktetos back from Prusias I who took it from him probably at the beginning of his reign; it had already been awarded to Eumenes by the Romans according to the peace of Apameia (Polyb. 21. 46 .9; Liv. 38. 39. 14). Cf. Habicht 1956; Şahin 1986, esp. 136 note 39 on the political, not geographical meaning of the term Hellespontine Phrygia since the 5th century BC.

² Strabo 12. 8. 12: τοὺς δὲ Κάδους ἔνιοι τῆς Μυσίας φασίν; Ptolem. 5. 2. 21 (Kadoi part of Maionia, together with Saittai and Daldis); Pliny NH 5. 111 (Kadoi in the Sardian conventus); OGIS 446 (MAMA X 181 no. 1), from Kadoi: ὁ δῆμος ὡ Μυσῶν Ἀββαειῶν; Hier. 668. 10: Kadoi is Phrygian. Cf. IG XIV 1121 (Rome): Mysei Ab[b]aitae et Epict[ete]s | Μυσοὶ Ἀββαεῖται καὶ Ἐπικτετεῖς set up an honorary inscription for C. Salvius Naso, leg. pro pr. in the Mithridatic wars.

³ There is a tradition that the city of Aizanoi was founded by Arkadians (Azanes from Azania: Paus. 8. 4. 3); Strubbe 1984–6, 261 note 41. The city was probably the minting centre for the Epikteteis and did not issue coins in its own name until the last third of the 1st century BC (they bear the inscription ΕΖΕΑΝΙΤΩΝ). The inscription SEG 45, 1721 (2nd/1st c. BC) containing the names Perdikkas and Ptolemaios yields additional evidence for the existence of a Macedonian military colony in Aizanoi. In the Roman period, it probably belonged to the conventus of Sardis, rather than the one of Synnada.

⁴ See Robert 1981.

⁵ Paus. 8. 4. 3; 10. 32. 3. The cave was identified by J. G. C. Anderson (Anderson 1897/8, 53–57). M. Schede started the excavations of the site before WW II and they were afterwards continued by R. Naumann (Naumann 1967).

⁶ Ζεὺς Αἰζανῶν: SEG 45, 1711, 54–68 AD; MAMA X 10–11; Ζεὺς Ἐζεανίτης in SEG 54, 1276 of unknown provenance. In Latin inscriptions the god appears as Iuppiter Aezanensis/Aezaniticus. The city (or its territory) is called ἱερὰ καὶ τεμενικὴ τ[οῦ ?Διὸς] in a newly-published letter from Caesar composed and sent in 46 BC (SEG 59, 1479). See also MAMA IX 69. Zeus is depicted on innumerable civic coins, both Imperial and pseudo-autonomous. Epithets of the city and its people were ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ νεωκόρος τοῦ Διός, ὁ νεωκόρος δῆμος.

The temple of Zeus of Aizanoi in the city's centre was built under Domitian (ca. 95/6 AD)⁷ together with the huge temple square and its porticoes on top of an ancient settlement mound. With its 16 columns still standing, the temple of Zeus is the best-preserved Ionic temple in Asia Minor. It towers high above the surrounding area, being set on a high, vaulted platform. The excavated remains of the large central *akroterion* of the gable show a bust of Zeus on the E and on the W a female bust, perhaps to be identified as his Mother. The games in god's honour are attested as *ta Deia*⁸.

The cult of Zeus of Aizanoi is attested since the Hellenistic period when Attalos I and Prusias I donated lands to his sanctuary and Augustus later confirmed its asylum.⁹ An earlier era is represented by his Mother residing in the Cave at Steunos¹⁰. The sanctuary at Steunos was excavated and the results published¹¹: it is a large cave, with niches outside for votive offerings and a large cult statue; in the rock-face above the cave there was a carved throne and on the ridge behind it two circular enclosures/buildings (*bothroi*?). The cave was believed to have been the site of Zeus's birth.

Zeus of Aizanoi shared the devotion of local inhabitants with a host of other local Zeuses attested in inscriptions from the same region: they are Zeus Abozenos¹², Zeus Anadotes¹³, Zeus Bennios¹⁴, Zeus Bronton¹⁵, Zeus Kikidiassenos¹⁶, Zeus Megas Menophilou¹⁷, Zeus Olympios¹⁸, Zeus

7 As evidenced by the recently published inscription on the architrave of the east façade of the temple (SEG 58, 1492 (92 or 94/5 AD)): [vac. Διὶ Αἰζανῶν καὶ Αἴ]ύτοκράτορι Καίσαρ[ι] θεοῦ Οὐνέρ[π]ασιανοῦ [νί|ώι Δ]ομιτιανῶ[ι Σ]εβαστῶν Γερμ[η]νικῶι, ἀρχιε]ρεῖ μεγίστωι, δημαρχικῆ[ς ἔξ]ουσίας τὸ ια', vac. | [vac.] αύτοκράτο[ρι] τὸ κβ', ύπάτωι τὸ ι[ζ], τε|μη]ητῆι διὰ βίου, [πα]τρὶ πατρίδος, ἔ|[κτισεν ἡ Αἰζα]γειτῶν | vac. πόλις vac. | vac. Prior to the publication of this inscription, the *communis opinio* favoured a date between 126 and 157 AD. For details on the sanctuary and the temple, see Naumann 1979; New Pauly I, 2006, 58–59, s.v. Aezani (K. Rheidt).

8 SEG 35, 1365; 42, 1187.

9 The question of temple lands donated by the kings of Pergamon and Bithynia to the temple and the city is elucidated by four inscriptions on the right-hand anta-wall of the pronaos of the temple, all dating from the reign of Hadrian (MAMA IX P1–P4).

10 The cult statue of the goddess in the cave, mentioned by Pausanias (10. 32. 3), appears on civic coins (Roman Provincial Coinage Online IV 1686, reign of Commodus: turreted Cybele seated, l., holding infant Zeus, resting arm on tympanum; to l. at her feet, lion; above, three Corybants, each with sword and shield). Μήτηρ Θεῶν Στευνηνή also features in an inscription from Kadoi (Vermaseren 1977, 42 no. 122) and we possess a dedication to Zeus Bennios on behalf of the guild of κηπουροὶ Στευνηνοί (MAMA IX 49 = SEG 40, 1187) who are not necessarily connected to the sanctuary itself.

11 Naumann 1967.

12 MAMA IX 54; SEG 40, 1226 (both from Tavşanlı).

13 SEG 45, 1719 (53/4 AD), same as Zeus of Aizanoi?

14 SEG 40, 1187; MAMA IX 49; CIG 3857 (= Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 1987–1988 no. 19); SEG 40, 1189; MAMA X 304: cylindrical white marble altar moulded above; on the altar a wreath with a ribbon: Τρύφων Μενίσκου Διὶ | καὶ τοῖς Βεννείταις; ibid. 157 (Appia).

15 MAMA IX 50 (195/6 AD); ibid. 51 (170/1 AD); ibid. 52 (Zeus Agathios Bronton); MAMA X 290 and 294; MAMA V ZB 88 (or Kadoi). On the cult in general, Drew-Bear, Naour 1992–2013.

16 SEG 42, 1196 (or Kotiaion).

17 SEG 56, 1434.

18 SEG 32, 1284.

Olympios Kersoullos¹⁹, Zeus Sabazios²⁰, Zeus Soter²¹, and two local cults whose epithets are only partly preserved (Zeus [--]eteos(?)²², Zeus ...genos²³). Among all these local Zeuses, the latest ‘newcomer’ is Zeus Megas Menophilou first attested by the inscription on an altar decorated with busts of Zeus on the front side, Meter on the right, Helios (or Hosios and Dikaios) on the left face, and eagle on thunderbolt on the backside. We learn from this inscription that the cult of Zeus Megas Menophilou was founded by one Menophilos after he had been ‘exceedingly terrified’ ([κ]ατεπλήχθη δε[ινῶς]) by some event²⁴. The inscriptions from the territory of Aizanoi also mention Apollo²⁵ (including Apollo Xyreos²⁶ ‘imported’ from Hadrianoi), Artemis²⁷, Asklepios²⁸, Athena Polias²⁹, Dionysos³⁰, Eleusinian goddesses³¹, Hekate³², Black Hekate (invoked in funerary imprecations)³³, Helios³⁴, Hosios and Dikaios³⁵, (Chryse) Kore³⁶, Meis³⁷, several cults of Meter in addition to the Meter of Steunos (Meter Gonane³⁸, Meter Es[--]³⁹, Meter Kouaene⁴⁰, Meter

19 SEG 56, 1436. Zeus Kersoullos is a god of a village (at modern Akçapınar) in the territory of Hadrianoi (I.Hadrianoi 2–8), who may have been transferred to the Aizanitis. The sanctuary of Zeus Olympios Kersoullos featuring in SEG 56, 1436 had 19 or 21 ieroi; all whose identities are known were freeborn, with patronymics.

20 SEG 56, 1437.

21 MAMA IX 56.

22 SEG 56, 1435.

23 MAMA IX 53.

24 SEG 56, 1434: A (on the front moulding): Δασκωμῆται κατ’ [εύχήν-έτους --- ?]; B (above Zeus): Λώου μηνὸς ἐννεακατεκάτῃ Μηνόφιλος; C (above Meter): [κ]ατεπλήχθη δε[ινῶς καὶ?] | ἐκτίσθη Ζεὺς | Μέγας Μηνοφίλοιν.

25 SEG 56, 1441: [- -]ζ Ἀπόλλωνι θε[ῷ] | - ? - καὶ Αὔρη]λ[ί]ψι λίβωνι πατρί.

26 MAMA IX 60. The same cult is attested in Hadrianoi (I.Hadrianoi 19–20), and the find-spot of MAMA IX 60 lies close to the border between Aizanitis and Hadrianoi. Apollo with and without lyre is also shown on local coins.

27 The dedicatory inscription on her temple dates from the c. 50 AD (SEG 45, 1708). The temple was built out of his own funds by the life-long priest Asklepiades Charax, appearing as a priest also in SEG 45, 1710, where his funding of the same temple is most probably mentioned. Artemis is depicted on civic coins with quiver over shoulder.

28 SEG 34, 1286: dedication by Helios hieros; MAMA IX 61 (Asklepios and Hygieia). Asklepios and Hygieia appear on coins, as well.

29 Dedication by Ulpius Eurykles, member of the Panhellenion for Aizanoi from 153 to 175 AD (SEG 42, 1191).

30 MAMA IX 34, priesthood for life of Dionysos for Aurelios Demetros featuring as a neokoros of Zeus in SEG 45, 1713; SEG 42, 1188. Dionysos is shown on coins with Satyr and panther.

31 Dedication by Ulpius Eurykles, member of the Panhellenion for Aizanoi from 153 to 175 AD (SEG 42, 1191).

32 SEG 56, 1439; SEG 53, 1522, Aslanapa.

33 SEG 56, 1477. Ἐκάτη μέλαινα is known from the Phrygian Highlands (I.AraiEpitymbioi 207), from three tombstones from Appia and two of unknown provenance (*ibid.* nos. 181/182, 190; 204 and 222). On the coins from Aizanoi we find Hekate *triformis*.

34 MAMA X 260?; Helios depicted in relief but not mentioned in SEG 32, 1284–1286. Helios features on civic coins in his quadriga.

35 RICL 1991, 36–39 nos. 79–84; SEG 56, 1432–1433 (195/6 AD).

36 SEG 56, 1439.

37 MAMA IX 62; 71 (?).

38 MAMA IX 67, dedication of a trapeza.

39 SEG 56, 1431.

40 MAMA IX 66.

Oriene⁴¹, Meter Thea⁴², Meter theon⁴³), Poseidon and Amphitrite⁴⁴, Sozon⁴⁵, and Theos Hypsistos⁴⁶. Many inscriptions mention various members of cult personnel, such as *eikonophoroi*⁴⁷, *hieroī*⁴⁸, *neokoroi*⁴⁹, *archineokoroi*⁵⁰, *neopoioi*⁵¹, priests (Zeus⁵², Zeus Anadotes⁵³, Artemis⁵⁴, Dionysos⁵⁵, Theos Hypsistos⁵⁶, Theoi boulai – Zeus, Athena, Hestia –⁵⁷, unknown deity⁵⁸) and archpriests of the city⁵⁹, prophets⁶⁰, and flute-players at libations (*spondaulai*)⁶¹.

Generally speaking, the most prominent deity in the cultic landscape of Phrygia Epiktetos, the god who made his presence felt most potently everywhere, is Zeus, with, currently, about thirty distinct local manifestations/cult places attested by toponymic epithets and other forms of theonyms preserved in inscriptions and on coins. Most of these epithets are known from dedications originally erected in numerous rural sanctuaries scattered throughout the region. These inscriptions were set up by people of modest culture and modest means, as sincere supplications and offerings for the well-being of their families, their cattle and their fellow-villagers. Thanks to the toponymic adjectives appended to the theonyms, we learn of the existence of these communities themselves. At times, we are able to discern more, for example, that Zeus known as Zeus Dagoustes was actually Zeus Bronton Dagoustes⁶², that Zeus Biaderianos, protector of the community of Biaderianoi, was also honored as *Patrikos* and *Sygenikos*⁶³, that

41 MAMA X 307 (or Kotiaion).

42 SEG 56, 1430; MAMA X 527 and appendix I: Cadi 3 from near Aizanoi.

43 MAMA IX 65.

44 Dedication by Ulpius Eurykles, member of the Panhellenion for Aizanoi from 153 to 175 AD (SEG 42, 1191).

45 MAMA IX 57–58 (depicted as a radiate god).

46 SEG 40, 1188: Αύρ. Ἀσκληπιάδ[ης] ἐλεηθείς ἀπ' ὅλλων τῶν παθημάτ[ων] εὐξάμενος Θεῷ ‘Υ[ψ]ίστῳ μετὰ τῶν ιδίων; Körte 1902, 27 no. 46 (Kırgıl 30 km NW of Aizanoi); MAMA IX 59; MAMA X 261; SEG 40, 1196 (Kirgil), 1227 (Tavşanlı), 1235 (Aslanapa, perhaps from the same sanctuary as the preceding one).

47 MAMA IX 131.

48 IGR IV 557, 584; SEG 34, 1286; 52, 1254; 56, 1436.

49 Neokoroi of Zeus: SEG 45, 1713, 1718–1719; MAMA IX 33–34, 88; 416: ten times neokoros of Zeus.

50 SEG 26, 1352; 45, 1719 (53/4 AD); MAMA IX 10.

51 SEG 45, 1719 (53/4 AD): life-long *neopoios* of Zeus Anadotes.

52 MAMA IX 19, 35: Menophilos son of Nikostratos, also honoured in SEG 45, 1714 as *philopatris*, *ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς δεκάκις* (last quarter of 2nd c. AD); IGR IV 579; SEG 35, 1365, *ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου*, also *agonothetes* of the first games *Deia*.

53 SEG 45, 1719 (53/4 AD): priest for the second time.

54 SEG 45, 1708, life-long; the same person ibid. 1710.

55 SEG 35, 1365: Eurykles, *ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου*; 42, 1188; MAMA IX 34: life-long priest.

56 SEG 40, 1235.

57 MAMA IX 38.

58 MAMA IX 44: *διὰ βίου*; ibid. 179.

59 IGR IV 577: three times; MAMA IX 17.

60 MAMA IX 60: of Apollo Xyreos.

61 MAMA IX 188.

62 SEG 44, 1069. Cf. ἡ Δαγουτηνῶν χώρα in the region of Hadrianoi (I.Hadrianoi 33, 50) and MAMA V pp. 162–163.

63 SEG 44, 1070.

another Zeus, addressed as Limnenos/Limnaios, was also *Patroos* for some of his devotees⁶⁴, or that a particular Zeus known as Zeus Kersoullos was originally installed in a local sanctuary as Zeus Olympios established on the Mysian, not the Thessalian Olympos: this deity was first worshipped in the village of Kersoullos/on in the territory of Hadrianoi⁶⁵. One inscription shows that a specific manifestation of Zeus Bennios was regarded as closely tied to his homeland by a devotee who made a dedication to ‘Zeus Bennios of his homeland Agrosta and Zbourea’: Διὶ Βεννίῳ τῆς ἔαυτοῦ πατρίδος Ἀγροστεών καὶ Ζβουρηάς⁶⁶. Other geographical epithets of Zeus found in inscriptions and on coins of Phrygia Epiktetos are Abozenos⁶⁷, Akreinenos⁶⁸, Ila-renos⁶⁹, Karnandenos⁷⁰, Kikidiassenos⁷¹, Korenos⁷², Laginos/ek Laginou⁷³, Melenos⁷⁴, Moraldo⁷⁵, Narenos⁷⁶, Oloimetes/Olemeanos⁷⁷, Olympios⁷⁸, Orochoreites⁷⁹, Ouebros/Ouebrenos (established

64 SEG 56, 1574.

65 SEG 56, 1436.

66 SEG 40, 1232. On Zeus Bennios, cf. Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 1952–1991.

67 For Zeus Abozenos cf. MAMA V 216 (Nakoleia); MAMA IX 54 and SEG 40, 1226 (both from Tavşanlı in the valley of the middle Rhyndakos, 45 km W of Kotiaion); 43, 936 (Aslanlı Köy between Amorion and Nakoleia); 44, 1038 (area of Dorylaion); 57, 1320 (unknown, Afyon museum); Frei 1989, 197: unpublished attestation from Aşağı İlica; Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 2022–2026.

68 SEG 44, 1039–1040; Anderson 1899, 72 no. 22, area of Mihalıççık.

69 SEG 44, 1050.

70 SEG 44, 1056.

71 SEG 42, 1196.

72 SEG 44, 1056.

73 SEG 44, 1052; 56 1669.

74 SEG 28, 1194; 42, 1198–1199. There is one more unpublished dedication to this deity in the Eskişehir Museum.

75 MAMA V 119, Karapazar NW of Nakoleia; SEG 32, 1272.

76 Mitchell 1982, nos. 11–12 (Beylikahır, c. 60 km SE of Eskisehir), 42 (Yukarı Dudaş, 20 km SW of Mihalıççık), 52 (Güce), 67 Mihalıççık), 70 (Yarıkçı, area of Mihalıççık), 86 (Güreş, in the mountains NE of Mihalıççık); also in Dacia (Ruscu 2003, nos. 3–4). For the toponym, see Zgusta 1984, § 885–1.

77 SEG 44, 1053, Kadikuyu SE of Nakoleia?: Zeus Olemeanos (unpublished): statuette of a seated Zeus with eagle at his feet, broken above waist, with inscription on the base: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ · Αὔρ(ήλιος) Τερπιανὸς β' Διὶ Ολεμε|ανῷ εύχήν.

78 SEG 32, 1284, from a sanctuary (?) near Aslanapa, 25 km E of Aizanoi, with reliefs showing Zeus and Hera?, Meter Theon, Meis, Helios; there are two more similarly-looking altars (*ibid.* 1285–1286) from the same sanctuary but with only partially preserved inscriptions; one is dated to 236/7 AD). This cult is distinct from Zeus Olympios Kersoullos.

79 SEG 32, 1271: ιερεῖς κὲ ιέρειαι Ὀροχωρέιτον followed by a female and two male names (from Kızılcaören 25 km NE of Dorylaion); 33, 1157: museum of Kütahya, unknown provenance. Otherwise, the monuments of this cult were discovered around Altıntaş (SEG 40, 1234) and in the region of Emirdağ (site Yanal mevkii in the territory of Kurudere = anc. Appolenoi, where he was worshipped together with Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petarenos, for which see Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 1931–1933; Drew Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturhan 1999, nos. 6, 494, 527, 531, 607).

in the village of Ouebrokome⁸⁰), Petaraios/Petarenos⁸¹, Pyrgenos⁸², Semantikos⁸³, Sarnendos/Sarnendenos⁸⁴, Syreanos⁸⁵, and Tattenos⁸⁶. In a category by itself is the cult of Zeus Perses/Person encountered in two inscriptions from the region of Nakoleia⁸⁷, both possibly originating from the same sanctuary: in the first inscription, Zeus Person is addressed together with (Zeus) Βροντῶν κε Ἀστράπτων, and in the second with another ‘foreigner’ – Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος. In some cases it is uncertain whether we are dealing with a topographic or a functional epithet, for example, in the case of Zeus ex Aules⁸⁸, where Aule can be a place-name⁸⁹ comparable to the Lydian toponym Νεαύλη attested in Hierokles⁹⁰ and in a geographic epithet for a Zeus Sabazios from the region of Philadelphiea⁹¹, or a common noun meaning ‘court(yard), colonnade, hall, atrium of the sanctuary, chapel, cave; enclosure/pen/stable/farmstead⁹².

⁸⁰ SEG 56, 1667–1668; the complete ethnic of the village in 1516 (Οὐεβροκωμήτης) and Ramsay 1884, 260 no. 12 (Οὐεβροκωμήτισσα).

⁸¹ Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldızтурان 1999, 352 no. 571: Zeus Petaraios, copied at Bağlıca, region of Emirdağ, c. 45 km SE of Nakoleia, the god’s main sanctuary being probably at Yanal mevkii in the territory of Kurudere, c. 32 km S of Bağlıca; SEG 57, 1315 from Beşkonak Köyü (Çatımapınar Köyü) near Çifteler/Eskişehir, c. 12 km NW of Bağlıca. Cf. Zgusta 1984, § 1051.

⁸² SEG 51, 1781, Bozüyük c. 45 km NW of Eskişehir. The first editor of this inscription, P. Frei, failed to notice that from the same place comes an inscription published in Körte 1899, 2, that starts with the words ἐνθα με τῆς πατρίδος Πύργου] ‘Ροῦφον Τροφίμοι θητεύοντ’ ἐν Λαμουνή ή Μοῖρ’ ἔκιχανεν. Rufus’ native town Pyrgos probably lay not too far from Bozüyük.

⁸³ Armanet 1904, 194 no. 9 (Dorylaion); Mirbeau 1906, 357 no. 1 (Dorylaion); Haspels 1971, 337 no. 104 (Akoluk, Kütahya).

⁸⁴ Regions of Mihalıççık and Nallıhan (Juliopolis) across the mountain: Mitchell 1982, no. 76 (iki killesse, today İkizler in the mountains south of the Tembris river ([]ΞΑΝΩΑΙ[][..]CMOC Δεὶ Σαρνενδηνοῦ εύχην); SEG 50, 1223, Emremsultan, 13 km S of Nallıhan on the north side of the river: to be read ‘Αθήνιππος κ[ε] ή γυ]νὴ Ἀφία Διὶ Σαρν[εν]ῷ δηνῷ εύχήν (ed. pr. Αθήνιππος κ[ε]..]νηφαρα Διὶ Σαρν[εν]ῷ δηνῷ εύχήν); ibid. 1224 (from the same place). From Hıdırlar 2 km E of Emremsultan comes the following inscription, possibly also dedicated to Zeus Sarnendenos (ibid. 1222): A: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ | Θεῷ ἀρίστῳ μεγίστῳ ἐπη[κό]ω σωτῆρι ἐαντοῦ κ[ε]ιαὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν [βο]ῶν Κάττιος Τέργος | εύχήν. B: Σοὶ μακάρων κύδιστε γέρας τόδε | Τέργος ἔθηκεν εὔτυκτον Μο[ν]ού|σῶν γράμμασι γραψάμενος σάς χάριτας, μεγ’ ἄριστε, φιλίκος, || κοίρανε κόσμον, σοὶ δ’ αὐτός τε μέλοι τέκνα τε καὶ κτέ]ανα). We also have an attestation of the cult of Ζεὺς Σαρνενδῆς (SEG 44, 1056, area of Ağaçhisar Köyü, c. 30 km NW of Mihalıççık), identical with Ζεὺς Σαρνενδῆς. The cult of Zeus Sarnendenos has left traces in the territory of Nikαι (Iznik 2.1, 1128) and in Dacia (Ruscu 2003, 5, from Alburnus Maior, set up by a κολλήγειον; ibid. 16, from Apulum: Ζεῦ Σαρδενδηνῷ ‘Ροῦφος Ἄντιπάτρου ἀνέθ(ηκε)).

⁸⁵ Haspels 1971, 340 no. 109 (Söğüt Yaylası): *Eiokometai* and a priest make a dedication to Zeus Syreanos; SEG 26, 1380: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ: Ειοκωμῆται Διὶ Συρεανῷ εύχήν.

⁸⁶ Frei 1989, 197: Taşlık 12 km NW of Seyitgazi; cf. Zgusta 1984, § 1305–5: τῆς κώμης [Τα]του in Altıntaş, dedication to Meter Kiklea.

⁸⁷ SEG 28, 1186 (Değişören); Frei 1989, 197 (unpublished inscription from the site Kandamış Örenler near Kuyucak c. 11 km SW of Değişören). Θοοὶ Ἑλλή[ι]νων καὶ Περσῶν are invoked in a funerary imprecation from Acipayam in the plain of Karahüyük south of Denizli (SEG 28, 1079). It is not certain that Zeus Perses is addressed in an inscription allegedly from Kula in Lydian Katakekaumene, together with Zeus Teimaios (TAM V 1, 267).

⁸⁸ SEG 16, 753.

⁸⁹ This was the opinion of Robert 1955, 37, note 2.

⁹⁰ Hierokles 660, 7: the city was later renamed Theodosiopolis and its precise location is unknown; cf. the ethnic *Neaulitai* in SEG 55, 1440, Keretapa Pisidia, c. 150–1 BC.

⁹¹ Zeus *Saouazios Neaulites* (TAM V 3, 1540).

⁹² Cf. Zeus Enaulios in Byzantium (SEG 50, 664).

The functional epithets appended to the name of Zeus paint an image of the supreme deity in his local manifestations that presents no surprise: they define him as a rural protector and provider of crops and cattle par excellence⁹³: he is Ampelites/Ampelikos ('of the vine')⁹⁴, Anadotes ('causing the plants to sprout')⁹⁵, Bronton ('Thunderer')⁹⁶, Telesphoros ('bringing fruit to perfection')⁹⁷, Thallos ('of the young shoots')⁹⁸, and Tetrao[raios] ('of the four seasons'?)⁹⁹. An unpublished altar from the Eskişehir Museum contains a new epithet of Zeus – *Hekatostites* ('who makes crops bear a hundredfold'): Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Χρυσάνθης, Αὔρ. Ζώσιμος Ἀντώ(νιος/νίου) υἱῷ Κλαυδίᾳ Αὔρ. Ζωσίμῳ β', Διεὶ Ἐκατοστήτῃ εὐχήν. This is the latest addition to a long series of dedications followed by epitaphs (or vice-versa), common in this part of Phrygia. New and *hapax legomenon* is the god's epithet derived from the rare verb ἐκατοστεύω 'bear a hundredfold', known from the Septuaginta (Gen. 26.12: Ἔσπειρεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εῦρεν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐκατοστεύουσαν κριθήν) ¹⁰⁰ and some Christian texts.

As *Bennios*, Zeus is the patron of associations of his worshippers: the Graeco-Phrygian word τὸ βέννος (**bend-nos*) has the meaning 'association', especially in the sense of a local cult association¹⁰¹. Zeus is also *Alsenos* ('of the sacred grove')¹⁰², *Aristos* ('the best')¹⁰³, *Basilikos* ('kingly')¹⁰⁴, *Dios* and *Ouranios* ('heavenly')¹⁰⁵, *Epekoos/Philekoos* ('the one who listens/attentive')¹⁰⁶, *Epimartyros*¹⁰⁷ ('witness to one's word', the epithet used for Zeus already in the Iliad 7, 76), *Euchodotes* ('gran-

93 This is quite clear from the verses dedicated to Zeus by a devotee from the vicinity of Dorylaion (Körte 1900, 421 no. 33): [βρέχε γαῖ]φαν, καρπῷ [ὅπ]ως βρί[θη καὶ ἐν]ὶ σταχύεσσι τεθήλῃ. τ[αῦτ]ά [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἔγω λίτομαι, Κρονίδα Ζεῦ, ἀμφὶ τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρατα θύματα ῥέζων.

94 The sanctuary of Zeus Ampeleites is located at Erikli Mevkii near the village of Akça Köy in the territory of Appia (SEG 55, 1419; 57, 1311; Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturhan 1999, nos. 391, 422, 424, 426, 444, 447, 457, 462, 463, 508, 511, 515, 579, 580–582, 588, 591, 593, 598, 605, 606).

95 SEG 45, 1719.

96 Associated with thunder, lightning, storms, oak trees, strength, the protection of humankind, and also hallowing, healing and fertility.

97 MAMA V p. 188 no. 1.

98 Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturhan 1999, nos. 390?, 392, 423?, 427, 429, 442?, 446, 464, 509, 510, 563, 566, 567, 596, 597, 599–603, [604].

99 Körte 1897 a, 408 no. 51.

100 Cf. also ἐπ' ἐκατοστὰ ἐκρέπειν 'to bear a hundredfold', Her. 4.198.

101 The word is attested in the cults of Meis (MAMA V 200: Κωμηγοὶ (?) Μηνὶ [ε]ὺχὴν [καὶ] βεγγέ[ι] (?)), Zeus Bronton (ibid. 176; SEG 40, 1221: τὸ βέννος Διός Βροντῶντος), and Zeus Kalokagathios (SEG 6, 550, Antiocheia ad Pisidiā: ἐκ τόκου γείνεσθαι βέννος Δεὶ Καλακαγαθίῳ ὑπέρ καρπῶν). Cf. οἱ βεννεῖται in SEG 40, 1189 from the area of Aizanoi (Διὶ καὶ τοῖς βεννεῖταις): an association of worshippers of Ζεὺς Βέννιος. See Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 1952–1991.

102 SEG 28, 1185, Nakoleia. Cf. Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 1915–1931 for the known sanctuaries of Zeus Alsenos: 1. SW of Amorion/Hisar köy, in modern Kurudere; 2. Nakoleia; 3. Akmoneia (Kaylı E of Ahat köy: SEG 40, 1192); 3. Dokimeion, Çatağıl; also SEG 53, 1472 (unknown); 55, 1422; 57 1314. In favour of Alsos being a toponym, cf. the dedication Δεὶ Ἀλσηνῶν in Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturhan 1999, no. 501.

103 SEG 50, 1222.

104 SEG 6, 79. See the epithet Βασίλ(ε)ια for the Mother of gods (SEG 47, 1809, Kibyra) and Βασιλεύς of Meis in SEG 47, 1819 B l. 2 (Olbas).

105 Körte 1897a, 409 no. 55; MAMA V 132–133 (Avdan), R 7 (Kuyucak, with Apollo); SEG 28, 1174; 56 1675.

106 Körte 1900, 417 no. 28 (Inönü, Zeus Bronton); SEG 50, 1222, Juliopolis.

107 SEG 14, 787, Sarayıren, c. 25 km SE of Eskişehir.

tor of wishes')¹⁰⁸, *Euphranor* ('the one who cheers/gladdens')¹⁰⁹, *Eutyches* ('bringing blessings')¹¹⁰, *Hippikos* ('of horses')¹¹¹, *Koiranos kosmou* ('king of the world')¹¹², *Ktesios* ('protector of house and property')¹¹³, *Makaron kydistos* ('noblest of immortals')¹¹⁴, *Makaron hypatos* ('highest of immortals')¹¹⁵, *Megas/Megistos* ('great/the greatest')¹¹⁶, *Patrikos/Patroos* ('hereditary/tutelary')¹¹⁷, *Rhymios* ('of the street?')¹¹⁸, *Soter* ('saviour')¹¹⁹, *Syngenikos* ('of kinsmen')¹²⁰, *Thymelikos* ('of the altar')¹²¹, and *Chryseos* ('golden')¹²².

A special case is that of Zeus *Prokentes* worshipped together with Zeus Biaderianos and Ζεὺς ἔξ Ἀριστονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου in a sanctuary located at modern Keskin, some 15 km NW of Dorylaion¹²³. Searching for parallels for this epithet, one encounters Apollo Προκέντης in an inscription from northern Mysia (Karacabey on the W shore of L. Apolloniatis, mod. Uluabat Gölü)¹²⁴ addressed Ἀπόλλωνι Προκέντη καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι. Προκέντης would mean 'one who traces out, designs, patterns beforehand', a fitting epithet for an oracle-issuing deity¹²⁵. Another case is Zeus Saouazios¹²⁶/Saouadios¹²⁷ better known as Sabazios, who was worshipped together with Zeus Bronton in an unlocated sanctuary, and by himself in the area of Avdan SW of Dorylaion.

Characteristic for this part of Phrygia are the cult centres whose founders' names, if not their precise identities, are preserved to this day as a part of the 'official' name of the deity established at their costs¹²⁸. We currently know of the following seven local sanctuaries founded

108 SEG 28, 1175, Nakoleia: Θυμελικῷ Εὔχοδότῃ Διὶ κὲ Ἀπόλλωνι εύχήν.

109 SEG 14, 778.

110 SEG 44, 1049.

111 Unpublished (Frei 1992, 142). Cf. Zeus Hippikos in Robert 1955, 20.

112 SEG 50, 1222.

113 MAMA V 175.

114 SEG 50, 1222.

115 SEG 51, 1769.

116 Rédaction 1921, 558 no. 2 (Alpanos, Zeus Bronton Megas); SEG 50, 1222; 56, 1434.

117 'Funde 1897 b', 480; SEG 44, 1070 (Zeus Biaderianos); 56, 1574 (Zeus Limnenos).

118 Ramsay 1887, 502 no. LXXIII: Κορνήλιος Ἀντώνιος Διὶ Ρυμίῳ εύχήν, from Seyitgazi (= MAMA V 187 no. 8). According to Ramsay, the editors of MAMA V, xxxi and Zgusta 1984, § 1135, the epithet is derived from the place-name Rhyma/Rhymoi, less likely from the common word ρύμη 'street'. Cf. Apollo Agyieus, 'guardian of the streets and highways'.

119 SEG 40, 1202 (Eydemir, territory of Appia, sanctuary of Zeus Bennios); 50, 1222; MAMA V 151 (Zeus Bronton); ibid. App. R 19 (Papas Zeus Soter, Nakoleia); MAMA IX 56; Robert 1955, 96–104 (Çaltı NW of Dorylaion).

120 SEG 44, 1070 (Zeus Biaderianos).

121 SEG 28, 1175, Nakoleia: Θυμελικῷ Εὔχοδότῃ Διὶ κὲ Ἀπόλλωνι εύχήν.

122 Dain 1933, no. 67; Robert 1955, 104–107.

123 Frei 1989, 197.

124 Hasluck 1903, 87.

125 Cf. also SEG 35, 1496, from Niha in Syria, where a model of the adyton of a temple is referred to as προκέντημα ἀδύ[του]. Drew-Bear 2000, 970 includes Προκέντης under the 'Unlocated Toponyms'.

126 SEG 56, 1437, Aizanoi.

127 SEG 38, 1307–1308 (from the area of Avdan), perhaps both from the same sanctuary.

128 Cf. Vermaseren 1977, 42 no. 122 (Kadoi): Διὶ καὶ Μῆτρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δημητρίου Αἰζανείτης ιερεὺς κτίστης ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέθηκεν. The goddess of this sanctuary might have been locally known as Μήτηρ Θεῶν Στευνηνὴ Ἀρτεμιδώρου.

by private individuals-devotees/priests of Zeus: of Zeus Andreas¹²⁹, Zeus Antigonaios¹³⁰, Zeus Asklepiades¹³¹, Zeus Aphphaiados¹³², Zeus Brogimarou¹³³, Zeus ἐξ Ἀριστονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου¹³⁴, Zeus Megas Menophilou¹³⁵, and Zeus Poteos¹³⁶. P. Frei, who first saw the finds at Keskin and four inscriptions found there (three dedications and an epitaph), subsequently published one of the dedications with the following text¹³⁷: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Αὔρ(ήλιος) Ἀριστόνικος στρατιώτης πραιτωριανὸς Διὶ Πατρικῷ κὲ Συνγενικῷ Βιαδηριανῷ ὑπὲρ ὑγίας κὲ σωτηρίας μετὰ τῶν ιδίων εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστησεν τὸν βωμὸν. The still unpublished sacred law regulating the cult of Zeus ἐξ Ἀριστονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου, in view of the just adduced inscription, doubtlessly concerns the family cult of Aurelios Aristonikos, namely, the local cult of Zeus Biaderianos (re)founded by the praetorian veteran¹³⁸ who returned to his place of origin and probably served as the priest of the cult he (re)founded. At the occasion of the (re)foundation, the cult regulations were published and made available to all its devotees.

Finally, ‘imported’ manifestations of Zeus are Zeus Dagoustes¹³⁹ and Zeus Olympios Ker-soullos¹⁴⁰, both from Hadrianoi, Zeus Kapetolios¹⁴¹ (once worshipped together with Zeus Per-ses¹⁴²) from Rome, and Zeus Perses/Person (Ahura Mazda)¹⁴³.

129 SEG 26, 1637–1638 (Akçaköy, some 7 km W of Altintas); 33, 1153 (unknown provenance, dedication to Ἀνδρέᾳ without Διὶ).

130 SEG 51, 1806–1807: five marble relief busts, found at Çukurören east of Gediz, now in the Kütahya Museum, two of them with inscriptions; in addition, there is a similar bust (head missing) of unknown provenance in the same museum, which might also come from Çukurören (SEG 52, 1349). The six dedications to the same deity published by Malay 1994, 52–54 nos. 69–74 (Zeus Antigon(e)ios and Antigonaos), supposedly come from Imrenler south of Demirci and west of Gediz.

131 SEG 51, 1787: Διὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ (Çalköy S of Altıntaş). The monument is in the form of the god’s bust.

132 SEG 44, 1041 (interesting combination of reliefs: bust of a bearded male (Zeus ?), his right hand protruding from the garment; on the lower moulding reliefs of a comb, a wool-basket, a spindle and a mirror): [Μ]ᾶξιμος Παπᾶ [σ]ὺν τέκνοις Διὶ Ἀφφιάδος εὐχήν.

133 Avram 2015: A: Βρογιμαρος Ἐπικράτου Διὶ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρίᾳ εὐχήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔαντῳ μνημόσυνον. After these introductory lines, follow eight lines of imprecation in Phrygian. In one of the other inscriptions on the same altar (D) Brogimaros identifies himself as μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρητήρ.

134 Cf. Frei 1989, 196–197: ‘Wertvoll ist vor allem die Kultregelung von Karaağa bei Keskin. Auf einer 1,5 m hohen Stele wird der Kult eines Zeus ex Aristonikou kai Stratiotou (wahrscheinlich eines Mannes namens Aurelios Aristonikos mit dem Signumnamen Stratiates) konstituiert’.

135 SEG 56, 1434.

136 SEG 41, 1071, Yenikoy/Kadoi, c. 12 km SW of Gediz. Cf. Ζεὺς Ποτηος on a coin from Dionysopolis (von Aulock 1987, 55 nos. 55–57) and Διὶ Ποτει in a dedication from Burdur (Ramsay 1895, 337 no. 178: Μεννέας Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἱερεὺς Διὶ Ποτει τὸν [β]ωμὸν ἀνέστησεν), and another from the same general region (SEG 60, 1513: ὅστις τῷδει τάφῳ βλαβεράν χεῖραν ποσίσει Δεὶ Ποτει καιχαρισμένος ἦτω).

137 Frei 1993, 124–126, 128 (= SEG 44, 1070).

138 Cf. SEG 60, 1356: a στρατιώτης πραιτωριανός who lived 90 years.

139 See note 62 above.

140 See note 19 above.

141 SEG 44, 1051.

142 See note 87 above.

143 See note 87 above.

The only other deity comparable to Zeus by the number of her local cult-epithets is the Mother Goddess/Meter, addressed in inscriptions as (Meter Thea/Theon) Agdistis¹⁴⁴, Thea Meter¹⁴⁵, Meter Thea¹⁴⁶, Meter Kybele¹⁴⁷, and Meter Theon¹⁴⁸. Currently attested local cult places of Meter number around twenty: Meter Akr(l)eane¹⁴⁹, Meter (apo) Kranos megalou (?)/Kranomegale¹⁵⁰, Meter apo Speleou ('Mother from the cave', whose cave was located by P. Frei in Ahilar NE of Dorylaion, together with, in and outside it, numerous sherds and horns of terracotta bulls' heads)¹⁵¹, Meter Beddyton¹⁵², Angdisse Bonokiatis¹⁵³, Meter Eissindene¹⁵⁴, Meter Es[--]¹⁵⁵, Meter Gonane¹⁵⁶, Meter Kallippou¹⁵⁷, Meter Kiklea¹⁵⁸, Meter Kouaene¹⁵⁹, Meter Malene¹⁶⁰, Meter

¹⁴⁴ SEG 36, 1201; MAMA VI 390–399, Midas Kale/Metropolis; Mater is present in Phrygian texts as well: Haspels 1971, 290 no. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Reinach 1886, 157 (Kadoi).

¹⁴⁶ SEG 56, 1430; MAMA X 527 and Appendix I: Cadi 3.

¹⁴⁷ MAMA V 213, Nakoleia.

¹⁴⁸ SEG 38, 1310; 44, 1067; 51, 1763; 56, 1429; MAMA IX 65; Haspels 1971, nos. 98–99, 102, 110, 115–116, 119–122.

¹⁴⁹ MAMA V 7: Ἀκλεανοὶ Μη[τρ]ὶ Ἀκρεανῇ εὐχήν. Zgusta 1984, § 36-1.

¹⁵⁰ Vermaseren 1977, 18 no. 40; 66 no. 199; Körte 1897 a, 405 no. 47 (Μητρὶ Κρανος Μεγάλου); 'Funde 1897 a', 352–353 no. 2; CIG 4121 (E of Midaion); MAMA V 8–9; SEG 28, 1184, Ayvalı but possibly from Dorylaion; also SEG 58, 1506–1507 from Doğlat köyü N of Dokimeion.

¹⁵¹ Frei 1983, 58–59: "Besondere Erwähnung verdient ein Höhlenheiligtum, das wir in Ahilar am Südabhang des Bozdağı, nordöstlich von Eskisehir feststellen konnten. Über einem Kocapinarerde genannten Tal in der Nähe des kleinen Dorfes öffnet sich eine Höhle, die von den Bauern benutzt wird, um Humus zu gewinnen. Sie geht tief in den Berg, wurde offenbar auch schon künstlich erweitert. Das Begehen ist nicht überall ganz risikolos, und wir haben auf eine eigentliche Durchforschung verzichtet, da wir nicht über eine entsprechende Ausrüstung verfügten. In einer Kammer befinden sich, allerdings durch die Bauern stark gestört, grosse Mengen von Scherben, von denen wir Proben in das Museum von Eskisehir brachten. Scherben werden auch am Abhang vor der Höhle durch den Regen herausgeschwemmt, und zusammen mit den Scherben liegen dort ca. 3 cm lange Hörner aus Terracotta, offenbar die Reste von als Opfergaben dargebrachten kleinen Stierköpfen. Die grösste Überraschung war eine Inschrift, die ein Bauer im Tal unterhalb der Höhle gefunden hatte. Sie enthält eine Weihung an die Meter apo Speleou, die 'Mutter von der Höhle' (SEG 34, 1293). Die Kombination von Mutter- und Stierkult ist jedenfalls bemerkenswert und würde eine Untersuchung des Ortes von archäologischer Seite lohnen." SEG 15, 816.

¹⁵² SEG 44, 1062.

¹⁵³ SEG 36, 1201, unknown provenance; cf. ματερ ατατας βονοκαυα in Haspels 1971, 290 no. 4; ματεραν αρεζαστιν βονοκ, ibid. 292 no. 11.

¹⁵⁴ SEG 44, 1064–1066 .

¹⁵⁵ SEG 56, 1431, Aydıncık NW of Aizanoi.

¹⁵⁶ MAMA IX 67.

¹⁵⁷ Haspels 1971, 348 no. 130; SEG 28, 1183.

¹⁵⁸ MAMA X 226 (Appia); Ramsay 1905, 427 no. 13, Altıntaş; cf. Zgusta 1984, § 507.

¹⁵⁹ MAMA IX 66.

¹⁶⁰ SEG 15, 787 (Malos should probably be located at Gökçeyayla/formerly Kilise-Orhaniye between Eskisehir and Afyon); Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturhan 1990, 370 no. 609.

Menos¹⁶¹, Meter Nounnou¹⁶², Meter Oriene¹⁶³, Meter Plitaene¹⁶⁴, Meter Pontanene¹⁶⁵, Meter Steunene¹⁶⁶, Syrian Meter Theon/Atargatis (the specific Greek name in this case remains unknown since the inscription is unpublished)¹⁶⁷, Meter Thermene¹⁶⁸, Meter Tetraprosopos ('with four faces', represented as four female figures standing back to back around a pillar, fully dressed, wearing crowns on their heads and holding garlands)¹⁶⁹, and Meter Tieioubeudene¹⁷⁰.

Of all the other deities attested in the inscriptions from Phrygia Epiktetos, only two more, Moon-God Meis and Apollo, have topographical epithets. In the case of the Moon-God¹⁷¹ they are Akraios¹⁷², Askaenos¹⁷³, Italikos¹⁷⁴, Kolianokometes¹⁷⁵, Nan(n)os¹⁷⁶, and Touitenos¹⁷⁷. As for Apollo, only three cults are currently attested: Apollo Klarios¹⁷⁸ (in an inscription commemorating the

161 SEG 44, 1037 (Şüpü ören: dedication to Zeus, Meis and Meter Menos).

162 SEG 44, 1063 (Süleymanye köyü about 60 km SE of Eskişehir, dedication ὑπὲρ τῆς συνοδίας).

163 MAMA X 307.

164 Mitchell 1982, no. 54A (Korucu): [Διὶ Βρ]οντῶντι καὶ Μητρὶ Πλιτα[ηνῇ]; SEG 44, 1064 (Güce, less than 2 km SW of Korucu; I mistakenly read ΠΑΙ instead of ΠΛΙ in my publication of this inscription: RICL 1994, 173 no. 31).

165 Haspels 1971, 358 no. 153 (Gemiç, SW of Seyitgazi). Cf. the ethnic Pontanenos: ibid. 337 no. 105 (Akoluk, c. 19 km SW of Gemiç), and 367 no. 152 (Akin, 1.5 km SE of Gemiç).

166 Vermaseren 1977, 42 no. 122, Kadoi.

167 Frei 1989, 197: *Zum ersten Mal erscheint die Syrische Mutter der Götter in einer Weihung aus Avdan*. Elsewhere we find the forms Syria Thea/Theos, Hagne Thea Syria, (Hagne) Aphrodite Syria (Thea), Syria Parthenos, Dea Syria Magna Caelestis (Διασύρῳ θεᾶ in Macedonia, SEG 34, 684) but not Meter/Mater Syria.

168 Von Prott 1902, 271, Nakoleia, Arap Ören (= MAMA V 188 no. 4).

169 MAMA V 101 (Keskin); SEG 14, 782 (Dorylaion); Akyürek Şahin 2012, 3 no 1 (Kadıkuyusu köyü, c. 25 km NW of Emirdağ and 35 SE of Seyitgazi: Παπας Καρικοῦ θεᾶ; Akyürek Şahin published also two reliefs without inscriptions, one from Battalgazi tepezi/Seyitgazi, and the other of unknown provenance). The cult is also attested in the regions of Altıntaş (MAMA X 53), Amorion (Anderson 1899, 303 no. 237) and Afyon (Akyürek Şahin 2010, 27–32). The same epithet is given to Selene in her Orphic hymn (l. 22).

170 SEG 28, 1188 (Yazidere/Kôle deresi, the site of the sanctuary). Cf. Zgusta 1984, § 149–2: Palaiobedous near Synnada and Beudou Oikos at Yazılıkaya in the Phrygian highlands (SEG 30 1486).

171 Meis is also addressed as δίκαιος and οὐράνιος in inscriptions.

172 Drew-Bear 1978, 41 no. 5 (Kotiaion, from the acropolis).

173 Drew-Bear 1978, 30 no. 3; there is also an unpublished inscription for the same deity from Erenköy mahallesi of Eskişehir.

174 MAMA V 150, Süpren köyü. From the same sanctuary comes SEG 44, 1037 dedicated to Zeus, Meis and Mother of Meis.

175 MAMA V 209, Nakoleia; cf. SEG 28, 1200 (b): "Ορος Κολιανοκόμις.

176 SEG 44, 1061. The meaning of this epithet remains unknown.

177 MAMA V 208.

178 Merkelbach, Stauber 1996, 33, no. 19, Yalnızsaray, Upper Tembris valley: Σύμμαχος Ἀντύλ[λου] κὲ οἱ νίοι αὐτοῦ Ἀντ[ύλ]λοις κέ Ἀλέξανδρος [κέ] Σύμμαχος κατὰ χ[ρησ]μὸν Κλαρίω Ἀπόλλωνι ἀν[έσ]τησαν. Χρησμός; εἴσατέ μοι βωμὸν π[αν]θήναι τῆδ' ἐνῑ χώρῃ [ε]ἰς αὐγὰς ἀθρέοντα πολυσκόπου ἡέλιοιο· εὐαγίας δ' ἐπὶ τοῦδε τε[λ]είετε μηνὸς ἔκαστου, δφρα κεν ἀλκήτωρ τε[λέ]θων τὰ συν[ώρ]ια τεύχω. [Τῶν] καρπῶν γὰρ ἐγώ πέλοι[μ]αι [μ]ερόπεσσι παρέκτω[ρ], [οὖς] ἐθέλω ΣΩΗΣ τε κὲ [οῖς] κλέος οῖδα φορέσκειν.

erection of a private altar for monthly ceremonies according to divine order-prophecy), Lykiōs¹⁷⁹, and Xyreos¹⁸⁰.

Local deities of Phrygia Epiktetos are obviously its river-gods: Hermos¹⁸¹, (Poseidon¹⁸²) Sangarios¹⁸³, and Tembris, the last one addressed simply as Potamos in the dedications from a sanctuary on the south bank of the river in the region of Beylikova SE of Eskişehir¹⁸⁴.

Pap(i)as is another local deity encountered almost exclusively in and around Nakoleia (possibly two separate sanctuaries), and Kotiaion, and worshipped together with Zeus Soter and Herakles Aniketos¹⁸⁵. He is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (III 58, 4) as identical to Attis: τὴν οὖν Κυβέλην εἰς ἀκμὴν ἡλικίας ἐλθοῦσαν ἀγαπῆσαι τῶν ἔγχωρίων τινὰ νεανίσκον τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἀττιν, ὑστερὸν δ' ἐπικληθέντα Παπαν: συνελθοῦσαν δ' εἰς ὄμιλίαν αὐτῷ λάθρᾳ καὶ γενομένην ἔγκυον ἐπιγνωσθῆναι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων. According to Arrian¹⁸⁶, the Bithynians would climb the hilltops and invoke Zeus and Attis as Papas: ἀνιόντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὁρῶν Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Παπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἀττιν τὸν αὐτόν. The early-third century Christian theologian Hippolytus in his Ἐλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων¹⁸⁷ quotes a hymn to Attis where Attis is again addressed as Papas. The known dedications do not support this identification of either Zeus or Attis with Papas.

179 MAMA V 87, Ilkburun NW of Dorylaion, with a relief of two volwes below the dedication, and an anepigraphic votive relief in the Eskişehir Museum showing the god accompanied by two volwes.

180 MAMA IX 60, with a mention of a prophet. The cult is attested in Hadrianoi (I.Hadrianoi 19: θεὸς Ξυρεος, and 20: θεὸς Ξυρας), and the find-spot of the monuments lies close to the border between Aizanitis and Hadrianoi.

181 SEG 6, 80 (seen at Dorylaion), and coins of Kadioi.

182 Preger 1894, 313 no. 16; cf. Poseidonos phyle in MAMA V 182 no. 46, both from Dorylaion. On the coins of Dorylaion, Poseidon is shown with trident and dolphin, holding a foot on the river Tembris' head.

183 SEG 32, 1273, Ayvacık, NW of Seyitgazi; 1274, Topalyayla S of Kayakent/Holanta, Sivrihisar: dedication to Sangarios Basileus.

184 Mitchell 1982, nos. 1–10. Tembris also appears on the coins of Dorylaion, and Penkalas on those of Aizanitis.

185 Nakoleia: six small stelai recovered from the same site near Seyitgazi (MAMA V 213bis; ibid. App. 153–154 nos. 16–19; Ramsay 1884, 260 no. 12); CIG 3817 (between Dorylaion and Nakoleia); MAMA V 182 (Kuyucak); SEG 40, 1216, Karapelit, 33 km NW of Kotiaion; Körte 1897 b, 32 no. 8 (Bayat, territory of Amorion); MAMA VII 303 (Orkistos); TAM V 2, 1321 (Hyrkanis/Lasnedda, Hellenistic); SEG 49, 1555 (seven small inscribed stelai from Dağdere in the mountainous district between Thyateira, Attaleia and Gordos). Cf. Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 2018–2022.

186 Bithyniaca ap. Eusth. Il. 5, 408, p. 429.

187 Adversus omnium haeresium 5.9.8: Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ, εἴτε 'Ρέας μέγα χαῖρε <θεός>, τὸ κατηφές ἄκουσμα 'Ρέας Ἀττι· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι Ἀδωνιν, ὅλη δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὁσιριν, ἐπουράνιον Μηνὸς κέρας Ἑλληνὶς σοφία, Σαμόθρακες Ἀδαμνα σεβάσμιον, Αίμονιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Παπαν, ποτὲ δὲ <αὖ> νέκυν ἥ θεὸν ἥ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἥ αἴπολον ἥ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντ' ἥ <τ>-ὸν πολύκαρπον ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν.

EPITHETS OF ZEUS IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Ἀβοζηνός | 39. Μακάρων κύδιστος |
| 2. Αἰζανῶν (Ἐζεανίτης) | 40. Μακάρων ὑπατος |
| 3. Ἀκρεινηνός | 41. Μέγ' ἄριστος |
| 4. Ἀλσηνός | 42. Μέγας |
| 5. Ἀμπελείτης (Ἀμπελικός) | 43. Μέγας Μηνοφίλου |
| 6. Ἀναδότης | 44. Μέγιστος |
| 7. Ἀνδρέας | 45. Μεληνός |
| 8. Ἀντιγόνα(ι)ος (Ἀντιγούναος) | 46. Μοραλδός |
| 9. Ἀριστος | 47. Ναρηνός |
| 10. Ἀσκληπιάδης (?) | 48. Ὄλοιμέτης/Ὀλεμεανός |
| 11. Ἀφφιάδος | 49. Ὄλύμπιος |
| 12. Βασιλικός | 50. Ὄλύμπιος Κερσουλλος |
| 13. Βέννιος | 51. Ὁροχωρείτης |
| 14. Βιαδηριανός/Πατρικὸς κὲ Συνγενικός (same
as Ζεὺς ἐκ Στρατονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου?) | 52. Οὐεβρος/Οὐεβρηνός |
| 15. Βρογιμαρου | 53. Ούρανιος |
| 16. Βροντῶν (καὶ Ἀστράπτων) | 54. Πατρικός/Πατρῷος |
| 17. Δαγουστης | 55. Περσῶν/Πέρσης |
| 18. Δῖος | 56. Πεταρηνός |
| 19. Ἐκ Στρατονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου | 57. Ποτεως |
| 20. Ἐξ Αὐλῆς | 58. Προκέντης |
| 21. Ἐκατοστίτης | 59. Πυργηνός |
| 22. Ἐπήκοος | 60. Ῥύμιος |
| 23. Ἐπιμάρτυρος | 61. Σαρνενδός/Σαρνενδηνός (Θεὸς ἄριστος,
μέγιστος/μέγ' ἄριστος, ἐπήκοος/φιλήκοος,
σωτήρ, μακάρων κύδιστος, κοίρανος
κόσμου) |
| 24. Εύτυχής | 62. Σαουάδιος |
| 25. Εύφρανωρ | 63. Σημαντικός |
| 26. Εύχοδότης | 64. Συνγενικός |
| 27. Θαλλός | 65. Συρεανός |
| 28. Θυμελικός | 66. Σωτήρ |
| 29. Ιλαρηνός | 67. Ταττηνός |
| 30. Ἰππικός | 68. Τελέσφορος |
| 31. Καπετώλιος | 69. Τετραω[ραῖος (?)] |
| 32. Καρνανδηνός | 70. Φιλήκοος |
| 33. Κικιδιασσηνός | 71. Χρύσεος |
| 34. Κοίρανος κόσμου | 72. ---ΕΤΕΟΣ (?) |
| 35. Κορηνός | 73. ---ΓΕΝΟΣ |
| 36. Κτήσιος | 74. Iuppiter Dolichenus |
| 37. Λαγινός/ἐκ Λαγίνου | |
| 38. Λιμνηνός/Λιμναῖος/Πατρῷος | |

EPITHETS OF METER IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Ἄκρ(λ)εανή | 12. Κουαηνή |
| 2. Ἀπὸ Κρανος Μεγάλου/ Κρανομεγαληνή | 13. Μαληνή |
| 3. Ἀπὸ σπηλέου | 14. Μήτηρ Μηνός |
| 4. Βεδδυτῶν | 15. Νουννου |
| 5. Βονοκιατις | 16. Ὁριηνή |
| 6. Γονανή | 17. Πλιταηνή |
| 7. Εισσινδηνή | 18. Ποντανηνή |
| 8. Εσ[- - -] | 19. Στευνηνή |
| 9. Θερμηνή | 20. Συρία (?) |
| 10. Καλλίπου | 21. Τετραπρόσωπος |
| 11. Κικλέα | 22. Τιειουβευδηνή |

TOPOONYMIC EPITHETS OF MEIS IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Ἄκραιος | 4. Κολιανοκωμήτης |
| 2. Ἀσκαηνός | 5. Νᾶν(ν)ος (?) |
| 3. Ἰταλικός | 6. Τουιτηνός |

TOPOONYMIC EPITHETS OF APOLLO IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. Κλάριος | 3. Ξυρεος |
| 2. Λύκιος | |

Abbreviations

AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı.
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
EA	Epigraphica Anatolica.
I.AraiEpitymbioi	Strubbe, J., Arai epitymbioi: Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor: A Catalogue. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens, 52, Bonn 1997.
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.
I.Hadrianoi	Schwertheim, E., Die Inschriften von Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens, 33, Bonn 1987.
I.Iznik 2.1	Şahin, S., Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia). Teil 2.1: Nr. 701-1210 (Entfernte Umgebung der Stadt), Bonn 1981.
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. S. Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie, Oxford 1940.
MAMA V	Cox, C. V. M., Cameron, A., Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V, London 1937.
MAMA IX	Lewick, B., Mitchell S., Potter J. and Waelkens, M., Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX, London 1988.

MAMA X	Lewick, B., Mitchell S., Potter J. and Waelkens, M., <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua X</i> , London 1993.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae I-II</i> , Leipzig 1903–1905.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> .
ZAnt	Živa Antika.

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Özet

Kent ve köylerde bulunan belgelerin sağladığı zengin bilgi nedeniyle Phrygia Epiktetos, Küçük Asya'daki, antik devir dinsel inançlarını ve kültür uygulamalarını araştırmaya çok uygun bölgelerden biridir. Bir zamanlar bu bölgedeki sayısız tapınağa ait olan yüzlerce yazıt, bölgeye yayılmış olan renkli bir dinsel yaşamın zengin bir tablosunu günümüze yansıtırlar. Bizim görevimiz bunları toplamak ve kendi orijinal kontekstleri içinde incelemektir. Bu makale, bu bölgenin yerel tanrılarına verilen ve bir yer adı veya tanrıının işlevi ya da kültür kuruluşu ile ilişkili olan tanrısal epithetler (sifatlar) üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Tüm bu sifatlar, bölgenin Roma imparatorluk devrindeki sosyal ve ekonomik durumunu aydınlatan birinci elden kaynak olmanın yanında, yerel halkın inancı, umut ve korkularını anlamamıza önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır.