

THE KAKASBOS/HERAKLES CULT:
A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS, DIFFUSION AND POSSIBLE SYNCRETISMS

A Master's Thesis

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of
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ANKARA

September 2006

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology and Art History.

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ABSTRACT

THE KAKASBOS/ HERAKLES CULT: A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS, DIFFUSION AND POSSIBLE SYNCRETISMS

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This thesis analyzes the local rider-god cult of Kakasbos/Herakles within an iconographical and religious framework. The possible origins and reasons for the popularity of the cult and possible syncretisms with other gods worshipped in Northern Lycia will be discussed alongside a presentation of Kakasbos/Herakles depictions in different media. The importance of the rider image and the widespread popularity of the rider-heros in the Late Roman Art will also be studied.

Keywords: Kakasbos, Herakles, Rider god.

ÖZET

KAKASBOS/ HERAKLES KÜLTÜNÜN KÖKENLERİ, DAĞILIMI VE
OLASI SENKRETİZMLER

Candaş, Aslı
Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Dr Jacques Morin

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Bu çalışma Kakasbos/Herakles kültürünü ikonografik ve dinsel bir çerçeve içinde incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, tez yazım sürecini tarihsel bir çerçeve içinde incelemiştir. Bu inanın ortaya çıkışı ve yaygınlaşmasına dair olası nedenler, Kakasbos/Herakles inancı ve bölgede tapınılan diğer tanrılar arasında senkretizmler, tanrının değişik malzemelerdeki betimleriyle birlikte incelenecektir. Atlı figürünün önemi, atlı kahramanların Geç Roma sanatında yaygın kullanımı da sunulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kakasbos, Herakles, Atlı Tanrı.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Among the numerous deities of Anatolia, Kakasbos was depicted as a horse-riding deity bearing a club and was found on several rock-cut votive areas and ex-voto stelae. The presence of the god was discovered by the late 19th century, in the accounts of travellers who walked across Lycia.

The stone votives show nice examples of Late Roman folk art, a neglected area of study and it seems that the rider-god type has become a generic image in Anatolia by the 2nd and 3rd century, since the same pose is adapted to a number of deities. A number of studies studied the iconography and the origin of the name of the god. Earlier studies are more focused on its origin via etymological studies while the latter are dedicated mainly in cataloguing and stylistic studies. The material covered is mainly stone ex-voto's and there has been a confusion among the identification of several rider gods for they were all understood as representing one single god. The imagery and the discussion about the origins of the name, as well as the iconography are first studied by Louis Robert (1946), after a stone relief of Kakasbos found at Kocataş. Until then, the name of the god had been studied etymologically, a detailed discussion of which is given in the following chapters.

The PhD thesis of İnci Delemen, published in 1999 is the widest and most detailed source of information about the rider gods of Anatolia in general. The thesis puts together a large number of published and unpublished material, giving a very well prepared catalogue and an informative discussion. Delemen's study was indispensable in this thesis, which both gave me the verve to inquire further in this area and presented me with abundant information. This thesis will basically be an addendum discussing this information, adding new findings and studying further the religious meaning of the cult, like possible origins, reasons for its propagation and the place of such a cult in the religious atmosphere of the Late Roman Empire.

From the evidence it seems that Kakasbos was a local deity, probably worshipped by the inhabitants of Northern Lycia, Western Pamphylia and Pisidia. The reliefs show the crudely executed image of a mounted figure, riding a horse. The figure either lifts up a big club or carries it on his shoulder. There are small details that separate Kakasbos from the other riding-gods (Sozon, Herakles, Maseis, Apollo) depicted exactly in the same position and these are the attributes, if we exclude the inscriptions. The god is nude or wearing a flimsy *khitoniskos* or sometimes a *chlamys*, and bears a club, which is also the attribute of Herakles. There are reliefs where Kakasbos wears a military outfit, which is also a question. Some figures wear a *lorica squammata* although it is difficult to see it on many figures due to erosion. Some figures are helmeted and also wear military boots. It is interesting that until now only the figures identified as Kakasbos are wearing a military cuirass, while the other gods do not. Perhaps the imagery of the god is a popular generic adopted from Roman equestrian sculptures and bears a strong military, at least masculine notion.

There have been attempts to identify Kakasbos together with Herakles, since the latter god is also shown in riding position at several instances, backed by epigraphic information. The main resemblance on the iconography of the two gods is the club. The main difference is that Herakles is often bearded, sometimes unbearded, but Kakasbos is never shown bearded on the epigraphic stelae. The issue of military cuirass is another detail. The image-makers of the god Kakasbos may have been influenced by Herakles, but it is evident that the two gods were worshipped together within the same period. The nature and possible reasons of this syncretism will be discussed in further detail.

Another problematic issue discussed for a long while is the resemblance between the Thracian and the Danubian rider-hero depiction, and that of Kakasbos (Tudor 1969, 1976). With the help of very speculative etymological work, attempts have been made in order to link the two cults, mainly based on the assumption that the root *esbe/asba* means horse in Thraco/Phrygian and Lycian. On the other hand, the root might exist in Luwian and the cult might have direct relationships with the Luwian religion, although there is a huge time gap between Bronze Age and Late Roman period.

An interesting parallel to the iconography of Kakasbos is that of the Dioskouroi, the sacred twins. In many votive stelae found at the same area showing the triad of Dioskouroi and the Goddess, the image of the two riders is exactly the same as Kakasbos. On the other hand, it has been assumed that Kakasbos is a protective god just like the twins. There can be a link between the two cults.

There are many votive stelae found and known to belong to the god Kakasbos, scattered to museums in Antalya, Fethiye, Burdur and İzmir as well as

singular objects elsewhere. In addition to this, there are cult areas discovered where several depictions of a rider-god were found and published. It is not my intention to count these objects again but to discuss a few basic question: why is the god Kakasbos depicted as a rider-god as well as some other deities (both Greek and local)? What can be the possible meanings of the horse and the rider and what are their origins? Is the club a borrowing from Herakles or is Kakasbos a local Herakles? What is the meaning of certain figures wearing clearly depicted Roman military outfit? Are there representations of this god in other media?

Until now, evidence on stone has been researched, since these are the most common and easier to differentiate because of the inscriptions. However, the deity survived in numismatic evidence, although it is small. In the Coin Evidence section, I intended to give examples possibly representing this god, however, the small number of coins on hand prevents us from creating a chronological sequence, which could be very useful in observing how long the god was popular in these cities. The very positive side of the presence of coins is that they give an accurate dating: the earliest dated representation of Kakasbos/Herakles is a Choma coin from the 1st century BC. The dated stone representations present us mostly 3rd century AD examples and the huge time break between the two types of material is a question mark.

An introductory chapter concerning the geography and history of the region is necessary in order to see the worshippers' cultural and historical background and their communications with other areas. This is followed by a brief history of scholarship on the subject matter, giving all the etymological and archaeological studies done so far. The basic iconographical features of the god are presented with a discussion on the rider and horse images found in Lycia, belonging to

previous periods, showing that such an imagery was never foreign to the region. I present a small catalogue of finds on different media and try to answer certain questions on iconography, chronology and syncretisms. The last chapter of the thesis is dedicated to a discussion on the religious side of Kakasbos.

CHAPTER 2:

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF LYCIA

2.1 Geography:

A brief outline of Lycian geography is necessary in order to understand the patterns of urbanization as well as the geographical and historical connections between the settlements within the region. Lycia is a very hilly area, widely cut by rivers and their smaller branches and offers a difficult topography for settlements. The Lycian cities can be grouped as coastal or mountain cities; our focus will be on Northern Lycia as the Kakasbos cult is most often observed in that particular area, but it is necessary to give a wider scope in order to see the whole map of Lycia.

Another necessary point is to investigate the road network of the region, which is of vital importance in understanding the diffusion of social, economic and cultural elements among the several local cities and their neighbours beyond the borders. The topography of the region is the key element that determines the nature of the road network. Different natural conditions and the level of communication among the cities is a key determinant in the formation of various local cultures.

As an ethno-cultural region, Lycia can be outlined as the area to the southwest of Antalya, between the Gulf of Antalya (Mare Pamphylium) to the east

and the Dalaman (Indus) river to the west. Today, this mountainous region is called the Teke peninsula. (Akşit, 1967: 19-20).

The mountains surrounding this region were formed during the Tertiary geological period and the geological features of the region are dominated by limestone formations. Only Finike (Phoinikos), Demre (Myra), the Elmalı plain, Eşen Çay, (Xanthos) river and Fethiye (Telmessos) plain differ from the rest of the region, dating to the Late Pleistocene; these areas contain rich alluvial soils which allowed the human presence to spread (Tietze, 1885: 283).

It is also possible to trace a geographical outline of the region by relying on the ancient authors. Strabo divides the Southwestern Taurus Mountains into two: first, is the Taurus mountains that begin from the southeast edge of the Teke peninsula, at Beş Adalar (Khelidoniai nesoi), and reach Pamphylia along the coast. The second part begins from the Rhodian Peraia, north of Fethiye (Glaukos) Gulf (Strabo XIV: 651, 666). In the first chain of mountains, after passing Cape Kırılancık (Hiera Akra), two mountain masses can be reached – Kozlu and Gugu; the ancient names of these mountains are unknown. However, Strabo and Stadiasmus identify this area as the border between Lycia and Pamphylia (Strabo XIV, 651; Stadiasmus 234). Strabo names a certain Krambusa and Olympos, which was the name of both a city and a mountain. Pliny the Elder and Stadiasmus also mention mount Olympos (Strabo, XIV: 666 ; Stadiasmus 228; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, V. 100). Pliny states that the city of Olympos is next to the mountain, and that the whole region can be seen from the top of Olympos mountain. Scholars have argued that Olympos is today's Tahtalı Dağ (Benndorf & Niemann, 1884: 145; Strabo, XIV, 671) while some state that this claim does not match with what the ancient writers wrote. Strabon writes that

Olympos mountain rises between Krambusa and Korykos and Stadiasmus verifies this statement by writing that Olympos Phoinikos lies at the foothills of the mount Olympos. It has been concluded that the exact location of mount Olympos is Musa Dağ, and that Tahtalı Dağ corresponds to Mount Solymos in Strabo's writings. (Strabo XIV, 630,666; Kiepert, 1909: VIII Text 9)

To the east of Dalaman Çay (Indus) and Fethiye Gulf (Glaukos) lays the mountaineous region called Daedala. In this case, to the north of Glaukos and Daedala are the mounts Kızıl Bel (1060m), Kızıl Dağ (984m), Elcik Dağı (2200m) and Garkın Dağı (1260m), Kartal Dağı (2600m) and Kızılca Dağ (2900m). This mountain chain ends at Söğüt Lake (Karalitis). A second group of mountains is located to the southwest of Fethiye (Telmessos); Mendüs Dağı (1670m.), Baba Dağı (1975m.), Dokuz Göl (1487m.) and San Dağı (1000m). These regions are called Kragos and Antikragos, which, according to Strabo (XIV, 665) and Mela (I, 82) lay to the West of the Xanthos river.

Another remarkable mountain is Ak Dağ, located east of the Xanthos river, and west of the Elmalı plain. This mountain has been identified by H. Kiepert (1909 :20) as the Massikytos; however, Pliny the Elder locates it between Limyra and Andriake (today's Fenike and Andraki) (Pliny, V, 100). Ptolemy counts the cities of Korydalla, Sagalassos, Rhodia, Trebendai, Phellos, Myra and Limyra (Ptolemy, V, 3,6).

Northern Lycia includes Kibyra, Kabalia and Milyas. The Lycian borders did not include these areas until the tetrapolis of Kibyra, Bubon, Balboursa and Oinoanda was included into Lycia at the time of Moagetes, the Kibyra tyrant, in 81 BC (Strabo, XIII, 631). The inhabitants of this region are known as Milyans

and Kabalians, but not Lycians. However onomastic studies show that Lycians, Pisidians, Kabalians and Milyans were linguistically related (Coulton, 1993: 79).

The borders of Lycia reach to the north of Glaukos and the city of Telmessos, pass form the sources of the Telandros and Xanthos rivers, follow through the southern foothills of Ak Dağ, and reach Tahtalı Dağ, including the Kozağacı (Idebessos) river and Asar Deresi (Akalissos) (Akşit, 1967: 53).

Apart from the large number of mountains, Lycia is well watered by six main rivers and their tributaries. The westernmost river is called Alakır Çay (Limyros). Strabo states that 20 stades separate the city of Limyra and the Limyros River, so it is very likely that the river in question is today's Alakır Çay. This river takes its source from Bey Dağı, and the Bakırlı and Bereket mountians and drains into the Fenike plain. (Strabo XIV, 666; Akşit, 1967: 58).

The Başgöz/Yaşgöz Çay (Arykandos) is the second river that flows into the sea from the Fenike plain. The discovery of the city of Arykanda between the northern branches of the river has allowed the archaeologists to identify this river. The Demre Çay (Myros) flows by Myra and drains into the sea west of Arykandos. The Eşen Çay (Xanthos) is the biggest river in the Lycian region. Often mentioned (Pliny V, 100; Mela I, 82; Ptolemaios V, 3,2) by ancient authors, the Xanthos river takes its name from its yellowish color. The Kızıl Dere (Glaukos) a small river that flows into the Fethiye Gulf, is mentioned under this name only by Pliny (V, 103, 131). The Dalaman (Indus) river, is accepted as the western border of the Lycian region. This river arises in the Kibyra region, and waters a very flat and fertile valley before flowing into the sea (Pliny V, 103).

2.2 Roads:

There were a few roads by which communication was maintained. In such a rugged and mountaineous area, it would be normal to expect a few roads following plains, riversides and valleys. The main road¹ ran southward through Caria to Physcus (Marmaris) on the strait of Marmaris and led through Calynda to Telmessos. Turning eastwards into the valley of Xanthos it followed the river till the city of Patara on the coast . From there, the route continued accross the plateau of Myros and went through Antiphellos, Aperlai, Myra, Limyra, Korydalla, climbing over the steep mountain towards the plain of Finike (Phoinike) where it crossed the Solyma mountain range and reached the gulf of Antalya. There it went to Phaselis and beyond Phaselis reached Olbia, and finally Attaleia (Akşit, 1967: 63). Even today, the road that links the modern settlements from Antalya to Kaş-Kalkan – follows the same path.

In the Lycian hinterland, a road traversed the region from the plain of Kibyra, through Balboursa and Oenoanda and then into the plain of Podalia . From Podalia it crossed the valley of Arykandos to the plain of Finike. Another road led up to Xanthos Valley from the main route at Telmessos until Araxa. From there it perhaps continued towards Tabae in Caria (Magie, 1950: 519).

Among the coastal cities of Lycia, communications were made possible rather by sea, or the great route that ran parallel to the sea; Tlos (Düver), Xanthos, Pinara (Minare), Patara (Gelemiş); Myra and Olympos (Çıralı), important cities during antiquity were all lying on this route (Magie, 1950: 519).²

¹ This road is shown in Tabulae Peutingerinae for further information see: Miller, 1916 Die Peutingerische Tafeln Stuttgart X, 2

² for further information about Roman roads see French, 1988 Roman Roads of Asia Minor part:2, Map 5 where the milestones discovered in the Antalya region are represented).

2.3 History of Lycia:

Starting from the 1950's, research conducted by Machteld Mellink at Karataş- Semahöyük shed light on the prehistoric settlements of the region and showed that the earliest settlement traces are localized around the Elmalı plain. (Mellink, 1964, 1974, 1976, 1980). The ceramic finds of the region show that it was densely inhabited at least from the Chalcolitic Period, some from excavations in Karataş-Semahöyük, Bağbaşı and Kızılbey and others from field surveys at Akçay, Bayındırköy, Boztepe, Dinsiz, Gökpınar, Karaburun, Karabayır, Tekke and Yaka Çiftliği are related to Hacılar (Late Neolithic- Early Chalcolitic) and some are related to Beycesultan's Late Chalcolitic finds (Eslick, 1992: 51-65; Çelik, 1996: 61-65). However, apart from the ceramics dated as early as 3000BC and tombs made of large stone blocks dated to 2000BC at Seyret in Central Lycia, no finds contemporary to those of the Elmalı region are known in the whole of Lycia (Kupke, 1989: 32).

One reason for the localisation of early cultures in the Elmalı plain is that it is rather well watered and fertile, hence very convenient for agriculture. The absence of housing material in excavations can be explained by the choice of wood from the well-forested mountains instead of stone as a building material.

The Gelidonya (13th-12th century BC) and the Uluburun shipwrecks (~12th century BC) show the commercial activity in the Eastern Mediterranean region, including the Lycian coasts (Pulak 1998). However, we do not know what part of Lycian settlements contributed to this activity. It was possible for the commercial ships that followed the coasts during long trips to stop at the sheltered harbours of the Lycian coast.

A number of ancient sources mention a certain Lycian culture, from the Hittite Imperial sources until the *Lycians* in the Homeric texts. The Lukka country, often met in Hittite texts, is localized by Garstang and Gurney in Caria (Garstang & Gurney, 1959: 75-82). Cornelius places this country by the borders of Lyaconia and Cilicia Aspera (1958: 393). Several sources count the Lukka people as seafaring rebellious people. Bryce, on the other hand, on grounds of toponymy, places the Lukka territory in Western Caria, extending to the vicinity of Miletos. (Bryce, 1986: 8; 1996: 51-57)

The earliest likely reference to Lukka people in Hittite texts is the account of a rebellion settled by Tudhaliya I in the mid 15th century BC.³ Lukka also figures amongst the allies of the Hittite Kingdom in the battle of Kadesh (1286 or 1274BC) although it is not sure whether they fought as subject-allies or simply mercenaries – the Egyptian sources reveal that “the Hittite king left no silver in his land... gave it all to foreign countries in order to bring them with him to fight” (Gardiner, 1975: 50).⁴ The ancient writers Homer and Herodotos also mentioned the Lycians in their works. The Lycians appear as important allies of the Trojans in the *Iliad* (II, 876-877). Knowing that the Lycians were able to travel quite far in their campaigns, it is no surprise to see their name mentioned as fighters in the Trojan War.

³ Recorded in texts KUB XXIII 11 and 12.

⁴ A letter written by the Alasiyan king to the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis III (or Akenaton) and kept in the Tell el-Amarna archives (15th century BC) complains about the pirating actions of the Lukka people (written as Lu-uk-ki) (Mercer, 1939: no. 37). The Lukka also figure in Egyptian accounts, during the Sea People invasions during the reign of Merneptah (c. 1208 BC) (Breasted 1927: 243). In another document, the Ugaritic ruler informs the Alasiyan king that he sent his fleet off the coast of Lukka, at a time when the Sea Peoples were advancing south (Ugaritica 5, 1968 no. 24: 87-88). Therefore the Bronze Age sources reveal that the Lycians were settled in the region at least since the 2nd millennium BC, and were highly involved in piracy against neighbours like Alasiya (Cyprus). The Hittite accounts about the Lycians also show that this people's characteristics differed from the rest of the Anatolian populations.

The archaeological information about the Iron Age settlements of Lycia is very limited. To the east of Patara, excavations revealed ceramics dated to the Proto Geometric and Geometric periods however, no architectural finds were found in this place (Işık, 1995: 3). We find certain elements of the Iron Age in Lycia, although the archaeological record of habitation is few. Apart from a few pieces found at Bağbaşı and Karataş there is no clear evidence dated to the Iron Age except *pithos* burials (Mellink, 1976: 250).

During the Colonization Period, we see that the Greeks were able to settle colonies on the coasts of Anatolia, but only one city –Phaselis, settled as early as the 7th century BC- and a few smaller settlements called Gagai (Aktaş), Korydalla (Kumluca) and Rhodiapolis at the east end of Lycia were to be settled as Greek colonies during that period (Boardman, 1999: 50). The main reason of this is probably Lycia's strong naval forces which defended the lands thoroughly against the Greeks (Akşit, 1967: 93). Lycia was, strategically important for the Greeks since the sea route between Rhodes and Cyprus extends for 600 km. along by the coastline and any civilian or military expedition would need to stop at the Lycian shores. Friendly harbours were needed. By founding these colonies, the Rhodians might have aimed at controlling the naval route.

Until its conquest by the Persian forces in the second half of the 6th century BC, Lycia was probably an independent entity. The monumental tombs built during that period show that the Lycians were quite prosperous and culturally developed. Findings from Xanthos, Patara, Antiphellos, Kyenai, Phaselis and Hacimusalar Höyük also reflect the prosperity of the region and stand as a proof of growing interrelations between Lycia and the neighbouring cultures (Bayburtluoğlu, 1994: 38). Herodotos mentions that Lydia, the growing power of

Anatolia was able to subjugate all the nations of Anatolia to the west of the Halys except the Lycians and the Cilicians (I, 28). This can be explained for two reasons: first, Lydia was mainly a land power and Lycia might have remained beyond its area of interest. Second, Lycia probably did also develop a strong naval force, as its very early seafaring stories reflect. However, neither of these reasons could prevent the occupation of Lycia by the Persians since the Persians were powerful both on land and sea.

The defeat of Lydia and the attack of the Persians against Xanthos, a Lycian city, is narrated dramatically in ancient sources. We learn from Herodotos that Harpagos, Cyrus' general, directed his armies towards the Xanthos plain and the city was defeated following the mass suicide of its citizens and the death of all Xanthian soldiers (Herodotos I, 171). It is Herodotos again who mentions that the Lycians were added to the first satrapy, together with the Ionians, Magnesians, Aeolians, Carians, Milyans and Pamphylians which was assessed a tribute of 400 talents (Herodotos III, 90).

The Lycians had sent troops to the Greek campaign of Xerxes and these troops were commanded by one Kyberniskos, son of Sikas. On the Lycian coins dating to 480 BC the name "kuprlli" can be read and it is very probable that these two are the same person (Morkholm & Zahle, 1972). This individual mint and the Lycians' sending troops along with Xerxes can also be a sign of some sort of autonomy under Persian rule. However, the authority of the satrap of Lycia is underlined in the trilingual stele found at Xanthos (Briant, 1996: 729).

When Athens rose to the rank of regional power in the 5th century BC, it came face to face with Achaemenid Persia which probably caused the formation of the Delian League. This increased the importance of Lycia even more; if

Athens could secure Lycia, it would be impossible for the Persians to reach the Aegean Sea. From this point of view, it can be seen that Kimon's campaigns to Lycia (Diodoros XI.60.4) were not only a preliminary to the battle of the Eurymedon, but he also aimed at gaining control over Lycia. With Kimon's success, Lycia came under the control of Athens and perhaps remained so for the next thirty years. Athenian influence on Lycia enabled the expeditions to Cyprus and Egypt (Keen, 1993: 75). In 448 BC, the Athenians and the Persians signed the "Kallias" peace treaty, which also established that the Persian area of influence would not go beyond the Khelidoniai islands (Mansel, 1963: 285-286). After this peace, the Lycians are once more seen in the tribute lists. When they paid tribute in 446 BC, we see that unlike any member cities, the Lycians paid altogether, as "λ| κιοι και συντελεσ=οι" (Troxell, 1982: 6-10).⁵ However, we have no evidence of Lycia paying tribute during the Peloponnesian Wars.⁶ We learn that Athens sent Melesandros to the Carian and Lycian coasts in order to gather money⁷ However some conflict arose and Melesandros was killed in action, which implies that the Lycian cities were no longer willing to pay tribute (Thucydides II, 9, 4-5; Akşit, 1967: 118).

In the early 4th century BC, although theoretically subject to Persian sovereignty, the cities of Lycia were ruled by their own dynasts, until the Limyran dynast Perikles extended his rule over Lycia, taking advantage of the Satrap revolt around 380 BC (Borchhardt ,1976: 99-108). In 360 BC Maussollos

⁵ the inscriptions imply that there is someone else who pays tributes together with the Lycians. Milyas and Lycia were part of the first satrapy according to the tributary organization of Darius 1st and Milyas remained fiscally attached to Lycia and paid tributes together, even after it was made part of Great-Phrygia, which was probably founded in 4th century. For more information, see Briant 1996: 726).

⁶ Phaselis paid its tribute loyally even during the war, but one shouldn't forget that Phaselis was a colony of Rhodes.

⁷ αργυρολογειν.

of Halikarnassos revolted against Mnemon and seized most parts of Lycia and some islands. Until that time, the Lycians seemingly were not too much influenced by Hellenism, and still used their native language, but there is an apparent Persian influence in the art. On the other hand, the numismatic evidence shows that dynastic coins were minted under the Persian rule in Lycia at the beginning of the 4th century BC; dynastic coins used as a reverse motif the *triskeles*, as in Limyra, Xanthos and Kyenai (Morkholm and Zahle, 1972: 112-113). They also used a common weight system, which is only observed as a contemporary example on the coins minted by 14 cities that took part in the Ionian revolt (Kraay, 1976: 247-260). This numismatic information is an expression of Athenian imperialism since these cities were paying tribute to Athens and common weight system was a practical facility besides being a political decision.

Alexander arrived in Lycia in the winter of 334-333, and it is said that Pinara, Xanthos and Patara, as well as thirty other cities submitted to him, while the other cities were ordered to surrender to his officers. (Arrian, *Anabasis* I, 24; III 6,6; Plutarch *Alexander* XVII, 3f) With the arrival of Alexander we are certain that the Persians no longer held political control of Lycia, but he chose to continue with the Persian institution of satrapy and appointed his general Nearchos, as satrap of the region.

When Alexander died, his empire was divided among his generals and Lycia was given to Angitonus “Monophtalmos” (Diodoros XVIII 3,1; 39, 6). In 309, Antigonus’s rival Ptolemy I invaded the region and occupied Xanthos and Phaselis; however, his conquests did not last. After the death of Antigonus, Ptolemy invaded the region once more, captured Telmessos and Western Lycia and his son Ptolemy II gained possession of Xanthos and Patara (Patara was re-

named after his sister-wife Arsinoe).⁸ The rule of the Ptolemaic house over Lycia lasted through the 3rd century BC. However in 197 BC, Antiochus III recampaigned in order to obtain these lands and in no time he seized Limyra, Andriace, Patara and Telmessos. Xanthos also surrendered but through a compromise its independence was restored (Magie, 1950: 523-524).

From the beginning of the second century BC, the political order in the Mediterranean basin was to change irreversibly as Rome emerged as a new political power. When the Pergamene ruler Attalos III left his kingdom to Rome in his will, Rome obtained its first province in Asia Minor, though unwillingly. Following this, Cilicia (101 BC), Pontus and Bithynia (63 BC), Syria (63 BC), Cyprus (58 BC), Galatia (25 BC) and Cappadocia (AD 17) were made provinces of Rome one by one. This way, in less than a century Rome took possession of all Asia Minor and its immediate vicinities. Lycia had a different status in itself since it kept its autonomy until AD 43. In fact, the first relationship between Rome and Lycia was rather shameful and disturbing for Lycia, for Rome gave the Lycian territories to Rhodes as a gift, following the peace treaty of Apameia (188 BC). The reason for this was simple: the Lycians had taken the part of Antiochos while Rhodes had allied with Rome (Polybios XXIII. 3; Livy XXXVII, 56.5.). After several appeals to the Roman Senate, the status of Lycia was changed from “gift” to “friends and allies” in 177BC (Polybios XXIX 4, 8,10; Livy XLIV 13, 9; 24-25). After the Third Macedonian War, Rome and the island of Rhodes were no longer friends and Rome gave back its independence to Lycia (Polybios XXX 5. 12; Livy XLV, 25). The Lycians were granted both liberty and democracy and thus they showed their gratitude towards Rome in various ways, like granting

⁸ the earliest evidence of the rule of Ptolemy comes as two decrees from Lissa in Western Lycia, dated to 278/7 and 275/4, which corresponds to the eight and eleventh regnal years of Ptolemy II.

votives to Iuppiter Capitolinus (CIL I² 725; 726),⁹ or starting to worship the goddess Roma, organizing a festival called “Rhomaia” (Robert, 1990: 681).

It is presumed that some sort of alliance or “Federation” developed among the Lycians around that time, but the nature of this alliance becomes clear only when the Lycians jointly sent a plea to Rhodes; perhaps the Lycian cities came together as a result of opposition to Rhodian rule (Adak, 2002: 130). At the end of the 2nd century BC, it was said that the Lycian League had 23 member cities. These cities issued silver and bronze coins, and inscribed the word Lycians (lukioi) as well as the initials of the individual city on them.

The affairs of the Lycian Federation were managed by an assembly composed of the representatives of the member cities which had the right to vote in proportion to their size and importance, the largest had three votes each, the medium sized two and the smallest, one. (Strabo XIV, 664) The main function of the assembly was most probably to decide on the common interest of the individual cities and take decision and action concerning issues like war and peace.

When Western Asia Minor was invaded by Mithridates of Pontus, unlike the other provinces, the Lycians held out against him. (Appian *Mithridates*: XX, 21; Magie, 1950: 526) When the Pontic army, together with its allies, attacked the island of Rhodes, the Lycians forgot the past oppression and came to help the Rhodians, however, it did not save them from Mithridates when he attacked Patara. The Lycians’ loyalty to Rome in the war against Mithridates was also recognized by Sulla for when the status of Asia Minor was re-organized, he recognized Lycia’s independence (Magie, 1950: 528) and granted the titles of

see T.A.M. II 158-159.)

φ⇒λω και σ|μμαξω /amicus et socius (friend and ally). It is possible to find those titles in the Stadiasmus Monument erected in Patara 130 years later in AD 45 (Behrwald, 2000: 113; Şahin, 2002). Sulla also gave the cities of Oinoanda, Bubon and Balbura, who sided with Mithridates together with Kibyra, as a gift (δωρεα) to Lycia (Strabo XIII,4.17)

At the same time as the Lycians were threatened by Mithridates, the pirates of Cilicia were also active in the region. In fact, after the Apamea treaty, Seleucid control over the South Anatolian shores resulted in a great power vacuum in this region (Ormerod, 1922: 35). For this reason piracy developed especially in Cilicia Trakheia. According to Strabo, piracy was encouraged by Rhodes and Egypt to harm the Seleucids' economic power (Strabo XIV, 668). A pirate-chieftain called Zenicetes seized Olympos, which was a member of the Lycian federation (Strabo XIV. 671). Olympos and Phaselis were taken from him by Publius Servilius Isauricus, thus the western shore of the Mare Pamphylium was added to the lands of Rome (Ormerod, 1922: 37; Magie, 1950: 288). However, the piracy problems were not completely overcome until the eastern Mediterranean was finally settled by Pompey. During the Alexandrian campaign of Caesar, the Lycians sent along five ships with his fleet (Bell. Alex. 13.5). Dolabella, on his way to Syria also stopped at Lycia and received help. (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familia* XII 14, I; 15, 2,5; Appian *B.C.* IV, 60). The support that was given to Caesar and an ally of his, attracted the wrath of Brutus and Cassius who, in 42 decided to attack Rhodes and Lycia. (Appian *B.C.* IV 65, 76f; Plutarch *Brutus*: 30f; Cassius Dio XLVII 34) They were met by a force dispatched by the Lycian Federation, but the opposition failed and Brutus marched on Xanthos.

⁹ the first votive stele is dated to 168/167 BC, and the second one to the rule of Sulla. (Behrwald,

When the city was taken its citizens set Xanthos on fire and killed themselves in a mass suicide. Brutus could only capture 150 men and a few women (Magie, 1950: 528). This tragic event might have an intimidating effect since peace was settled with the Lycian Federation at 150 talents. Moreover the coastal members of the Federation were ordered by Brutus to give up all their ships so he could use them against Antony. The ships were not used since there was no sea battle. Moreover, the money demanded by Brutus was remitted by Antony during his visit to Asia, who also encouraged the rebuilding of Xanthos. (Cassius Dio XLVII 36,4)

The good relations between Lycia and Rome did not stop the Roman Senate, in AD 43, to declare Lycia as a Roman Province (Cassius Dio LX 17, 3; Suetonius *Claudius*. 25). This decision was evidently taken under the instructions of Claudius, who intended to enlarge the Empire; this idea also led to the annexation of Mauretania, Britain, Thrace and Judaea. As a pretext it was stated that there was no other way of preventing the Lycians from quarrelling with each other; a further pretext was that some Roman citizens had been wrongfully put to death. The new province was among those assigned to the Emperor and governed by a legate. The province was enlarged with the addition of Pamphylia and further north by the incorporation of the Cibyratis region, until then a part of *Provincia Asia* (Magie, 1950: 529). Starting from that period, the Lycian region lost its autonomy but took part in the “Pax Romana” and it brought economical and social prosperity to the Lycian cities. Starting from Augustus, a humanist provincial policy was followed. During the 4th century AD, mass conversions into Christianity were also observed in the region, which entered into the Byzantine influence.

CHAPTER 3:

THE INTRODUCTION OF KAKASBOS INTO ARCHAEOLOGICAL LITERATURE AND ETYMOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS

3.1 History of Scholarship and Etymology:

The existence of a rider god called Kakasbos was first recognized towards the end of the 19th century, thanks to several scholars who journeyed around the Lycian region. It is necessary to state that, at that time no difference between the rider god Kakasbos and other rider gods was known. At several instances, the depictions are called “*dieu cavalier*”, without further reference to their real identity. Kakasbos was first published in 1880 by Collignon,(1880: 291-295), but it was Drexler who gave due credit to the god’s newfound existence and wrote an article about him (Drexler, 1890: 126). After that, several more discoveries were covered in the *Corpus of Telmessos*, published in 1920.

At the same time as the discovery of the god, etymological discussions about his name were made, which caused several speculations at that time, and still left many unresolved questions. Loewy, (1883: 124) made the opening speech by recognizing the Persian equivalent of horse, *Asba*, in Kakasbos, after the publication of the first relief. According to the etymology of Loewy, Kakasbos would perfectly mean “rider”, like the god Asbamaïos in Cappadocia and the gaulish goddess Epona. This was an interesting claim, linking the name at least to another Indo-European language. In his account about the Pisidian cities,

Lanckoronsky-Petersen provided a Pisidian name to Kakasbos, from the root *kasbo-*, and he practically linked this to Kesbedion, the name of the sanctuary of Zeus at Selge. (1893: 9) although today, the name is evidently Kasbelion, not Kesbedion (Nollé, 1989: 257-259). This new approach inspired G.Radet (1893: 205) who found the roots *kesb-* or *kasb-* in Kakasbos and gave a number of toponymes from the neighbouring regions Pisidia, Caria and Lyakonia (*kakasbos*, from Telmessos; *κασβωλλιω*, a man's name from Halikarnassos *Ξασβωταφωω*, a place name in Mylasa, *Ξασβια*, a proper name in Lyakonia). He thought that Kakasbos meant “the chief”. Kretschmer (1896: 351) found in Kakasbos, an Anatolian root *kaka-*. There he counted *καξαμοαω* (Cilician name) *αξαξιω* . from Smyrna), and the very interesting inscription found on a gemstone: *καξασβευω* (Drexler, 1890: 126). However, as Robert pointed it out (1940: 41), *ακακιοω* is a popular Greek name, that still survives today. Sundwall (1913: 93-94, 98) cut the word into two as *kaka-sba*, but at some point also invokes *kasba*, and repeats the famous word group: *κεσβεδιον, κασβωλλιω, κασβω-, ξασβια*.

However, it was Kretschmer who broke the word into two, as *kaka* and *asba*; he thought that Kakasbos was a Thracian rider and had the Thracian name for horse: *esvos* and its name meant “Übelross, Unglücksross” (unlucky). A dedication naming a certain *τρικασβωω*, was according to Kretschmer a haplology for *τρικακασβωω*. With this assumption, he decided then that Kakasbos was surely a god of death and that it had a cthonic character (Kretschmer, 1939: 256-257).

The discussions concerning the etymology and meaning of the god's name brought nothing plausible until a Lycian inscription was found mentioning the

name “ξαξακβα”. From this evidence, Carruba (1979: 83-85) asserted that the name of the god Kakasbos existed in Lycian in this form. This new evidence ruled out all previous hypotheses about the possible meanings of the god’s name. The inscription no. 314 in Carruba’s article is a Lycian malediction and the god who will enforce the malediction is called xaxakba. The author claimed that this is the god Kakasbos. The etymology of the word is studied as such:

Hahatwa – is the infinitive of a verb like:

Hattai- which is to strike down, to clobber.

So the meaning of Kakasbos can be inferred as “the striking (one)”. However, there arises a problem with the previously mentioned *trikasbos*, another rider with club, whose name invites the reader to divide it as *tri-* and *-kasbos*. The last can be related to “horse” in Indo-European languages.

On the other hand, Neumann studies the name of the god as such: he takes the root *esbe-* as “horse”, and the stem *kak(a)-* and asserts that the meaning of the word can be possibly “the one with the strong(?), bad(?) horse”. While *Trikasbos* is assumed by Kretschmer as a haplology like *tri-kak-asbos*, “three times-unlucky-horse”, Neumann proposes that another stem, the adjective *trika-* from the Luwian *targasni* (a sort of donkey) is also possible and offers the translation “the one with the wild horse” (Neumann, 1979: 265-266).

As a result the efforts to confirm a meaning for the name of the god could not reach their goal. However, the presence of the god’s name in a Lycian inscription certifies that it was a Lycian god worshipped before the Greek colonialism and that it survived to the Late Roman Period.

3.2 Iconography:

The iconography of the rider god Kakasbos looks simple in given representations of the god; however, there was great confusion about the attributes of the god when it was first discovered in the 19th century. It is Louis Robert who first distinguishes Kakasbos/Herakles from the other rider gods and asserts that there is not one single rider-god, but several rider gods together with Kakasbos. (Robert 1946: 39-73).

Robert (1946: 56) states that so far the iconographical discussions about Kakasbos were only for a rider-god; where by syncretisms and generalizations Kakasbos was confused with all other rider-gods. For example, Kretschmer (1939: 256-257) thought that the reliefs found at Telmessos were a variant of the Thracian rider and sought to find the meaning of Kakasbos in the Thrakophrygian language. Nowadays, we know that all these gods like Kakasbos/Herakles, Sozon, Men, Sabazios etc. are iconographically different deities. Robert further criticized that “Kakasbos is not the Anatolian rider-god, but only one of the rider-gods of Anatolia” (1946: 58).

Since the discussion topic was turning around the nature of rider-gods in Anatolia back then, Robert claimed that Kakasbos’s main attribute is not the horse, but the club.

“... de meme pour Kakasbos: son arme est toujours la massue; C’est son attribut caracteristique. Aussi, quand on veut l’assimiler a une divinité grecque, C’est la massue qui sera l’essentiel et non le cheval; on l’appellera Herakles...” (1946: 61).

However, the club is the only common attribute between Kakasbos and Herakles. Kakasbos is always seen as a rider, seldom is depicted near his horse

(see the coins section) but a horse is always present nearby. As a contrast to this, Herakles is almost never depicted as a rider outside the region of Northern Lycia and outside the particular period when this cult became popular. There is a relief from Rhodes, where Herakles is represented as a rider; however, from the big ears of the animal it can be easily understood that this is not a horse as represented in the Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs, but a donkey or a mule (LIMC V.2: 1583). This limestone relief plaque was discovered in Rhodes and it is now in the Berlin Staatliche Museum. The god is nude, he is not looking towards the spectator and he rides a long-eared equine, which is different from the general Kakasbos/Herakles practice (see figure 1). Robert (1946: 73, pl. IV) claimed that this stele is not original to Rhodes but may have been brought from Asia Minor, and probably from Lycia. A clay plaque repeating the same scene was discovered in the Athenian agora where the god, wearing a *chiton exomis* urges his donkey to walk by applying his enormous club to the donkey's hindquarters; he uses his lionskin as a saddlecloth (see figure 2). It was supposed that the clay plaque imitated an excerpt from some monumental representation of Hephaistos' return to Olympus. (Athens Agora Museum. T.2466; Thompson, 1948: 180 pl.60, 2; 1966 14-15 pl. 6). One depiction of Herakles/Hercle in London at the British Museum (phot. Mus 215146) shows the god in a hunting scene where he is seen with a horse and a dog; but this image is directly related to the iconography of the Etruscan version of Herakles and is not to our subject (LIMC V, 2. Pl. 174).

Herakles is very rarely depicted as riding an equine and the singular examples discovered reveal a comic adaptation rather than heroic imagery like we observe in Herakles/Kakasbos figures on stelae. Hence we have reason to think that, Kakasbos was originally a rider-god and was not mounted as a result of

Greek influence. Its association with Herakles could be related to the club, or the club might have entered into the iconography of Kakasbos after this syncretism.

The typical image of the god is that of a robust, strong man on horseback, turning towards the viewer and holding his club high in a threatening manner, or carrying his club on his shoulder. There are slight variations in the clothing, head and footgear of the god but these are iconographically trivial, except perhaps for the military outfit which implies Roman military influence. Kakasbos is always figured as a rider and he holds a club on his right hand. This weapon is often short and thick and can be identified easily. Sometimes, it is thinner and is identified as a “stick” but it is never a spear, javelin or sword. Other rider-gods carrying weapons existed but the club is the attribute that differentiates Kakasbos from them.

In almost all scenes the horse is standing on three hoofs and is raising the left fore hoof. The left hind hoof is advanced, perhaps in order to let it appear in the scene. This pose is typical of Greco-Roman equestrian depictions and survived in sculptural art till our days. In the case of Kakasbos stela and coins, the animal's center of gravity is not well-rendered, which gives the viewer the illusion of a walking horse. In fact, this is the typical pose of a horse whose reins are pulled in order to stop the animal; the horse bends its neck, in order to tackle with the pulled rein, and the gravity center moves backwards, which urges the animal to raise its hoof higher before regaining its equilibrium and stopping completely. The gait on fours for a horse goes as right hind, right fore; left hind, left fore or vice versa; but the animal moves its posterior hoofs first. (Emiroglu & Yüksel, 2002: 38-39). Because the animal is moving continuously, one does not realize that the movement is either on the right or the left side. The movement of the rider

also gives a hint about why this pose of the horse is chosen. One type of stele where the rider god raises his club high, implies an attacking action where the god is about to strike something. So, as this act is frozen in time, the horse pauses momentarily. Delemen (1999: 6) states that out of 87 inscribed Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs that she studied, only two examples show the horse at canter or gallop. However, five out of six Maseis depictions in Tyriaion, the horse is galloping (1999: figs. 280-285). It shows that a different pose was chosen for the rock cut votives in Tyriaion region as well as a different name for the god. The particular pose seen on Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs looks to be conventional, given by the sculptor and should not be over-interpreted as “the horse is walking and the god is travelling”. Several artificial poses were given to horses in pictorial arts for aesthetic purposes, one well-known example being the “flying gallop”. We see in many equestrian representations this particular pose where one of the horse’s fore hoofs is raised high and the hind hoof of the same side is following. So the pose frozen in Kakasbos/Herakles depictions is quite realistic for an animal which is on suspended action. A contrast to this pose (but more or less following the convention of the raised fore hoof) is the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, one of the few bronze examples that survived to our days (see figure 3). The horse on this statue has hoofs of opposite direction raised, which would imply a movement rather than a pose. The contracted head and neck of the animal and its gaze towards the same direction as the emperor is worth paying attention, since it gives an active role to the horse in the scene.

One complete equestrian statue very similar in pose to Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs is the statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus Maior, made in the 1st century (now in Naples, at the Museo Nazionale). The pose of the animal indicates a stopping

movement, the reins are pulled by the rider and the horse's left anterior hoof is still raised, for a last step (see figure 4). The rendering of a swirling, gentle mane and rigid, slim tail are also a good prototype in understanding certain aspects of the Kakasbos/Herakles figures, though they are of course more crudely executed than this fine equestrian piece and though they belong to different periods, since it can point to a certain practice or taste. This type of slim tail is often seen in Kakasbos/Herakles figures, giving the feeling of a tied tail. The tails of horses are often tied in order to keep them neat and clean; it is surprising to see such a small detail on this type of carving. (Junkelmann, 1990: 29-30). A similar stance of the horses is more often seen in stone stelae, mostly funerary stones with rider images carved on them.

The mere observation of the horses ridden by the god Kakasbos/Herakles could show that there are a number of common points among the mounts of the god. One particular point concerning the horses is their breed. The horse that the god Kakasbos/Herakles is riding is not of small, slender Asiatic type; it is rather a big, robust animal with a broad neck and strong limbs (two stelae arbitrarily named as Type II in the thesis show trivial exceptions due to the specific style of the carver, compared to tens of others). The thickness of the legs and round bellies are rendered with special care and with some exaggeration. It may be claimed here that the legs were left thick because of limited craftsmanship. However, we see that even on stelae where many details are given with care (like type I stelae), the limbs of the animal are finished thick and robust. On the other hand, the size of the horse grows visibly where better carving quality provides a more realistic image.

The reason for this special treatment may be the nature of the rider. The traditional image of Herakles in the visual arts of antiquity presents a hero renowned for his strength and generous muscular appearance. Being iconographically unified with Herakles, Kakasbos has a great chance of being a hero/deity of the same nature. It is unexpected to see a strong and well-endowed rider on the back of a flimsy, thin horse. This would not only look artistically unpleasant but physically impossible too. The rider-god may therefore be mounted on an idealistically strengthened horse

A second possibility points to a particular appeal shared among the workmen who executed the stelae. A brief account of horse breeding and race importing in antiquity can be helpful in clarifying this assertion.

The history of horse breeds is an extremely difficult one to trace because the physical appearance of the horse was much less influenced by domestication than other animals such as the sheep or dog. With very few exceptions, equine breeds differ very little in their skeletons. (Clutton-Brock, 1999: 102-113). Except East Anatolia, Asia Minor was never a land of tall horses, the very same issue holds in mainland Greece as well. Due to this reason, the Greek military cavalry never rose to a prominent position, at least until the arrival of the Macedonian kings. We know that Philip II, dissatisfied of the performance of local horses, imported horses from Scythia hoping to improve his breed (Azzaroli, 1985: 54-55). Later, Alexander the Great re-organized his cavalry with new horses and new riders especially from Thrace (Brunt, 1963: 28).

However, the situation was not the same in Persia. When Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 BC, his cavalry numbered according to Herodotus 80.000, not including camels and carts (7. 88). The bodyguards of the king were described as:

“..one thousand selected horsemen, one thousand lancers and then ten sacred horses called “Nesaion” (Niseans) “ (7. 40). Herodotus’ descriptions and ideas may be vague about the origin and nature of this horse breed, but it is said that Nesaion was a plain in Media where large horses were bred.

Four centuries after Herodotus, Strabo gave detailed information in his Geography about this particular breed of horses. According to him “Nysea” was a country which was part of Hircania, the mountain belt south of the Caspian Sea. In two other passages Strabo mentions horses, called once “Neseans” and later “Nyseans”. They are said to be bred in Armenia and to be of large size. They were used by the heavily armoured cavalry of the Armenians and Medes (Strabo: 11.13.7). So these “Nysean” horses were not light horses of the oriental type but thick set animals which were able to carry heavy riders in the charge.

We do not know whether the Nisean breed was the ultimate thoroughbred of Persia, but it is evident that Asia Minor knew the large sized horses of the east rather than the horses of Western Europe, known as the “Occidental type”. It was a convention to consider the Western horses as big and robust and Eastern horses as small and slender, however we do see in the historical evidence that big breeds were known to the Orientals as well.

During the Roman imperial period, planned horse breeding and improvement of domestic breeds was practiced with care. The main reason for this was military needs, besides hobby breeding and sports. There was a need for strong and enduring horses for the Roman army in order to move further and expand their area of influence. The Romans did not invent the cavalry nor use it as an effective weapon in early Republican times. It was foreign contacts which introduced bigger horses to the Roman army. One piece of information about this

is contained in Germanicus's complaint that Gaul was exhausted of supplying horses (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.5). From this we may infer that the large Occidental horses of Gaul were exploited as cavalry mounts already in AD 16, for the disaster at Carrhae showed the inefficiency of the legions against cavalry attack and the necessity of strengthening the Roman cavalry. In response, foreign cavalrymen were enlisted as auxiliary forces and the cavalry corps of the army were strengthened. By the third century, the cavalry had become the predominant part of the Roman army (Eadie, 1967:164-168). Wherever the Roman soldiers arrived, they introduced robust horses standing up to 15 hands high (Azzaroli, 1985: 154). Perhaps as a result of the increasing prominence of the cavalry in the army, a stout horse with a strong, arched neck and muscular body became popular in Roman sculptures as well. A very famous and typical instance is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. This is the "ideal" warhorse in the eyes of the Romans, tall, thick, strong and muscular, yet elegant. This horse ideal is different from the Greek horse as seen in the carvings and pictures, which is more slender, with a thin, long neck (Azzaroli, 1985: 156).

Some Roman writers were interested in equestrian breeds in particular. A 4th century veterinarian Flavius Vegetius, mentioned the Parthian and Nisean horses at length. His book written about AD 210, shows that the Romans were well aware of the presence of such a horse. Both Parthian and Nisean horses are presented as strong, robust animals favoured by horse amateurs (Vegetius, *Mulomedicinae III*, VI). They are described as heavy, slightly convex headed, high crested, solid fleshed and well-muscled animals. (Hyland, 1990:14). It is highly possible that this kind of strong horses were imported from the East and bred to be used during military campaigns.

Evidence shows that Persia and Thrace had a history of mutual trade (Fol and Mazarow, 1977: 118) and Thrace is another area where we observe the constant depiction of a mounted hero. The mount of the Thracian hero (see figure 5) is again a horse of a breed similar to the one mentioned by the Roman writers, and it has been asserted that the Thracian horses in question should be of a similar breed to that of the Persian Empire (Hyland, 1990: 16). However, evidence of international trade between Persia and Thrace does not necessarily dictate that the Persian horses became the ultimate mount wherever direct or indirect Persian influence existed; on the other hand, the Thracian rider reliefs date to the Roman period and the horses of the Thracian rider might also reflect the Roman horse ideal. The same might be relevant for Lycia as well: but although Lycia was under Roman rule during the whole imperial period, we have no direct information about a particular breed of horse living there. However, either the Persian or the Roman rule could have brought these large sized horses to the region, most probably by military expeditions. The Persian style reliefs with horse representations show that the Persian rule popularized the horseman image: the 5th-4th century BC friezes of the so-called “Building G” in Xanthos reveal horses both riding and carriage horses of a type similar to our image; quite tall, with thick limbs and a particularly broad neck with trimmed mane. (Metzger, 1963: table 38) The observation of the relative sizes of the horse and the groom accompanying him show that these horses were large breeds and the artist’s eye did not miss this detail.

The Persian type of horse appears as a convention in reliefs carved in the Graeco-Persian style found in different cities in Anatolia. It has been discussed whether the representaton of horse and rider was of Greek or Persian origin and

some scholars have claimed that the source of this style was East Greek art (Farkas,1969: 73-76). Although this claim is disputable, the influence of the Persian rider and his horse in Anatolian art is clear and while the content – the horse- thrives in all regions where the horse is known as a ridden animal, the particular Persian style depictions come with Persian rule into Western Anatolia, particularly into Lycia.¹⁰ (see figures 6,7,8 and 9). In addition, the military cuirass often worn by the god Kakasbos/Herakles also leads one to think that the image of the god is amply inspired by the Roman cavalry soldier; the same thing might be relevant for the horse too. In this case, the source of inspiration would be the Roman rider, dressed in cuirass and riding a large-sized horse which is not a local “rural” breed but specifically brought and bred for the needs of the army. Although far from the artistic excellence of the imperial equestrian sculptures, not even reaching the quality or craftsmanship observed in military funerary stelae and else, the representations of the god Kakasbos/Herakles are likely to show such an influence.

¹⁰ Borchhardt shows examples of “Persian” riders from Daskyleion , Seleukeia am Kalykandos, Çeçetepe, Limyra, Xanthos – including depictions from the Nereid Monument and Building G where the convention is repeated: tall and heavy horses, clipped manes and short tails. See: Borchardt, 1976: table 30-31.

CHAPTER 3:

PROBLEMS IN DATING AND PROVENANCES:

The very character of the representations of Kakasbos/Herakles impose the problem of dating and provenances. Most of the stelae are anepigraphic, only very few of the epigraphic stelae display a date which makes a secure dating impossible. Scholars have relied on stylistic elements for dating, such as the shape of the bodies, facial details, even the shape of the letters used in the votive inscriptions. On the other hand, the provenance of the stone representations is a very blurred issue since almost only the rock-cut votives were found in situ and the other objects were usually re-used, traded or brought to far away museums. Little evidence on the exact provenance of the stelae is present and it is very difficult to make estimations concerning the centers and possible distribution paths of the cult.

We have evidence about the presence of several rock-cut sanctuaries scattered around the enclosed region between Northern Lycia and Southern Pisidia (see the map in figure 10). The stelae in question were most probably placed to these sanctuaries. However, as it can be understood from the dimensions of the stelae, these are small items that can easily be carried away by an individual. Stylistic resemblances between the stelae led the scholars to associate similar findings to one particular place if one piece of this stylistic assemblage was securely localized. This temptation is also problematic since we

do not know whether a certain workshop and/or a sculptor worked only for a particular site or whether itinerant craftsmen were serving a larger area. Stelae made at a certain workshop but bought away by clients is totally plausible since the stelae in question are easily transportable items.

While there is a very large number of Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs on hand, only a few are closely datable. The date of very few stelae are carved on the stelae in the Cibyran Era. Three stelae from the environs of Burdur bear dates attributable to the Cibyran Era. One is dated to AD 242/244, the second to AD 232/234 and the third to AD 273/275 (Delemen, 1999: no 123, no 130 and no 220). In one of the rock-cut reliefs in Tefenni, A.H. Smith dated one of the carvings to AD 295/297 (1887: 236, fig. 16). .

On the other hand, Delemen suggests that the cognomen *Aurelius* is sometimes read in the dedications and it can be a hint in attributing a date to the reliefs. In four of the Kakasbos/Herakles figures *Aurelius* is legible (1999: no. 19, 123, 130, 173). Two of these stelae are dedicated to Herakles and two do not bear any god's name.

None of the stelae reveal the basic elements of dating used for the imperial sculptures since a standardization of workmanship is not observed and the carving quality is very low. The fact that rural art of the Classical Period has not been studied in detail makes parallelisms impossible. The shallowness of the reliefs, the columnar fashion of the drapery, crude and doll-like movements of the horse and rider, the emphasis on the head and the attribute have been interpreted as particularities of the 2nd and 3rd century art. However, we should again be careful that the comparanda material of the 3rd century was a result of overall degradation of the artistic quality of sculpture. The rural sculptural works may be always as

crude. This is not to rule-out the very typical big head and beady eyes observed on many Kakasbos/Herakles stelae since it is a third century fashion, however we can allow some of the stelae to be of an earlier date.

The coin evidence of the region points towards a popularization of the horseman motif during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. I will stick particularly to coin reverses that might represent Kakasbos or Herakles. The coins studied in the previous chapters reveal examples dated too far apart from each other. While the Choma coins are dated to the 1st century BC, the Arykanda coins are dated to the 3rd century AD. It leaves a blank of four centuries. The appearance of 1st century BC coins and an inscription in Lycian mentioning the name Kakasbos leads to think that the god was being worshipped before the Roman rule and especially before the 3rd century AD. It is an unanswered question why there has been no stone reliefs of Kakasbos/Herakles until Late Roman period. Rock-cut sanctuaries are a very old tradition of worshipping in Anatolia and it is unlikely that a deity so important to take place on the reverse of a city coin did not have any sanctuary at that date, at least at the vicinity of Choma. Conversely, the images on Arykanda coins have been identified as Kakasbos/Herakles and are likely to be so, however the imagery that the coins offer do not match perfectly with the stone representations. Seldomly a helmet is observed on Kakasbos figures but never a Phrygian cap and the deity is never seen as walking before his horse in stelae. The coin representations reveal us a lively mix caused by possible syncretisms, like Mithras, Herakles and Kakasbos; however traces of a foreign god like Mithras is not seen in stone stelae. By the 3rd century, Mithras was a very popular god in all around the Roman Empire and it appealed to a group of worshippers similar to

that of Kakasbos and it is strange that although another foreign god Men was portrayed in stone stelae, Mithras was not.

The provenance of the findings is another problematic area. Most of the Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs were brought to nearby museums without being recorded carefully; today it is possible to find these pieces in the Burdur, Antalya and Fethiye Museums. Most of the stelae were carried away from their original places and used as decorative pieces inserted in walls as well! Normally one would expect the stelae to stand in rock-cut sanctuaries or nearby, but only a few sanctuaries are discovered so far while a relatively larger number of ex-votos are available. The rock-cut sanctuaries contain reliefs directly carved on the rock outcrop, however stelae must have been placed wherever it was impossible to carve on stone.

It is difficult to make an estimation about the origin and spread of the cult without knowing the exact findspots of the pieces. The only stable elements are rock-cut sanctuaries; so we will start by studying them.

The votive place at Kocataş is south of the village of Yuvalak near Tefenni and contains 67 votive reliefs some of which bear the name Herakles (Duchesne-Collignon, 1877: 366). The inscription in one of the reliefs has been attributed to Cibyran era 405, corresponding to AD 428/430 (Collignon, 1880: 292).

The rock-cut sanctuary at Tefenni was identified by Smith (1887: 235-236) who counted 56 reliefs of a club-bearing rider god although none of the inscriptions reveal the god's name. One of the reliefs was dated to AD 295/297 according to the Cibyran Era.

Other rock-cut reliefs of Kakasbos and Herakles were discovered near Balboursa, in South Pisidia (Coulton, 1993: 463; Smith 1997: 31). Another group

of findings is in Keçili, near lake Kestel (Özsait,1997: 198; Özsait& Labarre, 2004: 61-82). Recently, a cultic area containing many reliefs of a club-bearing god was found near Tanabeli, which revealed one votive relief for the Dioskouroi as well (İplikçioğlu, 2002: 71-75). It is interesting to see that Kakasbos and the Dioskouroi were worshipped in the same votive place.

The findspots of Kakasbos/Herakles stelae are numerous, however most of the stones were not in situ when they were brought to the museums.¹¹ Fethiye and Antalya are secondary locations since the stelae were brought to the museums from other places, most probably from inner Lycia. All the findspots concentrate in Northern Lycia, Southwestern Pisidia and Cibyratis region. Most of the stelae were re-discovered as embedded in village walls, but it is plausible to think that they were brought from nearby cult areas. The concentration at Oinoanda implies the presence of another sanctuary in the area.

Since we do not have a chronological sequence in hand we are not able to discuss the originjal cult area and the spread of the cult. It was most probably a rural clt very endemic to Lycia and remained so from its appearance till it vanished. It is interesting that the datable material reveals a very short period of time: out of five datable examples, four are dated to the 3rd century and one is dated to the 5th century, which is rather late for the survival of a pagan cult. Other datable material is totally absent and virtually no visual traces of this apparently local god exist prior to the local coins of Choma.

¹¹ these places can be listed as: Çavdır, Bayır, Söğüt, Çobanisa, Esenköy, Vicinity of Oinoanda – 18 stelae-, Seki, Karmyless, Fethiye/Telmessos- 15 stelae, most brought from elsewhere-, Muğla, Yuva, Bayramlar, Hasanpaşa, Kemer village, Pogla, Andeda, Ali Fahreddin, Manay, vicinities of Isinda, İmecik – 5 stelae-, Korkuteli, Çıgılık, Nebiler, Antalya, vicinities of Balboura, Salda (Dereköy), Kazır, Olbasa, Çavdır, Gebren, Hacılar, Yeşilda.

CHAPTER 5:

STONE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE RIDER GOD KAKASBOS/HERAKLES

5.1 Catalogue and Discussions:

The representations of the rider god Kakasbos/Herakles are most abundantly observed on stone stelae. These mainly rectangular pieces of stone were carved on one side with the representation of the god with mace in one hand, mounting a horse with raised left fore hoof . The large number of stone representations helped the scholars to find the iconographical characteristics of the god, though these vary except for the horse and the club. A total of 212 reliefs of Kakasbos/Herakles were catalogued by Dr. Delemen in her iconographical study concerning the Anatolian Rider Gods (1999). This chapter will outline and discuss certain iconographical features of Kakasbos/ Herakles stelae.

In all the reliefs the lower border of the frame forms a groundline for the horse. The position of the horse and the rider implies that a sculptural work of greater size was used as a model. Although a number of well-known examples were given in the later chapters of the thesis as a prototype to the iconography of the deity, it is reasonable to look for the model in the same region. Any large-sized city in the vicinity could have afforded such a rider statue made of marble or bronze representing an emperor or an important personality, However, no such statue has been found in the region arrived until today. The equestrian statues have little chance of being preserved because of the very nature of the horse

physionomy; the extremities would be very prone to be broken into pieces. On the other hand, bronze and marble statues were densely re-used during the Middle Ages; bronze pieces were melted and marble was either used as building stone or ground to be made into lime. Although they represent a very small number among all stone representations, two stelae give details that can be interpreted as sculpture supports. There is one relief where the horse is placed on a pedestal (see figure 13). In another relief one support is added in relief under the left foreleg of the horse as a support and this has also been interpreted by Delemen as a sculptural detail (1999: pl. 5 no. 64) . These details show that interestingly, the craftsmen who carved the stelae conceived the figure not as the deity himself, but as his statue. This can imply that a sculptural work of greater size was used as a model.

Whatever the stele displays, it always tapers from the bottom upwards with a low sockle below the relief (Delemen, 1999:7). The fact that this sockle is sometimes inscribed and left too short to be inserted into a carved shaft-hole implies that the votive steles were placed directly into the rock-cut sanctuaries or inside niches. However, hollows were discovered on the rock floor of the rock-cut sanctuary belonging to the club-bearing god Maseis, at Tyriaion. One should keep in mind that none of the rock-cut sanctuaries dedicated to Kakasbos/Herakles were excavated, so it is not possible to state with certainty that the stelae were inserted into rock only in this place.

The club is held basically in two different positions: it is either raised up by the left arm extending sideways, or resting on the deity's upper arm or shoulder. The inscribed stelae belonging to the second group had all been dedicated to Herakles, so this type was associated with Herakles alone. In fact in his short

article de Bellefonds (1992: 1082) classified the stelae with respect to the angle at which the club was carried. However this angle varies so much, that it leads the observer to think that the angle of the club was not of great iconographical importance for the worshippers of the deity.

The clothing and armour observed on the stelae vary, however nudity seems to be reserved to Herakles on the inscribed stelae because the god is either nude or simply wearing a *chlamys* over a naked body. Only one rider is clothed in a full garment and apart from these, the majority of the rider-gods identified as Herakles, Kakasbos or Maseis are dressed in a short garment, which is often a *chitoniskos* girded in different fashions, accompanied by a *chlamys* fastened either over the chest or on the right shoulder (Delemen, 1999: 7-8).

A military cuirass is often observed on Kakasbos and Herakles, but not on Maseis. A cuirass with *pteryges* is sometimes observed on Kakasbos and Herakles, and the *lorica squammata* appears three times. A few times the cuirass is accompanied by a helmet and the most common footwear identified is the *pero*, a short boot with no openings, or *caligae*, Roman military boots made of leather straps and a leather sole (Delemen, 1999: 10).

Although the three club-bearing gods are called by three names, no distinctive iconographical feature helps to differentiate one god from the other, except the epigraphic evidence and the fact that the name Maseis is only used in Tyriaion. A meticulous and up-to-date catalogue of the club-bearing gods' representations in stone is given in Delemen's study, but including all these figures would be a useless repetition of the previous scholarship and lay beyond the scope of this thesis. The following figures are chosen in order to show the striking workmanship similarities among certain stelae, which implies the

existence of workshops however they are iconographically representative of the rider-god Kakasbos/Herakles. I did not intend to look for a typology of the stelae, since we have no distinctive stylistic or chronological evidence with the help of which we could classify these stelae and put them in a chronological sequence. The god Maseis is studied in a different subheading since only the very eroded rock-cut reliefs of this deity survived to our day. The stelae are divided arbitrarily into groups, but future discoveries may show that more distinct workshops than these exist, since the very insulated nature of the cult and the region allow to make such a study.

Group I:

Figure 11: Burdur Museum inv.No. 6134. Limestone. Provenance unknown. Uninscribed.

The rider figure wears clearly shown *caligae*, *chitoniskos* and a *chlamys* blown backwards. The execution of the head is coarse, with round and big head, protuberant large eyes. The rider is bearded and has curly hair. His leg descends straight in columnar fashion. The rider bears the club on his shoulder.

The rider pulls the reins of the horse in order to urge it to look towards the viewer. The hind hoofs of the horse are straight and static. The very thick left fore hoof is raised. We can clearly see the reins, horse's eyes and notches on the breast of the horse may be an effort to indicate a padded coat.

The architectural framework is represented by two clumsily carved spiral columns and a triangular pediment with akroteria. A row of egg decoration is discernible at the pediment (Delemen, 1999: 91, fig.3).

Figure 12: Burdur Museum Inv. No. 52. Limestone. Provenance unknown. Uninscribed.

Unfortunately the front part of the horse is completely destroyed. Knotted club in right hand, the rider wears a *chitoniskos* girded twice at the waist. The *chlamys* is fastened at his breast in a triangular fashion and blown back. Unfortunately, no detail of the head and of the footwear is preserved.

The horse stands with its hind hoofs static, and left front hoof raised. The overall carving is quite thick, especially the legs. No detail from the head remains.

The architectural frame is made of a triangular pediment and a couple of spiral columns (Delemen, 1999: 92, fig. 4).

Figure 13 Burdur Museum. Inv. No. 105. Limestone. Provenance Unknown. Uninscribed.

The rider and his horse are shown on a pedestal. The rider is bearded, has short and curly hair. He wears a coat of mail and a mantle fastened at his breast. *Perones* are clearly shown on his feet. The rider lifts a club in his right hand.

The horse is again well-built, with a small head, mane trimmed short. The horse looks towards the viewer but this time the reins are loose, and the rider's left hand is shown high, holding the reins. Although the fore hoofs are geometric, the hind hoofs are carved more naturalistically.

The architectural framework consists of a lunette supported at both ends by fluted columns (LIMC VI 1-2 1992: 1083 no.19 pl. 720)

Figure 14: Burdur Museum. Inv. No. 378. Limestone. Provenance Unknown. Uninscribed.

The rider's knotted club rests on his arm. With his left hand he pulls the reins to urge the horse to look towards the viewer. His *chitoniskos* is girded twice on his waist and his flying mantle is fastened in a v-shape at his breast. The rider wears *caligae* to his feet.

The horse's body is thick and robust-looking. The hind hoofs are in the same position as the previous examples. Harnessing details are preserved and the horse is given a long mane and flying tail.

The architectural framework consists of a lunette with akroteria and spiral columns (LIMC VI 1-2 1992: 1083 no. 26 pl. 721.)

Figure 15: Antalya Museum. Inv. No. 262673. Limestone. Provenance unknown. Fragmentary. Uninscribed.

The rider is wearing a *chitoniskos* and a *chlamys* fastened at the right shoulder; both are blown back. The face of the rider is wide and the eyelids and irises are indicated. The workmanship of this relief is much more masterful than any other reliefs of Kakasbos/Herakles (Delemen, 1999: 106, fig. 51).

These examples show a certain standardization in the carving of the stelae. The rider figure is garmented with *chitoniskos*, *chlamys* and footwear. Deliberate attention is given to the horse, so that it is carved as a robust animal, but with a small head that looks toward the viewer. In some cases the rider bears his club on

his arm, sometimes he lifts it up. The most striking stylistic resemblance of these images is the elements of the architectural framework.

Group II:

Figure 16: İzmir Museum Inv. No. 849. Limestone. From Fethiye.

The peculiarity of this type of carving is that the figures are very thinly made compared to most Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs. The rider holds a thick club that he raises, as if ready to strike. The closeness between the left hand of the rider and the head of the horse could indicate that he pulls the reins and stops his horse abruptly.

The rendering of the clothing is very linear. The mantle is fastened at the breast of the rider and is blown back quite rigidly. The *tunica* is girded at the waist and comprises frequent, linear, parallel folds. The head is not preserved but traces indicate either a very long head or a helmet.

The horse is as thin and elongated as its rider, and its back hoofs are shorter. The mane is cut with short and sharp movements, the raised tail is rendered with softer and diagonal lines.

The pediment is simple and triangular. There is an inscription such as:

[Hρ]ακλεῖ

εἰ ξην

Μηνὶ ὦω

Υρ——

(Menios son of Hyr... gives a prayer to Herakles).

(Robert, 1946: 50 no. 19, pl. 3/19; Frei, 1990: 1808 no 6.10.6.)

Figure 17: Burdur Museum. Inv. No. 130. Marble. Provenance Unknown.

The pose and rendering is very similar to the previous stele. The rider wears a *tunica* fastened at the waist and rendered with linear, parallel folds. The mantle is flowing back, however very rigidly. The rider lifts his thick club up in the same position, as if ready to strike.

The fore part of the horse is made larger than the hind. The horse's hind legs are short and plump. The mane is trimmed short with sharp, parallel lines and the tail shows spiral incisions. An inscription on the pediment can be read as:

Μηνιω καρφοω

Ἡρακλῆ ἐξεν

(Delemen, 1999: 114, fig. 8)

The workmanship of the two stelae is similar as if both were made by the same hand. However, the very thin bodies offer a situation contrary to Herakles' known image as a strong and robust character. This effect can be caused by poor workmanship or by deliberate intention.

Group III:

Figure 18: Burdur Museum Inv. No. 69. Limestone. Provenance Unknown.

The god is shown naked, the head and leg are in profile, the body is frontal and the arms are outstretched. The rider holds a club in his right hand that he lifts up.

The horse is depicted in profile with a very robust body, thick neck, mane trimmed. Reins, noseband and saddle are depicted. The tail is possibly tied. The stele is triangular at the top.

An inscription can be read as:

κῶμῶν μακαδεύω

τῷ Ἡρακλῆϊ ἐξέν.

(Delemen, 1999: fig. 43).

Figure 19: Burdur Museum. Inv. No. 74. Limestone. Provenance unknown.

The rider is shown in the same position as the previous figure. The god is depicted as beardless and nude, but the details are not very visible. The horse is again a thick and robust animal, with a short trimmed mane and its tail is possibly tied.

The stele is broken along the edges.

An inscription can be read as:

Μηνίω Ἡρακλῆϊ δου Ἡρακλῆϊ ἐξέν

(Delemen, 1999: 124, fig. 118).

Figure 20: İzmir Museum Inv. No. 1343. Limestone. From Korkuteli..

The relief is very damaged but shows clear similarities with the previous reliefs. Because its findspot was known as Korkuteli, the other stelae of this group were also believed to come from this region (Delemen, 1999: 127; also see the figures 43-46 and 118, 126, 127).

An inscription can be read as:

Νεμίτω τῷ Ἡρα-

κλῖ† ε| ᾱξην

(Robert, 1946: 73 pl. 3B).

Figure 21: Burdur Museum Inv. No. 100. Limestone. Provenance unknown.

The figures on the stele do bear a heavy resemblance to the Korkuteli example and others, but the horse is fatter with a bigger head that is curving down rather more. Herakles is shown nude and a strong emphasis is given to his round club. Hair and beard are done in a very vague fashion.

The stele is rectangular.

There is an inscription at the sockle as:

Λε⇒πναω τ∠ ᾱΗρ-

ακλ† ε| ᾱξην

(Delemen, 1999: 38, fig. 164).

Figure 22: Burdur Museum Inv. No. 75. Limestone. Provenance unknown.

The relief on the stele is very similar to no. 126 and 127 in Delemen (1999: figs. 126, 127), with respect to the position of Herakles' left hand holding the reins. Herakles is shown naked, with beard and hair very similar to the previous stele. The rendering of the left arm as if pushing from the breast and the emphasis on the very very big and knotted club also suggest an affinity with the previous stele.

For some reason, the horse is given such a movement that it is flying in the air. It could be leaping, if we take the position of the head into account. A movement is also given to the tail, which is not seen in previous stelae.

The stele is rectangular.

There is an inscription in the sockle:

ἑΑρτειμηῶ

Ακεῶτου τ' ἑΗρ-

ακλῆ+ εἰ ἑξην.

(Delemen, 1999: 141; fig. 174).

It is interesting to find such a striking similarity among so many stelae. This group shows more stylistic affinities with each other than any group that can be attested to come from the same workshop. As most of these stelae are inscribed, they can be safely identified as devoted to Herakles. The god Herakles is shown nude in all depictions and a characteristic rendering of the arms (as if growing from the breast) is typical in most of the carvings. Another peculiarity is the shape of the horses. In all carvings the horse is depicted similar to archaic breeds, thick, with short limbs, a strong neck and short, bushy mane.

Group IV:

Figure 23: Fethiye Museum Inv. No. 1.8.74.1106. Limestone. Provenance unknown.

The rider is facing the viewer and lifts the club up as if ready to strike. The left arm is extremely short and the hand is attached to the chest. The length of the right arm is almost equal to that of the club and this accentuation makes these stelae different from the others. The detail of the hand holding the club is carefully rendered, though no such attention is paid to other parts of the body. The rider wears a short *tunica* and a v-shaped mantle over it. The rider's face is triangular with round and droopy eyes and small mouth. The hair is chiseled towards the face. The horse's mane is either knotted at the forehead (Delemen, 1999:100) or is

just cut brush style. Head collars and reins are also carved with care. The left foreleg of the horse is raised pretty high. The main emphasis on this depiction is given to the club, as it is proportionally the biggest object seen. The stele has a triangular pediment.

An inscription on the sockle can be read as:

KE [—]

θε< Κακ&σ[βϞ+ ε| ε<ην]

(Delemen, 1999: 99-100; fig.no. 30).

Figure 24: Fethiye Museum no inventory number. Limestone. Provenance unknown.

The relief is very similar both in iconography and workmanship to the previous one, except the linear tail of the horse and rather square stele.

θ|αω Διογενοω

θε< [...] ε| ε<ην.

(Delemen, 1999: 132; fig.no. 146)

Delemen attributes these two stelae to Oinoanda, considering the strong resemblance in style and workmanship with the next stele which has a known findspot.

Figure 25: Fethiye Museum Inv. No. 1.10.74. 1106. Limestone. From Ören, south of Oinoanda.

The relief is very similar to the previous one, probably carved by the same craftsman, except a small difference on the head of the rider. There is an inscription on the sockle:

Πολεμων Διογενοω

Κακασβ< ε| ε̅ξην.

The names would indicate that Polemon and Thoas are brothers, which increases the chance that the stelae were made at around the same time, by the same sculptor (Bean, 1956: 142, fig.2; LIMC VI 1-2 1992: 1082 no.3 pl. 720).

Figure 26: İzmir Museum. Inv. No. 4385. Limestone. Provenance unknown.

This Kakasbos stele is similar to the previous three. However, the horse and the rider are cut thicker. It has been suggested that the clinging upper part of the garment and the pleat rows below the waist imply a cuirass (Delemen 1999: 118). The hair of the rider is parted at the center and chiseled in chevron patterns. The head is very triangular, with big eyes, large brows and a small mouth. The horse's headcollars and reins are indicated. Unlike the previous stelae the tail of the horse is rendered by diagonal lines. The stele is rectangular.

The inscription is scattered around the figure, between the hoofs of the horse and the sockle:

θε<

Κακα[σ]β[ϣ+]

ε| ε̅ξην

ε̅Οσσιω Διο —

(Delemen, 1999: 118, fig. 91- also drawn as fig. 10 in p. 118).

The god and his horse are depicted in a similar fashion to the first three stelae. The god's short *tunica* is well depicted although we cannot see his facial traits.

The strong stylistic affinities and the relation in two donators' names allow us to say that the group of stelae belongs to the same workshop. The fifth, İzmir Inv. No. 4385, however is different than the others in certain renderings although the god's stance while lifting his club is similar to the others.

Group V:

Figure 27: Stele from Fethiye Museum, inventory number 6.3.73. Provenance unknown. Limestone.

Kakasbos depicted in three quarter view. The robe is stretched on the chest and two radial lines may indicate a cuirass, perones on feet. The hair of the god is parted at center.

The horse is long and slim, with a particularly convex head. The mane and tail are rendered carefully with parallel lines. the left fore hoof is raised while the others statically stand on the ground. The topknot of the horse's mane is typical and reminding of the horse ornaments in Persian equestrian reliefs. An inscription on the sockle can be read as:

Κακασβω+

ελξην

Επιτροπω δ⇒ω.

(Delemen, 1999: 98, no. 26).

Figure 28: Stele from Fethiye Museum. Inv. No. 2.1.80.1492. North of Oinoanda, Limestone.

The relief is very close in workmanship to the previous one, however the hair of the rider is combed towards the face, the left hind hoof of the horse is more realistically rendered and the stele shape is lunate.

An inscription can be read as:

Κακασβω+

εξην

ἑρμαῖοω δ⇒ω.

(LIMC VI, 1992 : 1082, no. 2c- pl 720; Delemen, 1999, 114; no. 80; Horsley, 1999: fig30b).

Figure 29: Stele from İzmir Museum, inv.no. unknown, provenance unknown. Limestone.

Stele very similar in workmanship to the previous two stelae, the shape of the stele is lunate with uneven sides. The horse is leaning forward while the god is in his usual pose.

An inscription can be read as:

Καξασβω+

Εξην

[ἑΑ]ρτεμων δ⇒ω Πολεμωω.

(Robert, 1946: no. 21; Horsley, 1999: fig. 30c).

The reliefs in this group are interesting for three reasons: they are most probably made by same hands but are found in different museums, they are all overtly dedicated to Kakasbos and the horses display a very convex head and a topknot on their heads. This feature is virtually unknown in Greek art for topknots or head ornaments on horses have been a specialty reserved to the Orient. For instance, such topknots can be clearly observed in the reliefs from Persepolis (6th century BC) a very obvious example is the Hellenistic Alexander Sarcophagus (Istanbul Museum) where the Persian horses are rendered with the same detail.

5.2 Workshops: Can We Talk About a Stele Industry?

The standardization of certain forms seen in the examples above indicate the presence of a few ateliers. The stelae may not be all the work of one sculptor, however either some sort of prefabrication or a unique scablon could have been used in carving these Kakasbos/Herakles figures. The question of workshops was partly covered by Delemen (1999: 24-35) and by Horsley's study of the rider god stelae in the Burdur Museum (Horsley, 1999: 18-19). I have added a few more types to the models offered in these studies, but my main concern is the commercialization that led to a standardization of the forms observed on these stelae. The fact that the cult influenced a very small region and that traces of certain personal/ workshop styles are clearly visible may shed some light on the understanding of local stele workmanship in the area. Some of the stelae were found in (or later transported to) areas quite far apart. However, considering the very small size of the stones it is plausible to think that the items travelled considerably. It is probable that local workshops founded in specific areas, produced a variety of items for dedicatory and funerary purposes, apart from purely ornamental ones. Any community of sufficient size to provide sculptors with a living would have had at least one workshop with its favourite motifs, styles and types of carvings. We don't know how large the community needed to be in order to provide a sculptor the necessary income for a living, however some sculptors might be supplementing their own income by other means.

Usually, the area served by a workshop was restricted to the town in which the workshop was situated and its near vicinity (Phillips, 1976: 101). Occasionally the sculptors travelled further, but a great export trade comparable to the high

quality sculptures of well-known workshops such as the Pergamene or the Aphrodisian is not to be expected for local sculptural works.

We do not have information about the nature of worship of the god Kakasbos/Herakles: whether there were specific dates when festivals were organized or whether the stelae were placed at rural sanctuaries whenever the “need” occurred is unknown to us. However, it is possible that the local sculptor might have already prepared the carvings in advance of sale. The inscription was most probably left blank to meet the requirements of the client. It is also possible that a generic rider relief was carved beforehand and the inscription, or the attributes of the god were finished according to the demands of the purchaser. Horsley gives some examples of rider-Apollo, rider-Hermes and rider-Poseidon (1999: 25- 27; figs. 30, 31 & 32). The first two gods are identified by the inscriptions, the third carries a trident instead of a club. Apart from this, the style and the pose of the horse and rider are exactly the same as on Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs (for the rider-Apollo and Rider-Poseidon, see figures 30, 31). Probably the image was carved as a default element and then the necessary attribute was added. These examples show a certain commercialization of the mason’s product. The main necessary element was the rider on his horse, the generic god was later given an attribute and a name. These stelae also exemplify that the rider-ness of the god was the most important concern of the gods for the Lycians. The attribute of the god, be it a club for Kakasbos/Herakles or a trident for Poseidon, was acting like an identity card for the god, however the horse had a very strong symbolic meaning.

The low image quality of the steale might be due to two reasons. First, the craftsmen who were carving these objects were rural masons who had not gone through workshop training. The objects were probably carved quickly to meet the demand of the clients. No method of speeding up production was evolved in antiquity while at the same time preserving the quality of design and finish (Burford, 1972: 107). The second determining factor may be that those who were buying these objects either could not or were not willing to pay for finer ones. This is understandable since the cult areas are found at remote places, which shows that Kakasbos was mostly worshipped in the countryside, inhabited by people of modest means. The stelae are carved on limestone, which is abundant in Anatolia and probably cheaper than any kind of fine marble.

We cannot speak of any kind of mass production with the examples on hand since these do not show an exact standardization of work and quality, but rather a standardization of imagery. Certain techniques and peculiarities are evident on some stelae, which shows that a few workshops produced the same kind of material, probably by copying a specific model. Such variety in carving styles is striking if one considers that the votives were executed in rural areas where the population and income are expected to be low. It also shows that the cult was well established and had many followers living not in a single place but in a whole region where a number of masonry workshops produced these steale in order to meet the demands of the worshippers.

CHAPTER 6:

COIN EVIDENCE

Many cities minted autonomous coins bearing the images of certain riders in the Pisidian region, namely Termessos Major and Isinda. On the reverse side of these coins riders reminiscent of the riders existing on the reverse of Macedonian coins were imprinted. Some of these riders were mistakenly identified as “Kakasbos” in the early publications but this has been corrected by Robert, who asserts that these riders are “Sozon” representations, but not Kakasbos (Robert, 1946: 44). Sozon’s area of influence remains clustered between SE Phrygia and SW Pisidia; briefly, the god only appears in a region covered by today’s Isparta and Burdur municipalities. This god occasionally carries an “epekoos” epithet, but iconographically differs from Kakasbos/Herakles. On the other hand, the rider Sozon never carries a club. He either wears a radiant crown or a helmet. In his rider representations, he is often pictured as riding a galloping horse, aiming a spear in a hunter’s position.(Pauly, 1927: 1248-1256; “Sozon”).

The city of Choma is localized at the Hacımusalar mound in the Elmalı plain; it was identified thanks to the inscriptions found and read by Bean and Harrison (1967: 41-44). The autonomous coins of Choma are approximately dated to the 1st century BC. The cities of Arykanda, Choma, Kandyba, Podalia and Nisa were grouped as the Lycian Milyas by Ptolemy (*Geog.* V.3.7). The evidence of

autonomous coins shows that these cities were not included in the Lycian League when it was first founded. Among these cities, Arykanda at first minted autonomous coins, but apparently it was included into the Lycian League in the late 2nd century BC since it minted Lycian League coins afterwards. It can be suggested that the cities were possibly added into the Lycian League by the Romans who wanted to pacify the region after 89 BC. Choma was included within Lycia in the inscription at Patara dated to AD 43 and was one of the cities that minted coins during the reign of Gordian III (AD 238- 244).

There are three types of known autonomous Choma coins:

Type 1: dated to the 1st century BC. On the obverse, a head of Zeus crowned with laurel leaves faces right. On the reverse, Kakasbos advancing right with his horse, raising his club and wearing a helmet and a *chlamys*. Inscribed “XΩ”. Five published examples are: Svoronos 1903: 193, no. 136, pl. XI, 26; *Syll. Numm. Gr. V. Aul.* 10: pl. 40, no. 4287 (3.83g); *Syll. Numm. Gr. Tüb.* 6: pl. 142, no. 4221 (5.18 g.), 4222 (3.14g). (see figure 32).

Type 2: dated to the 1st century BC. On the obverse, a head of Zeus crowned with laurel leaves faces right. On the reverse, Kakasbos advancing right with his horse, raising his club and wearing a helmet and a *chlamys*. Inscribed “X-ΩM”. A single example appears in *Syll. Num. Gr. v. Aul* 18: 8485 (6.58g).

Type 3: dated to end of 2nd century BC-47 BC. On the obverse, a head of Zeus crowned with laurel leaves faces right. On the reverse side, Herakles’ club circled by laurels. Four published examples so far are: Waddington 1853: 118; Svoronos 1904: 386, no. 255, pl. XVII, 24; *Syll. Num. Gr. v. Aul.* 10: pl. 140, no. 4289 (2.55g.), no. 4290 (2.30g) (see figure 33).

The first two types clearly display a Kakasbos/Herakles image. The third shows the god's attribute rather than himself, but relying on the first two coins, one suspects that the club belongs to the rider god Kakasbos/Herakles. Because a few Choma coins are known, they were not put into a chronological sequence by scholars. Though few, these coins are important in the study of the Kakasbos cult for two main reasons. Firstly, the god is honored by being minted on a city coin, which shows that it probably was not a "rural" cult but was worshipped widely by at least one city as well.¹² Secondly, the dating of the coin implies the early presence of the deity, at least before Roman rule in Lycia became settled. The iconography of the Choma coins show Kakasbos/Herakles, identifiable by his club, wearing a helmet and a chlamys and riding his horse who raises its left fore leg. The overall iconography of the coins is consistent with what we encounter on stone stelae. This may suggest that the iconographic model of the god Kakasbos/Herakles did not take its final shape in the Roman Imperial period, but existed before, since perhaps the Greek colonial period.

Another city producing coins with the Kakasbos image is Arykanda. The rider god seen in Arykanda coins can be basically divided into two types: on the first type the obverse side shows the bust of the emperor Gordian III wearing laurel leaves. The obverse is inscribed with ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ. On the reverse, the rider god who is probably Kakasbos/Herakles is shown with the inscription ΑΡΥΚΑΝΔΕΩΝ the god is riding his rearing horse, the club raised on the right hand, holding the reins with his left hand. He is wearing a radiating phrygian cap, a *chlamys* and a *chitoniskos*. The rider has been identified as a "phrygian rider" by some, relying

¹² This will be discussed further in the upcoming chapter.

on the fact that he is wearing a phrygian cap, but this claim is dubious since this type of headgear was very popular at that period and not necessarily specific to Phrygia. This image is somehow different from what is observed on stone stelae, mainly because of the radiating phrygian cap, and the rearing, small horse. The phrygian cap might be a Roman addition. The examples of this type can be found in auctions but none were found during excavations in Arykanda (Tek, 1999: 127 [www . coinarchives.com](http://www.coinarchives.com) Auction no. 147 on March 7th, 2006) . This type was previously identified as “Sozon” because of the radiating hat. However, Sozon never carries a club and the club-bearing god is known either as Kakasbos or Herakles in the region. Helios, the popular god of the city of Arykanda is also depicted with a radiating crown. The existence of the Helios cult in the city makes a Kakasbos/Helios mix probable.

The second type is even more interesting. On the obverse, the bust of Gordian III with ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ., On the reverse, the inscription can be read as ΑΡΥΚΑΝΔΕΩΝ. On these coins, the reverse image shows the god Kakasbos/Herakles as dismounted, holding the reins of his horse and walking right with his club in his hand. Near the figure, on the ground a flowing hydria can be distinguished. Although the clothing is the same, the phrygian hat is not radiating in this case. The horse raises its right fore hoof behind his master. Unlike the first type, this type of coins has not been previously published, yet four examples were excavated from Arykanda. Generally a flowing hydria implies a water source, which can be in this case the river Arykandos. (Tek, 2002: 127-128; cat.no. 965-969) (see figures 34, 35).

The Ktistes of the city are called as Aryas and Kandos and are depicted on city coins dating to AD 240 with conic *pileus* on their heads and flying *chlamys*.

They hold the reins of their horses in one hand and carry a scepter in the other. Tek informs us that the gods' names did not appear on inscriptions excavated so far, just as no Kakasbos stelae were found in the city (2002: 129). Considering the Luwian name of the city, it is impossible for Arykanda to be founded by eponymous Greek heroes. Probably they were invented during the Roman Imperial period, in an effort to create a mythical past (Neumann, 1991: 165-169). The iconography of the founder gods is obviously borrowed from the Dioskouroi, a very popular cult in Lycia. The existence of the cult of the Dioskouroi is proven by excavated material in Arykanda; however, as elsewhere in Lycia the dioskuri are accompanied by a mother goddess figure. From this point of view, the representation on the coin differs from the widespread dioskouroi image. They were probably a borrowing from this cult, with an addition of scepters their image of founder and ruler is emphasized.

Considering that the founding personalities of the city are also shown as horsemen sharing the same iconography, the second type of Kakasbos figures is perhaps influenced by them. A club is given to the god in order to confirm his name. The study of these few coins shows the iconographical diversity of the rider-gods in the region. There is a great possibility of syncretisms and free style borrowings from different deities. Although the examples of Arykanda do not perfectly match the typical Kakasbos images on the stone stelae, the presence of the club leads one to think of some influence of this god. This can only be explained by the presence of the cult in the city; or at least the god was known and worshipped by the citizens, so that an attribute of the god was borrowed to be used on the coins. Vagi (1993: 8-14) explains this phenomenon by the survival of Greek elements under Roman rule, however the very "Greek" nature of the god

Kakasbos is disputable. The nonexistence of Kakasbos/Herakles stelae in Arykanda does not rule out the possibility of the cult's survival among the citizens, since none of the votive stelae were found in cities but in and around rock-cut sanctuaries in pretty remote areas.

CHAPTER 7:

REPRESENTATIONS OF KAKASBOS/HERAKLES IN OTHER MEDIA:

The representations of the deity in other materials are scarce and disputable with respect to their iconography. Perhaps the most interesting and controversial example of them is the Doric temple in Sagalassos together with its votive remains.

The Doric temple of Sagalassos was localized at the south-west of the middle Hellenistic heroon. The temple occupies a large irregular terrace, 40 m wide. The temple faces south, the western and eastern ends of the terrace wall are partly built, partly rock-cut. The long walls of the temple, measuring about 12.8 m by 8.6 m stand to the height of the architrave. The 1.26m tall podium is reached with a stairway with projecting side wings. Waelkens (1993: 45) informs us that although the temple first was dated to the late Hellenistic period according to parallels at 2nd century BC Pergamon, the height of the podium, excavated in 1991 reflects early Imperial practice which is, therefore, the more likely date of the building.

No inscriptions were discovered about the temple, so there is no direct evidence for identifying the cult housed by the building. Votive figurines and a marble head of a bearded male were unearthed nearby. These have been interpreted by Waelkens as representing Kakasbos, Herakles or Zeus-Kakasbos.

Although no inscription has yet been discovered, votive offerings make it clear that the temple housed the cult of the Anatolian rider god Kakasbos (perhaps locally associated with Zeus or Herakles (Waelkens, 1993: 45; figs 38-39).

In a preliminary excavation report of the 1992 season, we are informed that small terra cotta figurines representing Kakasbos, cattle or domestic animals were discovered in the temple area and some of the figurines in question are on display in the Burdur Museum (Waelkens, 1993: 9-13). The example that Waelkens used in his publication is said to represent Kakasbos. This is a small statuette of a bearded man carrying a club in his right hand and a round shield in his left hand (see figure 36). The dots and stripes on the figurine may represent armour. The figurine is wearing a helmet or perhaps a Phrygian cap. It is clearly a warrior figurine, but doubts arise about whom it really represents. The horse is at least as crucial as the club in identifying Kakasbos/Herakles and it lacks in the picture. The warrior's position does not allow him to hold any reins, or sit on a saddle; given the present evidence it is not certain that it represents Kakasbos. Horsley (1999: 40) expresses his own doubts about the identification of the deity on three grounds: iconographically, the club and the horse are "musts" for the deity, but around the temple area a figure carrying a spear (?) was found, which jeopardizes Waelkens' identification. On the other hand, there is no firm example of figurine showing a rider on horseback brandishing a club hence the figurines can represent another deity as well. Second, the lack of an inscription makes the identification of the temple disputable for it was common for dedications of figurines representing a number of deities to be offered at a temple, not those of the god alone. Even a few representations of the local rider god would be insufficient to establish the identity of the cult housed in the temple. Third, Kakasbos/Herakles

is a deity worshipped in rural, but not civic sanctuaries, so the likelihood of a temple dedicated to him in the middle of the Hellenistic agora is not consistent with the other evidence about this god. If the cult was officially supported by the city, the presence of the god should be expected in other elements of the city, like coins or smaller shrines. The claim that Kakasbos/Herakles is only a rural deity clashes with the coin evidence in Choma, and possibly in Arykanda since the reverse of the Choma coins show Kakasbos and at least one type of Arykanda coins shows a very close representation.

It is very likely that the cult of Kakasbos/Herakles was known to the inhabitants of Sagalassos. It can be ventured that some of the figurines found in the Doric temple at Sagalassos could have been brought by the worshippers of the deity (if they really represent Kakasbos), however it will be only a suggestion since the identification of the figurines and the temple is not certain.

CHAPTER 8:

MASEIS

Maseis is another rider god specific to the city of Tyriaion in the Cabalid region. Because of its iconographical resemblance to the Kakasbos/Herakles reliefs, it is also included in the study. A rock-cut sanctuary to this deity was first published by George Bean (1956: 153-155) as a brief report after his first visit to Tyriaion in 1953. A dedication inscription was equally discovered by Bean, which gives the name of a certain Maramotes who financed the construction of the sanctuary in honor of $\tau\omega \text{ Κυρι}\omega \text{ Μασει}\omega$. It is interesting that the word $\text{Κυρι}\omega$ is used instead of $\psi\epsilon\omega$, which is the only epithet attributed to Kakasbos/Herakles figures (for the entire text see: Naour, 1980:108-109). Bean could only read an $\alpha\sigma$ before $\epsilon\lambda\ \xi\eta\nu$ in one of the rock cut reliefs and was confused whether it stood for [Kak]as[bos] or [M]as[eis] (Bean 1956: 154). However, Robert (1959: 249) certified the god's name as Maseis.

The rock-cut sanctuary of Maseis fits the typical properties of other rock-cut sanctuaries dedicated to rider-gods in the area. The stone façade of the sanctuary is smoothened and on the ground appear small rectangular shafts with one or two small holes deep inside. These shafts were probably intended for the placement of votive stelae (Naour, 1980: 108). Two other built terraces of unknown function can be seen near the sanctuary.

When the rock-cut reliefs and their inscriptions were first reported, the site was already worn by natural and human activity. Today only a few reliefs remain

visible: only one has a legible inscription. This relief, the one reported by Bean (1956: 153-154) will be given as an example.

Rock-cut wall relief at one extremity of the sanctuary, facing south. Rectangular engraving space framed on three sides: the lower side bears the dedication. Size: 50 cm by 43 cm (see figure 37).

The relief shows a horse rearing to the right side; the rider, with a frontal face and torso wears a short tunic with vertical folds. The left hand of the rider pulls the reins while the right hand, raised backwards, is holding a club.

The inscription is presented as such:

Μανηω εϋρμα⇒ου λ⇒—

ψουργοω Μασε⇒ε|—

ξην.

(Bean, 1967: 109-110; Naour, 1980:112).

(Manes the stonecutter, son of Hermaios gives a prayer to Maseis).

The dedication belongs to a stone worker or a sculptor as it can be understood from λ⇒ψουργοω (Robert, 1960: 32).

The dedication distinguishes this god from Kakasbos/Herakles since they are attested in regions very close to Cabalis. In fact, the reliefs that show Maseis bear a great resemblance to the representations of Kakasbos. It is not the attribute that differentiates them since both bear a club in their right hand. The only visible difference (if we omit a couple of exceptional Kakasbos/Herakles figures where the horse is rearing) is the pose of the horse. On the other hand, the club of the god Maseis is raised backwards while that of Kakasbos tilts forward. However, it is not reliable to make distinctions relying on six very eroded depictions of this

god. As a result, it is plausible to say that the divinities are iconographically very similar and the only element that differentiates them is their names on the inscription line.

Naour reports that he found a small rectangular stele showing Maseis in a village house, which perhaps belongs to this rock-cut sanctuary. However, the inscription space is either empty or illegible due to wear (Naour, 1980: 113).

CHAPTER 9:

THE RELIGIOUS SIDE OF THE KAKASBOS/HERAKLES CULT:

9.1 The Question of Syncretisms:

There is an apparent syncretism between Kakasbos and Herakles which leads to think that there must be something similar between the two characters in order to worship them as one single visual image.

In his article “Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine” Lévêque (1973: 179-187) developed a typology describing the different aspects of characterized syncretisms. The first is called “syncrétisme-emprunt”, which is the adoption of a foreign deity into the home pantheon. This has often been the case with Greek gods and goddesses in foreign context. Another type of syncretism is called “syncrétisme-crase” or “amalgame”, which can be described as parts of two religions mixing together in order to create a cult completely different from the previous two. The cults of Isis and Serapis during the Roman imperial period are perfect examples describing this type of syncretism (Dunand, 1975:154). The third type of syncretism is called “syncrétisme-hénothéisme” which results in a divinity uniting the attributes and functions which used to belong to other gods. However, the most likely type of syncretism for our case seems to be what has been called by Lévêque as “syncrétisme-juxtaposition” or “equivalence” where deities of very similar functions and/or attributes, namely “equivalent” gods are worshipped indistinctly of another.

However, certain problematic points arise when classifying syncretisms with clearly drawn borders. The iconography of Herakles differs from the one we usually observe in Greek pictorial and sculptural arts. He lacks his lionskin and he appears as a rider. As previously mentioned, it is not a common usage to show Herakles riding a horse; although a few examples show him riding a donkey. On the other hand, the Kakasbos figures do not entirely match the Herakles figure either. In some of the stelae the deity wears cuirass, army boots and garments popular in the late Roman period, which identifies him more with the image of a legionary cavalry man than the heroic Herakles. A few controversial depictions on Arykanda coins were identified as Kakasbos due to the fact that they are riders who carry a club. However, one of the depictions shows the god dismounted, guiding his horse by holding its reins. In fact, with that pose and Phrygian caps these depictions are reminiscent of Mithras rather than Herakles. Can a syncretism of several gods be possible in that case? Perhaps, some poses and attributes of the deities popular at that date (3rd century AD) were “amalgamated” to the Kakasbos figure. On the other hand, the iconography of Kakasbos reminds one unmistakably of the iconography of the Dioskouroi, another very popular cult in Northern Lycia, in the way their horses pose, the way their mantles fly and the way they carry their weapons, though the weapon in question is a club for Kakasbos.

The main difficulty in the analysis of the Kakasbos cult is that we know nothing except little votive inscriptions, stelae, few coins, even fewer and disputable terra cotta examples and finally rock cut sanctuaries which are most of the time anepigraphic. No single text written in Greek or Lycian describes the nature, function and meaning of the god for the inhabitants of the region. Since it

is a very isolated cult it is not possible for us to give any direct information concerning the characteristics of Kakasbos. The only reasonable thing to do is to study the deities worshipped together with Kakasbos, like Herakles and the Dioskouroi and try to make a few inferences about who this god can be. There must be certain resemblances between the deities in order to allow iconographical borrowings and a study of the other gods may be helpful. Considering the religious and cultural climate of the period, it is also possible to see why these cults were popular in the region.

9.1.1 Herakles:

Herakles is probably the most popular figure in Greek mythology. His general appearance is well-attested: a bearded man with a tall and muscular body, carrying a club and a lionskin. He is the incarnation of heroism and masculinity, but often he appears as the main character of humorous stories. His cult is so widespread that it appears everywhere Greek cultural influence reached, since his contacts were more numerous and more intimate with humans than those of the other demigods. It is thus not a surprise to see Herakles worshipped in Northern Lycia. But the deity is shown in a completely different iconography in the region. He is riding a horse and brandishing his club and his lionskin is absent.

The origin of Herakles has much been discussed by the scholars. The theory of a Greek origin of Herakles was defended in the 19th century; then, the romantic image of Herakles was the expression of Dorian personality. This approach was defended by Willamovitz (1895: 38-40). However it is dubious whether the image of Herakles was really a proto-Dorian invention. Walter Burkert (1979) gives a number of examples from Near Eastern art, dating much earlier than the 8th

century BC depictions of Greek Herakles, however the information that he gives about a possible Indo-European link makes more sense for our study.

Examples in Indo-European mythology show characters that fight against beasts in their “labours”, which can be a very early prototype for Herakles: *Trita* or *Indra* often fights and kills *Visvarupa*, a bestial demon who had three heads and *Indra* thus delivers the cows hidden in a cave by the demon (Burkert, 1979: 85). Scholars found these stories to represent “The Indo-European Cattle Raiding Myth”, a practice quite important for the Indo-European pastoralists. In all examples, the adversary of the hero is a monster, either three headed or “in all forms” and it lives in an unknown place (Lincoln, 1976: 42-65). The hero devotes himself to overcome the dangers and save humanity from evil.

Furthermore, parallels are also present in Mesopotamian mythology. According to Burkert (1979: 80-81) a Mesopotamian hero called *Ninurta* or *Ningirsu* is invoked as a god who has to overcome several dangerous beasts. In many depictions, the Mesopotamian hero is shown as the master of animals, as he captures and subjugates wild and dangerous beasts. The general pattern is repeated in Heraklean adventures, where the hero captures creatures that have been dangerous for human life. In the Twelve Labours of Herakles, it is the god’s “master of animals” character that has been emphasized.

However, in the further development of Greek civilization Herakles became a hero performing voluntary labours undertaken for the sake of compassion for mankind. Herakles appears as the strongest son of Zeus, both hero and god. At festivals, sacrifices were made to him both as a hero and as a god. Thus, Herakles was not basically a heroic figure in the Homeric sense, he was not a warrior but he was mainly interested in animals; with his lion skin as garment and club as

weapon, he is a savage character who tames and transfers the mastery of animals from superhumans to humans (Burkert, 1979: 94-95). The development of this cult and the importation of Herakles from the ancient Near East into Greece is documented in detail by Levy (1934: 4-53). The heroic aspect of Herakles found favour among many rulers who identified themselves with him, like Alexander, Augustus, not to forget Commodus who turned his fanatical appreciation of the god into a folly (Anderson, 1928: 12-58).

But the heroic aspect left its place to survival in the following centuries, probably due to increasing individualism. The most important achievement of Herakles was that he could journey into Hades's empire and come back alive, thus he could overcome old age and death. Herakles became the great helper against the horror of death and ornamented the sarcophagi of the late Roman period (Lloyd-Jones, 1975: 1-12; Boardman, 1975: 1-12). The figure of Herakles became an influential spiritual force because he was a hero who, by virtue of his divine legitimation acts in favor of mankind and finally he is taken among the gods. On the other hand, he is the example of a common man who, at the end of his life is rewarded by the gods. He is divine but being close to ordinary human beings both by his human appearance and human sentiments, he was an inspiring prototype for mankind. Thus Herakles contained the potential to shatter the limits of Greek religion (Burkert, 1985: 211).

The many faces of Herakles imply for us that Kakasbos the Lycian may be a hero/god of similar virtues. As the Lycians spoke an Indo-European language, it may be suggested that they were by origin Indo-European as well. However, it would be an unverifiable claim to assert that because of their origin, their myths were necessarily shaped in the very same way as that of Greeks. We will be

content to say that, similar to Herakles, Kakasbos was a heroic figure. We may infer that because of the similar character of the Greek and Lycian religions, Herakles was welcomed soon in the region and worshipped in close contact with the local deity. The lack of written sources about the nature of the Kakasbos cult and the total absence of physical representations of the deity prior to the Roman period does not allow to study the two cults's parallel evolution in time. The fact that the inscription mentioning the god's name in Lycian was a malediction may imply that he was protective, a figure who overcame evil in order to save and protect his worshippers.

9.1.2 The Dioskouroi:

The Dioskouroi are the rider twins of Greek mythology, called Castor and Polydeuces (Pollux) whose worship clearly derived from Indo-European beliefs, as they show close parallels with the shining, riding brothers called *Asvin* in Vedic mythology (Burkert, 1985: 212). The cult of the Dioskouroi seems to be native to Sparta, which is backed by archaeological evidence. A recently uncovered sanctuary at Messene was founded in the 7th century BC. The votive offerings consisting of votive plaques representing riders and the Dioskouroi, figurines of hoplites and women clearly display a hero cult worshipped side-by-side with Demeter (Themelis, 1998 :157-186). According to the myth, after a cattle stealing adventure in enemy territory, they fight with another pair of brothers called Idas and Lynkeus and the mortal brother Castor dies while the immortal brother Polydeuces survives. However the twins remain unseparated.

The Spartan cult of the Dioskouroi was a warrior cult where the twins are in fact a reflection of young men capable of bearing arms (Burkert, 1985: 212).

However in numerous Anatolian representations, they accompany the Goddess, who stands in the middle of the scene in representations. Most of the East Mediterranean reliefs where the Dioskouroi accompany a goddess are studied by Chapoutier, who dated the spread of the cult between the Hellenistic and Late Roman Period, with help from coin evidence (1935: 98-100, fig.1). In the map that Chapoutier provides, the findspots concentrate in Northern Lycia, which is striking since it is known that the cult does not originate from that region. In these reliefs the Dioskouroi are accompanied by their horses; sometimes they ride them, sometimes the horses stand behind their masters. At the center of the composition are placed an altar and a goddess whom the scholars avoid identifying because of so many possible candidates like Helen, the sister of the Dioskouroi, or Demeter, or the Anatolian Great Goddess. The characteristic attribute of the Dioskouroi is the *pilos* – not the Phrygian cap- which is sometimes topped by a star, another attribute of the holy twins implying their astrological character.

There are syncretisms between the Dioskouroi and the Thracian and Danubian riders which exchange their iconography and attributes. Chapoutier asserts that the Dioskouroi were a prototype for the iconography of the Thracian and Danubian rider, which is perfectly plausible (1935: 284-287; figs. 55, 56). However, a borrowing of imagery is more likely for the Danubian rider who, in early stages of the cult appears as a single rider overcoming his enemy, but during Late Roman period the image evolves into a triad with the Goddess in the middle.

The local reliefs in Northern Lycia, southern Pisidia and Kabalia were studied in detail by Delemen (1995) who found stylistic similarities between the Kakasbos/Herakles/Maseis reliefs and triad reliefs with the Dioskouroi and the Goddess. It is not surprising to see again that rock-cut votives dedicated to the

Dioskouroi are found in places where the Kakasbos/Herakles worship is also observed. (Delemen, 1995: 197, map2).

The iconography of the Dioskouroi is reminiscent of the typical appearance of Kakasbos/Herakles. In the reliefs the horses are represented in the same pose studied before: they stand with the fore left hoof raised. The riders are often clothed in a short *tunica* and a flying mantle (often so clumsily made that they recall wings). They almost always wear their *pilos*, and are very occasionally armoured (Delemen, 1995: 307-321, see cat.). A crescent and two stars are carved on top of the scene as the attributes of the goddess and the Dioskouroi.¹³

Some examples show some links between the Dioskouroi and Kakasbos/Herakles cults. In Danabeli, northwest of Akdağ, a rock-cut sanctuary for Kakasbos/Herakles was found together with one votive relief dedicated to the Dioskouroi (İplikçioğlu, 2001: 20). The presence of the relief in a sanctuary dedicated to Kakasbos/Herakles might imply that the followers of the cult found no offense in worshipping the Dioskouroi, or that the gods were considered as of the same character. Donations to several gods in one temple is an event observed in the Greek world and here a similar situation may apply. On the other hand, in one of the votive stelae dedicated to Herakles, a star was placed on top of the scene which could imply possible relationship with the Dioskouroi (Delemen, 1999: 94) (see figure 38). Another astral attribution to Kakasbos/Herakles was made in the Korkuteli İmecik rock-cut sanctuary, where one of the carvings reveals a Kakasbos *Aster/Astraios*. (Delemen, 1999: 13) The star is the sign of the Dioskouroi; here it shows the astral character of Kakasbos as well as showing a solid link between the Dioskouroi and Kakasbos.

Although these are isolated examples, they might mean that at least for some worshippers, the Kakasbos/Herakles cult took a similar meaning to that of the Dioskouroi. However, the physical resemblance and the observation of the two cults in the same places indicate an iconologic relationship between the Dioskouroi and Kakasbos/Herakles even if there was no one-to-one religious parallels between the two cults. The object of parallelism is visibly the horseman. The Dioskouroi were horsemen and so was Kakasbos. The image of the Dioskouroi arrived to Lycia together with the Greek influence and it possibly provided a ready-made iconography for the local god. Every detail of the pose of the rider twins is repeated on each Kakasbos/Herakles stele and Kakasbos's flying mantle, one of the characteristics of the Dioskouroi seems to back this hypothesis.

In Greek mythology, the Dioskouroi show a character similar to the heroic warrior. The presence of the horse and the weapons in the scenes implies an image of youth, power and warlikeness; which are also observable in Kakasbos/Herakles representations. The rider gods might have had a special importance for the Lycians and the cult of the Dioskouroi possibly spread easily in the region.

9.1.3 Mithras:

Mithras will be studied because of his iconographical resemblance with Kakasbos/Herakles observed in 3rd century AD coins of Arykanda.

In the 2nd and 3rd centuries Mithras is portrayed as a rider in Germany and in eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Merkelbach (1984: 44, 258) describes the German Mithras as the god of Roman cavalry soldiers. Mithras was the soul's guide between heaven and earth and the worshippers were praying him in order to

¹³ for other sources where the Triad reliefs are studied see: Robert, 1983: 553-578; Hermay, 1983: 577-580, 587-589; Frei, 1990: 1784- 1786; Coulton, 1992: 48; İplikçioğlu, Çelgin &

return from battle victorious and alive. However, the portrayal of Mithras on horseback can be seen in Trapezus coins where coins minted during the reign of Caracalla and Elagabalus show Mithras as a rider between the dadophori (see figure 39).

The history of Mithras is paradoxical. The god who was honored by the enemies of Rome soon became the main deity of Roman legionary forces. The origin of the god is found by scholars in Indo-Aryan mythology. In his work titled “Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra” Cumont (1896) stated that the origins of the cult lied within Iranian Mazdaism. According to Cumont the main center of spread for the cult was the Mazdaean diaspora that remained in Anatolia after the fall of the Achaemenid Empire. Others still hold Anatolia as the cult center but pull the date for its spread to the 1st century BC. (Will, 1955: 144-169; Schwertheim, 1979: 13-24; Turcan, 1993: 25-26). However there is a radical opposition to this theory by those who see the cult as essentially created in Rome as a mysteries cult and diffused from that city (Merkelbach, 1984: 160-161; Ulansey, 1989).

Although some scholars insist that the Mithras cult was original to Rome, it was not foreign to Anatolia. He found his place in many regions, like Armenia, Cappadocia, Pontus and Commagene – the popularity of the name Mithradate or Mithridates proves the spread of the cult (Turcan, 1992: 194, 199). According to Robert Beck, who believes that the cult spread from Commagene, its initiators were “social insiders”: Iranians who already had a religious tradition centered on Mithras and knowledge of Western tradition in which astrology created the main metaphors of cosmology and soteriology (Beck, 1988: 119). However, the cult of Mithras reached its highest popularity in the West during the Roman Imperial

Çelgin, 1992: 20-21; İplikçioğlu, 2001: 20 ; Smith, 1997:: 1-33, pl II&III).

period and it was diffused to almost all parts of the empire. It is possible that Roman campaigns into Armenia and Parthia led by Domitius Corbulo during the reign of Nero contributed to the penetration of the cult into the Roman army. The legions who fought against the Parthians brought together with them the Mithraic cult to their new postings. (Turcan, 1992: 202-203)¹⁴. Together with this, the slaves brought from Parthia, merchants, members of the Parthian diaspora could equally have brought the cult into the heartland of the Roman Empire.

Mithras was also identified as Orion, whose duty was to protect the soldiers of the Roman Empire (Speidel, 1980). In his book Speidel studies the astrological side of the god and places him together with the Orion constellation. However, in Greek mythology Orion fell victim to a scorpion, which may not fit very well with the image of Mithras the invincible.

As a mystery cult, secrecy was essential thus no written evidence teaches the initiation and worshipping rituals. However, it was a cult for men; women took no part in the ritual activities but male slaves were initiated, although very rarely (Burkert, 1999: 78). It explains its immediate popularity among soldiers and military encampments. The cult furthermore reached larger circles of people somehow connected with the army, like merchants or craftsmen.

Basically Mithras was considered as a saviour god. His cult incorporated philosophy and cosmology derived from popular Stoicism (Turcan, 1992: 241). The characteristics of the god fit well with what we would expect to see in the Kakasbos/Herakles cult. However, the Mithraic mysteries offer a plethora of complex rituals and unexplained mythography; thus an influence between the two cults is possible, but not certain. The coins of Trapezus and Tarsus which bear the images of Mithras on their reverse can be an advertisement of the public (but

¹⁴ For more information about the Oriental Cults in the Roman Army see Hoey, 1939: 456-481.

especially military) opinion since the dates of these coins fit well with Roman campaigns against Parthia (Turcan, 1992:244). The same can be relevant for the coins of Arykanda as well. However, the figure on the reverse of the coins bears the typical attire of Mithras but at the same time brandishes a club. Since the club and the horse are the attributes of Kakasbos/Herakles, it is easy to associate the name of Kakasbos to the representation. But it is not possible to state securely whether it is a Mithras with a Kakasbos influence, or a Kakasbos with Mithras influence.

9.1.4 The Thracian and Danubian Riders:

Among the several deities of the Roman world, one is very similar in appearance and competence to the Herakles /Kakasbos of Lycia. In Thrace, especially within the East half of the Balkan peninsula we come across archaeological material depicting riders. Although the statues have different expressions and different craftsmanship qualities, the final attribution is clear. The Thracian rider has a characteristic iconographic schema of a rider sitting calmly on his horse while holding a *patera* in his right hand (type A), or as a hunter (type B) reminiscent of the typical patterns of Greek mounted hero reliefs¹⁵. The links with Greek hero worship are strengthened with direct textual evidence from votive reliefs and tombstones where the Thracian rider is mentioned as “Hero”. It is thought that this particular imagery of the Thracian rider came along with Greek colonies on the West coast of the Black Sea and North coasts of the Aegean in the early Hellenistic period (Oppermann, 1981: 510). The Thracian rider reliefs are

¹⁵ for funerary reliefs of riders in Anatolia see Pfuhl&Möbius, 1977; for Thracian Rider reliefs see the Corpus Cultus EquitisThracii series)

only identified securely with the help of inscriptions since most are found in secondary contexts and they can be either votive or funerary.

In certain dedications lies the name “hero” followed by Thracian, Greek or Latin epithets. The Thracian Rider is also called Apollo, Hades, Asklepios, Hephaistos, Sabazius, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Silvanus and the Dioskouroi. In addition numerous local names and epithets are used such as Karabasmos, Keilade(i)nos, Manimazos, Vetespios, Aulachernos, Aulosadenos and Pyrmeroulas (Dimitrova, 2002: 210).

The findings of the Thracian Rider are consistent with mass production. The main dedicators of the rider hero were soldiers and villagers. It was observed that the number of votive statuettes increased dramatically during the first half of the 3rd century; in scarcely more than 80 years, at least 2000 rider reliefs were executed and erected between the Danube and the North Aegean coast. The main reason for this was probably the crisis that was shaking the empire at that time and the quick downfall of the provinces. The need for a saviour god increased more and more (Oppermann, 1981: 511).

It has been suggested that the image of the Thracian rider is borrowed from the Greek funerary reliefs of heroized men. Will (1955: 78-79) states that the image of the rider hero was already well-established in the Greek-speaking world before the appearance of the Thracian rider and the latter can only be a late version of the former.

Therefore the Thracian rider shows a good example of how a local culture embraced the Greek idea of the rider hero. However, one should not hastily call the Thracian Rider as “completely Greek” since in this case the image only has been adopted. The rider, called as “hero” appears sometimes on his own,

sometimes together with other deities but most of the time it does not depict a “heroized dead” like in Greek funerary stelae. On the other hand, no such anonymous rider god is seen in the Greek mainland. It might indicate that a certain deity native to Thracian culture was assimilated to the Greek heroized rider image, or became iconic with the help of Greek rider iconography.

Iconographically, the Thracian Rider differs from Kakasbos/Herakles. However, certain religious parallels might exist between the two. The two deities display a heroic and soteriologic character. They become widespread within their region during the 3rd century AD. In both of the representations it is possible to observe the same elements used to invoke the same feelings among worshippers: horse, a rider hero and weapons which (though they are different) emphasize the protective side of the figures. In one stone stele belonging to a private collection, one can see the god Kakasbos/ Herakles riding his horse near a snake, an iconographical attribute so often observed in the representations of Thracian rider (Delemen, 2005: 149-176, fig. 12). This is a very singular and interesting finding since it offers one common element between the two gods. The snake was a widespread symbol used within the Roman world and elsewhere in antiquity. Be it relevant with the iconography of the Thracian rider or not, the appearance of an element which is not part of the basic iconography of Kakasbos/Herakles is worth mentioning.

On the other hand, the Danubian rider cult still continues to keep its enigma as there are no written dedications to its deities, one goddess and two horsemen (Tudor, 1976: 72) . We observe from Tudor’s works that he draws a distinction between the Danubian Rider and the other cults which have been suggested as

having exerted influence, such as the Dioskouroi and the Goddess triad. The earlier representations of the Danubian Rider display a rider-hero overcoming his enemy, but in later examples the scene shows a triad with two riders flanking one goddess. Candidates for the goddess's name are the Anatolian goddess Cybele, or the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.. We do not know whether the Danubian Rider cult was based on indigenous beliefs evolving into a mystery cult after contact with a Roman cult or an import that developed a distinctive form in the Danube region. However, close parallels with the Mithraic mysteries exist and the cult can be called as a mystery where the goddess is the main figure, but not the riders (Mackintosh, 1997: 365-370). The cult images are generally carved in stone or come as lead plaques with a composition similar to Mithraic reliefs. Under the two light-givers *sol* and *luna*, two horsemen stand symmetrically and salute a goddess with their right hand. Under the hoofs of the horses either one or two corpses lie on the ground. The scene is flanked by a warrior on the left and a woman on the right. Sometimes a lion appears as attacking the corpses. Below this scene a sacrifice or ritual meal can be observed with a tripod, receptacles, a snake, a bird, a wine bowl and a lion.

The goddess with the two riders perhaps personified the omnipotence of Celestial Justice; and the riders, just like the Dioskouroi, represent cosmic eternity (Turcan, 1992: 253). The Danubian Rider (or riders, for a more appropriate naming) cult differs from the other rider- god cults in its mythography and approaches the mysteries rather than hero-cults.

9.2 Discussion:

We can draw certain parallels between the different syncretisms observed in the Kakasbos cult. No matter what the deity adopts from other cults, it still has a soteriologic meaning. Soteriology appears as a concept related to providential, saviour gods. The soteriologic character can be observed in many oriental cults such as those of Apis, Baal or Jupiter Dolichenus who were reveted in Roman cuirass but still preserved their main attributes (Turcan, 1992: 37). This hybrid iconography was the reflection of a multicultural world where all kinds of syncretisms and new forms of beliefs were possible. Other iconographically similar cults appear within the Roman world: in the Balkans, Anatolia or the Near East, but most are sporadic outside of their centers of origin. Most of these cults show themselves by their imagery or their symbols, on stelae and idols. They often reveal the same belief systems and characteristic representations of a multiculturalism. Kakasbos is a typical example of these.

The rider hero is a typical form of saviour. Its iconography is found everywhere that entered into Greco-Roman influence and comprises two basic iconographical types: one is the hero on horseback, the other is the hero leading his horse. Both types appeared in the Greek world in the late 6th century BC and became widespread after the 4th century BC. It was an ideal image for depicting the heroized dead all over the Greek world (LIMC VI.1: 1065-1066; Schleiermacher, 1981: 61-96). This image was used not only for representing the deceased, but deities also were given a horse in order to emphasize their heroic side. Anatolian deities like Men, Kakasbos or Mithras were represented on horseback because gods on horseback fought against Evil (Wujewski, 1991: 49). This is not only because the horse provided swiftness and strength unavailable to the man on foot, but also because the horse could only be owned by the noble and

wealthy. So being mounted automatically brought class superiority. In all the examples above the deities are given weapons besides being mounted. The weapons emphasize their physical strength and threatening image against all evil and danger.

We see traces from several other gods in Kakasbos reliefs. Sometimes the god becomes Herakles, sometimes the image borrows from the iconography of the Dioskouroi or Mithras. The Thracian rider is a good parallel in showing that the rider gods are evolved by syncretisms. Although they are iconographically different from Kakasbos, the idea lying behind their cult and their purpose must be the same: to seek the protection and salvation of a heroic, saviour god.

The formation of the visual image of Kakasbos is likely to be an iconographic adoption like in the case of the Thracian rider. We do not have a representation of the god earlier than the 1st century BC: however, this does not mean that the cult did not exist before. Epigraphical evidence proves the pre-Hellenic existence of the deity but no visual representation of such an early date have been found so far. This brings to one's mind two possibilities: either Kakasbos was an aniconic god prior to Greek influence, but later, Herakles's iconography and the image of the Greek rider-hero were combined. This seems plausible since no purely Lycian representations of the deity have been found so far, however the specific choice of a rider-hero image implies that the deity is already known as a rider or at least has a relationship with the horse. The many other rider gods of the region show that the Lycians liked to see their gods mounted. The efforts of the linguists to find a horse meaning in the god's name was not without any reason.

The second possibility is that the image of the god existed as a rider, but later on the strong Greek influence modified the Lycian iconography. The introduction of Herakles may be earlier or later, but the syncretism between the two gods might result from the similarity in their nature. So we would expect the Lycian Kakasbos to be a god of heroic nature, saviour of his believers, master of animals (at least of the horse) and protector of the deceased and their graves.

No epigraphical texts link Kakasbos and the Dioskouroi, but both deities are popular in the same region and sometimes worshipped in the same sanctuary area (see above). The Dioskouroi keep their iconography in Lycia, which is the typical image of a rider-hero. Could this particular image of the rider-hero come into the region together with the Dioskouroi cult?

9.3 Why Did the Cult Propagate?

Although one can assume that the Kakasbos/Herakles cult was present in the region prior to the Late Roman Period, the dating of the findings indicate that the cult became visible and widespread in that period. The social climate of the period may have an influence on this sudden apparition.

By the Late Roman Period Greco-Roman religion was well-established all around Anatolia. However, this religion did not guarantee the divine protection to its worshippers. The Greeks and Romans were praying to their gods in order to benefit from their power and favor, or at least not to suffer from their anger. The competence of the Greek and especially Roman gods was functionally limited (Turcan, 1992: 31). In a world too often threatened by wars, epidemics and all sorts of hazards, there was a need for providential gods, who could protect their

believers and especially the migrants and armies, far away from their homelands' patron gods.

The soteriologic religions offered salvation to their believers. The protector gods and saviour heroes could save the souls in this world and in the hereafter.

Cumont (1929: 55-62) explains the shift to "Oriental" religions in the following manner : the old religion of the Romans was maintained in the pontifical code of Rome. However, a new conception of justice was born. People did not admit anymore collective punishments because of individual crimes. They needed gods that distinguished between good and evil. During social unrest , civil wars and natural disasters , it was apparent that the strongest could enjoy salvation, but not the pious. On the other hand, the Greco-Roman religions did not grant recompensations or punishments in the hereafter. The notion of the afterlife was blurred, often not promising bliss after death. The third century was an era of crisis for the whole empire and those who did not enjoy life sought happiness in the notion of an afterlife. The Oriental Cults brought help in two areas: the purification of the soul via initiation ceremonies and a happy afterlife as a prize to a pious life. While the "official" religions were collective, these cults were personal.

The Kakasbos/Herakles cult might resemble the Oriental cults such as that of Jupiter Dolichenus or Mithras in its religious aspects. The iconography of the god infers that he was of a protective character. In one of the stelae found near Oinoanda (Delemen, 1999: 13, fig 155), Kakasbos is presented with the epithet of "Epekoos", which means "the one hearing the prayers". His sanctuaries were built in remote areas, away from cities which can imply that Kakasbos did not find a place in cities, but was worshipped by a limited amount of believers in special

sanctuaries. The donators' names indicate that, just like other hero cults, it was a masculine religion practiced by men only. Regarding these characteristics of the cult, we can put Kakasbos/Herakles into the league of soteriologic gods, whose cults re-flourished in the Roman world during Late Imperial Period.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The study of the current evidence on the representations of Kakasbos/Herakles reveal that the cult was popular in Northern Lycia and it was a cult whose imagery was formed with a wide range of adoptions from the Greco-Persian art still visible in the region, till the typical iconography of the Greek deceased hero. The known examples in stone are dated to the 2nd-3rd century but the numismatic and epigraphic evidence implies that the cult was existent before. This should allow at least some of the anepigraphic stelae to date earlier than the Roman period. Otherwise, the total absence of ex-votos dating to Late Hellenistic Period leads one to think that the cult was completely aniconic, which is disputable considering the iconographic borrowings: the images display the stylistic ideals of a Roman equestrian but not without a Greco-Persian influence.

The workmanship of the stone stelae offer an interesting body of information for the study. Several distinct “local” styles have been observed on the ex-votos, which were made by artisans or workshops supplying a very small and closed region. At the same time, one should consider the possibility of itinerant artisans who visited villages or cult areas periodically in order to carve local offerings. In this case we may not be able to attribute works of similar style to the same findspot. The stele business in Northern Lycia was not of an “industrial”

level like in great Imperial workshops, but apparently the network was well-established. Other rider-gods with exactly the same position but different attribute show that the stelae were prepared partially, then re-touched and sometimes inscribed according to the donator's wish. This alone shows the popularity of the horse image in the region, since it is the standard item in these stelae. the horse, ride of the noble and powerful, might have been given to gods in order to raise them to a superior status. the rider image was popular in Lycia since the Persian rule and became popularly applied later. The military cuirass observed on the god calls for a military meaning.

The coins found and identified as "Kakasbos" are from Choma and Arykanda. The Choma coins are precious for our study since they give a rather early date, 1st century BC. If the god could rise to such a high status as being pictured on a city coin, its cult must be already well-established at least for the citizens of Choma by that time. The Arykanda coins show a god bearing a thick stick/club and wearing a Phrygian cap. One type shows the god in the typical rider position, the second displays him as leading his horse. The coins date to the reign of Gordian III and if the god on the reverse of the coins is Kakasbos, we can see that the iconography of the god slightly changed into a more Mithraesque version.

The Doric temple at Sagalassos and its votives are problematic since no single votive object bearing the typical iconography of the god was found.

We have no epigraphical information about how and when Kakasbos was worshipped. Even if the sanctuaries were in rural areas, it does not make the god a "countryside" deity as he was popular enough in cities as well. The lack of direct information on the cult led us to look at possible syncretisms. There is an equivalence syncretism between Kakasbos and Herakles, where deities of very

similar functions are worshipped indistinctively of another. On the other hand, the pose of the rider reminds the Dioskouroi, another cult originating from Sparta and widely practiced in Lycia. It was a warrior cult with astrological meanings. The object of parallelism was the horse and the Greek holy twins must have been welcomed in the region. They possibly offered a ready-made iconography for the local rider god. Another celestial deity shown as a rider was Mithras, whose cult was well-known in the region.

The cult and the iconography of Kakasbos/Herakles calls for the concept of soteriology, a character observed in many other oriental cults, as well as other rider hero cults like the Thracian and Danubian riders. The rider hero was the typical form of saviour. The horse brought to the god swiftness but also nobility. Besides being mounted, the gods were all given weapons just like Kakasbos, in order to emphasize their physical strength and threatening stance against all evil.

The protector gods and saviour heroes offered salvation to their believers and they could protect the souls in this world and in the hereafter. As a result, the Kakasbos cult was a masculine religion of soteriologic character, which offered personal protection and salvation to its believers. The popularity of the cult might have peaked in the 3rd century, where the social and economic standards of the Roman world degraded, which would raise the need for saviour heroes.

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FIGURES



Fig. 1.

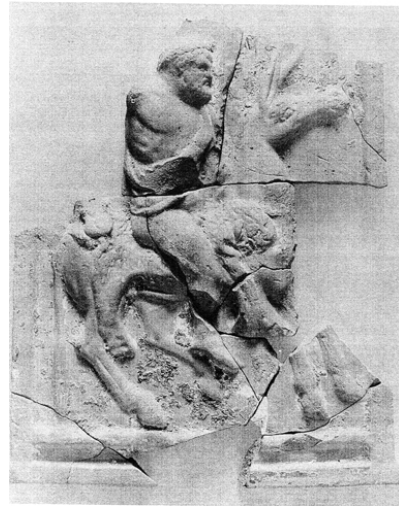


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

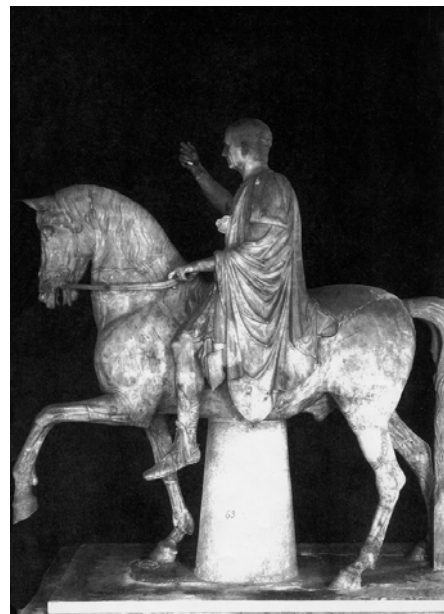


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

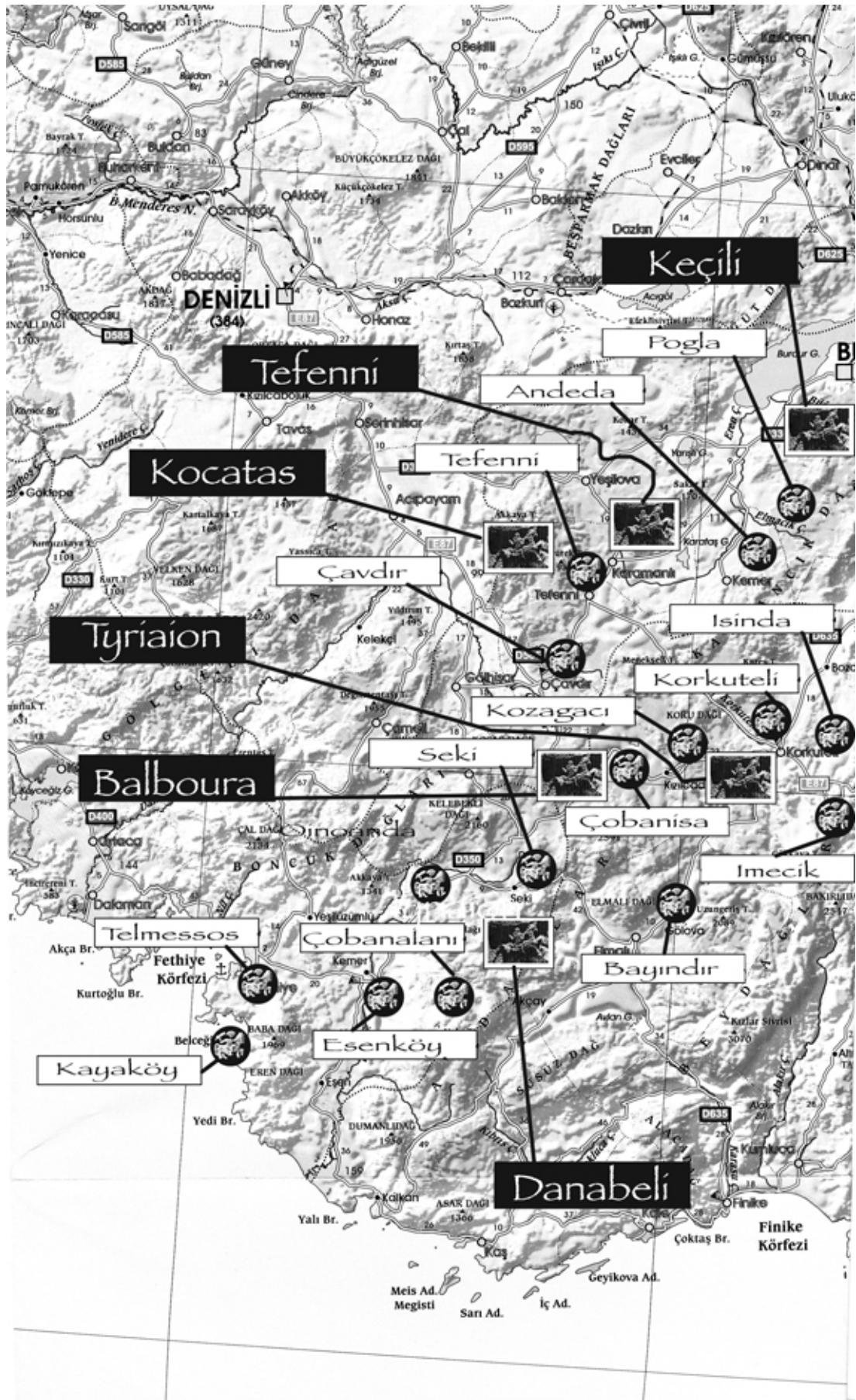


Fig. 10. Map of Lycia with findspots of stelae and rock-cut sanctuaries



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36

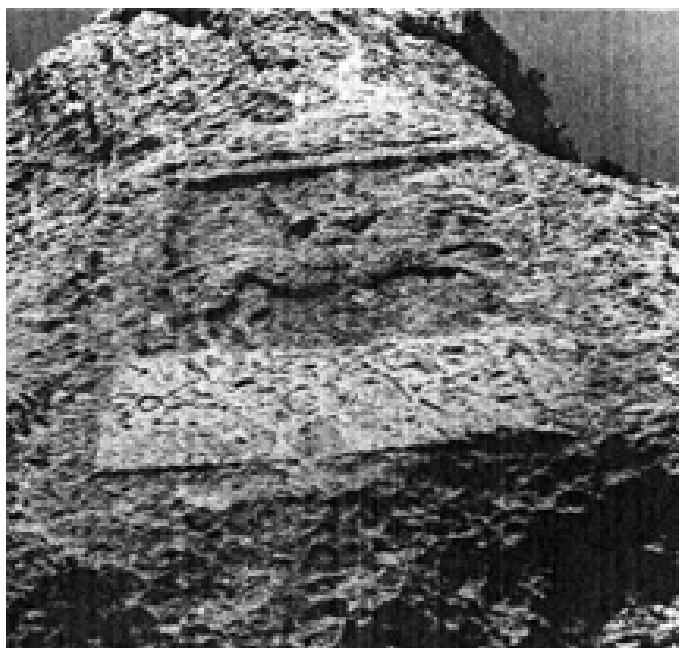


Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39

