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UNEXPLORED ASPECTS OF THE LYCIAN “TWELVE GODS RELIEFS”

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Acknowledgments

This article, the origins of which lie in two paragraphs of my 2003 Duke University dissertation on the 1300 Greek and Latin inscriptions recording god-sent dreams and divine commands, has been nurtured during my time at several institutions, but the University of Cologne, where I spent the academic year of 2012–13 in the Historisches Institut (Abt. Alte Geschichte) on a research stipend from the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung, deserves special mention, due both to the amount of progress I made on the article while there and the helpful suggestions I received from colleagues both in private conversations and following a talk in which I explored the problems discussed below. I am especially grateful to Angelos Chaniotis, Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg and G. H. R. Horsley for reading drafts of this article and providing valuable feedback, and must also thank Mustafa Adak, Thomas Corsten, Attilio Mastrocino, Alice Mouton, Johannes Nollé, Georg Petzl, and Christof Schuler for sharing their thoughts on specific issues or helping in other ways. I also wish to express my gratitude to Ebru N. Akdoğan Arca and Nuray Gökalp for their photo of the relief in the Antalya Museum that they published, and the “Kleinasiatische Kommission” of the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna for access to notes on the unpublished inscription discussed below.

In an article that freshly examined the nature and origin of the large group of inscribed, relatively crude, loose reliefs from numerous sites in coastal and central Lycia (and possibly parts of Pisidia) that were dedicated to the “Twelve Gods”, Thomas Drew-Bear and Guy Labarre a decade ago made an important contribution to the century-old debate regarding whether these gods can be identified, very likely settling it.¹ However, while making a compelling case for

¹ Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004 (with references), persuasively arguing that the Twelve Gods of the reliefs were rural divinities with no discernible relation to other known groups of twelve gods – a conclusion opposed to the previous consensus. These gods undoubtedly were distinct from the traditional twelve Olympian Gods (on whom see Long 1987, with discussion of the Lycian reliefs at pp. 17–22, 301–304, *et pass.*; see also *LIMC* III (1986), 646–658, “Dodekatheoi” (G. Berger-Doer), briefly mentioning the Lycian gods at p. 657). But Drew-Bear and Labarre also show that they are unlikely to have had antecedents in the “Twelve Gods” venerated in Xanthos during the Classical period or among known Hittite divinities (*ibid.*, 86–97). Among the latter group are those appearing on a well-known relief of twelve gods at Yazılıkaya, a Hittite sanctuary, that represents an interesting coincidence but should not be tied to the Twelve Gods of the reliefs (see Archi 1990, 117 and Wilhelm 2009, 63 for the apparent Hurrian origins of the Yazılıkaya gods and their Netherworld association; relief reproduced by Drew-Bear and Labarre as fig. 3, but see Seeher 2011 for an exceptionally well-illustrated treatment of the site). Most recently, the conclusions of Drew-Bear and Labarre regarding the Twelve Gods have been followed by Schürr 2013, 218 and Balzat 2014, 258, both rejecting Hittite or classical Lycian traditions. (In a study that was published the same year as that of Drew-Bear and Labarre and therefore unable to take into account their arguments, Mustafa H. Sayar echoes these long-standing beliefs regarding the Hittite origins of these gods that their article disputes (Sayar 2004).) However, if G. H. R. Horsley is correct that the rider-god Kakasbos had Achaemenid origins (*I.BurdurMus.*, p. 269), it may also be that the worship of the Twelve Gods went similarly far back, even if it did not originate as far back as Hittite times. The discussions of Drew-Bear and Labarre and these other scholars regarding the potential Hittite origins of the Twelve Gods is part of a broader debate over whether some of the divinities worshiped in Lycia in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times were those whose worship extended back centuries or even millennia, with several scholars attempting to demonstrate the survival of elements of Hittite (or, more specifically, Luwian) religion into these later periods. In addition to the works cited by Drew-Bear and Labarre regarding this debate, see Hutter 2003, 264–270 (employing an especially cautious approach) and Raimond 2006. The same debate is relevant to the cults of Pisidia: see Talloen/Vanhaverbeke/Waelkens 2004; see also Fleischer 2008, 226–227, on the divine triads such as the Theoi Dikaioi, which share some iconographical elements with the Twelve Gods reliefs, having Luwian origins.

the indigenous nature of the Twelve Gods, their study, like those before, does not explain *why* these fifty-five reliefs (and counting) that are largely identical in terms of both their iconography and their dedicatory language appear to have been distributed throughout the region's rural settlements, representing a phenomenon without known parallels elsewhere in the Greek East or Latin West.² The circumstances behind these dedications have been concealed from us by the dedicants' use of the generic and ambiguous formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν to indicate their motivations – but it is this very fact, that with one known exception all of the Lycian Twelve Gods reliefs were dedicated by a worshiper “according to divine command”, that establishes this group as unique, and signals an unusual religious phenomenon or episode.

Though varying slightly in content, quality and style, the reliefs, a typical example of which is shown (fig. 1), are all essentially the same: measuring roughly a half-meter in width, they each consist of two registers, with a dozen spear-carrying figures who must represent the Twelve Gods in the upper register and a dozen hounds in the lower register – perhaps hunting gods and hunting dogs, though in some they might instead be seen as warrior gods (though the iconography of the two groups in the region's folk art appears to have been somewhat blurred³)

While Drew-Bear and Labarre do dispute other attempts to link the reliefs to funerary cult (*ibid.*, 88), their study omits the article by Nevzat Çevik that attempts to associate these reliefs with open-air, rock-cut shrines linked to the cult of the dead (Çevik 2000), an unconvincing conclusion that becomes more so in light of the work of Drew-Bear and Labarre. Likewise omitted is the then-recent Akyürek-Şahin 2002, a work on these gods which presents a general overview of the phenomenon, which I myself have only consulted cursorily.

2 The 1994 corpus of forty-nine reliefs by Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, which was accompanied by her detailed analysis and Georg Petzl's treatment of the inscribed texts (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*), replaced the obsolete study of Otto Weinreich (Weinreich 1913). Since then, six new reliefs have been published: one by Drew-Bear and Labarre (Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 81–84, now *SEG* 54, 1466), three by Mustafa H. Sayar (Sayar 2004, now *SEG* 54, 1392, 1393 and 1392 *adn.*), one by Nuray Gökalp and Ebru N. Akdoğu Arca (Gökalp/Akdoğu Arca 2009, 267–268, no. 8 + photo, now *SEG* 59, 1921), and an anepigraphical fragment in Horsley's corpus of the epigraphical holdings of the Burdur Archaeological Museum (*I.BurdurMus* 47 + Pl. 46). (A brief catalog of the reliefs, consisting primarily of bibliography and texts – though not including most of the reliefs published since 1994 – and accompanied by a short discussion in Turkish, is to be found in Efendioğlu 2010, 121–144 (not consulted).) There is also at least one known relief that remains unpublished (Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, Inv. No. 4906, noted in Freyer-Schauenburg 2006, 254 n. 4). Only one of the reliefs was found at its original site, and roughly one third are of unknown provenience within Lycia (see below). Moreover, the evidence for the phenomenon in Pisidia is quite limited: one comes from Isinda, in southern Pisidia (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. C3); another that is now in the Burdur museum comes from Kremna, roughly fifty kilometers to the southeast of Burdur (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. C8 = *I.BurdurMus* 46); the anepigraphical fragment at the same museum may or may not have originated in the area; and, likewise, a relief in Freyer-Schauenburg's corpus that is assigned to the Burdur area is known to have been moved about in modern times and thus potentially comes from another area (*ibid.*, No. S7, with discussion of origin at p. 6 n. 8; cf. *I.Manisa* 87), especially since, as Jean-Sébastien Balzat notes, the dedicant's name was derived from the Luwian moon goddess Arma's and thus reflects a Lycian origin (see Balzat 2014, 258–259). (Horsley discounts the possibility that the Burdur museum reliefs originated in Pisidia rather than having been brought there from Lycia (*I.BurdurMus*, p. 38), but this is difficult to rule out.)

3 See Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 82, identifying the figures with hunting. In two cases the figures hold square shields (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, Nos. S2, S3), which might be taken as evidence for their having been warrior gods, but Freyer-Schauenburg has shown that even with shields it is possible for these figures to be identified as hunters (*ibid.*, 72–73, cf. 33, 58). However, reliefs showing indigenous triads of gods that have been found at several Lycian sites may present more compelling evidence against necessarily concluding that the Twelve Gods were hunting gods: of particular note are the rock-cut reliefs of a triad found at open-air sanctuaries above Termessos, identified from inscriptions as the Theoi Dikaioi (*SEG* 54, 1380–1381 (= *SEG* 56, 1705–1706); *SEG* 56, 1707), that represent them in warrior dress, wielding double axes or spears, and accompanied by dogs,

– and at the center of each register a lone divine figure stands in a niche or shrine framed by spears or columns.⁴ While the Twelve Gods and their hounds always appear in the reliefs, the central figures vary somewhat, with both male and female divinities being represented (as well as divinities of ambiguous gender, due to the poor abilities of some artisans). In some reliefs the inscription refers to an unnamed “father” of the Twelve Gods, and this is the most likely identity for the male figure that usually appears in the upper register, though in the few cases of the figure appearing to be female it might be the goddess Artemis Kynegetis (“Huntress”), who likewise is sometimes mentioned in the inscribed text; similarly, since the figure being flanked by hounds in the lower register appears to be divine it might also represent Artemis Kynegetis, or else Hermes.⁵ There is also a chance that it might be the worshiper himself (or herself) represented at the bottom, as has been suggested, but this appears unlikely in part because one would expect a correspondence between the gender of the figure and the dedicant named in the inscription, and the few examples featuring female or possibly female names do not appear to represent female figures.⁶ Regardless of whether the figure in the upper register is indeed the “father” god, it is unclear just whose father he was, as the syntax can be interpreted as saying that he was only the Twelve Gods’ father, or that he was the father of Artemis Kynegetis and

and these show that warrior gods could also be shown with dogs (see Fleischer 2008 on the Termessos sites and triad reliefs in general; for similarities between these and the Twelve Gods reliefs, see *ibid.*, 222, 223, 225 *et pass.*, and also Milner/Smith 1994, 68 and Smith/Milner 1997, 10–11, the latter stating that the axes would have been “appropriate to mountain banditry”).

4 For the iconography of these reliefs, see the extensive treatment in Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*. See also Freyer-Schauenburg 2006, devoted primarily to the evidence for these reliefs having been painted, but also providing an overview of the phenomenon. A rare exception to their iconographical uniformity is to be seen in two reliefs from Teimiussa that each appear to feature a vessel (see n. 50).

5 For the central figures, see Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, pp. 79–84, and see Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 81–82, 92–94 (with references) for the central male figure typically shown on the upper register, assumed to be the “father” of the Twelve Gods named in five of the inscriptions (see n. 7). A comparable number of the reliefs include Artemis Kynegetis among the divinities named in the inscription. In addition to a small fragment that is only inscribed [Ἀρτέμι]δι Κυν[ηγέτι]δι --- (*ibid.*, no. S11), in two of these she is the only one included other than the Twelve Gods (*ibid.*, nos. S1, S10), in two or three others she is named along with the “father” (*ibid.*, nos. S2, S9, and maybe S6; quoted n. 7), and in one case a dedication was made “To Hermes, the Twelve Gods, Artemis Kynegetis, and their father” (Ερμῆ καὶ Δώδεκα Θεοῖς ἰ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι <Κ>υνηγέτι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἰ κατ’ ἐπιταγήν ἰ Ερμενδαδὶς) (*ibid.*, no. S7, with new reading of dedicant’s name suggested independently by Schürr 2013, 214 and Balzat 2014, 254–256).

It has been argued that Artemis Kynegetis was a Greek goddess whose worship was adopted by the Lycians, rather than a local divinity assuming a Greek identity (Le Roy 2004). Though not necessarily inconsistent with this conclusion, it is worth considering whether Robert was right that Artemis Kynegetis might be identified with Artemis Kombike, due to the cluster of Twelve Gods reliefs from Komba (Robert 1983, 593n.21 (= Robert, *Documents*, 437n.21); cf. Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, p. 83; for Komba, see below). Artemis Kombike is not attested at Komba itself, but appears in inscriptions from other sites (see Frei 1990, 1773, to which can now be added *I.Arykanda* 85; cf. Drew-Bear/Labarre, *ibid.*, 84–85n.19). (Schürr 2013, 219–220, taking into account neither Le Roy’s arguments nor Robert’s, instead considers Artemis Kynegetis to have been linked to the Lycian goddess Ertēmi.) There has been less attention given to the worship of Hermes in Lycia and whether he was Greek or indigenous, presumably due to the relatively limited sources (see Frei, *ibid.*, 1801–1803).

6 For the possibility that worshipers might be represented on the reliefs, see Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, pp. 79–80; cf. Freyer-Schauenburg 2006, 253–254. For the female names in the reliefs, see n. 9.

Hermes as well.⁷ The inscriptions, as generic as the reliefs,⁸ reveal that these were all given by

7 Since the “father” when he appears is always named last, after the Twelve Gods as well as Artemis Kynegetis and Hermes when at least one is present, it is worth considering whether he was the father of all of them, and not just the Twelve Gods. This is certainly the most likely reading of the text quoted above, in which the Twelve Gods are sandwiched between Hermes and Artemis Kynegetis (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, no. S7; quoted n. 5); moreover, this inscription permits Hermes to be ruled out as the true identity of the “father”, as might otherwise have been possible (as noted in Schürr 2013, 214). The four other examples, in which the “father” is named right after the Twelve Gods, are also ambiguous regarding whose father he may have been:

- Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. S2: Ἀρτέμιδι Κυ[ν]ηγέτιδι | καὶ Δώδεκα Θεοῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶ[ν];
- *ibid.*, no. S6: [Ἀρτέμιδι Κυνηγέτιδι καὶ] Δώδεκα Θεοῖς κα<ι> τῷ πα[τρὶ αὐτῶν];
- *ibid.*, no. S9: [Ἀρτέμ]ιδι Κυνηγέτιδι καὶ Δ<ώ>δ<ε>κα Θεοῖς καὶ τ<ῷ> πατρὶ (without sufficient space for αὐτῶν in the next line’s *lacuna*);
- *ibid.*, no. S10: [Ἀρ]τέμιδι Κυνηγέτιδι καὶ [Δώ]δεκ[α] | [Θ]εοῖς καὶ τ<ῷ> πατ<ρι> αὐτ<ῶν>.

Clouding these issues, however, is the most recently published relief, which its editors, Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp, read as Ἐρμῇ τῷ ΠΑ..ΙΩΝΝΥΑΥΙ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι κ[υ]νηγέτι ΚΕΑ καὶ Δώδεκα θεοῖς | Δρομοσας ἀνέστησεν, but according to them could have been inscribed πατρὶ αὐτῶν instead of ΠΑ..ΙΩΝΝΥΑΥΙ, in which case Hermes would have been the “father” (*SEG* 59, 1921; fig. 2). Unfortunately, due to the combination of poor execution by the stone-cutter and the stone’s condition it is difficult to be certain of the letters in this part of the text, and πατρὶ αὐτῶν is not impossible, but it fits neither the space nor the letter traces well. Nor would it make good syntactic sense in this position, since πατρὶ αὐτῶν would be appearing after only a single divinity. Regardless of the problem of whether this unidentified god was believed only to have fathered the Twelve Gods or one or two others as well, there is the no less important question of whether this “father” was a known figure. The best candidate, though certainly a speculative one, is that perhaps this father of gods was none other than Kronos, who is known to have been worshiped at Tlos (see Reitzenstein 2014, esp. pp. 566–569, presenting more than a half-dozen new epigraphical sources that together show that Kronos was the city’s chief divinity and also had an oracle there; cf. Bryce 1986, 189–191 and Frei 1990, 1811), though this possibility has been dismissed by Freyer-Schauenburg (*ibid.*, 82). The fact that the Twelve Gods had a “father” indicates some form of theogonic myth and an organized cult – but it need not have been a cult of the Twelve Gods themselves, who quite possibly did not have their own sanctuary (see below). (The recent suggestion of Diether Schürr that Zeus/Jupiter was the “father” is difficult to accept (Schürr, *ibid.*, 214–215). Schürr bases this largely on a *dipinto* from Rome’s Baths of Titus warning, *Duodecim deos et Deanam et Iovem / Optimum Maximu(m) habeat iratos / quisquis hic mixerit aut cacarit* (*CIL* VI 29848b), noting the presence of the “Twelve Gods” and Diana, a potential counterpart for Artemis Kynegetis, as well as Jupiter. At Rome the primary group of twelve gods, the Olympians or *Di Consentes*, included Jupiter and Diana, who in this *dipinto* may have been singled out as most fearsome, and there were also other pantheons of twelve gods evident in Italic religion (see Long 1987, 232–235). Therefore, the coincidence of Diana and a father-type god being included among “Twelve Gods” in this *dipinto* is likely to be a coincidence: for it not to be, one would have to accept that the person who wrote this warning in Flavian or post-Flavian Rome knew of the obscure rural divinities represented in the Lycian reliefs. Moreover, Schürr does not take into account that there are numerous parallels for such warnings, and that Jupiter was among the potentially “angry” gods who would be invoked (e.g., *AE* 1974, 438 (Germania Superior), *CIL* IV 7716 (Pompeii), *TitAq* I 159 + *add.* III, p. 132 (Budapest), while Artemis and Hekate can be found in similar Greek warnings from Ephesos (*I.Eph* II 567, 569; cf. *I.Eph* II 568, 568a)). It is therefore more likely that the Rome *dipinto* is unrelated, and was invoking a different pantheon of “Twelve Gods”.)

8 The inscriptions almost uniformly stick to the simple pattern of first identifying the gods to whom the relief is dedicated – always the Twelve Gods, though as seen in the previous note sometimes with one or more of the other divinities apparently represented at the center of the relief named as well – and then employing the formula κατ’ ἐπιταγήν followed by the worshiper’s name. Exceptions do occur: three reliefs also include the common dedicatory term ἀνέστησεν (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. S1; *SEG* 54, 1393; *SEG* 59, 1921), and another the votive term εὐχὴν, though this appears to have been added later (*ibid.*, no. B11, cf. p. 69); one to three inscriptions appear to provide the dedicant’s name in the genitive case (*ibid.*, nos. B4, B8, C10); and, one relief that is broken in half might have repeated the formula κατ’ ἐπιταγήν, though this is impossible to tell for certain (*ibid.*, no. S6).

This almost complete lack of dedicatory verbs is not unique to the Twelve Gods reliefs, but represents a regional epigraphical pattern: these are also virtually nonexistent among the more numerous rider god reliefs from the

individuals, almost all of whom were male, and never by pairs of individuals, families, private groups, or civic bodies.⁹ These individuals typically identified themselves by just a single name, omitting their community as well as their social status, though the surviving names include both those of Greek and indigenous origins.¹⁰ The reliefs themselves are all crudely carved specimens of folk art and their dedicatory texts are roughly incised, and even though some are of (relatively) superior quality none can be considered a work of fine craftsmanship.¹¹ The roughness of these reliefs and their inscriptions makes them difficult to date, though a consensus has emerged that they are from the second or third century C.E., most likely produced during a period of a few decades near the end of the former and beginning of the latter.¹² (By comparison, the more diverse and geographically dispersed “rider god” reliefs were being produced over a longer span of time, from the mid-second century C.E. – if not earlier – to the second half of the

area (see Delemen, *Rider-Gods*, p. 10, citing nos. 49 ἀνέθηκε | εὐχὴν and 207 εὐχὴ[ν] | ἀνέστησα; see also *I.BurdurMus*, p. 258), and the same is true among the region’s Dioskouroi reliefs (with *I.BurdurMus* 33, Διοσκόροις σωτήρσι Γάιος | Οὐέττιος ἐπιταγή (vel ἐπιταγή) ἀνέθηκεν, representing a rare exception (text modified). In contrast, εὐχὴν or κατ’ εὐχὴν was employed in virtually all of these reliefs that bear sufficiently complete inscriptions (see below).

9 Despite damage to many of the stones, only twenty of which preserve complete inscriptions (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, nos. S1, S7, S10, A1, A5, B3, B5, B7, B8, B9, B11, B12, B13, C2, C3, C7, C8 (= *I.BurdurMus* 46 + Pl. 45), C11; *SEG* 54, 1392 and 1392 *adn.*), at least thirty-nine of the reliefs preserve part or all of the name of the dedicant, and with one possible exception that is too damaged for a certain reading – ΟΣΟΥΣ ὁ Ἑρμῆς Φιλέου ΤΟΙΑΥΣΑΣΟΥΚΑΤ[.]Σ[.] (*ibid.*, no. S2, noted at p. 69 n. 272; see Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 82–83 n. 7 on the possible interpretations of this text) – not a single relief was given by two or more worshipers. These reliefs were almost all given by men, the only exceptions being one by a worshiper named Γη (*ibid.*, no. B9; see *LGPV* V.B, 90, s.v. Γη) and two or three dedications by worshipers named Ἄρτεμεις (*ibid.*, nos. A1, B7, and possibly C12; on the name, see Masson 1986, 128–130 (= Masson, *Onomastica* II:545–547); cf. *LGPV* V.B, 66, s.v. Ἄρτεμεις). In addition, three other reliefs are difficult to read because of damage to the stone, but might have been given by women (*ibid.*, nos. C1, V4, V6). On the relative scarcity of dedications of these reliefs by female worshipers, see Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, p. 70. (Another relief, first published a decade after Freyer-Schauenburg’s corpus, was dedicated by an individual with the female name Τοαλίς, but this might be an example of degeneration of the male name Τοαλλίς (*SEG* 54, 1392, with note by T. Corsten; cf. *LGPV* V.B, 411, s.v. Τοαλίς and Τοαλλίς). Since, with the exception of Ἄρτεμ(ε)ίς, there are so few attestations of these and similar names (see Zgusta, *KP* §1575), even fewer of which permit the gender to be determined, it should not be concluded with certainty that this worshiper was indeed female.)

10 See especially Balzat 2014, on the name Ερμενδαδης in Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, no. S7 and other Lycian names derived from that of the Luwian moon goddess Arma. Also of note is that the Greek name Ἑρμαῖος is found in three of the reliefs as the name of the worshiper or the worshiper’s father (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, nos. A1, B8, C5), and as Balzat argues it appears to have been especially popular in Lycia because of its similarity to the indigenous names with EPM- (see Balzat, *ibid.*, 267–273, 277–279). See Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, pp. 91–92 for the full range of names found in the reliefs included in her corpus, among which are such indigenous Lycian names as Μασας and Τροκονδας (on which see Cau 2003, 324, and for the popularity of the latter, Balzat, *ibid.*, 273–276, 278–279).

11 Horsley’s comment regarding the Anatolian rider god reliefs also would seem to apply at least partly to the Twelve Gods reliefs: “The reliefs were placed at the shrines as acts of worship by those who sought the god’s support by acknowledging his power. They were not intended to be high quality works of art to be seen by others in public contexts, but rather commemorated ‘private’ dealings between individuals and this particular god of their region” (*I.BurdurMus*, p. 257).

12 See Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 86 (suggesting two or three decades) and Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, pp. 85–88 and Freyer-Schauenburg 2006, 255 (assigning the reliefs to the late-second through early-third centuries).

third century, and perhaps even the fourth century.¹³ The less numerous but nonetheless common Dioskouroi reliefs date to the height of the Roman Empire, though some from northern Lycia's Balboursa area appear to date to Hellenistic times.¹⁴)

The formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν was far from unique to this group of dedications: it is found in more than 150 other dedicatory inscriptions from throughout the Greek-speaking world, and appears to have been used to refer to oracles, omens and dreams, with the precise medium of communication rarely evident.¹⁵ Similarly, the comparable formulas κατὰ κέλευσιν and κατὰ πρόσταγμα, along with several less common formulas and terms, also enjoyed widespread use.¹⁶ Such formulas, like the ones clearly referring to religious undertakings prompted by a dream (e.g., καθ' ὄραμα, καθ' ὕπνον, κατ' ἐνύπνιον, κατ' ὄναρ, κατ' ὄνειρον) on more than 150 Greek dedicatory inscriptions, are typically found inscribed on altars, statue bases and other dedications that in form and function are otherwise indistinguishable from the far more numerous dedications that instead employ other types of formulas (e.g., κατ' εὐχήν, ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας) or non-formulaic dedicatory language, or else simply provide no such information regarding what had motivated the dedicant. What makes the use of the formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν in the Twelve Gods reliefs so remarkable, then, is not their fairly ordinary – and ordinarily vague – reference to a divine command, but the fact that the formula appears always to have been used, with the exception of a single dedication (from which the formula may have been omitted by error).¹⁷ The unparalleled nature of these reliefs becomes especially evident when they are contrasted with the thousands of other known Greek and Latin dedicatory inscriptions: whereas other types of inscribed dedications stated that they had been given to the gods following a divine communication just 5% of the time, these Lycian reliefs evidently were almost exclusively commissioned and dedicated in response to an oracle or omen of some sort.¹⁸ Even

13 See Delemen, *Rider-Gods*, pp. 76–78 and *I.BurdurMus*, p. 257 (making the suggestion that since rural literacy was an element of Romanization some of the uninscribed reliefs may have been dedicated as far back as the Hellenistic period).

14 See Talloen 2006, 752, citing Smith/Milner 1997, 22, 37 for the Balboursa reliefs; cf. Smith 2011, 134. On the two groups of reliefs, see below.

15 On this and similar formulas in both Greek and Latin, see G. H. Renberg “*Commanded by the Gods*”: *An Epigraphical Study of Dreams and Visions in Greek and Roman Religious Life* (diss. Duke University, 2003; in preparation for publication as “*And the goddess told me in a dream ...*”: *A Catalog of Greek and Latin Inscriptions Recording Divine Communications*), from which the present discussion draws. Inscriptions with these formulas, though not the Twelve Gods reliefs, have also recently been surveyed in Weber 2005–06 and Kajava 2009.

16 Within Asia Minor during this period there is a clear regional preference for κατ' ἐπιταγήν in the western provinces and for κατὰ κέλευσιν in the eastern regions, so the exclusive use of κατ' ἐπιταγήν in these Lycian dedications rather than one or more of the alternatives may simply represent another example of a local linguistic preference. The formula κατὰ πρόσταγμα, on the other hand, belonged almost exclusively to the Hellenistic period, and thus chronology alone explains why it was not widely employed in Roman Lycia.

17 Of the fifty-five reliefs, six are missing their entire inscription (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, nos. A2, C6, C9, V2, V7; *I.BurdurMus* 47), and another eight or nine do not feature the formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν but are broken or badly damaged at the point where it would have appeared (*ibid.*, nos. S2, S11, A3, B6, V1, V4, V6, and possibly B1; *SEG* 54, 1466). The one exception, which lacks the formula but has a complete – though partly illegible – inscription, is of unknown origin, but now in the Antalya Museum (*SEG* 59, 1921; quoted n. 7).

18 The figure of 5% is derived from an analysis of more than forty corpora from both the Greek East and Latin West, which include a total of roughly 8400 private dedicatory inscriptions, 412 (4.89%) of which employ language referring to dreams, divine commands, and the like. Since many of the 8400 texts are damaged and originally could have included such language, the true percentage of inscriptions including κατ' ἐπιταγήν and

at known or suspected oracular sanctuaries and *Asklepieia*, private dedications recording or alluding to a message from the god never even represent a third of the total number of private dedications, let alone the 97.5% found in the Twelve Gods reliefs: the five highest percentages are to be found at the Phrygian sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos that must have functioned as an oracle (27%), the three *Sarapieia* that were established on Delos in close proximity to one another (26%) and the Thessalonika *Sarapieion* (25%), and the *Asklepieia* of Pergamon (18.5%) and Epidauros (13.5%).¹⁹ At few other sanctuaries does the frequency of divinely prompted dedications even approach 10% – revealing the clear significance of the fact that κατ’ ἐπιταγήν is found in 97.5% of the Twelve Gods reliefs with sufficiently preserved inscriptions. This is even more striking in light of the overall rarity of inscriptions recording divine communiqués or epiphanies in Lycia, which has produced only four others.²⁰ Such an anomaly, which has not been recognized previously, requires explanation, since it represents a rare, or even unique, religious phenomenon.²¹

The unusual nature of these reliefs can be further appreciated by comparing them to two other widespread types of dedicatory reliefs found in Lycia and Pisidia: the roughly 300 loose reliefs of the Anatolian rider gods and the dozens of Dioskouroi reliefs, both groups representing

similar formulas is undoubtedly slightly higher, though still likely to round out to 5%. (For the list of corpora on which these figures are based see p. 5 of Renberg, “*Commanded by the Gods*” (*supra* n. 15).)

19 At the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, 23 of the 85 private dedications, sacred consecrations, and confession inscriptions published in various corpora and articles employ such language; at Thessalonika, 10 out of 40 private dedications published in *RICIS* employ such language, while it is found in 42 out of the 162 from Delos’s *Sarapieia* A, B and C; at Pergamon this is the case with 14 of the 76 private dedications published in *I.Pergamon* VIII.3, as it is with 25 of the 185 dedications from Epidauros dated by Hiller von Gärtringen to the Imperial period (*IG* IV² 1, 380–588). These figures only include inscriptions that are sufficiently complete to ascertain whether they could have included dedicatory formulas of this type. A small number of dedications from Delos, Pergamon and Epidauros with such language have been published since these corpora, but do not significantly shift the percentages.

20 *TAM* II.2, 656 (κατ’ ἐπιφάνιαν; no divinity named); *CIG* III 4331 + *add.* p. 1156 (= *RICIS* 306/0501) (χρηματισθεὶς κατὰ ὄναρ; Sarapis and Isis); *AE* 1985, 817 (κατὰ ἐπιταγήν; Dioskouroi); *SEG* 47, 1801 (κατὰ ὄναρ; Dioskouroi and Herakles); and, possibly *SEG* 48, 1594 and *I.BurdurMus* 33. (I am informed that in addition there is an unpublished one at the Fethiye Museum on public display.) Similarly low numbers of dedications recording divine commands or dreams are to be found in nearby Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, which suggests that in southeastern Asia Minor – in marked contrast to Lydia, Phrygia, Ionia and most of the other provinces to the north and west – the use of such language was not a standard feature of the epigraphical vocabulary. (Pisidia ranks in the middle, having produced just over a dozen, roughly matching the combined totals for Cilicia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, though it is still well below the other provinces of Asia Minor.) Further demonstrating the unusual situation represented by these reliefs, the only other Roman province in which even 50% of dedications recording dreams or divine commands were from the same cult is Germania Inferior, where the various groups of *Matronae* collectively received roughly two-thirds of the well over one hundred dedications employing *ex imperio*, *ex iussu*, *ex viso*, and the like (for the *Matronae*, see n. 71).

21 Freyer-Schauenburg briefly mentions the prevalence of κατ’ ἐπιταγήν among these reliefs – though without noting the lack of a parallel for this – and, citing a discussion with Martin Zimmermann, briefly raises the likelihood of the formula’s alluding to local divination and perhaps oracular revelations rather than dreams (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, p. 69 n. 264). In contrast, René Lebrun, likewise noting the formula’s repeated use, links it to dreams, putting these in the long tradition of dream-commands evident in “la tradition religieuse hittito-anatolienne” (Lebrun 1987, 249). Others who have noted the frequent use of the formula have done so without a discussion of its possible significance.

indigenous divinities in Greek guise.²² Though all “rider god” reliefs represent male divinities on horseback wielding some sort of weapon,²³ the rider gods of Anatolia are distinct because the figure – most commonly identified as Herakles or the native god Kakasbos (and less often Maseis)²⁴ – brandishes a club with his raised right arm.²⁵ Like the Twelve Gods reliefs, the reliefs of these rider gods were given by individual worshipers who were almost exclusively male,²⁶ were a rural phenomenon,²⁷ were typically produced at local workshops (with some evidence for prefabrication of reliefs),²⁸ range in quality of execution from expert to amateurish,²⁹ were fashioned from cheap local limestone,³⁰ do not appear to reflect significant wealth,³¹ and bore

22 The rider gods reliefs – both those on steles and those cut into the rock at several sites – have been cataloged and analyzed by İnci Delemen in a work that includes nearly 400 artifacts, roughly 100 of which are from beyond Lycia and Pisidia (Delemen, *Rider-Gods*). See also the Horsley’s important discussion, Excursus: The Rider god steles and related monuments at Burdur Archaeological Museum, in *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 255–274 (primarily focusing on the reliefs in the museum’s collection, but studying the phenomenon more broadly), and Talloen 2006. For the Dioskouroi, the primary study remains that of Louis Robert (Robert 1983, 553–579 (= Robert, *Documents*, 397–423)), but see also Kearsley 2002 (with additional references, to which can be added Geppert 1996, a general overview of Dioskouroi iconography in Roman times); cf. Frei 1990, 1784–1786, Özşait 2004, and *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 30–31. Both groups of reliefs were on average slightly smaller than those for the Twelve Gods (with the Dioskouroi reliefs generally being the smallest of the three), and the Twelve Gods reliefs were also generally more horizontally rectangular. (For appearances of these gods in rupestral reliefs, see below.)

23 The most prominent group of rider gods are those of the Thracian reliefs, which typically wield a lance and are accompanied by hunting dogs (see Oppermann 2006).

24 Herakles may have reminded the native population of Kakasbos, and become widely worshiped for that reason.

25 See *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 262–264 on these gods, with a cautionary note at p. 256 against conflating Herakles with one of the native gods. Among the three, Herakles was most frequently named, followed by Kakasbos, with Maseis being known for certain only at a single sanctuary near Tyriaion (Lycia). For Kakasbos, see also now *SEG* 53, 1571 (= *Termessos* IV, no. 157, with commentary), Αὐρηλίου Σύρος Ἀρτείου Ἀστρῶ | Κακαζβεῖ | εὐχὴν, identifying the god “Kakasbeus” with a star. For a relatively recent catalog of Kakasbos reliefs and coins from Lycia, see Efendioğlu 2010, 83–120.

26 With the exception of two reliefs dedicated by different individuals named Ἀρτεμεις (Delemen, *Rider-Gods* nos. 36, 46), a female name which is also represented among the Twelve Gods reliefs (see n. 9), the preserved inscriptions on these reliefs all name men.

27 See *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 273–274, concluding that these rider gods were worshiped by villagers outside of their villages, and noting the absence of evidence for their cult in cities; Horsley further argues that the absence of the rider gods from coins, which would be a sign of civic worship, indicates their rural nature (*ibid.*, p. 272). See also Talloen 2006, 750–751 and Smith 2011, 134. A useful study of this issue has been undertaken by Thomas Corsten, who uses Kibyra as a case study in order to show the significant differences between the populations of Lycian urban and rural areas and their relative degrees of Hellenization and Romanization, including in terms of the different gods worshiped in town and countryside (Corsten 2006).

28 See *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 260–262, 266–267. As Horsley notes, some of the reliefs can be linked to the same workshop, and perhaps even the same mason – as also appears to be the case with some of the Twelve Gods reliefs (see n. 50).

29 See *I.BurdurMus*, p. 267, noting examples of both trained hands and amateurs among the inscriptions. The reliefs themselves include many that are of excellent craftsmanship, and more than a few that are not.

30 According to Horsley, the rider god reliefs preserved at the Burdur Archaeological Museum were not created from quarried blocks, but loose stones (*I.BurdurMus*, p. 258); such was also the case with the local limestone employed for the Twelve Gods reliefs (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, p. 29).

31 See *I.BurdurMus*, p. 257, concluding from the material that those commissioning the rider god reliefs “were neither the very wealthy nor the very poor” (*i.e.*, those who could not afford a stone dedication of any sort). As is

texts that almost always followed a standard pattern that did not reveal the circumstances leading to the dedication.³² Moreover, neither the Lycian Twelve Gods nor Kakasbos can be found in even a single passage of surviving Greek and Latin literature, suggesting that these were local cults little known beyond the region’s countryside.³³ Like those for rider gods, the Dioskouroi reliefs of Lycia and Pisidia – which typically featured them on horseback flanking an unidentified goddess within a recessed field, but only named the Dioskouroi in the dedicatory text – come from rural areas and were given by individuals (always or almost always men),³⁴ were fashioned from local limestone, represent different levels of expertise in terms of the quality of the sculpted images and texts, and typically featured homogenous dedicatory inscriptions. The contents of their dedicatory texts reveal two other ways that both groups are similar to the Twelve Gods reliefs: in contrast to dedications from urban settings, there are none given by families or groups such as professional or religious associations; and, other than generic dedicatory language (κατ’ ἐπιταγήν for the Twelve Gods, εὐχήν/κατ’ εὐχήν for the rider gods and Dioskouroi), none of the inscribed texts gives any indication of the precise circumstances that had prompted the dedication.³⁵ Other than the obvious difference in dedicatory language, there is only one significant difference between the Lycian Twelve Gods reliefs and those for the Dioskouroi and club-wielding rider gods: some of the reliefs for these other gods can be linked to one of several known open-air sanctuaries, including a few noteworthy for their rupestal reliefs, but there is – at least, to date – no evidence linking the Twelve Gods reliefs to specific cult sites.³⁶ In the case of Kakasbos and other club-wielding rider gods there are five such rock-cut

suggested by the holdings of the Burdur Archaeological Museum, which may be taken as representative for the region, large and finely fashioned dedications of marble and limestone were not unknown, but were for the gods introduced to Lycia by the Greeks and Romans and primarily worshiped at urban temples, e.g., *I.BurdurMus* 2 (Agdistis), 3 & 6 (Apollo), 20 (Artemis), 25 (Dionysos) (see now Mitchell 2008, 157–163 and 167–170 on the Dionysos and Agdistis dedications). But if such reliefs were a primarily or purely rural phenomenon then one cannot exclude the possibility of some cheap-looking reliefs having been given by the wealthy. (See Karoglou 2010, 49–50 for a similar point regarding Attic painted terracotta *pinakes*, which she reasonably argues should not be assumed to have been the gifts only of the poor just because they would have been relatively cheap.)

Drew-Bear and Labarre suggest that the sudden and brief proliferation of the Twelve Gods reliefs can be attributed to increased prosperity in the late second century C.E. enabling the peasants of rural Lycia to commission stone dedications to these gods for the first time (Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 99). However, this explanation is rendered unsatisfactory both by the unique nature of the Twelve Gods reliefs, especially the surprising lack of inscriptions not featuring the formula κατ’ ἐπιταγήν, and, more significantly, the numerous dedications to the club-wielding rider gods and Dioskouroi that appear to predate them (see above). Therefore, relative wealth should not be considered as a potential explanation for this phenomenon.

32 See *I.BurdurMus*, p. 266. For the typical use of votive language in these reliefs, see below.

33 See *I.BurdurMus*, p. 273, on the absence of Kakasbos from literary sources.

34 According to Kearsley, all of the Dioskouroi reliefs were given by men (with the one exception she notes being from Caria (Robert 1983, 558, No. 5 (= Robert, *Documents*, 402)); see Kearsley 2002, 402 n. 6). For the reliefs’ rural nature, see Kearsley, *ibid.*, 402 and Robert, *ibid.*, 566 (= *ibid.*, 410).

35 Horsley has speculated that since the rider gods reliefs were given only by individual males they might have been dedicated as part of a rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood (*I.BurdurMus*, p. 268), but in addition to the fact that two of these reliefs were given by women (see n. 26), such a theory would also need to be considered for the Dioskouroi reliefs and Twelve Gods reliefs, and in the case of the latter the striking difference in terms of dedicatory language would need to be explained.

36 For reliefs of these other gods at such sanctuaries in Pisidia, see now Smith 2011. At these sites reliefs that were not carved into living rock would have been displayed on rock ledges or in niches, as was common practice. For rock-cut sanctuaries in Lycia, see Işık 1996; see also Kolb 1999b, surveying the types of sanctuaries in Lycia

shrines decorated with reliefs known in Pisidia and Lycia: at Keçili (Pisidia), Koçataş (Pisidia), Tefenni (Pisidia), Tyriaion (Lycia), and an unspecified site in the territory of Balboursa.³⁷ The Dioskouroi-goddess triad, apparently indigenous gods distinct from the Greek Dioskouroi and Greek goddesses who were worshiped in cities,³⁸ is likewise found at several open-air shrines in Lycia and western Pisidia.³⁹ But despite the widespread distribution of the Twelve Gods reliefs, no traces of a sanctuary associated with them have been found.⁴⁰

Among those who have studied these Twelve Gods reliefs, one of the greatest controversies has been whether they originated at a single sanctuary or multiple cult sites around Lycia. No conclusions on this matter should be drawn, however, without accounting for the consistent use of the formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν. After all, if such reliefs represented a typical dedication made to the "Twelve Gods" at one or more of their sanctuaries in terms of their iconography, then there should also be a large number of reliefs bearing the same iconography but lacking this formula – at least twice as many as there are κατ' ἐπιταγήν reliefs, judging from the fact that the dedications at the sanctuary where the highest concentration of oracle-related dedications has been found, that of Apollo Lairbenos in Heliopolis, not referring to divination outnumber those that do by nearly two to one.⁴¹ And yet, rather than there being roughly one hundred additional inscribed reliefs *not* recording a divine command (and perhaps one or two dozen more that are anepigraphical) there is no other evidence for these gods being worshiped in Roman Lycia or southern Pisidia. This almost exclusive use of κατ' ἐπιταγήν becomes even more remarkable when the Twelve Gods reliefs are contrasted with the more numerous rider god reliefs from many of the same parts of Lycia as well as Pisidia, not one of which refers to a divine command, though 90% employ εὐχὴν or κατ' εὐχὴν and thus demonstrate willingness to use formulaic language regarding the reason for a dedication;⁴² a similar frequency of votive

during Archaic and Classical times (with brief discussion of the Twelve Gods reliefs at p. 162). Smith/Milner 1997, surveying the numerous reliefs found at or near Balboursa, represents a valuable survey of the reliefs found at various cult sites in a single city's territory, most of them open-air sanctuaries (pp. 17–19).

37 See Delemen, *Rider-Gods*, pp. 21–24, to which should be added Smith/Milner 1997, 8, 16–17, 30–31 on the Balboursa reliefs, and Özsait/Labarre/Özsait 2004, 62, no. 3, cf. pp. 72–73, on a new Kakasbos relief at Keçili; cf. *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 270–271. In addition, it is likely that there was another such sanctuary in Lycia near Elmalı, since a number of dedications to Kakasbos, the physical nature of which has not been described but which from their short texts are likely to be reliefs, were found on the slopes of the Akdağ (*SEG* 53, 1653–1668).

38 See Kearsley 2002, 404–405, following Robert 1983, 562–569 (= Robert, *Documents*, 406–413).

39 See *I.BurdurMus*, pp. 30–31.

40 This has been noted by Robert Fleischer in his discussion of the Theoi Dikaioi triad worshiped in the territory of Termessos: "Es fällt auf, daß bisher keine Felsreliefs der lykischen Zwölfgötter bekanntgeworden sind, sehr im Gegensatz zu Kakasbos und den Dioskuren beiderseits einer Göttin, deren Verbreitungsgebiet sich annähernd mit jenem unserer Triaden deckt" (Fleischer 2008, 226 n. 76). As Fleischer's broader work on similar triads of indigenous gods elsewhere in the region shows, these gods could be represented in either rock-cut or loose reliefs – making the Lycian Twelve Gods reliefs, only surviving on loose slabs, stand out as even more unusual (*ibid.*, 214–227).

41 Extending this argument, at the Thessalonika and Delos *Sarapieia* this ratio would be three to one, and at the Epidauros and Pergamon *Asklepieia* more than four to one (see above). If these reliefs represented a normal situation then not only should there have been a threefold, fourfold or fivefold number of reliefs of the Twelve Gods found in the region, but a significant amount of other sculpted and inscribed evidence as well.

42 The 90% figure is based on Delemen's corpus of rider god reliefs from Asia Minor, in which those dedicated to the gods Herakles, Kakasbos, and Maseis most closely correspond to the Twelve Gods reliefs in terms of

language is evident among the less numerous Dioskouroi reliefs, though two of these do record divine communications.⁴³ Moreover, a substantial number of complete but uninscribed rider gods reliefs have been found in Lycia and Pisidia, which is neither unexpected nor unusual, but it does suggest how unusual it was for a particular god or group of gods in these regions *only* to receive inscribed dedications.⁴⁴

This lack of any other evidence for the cult of the Twelve Gods points to a short-lived phenomenon involving gods who otherwise received little if any formal civic worship and whose private worship appears to have been limited to the individual level rather than families or other groups; and, if indeed these were indigenous gods whose cult had originated in previous centuries, their appearance in the reliefs would seem to reflect a sudden and fleeting revival.⁴⁵ The reason for this phenomenon is impossible to identify without further evidence being unearthed, but there are at least three plausible explanations for the dedication of these reliefs κατ’ ἐπιταγήν. Each explanation is worth considering, but each is problematic, and they challenge the broad consensus that there was an organized cult of the Twelve Gods in Roman Lycia; indeed, if there was one it must have been quite different in certain ways from the province’s other cults. Up to thirty-four of the reliefs are of known provenience, having been discovered at fourteen different ancient sites or modern villages, though only one relief was found at its original site, but not *in situ* (fig. 3).⁴⁶ Since the first reliefs of this type were found at Komba, which proved to have a larger number than any other site (five), it was seen by some as the probable location of the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.⁴⁷ Such a conclusion raises the question of how so many of the reliefs ended up so far from Komba, and this dilemma has led to the opposing theories that either they originated at a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods there but that many were

geographical range (Delemen, *Rider-Gods* 1–285). Inscriptions are still preserved on 124 of these reliefs, and excluding the 30 that are too damaged to be useful there are 85 employing votive language and nine that do not. (Delemen misleadingly states that “all” of the reliefs have such votive language (*ibid.*, 10).)

43 While no corpus for all of the Dioskouroi reliefs exists, it is clear that at least 90% of those bearing inscribed texts referred to a vow. The two Dioskouroi reliefs, both from the vicinity of Oenoanda, employ formulas recording a divine command in one case and a dream in another (see n. 20); none bearing such language have yet been found in Pisidia. (For a catalog of the forty-five Dioskouroi reliefs from the area of Balboura, accompanied by a discussion of their iconography, see Smith/Milner 1997, 5–7, 11, 14–15, 26–30.)

44 In the Burdur Archaeological Museum catalog alone there are fifty-seven rider god reliefs that lack inscriptions (*I. Burdur Mus* 123–179), some of which are well enough preserved for it to be clear that they were never inscribed (*ibid.*, pp. 257–258, 260). Among these are some reliefs from a group of twenty brought to the museum by an individual on the same day, including four inscribed rider god reliefs and fourteen complete but uninscribed reliefs, that most likely were all found together (inv. nos. 266–285). Horsley concludes from this that they were found at a cult site, but the ratio of inscribed to uninscribed reliefs raises the possibility that they originated at a workshop that was suddenly destroyed while some completed reliefs were awaiting those who had commissioned them, and a larger number had been prefabricated in expectation of customers who would pay to have them inscribed. (Such a workshop could, of course, have been located at or close to a sanctuary (but see n. 52).)

45 See n. 1 on their proposed origins.

46 On the origin of these reliefs, see Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 84–86 and Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, pp. 46–51. The one relief found in the area where it was dedicated is a small fragment unearthed at an ancient farming estate in the territory of Kyaneai (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, no. S11; see also Zimmermann 1993, 146, no. 8 + Pl. 28, 2 and Kolb 2008, 274–275 + fig. 314; cf. Schürr 2013, 216).

47 For the century of scholarship assigning the one sanctuary of the Twelve Gods to Komba, see Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 84–86; cf. Freyer-Schauenburg 2006, 254 n. 9.

transported away,⁴⁸ or that Komba's was not the only sanctuary and thus the reliefs had at least two points of origin.⁴⁹ But both conclusions have their weaknesses. The likelihood of a single major sanctuary at Komba – a relatively small site – is undermined by the wide distribution of the reliefs, as well as both minor stylistic variations and more significant differences in the quality of their execution, and even certain iconographical variations.⁵⁰ Moreover, some reliefs that can be identified as quite possibly having been carved and inscribed by the same workshops

48 Most recently argued by Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 84–86. (This matter presumably can be resolved by employing one or more types of scientific analysis to determine the origins of the limestone from which the reliefs were carved.)

49 Robert first proposed the existence of a second sanctuary at Antiphellos based on rather thin evidence (Robert, *Hell.* X, 9 n. 1), but later contradicted this and cited Komba as the sole sanctuary (Robert 1983, 587, 593 (= Robert, *Documents*, 431, 437)). (Robert's initial position would have seemed stronger had he been aware that Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, no. V1 had mistakenly been assigned to Phellos when it instead was found at modern Limanağzı, a harbor two kilometers from Antiphellos (see Schürr 2013, 217).) Freyer-Schauenburg went further, proposing multiple local workshops and itinerant artisans whose works ended up at multiple sanctuaries, instead of the heavy reliefs having to be transported from one or two major sanctuaries (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, pp. 46–51, 86; cf. Freyer-Schauenburg 2006, 254). For the issue of the reliefs' origins at multiple points, see also Balzat 2014, 256–257.

Clouding this issue somewhat is an unpublished inscription that has been noted several times (Frei 1990, 1830, 1833; Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, p. 48n.130; Kolb 1999a, 131 and Kolb 1999b, 162; Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 90; Schürr, *ibid.*, 218), but that may well have been irrelevant to the cult of the Twelve Gods found in the reliefs. The inscription, seen and recorded by G. E. Bean at Isinda and reasonably dated to the Imperial period by Frei, appears to imply the existence of a sanctuary of "Twelve Gods" at Phellos (near Antiphellos). It has been thought by Kolb to record a second sanctuary of the Twelve Gods found in the reliefs, while Drew-Bear and Labarre argued against speculating regarding an unpublished inscription. More recently, Schürr has proposed that since the sanctuary need not have been in Phellos itself it may have been the same one at which Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. V1 originated. Examination of the text and notes serving as the source for the inscription's eventual edition does indeed show reason for caution, though for a reason not previously noted: the reading of "Twelve Gods" is likely but not certain (Vienna *Schedae* for TAM II.4, provisional no. 1301; Schürr does refer to the "unübliche Nachstellung" of ΔΩΔΕΚΑ, but does not indicate doubt regarding the reading). Moreover, even if the inscription does date to Roman times and refer to a group of "Twelve Gods", the sanctuary at Phellos need not have been for *these* gods rather than those formerly worshiped in Xanthos, or even the Olympian gods (see n. 1). Overall, this unpublished inscription may represent the only evidence for a sanctuary at which the gods of the Lycian reliefs were worshiped, but it is also quite possible that it does not. (I am grateful to Christof Schuler for sharing with me the text of this inscription and accompanying notes.)

50 Drew-Bear and Labarre have argued that the differences in execution and quality of these stylistically similar works could be the result of different artisans being present at the same workshop, which is plausible but not convincing (see Drew-Bear/Labarre 2004, 85). Considerably less plausible is the contention of Schürr that an iconographical variation found in two reliefs from the same site, combined with other evidence, argues for a link between the reliefs and water sources (Schürr 2013, 216–217). As Freyer-Schauenburg had previously noted, two reliefs from Teimiussa each feature a large object that appears to be a vessel, in one case located to the left of the first figure and in the other to the left of the first canine, and due to the size of these objects they might have represented a water source (Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, nos. S8 and S10, on which see pp. 60, 68). Regardless of whether Freyer-Schauenburg's identification of these objects as vessels and suspicion regarding their meaning are correct, this anomalous feature of the two reliefs can hardly be viewed as significant evidence for the Twelve Gods' cult on the whole, but Schürr reaches his hypothesis by combining Freyer-Schauenburg's tentative observations with the unremarkable fact that the only relief found at its original site was from an area with a water source (see n. 46), the even less compelling fact that another relief was found in the late-nineteenth century reused in a well (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. V3, cf. p. 46), and even speculation that the relief from modern Limanağzı would have originated at a site that today is a source for water (Freyer-Schauenburg, *ibid.*, no. V1; see previous note). Regardless of the nature and meaning of the objects on the two Teimiussa reliefs, these cannot be relied on as evidence for water having played a special role in the worship of the Twelve Gods.

based on their execution or letter-forms come from different sites,⁵¹ which certainly argues against a single sanctuary in Komba unless some of these were transported across significant distances; however, they also cannot be used to argue for the existence of several sanctuaries since one would expect reliefs from the same workshop to have been found in close proximity to each other.⁵² What this may suggest is that the craftsmen, rather than the reliefs, could have moved around, but this is problematic because if they were traveling on their own it would raise the question of how they came to sell reliefs of gods that were only given in compliance with an oracle; and if, on the other hand, they were accompanying itinerant priests or diviners, as is suggested below as one possible explanation for the phenomenon, it is unclear how they would have spent their time between requests for these reliefs.⁵³

The fact that the reliefs of known provenience come from rural areas rather than urban centers, and that the only relief found at its original site was excavated in a farming community, argues even more strongly against their being from a single major sanctuary at Komba – especially one within the city rather than in its territory – or from several major sanctuaries in central Lycia’s towns and cities. But more importantly, the proposed existence of a sanctuary at Komba is highly doubtful because the almost completely uniform dedication of reliefs bearing the formula κατ’ ἐπιταγήν, with no other types of dedication or epigraphical source surviving, means that if a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods did exist there this anomaly could only be explained if worshipers who did not live in Komba or its territory were traveling to this sanctuary and then engaging in some sort of divinatory ritual there, commissioning a relief that alluded to the oracular response they had received, traveling home, and then dedicating the relief in a suitable local sanctuary or private setting – but not commissioning a relief if they had visited and left without received (or even seeking) an oracle.⁵⁴ Such behavior is not impossible, but it *is* unlikely: even if there is good evidence for worshipers taking home souvenirs purchased at sanctuaries a great distance from their homes, there is no evidence for inscribed dedications recording consultation of an oracle having been brought home, let alone such a uniform group of dedications being so widely distributed from one or two points. Moreover, a sanctuary important enough to have drawn worshipers to undertake long journeys in order to visit it should have produced other evidence of worship by those who had not engaged in such divinatory rituals. The suggestion of multiple sanctuaries is even less appealing, because if the Twelve Gods were popular enough

51 See, e.g., Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, nos. C3, C11, C12 and C13, which appear to have been inscribed by the same hand, and were found both in northern and southern Lycia (*ibid.*, p. 86).

52 For the criteria for identifying these groups, see Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, pp. 29–43 and G. Petzl in *ibid.*, pp. 44–45 (noting that some inscriptions are so similar that they could be by the same hand). In his discussion of the rider god reliefs Horsley argues against there having been workshops at these gods’ sanctuaries (except during festivals, perhaps), since there would not have been enough work to sustain them (*I.BurdurMus.*, p. 271), and the same logic would apply to the Twelve Gods, if one or more sanctuaries did exist. The workshops in question, then, would have been in villages and towns, perhaps sometimes in close proximity to the sanctuaries but not necessarily adjacent. Moreover, Horsley may well be right that not every village had a workshop, making it necessary for villagers at those that did not to travel to the nearest settlement or town that did (*ibid.*, 266).

53 The possibility of itinerant craftsmen was suggested by Freyer-Schauenburg (see n. 49), though not a role for cult figures or diviners.

54 It is also possible for worshipers to have traveled to such a sanctuary but commissioned a relief when they returned home, but the similarities among some of the reliefs make this unlikely, as does the lack of parallels for such a phenomenon associated with known oracular sanctuaries.

to have been worshiped at several sites there should have been additional evidence for their worship found throughout Lycia. Indeed, the existence of multiple cult sites would have greatly increased the chances of other types of epigraphical and anepigraphical evidence for these gods surviving, since it would have taken more than the destruction of a single site to eliminate all evidence of their worship beyond the 55 reliefs. As such evidence does not exist, and the only inscriptions that exist employ the formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν (with the one exception), the theory that there were multiple sanctuaries is likely to be correct only if each of these sites was primarily oracular in nature – which would be an unusual or even unique phenomenon.

If the possibility of worshipers visiting one or more sanctuaries of the Twelve Gods in order to engage in divination – and apparently for no other reason⁵⁵ – is excluded, other explanations for the reliefs must be considered, since they make no mention of any other circumstance. Two alternative scenarios, both problematic, emerge: the term ἐπιταγή found in these reliefs may refer to an oracle issued on a single occasion and circulated throughout central Lycia and perhaps part of Pisidia, prompting people to commission and dedicate reliefs to the Twelve Gods κατ' ἐπιταγήν; or, these reliefs may have been dedicated by those who had consulted itinerant diviners and received oracles instructing them to honor the Twelve Gods in this manner. Significantly, neither possibility would require there to have been a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, especially since in the first scenario an oracular sanctuary of another god or gods could have been involved.⁵⁶ It is impossible to identify this hypothetical oracle, but newly published epigraphical sources have provided the first plausible candidate: Kronos, who as noted above may have been the “father” of the Twelve Gods, and who is now known to have had an oracle at Tlos, where he was the *patroos theos*.⁵⁷

In the former scenario, involving a hypothetical oracular pronouncement that originated from a single source and soon gained widespread circulation, the oracle may have advised people to protect themselves from some sort of danger by making a dedication to the Twelve Gods. A somewhat comparable situation can perhaps be seen in a series of eleven blocks and plaques with virtually identical texts found throughout the Roman Empire (though especially the Latin West), ten of which bear the Latin phrase *diis deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clari Apollinis* (or in one case *ex interpretatione*), or can be restored that way, and one of

55 The reliefs' texts do not refer to health issues, well-wishes for the emperor, prayers for agricultural or commercial success, or any other matters private or public that were commonly recorded in dedicatory texts. This absence, however, might be attributed to epigraphic habit, since the reliefs for the rider gods and Dioskouroi likewise lack references to such circumstances. This shows that in Roman times it was not part of the epigraphic habit in rural Lycia and Pisidia to record the specific reasons for dedicating reliefs – but, as discussed above, the rider gods and Dioskouroi reliefs almost uniformly recorded vows, whereas the Twelve Gods reliefs uniformly recorded divine commands, which suggests that different motivations lay behind them. (The predominance of male worshipers and habit of merely recording a vow was by no means limited to southern Anatolia, as can be seen, e.g., among the small, privately dedicated steles collected in *Phrygian Votive Steles*.)

56 A third scenario may also be worth entertaining: rather than itinerant diviners or an oracle that circulated, it is possible that during a relatively brief period it came to be known that a particular type of omen was interpreted as signaling the need to make a dedication of a relief to the Twelve Gods, and it was alluded to by means of the formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν. Under such a circumstance local diviners or cult figures might have encouraged reliefs to be dedicated, but need not have been involved.

57 See n. 7. Among the new inscriptions from Tlos pertaining to the worship of Kronos there are two that name an ἀρχιτροφήτης, indicating the god's oracular nature there (Reitzenstein 2014, 566–571, nos. 4–5).

which instead has the Greek equivalent θεοῖς καὶ θεαῖς ἀπὸ ἐξηγήσεως χρησμοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Κλαρίου. As has been argued by Christopher P. Jones, these dedications may have been set up with an apotropaic intent, as a way of warding off the effects of the Antonine plague after Marcus Aurelius or a proxy acting on his behalf had consulted the Clarian oracle regarding the crisis.⁵⁸ As these inscriptions show, a single oracular consultation could lead to dedications being made in even some of the more far-flung parts of the Empire, so such a response to an oracle within Lycia was certainly possible. Another parallel might be adduced from Lucian, who describes the way the “false prophet” Alexander of Abonuteichos circulated oracles throughout the Roman Empire to warn cities about impending disasters, quoting a particular oracle issued during the same plague:

ἓνα δὲ τινα χρησμόν, αὐτόφωνον καὶ αὐτόν, εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ διεπέμψατο· ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔπος ἔν·

Φοῖβος ἀκείρεκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει.

καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἔπος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶνων γεγραμμένον ὡς τοῦ λοιμοῦ ἀλεξιφάρμακον.⁵⁹

There was one such oracle, an “autophone”, and during the plague he sent this to all the peoples. It was but a single line of verse:

“Phoebos of the unshorn hair wards off the cloud of plague.”

And this verse was to be seen everywhere written upon gates as a protective charm against the plague.

If the Twelve Gods were to receive dedications as part of an apotropaic ritual during a plague or other crisis then their iconography may have been significant, since protective amulets would sometimes refer to a divinity or mythological figure pursuing or struggling against harmful forces, and so it would have been appropriate for hunting (or warrior) gods and hunting dogs to be prominently featured on a relief meant to keep plague or other such forces away.⁶⁰ Conversely, it is possible that the Twelve Gods *were* the potentially harmful forces – as appears to have been the case with two Lydian inscriptions associating a δωδεκάθεον with the cult of Men Artemidorou Axiottenos and divine punishment⁶¹ – and needed to be appeased by means

58 See Jones 2005 (with references) and Jones 2006. Jones also collects and discusses the epigraphical evidence for oracles associated with plagues.

59 Lucian, *Alex.* 36. As was first discussed by Paul Perdrizet, among the inscriptions found at Antioch was one that is intriguing because this small, broken base preserves the end of the apotropaic text quoted by Lucian as well as the Greek vowels, which were often used in apotropaic and other magical contexts ([--- νε]φέλην ἀπερύκει ΑΕΗΙΟΥΩ) (Perdrizet 1903; republished as *SGO* IV:242, no. 20/03/01; see also Robert 1980, 404 and Mastrocinque 1999, 348–349). It is certainly possible that this inscription was posted in direct response to Glykon’s oracle, though as Perdrizet shows there is reason to conclude that the language of this oracle was reused on other occasions.

60 A potential parallel may have been noted by Tyler Jo Smith in her survey of the dedicatory reliefs from Balboura, in which she touches upon their potentially representing evidence of protector gods in the Lycian countryside: “A general theme of protection emerges. The Triad, Dioscuri, and Kakasbos are all armed (as is Herakles) and mobile (as is Hermes). The highland Lycians may well have needed the guidance and security provided by these demi-god heroes” (Smith/Milner 1997, 9–10, cf. p. 23; see also Smith 2011, 137, 140–141).

61 A funerary imprecation from the area of Sattai associates Men Axiottenos with a δωδεκάθην (*i.e.*, δωδεκάθεον): εἰ δέ τις προ[σαμάρ]τη τῇ στήλῃ, τὸν Αἰσιόττην[ὸν κὲ (?)] | τὸ ἐκεῖ δωδεκάθην καθημ[---] | [ἀ]νεξείλαστον τέκνα τέκν[ων] | ἔξει (Strubbe, *Arai Epitymbioi* 51). Similarly, a stele from the area of Kula praising this god’s mother as well as the god himself and narrating an episode of divine punishment follows a

of the reliefs so that they would not strike.⁶² Though appealing, this explanation for the reliefs as having been apotropaic is not without problems. Most importantly, even though the formula κατ' ἐπιταγήν could be used in dedications at sites with an oracular function,⁶³ for this type of situation κατὰ χρησμόν or κατὰ μαντείαν is the more appropriate formula, if not a more detailed phrase along the lines of ἀπὸ ἐξηγήσεως χρησμοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Κλαρίου. Also worth noting is that for these reliefs to have been prepared throughout the region in response to a single oracular revelation over a short period, the stylistic similarities evident in them would be impossible if the iconography of the Twelve Gods were not known to craftsmen in numerous locales, which in turn would raise the question of how the gods' iconography could have been so widely known – presumably, it was already known at the time the oracle was issued – and yet no other representations of them have been found. The explanation for these similarities, as discussed above, may have been that some of the artisans traveled, though it is also possible that the stone reliefs were preceded by wooden plaques and thus the gods' iconography was already established in the region and known to artisans.⁶⁴ This scenario also fails to explain why the central figures in the reliefs varied, as well as the minor differences in the texts, though this may not be significant.

The other scenario possibly explaining the existence of these reliefs is that they are the result not of individuals traveling to one or more sanctuaries to engage in divination, or of a single oracular warning receiving the attention of a fearful populace, but of itinerant diviners issuing oracles that either explicitly called for a relief to be dedicated or made this desirable. Such diviners may well have been accompanied by craftsmen who would prepare the reliefs – as noted above, this would explain the stylistic similarities of the figures and uniformity of the dedicatory texts among reliefs found in different parts of Lycia, as well as how the iconography of these gods would have been known at so many sites where there is no other evidence for their worship, but it also raises the question of what the craftsmen worked on when not fashioning the occasional Twelve Gods relief.⁶⁵ Moreover, there is the question of what sorts of oracles the diviners themselves were delivering when not sharing revelations pertaining to the Twelve

list of Men's qualities of holiness (ὅσιον), justice (δίκαιον), victory (νείκη) and vengeance (νεμέσεις) with the declaration μέγα σοὶ ἢ τὸ δωδεκάθεον τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κατεκτισμένον (*SEG* 53, 1344, ll. 10–12; see Malay 2003, 16–17). In both cases the precise nature of the δωδεκάθεον is unclear, though it appears to have been a shrine of twelve gods – presumably indigenous – who were associated with Men Artemidorou Axiottenos and this god's penchant for punishing wrongdoers. (I am grateful to Georg Petzl for both references.)

62 For a potential parallel, see Mastrocinque 2008 on the Cilician plague god Sandas, who was associated with a monstrous lion-goat – forerunner of the Chimaera – and a female partner, and who could only be appeased by offerings for seven subservient divinities. Perhaps a similar dynamic existed among the “father”, Twelve Gods, Artemis Kynegetis, and the accompanying dogs. (I am grateful to Attilio Mastrocinque for suggesting this interpretation of the reliefs as indicating an act of appeasement, and for the potential parallel.)

63 See, for example, the block inscribed with oracular texts at the sanctuary of Apollo Archegetes at Hierapolis that begins with the dedication κατ' ἐπιταγήν θεοῦ ἢ [ἀ]ρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλ[ων]ος ἢ [τ]οῦς χρησμο[ύ]ς ἢ [...]λλιανὸς Θ[ε]οῦ ἢ [ὑπὲρ] ἑαυτοῦ [ἀνέγρ]αψ[εν] (Merkelbach/Stauber 1996, 11, no. 3 and *SGO* I, p. 259; Ritti, *Hierapolis* 16). (The first of these oracles, attributed to Apollo Clarios, concerned dealing with a plague.)

64 On the possibility that wooden images preceded those carved into limestone, see Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter*, pp. 84–85. However, since the rider god and Dioskouroi reliefs were already being produced this is problematic, since if there was a shift from wood to stone among Lycia's rural cults one would expect this to have occurred at the same time.

65 For the potential role of itinerant artisans, see n. 49.

Gods, and why none of these oracles can be detected in other inscriptions. A caustic assessment of such traveling diviners is to be found in Apuleius’s *Golden Ass*, in which the priests of Atargatis who for a time possess Lucius decide to profit off the naive country folk by selling them fraudulent oracles.⁶⁶ There is no way to determine how common the phenomenon described by Apuleius was, but his narrative does suggest that individual professionals who made a living by traveling from town to town to sell oracles (as did Apuleius’s other charlatan diviner, Diophanes the Chaldaean) were not the only type of itinerant diviner active in Roman times: in addition to such individuals, at least on occasion, there must have been groups of priests and other devotees from certain cults traveling about and delivering oracles on behalf of the divinity they served, and perhaps profiting from this.⁶⁷ This is what may well have been happening in rural Lycia sometime around 200 C.E., when for a brief period of time either the “Twelve Gods” or another divinity that was somehow associated with them received profound interest, in no small part because of the role played by one or more groups roving through the countryside and engaging in divination on behalf of members of the local population. Rather than being displayed at a sanctuary of the Twelve Gods these reliefs would have ended up in a private context or else a local shrine, where they would have demonstrated compliance with the divine command revealed by these diviners.⁶⁸ This scenario, however, does have specific problems, on top of its generally speculative nature: first, as with the possibility of a single oracle that circulated widely, if these reliefs were the result of oracles privately received from diviners one might expect κατὰ χρησμόν rather than κατ’ ἐπιταγήν; and, second, it would leave open the question of why the diviners themselves were a short-lived phenomenon. Perhaps the explanation lies in a particular type of omen having been detected repeatedly during this period and brought to the attention of diviners, though this, too, is imperfect.

These two scenarios both raise the question of whether it was even the Twelve Gods themselves to whom each relief’s divine command was attributed, as was typically the case with gods receiving dedications that employed κατ’ ἐπιταγήν and similar dedicatory formulas. After all, it was common for oracular gods to call for dedications to other gods, especially under certain circumstances such as plagues, so if the Twelve Gods reliefs were prompted by a single oracle that was circulating in Lycia then there is no reason to conclude that they themselves were responsible for issuing this oracle – just as the unnamed “gods and goddesses” who received dedications throughout the Roman Empire had not called for these to be made, but rather Clari-

66 Apul., *Met.* 9.8–9.

67 Diophanes: Apul., *Met.* 2.12–14. Admittedly, the Apuleius parallel is not a perfect one, as his novel is set in Greece rather than Asia Minor, and the priests of Atargatis deliver fraudulent oracles but do not participate in their clients’ preparation of dedications recording the event. Nonetheless, Apuleius is unlikely to have included in his narrative such a group if there were not real-life models. And, indeed, the at least somewhat realistic nature of this episode may be indicated by an apparent reference to this sort of phenomenon by Lucian, who attributes to the “false prophet” Alexander the comment that the people of Paphlagonia living in the area of Abonuteichos were so superstitious and gullible that they would gape with wonder at those who would appear and give oracles or play the flute, tambourine or cymbals: μόνον εἰ φανείη τις αὐλήτην ἢ τυμπανιστὴν ἢ κυμβάλοις κροτοῦντα ἐπαγόμενος, κοσκίνῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου μαντευόμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πάντας κεχηνότας πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὥσπερ τινα τῶν ἐπουρανίων προσβλέποντας (Lucian, *Alex.* 9). Presumably, the level of sophistication in rural Lycia was similarly low.

68 As already noted, the one relief found at its original site came from private property rather than a sanctuary (see n. 46).

an Apollo.⁶⁹ If these reliefs were a product of itinerant priests issuing oracles, these priests may well have served Artemis, Hermes or the anonymous “father” god, just as Apuleius’s priests served Atargatis: after all, the worship of Artemis and Hermes, and perhaps also the “father”, was certainly established in the region, whereas no other evidence for the Twelve Gods from this period has ever been found, with the possible exception of one unpublished inscription.⁷⁰ Also arguing against the Twelve Gods having issued any oracles is that there is no precedent in Greek religion for a group of indistinguishable divinities having done so: oracles are known to have been revealed by individual gods such as Apollo and Zeus, and occasionally by pairs (most notably, the Dioskouroi), but not groups whose members lacked distinct identities.⁷¹ If the Twelve Gods were indeed not the ones issuing the command or commands that prompted this relatively sudden appearance of similar dedicatory reliefs throughout the region, there is even less reason to think that these otherwise undetectable gods had a sanctuary of their own. This phenomenon might, however, suggest the existence of an oracle at the known or unknown sanctuary of another god, who on one or more occasions issued instructions regarding the Twelve Gods and the need to dedicate reliefs to them and, quite often, one or more associated gods.

Conclusion

Overall, it is indisputable that something quite unusual happened in central Lycia and perhaps southern Pisidia at the height of the Roman Imperial period that led to the dedication of reliefs to the “Twelve Gods” at numerous sites, but precisely what that was is impossible to determine from the surviving evidence. Associated with a god who was recognized as their “father”, and also with the huntress goddess Artemis Kynegetis and sometimes Hermes, it is quite possible

69 In addition, a literary parallel can be found in Lucian’s passage concerning an oracle attributed to the serpent-god Glykon calling for Apollo to be invoked in order to protect against plague (see above). More notably, an inscription preserving an oracle of Apollo for Sardis or another Lydian city instructed its citizens to bring a statue of Artemis from Ephesos in order to save themselves from plague (*SEG* 41, 981; see Graf 1992). I plan to explore in greater depth the phenomenon of gods ordering or recommending that dedications be made to other gods in a chapter of “*Commanded by the Gods*”: *Dreams and Divination in the Greco-Roman Epigraphical Record*, currently in preparation as a companion to the aforementioned catalog of such dedications (n. 15).

70 See n. 49.

71 In the Greek world the only group of indistinguishable divinities that might be thought to have issued oracles were the nymphs, who were believed to “possess” and sometimes communicate with certain individuals experiencing “nympholepsy” (on which see most recently Jim 2012). For nympholepts to receive such communications, however, appears to have been quite a different phenomenon from that of individuals in need of guidance or information visiting a sanctuary or shrine and putting a matter before the god. In the Latin West, however, there may be evidence for groups of divinities whose members are indistinguishable from each other issuing oracles or communicating through omens, since in the German provinces there have been found around 100 dedications to groups of three goddesses known as “*Matronae*” made following divine commands. Eliminating ambiguity, these dedications regularly employed a reflexive pronoun to indicate that the goddesses had jointly issued the command (*e.g.*, *ex imperio ipsarum*), whereas the “Twelve Gods” dedications lack such information, even though in Greek dedicatory inscriptions citing divine commands it was common to attribute them to a god or gods using a reflexive pronoun, the god’s name, or just the word θεός in the genitive. The absence of such reflexive language therefore leaves open the possibility that the Twelve Gods did not issue the command or commands that their reliefs record. For the *Matronae*, important recent studies include: Eck 2007; Spickermann 2008, 61–77 *et pass.* and Spickermann 2010; Biller 2010, 265–328; and, Garman 2010.

that the Twelve Gods made their a rise to prominence in the religious life of the region because of some undeterminable development in the cult of one of these other gods – and not because there was a cult of the Twelve Gods that reached its zenith around 200 C.E. and drew worshippers from near and far to sanctuaries in Komba or other sites where these reliefs have turned up. However, the possibility that the Twelve Gods – who, after all, appear to have been indigenous and to have predated the reliefs by centuries – were worshiped at one or more sanctuaries cannot be completely dismissed, despite the striking lack of evidence for their cult other than reliefs that exist in response to one or more oracles or omens. Whatever the reason for their existence may be, the Twelve Gods reliefs represent an anomalous religious phenomenon – as only becomes evident when one considers the uniqueness of this widely distributed series of private dedications and their dedicatory language.

Abbreviations

Delemen, <i>Rider-Gods</i>	Delemen, İnci, <i>Anatolian Rider-Gods: A Study on Stone Finds from the Regions of Lycia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Lydia and Caria in the Late Roman Period</i> (Asia Minor Studien 35; Bonn, 1999)
Freyer-Schauenburg, <i>Zwölfgötter</i>	Freyer-Schauenburg, Brigitte (with Georg Petzl), <i>Die lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs</i> (Asia Minor Studien 13; Bonn, 1994)
<i>I.Arykanda</i>	Şahin, Sencer, <i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda</i> (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 48; Bonn, 1994)
<i>I.BurdurMus</i>	Horsley, G. H. R. (with R. A. Kearsley), <i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum</i> (Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 5; London, 2007)
<i>I.Manisa</i>	Malay, Hasan, <i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum</i> (Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 237; Vienna, 1994)
<i>I.Pergamon VIII.3</i>	Habicht, Christian, <i>Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> (Altertümer von Pergamon 8.3; Berlin, 1969)
<i>LGNP V.B</i>	Balzat, J.-S., R. W. V. Catling, É. Chiricat & F. Marchand (with T. Corsten), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names V.B: Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia</i> (Oxford, 2013)
<i>Phrygian Votive Steles</i>	Drew-Bear, Thomas, Christine M. Thomas & Melek Yıldıztüran, <i>Phrygian Votive Steles</i> (Ankara, 1999)
<i>RICIS</i>	Bricault, Laurent, <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> , 3 vols. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 31; Paris, 2005)
Ritti, <i>Hierapolis</i>	Ritti, Tullia, <i>Guida Epigrafica a Hierapolis di Frigia (Pamukkale)</i> (Istanbul, 2006)
Robert, <i>Documents</i>	Robert, Louis, <i>Documents d'Asie Mineure</i> (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 239bis; Paris, 1987)
Robert, <i>Hell.</i>	Robert, Jeanne & Louis, <i>Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> , 13 vols. (Paris, 1940–65)
<i>SGO</i>	Merkelbach, Reinhold & Josef Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> , 5 vols. (Stuttgart, Leipzig & Munich, 1998–2004)

Strubbe, <i>Arai Epitymbioi</i>	Strubbe, Johan H. M., <i>APAI EIIITYMBIOI: Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor: A Catalogue</i> (Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 52; Bonn, 1997)
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , 5 vols. (Vienna, 1901–)
Termessos IV	İplikçioğlu, Bülent, Güler Çelgin & A. Vedat Çelgin, <i>Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium IV</i> (SbWien 743; Vienna, 2007)
TitAq I	Kovács, Péter & Ádám Szabó, <i>Tituli Aquincenses I: Tituli operum publicorum et honorarii et sacri</i> (Budapest, 2009)
TitAq III	Fehér, Bence, <i>Tituli Aquincenses III: Tituli instrumenti domestici</i> (Budapest, 2011)
Zgusta, KP	Zgusta, Ladislav, <i>Kleinasiatische Personennamen</i> (Prague, 1964)

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Özet

Lykia’da ve olasılıkla güney Pisidia’da bulunmuş olan 55 adet ‘Oniki Tanrı’ ve onlara eşlik eden köpeklerine ilişkin eserler iki kitap (*corpus*) ve sayısız makaleye konu olmuşsa da, onları eşsiz kılan önemli bir özellikleri bugüne kadar saptanamamıştır: Yalnızca biri hariç, bunların tümü bir ‘kehanet’ uyarınca sunulmuş tek Grekçe ve Latince bir adak serisidir. Bunlar he ne kadar bu bölgede bulunan çok sayıdaki Dioskouroi kabartmaları ile birçok ortak özellikler taşıyorlarsa da, bunlarda sürekli olarak kullanılan *kat’epitagen* (“tanrısal emir uyarınca”) formülü bize bunların farklı ve benzersiz bir dinsel olguyu temsil ettiklerini göstermektedir. Bu olgunun özelliğini tam olarak bilmek mümkün olmasa da, farklı bazı senaryolar üretmek mümkündür: Bu adaklar belki insanları bu tanrılara (belaları savuşturmak üzere ?) adak sunmaya davet eden tek bir kehanetin ya da bölgeyi dolaşan gezici kahinlerin verdikleri birçok kehanetin gereği olarak sunulmuş olabilir. Her iki halde de, bu kabartmaların Lykialı 12 Tanrı’ya tapınılan bir veya birkaç tapınakta sunulmuş olduklarına ilişkin eski düşünce artık sorgulanmalıdır; öyle ki, bu tanrıların kendilerine ait bir tapınakları olmaması bile mümkündür.



Fig. 1. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, No. A5
 Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of William Kelly Simpson in memory of Michael C. Rockefeller, 1981.119
 Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College



Fig. 2. *SEG* 59, 1921, the one fully intact relief of the Lycian Twelve Gods that does not record a divine command
Photo provided by Ebru N. Akdoğu Arca and Nuray Gökarp

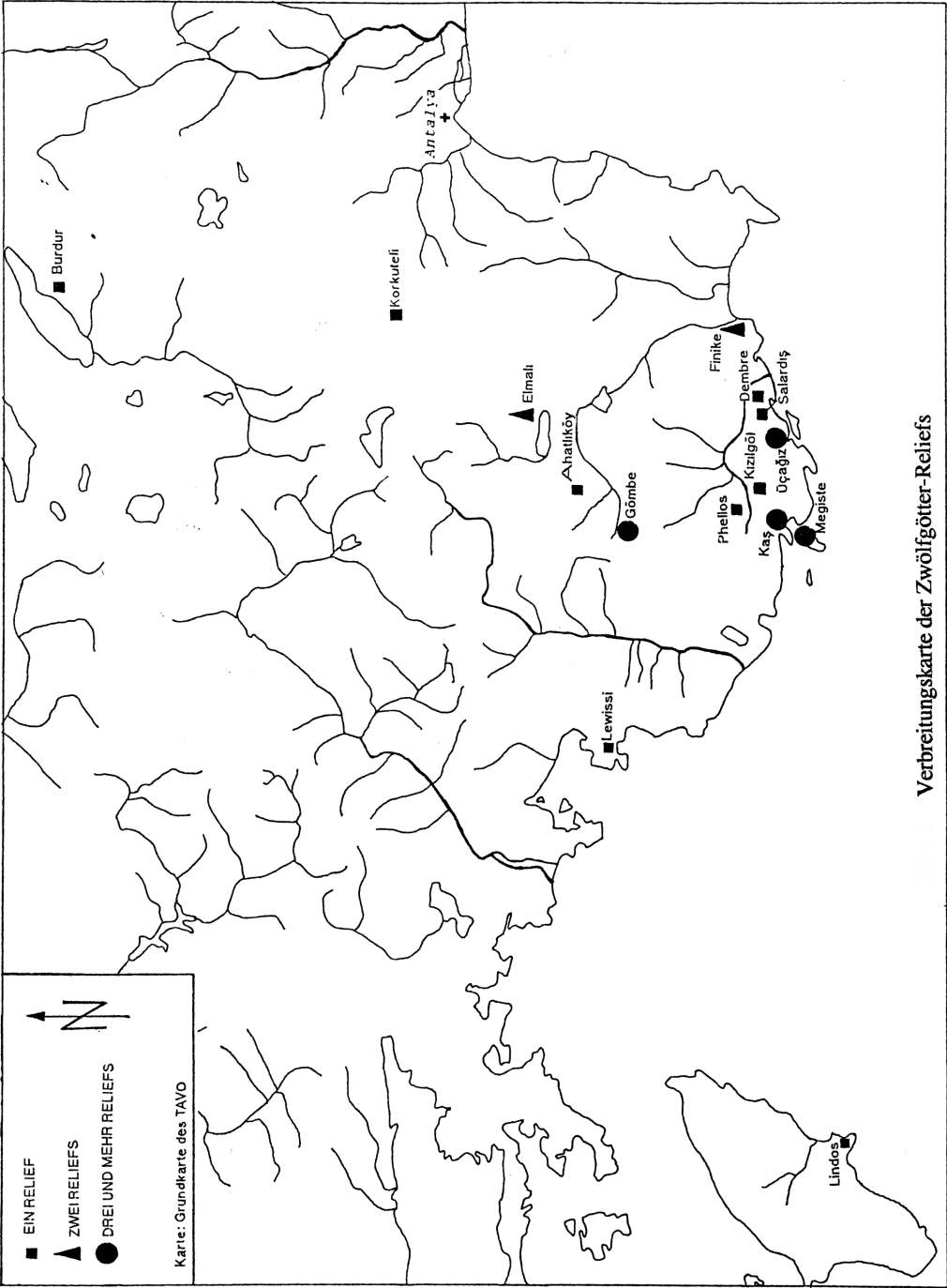


Fig. 3. Map
Source: B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Die lykischen Zwölfgötter-Reliefs*, p. 109