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 Phrygia. 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or to Maionia, according to Ptolemy), and their numerous inscriptions (Dorylaion alone boasts nearly 1000 published and unpublished inscriptions), it is a very attractive region for a student of ancient pagan cults.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 Attalids on the upper course of the Penkalas River (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 born. The religious life of Aizanoi was dominated by their particular cult of Zeus known as Ζεὺς Αἰζανῶν and Zeus Ἐζεανίτης.

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 Hellenespointe Phrygia); 12. 4. 4 (the so-called Phrygia Epiktetos, also called Hellenespointe Phrygia); 12. 4. 1 (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 Hellenespointe 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 ὁ Μυσῶν Ἀββαειτῶν; Hier. 668. 10: Kadoi is Phrygian. Cf. IG XIV 1121 (Rome): Mysei Ab[b]aitae et Epic[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); Strabbe 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 EZEANITON). 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/Aezanianus. The city (or its territory) is called ιερά καὶ τεμενική 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 ιερά καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς, ὁ νεωκόρος δήμος.
The temple of Zeus of Aizanoi in the city’s centre was built under Domitian (ca. 95/6 AD) 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.

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. An earlier era is represented by his Mother residing in the Cave at Steunos. The sanctuary at Steunos was excavated and the results published: 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 Abozenos, Zeus Anadotes, Zeus Bennios, Zeus Bronton, Zeus Kikidiassenos, Zeus Megas Menophilou, Zeus Olympios, Zeus...
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 terri-
fied’ (ι)[κ][ε][τε][π][λ][ή][χ][ή] δε[ινός) 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 funer-
ary imprecations)32, 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.

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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 ἱεροί; 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: Α [on the front moulding]: Δαοκωμήται χατ [ευχήν· ἔτους - - - ?]; B (above Zeus): Λώου μηνὸς 
ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ Μηνόφιλος; C (above Meter): [κ][ε][τε][π][λ][ή][χ][ή] δε[ινώς καὶ?] | ἐκτίσθη Ζεὺς | Μέγας Μη|νοφίλο|υ.


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 Demetrios 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, 1523, Aslanapa.

33 SEG 56, 1477: Ἑκάτη 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 Ricl 1991, 36–39 nos. 79–84; SEG 56, 1432–1433 (195/6 AD).

35 SEG 56, 1439.

36 MAMA IX 62; 71 (?).

37 MAMA IX 67, dedication of a trapeza.

38 SEG 56, 1431.

39 MAMA IX 66.
Oriene\textsuperscript{41}, Meter Thea\textsuperscript{42}, Meter theon\textsuperscript{43}), Poseidon and Amphitrite\textsuperscript{44}, Sozon\textsuperscript{45}, and Theos Hypsistos\textsuperscript{46}. Many inscriptions mention various members of cult personnel, such as eikonophoroi\textsuperscript{47}, hieroi\textsuperscript{48}, neokori\textsuperscript{49}, archineokori\textsuperscript{50}, neopoioi\textsuperscript{51}, priests (Zeus\textsuperscript{52}, Zeus Anadotes\textsuperscript{53}, Artemis\textsuperscript{54}, Dionysos\textsuperscript{55}, Theos Hypsistos\textsuperscript{56}, Theoi boulaioi – Zeus, Athena, Hestia –\textsuperscript{57}, unknown deity\textsuperscript{58}) and archpriests of the city\textsuperscript{59}, prophets\textsuperscript{60}, and flute-players at libations (spondaulai)\textsuperscript{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 Dagoustes\textsuperscript{62}, that Zeus Biaderianos, protector of the community of Biaderianoi, was also honored as Patrikos and Syngenikos\textsuperscript{63}, that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} MAMA X 307 (or Kotiaion).
\item \textsuperscript{42} SEG 56, 1430; MAMA X 527 and appendix I: Cadi 3 from near Aizanoi.
\item \textsuperscript{43} MAMA IX 65.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Dedication by Ulpius Eurycles, member of the Panhellenion for Aizanoi from 153 to 175 AD (SEG 42, 1191).
\item \textsuperscript{45} MAMA IX 57–58 (depicted as a radiate god).
\item \textsuperscript{46} SEG 40, 1188: Αὔρ. Ἀκληπηνίδ[η]ς ἔλαϕει[ε]ς ἀπ’ ὅλλων τῶν παθημάτ[ῶν] εὐδάμενος Θεῷ ἀγαθῷ μετά τῶν ἱδών; Körte 1902, 27 no. 46 (Kırgıl 30 km NW of Aizanoi); MAMA IX 59; MAMA X 261; SEG 40, 1196 (Kırgıl), 1227 (Tavşanlı), 1235 (Aslanapa, perhaps from the same sanctuary as the preceding one).
\item \textsuperscript{47} MAMA IX 131.
\item \textsuperscript{48} IGR IV 557, 584; SEG 34, 1286; 52, 1254; 56, 1436.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Neokoroi of Zeus: SEG 45, 1713, 1718–1719; MAMA IX 33–34, 88; 416: ten times neokoros of Zeus.
\item \textsuperscript{50} SEG 26, 1352; 45, 1719 (53/4 AD); MAMA IX 10.
\item \textsuperscript{51} SEG 45, 1719 (53/4 AD): life-long neopoios of Zeus Anadotes.
\item \textsuperscript{52} MAMA IX 19, 35: Menophilos son of Nikostratos, also honoured in SEG 45, 1714 as philopatris, ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς δεκάκις (last quarter of 2\textsuperscript{nd} c. AD); IGR IV 579; SEG 35, 1365, ἱερεύς διὰ βίου, also agonothetes of the first games Deia.
\item \textsuperscript{53} SEG 45, 1719 (53/4 AD): priest for the second time.
\item \textsuperscript{54} SEG 45, 1708, life-long; the same person ibid. 1710.
\item \textsuperscript{55} SEG 35, 1365: Eurycles, ἱερεύς διὰ βίου; 42, 1188; MAMA IX 34: life-long priest.
\item \textsuperscript{56} SEG 40, 1235.
\item \textsuperscript{57} MAMA IX 38.
\item \textsuperscript{58} MAMA IX 44: διὰ βίου; ibid. 179.
\item \textsuperscript{59} IGR IV 577: three times; MAMA IX 17.
\item \textsuperscript{60} MAMA IX 60: of Apollo Xyreos.
\item \textsuperscript{61} MAMA IX 188.
\item \textsuperscript{62} SEG 44, 1069. Cf. ἡ Δαγουτηνῶν χώρα in the region of Hadrianoi (I.Hadrianoi 33, 50) and MAMA V pp. 162–163.
\item \textsuperscript{63} SEG 44, 1070.
another Zeus, addressed as Limnenos/Limnaios, was also Patroos for some of his devotees\textsuperscript{64}, or that a particular Zeus known as Zeus Kersoulllos 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 Kersoulllos/on in the territory of Hadrianoin\textsuperscript{65}. 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 ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος Ἀγροστεων καὶ Ζβουρῆας\textsuperscript{66}. Other geographical epithets of Zeus found in inscriptions and on coins of Phrygia Epiktetos are Abozenos\textsuperscript{67}, Akreinenos\textsuperscript{68}, Ilärenos\textsuperscript{69}, Karndandenos\textsuperscript{70}, Kikiassenas\textsuperscript{71}, Korenos\textsuperscript{72}, Laginos/ek Laginou\textsuperscript{73}, Melenos\textsuperscript{74}, Moraldos\textsuperscript{75}, Narenos\textsuperscript{76}, Oloimetes/Olemeanos\textsuperscript{77}, Olympios\textsuperscript{78}, Orochoreites\textsuperscript{79}, Ouebros/Ouebrenos (established

\textsuperscript{64} SEG 56, 1574.
\textsuperscript{65} SEG 56, 1436.
\textsuperscript{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 Ilica; Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 2022–2026.
\textsuperscript{68} SEG 44, 1039–1040; Anderson 1899, 72 no. 22, area of Mihaliççik.
\textsuperscript{69} SEG 44, 1050.
\textsuperscript{70} SEG 44, 1056.
\textsuperscript{71} SEG 42, 1196.
\textsuperscript{72} SEG 44, 1056.
\textsuperscript{73} SEG 44, 1052; 56 1669.
\textsuperscript{74} SEG 28, 1194; 42, 1198–1199. There is one more unpublished dedication to this deity in the Eskişehir Museum.
\textsuperscript{75} MAMA V 119, Karapazar NW of Nakoleia; SEG 32, 1272.
\textsuperscript{76} Mitchell 1982, nos. 11–12 (Beylikahır, c. 60 km SE of Eskisehir), 42 (Yukarı Dudaş, 20 km SW of Mihaliççik), 52 (Güce), 67 Mihaliççik), 70 (Yarıkçı, area of Mihaliççik), 86 (Güreş, in the mountains NE of Mihaliççik); also in Dacia (Rusc 2003, nos. 3–4). For the toponym, see Zgusta 1984, § 885-1.
\textsuperscript{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 · Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τερτιανὸς βʹ Διὶ Ὀλεμεναίῳ εὐχήν.
\textsuperscript{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 Kersoulllos.
\textsuperscript{79} SEG 32, 1271: ἱερεῖς κὲ ἱέρειαι Ὀροχωρείτου followed by a female and two male names (from Kızılaçıören 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 mevki in the territory of Kurudere = anc. Appoleno, where he was worshipped together with Zeus Alsenos and Zeus Petarenos, for which see Drew-Bear, Naour 1990, 1931–1933; Drew Bear, Thomas, Yıldızturan 1999, nos. 6, 494, 527, 531, 607).
in the village of Ouebrokome, Petaraios/Petarenos, Pyrgenos, Semantikos, Sarnendos/Sarnendenos, Syreanos, and Tattenos. In a category by itself is the cult of Zeus Perses/Person encountered in two inscriptions from the region of Nakoleia, both possibly originating from the same sanctuary: in the first inscription, Zeus Person is addressed together with (Zeus) Βροντῶν κὲ Ἀστράπτων, and in the second with another ‘foreigner’ – Ζεὺς Καπτώλιος. 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 Aules, where Aule can be a place-name comparable to the Lydian toponym Νεαύλη attested in Hierokles and in a geographic epithet for a Zeus Sabazios from the region of Philadelpheia, or a common noun meaning ‘court(yard), colonnade, hall, atrium of the sanctuary, chapel, cave; enclosure/pen/stable/farmstead.

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, Yıldızturan 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 Kudurude, c. 32 km S of Bağlıca; SEG 57, 1315 from Beşkonak Köyü (Çatmapınar Köyü) near Çifteler/Eskisehir, c. 12 km NW of Bağlıca. Cf. Zgusta 1984, § 1051.
82 SEG 51, 1781, Bozüyük c. 45 km NW of Eskisehir. 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 Ῥοῦφον Τροφίμοιο θητεύον ἐν Λαμουνίῃ ἡ Μοῖρ’ ἐκίχανεν. Rufus’ native town Pyrgos probably lay not too far from Bozüyük.
83 Armanet 1904, 194 no. 9 (Dorylaion); Mirbeau 1906, 357 no. 1 (Dorylaion); Hapsels 1971, 337 no. 104 (Akoluk, Kütahya).
84 Regions of Mihalıççık and Nallihan (Juliiopolis) across the mountain: Mitchell 1982, no. 76 (iki kilisse, today Ikizafer in the mountains south of the Tembris river (ἐν ΣΑΝΟanford ΜΟΣ Δίω Σαρνενήγου εὐγήν); SEG 50, 1223, Emremsultan, 13 km S of Nallihan on the north side of the river: to be read Ἀθήνιππος κἐ ἡ γυναὶ Άφια Δίω Σαρ(ν)ενήγου εὐγήν (ed. pr. Ἀθήνιππος κ[.]Ἀφία Δίω Σαρν[ενήγου]εὐγήν); 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): Α: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ · Θεῷ ἀρίστῳ μεγίστῳ ἐπήκοῳ σωτῆρι ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν βασιλάρων κόσμου τε καὶ κτενα). We also have an attestation of the cult of Ζεὺς Σαρνενήδος (SEG 44, 1056, area of Ağachıar Köyü, c. 30 km NW of Mihalıççık), identical with Ζεὺς Σαρνενήνος. The cult of Zeus Sarnendenos has left traces in the territory of Nikaia (I.Iznik 2.1, 1128) and in Dacia (Ruscu 2003, 5, from Alburnus Maior, set up by a κολλήγειον; ibid. 16, from Apulum: Ζεῦ Σαρδενήνῳ Ῥοῦφος Ἀντιπάτρου ἀνέθηκε).
85 Hapsels 1971, 340 no. 109 (Σοἡβιτ Υλιλας): Εἰοκομεταί and a priest make a dedication to Zeus Syreanos; SEG 26, 1380: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ: Εἰοκομήτισσα Δίω Συρεανήν εὐγήν.
87 SEG 28, 1186 (Değişören); Frei 1989, 197 (unpublished inscription from the site Kandamış Örenler near Kuyucak c. 11 km SW of Değişören). Θεῖοι Ἐλληνικοὶ 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 Katakameunae, 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 Νεαολίται in SEG 55, 1440, Keretapa Pisdia, c. 150–1 BC.
91 Ζεὺς Σαουαζίος Νεαολίτης (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 excellence: he is Ampelites/Ampelikos (‘of the vine’), Anatodes (‘causing the plants to sprout’), Bronton (‘Thunderer’), Telesphoros (‘bringing fruit to perfection’), Thallos (‘of the young shoots’), and Tetrao[raios] (‘of the four seasons’). An unpublished altar from the Eskişehir Museum contains a new epithet of Zeus – Hekatostites (‘who makes crops bear a hundredfold’): Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ . Χρυσάνθης, Αὐρ. Ζώσιμος Ἀντώ(νιος/νίου) υἱῷ Κλαυδίῳ Αὐρ. Ζωσίμῳ βʹ, Διεὶ Ἑκατοστίτῃ 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 ἑκατοστεύω ‘bear a hundredfold’, known from the Septuaginta (Gen. 26.12: Ἔσπειρεν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εὗρεν ἐν τῷ ἑκατοστεύουσαν κριθήν) 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 association. Zeus is also Alsenos (‘of the sacred grove’), Aristos (‘the best’), Basilikos (‘kingly’), Dios and Ouranios (‘heavenly’), Epekoos/Philekoos (‘the one who listens/attentive’), Epimartyros (‘witness to one’s word’, the epithet used for Zeus already in the Iliad 7, 76), Euchodotes (‘gran-
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 kydios (‘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 ἐξ 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-Προκέντῃ 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.

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108 SEG 28, 1175, Nakoleia: Θυμελικῷ Εὐχοδότῃ Διὶ κὲ Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχήν.
109 SEG 44, 1049.
111 SEG 50, 1222.
112 MAMA V 175.
113 SEG 50, 1222.
114 SEG 51, 1769.
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 Limmenos).
118 Ramsay 1887, 502 no. LXXIII: Κορνήλιος Ἀντώνιος Διὶ Ῥυμίῳ εὐχήν, 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 ῥύμη ‘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 Εὐχοδότῃ Διὶ κὲ Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχήν.
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 διδότου. 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. Vermassen 1977, 42 no. 122 (Kadoi): Διὶ καὶ Μητρὶ θεῶν Στευνηνῆ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Δήμητριον Αἰξανεύτης ἱερός κτίσθη ἔκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. The goddess of this sanctuary might have been locally known as Μήτηρ θεῶν Στευνηνῆ Ἀρτεμιδώρου.
by private individuals-devotees/priests of Zeus: of Zeus Andreas, Zeus Antigoniaios, Zeus Asklepiades, Zeus Aphphiados, Zeus Brogimarou, Zeus Αριστονικός και στρατιώτου, Zeus Megas Menophilou, and Zeus Poteos. 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 text: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀριστόνικος στρατιώτης πραιτωριανὸς Διὶ Πατρικῷ κὲ Συνγενικῷ Βιαδηριανῷ ὑπὲρ υγίας κὲ σωτηρίας μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστησεν τὸν βωμὸν. The still unpublished sacred law regulating the cult of Zeus Αριστονικός και 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 veteran who returned to his place of origin and probably served as the priest of the cult he (re)foundated. 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 Dagoustes and Zeus Olympios Kersoulois, both from Hadrianoi, Zeus Kapetolios (once worshipped together with Zeus Perses) from Rome, and Zeus Perses/Person (Ahura Mazda).

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

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 Antigoneios and Antigoniaios), 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]άκιμος Παπᾶ [σ]ὺν τέκνοις Διὶ Ἀφφιάδος εὐχήν.

133 Avram 2015: Α: Βρογιμαρος Επικράτου Διὶ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρίᾳ εὐχήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ 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.


135 SEG 56, 1434.

136 SEG 41, 1071, Yeniköy/Kadıı, c. 12 km SW of Gediz. Cf. Zeis Péiços on a coin from Dionysopolis (von Aulock 1987, 55 nos. 55–57) and Διὶ Ποτεί in a dedication from Burdur (Ramsay 1895, 337 no. 178: Μεννέας Ἀρτεμιδόρου ἱερεὺς Διὶ Ποτεί τὸν [β]ωμὸν ἀνέστησεν), and another from the same general region (SEG 60, 1513: ὅτις τάρδε τάφῳ βλαβερὰν χεῖραν ποσοίσει Διὶ Ποτεί κακαρίσει[μ]ένος ἤτο).

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) Agdistis\(^{144}\), Thea Meter\(^{145}\), Meter Thea\(^{146}\), Meter Kybele\(^{147}\), and Meter Theon\(^{148}\). Currently attested local cult places of Meter number around twenty: Meter Akr(ле)ane\(^{149}\), Meter (apo) Kranos megalou (?)/Kranomelene\(^{150}\), Meter apo Spelieu (‘Mother from the cave’, whose cave was located by P. Frei in Ahlar NE of Dorylaion, together with, in and outside it, numerous sherds and horns of terracotta bulls’ heads)\(^{151}\), Meter Beddyton\(^{152}\), Angdisse Bonokiati\(^{153}\), Meter Eissindene\(^{154}\), Meter Es[---]\(^{155}\), Meter Gonane\(^{156}\), Meter Kallippou\(^{157}\), Meter Kiklea\(^{158}\), Meter Kouaene\(^{159}\), Meter Malene\(^{160}\), Meter

\(^{144}\) SEG 36, 1201; MAMA VI 390–399, Midas Kale/Metropolis; Mater is present in Phrygian texts as well: Hapsels 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, Nakoleta.


\(^{150}\) 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.


\(^{152}\) SEG 44, 1062.

\(^{153}\) SEG 36, 1201, unknown provenance; cf. ματηρ ατατας βονοκαι in Hapsels 1971, 290 no. 4; ματημα αρχαγειν νοκαι, ibid. 292 no. 11.

\(^{154}\) SEG 44, 1064–1066.

\(^{155}\) SEG 56, 1431, Aydnıcık NW of Aizanoi.

\(^{156}\) MAMA IX 67.

\(^{157}\) Hapsels 1971, 348 no. 130; SEG 28, 1183.

\(^{158}\) MAMA X 226 (Appia); Ramsay 1905, 427 no. 13, Altintaş; cf. Zgusta 1984, § 507.

\(^{159}\) MAMA IX 66.

\(^{160}\) SEG 15, 787 (Malos should probably be located at Gökçeyayla/formerly Kilise-Orhaniye between Eskişehir and Afyon); Drew-Bear, Thomas, Yıldız Turan 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, Askaeinos173, Italikos174, Kolianokometes175, Nan(n)os176, and Touitenos177. As for Apollo, only three cults are currently attested: Apollo Klarios178 (in an inscription commemorating the

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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 Βρόντωντι 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 (Gemic, SW of Seyitgazi). Cf. the ethnic Pontanenos: ibid. 337 no. 105 (Akoluk, c. 19 km SW of Gemic), and 367 no. 152 (Akın, 1.5 km SE of Gemic).
166 Vermaseren 1977, 42 no. 122, Kadıo.
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 θεᾷ; Akyürek Şahin published also two reliefs without inscriptions, one from Battalgazi tepesi/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 (I. 22).
170 SEG 28, 1188 (Yazidere/Köle 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 (Kotialion, from the acropolis).
173 Drew-Bear 1978, 30 no. 3; there is also an unpublished inscription for the same deity from Erenköy mahallesı 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): Ὅρος Κολιανοκόμις.
176 SEG 44, 1061. The meaning of this epithet remains unknown.
177 MAMA V 208.
178 Merkelbach, Stauber 1996, 33, no. 19, Yalnizsaray, Upper Tembris valley: Σύμμαχος Ἀντύλ[λου] κέ ὁ ιοὶ ιοίς 

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erection of a private altar for monthly ceremonies according to divine order-prophecy), Lyki-
os\textsuperscript{179}, and Xyreos\textsuperscript{180}.

Local deities of Phrygia Epiktetos are obviously its river-gods: Hermos\textsuperscript{181}, (Poseidon\textsuperscript{182}) Sang-
garios\textsuperscript{183}, and Tembris, the last one addressed simply as Potamos in the dedications from a sanc-
tuary on the south bank of the river in the region of Beylikova SE of Eskisehir\textsuperscript{184}.

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 Aniketos\textsuperscript{185}. He is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (III 58, 4) as identical to Attis: τὴν οὖν Κυβέλην εἰς ἀκμὴν ἡλικίας ἐλθοῦσαν ἀγαπῆσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινὰ νεανίσκον τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἀττίν, ὑστερον δ᾽ ἐπικληθέντα Παπαν: συνελθοῦσαν δ᾽ εἰς θυμίαν αὐτῶ κάθηκαν καὶ γενομένην ἑγκυόσχηηκαν κατὰ τόσον τὸν καιρὸν ύπὸ τῶν γονέων. Accord-
ing to Arrian\textsuperscript{186}, the Bithynians would climb the hilltops and invoke Zeus and Attis as Papas:

άνευσες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Παπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτὸν. The ear-
ly-third century Christian theologian Hippolytus in his "Ἐλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων"\textsuperscript{187} 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.

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\textsuperscript{179} MAMA V 87, Ilkburun NW of Dorylaion, with a relief of two volwes below the dedication, and an anep-
igraphic votive relief in the Eskisehir Museum showing the god accompanied by two volwes.

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

\textsuperscript{181} SEG 6, 80 (seen at Dorylaion), and coins of Kadoi.

\textsuperscript{182} Pregger 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.

\textsuperscript{183} SEG 32, 1273, Ayvacik, NW of Seytigazi; 1274, Topalyayla S of Kayakent/Holanta, Sivrihisar: dedication to Sangarios Basileus.

\textsuperscript{184} Mitchell 1982, nos. 1–10. Tembris also appears on the coins of Dorylaion, and Penkalas on those of Aiz-
anoi.

\textsuperscript{185} Nakoleia: six small stelai recovered from the same site near Seytigazi (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, Karapellit, 33 km NW of Kotiaion; Körte 1897 b, 32 no. 8 (Bayat, territory of Amorion); MAMA
VII 303 (Orkistos); TAM V 2, 1321 (Hyrcanis/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.

\textsuperscript{186} Bithyniaca ap. Eusth. II. 5, 408, p. 429.

\textsuperscript{187} Adversus omnium haeressium 5.9.8: Ἐπὶ Κρόνου γένος, ἐπὶ Δίως μάκαρ, ἐπὶ Ἐθέα μέγα χαῖρε ἡθός, τὸ κατηφές ἄκουσμα Ἐθέας Ἀττι σὲ καλόσδι σῆν Λοφόσιον Ἀδωνίν, ὄλε θetails of the region of Beylikova SE of Eskisehir. Snakes are clearly the To the river Tembris' head.
EPITHETS OF ZEUS IN PHYRGIA EPIKTETOS

1. Ἀβοζηνός
2. Αἰζανῶν (Ἐζεανίτης)
3. Ἀκρεινηνός
4. Ἀλσηνός
5. Ἀμπελείτης (Ἀμπελικός)
6. Ἀναδότης
7. Ἀνδρέας
8. Ἀντιγόνα(ι)ος (Ἀντιγούναος)
9. Ἀριστος
10. Ἀσκληπιάδης (?)
11. Ἀφφιάδος
12. Βασιλικός
13. Βέννιος
14. Βιαδηριανός/Πατρικὸς κὲ Συνγενικός (same as Ζεὺς ἐκ Στρατονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου?)
15. Βρογιμάρου
16. Βροντῶν (καὶ Ἀστράπτων)
17. Δαγουστης
18. Δῖος
19. Ἐκ Στρατονίκου καὶ στρατιώτου
20. Ἐξ Αὐλῆς
21. Ἑκατοστίτης
22. Ἐπήκοος
23. Ἐπιμάρτυρος
24. Εὐτυχής
25. Εὐφράνωρ
26. Εὐχοδότης
27. Θαλλός
28. Θυμελικὸς
29. Ιλαρηνός
30. Ἱππικός
31. Καπετώλιος
32. Καρνανδηνός
33. Κικιδιασσηνός
34. Κοίρανος κόσμου
35. Κορηνός
36. Κτήσιος
37. Λαγινός/ἐκ Λαγίνου
38. Λιμνηνός/Λιμναῖος/Πατρῷος
39. Μακάρων κύδιστος
40. Μακάρων ὕπατος
41. Μέγ' ἄριστος
42. Μέγας
43. Μέγας Μηνωφίλου
44. Μέγιστος
45. Μεληνός
46. Μοραλδός
47. Ναρηνός
48. Ὀλομέτης/Ὀλεμεανός
49. Ὀλύμπιος
50. Ὀλύμπιος Κερσουλλος
51. Ὀροχωρείτης
52. Οὐεβρὸς/Οὐεβρηνός
53. Οὐράνιος
54. Πατρικὸς/Πατρῷος
55. Περασών/Πέρσης
56. Πεταρηνός
57. Ποτεως
58. Προκέντης
59. Πυρηνός
60. Ὀροχωρείτης
61. Σαρνενδός/Σαρνενδηνός (Θεὸς ἄριστος, μέγιστος/μέγ' ἄριστος, ἐπήκοος/φιλήκοος, σωτήρ, μακάρων κύδιστος, κοίρανος κόσμου)
62. Σαουάδιος
63. Σημαντικός
64. Συνγενικός
65. Συρεανός
66. Σωτήρ
67. Σαουάδιος
68. Σαουάδιος
69. Ῥύμιος
70. Ταττηνός
71. Τετραωραῖος (?)
72. Τετραωραῖος (?)
73. Τετραωραῖος (?)
74. Iuppiter Dolichenus
EPITHETS OF METER IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

1. Ἀκρ(λ)εανή
2. Ἀπὸ Κρανος Μεγάλου/ Κρανομεγαληνή
3. Ἀπὸ σπηλέου
4. Βεδδυτῶν
5. Βονοκιατις
6. Γονανή
7. Εἰσσίνη
8. Ει[ - - -]
9. Θερμηνή
10. Καλλίππου
11. Κικλέα
12. Κουαηνή
13. Μαληνή
14. Μήτηρ Μηνός
15. Νουννου
16. Όριηνή
17. Πλιταηνή
18. Ποντανηνή
19. Στευνηή
20. Συρία (?)
21. Τετραπρόσωπος
22. Τειουβευδηνή

TOPONYMIC EPITHETS OF MEIS IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

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

TOPONYMIC EPITHETS OF APOLLO IN PHRYGIA EPIKTETOS

1. Κλάριος
2. Λύκιος
3. Ξυρεος

Abbreviations

AST Araştırmalar Sonuçları Toplantısı.
BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
EA Epigraphica Anatolica.
IGR Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.
MAMA V Cox, C. V. M., Cameron, A., Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V, London 1937.
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