

THE MOTHER OF GODS FROM RIGHT HERE:
THE GODDESS METER
IN HER CENTRAL ANATOLIAN CONTEXTS

A Master's Thesis

by

JOSEPH SALVATORE AVERSANO



Department of Archaeology
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara

August 2019

For Asu



THE MOTHER OF GODS FROM RIGHT HERE:
THE GODDESS METER
IN HER CENTRAL ANATOLIAN CONTEXTS

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

JOSEPH SALVATORE AVERSANO

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

August 201

I certify 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 the Department of Archaeology.



Senior Lecturer Dr. Charles Gates
Supervisor

I certify 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 the Department of Archaeology.



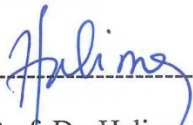
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Julian Bennett
Examining Committee Member

I certify 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 the Department of Archaeology.



Prof. Dr. Ergün Laflı
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan
Director

ABSTRACT

THE MOTHER OF GODS FROM RIGHT HERE: THE GODDESS METER IN HER CENTRAL ANATOLIAN CONTEXTS

Aversano, Joseph Salvatore

M.A., Department of Archaeology

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Charles Gates

August 2019

There are upwards of sixty different cult epithets for the Phrygian goddess Meter in Central Anatolia alone during the Roman Imperial period. Considering that only three or four of her epithets are known from the Hellenistic period, the contrast is striking. Moreover, many of the epithets tend to be epichoric, so that in essence, her names can change from one valley to the next. In some cases, merely hearing an epithet is enough to bring a certain part of central Anatolia to mind. From this, a natural question arises. Why was there a need for so many local Meter cults in Asia Minor? The goddess Meter, called Magna Mater by the Romans, had been adopted into the Roman Pantheon in 204 BC; but could she, although indigenous to Phrygia, no longer meet the religious needs of her homeland's people? This thesis approaches these questions by two primary means. By utilizing its own accompanying catalogue of Meter epithets collected from inscriptions, it looks at patterns in the geographic distribution of epithets and in the semantics of recurring epithet types. The spatial distribution of cult epithets reflects the geopolitical situation in Roman Imperial Asia Minor where there appears to have been a lack of strong imperial centers in the uplands, and where local communities could create their own localized, albeit modest, centers at the state's peripheries. Meanwhile, the semantics of recurring

epithet types offer clues regarding the local concerns and core values of those living in these very peripheries.

Keywords: Cult Epithets, Graeco-Roman Anatolia, Kybele, Phrygian Cults, Roman Phrygia



ÖZET

TANRILARIN ANASI TAM DA BURADAN: İÇ ANADOLU’DA ANA TANRIÇA METER

Aversano, Joseph Salvatore

Yüksek Lisans, Archaeoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Charles Gates

August 2019

Roma İmparatorluk döneminde, Frigya Ana Tanrıçası Meter’in yalnızca Orta Anadolu’da altmıştan fazla farklı kültleşmiş sıfatı vardır. Helenistik döneme ait sıfatların sadece üç veya dördünün bilindiği düşünülürse, aradaki zıtlık dikkat çekicidir. Dahası, sıfatların çoğu yöresel olma eğilimindedir, bu yüzden özünde isimleri bir vadiden diğerine değişebilir. Bazı durumlarda, yalnızca bir sıfat duymak, İç Anadolu’nun belirli bir bölümünü akla getirmek için yeterlidir. Bu durumdan doğal bir soru ortaya çıkmaktadır. Küçük Asya’da neden bu kadar çok yerel Meter kültüne ihtiyaç duyuldu? Romalılar tarafından Magna Mater adı verilen Ana Tanrıça Meter, MÖ 204’te Roma Panteonuna kabul edildi; fakat Frigya’ya özgü olmasına rağmen, artık vatanının dini ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamıyor muydu? Bu tez bu soruları iki ana yoldan ele alıyor. Ekindeki yazıtlardan derlenen Meter Sıfatları kataloğunu kullanarak, sıfatların coğrafi dağılımındaki ve tekrar eden sıfat türlerinin semantiğindeki kalıplara bakar. Kült sıfatların mekânsal dağılımı, yüksek arazilerde güçlü emperyalist merkezlerin bulunmadığı ve yerel toplulukların çevre bölgelerde mütevazı olsa da kendi yerel merkezlerini yaratabilecekleri Roma İmparatorluğu Küçük Asya’daki jeopolitik durumu yansıtmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, tekrar eden sıfat türlerinin semantiği, bu çevrelerde yaşayanların yerel kaygıları ve temel değerleri hakkında ipuçları sunar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Grekoromen Anadolu'su, Frigya Kùltleri, Kibele, Kùlt Sıfatlar,
Roma Frigya'sı



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would never have come to fruition without the many wonderful people who have helped me along the way.

Firstly, I wish to thank my Advisor Charles Gates, who had faith in the project all throughout, even in its more nebulous and inchoate stages. When conditions demanded that I move to another city in another part of the country, he was accommodating enough to have weekly video conference sessions, and even on Saturdays. He would attentively pore over my drafts, always helping the paper to improve over the course of time. I am deeply moved by his infinite patience and interest which spanned and encompassed the ups and downs that come with the territory of putting this sort of project together.

I am also much indebted to my gifted, dedicated, and inspiring instructors from the Bilkent Department of Archaeology, Dominique Kassab Tezgör, Asuman Abuagla, Julian Bennett, Marie-Henriette Gates, İlgi Gerçek, Jacques Morin, İlknur Özgen, and Thomas Zimmermann.

Additionally, I am still glowing with appreciation for Ergün Laflı and Julien Bennett, who both enthusiastically agreed to serving as jury members in the holiday season and in the middle of summer. Their insight has also been of much help.

I would especially like to thank Lynn Roller for her encouragement and resource recommendations. Roller's astounding body of work on the Great Mother and ancient Anatolia resonated with me to the extent that I wanted to further investigate the worlds of the Mountain Mother's cults.

I also thank the remarkable Isabelle Hasselin-Rous at the Louvre for taking me under her wing during my internship, and for the staff of the Louvre's Department of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities for making me feel at home.

Another immensely formidable experience, in addition to my time at the Louvre, was the week of stimulating international workshops and lectures held at the University of Göttingen in 2018 titled, "The Material Dimension of Religions: Transcultural Approaches to Epigraphical and Archaeological Sources from Antiquity to the Middle Ages". There Nicole Belayche raised a potent question, having picked up on my bias for rugged and remote landscapes. Would I be giving rural and urban settlements equal weight? The question haunted me throughout this project until I realized it encapsulated its very core.

I also greatly appreciate the friendship, support, and assistance of Elif Denel at the American Research Institute at Ankara and the company of her adopted street feline Kubaba. Additionally, I would like to extend my thanks to Burçak Delikan and Nihal Uzun at the British Institute at Ankara, and to the helpful and kind library staff of both Bilkent University and at the National Austrian Library.

I must add that I have throughout been inspired by my colorful fellow colleagues Umut Dulun, Zeynep Akkuzu, Şakir Can, Çağdaş Özdoğan, Emre Dalkılıç, Andrew Beard, Rida Arif, Tuğçe Köseoğlu, Roslyn Sorensen, Eda Doğa Aras, Humberto

Cesar Hugo, Elif Nurcan Aktaş, Nurcan Küçükarslan, Hande Köpürlüoğlu, Emrah Dinç, and many, many, more.

I also thank my wife's dear aunts Sevinç and Alev in Ankara who prepared tasty and filling meals for me whenever I had to stay and conduct research in the city.

Finally, my main strength overall came from my partner in life, Asu. With the understanding, support, and patience of a saint, it was she who made the most difficult sacrifices of all, and it is to her this work is dedicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	vi
ÖZET	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	xi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xiv
LIST OF MAPS.....	xvi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: EARLIER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ORGANIZATION OF EPITHETS AND INFLUENTIAL WORKS	5
2.1. Pioneer Epithet Compilations	5
2.2. Works Providing Approaches to the Study of Epithets	7
CHAPTER 3: A USER’S GUIDE TO THE CATALOGUE	9
3.1. The Lay of the Land	11
3.2. The Epithet Tables and Appendix	12
3.3. Exclusions	14
CHAPTER 4: MANY METERS OR ONE.....	16
4.1. Many Meters or One: A Mixed Message.....	16
4.2. Arguments for Many, One, or Neither.....	21
4.3. An Approach to Ambiguity and Inconsistency	23
CHAPTER 5: THE PHRYGIAN MOTHER’S EARLIER EPITHETS AND THE EPITHET “BOOM” OF THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD	27
5.1. The Palaeo-Phrygian Epithets (c. 600 BC – c. 323 BC).....	28
5.2. The Meagerly Represented Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods	34

5.3. The Meter Epithet “Boom” of the Roman Imperial Period	35
CHAPTER 6: METER’S CENTRAL ANATOLIAN EPITHETS IN GEO- POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS	39
6.1. Transposing Scott’s Model	40
6.2. A Complementary View	43
6.3. Constellations of Epithets in Galatia	43
6.4. Constellations of Epithets in Lycaonia	46
6.5. Constellations of Epithets in Phrygia	48
6.6. Constellations of Epithets in Pisidia.....	53
6.7. The Process of Decentralization from the Persian Conquests up Until the End of the Roman Imperial Period.....	55
6.8. Belonging Right Here, Local Concerns, and Good Honest Work	69
6.9. Other Local Peculiarities in Brief.....	83
6.10. Concluding Thoughts.....	83
REFERENCES	85
MAPS.....	103
INDEX OF METER EPITHET HEADINGS	110
A CATALOGUE OF METER’S CENTRAL ANATOLIAN EPITHETS.....	113
APPENDIX: EXTENDED NOTES ON THE EPITHETS.....	214

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Roman Imperial Central Anatolia.....	103
Map 2: Sites in Northern Galatia.....	104
Map 3: Sites in Galatia.....	104
Map 4: Sites in Lycaonia.....	105
Map 5: Sites in Pisidia	105
Map 6: Sites in Northwestern Phrygia	106
Map 7: Sites in Central & Southwestern Phrygia.....	106
Map 8: Sites in Northeastern Phrygia	107
Map 9: Sites in Southeastern Phrygia	107
Map 10: Dedications to the Goddess on Behalf of Animals	108
Map 11: Dedications to Meter Kiklea.....	109
Map 12: Dedications to Meter Kasmeine.....	109

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

If Asia Minor were to be divided according to the distribution pattern of all its various Meter cults during the Roman Imperial period, it would look no different than one of the bench-seat mosaics in Gaudi's Parc Guel, where the tiles, albeit colorful and a great joy to contemplate as a juxtaposed whole, simply do not match. I have counted upwards of sixty Meter epithets from the central upland regions of Anatolia alone: Meter Amlasenzene, Meter Zizimmene, Angdistis, Klintene, and so on. Moreover, the epithets tend to be epichoric, so that in essence, her names can change from one valley to the next. Nevertheless, a natural question arises. Why was there a need for so many local Meter cults in Asia Minor? The Phrygian goddess Meter, called Magna Mater by the Romans, had been adopted into the Roman Pantheon after her cult image was relocated from Anatolian soil to Rome in 204 BC. Could the goddess, although indigenous to Phrygia, no longer meet the religious needs of her homeland's people?

My first step in attempting to answer this question began with creating a catalogue of Meter epithets as found in dedications from central Anatolia. This seemed to be a fitting place to study since the goddess herself is native to Phrygia, and much of central Anatolia was once part of Greater Phrygia in the Iron Age. The great bulk of the inscriptions in which the epithets occur come from the Roman Imperial period. The remainder are from the Hellenistic. Not all of the inscriptions containing the

epithets have been dated; but these make up the minority. The purpose of bringing central Anatolian Meter epithets together was to look for some general patterns. This paper will be primarily concerned, albeit not exclusively, with two: the spatial distribution of the epithets across the Anatolian mountains and steppe and the semantics of several epithet types.

The first of the two patterns is rather obvious. The findspots of many epithets tend to cluster around delimited regions. In some cases, merely hearing an epithet is enough to bring a certain part of central Anatolia to mind. For instance, the name Kasmeine, can hardly be separated from the area around Acmonia and Traianopolis¹; and the same can be said about Meter Zizimmene and Lycaonia, and Meter Veginos and the Zindan cave sanctuary in Pisidia.

One approach to understanding the epichoric distribution of Meter epithets, is to see whether this is reflected geopolitically in the Roman Imperial period. As there were no strong imperial centers then in upland Asia Minor, local communities created their own centers at the peripheries of the state, however small and localized those peripheries may have been. This also empowered people to practice their own Meter cults which better addressed their local concerns, needs, and core values.

The process of decentralization of Asia Minor appears to have begun as far back as the fall of the Phrygian proto-state in the middle of the sixth century BC, when the Achaemenids conquered Anatolia. A useful model framework that can help better understand central Anatolians who over the centuries managed to flourish at the fringes of state, is James C. Scott's study of the upland peoples of southeast Asia. The approach in his book, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (2009), has already been skillfully applied to Phrygia by Peter Thonemann (2013). His adoption of Scott's model has shed some light on why the inhabitants of the lands formerly constituting Greater Phrygia failed in the centuries

¹ This is the case even if one ex-voto dedication to her happens to be housed far away in the Louvre. See Catalogue: **31.2**. See also Map 12.

leading up to the Roman Imperial period to create a strong centralized state which could mobilize its subjects to construct monumental works and produce surplus goods on a massive scale. In fact, instead of the word “failed” in the preceding sentence, both Thonemann and Scott would most likely have preferred the word “succeeded”, since according to Scott, the people living in the highlands of southeast Asia, at least up until the middle of the last century, managed to evade the drawbacks of being subject to a state.

Scott’s study (2009) of what he calls Zomia, a hilly and mountainous region spanning seven countries of Southeast Asia, looks at how its inhabitants avoided becoming fully incorporated into lowland nation states over the last 2,000 years. Rather than regard them as “backwards” or “uncivilized”, as is often done in state-centric narratives, he sees them as people who have dodged oppressive state measures such as forced labor, conscription, imposed religion, heavy taxation, and so forth. Scott sees the uplanders as having created their own local-needs-based alternatives to states. This is made possible with the friction of less accessible geographical terrain which creates distance, both physical and psychological, between upland regions and low fertile plains. By way of comparison, it is the traction of rugged landscapes which may have contributed to the fragmentary geo-political landscape of the Roman Imperial period. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6, where we will see to what extent the multiplicity of Meter cult epithets mirrors, or parallels, the geo-political fragmentation of the region in the Roman Imperial period.

While Scott’s claim that upland people have deliberately evaded states by keeping them at a distance will not be explored in this thesis, what will be considered is his observation that the people who live at the fringes of states have room enough to come up with their own answers to state systems, especially those involving culture. For example, this can entail the worship of the deities locally present in one’s own village or corner of a plateau rather than the gods endorsed by a state; and it is the local manifestations of deities that are more in tune with the concerns of the people under their protection. The meanings of the epithets can also provide some clues as

to what the concerns and values of central Anatolians were; and this will also come under consideration in Chapter 6. For clues, we will also look especially at epithets which signify local villages, natural features in the landscape, and divine functions. This is the second means of approach to grasping some sense of why there were so many local Meter cults in Roman central Anatolia.

What may already be clear from the above is the focus in this thesis on local places, people, and their cults. This is why I've chosen for the title, "The Mother of Gods from Right Here." This is Versnel's translation of an actual epithet that is indigenous to Leukopetra in Macedonia (Μήτηρ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθων) (Versnel 2011, 68f.). I feel it captures not only the autochthonous spirit of this particular goddess, but of most of her Anatolian counterparts, whether their epithets distinguish particular locales, a cult founder's name, or divine functions.

Before getting to Chapter 6, however, there are some practical matters and preliminary questions that first need to be addressed. Chapter 2 features a brief survey of works that have either inspired or informed this project. Meanwhile Chapter 3 is essentially a primer on how to navigate its accompanying catalogue and appendix. Chapter 4 tackles the question of whether to regard epithets as descriptions of separate deities or as separate aspects and functions. To answer this, two groups of Meter dedications in the catalogue are evaluated in light of views from both ancient and modern thinkers and with some findings from cultural anthropology. Finally, in Chapter 5, Meter's epithets from the Phrygian Highlands in the sixth century BC are considered, as well as the striking contrast between the dearth of epithets in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods and the explosion of epithets in the Roman Imperial. The discussion thus prepares the way for Chapter 6 mentioned above.

CHAPTER 2

EARLIER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ORGANIZATION OF EPITHETS AND INFLUENTIAL WORKS

While Meter's Central Anatolian epithets have not previously been organized in any systematic manner, a number of invaluable past works have laid the ground for this study. My brief survey below enumerates some of the more salient contributions made until now. This will be followed by the works which have enabled me to make some sense of the epithets in terms of their political, social, and religious contexts in Roman period Central Anatolia.

2.1. Pioneer Epithet Compilations

An early inventory of the epithets found in classical literature was compiled by C. F. H. Bruchmann in his *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas graecos leguntur* (1893).

While Bruchmann's work took the entire territorial extent of the classical world into account, it only culled divine epithets from Greek poetry, as his title indicates.

Another work of importance which compiled divine epithets from literature was Marcella Santoro's *Epitheta deorum in Asia graeca cultorum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis* (1974). The local Anatolian epithets of Greek deities, along with those of cult heroes, were collected from both Latin and Greek literary testimonia pertaining to actual cults primarily in Asia Minor. However, the testimonia do not include

inscriptions. While Santoro's work focused on a smaller geographic area than Bruchmann's, her sources, unlike Bruchmann's, also included Latin texts.

Two other early efforts worth noting involved compilations of all the known references to the goddess *Kubaba* from the second and early first millennia BC. The first of these is the influential article of the Hittitologist Emmanuel Laroche, "Koubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle" (1960)². Richly supplementing Laroche's contribution was the work of J. D. Hawkins in 1981, in which the corpus Laroche had compiled was treated in finer detail. Hawkins presented transliterations of the texts containing the name *Kubaba* followed by translations and helpful notes.

One especially invaluable contribution has been the seven-volume work of the Dutch scholar Maarten Jozef Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA)*. The *Corpus*, published between the years 1977-1989, catalogued a generous sampling of monuments in connection with the cults of Meter and Attis throughout the ancient world. Monuments are manmade features including architectural fragments, votive steles, altars, rock-cut reliefs, sculptures, etc.; and all do not necessarily contain inscriptions. A planned eighth volume, which would have included coins, was never realized. In the first six volumes of the *CCCA*, monuments are organized according to province or region. Vermaseren gives a brief description of each monument. Inscriptions are usually included in full; plates and figures are often provided. While many of the inscriptions do contain epithets, the epithets are not organized in any systematic fashion. Of particular interest for a study of epithets in Asia Minor is Volume I. Volume II concerns mainland Greece and the Greek Islands, and Volume VI includes Thrace, the Balkans, and also the non-Anatolian regions of the Black Sea. Volume VII, on the other hand, contains unprovenanced monuments from collections.

² Laroche, however, could not make a solid linguistic or historical link between the Neo-Hittite *Kubaba* and the Phrygian *Kybele*, but anticipated that the "systematic exploration of Phrygian sites" would confirm the connection (Laroche 1960, 128). The controversy centered around whether *Kubaba* is indeed *Kybele*'s direct predecessor will be addressed in Chapter 5.

In addition is one significant, albeit easy to overlook catalogue by N. Eda Akyürek Şahin published in 2007 in *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*. Her article “Phrygia'dan İki Yeni Meter Kranomegalene Adağı” (“Two New Meter Kranomegalene Dedications from Phrygia”) presents two inscriptions containing the epithet Kranomegalene; and these are supplemented by a catalogue of seven previously published inscriptions containing the epithet in its variations.

Another helpful work, is Marijana Riel’s article “Cults of Phrygia Epiktetos in the Roman Imperial Period”, published in *Epigraphica Anatolica* (2017). Riel lists and documents the many known epithets from the region known as Epiktetos in northern Phrygia.

Lynn Roller’s *In Search Of God The Mother* (1999), although by no means a catalogue, serves as a wonderful introduction to Meter cults. She follows the phenomena of Meter worship from its earlier occurrences in Anatolia to its reception in Greece and Rome, and then in Roman Imperial Anatolia. While epithets are not the focus of the book, Roller does give them insightful consideration. What is particularly of help to anyone wishing to organize Meter’s epithets in a meaningful way is Roller’s grouping of epithet types for the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods in Anatolia. Examples of such types include those which acknowledge Meter’s Phrygian ancestry as well as those which carry the names of mountains or other topographical features.

2.2. Works Providing Approaches to the Study of Epithets

Two works which help to understand the function of epithets in general are Robert Parker’s article in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, “The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithet” (2003) and H. S. Versnel’s *Coping with the Gods: Wayward Readings in Greek Theology* (2011), especially Chapter One: “Many Gods: Complications of Polytheism” and Appendix Two: “Unity or Diversity? One God or Many? A Modern Debate”. The two scholars help to make sense of apparent inconsistencies in both

classical literature and practice with regards to Greek religion such as whether a deity with multiple epithets is to be considered as separate deities, or as one and the same. Additionally, Versnel draws from modern ethnographic studies to note parallels with Christian folk religion as it is actually practiced locally in villages and around indigenous shrines and chapels in the Mediterranean.

While a catalogue of epithets may be a useful tool in and of itself, the question of how to utilize such a tool remains. As stated in my introduction, I have found that geographically restricted clusters of Meter epithets, as well as the high number of epithets themselves, in the lands of Greater Phrygia in the Roman period appear to reflect the fragmented and acephalous character of the region. Two works have provided me with a viable approach to this phenomenon grounded in social and geo-political contexts. These have been initially discussed in the introductory chapter. The first is James C. Scott's *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (2009), which continues to create quite a galvanizing, albeit controversial, stir. The second is Peter Thonemann's "Phrygia: An Anarchist History, 950 BC—AD 100" (2013), which applies Scott's theoretical model in order to better understand Phrygia. Both of these works will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 3

A USER'S GUIDE TO THE CATALOGUE

There would be no catalogue of Meter epithets in Central Anatolia to speak of without the many catalogues and miscellaneous articles and survey and archaeological reports from which the inscriptions bearing the epithets were collected. While pains were taken to include as many examples of epithets as I could find, I must stop short of making the claim that each and every extant inscription from Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Central Anatolia with a Meter epithet has been accounted for. In addition to what may have been overlooked, are inscriptions which have yet to be published, let alone the ones which have yet to be found.

Included among the epithets in the catalogue are the names of the goddess which stand in isolation without any modifying epithet (e.g. "Meter"). My reason for including these is to allow for comparisons with when and where epithets are used. Furthermore, some primary names appear to have once been epithets themselves, as may have been the case for Kybele (see Chapter 5.1 and Chapter 6.8).

In not a few cases, some hard choices had to be made regarding whether to include or to exclude poorly preserved inscriptions which were heavily restored. Some of these seem to have been largely a product of the restorer's imagination rather than what

was originally inscribed. Nevertheless, less certain examples which I felt added interest to the inscriptions which are more certain have been included at the end of the catalogue. More will be said concerning these below.

In addition to the catalogues which were systematically consulted for epithet examples, are numerous miscellaneous articles and reports which also furnished examples. While the latter group consists of far too many sources to include in this chapter, they are cited where relevant in the catalogue and appendix. However, the catalogue volumes of the former group can be enumerated here, with abbreviations in parentheses:

- Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA)* Vol. I
- The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*, Vol. I: *From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD (GLIA)*
- The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments (Highlands)* 2 vols.
- Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (IK [+ the Location])* Vols. 57, 62, 66, 67, 70
- Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes (IGR)* Vols. III, IV
- Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (MAMA)* Vols. I, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI
- Nouvelles Inscriptions de Phrygie (NIP)*
- *Phrygian Votive Steles (PVS)*
- Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor (RECAM)* Vols. II, IV, V

Most of the epithets in the catalogue come from dedicatory inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period found during survey work conducted in both the earlier days of archaeology and more recently. Meanwhile, a far smaller portion of inscribed epithets come from actual excavations. About two-thirds of the inscriptions entered are dated to the Roman Imperial period; and about one-third have been left undated. Meanwhile, only a handful of the inscriptions are dated to the Hellenistic period.

The catalogues listed above will be cited throughout the paper using their

abbreviations. Four additional books will also be frequently referenced with their abbreviations, especially in the catalogue section of this paper:

-----*Kleinasiatische Personennamen (KP)*

-----*Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen (KO)*

-----*Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* Vol. I (*NIP*)

-----*Phrygian Votive Steles (PVS)*

3.1. The Lay of the Land

The region under consideration covers part of the central and western Anatolian steppe. This is divided into four sub-regions: Galatia, Phrygia, north and central Pisidia, and Lycaonia. Maps for each region are provided showing the sites in which epithets have been found as well as sites which are discussed; and ancient place names are in uppercase, while Turkish names are in lowercase (*cf.* the maps in *CCCA* I). Catalogue numbers in the catalogue are followed by letters representing one of the four sub-regions. For instance, **GA** stands for Galatia, **LY** for Lycaonia, **PH** for Phrygia, or **PI** for northern and central Pisidia. For example: **16.02 LY** shows that monument **16.02** is from Lycaonia. The letters, however, are independent of the catalogue numbers and serve only as helpful tags. Moreover, they are only shown in the catalogue. My established regional borders consciously shadow, to some extent, those of Vermaseren's in his *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA)* (1987, Galatia: 13 fig. 5; Phrygia: 29 fig. 10; Pisidia: 223 fig. 39; Lycaonia: 234 fig. 41); and they coincidentally come very close to Mitchell's Map 3, captioned "Kingdoms and Roman provinces in Anatolia in the first century BC" (Mitchell I, 1993). However, determining exactly where one region ends and another begins requires arbitrary decision-making. The challenges one might typically face when trying to sort out which district belongs to which region is perfectly illustrated in Bean's "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia, Part I," published in *Anatolian Studies* (1959, 67):

The region discussed in the present article lies on the Phrygian border of Pisidia, just beyond the eastern boundary of the province of Asia, and in the

north-west corner of the enlarged province of Pamphylia as reconstituted by Vespasian; previously it belonged to the huge and straggling province of Galatia. It coincides approximately with the Milyas as defined by Strabo 631, and nowadays with the eastern half of the vilayet of Burdur.

Considering that the majority of inscriptions collected here date from the Roman Imperial period, at least three centuries will be represented. To establish fixed political, administrative, or cultural borders and expect them to stay in place for all that time is to be unrealistic³.

The maps in the maps section of the appendix complement the discussion in Chapter 6 regarding the geographical distribution of epithets throughout Central Anatolia. Thus, the maps show where the clusters of like epithets and sole occurrences of epithets were found or provenanced.

3.2. The Epithet Tables and Appendix

Each epithet in the catalogue is assigned a number. This is followed by a decimal and a digit representing the monument on which an epithet was inscribed. Take for example the catalogue number **17.02**. 17 represents Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῇ (in the dative), and 2 represents a monument on which an occurrence of this epithet is inscribed. As epithets most often appear in the dative, especially in ex-voto dedications, the most representative epithet is thus listed as such.

The four monuments which contain more than one Meter epithet were assigned as many numbers as there are epithets. This may at first sound somewhat confusing, but whenever the monument is referred to, all its assigned numbers will be included in brackets. For example:

[2.01, 12.01, 26.05] and [3.01, 22.02]

³ For classical descriptions of the Phrygian heartland as well as of greater Phrygia, see Munn 2006, 67 n. 40, and *cf.* nn. 41-44.

In this case, the first bracketed set indicates a monument on which three Meter epithets were found, and the second bracketed set refers to a monument with two.

The table headings are straightforward, and the cells from A to E spread across two pages:

A. Epithet (including the catalogue, the epithet as it was found in the inscription, and inscription line numbers)

B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Location (if known); Time Period and Date

C. Description and Dimensions

D. Inscription (many of which are accompanied by a translation)

E. Notes and Sources

It is hoped that the table format will make the catalogue easy to use. I am well aware that this design deviates from most catalogues I have seen⁴. Typically, a catalog will list entries in a scrolling format familiar in encyclopedias and travel-guides, with one entry after the other, rather than in charts. One drawback of having charts is that the chart cells have space limits. In order to compensate for this disadvantage, any data that cannot fit into the chart cells is listed in the appendix. The appendix is also reserved for lengthier discussion which pertains to more than one monument or epithet. In the chapters and catalogue, appendix entries are typically cited as follows:

See Appendix: [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῆ: 1-3.

One final component of importance is the Index of Monuments. This pairs monuments with the epithet tables on which they are listed. If monument **31.01** is referred to in the paper, then by looking this up in the Index of Epithet Table

⁴ What becomes obvious after even a precursory comparison of epigraphic catalogues is that there is no one template nor format for designing a catalogue. On the one hand is French and Mitchell's *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara* (2012), for which one reviewer claimed that each entry in itself is a mini lesson in epigraphy (Rowe 2012); and on the other, we have Lane's more basic and yet serviceable corpus of monuments in connection with the indigenous Anatolian God Mēn (Lane 1971; 1978).

Headings, one can see that the **31** refers to the epithet heading Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ.

3.3. Exclusions

About midway through this project, I decided to relegate to the periphery, or entirely exclude, a number of components from the catalogue's core. The components include less certain epithets, classical sources, and dice oracles.

Moved to the margins of this project are the instances of epithets that are either less certain, poorly preserved, or shakily restored, but that nevertheless contribute insights or prompt further questions regarding other epithets or monuments featured in the main body of the catalogue. I decided to include only seven; and these are collected under catalogue number 68 (**68.01—68.07**) following the last epithet in the catalogue tables.

Classical sources are one of the components which I have omitted. Instead of creating a catalogue section for classical sources mentioning epithets in connection with geographic locales, I direct the keen reader to the work of Santoro (1971). In any case, classical sources are cited and cross-referenced wherever needed throughout the paper, catalogue, and appendix. Meanwhile, Lynn Roller has already connected classical passages to sites in Anatolia in her work *In Search of God the Mother*. A wonderful example is her string of footnotes on classical sources that address the transference of the cult image/meteorite in the likeness of the Mother from Pessinus to Rome (Roller 1999, 264f. nn. 2-7, 269 nn. 30-36, 270 nn. 38, 40, 42).

What I have excluded altogether are the intriguing dice oracle inscriptions, whose oracles pertain to the Mother of Gods and numerous other deities. These are common throughout south central Asia Minor; the examples from Pisidia were found at

Anaboura, Prostanna, Sagalassos, Takina, Kremna, Adada, Selge, and Termessos. I believe that the oracle texts and the monuments on which they are inscribed ought to be considered collectively; and fortunately, they have, in Johannes Nollé, *Kleinasiatische Losorakel. Astragal- und Alphabetchresmologien der hochkaiserzeitlichen Orakelrenaissance* (2007). The repertoire of oracles tends to be formulaic and to consist of hexameters. The section of a dice oracle inscription from Cremna concerning the Mother of Gods is characteristic (*IK Central Pisidia*, 34-35). Ideally, however, the oracles, each of which is associated with a particular deity, ought to be understood in light of each other, and in comparison with the other versions found throughout southern Asia Minor⁵.

To conclude, it is my hope that the catalogue will help facilitate enquiries regarding the epithets of Meter in the lands of Greater Phrygia and the people who worshiped her. In essence, it is merely a tool, and more of a means rather than an end in itself.

⁵ Cf. *IK Central Pisidia*, 35: “At many points the text is difficult to interpret, and the sense sometimes has to be established by comparison with the eight other surviving exemplars of this oracle.” Horsely and Mitchell then go on to recommend Nollé’s study of the oracles as well.

CHAPTER 4

MANY METERS OR ONE

4.1. Many Meters or One: A Mixed Message

Two groups of epithets considered in this study appear to provide conflicting pictures of how epithets functioned and of how deities with epithets were perceived. The epithets in the first group seem to distinguish between one Meter deity and another, whereas the epithets in the second group appear to address only aspects or different names for the same deity. A closer look at both groups in context, as well as in light of classical literature and practice, can provide us with a more realistic picture of how epithets were regarded in Greek polytheism.

A question arises from three monuments in which more than one Meter is listed. In two of the monuments, the Meters are listed alongside other gods. Do these not indicate that the various Meters are considered as separate deities and not merely the aspects of one Meter? No less than three Meters are listed in an altar from Konya (Iconium) ([2.01, 12.01, 26.05]) and dated to the Hadrianic period or later. It addresses Angdistis, the Great Mother Boethene, and the Mother of Gods, along with Apollo and Artemis, all of which are called “savior gods” in the inscription. Another Roman Imperial period altar found in Lycaonia, but to the north of Iconium in Zizima ([3.01, 22.02]), has Angdistis Epekoo (Angdistis who hears) inscribed on one side, and Meter Zizimmene inscribed on the corresponding side opposite.

Meanwhile, Apollo is inscribed on the front and Helios is inscribed on the back. The two altars from Lycaonia list more than one Meter among other deities. If Apollo, Artemis, and Helios are to be considered as separate, then surely would the multiple Meter deities listed alongside them⁶. In addition to the above is a stele dating to the third century AD found in Güce Köyü, Mihaliççık, which is in north-western Galatia ([20.01, 55.01]). This is addressed to both Meter Plitaeno and Meter Eissindene. The stele features an intriguing relief of two female figures with matching long locks and gowns, perhaps a depiction of the two goddesses standing side by side (Ricl 1994, 173 no. 31, and fig. 31⁷). In both the inscriptions on the altar from Konya and on the stele from Güce Köyü, the conjunction “and” (καὶ) separates and distinguishes each Meter from the other (and in the case of the Konya inscription, this applies also to the other gods addressed)⁸. Meter Plitaeno is attested elsewhere in Galatia to the east on an altar from the village of Kurucu.

The bewildering number of epithets for Meter on the western and central Anatolian steppe in the Roman period, let alone in all of Anatolia, is not so bewildering when remembering that we are dealing with polytheistic faith (Mitchell 1993 II, 19). Plurality, after all, is characteristic of polytheism. There is nevertheless the tempting tendency, for the sake of tidiness and convenience, to regard various epithets as different names for the same deity as Strabo had done in Book X of his *Geographica*:

But as for the Berecynthes, a tribe of Phrygians, and the Phrygians in general, and those of the Trojans who live round Ida, they too hold Rhea in honour and worship her with orgies, calling her Mother of the gods and Agdistis and Phrygia the Great Goddess, and also, from the places where she is worshipped, Idaea and Dindymene and Sipylene and Pessinuntis and Cybele and Cybebe . . . (Strab. 10.3.12, trans. Jones 1961, 99; cf. Strab. 10.3.15).

Further complicating matters is the question of whether an epithet refers to a separate deity in and of herself, or to an aspect, function, or quality of a deity. Wallensten

⁶ The two Lycaonian examples bring to mind a funerary curse inscription from Oinoanda dated to the second century BC warning all would-be grave violators of the wrath of Leto, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Pergaia, and Apollo (Versnel 2011, 76 and n. 197). Here, more than one Artemis appears to be called upon.

⁷ Ricl noted that she at first misread and published the ΠΑΙ in ΠΛ- / ιτα- / ηνϙ as PLA (Ricl 2017, 143 n. 164).

⁸ Cf. Robert’s observation of an undated inscription from Panamara, in Caria, listing various Artemis deities among other gods (Robert 1977a, 75 n. 53; Versnel 2011, 76 n. 198).

touches upon the crux of the issue when writing “it is of course notoriously hard to distinguish between formal epithets and ‘normal’ adjectives in many cases, and maybe to distinguish them would be to create an artificial taxonomy” (Wallensten 2008, 86 n. 19).

What appears to contrast with the multiple-Meter dedications mentioned above are the variant epithets found in third century dedications at the Angdistis⁹ sanctuary on the mesa at Midas City in Phrygia¹⁰. These seem to address aspects rather than separate deities. Among the dedicatees found there are Angdistis, the Goddess Angdistis, Eukteo Goddess Angdistis, the Mother Goddess Angdistis, and the Mother of Gods Angdistis. One dedicant, named Hermon Apollonios, addresses the Mother of Gods Angdistis on one stele (**27.01**), and on another, Eukteo Goddess Angdistis (**6.01**); and both were found at the same sanctuary. Was Hermon addressing two different deities or two different qualities of the same deity? Here one cannot make an assertion as confidently as one might when considering the Meters of the multiple-Meter dedications discussed above.

Nonetheless, while focusing on the apparent differences of the two inscription groups discussed above, it is easy to overlook what is shared between them. Something that should not escape our attention here is that Angdistis is also listed in the multiple-Meter inscription from Iconium and that Angdistis Epekoo is listed in the multiple-Meter inscription from Zizima. The name Angdistis is rare outside of Phrygia¹¹. Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.2) described the city as the last city in Phrygia (τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην), and thus a frontier of the Phrygian world, at least in the fourth century BC (*cf.* Mitchell, 1979, 412). Nevertheless, a significant Phrygian population at Iconium is attested for the Roman Imperial period (Ramsay 1905a, 368; 1918, 171 n. 116; Mitchell 1979, 411-412 n. 20, 423-425). Itinerant masons probably made use of the regional Roman road network which facilitated travel between central Phrygia

⁹ For the identification of Angdistis (Andissi) as the Mother of Gods, see Appendix: [1] Ἀνγδισί: 1.

¹⁰ For more on the site itself as well as excavation information, see Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισί, 2.

¹¹ The name Angdistis is found in at least three Lycaonian inscriptions (**[2.01, 12.01, 26.05]**, **2.02, [3.01, 22.02]**), including the two multiple-Meter inscriptions, and in at least two Pisidian inscriptions (**1.01** and **4.07**).

and Lycaonia¹². Also of note are the existence in Lycaonia of itinerant stone-masons from the Phrygian city Docimeum¹³. Docimeum (located at İscehisar) was famous for its marble quarries, and it was situated under the shadow of Mount Angdisseion, named after our Angdistis. Coins from the city bear depictions of the mountain and legends reading *Ανγδισσηον* (Robert 1980, 236-240 and Pls. 13-14)¹⁴.

Something that also reveals oblique ties between the two inscription groups is the votive *bomos* of Alexandros, a citizen of both Docimeum and of Claudiconium (i.e. a name of Iconium from the reign of Claudius up until Hadrian¹⁵) dedicated to Meter Zizimene at Ladık (Laodicea) (**22.11**). Meter Zizimene is inscribed on the multiple-Meter monument from Zizima discussed above (**[3.01, 22.02]**). Zizimene is said to be a dialectic form of Dindymene, and according to Ramsay, this is in keeping with the tendency for western Anatolian D's to be pronounced as Z's in eastern Anatolia (Cronin 1902, 341; Ramsay 1888, 237 no. 9 and n. 1; 1905, 368; see also Ramsay 1918, 138-139). Dindymene is another epithet of Meter, and said to be a toponym for a mountain sacred to the goddess (Hdt. 1.80)¹⁶. There were several mountains named Dindymon in Anatolia (Roller 1999, 66-67 n. 22). Strabo mentions a Dindymon at

¹² Magie's description of this is helpful:

“In the narrow fertile strip of Phrygia Paroreius which flanked the mountain-range on the northeast and extended on into Lycaonia, there was a long line of urban settlements—Philomelium, Thymbrium, Tyriaeum, Laodiceia, Iconium and, in a more remote region in the mountainous country, Lystra and Derbe. All but the last two owed their development to the Southern Highway which led from Apameia around the northern angle of the Sultan Dag to Laodicea and thence by one fork through Cappadocia to the Euphrates, by the other through the Cilician Gates to Syria” (Magie 1950a, 456).

It was from the northern angle of the Sultan Dağ that one could then head west by north west and then north to Docimeum and its quarries at the foot of Angdisseion.

¹³ For inscriptions mentioning itinerant Docimeian stone-masons, or at least natives of Docimeum, in Roman Imperial Lycaonia, see an altar (**22.11**) dedicated to Meter Zizimene at Laodikeia dated to AD 41-138 (*MAMA* XI, no. 255); a funerary inscription at Kana for a Docimeian stone-mason (*Αὐξάνω- / ν Ἀσκλᾶ Δ[οκ]- / μεὺς λιθ[ου]- / ργός*) and his wife (*MAMA* XI, no. 358); a molding with what may be the ethnic ending of a sculptor's signature at Perta (*MAMA* XI, no. 340). *Cf.* the commentary for a Docimeian builder's signature at Apollonia in Pisida (*MAMA* XI, no. 7).

¹⁴ *Cf.* Pausanias, who mentions that there was a Mount Agdistis, or Agdos, close to Pessinus, under which Attis was said to have been buried (Paus. 1.4.5).

¹⁵ For city coinage with the legend *ΚΛΑΥΔΕΙΚΟΝΙΕΩΝ*, see von Aulock 1976, nos. 245-296, and p. 56; Mitchell 1979, 412-414). *Cf.* other cities in southern Galatia named after Claudius around the same time (Mitchell 1979, 412). For Iconium's double status as both a *polis* and Roman colony in the first century AD, see Mitchell 1979, 414-417, 426.

¹⁶ We have already encountered this epithet in the passage from Strabo quoted in part above (Strab. 10.3.12; and see also 10.3.15).

Pessinus: “The mountain Dindymus is situated above the city; from Dindymus comes Dindymene, as from Cybela, Cybele. Near it runs the river Sangarius, and on its banks are the ancient dwellings of the Phrygians” (Strab. 12.5.3). Another well-attested Dindymon is associated with snowy-capped Murat Dağ between Uşak and Aizenoi (Hdt. 1.80; Strab. 13.4.5). From it, the river Hermon (the Gediz River) flows down from the steppe past Sardis and then passes Mount Sipylos (yet another mountain sacred to Meter), before emptying near Phocaea in the Gediz Delta system (Strab. 13.4.5). Another well known Dindymon is at Kyzikos by the Sea of Marmara.

The cult of Zizimene originated in Zizima or Zizyma, 12 km south of Ladik, and located near the mines of cinnabar and copper (Ramsay 1918, 138 no. 4; Magie 1950a, 456; *MAMA* XI, no. 255). It is an interesting coincidence that mining activity also took place at the mountain Angdisseion, albeit the quarrying of marble as mentioned above. Ramsay noted that “the particular priesthood” of the archigallus (high priest of the *galloi*) mentioned in a dedication from Seuwerek to the Mother of Gods Zizimmene (29.01) “marks the goddess as specifically Phrygian” (Ramsay 1905a, 367). Moreover, the dedicant’s name Dada happens to be an indigenous Phrygian name (*PVS*, 393). Meter Zizimene was adapted and Hellenized in the nearby urban center Iconium and probably worshipped in a civic temple (Mitchell 1993 II, 18). An intriguing bilingual inscription (65.01) copied at Konya (Iconium) equates her with Minerva.

When taking into account the multiple Meter inscriptions found in both Lycaonia and Galatia together with the cluster of dedications found at the Angdistis sanctuary at Midas City, a more complex picture emerges, and one which mirrors more closely the scope of religious practice as described and expressed in classical texts. Not only do we have epithets that address what appear to be separate deities, but we have epithets which appear to address a single deity’s divine functions, qualities, and aspects. Moreover, closer inspection reveals that the two inscription groups resist being divided from each other completely, as shared aspects of Phrygian culture come to light. As discussed above, the presence of Phrygians in Lycaonia is attested as well as the occurrence of the Phrygian epithets Angdistis and Dindymene /

Zizimmene. In addition are epithets which fall along the spectrum in between (*cf.* Parker 2003). The remainder of this chapter will focus first on what appears to support a pluralist position in which a deity with two different epithets is perceived as two different deities. This will be followed by a focus on cases which appear to support a monistic position, as well as cases blurred by ambiguity. This naturally leads to a discussion of how best to negotiate the inconsistencies and ambiguities and whether the entire polytheistic system is one of chaos or order.

4.2. Arguments for Many, One, or Neither

One of the most solid demonstrations of a pluralist position occurs in the writings of Xenophon, who makes a distinction in his work *Anabasis* between Zeus Basileus and Zeus Meilichios. Zeus Basileus is seen as lending support to Xenophon (Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.12; 6.1.22); yet according to Eucleides the seer, whom Xenophon consults, it is to Zeus Meilichios that Xenophon must make a sacrifice to in order to alleviate his financial trouble (*Anab.* 7.8.1-7). Xenophon admits that he has not dedicated to Meilichios for some time, and he refers to the god as “to this god” (“τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ”) (*Anab.* 7.8.4; Versnel 2011, 63 n. 149)¹⁷. Parker has us note that Xenophon does not use the phrase “the god under this aspect” (Parker 2003, 175).¹⁸

What also appears to support a pluralist position are the dedications “to the Apollones”, “the Aphroditai”, “the Nemeseis”, among others; and there is also an inscription Pausanias noted (Paus. 2.31.5) “of the Themedis” (for more on all of these and others, see Versnel 2011, 80-81). Sitting squarely in this tradition is a hymn by Kallimachos in which “All the Aphrodites—for the goddess is not one— / are surpassed in wit by the one from Kastinia” (quoted in Versnel 2011, 82).

Yet another indicator involves cases in which deities bearing different epithets appear to operate in overlapping spheres, and yet apart from each other. For instance,

¹⁷ And yet, a recent find shows the existence of different Meilichios cults (Versnel 2011, 60 n. 152).

¹⁸ For more on the tradition of consulting oracles in order to learn which gods to appease, see also Versnel 2011, 43-49.

a shrine of Athena Nike existed in Athens over which Athena Polias presided; and Athena Nike would receive a sacrifice at Athena Polias' festival (Parker 2003, 181).

One cannot speak of a pluralist view, however, without mentioning the epithet *autochthôn*, meaning “indigenous”, or as Versnel translates, “from right here” in the case of Μητήρ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθων attested in Macedonia (see Versnel 2011, 68f. n. 171 for this Meter as well as for a Hera *autochthôn* attested in Samos; and Fassa 2015, 116f.). There is no mistaking that the deities with this epithet are perceived as not having come from elsewhere. This leads to the inevitable question of whether topographical and ethnic epithets do not essentially assert the same thing (*cf.* Parker 2003, 176-177 on epithets for administrative convenience).

Other cases appear to lend weight to a unitarian view, while others are less clear. The same Xenophon who distinguished between two Zeuses has Socrates consider the various names of Zeus as various names for one god; and yet, as if almost in the same breath, Socrates considers Aphrodite Pandemos and Ourania as separate on account of their different altars, temples, and sacrifices:

Now, whether there is one Aphrodite or two, ‘Heavenly’ and ‘Vulgar,’ I do not know; for even Zeus, though considered one and the same, yet has many by-names. I do know, however, that in the case of Aphrodite there are separate altars and temples for the two, and also rituals, those of the ‘Vulgar’ Aphrodite excelling in looseness, those of the ‘Heavenly’ in chastity (Xen. *Sym.* 8.9, trans. Heinemann 1979).¹⁹

It is worth noting here, for the sake of comparison, that a unitarian view of a sole Zeus underlying his multiple names appears to be expressed in 1.44 of Herodotus's *Histories*. See Versnel's translation with its focus on the phrase τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν (Versnel 2011, 73 and nn. 184-185). In any case, and in light of all the above, a more pertinent question arises. How did the average person regard such issues (Versnel 2011, 519)?

¹⁹ See also Parker 2003, 175, 182 and n. 81; Versnel 2011, 71.

Versnel (2011, 74-76) draws attention to inscriptions from both the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods in Asia Minor which reveal a spectrum of views concerning epithets. On the one hand is the perception that epithets name separate deities, on the other are perceptions which appear to alternate between whether epithets name separate deities or only functions and aspects²⁰. It thus emerges that inconsistencies and ambiguities were a fact of the classical world.

Whether individual worshippers viewed epithets as distinguishing one deity from another no doubt varied not only from one community to another, but from one individual worshipper to the next. Hence the unavoidable question Versnel asks, “perceived by whom?” (Versnel 2011, 62 n. 146, p. 147). A modern-day illustration of varying perceptions within the same faith was noted by Christian. He observed how in Spanish towns with their own local shrines to Mary, “each community could be said to have its own Mary”, which “countered the universalist impulse” of the Church’s insistence that there is only one Mary (Christian 1972, 48; quoted by Versnel 2011, 67 n. 165). Versnel draws from a number of sources in the field of anthropology concerning communities in southern Italy, Spain, Macedonia, and Greece; he notes that the members of those communities “explicitly resist” any “pursuit of unity by theologians, anthropologists and other intellectuals”, and that the local varieties of Madonna, Jesus, and saints are seen as “different *personae*” (Versnel 2011, 66-67, 71 and n. 162-163, 165, 167, 169). If the adherents of a living faith can demonstrate ambiguity as well as inconsistency, then surely could the adherents of a faith in antiquity.

4.3. An Approach to Ambiguity and Inconsistency

A wide spectrum of views regarding the gods appears to have been characteristic of religion in the classical world. If modern scholars accept only one slice of this spectrum for the sake of logic or consistency, then this would eclipse the rich variance, and thus drastically crop any fuller picture of ancient Eastern

²⁰ Among these is the funerary curse inscription from Oinoanda compared with our multiple Meter dedications from Lycaonia discussed above (see n. 6).

Mediterranean religion. It is very likely, as Parker notes above, that this space allowed religion in the classical world to remain dynamic and thrive. Inconsistencies are only a “problem” when it is consistency that is expected, or even worse, demanded. The co-existence, or “fact”, of multiple Meter dedications and what appear to be epithets addressing qualities could never meet such a requirement. This calls to mind the “certain stubbornness of facts which remains” respected by Burkert (1985, 217), and to which preconceived notions of consistency threaten to bend out of shape (see also Versnel 2011, 31 n. 27)²¹. Burkert noted that the heterogeneity of the Greek pantheon mirrors the heterogeneity of the Greek mind as well as the heterogeneity in the experiences of individual worshippers, however much they may strive for wholeness (Burkert 1985, 217-218); and Vernant, while writing to disparage Burkert’s view of “chaos”, ironically made Burkert sound rather sensible. He wrote that his colleague’s embrace of chaos over the order and harmony of *kosmos* and logical structure creates a

pantheon (that) could not fail to appear as a mere conglomeration of gods, an assemblage of unusual personages of diverse origin, the products, in random circumstances, of fusion, assimilation, and segmentation. They seem to find themselves in association rather by virtue of accidents of history than by the inherent requirements of an organized system, demonstrating on the intellectual level the need for classification and organization, and satisfying exact functional purposes on the social level (Vernant as quoted by Versnel 2011, 31)²².

One cannot help but wonder here, if Burkert would not have more or less used these words himself.

Nonetheless, an idea shared by both Vernant and Burkert, as Versnel notes and

²¹ Burkert uses the same phrase “stubbornness of facts” in a lecture given in 1998 with respect to our approach to new scientific findings, including those from the field of quantum physics, which may challenge our previous models and explanations of the world.

“Our imaginations have to be trained afresh as we encounter the quite unexpected features of reality, such as the wave-corpuscle duality or the non-Euclidean geometry of the universe. Religious and other cultural prejudices may have halted scientific progress for centuries, but there has also been the unforeseeable stubbornness of facts. Heavenly bodies do not move in perfect circles, as platonizing astronomers believed for some two thousand years; even Copernicus adhered to this notion and Galileo refused to be convinced by Kepler's ellipses. New facts compelled new theories and a new consciousness of reality” (Burkert 1999).

²² The latter portion of Vernant’s quoted words above could perhaps be applied as well to the bewildering infrastructure of Roman administrative functions and bureaucracy. An inscription found at Eumonia (27.02) gives us a dizzying glimpse of some of the numerous administrative functions of that city. It is also in the Roman Imperial period in Anatolia when Meter epithets are most numerous.

presents eloquently (2011, 31), is that no one god can be defined independently and apart from the other gods²³. For Vernant, however, the pantheon, taken as a whole, replete with the structural relationships of each deity to the rest, reveals an underlying harmony. For Burkert, on the other hand, the whole, dependent on varying factors including time and place, reveal how relative as well as ad hoc circumstances can lead to a complex and “untidy” polytheism (Versnel 2011, 31).

If we consider the range and variety of evidence above, what we have is a spectrum of possibilities. This spectrum allows for epithets which appear to address qualities and functions as well as for epithets which appear to address separate deities. This also allows for an embrace of the discrepancies concerning epithets in Xenophon’s writings brought to attention above. With respect to this, Versnel observes that a multi-perspective view enabled Greeks to handle the ambiguity and inconsistencies by shifting focus between points of view, according to need or circumstance (Versnel 2011, 86-87, 90-91, 143). He illustrates this beautifully when discussing the different mindsets or points of view called for when making prayers to local gods or for when visualizing the pantheon of Hellas in tragedy or in the works of Hesiod and Homer:

The two systems, local and national, may clash, but rarely do, since listening to or reading Homer or attending a tragedy takes the participants into another world, a world far more distant, sublime and awesome than everyday reality where sacrifices are made and prayers are addressed to the local gods who are ‘right here’. Many pantheons, many horizons (Versnel 2011, 143).

In cases where the gods important in daily life (e.g. Zeus Herkeios, Zeus Ktesios, and Apollo Agnieus) do occur in tragedy, it “is particularly in those contexts in which their natural role as symbols of the actors’ places of belonging is required” especially in scenes where the characters return or depart from their homeland, or if their city is about to fall (Versnel 2011, 518-519; and also 97-98 n. 276 and 281). Parker also saw the usefulness of a multi-perspective approach for local and immediate needs when writing:

²³ That no god can be isolated apart from the pantheon calls readily to mind the Mahayana Buddhist notions of “emptiness” (*śūnyatā*) and interdependence. Beings cannot be said to exist in and of themselves apart from their interdependence with all else. They are hence “empty” in the sense that they are void of any independent closed-circuit being (*svabhāva-śūnya*) (Mitchell 2008, 105, 106f.). For a clear and simple presentation of the Mahāyāna concepts of “emptiness” and interdependent being, see Thich Nhat Hanh’s commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā Heart Sūtra* (Nhat Hanh 1988, 3f.).

It is precisely the ambiguity inherent in the epithet system that makes it such a satisfying vehicle for religious thought. It allows one to appeal to a figure who is very specialized and relevant to one's needs, if the epithet is functional, or very close to hand, if it is topographic. And yet that figure also has all the power and dignity of one of the greatest Olympians. Zeus Apomuios ['Zeus averter of flies'] is both a specialized pest disposal officer and the king of the universe" (Parker 2003, 182).

With this approach, one can widely embrace the ambiguities and apparent inconsistencies encountered in classical religion. The sense of fly-swatter Zeus being at the same time the greatest Olympian is echoed in Christian's conclusions concerning the divinities of local Spanish shrines. He writes that the local image of the Madonna at once represents a divinity who is at once the great mother of God and yet genuinely tuned into local village concerns and trivial worries (Christian 1977, 78)²⁴.

Therefore, it was with the aim of understanding Meter worship in Roman Imperial Asia Minor for what it was (which may not be as tidy nor convenient as we might like it to be) that the catalogue component of this paper was compiled. Namely, work on the catalogue was done with a capacious spirit which "tolerates glaring contradictions and flashing alternations", as Versnel puts it (Versnel 2011, 149), found in the inscriptions themselves. With this approach, two seemingly disparate groups of epithets, those discovered at the Angdistis sanctuary at Midas City in Phrygia, and also the multiple-Meter inscriptions found in Lycaonia and near the Phrygian border in Galatia, can now comfortably sit side-by-side in the same catalogue. It is with the hope that this approach more closely reflects the wide-range of epithet use in the classical world.

²⁴ Later quoted in full and further discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

THE PHRYGIAN MOTHER’S EARLIER EPITHETS AND THE EPITHET “BOOM” OF THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD

There are only a handful of epithets connected with Meter that we know of from Iron Age Central Anatolia until the end of the Hellenistic period²⁵. This contrasts starkly with the sheer number and occurrences of epithets from the Roman Imperial period. The earliest date from as early as 600 BC during the period when Phrygia may have been under Lydian sovereignty (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 129) up until the time of the Persian conquests c. 550 BC. At least one inscription appears to date from the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period. All of the epithets were discovered in Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions associated with Phrygian rock-cut monuments. Among these are Matar Kubileya, which will be discussed at some length since Cybele is one of the Meter’s best known names during the Roman Imperial period. Other than the occurrence of this epithet at Germanos, there are no other epithets, to my knowledge, which can be dated to the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period; and neither are there

²⁵ The chronology followed in this paper: Early Phrygian period (c. 950–800 BC); Middle Phrygian period (800–540 BC); Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period, between the Persian invasion and the death of Alexander the Great (540–323 BC); Hellenistic period up until the battle at Actium (323 BC–31 BC); Roman Imperial period (31 BC–330 AD). Note: The Middle Phrygian period has been divided further into Middle I (800–600 BC until the possible Lydian dominion); and Middle II (600–540 BC) under possible Lydian dominion. (Adopted partially from Berndt-Ersöz 2006, xxi; and Roller 1999, 187.)

any epigraphic dedications to Meter. The Hellenistic period only yields three epithets in Greek which have been dated. In this chapter, there will be some preliminary discussion concerning the striking contrast between the dearth of epithets in the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian and Hellenistic periods on the one hand, and on the other, the plethora of epithets from the Roman Imperial period. This discussion, however, will follow upon a survey of Meter’s epithets from the Middle Phrygian period.

5.1. The Palaeo-Phrygian Epithets (c. 600 BC – c. 323 BC)

The majority of the early Meter epithets as found in Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions discussed in this section date from the Middle Phrygian II period (c. 600-540 BC) and have been located in the Phrygian highlands. However, one epithet has been dated to some unspecified time after the Persian conquests in c. 550 BC; and it was discovered at Germanos in Bithynia. The rock monument contexts of the inscriptions containing the epithets will first be discussed followed by a look at the epithets’ themselves and their possible meanings.

There are eleven, or possibly twelve, known instances of “Matar” in Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions²⁶, with or without an accompanying epithet. In at least three cases, it is not known whether an epithet actually follows due to the illegibility of letter traces (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 83). The inscriptions are incorporated into two Iron-Age facades, and possibly a shaft monument; one early Late Phrygian/Achaemenid niche; a facade dated anywhere from the later Iron Age to early Late Phrygian/Achaemenid; and one undated step monument (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 67-88, and figs. 2-3 for maps;

²⁶ “As *matar* (nom.) in inscriptions nos. W-04, W-06 and twice in no. B-01, as *mater* (voc.) in no. M-01c, as *materan* (acc.) in no. W-01a and twice in no. M-01d, and as *materey* (dat.) in no. M-01e and twice in no. W-01b” (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 83 with catalogue nos. from Brixhe and Lejeune 1984). In some cases, due to poor preservation, the grammatical structure of the name *matar* is unclear (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 74 for M-01c at Midas Kent, 82 for W-06 at Findik, and 83). Additionally, the inscription W-05b along the lintel of the Mal Taş façade in the Köhnüş Valley may contain the name *Mate-* if we divide *daespormater* into *daes por mater[an/ey]* (“dedicated to Mater”, as does Lubotsky (Lubotsky 1989, 151). For the alternate reading, *Pori(i)mates*, see Orel 1997, 45; and for Ποριματις, an attested Lycian anthroponym, see *KP*, §1292 (see also Brixhe 1993, 332; and Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80 and nn. 316-320).

and see below). With the exception of the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period niche at Germanos in Bithynia, the monuments are located in the Phrygian highlands and their immediate surroundings.

The public inscriptions of monuments found throughout the highlands, have been considered as contemporary with the facades on which they are inscribed. This is especially the case with such examples as the Areyastis Monument, which appear to have been carved from top to bottom (Börker-Klähn 2000, 85-98; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 70, 86). The inscriptions naming the Phrygian Mother on the Midas Monument at Midas City, however, are considered to be graffiti, rather than public inscriptions, and they possibly date to later than the other inscriptions on the monument (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 74-75)²⁷.

The monuments which feature the names of Matar in varying forms, whether with or without epithets, include the Midas Monument at Midas City, a step altar, and possibly a shaft monument, from the Köhnüş Valley, the Areyastis Monument, a facade at Fındık, and a niche at Germanos. The Midas Monument facade at Midas City dates to the second quarter of the sixth century BC, but earlier than 550 BC (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-233 no. 30 with graffiti inscriptions M-01c, M-01d, and M-01e, figs. 4, 50-53, 134). The Mal Taş shaft monument in the Köhnüş Valley, which may very well bear the name of Mater in one of its inscriptions, probably dates to the first half of the sixth century BC (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 227-228 no. 24 inscription W-05b, figs. 5, 33-36). Meanwhile a step monument in the same valley has not been dated (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 245-246 no. 56 inscription W-04, figs. 5-73). The Areyastis Monument facade situated 1.7 km north of Midas City dates to around 550 BC (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 237-238 no. 37 with inscriptions W-01a, W-01b, and W-01c, figs. 47, 49). The facade at Fındık possibly dates anywhere from 600 to after

²⁷ Inscriptions M-01c in the niche, M-01d to right of the niche, and M-01e below the facade and on the right side. These are the only inscriptions which name the Mother, and it is interesting that one of them is inscribed inside the niche itself. Inscription M-01b, which runs along the side post and was perhaps added a little later than the completion of the façade, alludes to what is being dedicated as *sikeneman*; and this may refer to a statue of the goddess in the round (dated to c. 570-550 BC) with dowel holes found near spring C (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 74-75, 116-117, 130-131). Regarding the findspot near spring C, see Haspels 1951, 10, 111; and for the chronology, see Haspels 1951, 111-114; F. Naumann 1983, 89-90, no. 29. See also Prayon 1987, 201, no. 1.

550 BC (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 217-216 no. 5 with inscription W-06, figs. 6, 16); and the niche at Germanos possibly dates to after 550 BC (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 239-240 no. 40 with inscription B-01, fig. 48). Thus, the majority of Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions bearing the names of the Mother date to the sixth century.

The most common and universally known of the Mother's names in the Roman period, apart from "the Mother" and "Mother of Gods", is Kybele. However, it appears only twice as *Kubileya* /*Kubeleya* in the recorded Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions of the Iron Age²⁸. In the third line of an inscription associated with a small niche at Germanos is the name *matar kubeleya*. It functions as an epithet in a secondary position modifying the proper noun *Matar*, the primary name for the Phrygian goddess (Brixhe 1979, 43 n. 32). The word *ibeya* follows *kubeleya*, and it has been suggested that the word could be yet another epithet (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 82 no. 9.3.8). Meanwhile, *Matar* appears in the last line. This inscription, which appears to contain both a dedication and malediction formula, is the lengthiest of the known Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 82-83 no. 9.3.8). Another occurrence of the epithet appears in a poorly preserved inscription above a poorly preserved step monument in the Köhnüş Valley²⁹. The name *kubileya* can be discerned from an otherwise illegible inscription (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 80 no. 9.3.3; 83 no. 9.4.1).

Influenced by classical Greek literary sources, Brixhe asserted that *Matar Kubeleya* had the same connotation as the Greek Μητέρα Ὀρείᾱ (Brixhe 1979, 43-45; see also Rein 1993, 11 n. 19). Roller illustrates, however, how the classical and late classical sources, if considered collectively, are wanting in providing any consensus regarding what topographical feature or place the word *Kybele* actually signifies (Roller 1999, 66-69; see also Munn 2006, 74-75). These can range from a particular mountain, a mountain range, mountains in general, caves, a city, or even a bedchamber³⁰.

²⁸ In Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: for *kubeleya*: B-01 at Germanos.

²⁹ In Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: for *kubileya*: W-04 in the Köhnüş valley.

³⁰ Munn gives a figurative reading of "bedchambers" (*thalamoi*) as being the "sheltering glens and secret caves" in Kybele's mountains "that were nature's 'bedchambers' (*thalamoi*)" and where she engenders sovereigns (Munn 2006, 125).

There has been some ongoing debate concerning whether the Phrygian *Kybele* is connected in some way with the Neo-Hittite goddess *Kubaba* in Carchemish. Scholars have primarily attempted to link the two deities either on linguistic or iconographic grounds. Both approaches will be discussed here, before we continue to the next epithet, *Areyastin*.

Among those seeking some linguistic link is Munn. While he acknowledges a linguistic continuity from the Northern Syrian name *Kubaba*, he believes that the Phrygians adopted it by way of the Lydian language. Munn proposes that the name may have derived from a Phrygian addition of a Phrygian adjectival suffix to a hitherto unattested form of the Lydian *Kybebe*; and this would thus signify “the one, or place, of *Kubaba*” (Munn 2006, 120-125).

What is worth noting in the debate over whether the Phrygian *Kybele* is linguistically derived from *Kubaba* is how *Kubaba* is consistently written in Neo-Hittite Luwian script. The symbol of a bird or hawk invariably follows the phonetic particle “Ku” (Roller 1999, 48; for actual examples, see Hawkins 1981, 150-175). Roller has observed that the bird of prey as an attribute is absent in Neo-Hittite depictions of *Kubaba*, whereas the Phrygian *Matar* is frequently shown holding or restraining a bird of prey (1994, 191; 1999, 48, and for examples of hunting birds in the archaeological record, see n. 44, and also Rein 1993, 12-13 and n. 26). Roller suggested that an older Bronze Age Hittite deity, yet to be identified, may provide clues as to the Phrygian Mother’s association with birds of prey and the hunt (1994, 191; see also 1984, 266; cf. Rein 1996, 226)³¹. On the other hand, Rein speculates that Phrygian “awareness” of the *Kubaba* cult may have influenced “preference for the similar sounding epithet *Kubile*” (Rein 1993, 12-14; 1996, 226-227). One could perhaps also speculate that seeing the bird symbol in *Kubaba*’s name in Neo-Hittite script may have influenced, or reinforced, the Phrygian Mother’s association with

³¹ This is no doubt an intriguing suggestion. The earlier clues, however, may perhaps be found rather in Thrace or Macedonia, from where the Phrygians are said by some classical writers to have come (Herod. 7.15; Strab. 7.3.2). In any case, the extant archaeological data is inconclusive and debatable regarding any Phrygian migration from the Balkans (Berndt-Ersöz 2012, 16-41; Vassileva 2001, 51-61; Rein 1993, 15 and n. 30).

birds (see Mellink 1964, 31, photo insert: “Hittite hieroglyphic signs . . .”). It would not have been the first time the Phrygians were influenced by their Neo-Hittite neighbors, however superficially (Roller 1994, 190-191; 1999, 44).

Cultural and iconographic evidence has also been considered to determine whether there is true continuity between the Neo-Hittite *Kubaba* and the Phrygian Mother. Roller observes that images of *Kubaba* at Carchemish were on official public display. On the other hand, Phrygian cult objects have been found in both urban and rural, public, private, and also funerary contexts; and some sanctuaries were remotely situated from urban centers (Roller 1994, 191-192; 1999, 79; Rein 1993, 15-16; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 7-10). Another major difference between the Neo-Hittite and Phrygian goddesses was that the Neo-Hittite goddess was sometimes depicted with her consort, whereas the Phrygian goddess was depicted alone, if not with attendants of lesser status (Roller 1994, 192; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 49-53). In addition, the *naiskos* in which Phrygian depictions of the Mother were framed was a Phrygian feature (Rein 1996, 223-237). The attributes of the two goddesses also differ. For instance, one of *Kubaba*’s main attributes was the mirror, signifying the feminine. Roller considers the differences in attributes to be of greater weight than the “superficial” similarities in clothing to be found in depictions of both goddesses (Roller 1994, 192).

While *Kubeleya* appears twice and is attested to have survived until the Roman period, the epithet *Areyastin* occurs only once and appears to have fallen out of use. The enigmatic *Areyastin*, which also modifies *Matar* in a similar syntactical position as *Kubileya*, is to be found in the eponymous Areyastin monument³² mentioned above (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 79-80 no. 9.3.2; 84 no. 9.4.2). Speculation on its meaning varies widely. Explanations range from the name of a local mountain to a connection with the Hittite verb *ariya-* meaning “to investigate by means of divination”, namely “to consult an oracle” (Kimball 2000, 138-147; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 84 n. 340-341). The inscription appears to name the dedicant Bonok, possibly a high priest associated

³² In Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: for *areyastin*: W-01a.

with oracles (Lubotsky 1988, 12-14, 16; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 79-80 no. 9.3.2; 84 no. 9.4.2)³³.

Other words found in the Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions have been proposed to be epithets, but with less certainty. For instance, the *ibeya* mentioned above in connection with the Germanos inscription (B-01) appears to function as an epithet as *matar kubeleya ibeya*³⁴. It is in the nominative as are *matar* and *kubeleya*; however, its meaning is still unknown (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 84 no. 9.4.3). Another candidate for a possible epithet is *eueteksetey*, which follows upon *materey* in inscription W-01b of the Areyastis façade. Both words are in the dative. However, as with *ibeya*, the meaning is unclear. Nevertheless, Orel has proposed that prefix *eu-* matches the Greek prefix εὖ- meaning “well” (Orel 1997, 37). Meanwhile, other words from the Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions proposed as epithets are even less certain³⁵.

No Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions dating to the last three centuries BC have been found, but Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, which were written with the Greek script, date from the second century AD (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 67; Thonemann 2013, 12-13). Brixhe noted that the Phrygians appear to be silent for a few centuries, at least until the Roman Imperial period (Brixhe 1993, 327). The reemergence of written Phrygian in the second century was not only different from the Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions with respect to alphabet, but they were different with respect to the range of contexts in which the inscriptions were used. The Phrygian of the Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions seemed to have been employed across various registers from public to private, and from sacred to secular, whereas in the Roman Imperial period, Phrygian appears to have been confined to the sacred and private (Brixhe 1993, 334). Brixhe interpreted this change in the status of Phrygian as reflecting a shift from being the language of a sovereign, domineering, and expansionist state to being the language of a colonized people consisting of “imprecise” formulas for application in the

³³ Lubotsky’s translation reads: Bonok, the high priest (?) of the βρυῆς, placed / dedicated (this) Mother Areyastis; and he provides examples showing that the object-subject-verb order is not unheard of in Phrygian (Lubotsky 1988, 16).

³⁴ In Brixhe and Lejeune 1984: for *matar kubeleya ibeya*: B-01 at Germanos.

³⁵ For more on these, as well as for more on *ibeya* and *eueteksetey*, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 84-87, a helpful point of departure.

private sphere (Brixhe 1993, 334). As Hellenistic urbanization made its way into Phrygia via the west throughout the Hellenistic period and into the Roman Imperial, Phrygian retreated into illiterate rural areas in Phrygia, northern Lycaonia, and southern Galatia (Brixhe 1993, 334-337; and also 328 Pl. 2 map).

5.2. The Meagerly Represented Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods

Conspicuously absent are any epithets found in central Anatolia in the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period other than the one Palaeo-Phrygian instance listed above. Examples of inscribed names or epithets of the goddess in fourth-century Asia Minor have come to light in Ionia and Chios, which lie far outside the regions represented in the catalogue³⁶.

While the production of Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions appears to have ceased, there were no Greek inscriptions with dedications to Meter to replace them. While Phrygians had trade contacts with Greek populations in coastal Asia Minor, cultural diffusion, insofar as the Greek language was used for personal names or in public documents, came late to the lands of Greater Phrygia. This is in contrast with other regions in Asia Minor such as Lydia, Caria, and Lycia, which did adopt aspects of Greek culture by the late fourth century (Thonemann 2013, 15-17, and n. 66 for a

³⁶ For reliefs dated to the fourth century containing the epithet “Meter Oreia” that are possibly from the Mount Panayir sanctuary just outside of Ephesus, see *CCCA* I, 186-187 nos. 616-617, Pl. CXXXIV; and CXXXI-CXXXII with photos of part of the sanctuary. For “Meter” found on an Ionian monument from ca. 500 BC, see *CCCA* I, 209 no. 711. For “Meter Kubeleie” from a fourth century stele found on Chios, see *CCCA* II, 180 no. 560. Two of the epithets, Meter Kubeleie found on Chios, and Meter Oreia, most likely from a sanctuary just outside Ephesus, consciously refer to Meter’s connection with mountains. Meter Kubeleie, although probably referring to a local mountain called Kybeleia, suggested “that at least some Greeks recognized that Kybele had originally been an epithet, not a separate name that referred to a specific place (Roller 1999, 68-69 and n. 31). The iconography of the reliefs accompanying the Meter Oreia dedications acknowledge yet other elements of Iron Age Phrygian religion. Moreover, the sanctuary at the foot of Mount Panayir near Ephesus from which the reliefs may have come, features rock-cut monuments such as niches and at least one monumental step altar (encountered during a personal visit in September 2017) that would be at home in the Phrygian highlands. Its neighboring caves and gorges also evoke the goddess’s association with mountainous landscapes. For other step altars in the vicinity of Ephesus, see Bammer and Muss 2006, 65-69. For more on Meter in Ephesus, see Knibbe 1978, 489-503; Kraft et al. 2007, 131-133; and Berndt-Ersöz 2014, 415-425.

bibliography for examples). Cultural syncretism appears to some extent following the Macedonian conquests in the 330s BC. Perdikkas, a top general in Alexander the Great's army, is said to have founded the colonial settlement of Docimeum in the shadow of the mountain Angdisseion in the Phrygian Highlands before the end of the fourth century (Thonemann 2013, 2017). This was followed in the third century BC by the establishment of a number of Seleukid poleis and military *katoikiai* in Phrygia Paroreius and elsewhere along the Phrygian-Pisidian border; by Attalid-founded colonies, in southwestern and northwestern Phrygia; and by Graeco-Macedonian settlements at Eukarpeia, Akmonia, Amorion, and Dorylaeum (Thonemann 2013, 17 and n. 68; Brixhe 1993, 335).

The Hellenistic period provides us with at least three epithet examples as found in dedications in Greek. The first is a stele dedication to Meter Kallipou found at Ayvalı near Nacoleia in Phrygia (**39.01**). The second is an altar dedication to Meter Tetraprosopos (discussed further in Chapter 6) found at Küçük Hasan in south central Galatia (**62.01**). The third is a statuette of Meter Tumenene, who is addressed in the inscribed dedication. This comes from Eyüpler, near Pisidian Antioch (**64.02**).

5.3. The Meter Epithet “Boom” of the Roman Imperial Period

It is the Roman Imperial period, rather than the Hellenistic, that is for the most part represented in the catalogue of central Anatolian Meter epithets as found in inscriptions. These are for the most part written in Greek (with the exception of two Greek/Latin bilinguals: **[11.01, 26.01]** and **65.01**). Moreover, after a silence of about five centuries, Phrygian reappears in writing at a time when the epigraphic habit in Anatolia had taken root, even among poorer rural populations.

Two reasons why inscriptions on non-perishable materials become far more abundant in the Roman Imperial period may be the culture of settled Roman traders in Phrygia and the access to marble from the mines in the Phrygian Highlands.

The epigraphic habit, and the culture of erecting honorific monuments on behalf of city patrons and benefactors, may have been spurred as far back as the first century BC by the presence of Italian businessmen settled in the lands of Greater Phrygia after it was incorporated into the Roman province of Asia between 122-116 BC (Thonemann 2013, 29-31, 38). The businessmen, called *negotiatores*. Judging from inscriptions dating from the second half of the first century BC to the first century AD, some of the Italian *negotiatores* settled permanently in Asia Minor and even filled important positions in civic bodies. In fact, there is an example of an honorific Greek and Latin bilingual inscription from the Phrygian city Prynnessos which is dated to the first century AD and made by the demos and Roman businessmen there (*IGR* IV, no. 675; Kearsley 2001, no. 135; Thonemann 2013, 30-31 nn. 118-119). A badly preserved honorific public inscription found on a statue base at Dorylaeum is set up by the *boule*, *demos*, and notably, *pragmateuomenoi* who were probably Roman businessmen (Mirbeau 1907, 77-78, no. 2; Campanile 1994, 150 no. 184; Thonemann 2013, 31 and n. 119³⁷).

The marble quarries at Docimeum in the Phrygian Highlands and the smaller quarries at Soa in the Upper Tembris plain might give some clue as to why the bulk of inscriptions included in the catalogue come above all from the Phrygian region. While marble tombstones were generally expensive throughout Roman Asia Minor, numerous marble dedications to Zeus Alsenos and Petarenos were found in “peasants” sanctuaries southwest of Amorion at Kurudere. How was this possible? According to Drew-Bear, Thomas, and Yıldıztüran, smaller “waste” pieces of marble were unavoidable byproducts of the long columns and sculpted sarcophagi that came from the quarries at Docimeum. “These small bits of marble, doubtless discarded or sold for a nominal sum, were used by the local peasants to carve dedications which they consecrated”; and these invaluable allow us to “really observe the religion of the masses” (*PVS* 1999, 13-14, 41-43). Nevertheless, not all dedicatory monuments had to be made of marble. The stele and crude altars made of chalky tuff limestone found at the Angdistis sanctuary at Midas City and dated to around the third century are an example of more affordable alternatives to marble; and in light of this, it is probably

³⁷ See Thonemann 2013, 29-31 nn. 111-121 regarding additional public inscriptions in connection with Romans settled in Roman Phrygia.

no surprise that the marble stele dedication featuring an image of a peasant (2.10)³⁸ is modestly small (*Highlands*, 188-189).

The difference between the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods in terms of the number of Meter epithets found in inscriptions is illustrated by the sanctuary of Angdistis at Midas City³⁹. The sanctuary was in use in the Hellenistic period, during a time of peace under Attalid dominion over the region after 184/183 BC; following an interval of unknown duration, which Haspels called “a phase of neglect”, it was again in use in the third century AD, judging by finds and uncovered dedications to Angdistis (*Highlands*, 153-155, 164, 188). The Hellenistic period yielded fragments of female terracotta figurines and “Pergamene” wares from the second century BC (*Highlands*, 154; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 96-97; 255-256). It is only during a revival of the sanctuary in the third century AD, after what may have been a gap of about 300 years, that any inscriptions are found. The deity of the sanctuary can be identified, at least for the late Roman Imperial period use of the site, because the inscriptions name Angdistis along with varying epithets (*Highlands*, 188).

Intervals of inactivity, or neglect, at rural cult sanctuaries in Greece that were ended by Late Roman era revivals have been considered by Susan Alcock (1994). Among her observations is that the peak periods of sanctuary use may parallel peak periods of land cultivation and settlement in the vicinity of the rural shrines (Alcock 1994, 255-256). This calls to mind, Haspels’s question regarding the remoteness of the Angdistis shrine, albeit, it seems, in the Hellenistic period revival of the site:

“One wonders to what community this small sanctuary of Agdistis belonged. For the Midas Kale and, as far as we know, the rest of the valleys, did not house any important settlement at this time. Yet when peaceful conditions were re-established in the Attalid period, a first choice would naturally have been the wide, fertile valley of Kümbet, which adjoins the Midas valley (*Highlands*, 155)”⁴⁰.

³⁸ For more on peasants and shepherds depicted on dedicated monuments, see Chapter 6.8.

³⁹ For more on this sanctuary, see Appendix: [2] Ἀγδισί: 2, and see also Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ See see Appendix: [2] Ἀγδισί: 2 concerning the ancient town of Metropolis and its possible location in the Kümbet Valley. Metropolis has been said to be the town chiefly associated with the Angdistis sanctuary.

Haspels pointed out as well that the fertile Kümbet valley was active during the Roman Imperial period when carved up by private and imperial estates (*Highlands*, 164, 188); and it was in the late imperial period when the sanctuary had yet another brief revival. As noted above, the plethora of Meter epithets in the Roman Imperial period is all the more striking when considering how few epithets from Central Anatolia are known from earlier periods. The following chapter will focus on this “epithet boom” and its implications, but not without following threads back into the earlier periods discussed above for more clues.



CHAPTER 6

METER'S CENTRAL ANATOLIAN EPITHETS IN GEO-POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

The bewildering number of Meter epithets found in central Anatolia dating to the Roman Imperial period could be seen as a reflection of the fragmented character of the region. Evidence seems to show that central Anatolia slipped into a profound and drawn out period of decentralization beginning from around the time of the Persian conquests in the mid sixth century BC. This process lasted at least into the Roman Imperial period, and its effects were even discernible beyond it⁹ in Late Antiquity⁴¹. This chapter will first focus on the persistence of this fragmented geo-political situation. Additionally, it will examine how the influence of Graeco-Roman culture, of which signs were manifest in especially the smaller cities and larger towns of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, was not substantial enough to draw the entire region into the Graeco-Roman cultural sphere. This need not necessarily be seen as a lack. In fact, it allowed for local manifestations of culture to flourish across the landscape. It allowed for a variety of Meter cults. The economic historian Finley reminds us that “technical progress, economic growth, productivity, even efficiency have not been significant goals since the beginning of time. So long as an acceptable lifestyle could be maintained, however that was defined, other values held the stage” (Finley 1999, 147). It is the aim of this chapter to find what some of those “other values” were. As stated in the introduction, the epithets of local Meters can begin to

⁴¹ See Mitchell 2000, 148 concerning Pisidia as a periphery.

give us some clues. Beyond looking at the mere multiplicity of Meter cult epithets in the Roman period, we will consider the meanings of epithets for answers regarding first, local and autonomous empowerment and a sense of belonging to the landscape, and second, of the concerns, needs, and core values of its inhabitants. It is with Scott's model, discussed in the introduction, that we can better understand the peripheries in which upland Anatolians had the space for cultural agency. Scott saw the inhabitants of upland Zomia over the past 2,000 years, not as uncivilized or behind the times, but as peoples empowered with agency where states had only a limited reach. Thonemann (2013) has already applied Scott's framework to Roman Phrygia. Nevertheless, a study of the epithets for one of Anatolia's own homegrown deities can make yet further contributions.

6.1. Transposing Scott's Model

Over the centuries following the Persian conquest of Asia Minor, throughout the Persian, Hellenistic, and Imperial Roman periods, the people of upland Central Anatolia appear to have subsisted at the fringes of any regional power's reach, whether that power happened be the sovereignty of the Persians, the Attalids, or the Romans. This had its benefits. Without highly lucrative and efficient centralized systems in place for an imperialist entity to readily exploit, the people of the more remote parts of central Anatolia were thus free from the heavier shackles of imperialism; and as Thonemann says, "it would simply not be worth the bother" to extract tribute from the small surpluses of scattered villages in the highlands (Thonemann 2013, 14; *cf.*)⁴². The "bother" is no other than the friction of terrain which Braudel was aware of when expressing that even lowland urban civilizations which may last a long time and "spread over great distances in the horizontal plane but are powerless to move vertically when faced with an obstacle of several hundred meters" (Braudel 1995, I: 34; *cf.* Scott 2009, 20 and nn. 40-41 for examples). Thus, the periphery of remoter reaches of the mountains or highlands "are as a rule a world apart from civilizations which are an urban and lowland achievement. Their history

⁴² *Cf.* the ancient Chinese Philosopher Chuang Tzu's (c. fourth to third century BC) parable of the "useless", yet flourishing, tree. Woodsmen see no use in cutting it down as the tree cannot be used as a commodity (trans. Watson 1964, 29-30).

is to have none, to remain always on the fringes of the great waves of civilization” (Braudel 1995 I, 34). Another benefit of living at the fringes is freedom from enslavement, about which Scott reminds us how many of the subjects of classical states we know of, such as Egypt, Greece, and Rome, were unfree, whether they were slaves, captives, or the descendants of both (Scott 2009, 5-6). Freedom from having to pay excessive tribute to a sovereign power and freedom from slavery could no doubt count as the alternative values acknowledged by Finley quoted above.

Scott’s model, at its broadest sweeping scope, is topology-weighted (Michaud 2017, 9) in that it looks at the remoter highlands located at the margins or away from the lowland core of Southeast Asian states. The highlands have sheltered waves of people escaping from exploitation by socially stratified states. This is enabled by the friction of terrain that is still beyond any easy reach of “distance-demolishing technologies” such as lines of communication or transportation (Scott 2009, 10). One obvious example of a distance-demolishing technology in Central Anatolia would be Roman roads. The friction of remoter terrain would additionally enable “non-confiscatable” types of livelihoods based on “escape agriculture” such as swiddening or even nomadism (Scott 2009, 187, 196-197; Michaud 2017, 6). Scott enumerates some of the other benefits of escape agriculture:

There, in regions beyond the states’ immediate writ and, thus, at some remove from taxes, corvée labor, conscription, and the more than occasional epidemics and crop failures associated with population concentration and monocropping, such groups found relative freedom and safety (Scott 2009, 23).

Furthermore, in much of the highlands, literacy, which Scott associates with hierarchal institutions⁴³, is dropped for post-literate oral traditions⁴⁴, and perhaps deliberately so, as orality allows for more pliability and “freedom for maneuver” in determining cultural identity and one’s place in the world (Scott 2009, 23-24, 220-

⁴³ The notion that writing encourages hierarchal social differentiation perhaps may strike us at first as odd, but it is really not so far-fetched if one considers how writing appears to have emerged. It has been proposed that a proto-writing stage at Uruk was the system of stamping clay tokens of varying shapes into clay. These were used for recording commodities and for identifying ownership (Frankfort 1996, 69-71; cf. Frangipane 2011, 974-978 for supporting evidence of this from the period VI A palatial complex at Arslantepe).

⁴⁴ For a wonderful presentation of the advantages of oral transmission and traditions in Native American cultures, by way of comparison, see Brown 2001, 41-59. Also of note are the contrasts Hedges (2019) makes between traditional oral cultures on the one hand, and the post-literate and post-truth digital age of our time in which “images overwhelm words” on the other.

237; and see also Michaud 2017, 7-10; and *cf.* Thonemann 2013, 12-13, 30). By way of comparison, the conspicuous dearth of dedications to Meter found throughout the Persian and Hellenistic periods⁴⁵ following the demise of the highly-stratified Phrygian empire in central Anatolia may also be interpreted to reflect a drop in literacy, that is, in the absence of evidence for dedications made on perishable materials, and in the absence of evidence for the level of literacy at the time of the Phrygian proto-state in the Middle Phrygian period. In consideration of the above freedoms, there is some ring of truth in Baron de Tott's words when he writes "the steepest places have been at all times the asylum of liberty" (Baron de Tott as quoted in Braudel 1995 I, 40). Nevertheless, to simplify Scott's summarization even further, we can consider the highlands to represent the more or less egalitarian, decentralized, and loosely controlled margins of states. It is the story of such margins that would not only complement but complete the histories of court-centric lowland states (Scott 2009, 26).

However, as is the case for any elegant model, there exists the stubborn fact of exceptions and singularities (Michaud 2017, 7). For instance, what are we to make of the endogenous feudal kingdoms that emerged in the southeast Asian highlands (Michaud 2017, 7)? Extending this to Hellenistic and Roman central Anatolia, we have a similar question to ask regarding the presence of small cities which manifested signs of Graeco-Roman civilization and the presence of large private and imperial estates in the countryside. Do these not undermine Scott's model? Such questions pertaining to central Anatolia will be touched upon below.

Before considering to what extent greater Phrygia had become decentralized since the beginning of the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period, let us now look at how Meter's epithets show signs of regional fragmentation in the Roman Imperial period.

⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Roman Imperial period yielded a great multitude of inscriptions including dedications to Meter. The majority of the Meter dedications, however, tend to be simple and formulaic.

6.2. A Complementary View

In central Anatolia during the Roman Imperial period, occurrences of Meter epithets which are alike tend to cluster around delimited geographic regions. This reveals the epichoric character of many Meter cults. Furthermore, epithets with only one known-of example suggest, in the absence of any further evidence, the plurality of cults to an even further and far more localized extreme. Mitchell warns of the “excessive atomization” which comes from distinguishing “the cults from one another with ever-increasing precision”, because then it would be “impossible to draw any wider conclusions from the evidence, or to make comparisons between one cult and another” (Mitchell 1993 II, 19; *cf.* Parker 2003, 173-174, and especially 175). While this may very well be true, it is exactly this atomization that we wish to further understand. In any case, a consideration of the plurality of epithets in their geo-political context is one way the catalogue can become a serviceable tool rather than a mere collection of gathered epithets.

The epithets discussed below will be treated region by region starting with Galatia and then moving on to Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Pisidia. In most cases, only the epithet, and, if known, the provenance and date of the monuments on which the epithet is inscribed will be noted. The reader is thus encouraged to consult the Catalogue and Appendix for further details.

6.3. Constellations of Epithets in Galatia

Clusters of like epithets found in Galatia include Meter and The Mother of Gods (Meter Theon). In addition, there is a double occurrence of the name Meter Plitano.

Four dedications to Meter have been found in Galatia. Two of these are found on *stelai* found in Güce Köyü in the vicinity of Mihaliçcik in the northwest (**13.01**—**13.02**); and they date to the first to second centuries. The other two are undated

bomoi found at Kozanlı in the southeast (**13.03—13.04**). Notably, the two Kozanlı inscriptions contain serpent iconography⁴⁶.

The Mother of Gods is found in four inscriptions, and in a fifth inscription we have “the great Mother of Gods”. Two occurrences of the Mother of Gods epithets are from Ankara. She is mentioned in the Greek version of the bilingual inscription of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* inscribed on the walls at the Temple of Augustus and Roma; and Μητρὸς Θεῶν is translated in the Latin version as Matris Magnae ([**11.01, 26.01**]). The inscription has been dated to around AD 14-19. A Latin copy of the *Res Gestae* was also found at Antioch ad Pisidium, a Greek version was discovered at Apollonia (Cooley 2009, 7 and n. 49, 13-19), and the fragment of a Greek translation of the original Latin is known from Sardis (Thonemann 2012, 282-288). The second inscription from Ankara is a *bomos* dedication to the Mother of Gods found near the temple (**26.02**)⁴⁷. It dates to the late first or early second century AD. The remaining two monuments are a *bomos* found at Sarı Kaya (**26.03**), dedicated by the people of what may be nearby Vetissos, and an intriguing funerary *bomos* found at Pessinus (**26.04**). The Sarı Kaya inscription is undated, while the Pessinus inscription dates to the Roman Imperial period, and possibly towards the end of the second century AD. Sarı Kayı has been identified as Κώμη Ἀ(ν)δερηνή in an inscription copied in 1912, but now lost (*MAMA* VII, xxv, and no. 373). Four dedications to Meter Andeirene have been found to the south in Lycaonia, and are mentioned below. We can add to this group an honorific inscription dating to the second half of the second century AD from Pessinus mentioning the great Mother of Gods (**33.03**: Μητρὸς / θεῶν μεγάλης).

Meter Plitano is addressed along with Meter Eissindene in the third-century multiple-Meter inscription from Güce Köyü in the vicinity of Mihalıççık ([**20.01, 55.01**]).

⁴⁶ For more on monuments in the catalogue containing serpent imagery, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγῶσι Θεῶν: 1.

⁴⁷ For the possibility of the temple’s earlier dedication to the Mother and Mēn, see Appendix: 26. Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 1; and for temples with double cults in general, see Appendix: 36. Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευννηῖ: 1.

This was discussed in Chapter 4.1. While there is no other attestation of Meter Eissindene, there is a double dedication to Meter Plitanene and Zeus Bronton that was found to the east in Kurucu during roadwork (**55.02**). This also dates to the Roman Imperial period. Meanwhile, one may wonder whether the two Meter dedications found in Mihaliççık mentioned above (**13.01—13.02**) address either Meter Plitano or Eissindene.

Isolated occurrences of epithets in Galatia include the Goddess Ispelouniene, Klintene, Meter Eissindene, Meter Zimmene, The Mother of Gods Satyreinaia who listens, Meter of Kranosmegalene, Meter Magna, Meter Nounnou, and Meter Tetraprosopos. A second century dedication to Meter Nounnou (**51.01**) was brought from Süleymaniye to the Eskişehir Museum. Süleymaniye is to the west of Mihaliççık where the multiple-Meter inscription dedicated to Meter Plitano and Meter Eissindene (**[20.01, 55.01]**) discussed above was found. A dedication to Meter Zimmene is inscribed on a statue base from Çatak (**22.01**) and dates to the Roman Imperial period. Zimmene is a variant spelling of Zizimmene, which is common in Lycaonia and discussed in Chapter 4.1. The Mother of Gods Satureinaia who listens is addressed on an undated architrave marble block from Pessinus (**35.01**). A Latinism of Meter Magna was found at Çaykoz near Pessinus and dated to the Roman Imperial period (**47.01**). Thea Ispelouniene (the Goddess Ispelouniene) is mentioned on a monument from roughly 35 kilometers south of Pessinus at Yokari Ağız Açık (**7.01**). It dates to the second half of the third century. About 12 kilometers north by northwest, a Hellenistic *bomos* dedication to Meter Tetraprosopos (The Mother of Four Faces)⁴⁸ was discovered at Küçük Hasan (**62.01**). Other dedications containing the name Tetraprosopos in varying combinations are found along the Tembris (Porsuk) River valley in Phrygia; and there may be some connection between the Tetraprosopos attested in the Upper Tembris and the Mother of Gods Kasmeine from Hasanköy, which will be discussed below. An undated dedication to Klintene was found to the east in Karanlı Kale (**10.01**). In addition, the Meter of Kranomegalos was found at Çerkes (Karalar) north of Ankara (**44.01**).

⁴⁸ For more on Tetraprosopos, see Appendix: **[67]** Τετραπροσώπων: 1 and monuments **9.01** (Θεᾷ τετραπροσώ- / πω); **62.01** (Μητρί Τετραπ[ρο]- / σώπων; **62.02** (Μητρί Τ[ετρ]α- / προσώπω); and **67.01** (Τετραπροσώπω) in the catalogue.

6.4. Constellations of Epithets in Lycaonia

Clusters of Meter epithets from Lycaonia name Angdistis (including Angdistis the hearer), and Meter Zizimmene (including The Mother of Gods Zizimmene and Minervae Zizimmenae). Double occurrences of epithets include Meter Amlasenzene, Meter Andeirene, Meter Boethene (including the Great Mother Boethene), and the Mother of Gods. Another double occurrence is that of Meter Tymenene, if we allow for an instance in Pisidia on the other side of the Sultan Mountains (**64.02**).

Angdistis is found in at least three Lycaonian inscriptions. She is attested in the triple-meter inscription found in Iconium (**[2.01, 12.01, 26.05]**) and discussed in Chapter 4. She is also attested on a *bomos* dedication found in the wall of a house at Akçasar in northern Lycaonia (**2.02**). Both are dated to the Roman Imperial period, and the first is from the reign of Hadrian or later. Angdistis the hearer is meanwhile attested in the multiple-Meter inscription from Zizima (**[3.01, 22.02]**), and which is also discussed in Chapter 4. This also dates to the Roman Imperial.

Meter Andeirene⁴⁹ is attested in at least four inscriptions. Two are undated and found in the vicinity of Lageina/Tyraion bordering on Phrygia Paroreius (**17.01** and **17.02**). The other two are at the Konya Archaeological Museum, and date to the Roman Imperial (**17.03** and **17.04**). While their exact provenance is unknown, **17.04** was seen by Calder in 1908 “in the hands of a Greek itinerant merchant” at Çeşmeli Zebir (Buckler et al. 1924, 26-27 no. 3; Calder 1932, 461 no. 20). Both date from the Roman Imperial period, and the latter is of the third or fourth centuries AD.

Meter Zizimmene, although originating from Zizima, is widespread in Lycaonia⁵⁰. Sixteen inscriptions (**22.01, [2.01, 12.01, 26.05], [3.01, 22.02], 22.03—22.13, 29.01—29.02, 65.01**) are included in the catalogue, including two for the Mother of Gods Zizimmene (**29.01—29.02**). Among these is one outlier monument bearing the

⁴⁹ For more on Meter Andeirene, including the identification of Sarı Kaya in Galatia as Κώμη Ἀ(ν)δερηνή, see Appendix: **[17]** Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῆ: 1.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 4.1; and Appendix: **[22]** Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῆ: 1.

variant Meter Zimmene (**22.01**); and this is from Çatak, Galatia bordering on northern Lycaonia. Nine of the inscriptions have been dated to the Roman Imperial period. Minervae Zizimmenae appears in a bilingual inscription from Iconium and is dated to the first century AD (**65.01**).

Meter Amlasenzene has been named in at least two inscriptions in northern Lycaonia, one from Cihanbeyli (**16.01**) on the Galatian-Lycaonian border, and the other from Ladık (**16.02**). Both date from the Roman Imperial period, and the latter dates to the second or third century AD. Thonemann draws attention to a third Roman Imperial inscription found in Zıvarık and dedicated to an Ammlasenzos(ene) (**68.02**) which may possibly contain a variant spelling of Amlasenzene (*MAMA* XI, no. 276). He also suggests that the Meter Amlasenzene cult had some connection with the securely attested village of Senzusa at Toprakkale 19km NNE of Zıvarık/Altınikin.

Meter Boethene (the Mother who Helps) is found only in Iconium. We have already seen above the Great Mother Boethene from the multiple-Meter inscription found in Iconium ([**2.01**, **12.01**, **26.05**]) and discussed in Chapter 4. In addition is simply the epithet Boethene on its own found also at Iconium (**5.01**). Both date from the Roman Imperial period.

Meter Theon is attested in only two inscriptions in Lycaonia, if we do not also include the Meter Theon Zizimmene listed above. The first appears in the triple-Meter inscription from Iconium ([**2.01**, **12.01**, **26.05**]) discussed in Chapter 4. The other appears in a *bomos* from Laodicea Combusta (**26.06**). Both date to the Roman Imperial.

Meter Tymenene (**64.01**) is dedicated to in an inscription found in Ilgin (Tyriaion). This dates to the first to second centuries AD. However, a second instance of Meter

Tymenene was found in Eyüpler near Pisidian Antioch (**64.02**) on the other side of the Sultan Mountains. This dates to the Hellenistic period⁵¹.

Single instances of Meter epithets found in Lycaonia include Meter, Meter Imrougarene, and Meter Silandene. Meter (**13.05**), Meter Imrougarene (**37.01**), and Meter Silandene (**59.01**) all of which are undated and have been found in the vicinity of Laodicea Combusta. Meanwhile, Meter Kootadeia (**41.01**), found in Tepeköy, dates to the Roman Imperial period; and Meter Quadatrene (**42.01**), named after an imperial estate near Laodicea Combusta (Calder 1913, 10-11; *MAMA* I, 24; *MAMA* IX, xxxiv and n. 5; Mitchell 1993 II, 20) and found in Konya, dates from the first to second centuries AD.

6.5. Constellations of Epithets in Phrygia

Clusters of like epithets in Phrygia include variants of Angdistis and of Tetraprosopos, as well as clusters of Meter, The Mother of Gods (Meter Theon), The Mother of Gods Kasmeine, and Meter of Kranosmegalos.

All of the numerous inscriptions in Phrygia bearing the name Angdistis in one form or other, with the exception of one, invariably come from excavations of the Angdistis Sanctuary on top of the Midas City mesa in the highlands⁵². These date to the second to third centuries AD and include the names Angdistis (**2.03—2.10**); Angdistis Thea (The Goddess Angdistis) (**4.01—4.06**); Eukteo Thea Angdistis (**6.01**); Meter Thea Angdistis (The Mother Goddess Angdistis) (**23.01—23.02**); and the Mother of Gods Angdistis (**27.01**). The Mother of Gods Angdistis was found also in southwest Phrygia at Eumenia on a monument dated to possibly the third century AD (**27.02**). It is interesting to note, however, that Angdistis the hearer, who is attested in the Roman Imperial period, is found only at Zizima in Lycaonia (**[3.01, 22.02]**) and near Sagalassos in Pisidia (**1.01**), but not in Phrygia.

⁵¹ For more on the enigmatic whereabouts of Mount Tymenaion, see Appendix: 64: Μητρὶ Τυμενηνῆ: 1.

⁵² This sanctuary is discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 4. See also Appendix: 2. Ἀνγδισί: 1-2 regarding Angdistis and the sanctuary.

Dedications to Meter have been found in a number of places in an area stretching from Mezea to Sebaste. All date to the Roman Imperial period except for an undated inscription found in Mezea (**13.06**) and at Sebaste (Selçukler) (**13.10**). The one found at Sebaste was dedicated to Helios Lairbenos and the Mother. This indicates, among other evidence⁵³, a branch cult of Apollo Lairbenos and Meter Leto, whose main sanctuary lay about 40 km to the southwest in Motella. Two inscriptions bearing the name Meter were found at the sanctuary to the Mother of Gods on Mount Türkmen Baba (**13.07—13.08**), which will be discussed below. One other Meter dedication was found at Malos (Kilise-Orhaniye) (**13.09**).

The Mother of Gods (Meter Theon) is attested across a large area spanning from Dorylaeum in the north to Augustopolis in the south, and from the Alpu district in the east to the Aezanitis in the west. At its heart, however, is the Mother of Gods sanctuary on Mount Türkmen Baba in the northern Highlands⁵⁴, where four dedications to the Mother of Gods, mostly on behalf of children, were found (**26.13—26.16**) dating to the Roman Imperial period. Two of the Meter dedications mentioned above (**13.07—13.08**) also come from here, and one is also dedicated on behalf of a son (**13.08**). In nearby Sandık Özü, there is also a Roman Imperial period dedication to the Mother of Gods (**26.12**). Roman Imperial dedications to the Mother of Gods were also found at Yeniköy-Göçenoluk (**26.09—035**) and at Akoluk (**26.11**). A second or third century dedication at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum comes from Cotyaem (Kütahya) (**26.08**). To the southwest, and north of Aizanoi, an altar mentioning a door dedication was found at Tepecik dating to either the Sullan or Actian era (**26.07**). A stele bearing the name of the Mother of Gods along with several other deities was brought from the museum at İnönü to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (**26.17**); and it dates to the second or early third century AD. Meanwhile, a stele dedication brought from the Alpu region to the Eskişehir Archaeological museum dates to the second century AD (**26.18**). There is also an undated *bomos* dedication that was found at Gülüşlu (**26.19**). Further south, in what may be in the vicinity of Augustopolis, a stele dedication (**26.20**) dating to the first or

⁵³ See Appendix: [46] Μητρί Λητώ: 1 and the discussion concerning Meter Leto below.

⁵⁴ For more on the Türkmen Baba sanctuary, see Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 4.

early second century AD was found. These do not include the epithet, the Mother of Gods, in combination with another name, such as The Mother of Gods Kasmeine.

Three dedications made to the Mother of Gods Kasmeine were found distributed across a far smaller area (see Map 12). One stele dedication dated to the Roman Imperial period was found during excavations at a *höyük* 16 km east of Afyon Karahisar (**31.01**). The remaining two dedications were found at Acmonia to the west. These were both made according to commands perhaps via dreams (van Stratten 1976, 13); and the first, now at the Louvre, dates to the Roman Imperial period (**31.02**), while the second is undated (**31.03**). It is the iconography and the peculiar wording of the latter piece (**31.03**) that has been equated with the iconography of a dedication to Tetraprosopos discussed below and found further north in the Upper Tembris (**67.01**).

Seven dedications made to Meter apo Kranosmegalos (**44.02—44.08**) plus one made to the Mother of Gods Kranosmegalos (**32.01**) have been found in an area spanning from Dorylaeum and south to a village north of Nakoleia, and then further south to Doğlat Köyü, which is north of Docimeum. One outlying dedication to Meter Kranomegalos (mentioned above) was found to the east in Çerkes/Karalar in Galatia (**44.01**). Curiously enough, none of the nine monuments from which we have these epithets have been dated.

Meter Leto is attested in three monuments from western and southwestern Phrygia in the vicinity of Dionysopolis and in at least one inscription from Sebaste. The main sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, which may have been shared with Meter Leto, was situated near Dionysopolis; and there was a branch sanctuary around Sebaste about 40 km away⁵⁵. Monument **46.01**, excavated at Bahadınlar in the Dionysopolitan valley, is undated, and its inscription mentions a stoa dedicated to Helios Apollo Lairbenos and Meter Leto. **46.02** is an intriguing “confession” ex-voto from Dionysopolis (Ortaköy) that may date to around AD 165/166 (Buckler, 1914-16,

⁵⁵ See Appendix: 46. Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1.

172-173, no. 2). The third monument is a stele found at nearby Bekili (**46.03**) dated to AD 139/140. A fourth attestation comes in the form of a stele inscription thanking the goddess, the Nemeseis, and sacred nymphs for curing “a great illness” (**46.04**). It dates to the third century AD and was seen at Sivaslı (Sebaste). Additionally, the Meter of the dedication to Helios Lairbenos and Meter found at Selçukler (Sebaste) (**13.10**) listed above is most likely Meter Leto.

Meter Tetrprosopos (literally “the Mother of Four Faces”)⁵⁶ appears as either Thea Tetrprosopos (The Goddess Tetrprosopos); Meter Tetrprosopos; or just Tetrprosopos. A Roman Imperial period dedication to Thea Tetrprosopos at the Eskişehir Archaeological Museum is said to come from one of the villages near Eskişehir (**9.01**; Macpherson 1954, 11 n. 2). An undated dedication to Meter Tetrprosopos was found at Keskin, Dorylaeum (Eskişehir) (**62.02**). One other dedication to Meter Tetrprosopos found to the southeast in southwestern Galatia (**62.01**) is mentioned above. Additionally, there are three intriguing carved works in stone from the vicinity of Eskişehir, Seyitgazi, and Çiftiler that Akyürek Şahin (Akyürek Şahin 2012, 1-9) considers to be representations of this goddess. Finally, as noted above, there is a Roman Imperial period dedication to Tetrprosopos from the Upper Tembris in Çalköy (Zafertepe) (**67.01**) that shares some iconographic and epigraphic peculiarities with the Meter Theon Kasmine monument from Hasanköy (**31.03**) (*MAMA* XI, no. 131). Hasanköy and Çalköy are only about 35 km apart.

Pairs of like epithets found in Phrygia include those of Thea Meter (The Mother Goddess), Meter Kiklea, Meter Leto, and Meter apo Spelou. Close to Dorylaeum, we come upon the domain of Meter apo Speleou (The Mother of the Cave). Before the cave sanctuary of Meter apo Speleou was finally discovered at Ahılar, Robert insightfully guessed that a Roman-Imperial-period *bomos* dedicated to this goddess (**61.01**), which ended up in the Izmir Museum inventory, came from somewhere in the vicinity of Dorylaeum (Robert 1955, 110-113, Pl. XVII.3 (front), XVII.1 (left side), Pl. XVIII.1 (squeeze), and XXIII.3 (upper front with inscription)). A second, but undated, dedication to the goddess was discovered at the sanctuary Ahılar (**61.02**)

⁵⁶ For more on this meter, see Appendix: [67] Τετραπρόσωπος: 1.

itself. Meanwhile, Meter Kikleia appears to be a goddess of the Upper Tembris (see Map 11); and dedications have been found at Soa (**40.01**) and Pusan (**40.02**). The former dedication dates to the Roman Imperial period, whereas the latter dates anywhere from the Hellenistic to the 2nd century AD. Thea Meter has been attested in the greater Aezanatis at Emet (**8.01**: [μ]ητρι θεᾶ) and at Gediz (Kadoi) (**8.02**: Θεᾶ μητρι) in two undated dedications

At the same time, single occurrences of epithets abound in Phrygia. Meter Akreane is attested in an undated monument found at Dorylaeum (**14.01**). Meter Bedduton is known from a stele dated to the second to third century; and it was brought to the Eskişehir Museum from Ahıler (**18.01**). From south of Eskişehir at Süpren Köyü is a *bomos* dedication to Zeus, Mēn, and Meter Menos (**50.01**). This dates to the Roman Imperial period. A dedication to Meter Som[.]ene was found during excavations at Şarhöyük in Eskişehir (Dorylaeum) (**60.01**). It is dated to the Roman Imperial period prior to AD 212. Meter Thermene is known only from an undated stele at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum that came from Doğançayır (formerly Arap Ören) (**25.01**). Meter Kallippou is known from a Hellenistic inscription copied in the vicinity of Nacoleia (**39.01**). Meter Kybele is mentioned in a dedication on behalf of oxen found at Nakoleia (Seyitgazi) and dated to the second century AD (**45.01**). A late Roman Imperial dedication to the Meter Malene is said to come from Orhan-Kilise which has been equated with ancient Malos (**49.01**); and the Meter mentioned in monument **13.09** found at Orhan-Kilise could perhaps also be considered as the Meter Malene (*Highlands* 319 no. 52). Meter Peprozetene is known from an undated dedication found in the vicinity of Emir Dağ (**54.01**). Meter Pontanene is known from an inscription found at Gemiç in the Kümbet Valley (**57.01**). Finally, there is an undated dedication to Meter Tieiobeudene found in a village north by northeast of Seyitgazi (**63.01**). Meter Theon Zingotene is known from an inscription of the third century AD copied at Doğalar in the Upper Tembris (**30.01**). Meter Makaria Osia Dikaia is known from an undated *bomos* found at Akçaköy (**48.01**). A variant spelling of Meter Oreia (the Mountain Mother) was found on a stele dated to the second half of the first century on the Girei Ovası which separates the plain of Aezani from Cotiaeum (**52.01**). Meter Gonane is known from a large *bomos* found north by northwest of Emet at Ayvalı (**19.01**) and dated to around the second

century. The elusive Meter Es[- - -] is attested on a small undated *bomos* discovered at Aydıncık, which is northwest of Aizanoi (21.01). We know of the Meter Thea Epiktetos from an undated monument found at Aizanoi itself (24.01). Meter Theon Steunene is known from a much discussed inscription seen by Buresch in Kadoi (Gediz) (36.02). An undated dedication to Meter Kouanene was found at Aizanoi (43.01). A Roman Imperial period dedication to Meter Salsadoudene was copied in southwestern Phrygia at Kabalar, which may have been Salouda (58.01).

6.6. Constellations of Epithets in Pisidia

In northern and central Pisidia, the closest thing one finds to a cluster is in connection with Meter Veginos. In addition to one instance of Meter Veginos are two attestations of the Mother of Gods Veginos, and a single instance of simply Veginos. The Mother of Gods Veginos is found on two *tabula ansata* pieces (34.01—34.02) dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 169-180) and discovered at the Zindan Cave sanctuary in the upper reaches of the Eurymedon River (Köprü Çay)⁵⁷. Timbriada was most likely the chief urban center in the vicinity connected with the sanctuary⁵⁸. Also found at the Zindan Cave sanctuary is a limestone base dating to the second half of the second century AD and bearing the name O.ΕΓΕΙΝΟΥ (66.01). Meter Vegna (or Vetna) was attested on an undated limestone block with a seated female relief at Ararım (now called Kolkorum) southwest of Lake Beyşehir (53.01).

Angdistis is also found in Pisidia. An undated inscription mentioning the Goddess Angdistis was discovered at Örenköy (Viranköy) (3.07). Meanwhile, a Roman Imperial period dedication to the Goddess Angdistis who hears was found at Bağsaray (formerly Arvalı köyü) (1.01).

⁵⁷ For more on the location of this remote sanctuary and its remains, see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινῶ: 1.

⁵⁸ For more on Timbriada and its connection with the sanctuary, see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινῶ: 2.

Two dedications to Meter Theon include a stele dedication seen in Burdur (**26.21**) and a *bomos* found at Karamanlı (**26.22**) featuring a hexameter dedicated to the goddess. The first dedication dates to the first or early second century AD and the second dates to AD 134-5. The Mother of Gods is also documented on dice-oracle monuments found throughout the southern central Anatolian plateau, particularly in Pisidia. The dice-oracle inscriptions, as mentioned in Chapter 3, are not collected in this catalogue, as they have already been collected by Nollé in his work, *Kleinasiatische Losorakel* (2007). The Mother of Gods also appears in funerary contexts at Termessus (CCCA I, 222 no. 745, 226 no. 748). However, as Termessus lies in southern Pisidia, a region not included in this study, these are also not included in the catalogue.

Meter Oreia (The Mountain Mother) is attested in an undated dedication seen at Bağlu (**52.02**) to the southwest of Pisidian Antioch and on a *bomos* of the second century AD from the Burdur district (**52.03**) and now at the Burdur Archaeological Museum. Interestingly, the former is dedicated according to an oracular prescription in connection with a vision or appearance of the deity (κατὰ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ / χρηματισθεῖς), and the second is dedicated according to a dream (κατ' ἐπιταγὴν / (vv.) ὀνείρου). Visions could occur in dreams, waking states, or something in between; and oracular terminology “may also be used for the prescriptions given by a god in a dream” (van Stratten 1976, 13-14). Notably, the Mother of Gods Veginos from the Zindan Cave sanctuary listed above (**34.01**) is described as “the appearing goddess”, thus echoing to some extent the language of **52.02**. The importance given to visions and dreams may be a rather particular characteristic of northern Pisidia. However, it could be argued that the divine commands mentioned in dedications found in other regions could also occur in dream states (van Straten 1976, 13). The only other Meter Oreia listed in the catalogue comes from further north in Phrygia (**52.01**) as noted above. Not included, however, is the Meter Oreia attested at Karain Cave in southern Pisidia (CCCA I, 227 no. 751, no. 748).

There exists yet another pair, that of Meter Tymenene, already mentioned above. These were found on either side of the Sultan Mountains (**64.02** and **LY 030**).

In addition are the sole occurring finds of epithets. An undated inscription bearing the name of the Thea Meter (the Mother Goddess) was found at Çiçekler (Karacahisar) (8.03). Meter Alassene⁵⁹ appears on a first or second century *bomos* from Karamanlı (15.01). A second to third century stele dedication to Meter Thermeon (Mother of the Thermal Springs) was found at Yeşilova (25.02); and a stele dedication to Meter Thermene found in Phrygia (25.01) is already mentioned above. A dedication to the Mother of Gods who listens was found in the vicinity of Gönen (Konane) and dated to the Roman Imperial period (28.01). There is a rock-cut dedication to Meter Kadmene at Çal Tepe dated to the second to third centuries AD (38.01). Additionally, a *bomos* dedication to Meter Poluettene was found at Bademli and dated to the Roman Imperial period (56.01).

6.7. The Process of Decentralization from the Persian Conquests up Until the End of the Roman Imperial Period

The distribution of Meter epithets in the Roman Imperial period suggests a plurality of localized Meter cults in central Anatolia. This fragmentation is reflected in the acephalous character of this region, not only in terms of religion, but also geopolitics, social structures, and culture. In this section, we will look for indications of decentralization over the course of the centuries from the time of the Persian conquests up into the Roman Imperial period. The collapse of the Middle Phrygian proto-state will be discussed in connection with the symbolic weight of it.

Meanwhile, the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian, Hellenistic, and Roman Imperial periods will be evaluated according to evidence from Gordion, as Gordion's sequence of settlements during these periods has been studied. Finally, we will consider whether the embrace of Graeco-Roman culture in central Anatolian towns and cities and the building of Roman roads was substantial enough to indicate that Anatolians lived at the peripheries of the Roman Empire.

The fall of Phrygia's stratified proto-state in the Iron Age, in which the kingdom was centralized and highly complex, had already begun at Gordion under Lydian

⁵⁹ For the Hittite origins of the name Alassene, see Catalogue: [15] Μητρι Ἀλασσηνῆ: 15.01.

domination (Dusinberre 2019, 109) in the Middle Phrygian II period by the time of the Persian invasion and conquest of Anatolia c. 546 BC⁶⁰. Evidence from Gordion suggests some major changes under Persian rule. However, the move towards a more egalitarian and decentralized state appears to have been realized once the Achaemenid empire itself collapsed.

In the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period, Gordion appears to have expanded to its greatest extent in terms of land-area size, but its Middle Phrygian period status was reduced to that of a second-tier city in the wide network of the Persian empire (Dusinberre 2019, 110, 121). One very noticeable change that came around the time of the Persian conquest was that the construction of tumuli at Gordion and the grand rock-cut facades in the highlands came to a halt. Their conspicuous mark on the Anatolian landscape in addition to their loaded symbolism warrants some further discussion here.

At least four monumental rock-cut facades in the highlands were left abruptly unfinished⁶¹. Berndt-Ersöz points out that the Middle Phrygian II (600–540 BC) settlement at Midas City may have ended for the same reasons and around the same time that Gordion's Küçük Höyük was destroyed. If the Persian conquests are connected with these events, she proposes 547/546 BC to be the date when the four monumental facades were abandoned (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 142). Since the facades are among the most visually striking of Phrygian monuments in the highlands, and since they appear to have referred to the combined powers of Phrygian rulers and the Mother cult, they deserve some attention here.

The monumental rock-cut architectural facades that became part of the countryside, especially in the Middle Phrygian period spanning the eighth to sixth centuries BC,

⁶⁰ Cf. Midas City during Lydian rule, which appears to be the main cult center in Phrygia and highly subsidized (Berndt-Ersöz 2009, 15). For the date of the Persian capture of Sardis, see Greenewalt 1992, 257; and Cahill and Greenewalt 2016, 493-494. Cf. Berndt-Ersöz 2009, 15 for Midas City during Lydian rule, which appears to be the main cult center in Phrygia and highly subsidized.

⁶¹ Arslankaya, near Emre Gölü (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 142, 222 no. 16); the Burmeç facade, near Emre Gölü (*ibid.* 225 no. 18); the Unfinished Monument at Midas City (*ibid.* 236 no. 34); and the Areyastis Monument at Midas City (*ibid.* no. 37). See also Thonemann 2013, 11.

were strategically-placed referents to Phrygian royalty and power (Roller 2009, 3f). The intricate geometric patterns on the Midas Monument façade at Midas City, or on the monuments of Arslankaya and Büyük Kapıkaya among others, bring to mind the geometric motifs of the furniture found in royal tumuli at Gordion⁶². Thus, the motifs provided a visual link between the facades and Phrygian royalty (Roller 2009, 4). The Midas Monument at Midas City (Yazılıkaya) bears the names of Midas and Matar (the Phrygian Mother, *cf.* Meter) inscribed in Phrygian. In the inscription along the pediment's right gable is a dedication by Ates to what may be a posthumous and deified Midas, who died in the early seventh century BC (Roller 1999, 100-102)⁶³. "Matar" is inscribed in several places around the central niche which may have housed the cult statue (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 232-233 no. 30; Munn 2006, 77). Munn interprets the pairing of Midas with Meter as the complementary relationship of ideal kingship and the nurturing forces in nature; and thus, the Midas Monument "would be a monument to sovereignty and divinity intertwined" (Munn 2016, 79)⁶⁴.

Additionally, the association with Phrygian royalty strongly suggested divinely approved rule (Munn 2006, 331). The pairing of royalty with Meter could easily have been inspired by the yoking of Kubaba with the Neo-Hittite rulers of Carchemisch; not only did the images of felines and raptors suggest the Meter's mastery over the wilder aspects of nature (Roller 1999, 108, 114), but they also associated her with classic Near Eastern symbols of aristocracy and especially aristocratic hunting

⁶² For the Midas Monument, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 349 fig. 50; for the Arslankaya and Büyük Kapıkaya monuments, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 333-334 fig. 27-28; and for the furniture from the Midas Mound at Gordion, see Simpson 1996, 190-205 figs. 2-3, 7, 9, Pls. 59b, 60, 61b-d, 63a.

⁶³ For the dating of the monument, which ranges from close to the beginning of the seventh century BC to the first half of the sixth century BC, see the bibliography in Munn 2016, 77 n. 87.

⁶⁴ The legacy of this pairing of the Phrygian king Midas with as formidable an ally as Meter did not go unnoticed in the wider world and in later periods. In Justin's account, Midas' investment in religious cults in turn "protected him more effectively than could an armed guard" (Justin 11.7.14; Munn 2006, 88-89). Midas' kingdom made an impression on Greek memory as being what Munn calls "the prototype of Asiatic sovereignty" (Munn 2006, 67). Lydian Sardis was seen by Greeks in the Classical period as the seat of impressive power and tyranny during the Mermnad dynasty; and that Lydia was part of Midas' dominion before Gyges rose to power was not overlooked (Munn 2006, 67; see also Roller 1999, 131). According to Munn, the Mother was most likely installed at the old Council House in the Athenian agora only after Athens began flirting with the idea of empire precipitated by Alcibiades' tyrannical ambitions and his triumphant return from exile in 408 BC (Munn 2006, 319-330); and conversely, the goddess had been formerly been rejected by Athenians primarily because of her association with Lydian and Persian tyranny (2006, 317).

pursuits (Roller 2009, 3-4). Essentially, they signified conspicuous extensions of the royalty's domain into the Phrygian countryside under the divine protection of Meter. This imposed the rulers' claim "on cult spaces in landscape settings that were already venerated as sacred" (Roller 2009, 4).⁶⁵

The bird of prey in Phrygian iconography has been interpreted to signify divine-approved sovereignty. Munn notes that birds of prey in the wider iconographic repertoire of the Eastern Mediterranean in the first millennium BC are also loaded with associations of divine sovereignty, and certainly with respect to the founding of the Mermnad dynasty in Lydia (Munn 2006, 85-86 and also nn. 109-110; see also Rein 1993, 14-15 and n. 29). Noteworthy is the eagle featured in Arrian's account of the Phrygian legend of the Gordion Knot, in which the maiden who turns out to be the Phrygian Mother plays a major role (Arr. *Anab.* 2.3.1-6). The eagle serves as an auspicious omen foretelling the divine-approved sovereignty of Midas over the Phrygians (Munn 2006, 83-86; Roller 1984, 264-265).

Both Meter and even the Phrygian king Midas have been associated with the Anatolian landscape. Meter herself, sometimes referred to as Meter Oreia (The Mountain Mother), or with the names of mountains sacred to her in her epithets, has certainly been associated with the landscape, and in particular with mountains, thermal springs, and caves (*Highlands*, 110-111; Roller 2009, 1; 1999, 113-115; Munn 2006, 73-75). The association of King Midas with landscape is not as direct. However, Munn, under a chapter subheading aptly named "The Land of Midas" (Munn 2006, 66-73), draws from a number of myths concerning Midas as well as from the Homeric epigram to the king when poetically concluding that the epigram on his tomb described the forces of nature as reminders of his former greatness. Midas' more widespread monuments were springs and rivers, and even beds of reeds that whispered his name in the wind. One could say that the memory of Midas had

⁶⁵ For the tradition of yoking Meter with tyrants from the Phrygian to Roman periods, see the subsequent subsection titled "The Universal Mother and the Sovereign State" below.

become a feature of the natural landscape (Munn 2006, 77).

The Mother's domain over the wilds is implied, on one level, by the predators often depicted alongside her or in her grasp. The animals are to be seen as positive, as Roller suggests, because they are subordinate to her power (Roller 1999, 108); and they are nurtured by her⁶⁶. As for Midas, it is worth noting that his son Lityerses, according to one myth, is said to have bestowed upon the world the gift of agriculture (Munn 2006, 69 n. 56, and p. 79). Agriculture, in one sense, can be seen as another sort of dominion over the wild.

The dramatic settings of the royal monuments evoke a timelessness that any visitor to the region today can confirm; and Roller interprets the combined effect of setting and monument as giving the sense that "the cult of the Mother and her predators was an eternal part of the Anatolian landscape" (Roller 2009, 5). This evocation of timelessness that Roller intuitively alludes to no doubt increased with each subsequent period, as the age in which the monuments were erected slipped back further and further in time. Thus, by visually aligning themselves with Meter, not only had the rulers of Phrygia extended their domain into the landscape, but into the eternal. It is for this reason that the fall of the Phrygian elite, their centralized and lucrative state, and their funded monuments seem all the greater, as if fallen from a state of immortality and from divine approval itself.

The extra-mural tumuli covered in steppe grasses at Gordion also evoke this timeless sense. Nonetheless, DeVries notes that the date of the last tumulus at Gordion, Tumulus A (c. 540-530), corresponds to the city's diminished status in the region as Daskyleion and Kelainai became the capitals of the Persian Satrapies in Phrygia (DeVries 2005, 53; Thonemann 2013, 3, 10f, 21; Dusing 2019, 121). The construction of tumuli ceased early in the period under Achaemenid rule (i.e. the Late Phrygian period spanning from c. 540 to 330 BC). Marston describes the city's

⁶⁶ Cf. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's negative, albeit colorful, impression of Meter as neither maternal nor even approachable (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1931, 178).

shift “from Gordion as a center to Gordion as a distant node in a much larger economic network” (Marston 2012, 384).

Nevertheless, Gordion was part of a wider network. Exotic and imported artifacts including seals found at Gordion and dating to the Late Phrygian/Achaemenid period indicate increased economic and bureaucratic links to the outside world in the fifth and fourth centuries (Marston 2012, 384 and nn. 58-59; Thonemann 2013, 12; Dusinger 2019, 113-121, and figs. 9 and 14 for the seals).

Already by the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period, the steeply stratified social hierarchies of Gordion collapsed, and small-scale industry replaced the highly centralized palace-controlled textile production of the Early and Middle periods (800-540 BC) (Thonemann 2013, 11-12; Dusinger 2019, 116). The houses of the Late Phrygian period Gordion differed with respect to construction, layout, and contents “from one part of the site to another, reflecting variation in wealth, the kinds of activities conducted, and perhaps ethnicity” (Voigt 2002, 194-195).

Another noticeable phenomenon during Achaemenid rule is that land use around Gordion began to change from an intensive agricultural system to intensive pastoralism (Thonemann 2013, 11-12; Miller 2011, 314-315, 320-121). Bone finds suggest four times as many sheep and goats than in any other period. The land was overgrazed; and the shift from wheat to barley cultivation suggests the need to fodder all those ovicaprids (Dusinger 2019, 118-120; *cf.* Miller 2011, 314-315; Marston 2012, 193-195, n. 109). Gordion may have played a part of the Persian empire’s food-supply network, and livestock was likely to have been shipped overland via the northern branch of the Achaemenid Royal Road (Dusinger 2019, 120-121, 127).

The Hellenistic period, however, saw a reduction in the number of ovicaprid bones by two-thirds, and this may have been connected with a dwindled population size. Following the fall of the Achaemenids, everything about Gordion appears to have been down-sized; but at the same time, this was not necessarily negative. For

instance, the land was no longer overgrazed (Dusinberre 2019, 126). The evidence for Hellenistic Gordion suggests that subsistence farming was the norm, and that diverse, albeit small-scale, agricultural strategies met the dietary needs of the population (Dusinberre 2019, 126-127). Notably, the produce of this type of farming, which ripens in small quantities at different times of the year, is not something an imperial state would go to the trouble of confiscating. In any case, another perceivable change at Gordion was that trade along the Sangarios River replaced the overland routes of the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period; and the Royal Road had fallen into disuse, while Near Eastern imports ceased (Dusinberre 2019, 126-127). Half of the local seals found were made of locally quarried alabaster. The seals from this period were associated with particular domestic or industrial functions; and this contrasted with the seals of the previous period, which were made of exotic luxury materials and associated, rather, with specific individuals (Dusinberre 2019, 125-126, fig. 24). Private household cult, and perhaps Hellenic-influenced dining clubs associated with the Mother, replaced public ceremonies and festivals (Dusinberre 2019, 125). What is probably the most interesting difference of all, however, are the changes in housing. The administrative and public buildings from the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period fell out of use and were never replaced. Nevertheless, they supplied construction materials for new houses (Dusinberre 2019, 121). The houses from the late fourth century BC to the third quarter of the third century BC clustered in a way that resisted any uniform street plan (Dusinberre 2019, 121-122, fig. 122); and although modest, they contrasted with the “pit houses” of the Achaemenid/Late Phrygian period:

They offered more space and light—and by their very positioning, directly above what had been set-aside public space, they bespeak a kind of personal, non-elite autonomy not previously in evidence (Dusinberre 2019, 121).

This new housing arrangement suggests that the steep social stratification of the Middle Phrygian period had by now flattened; and this, along with the other changes mentioned for the Hellenistic period, suggests a shift towards local empowerment with respect to subsistence, trade, and religion.

The Roman period at Gordion was characterized by a dispersed, albeit dense, rural population in Gordion’s hinterland in both upland and lowland areas (Kealhofer

2005, 148; Miller and Marston 2014, 764). The settlement itself included a Roman military presence. It was, however, moderately prosperous, probably on account of there being paid soldiers, especially in Roman Phase 3 spanning from c. AD 70/75-110/120; and it was connected to the outside world by way of the Roman road linking it with the two major cities of Roman Galatia, Ankara and Pessinus, as well as Dorylaeum to the west (Goldman 2005, 60-66; 2007; Bennett and Goldman 2009, 35-43). Land use in the Roman period became intensively extractive and unsustainable⁶⁷, with higher risks taken to maximize production, especially of wheat, probably to pay off taxes or feed Roman campaigns and garrisons in Anatolia (Bennett and Goldman 2009, 42; Marston 2012, 395-397 nn. 111-114; Bennett 2013, 316-317, 327-328; Miller and Marston 2014, 771).⁶⁸ Archaeobotanical results suggest that irrigation may have been used to offset the risk of focusing on drought-sensitive wheat production (Miller and Marston 2014, 769-770). In any case, Roman Gordion was no longer the regional center it was in its Middle Phrygian period heyday.

By the first century BC, however, a number of small cities in the region began to mint their own coinage, produce honorific inscriptions, and have the monumental civic architecture and the political offices of a Hellenic polis (Thonemann 2013, 28-35, and for the coins, see nn.105-109, and Kelp 2013, 88-91; Mitchell 1993 I, 225). Meanwhile, by the time Antony installed Amyntas, a Galatian native of Anatolia (Mitchell 1976, 410), as king of Galatia, Lycaonia, and part of Pamphylia around 37/36 BC (Dio Cass. 49.32.3), “the Celtic Galatian élite had adopted the trappings of Hellenistic culture” (Cooley 2009, 7). Thonemann notes that “it mattered intensely” to the inhabitants of smaller cities such as Blaundos⁶⁹ that their city, on the Phrygian-Lyidian border, met the expectations of how a proper Hellenic or Graeco-Roman city ought to be (Thonemann 2013, 35). After all, Blaundos could boast of having its own monumental architecture, mostly dating from the Flavian period and following

⁶⁷ Marston suggests that such aggressive strategies may have contributed to “the abandonment of Gordion during much of the later first millennium C.E.” (Marston 2012, 395).

⁶⁸ For meat consumption analyses in connection with food provided to Roman garrisons, see Çakırlar and Marston 2019, 100-101.

⁶⁹ Thonemann estimates, based on a comparison with the Lycian city Kyaneai, that the total population of Blaundos was around 5,000 with one-fourth residing at the urban center (Thonemann 2013, 34; and for Blaundos in general, see Filges 2003, 35-50; and Can 2017, 73-82).

earthquake damage in the first century AD, including a theatre, gymnasium, stadium, and temples (Thonemann 2013, 32; Filges 2003; 2006, 36, fig. 15; Can 2017, 77, 80). The euergetism, or benefaction, of elites who contributed by way of property or funds was no doubt welcomed (Swain 1996, 1-2); thus the elites can be seen as their city's cultural leaders and the inhabitants can be seen as residing in a city of a Hellenic polis-culture and prestige (Thonemann 2013, 34-35). Considering all of this at face value, it appears that Anatolia's process of decentralization beginning with the Persian conquest was coming to a close. Closer inspection, on the other hand, suggests that the polis-like characteristics of small cities in central Anatolia were hardly of enough substance to fundamentally alter the fragmentation of the region. As we shall see, the lands of Greater Phrygia remained for the most part rural, without the urban centers to lead the region closer, whether economically, or culturally, towards the Roman world (Mitchell 1993 I, 165f; Roller 2009, 6).

Many of the small cities which appear to be urban could hardly be differentiated from agro-towns or villages. For instance, Blaundos did not appear to have an economy based on agricultural surplus from a dependent rural hinterland (Filges 2006, 189-197, 321-327, nos. 2-9; Thonemann 2013, 32-34). Moreover, the population of Blaundos, for all its monumental structures, has been calculated at only around 5,000 (Thonemann 2013, 34). The more impressive public buildings were made possible with the generosity of two very rich Roman benefactors, judging from honorific inscriptions; the city did not appear to have an economy based on agricultural surplus from a dependent rural hinterland (Filges 2006, 189-197, 321-327, nos. 2-9; Thonemann 2013, 32-34)⁷⁰. It is interesting to compare Blaundos' population with Mitchell's estimate of 200-1000 as being the population size typical of a village in the Anatolian highlands based on the logistics and limits of dry-farming in the Roman Imperial period (Mitchell 1999, 33). Thonemann, noting the smaller populations and economies of the region as a whole, argues that the

⁷⁰ Cf. Scott's assessment of what appear to be hierarchal subgroups among the Karen, Kachin, Chin, Hmong, Yao/Mien, and Wa hill peoples in southeast Asia. He writes,

“their political structures are, with extremely rare exceptions, imitative in the sense that while they may have the trappings and rhetoric of monarchy, they lack the substance: a taxpaying subject population or direct control over their constituent units, let alone a standing army” (Scott 2009, 22).

“urbanism”, of many Phrygian cities, is only “a mirage” (Thonemann 2013, 31f)⁷¹. Levick draws a similar conclusion after weighing the modest differences in the number of dedications and “doorstone” type grave monuments from Aizanoi and the rural Upper Tembris (Levick 2013, 48 n. 56; see also *MAMA* IX, xxxiii). Mitchell finds little difference between rural and urban centers in northern Lydia and northern Phrygia as the epigraphy of the smaller cities “is often almost indistinguishable from that of the villages which surrounded them” (Mitchell 1993 I, 225; cf. Riel 2003a, 79f.). Furthermore, there are only a few “large-scale civic benefactions by leading families, except at Ancyra and the larger Phrygian cities of Synnada, Apamea, Hierapolis, and Laodicea” (Mitchell 1993 I, 225)⁷². The leading figures in the region, instead of being “of a significant local aristocracy” to the extent one finds in other parts of Asia Minor and the eastern Roman Empire, are rather absentee land-owners, emperors included, and their slave or freedmen agents (Magie 1950b, 1325-1327, 1426-1427, and 1548-1549; Mitchell 1999, 37-38), namely, the administrators of rural imperial and private estates in large rural stretches of central Anatolia void of cities⁷³. Moreover, an absence of strong law-enforcing polis institutions is compensated for in the culture of the much discussed “confession inscriptions”, as these express villagers’ concerns for morality and justice and a need for self-regulation (Levick 2013, 53; Mitchell 1993 I, 180; see also Riel 2003a, 79-80; de Hoz 2006, 139).

Mitchell’s statement above, enumerating “the larger Phrygian cities”, raises a further question. Surely a provincial center like Ancyra, although it sits at the northeastern edge of the area included in this study, would have drawn the peripheries of the region into its core. Judging from the variety of Meter cult epithets throughout central Anatolia, Ancyra did not have much of a say regarding the cults of the

⁷¹ And especially p. 36 for the conditions Constantine laid out for the village of Orkistos (near Nacoleia) before granting it the status of a polis. “It is telling that Constantine felt the need to emphasize that Orkistos had a large body of ‘permanent residents’: apparently this could not be taken for granted in early fourth-century Phrygia.”

⁷² Two of these four cities, Hierapolis and Laodicea, lay outside of the regions represented in the catalogue. For the limits of urbanization in Pisidia, see Mitchell 1991, especially 144-145.

⁷³ For more on imperial and private estates in central Anatolia, see *MAMA* IX, xxxiii-xxxv; Mitchell 1993 I, 149 until the end of the chapter; 1999, 37-46. See also Catalogue: 42. Μητρί Κουαδερηνή: **42.01**, whose epithet Quadrata refers to an imperial estate near Laodicea Combusta.

countryside.⁷⁴ Ancyra only yielded one ex-voto to the Mother of Gods (26.02) offered by Ancyran elites, but this dearth in dedications may be due to the fact that much of ancient Ancyra, in the apt words of Bennett, lies “sealed beneath” the modern city (Bennett 2006, 215). Evidence indicating to what extent the city exerted power over the region perhaps also lies beneath. However, it is worth noting that the monumental structures of the city were funded by local aristocracy, and that there are no building inscriptions specifically suggesting that any of the buildings were imperial initiatives (Bennett 2006, 208, 213, and 215).

The appeal of Graeco-Roman culture emulated by some urban elites in the Greek East⁷⁵ reached even rural areas. In Kelp’s (2013) analysis of regional variations in funerary Phrygian doorstones, she observed that depictions of *paideia* such as book-rolls and strigils occur more frequently in rural areas like the Tembris Valley, albeit side-by-side with depictions from everyday rural life, than in more developed cities such as Aizanoi or Philomelion (Kelp 2013, 79-80). *Paideia* “was how a man showed his integration into the higher levels of society” (Swain 1996, 414); and this entailed not just a grounding in any culture and education, but that of the culture, language, and literature of classical period Athens as admired and idealized by Roman rulers and elites (Swain 1996, 7, 409f). Whether the symbols of Graeco-Roman culture adorning rural monuments were expressions of ambition over reality, what is perhaps hinted at is a self-conscious awareness (Kelp 2013, 79-80) of the negative stereotypes of Phrygians held by contemporary Greeks; it could be the case that permeating this awareness was the desire to prove the unflattering misconceptions as misinformed. Kelp writes that Phrygia was seen as a backwoods “lacking the crucial elements of Graeco-Roman culture and urban *paideia*”⁷⁶ (Kelp

⁷⁴ Strangely enough, there are neither dedications to Meter found from Synnada, Apamea, nor Sagalassos, contrary to what one might expect. However, Vermaseren thought that a stele dedication to the Mother of Gods seen by Colignon at Burdur (26.21) in the nineteenth century may have come from Sagalassos (CCCA I, 759).

⁷⁵ Swain 1996, 2, 32, 34-35, 410; Spawforth 2001, 392; *cf.* for Roman Britain, Scott 2009, 225.

⁷⁶ *Cf.* Roller 2009, 6; and for stereotypical views of Lydia, see Spawforth 2001, 380-384. Scott says for upland southeast Asia: Most of the terms that we would translate as *crude*, *unrefined*, *barbaric*, and, in the Chinese case, *raw* refer directly to those who live in the hills and forests. “Forest dweller” or “hill person” is shorthand for “uncivilized” (2009, 28). Also see Phillips 2019, where Bolsonaro, with designs to further exploit the Amazon Rainforest, uses the terms “prehistoric” and “cavemen” to describe the Amazon’s indigenous people.

2013, 92). Segal noted that as early as the fourth century BC, “the city [i.e. a bigger city such as Athens] is already so much the center of human life and culture that its opposite, the country, becomes a term of reproach” and that the word for “rusticity”, ἀγροικία, is used derogatorily to signify ill-mannered boorishness, at least in Theophrastus’ play *Characters* (Segal 1963, 43). While rural upland peoples in the remoter reaches of Roman Anatolia may not have necessarily been exposed to the works of Theophrastus, the bias which regarded *polis* culture as superior may have especially been upheld by the inhabitants of smaller local cities who may have been more sensitive, anxious, and insecure about their own cultural status and that of their town or city. Nonetheless, the symbols denoting *paideia* in rural funerary monuments also illustrate that the rural Highlands were not exactly the polar opposite of the towns and cities in the region that were either Hellenized to some extent or in the process of becoming so.

It might be supposed that the network of Roman roads (in Scott’s terms, a distance-demolishing technology employed to reduce the friction of rugged terrain) would have brought central Anatolia into the Graeco-Roman cultural sphere and under imperial control (Mitchell 1999, 18). However, this had a limited effect. One indicator of this is “the active role of officials and military personnel in the administration of Roman Asia never extended far beyond the main roads” (Mitchell 1999, 46). During the increased mobilization of troops in Asia Minor between the death of Commodus and the mid third century, some rogue bands of soldiers would venture off the main roads to maraud and exploit villages, some of which were located within imperial estates (Mitchell 1999, 39-46). Still, the defecting soldiers did not stray too far from the main Roman roads, judging from where formal village petitions for protection or justice were sent (Mitchell 1999, 40-41, Table 4). Especially in more peaceful times, as Mitchell writes, troops kept to the main roads and cities as “geography imposed a rule that could not be broken” (Mitchell 1999, 39-46)⁷⁷. Mitchell noted that for the Republican period in the province of Roman

⁷⁷ To better appreciate the friction of distancing terrain in pre-industrial times compare Scott’s words concerning the premodern world where

Asia, the impact of the Roman government on the hinterland was even weaker, especially when considering how ex-consuls, having one-year terms, would be unlikely to venture far inland unless in times of crisis (Mitchell 1999, 18).

Another factor that might in theory unite widespread regions would be a common and universal religion shared by both the Romans and the people of Anatolia. Here, it would seem, Meter would surely qualify as such a unifying persona as she was adopted into the Roman pantheon upon the arrival of her cult image from Anatolia to Rome in 205 BC. The Roman exaltation of Meter must have no doubt been a cause for local Anatolian pride, and one would think, particularly for those in the lands of Phrygia. On the other hand, the numerous Meter cults in central Asia Minor strongly belie any common cause that would otherwise have been realized via the shared veneration of Meter by both imperialists and Anatolians alike. After all, the Meter of the Romans is the Great Mother mentioned in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* inscribed monumentally for all to see in Ankara and in Antioch ad Pisidium. It is she whose temple enjoyed close proximity to the house of Augustus and Livia, and it is certainly no coincidence that a portrait statue now housed at the J. Paul Getty Museum depicts the Magna Mater with the head of the empress Livia (Roller 1999, 311-313). As we have seen above, the tradition of monarch empowerment by means of being associated with Meter is at least as old as Midas. Essentially, this was the Meter of tyrants and imperial empires, and not the of the people.

The multitude of Meter cults from one locale to the next is but one indication of the lack of a central cultural core in Greater Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period. Another contemporary example of the fragmented nature of the region is the variation of funerary monuments from one town to the next. Towns would have their own unique funerary stamp with respect to wording, vocabulary, and iconography; and this would be to the extent that “it is remarkably easy to spot an inscription

“water, especially if it is calm, joins people, whereas mountains, especially if they are high and rugged, divide people. As late as 1740 it took no more time to sail from Southampton to the Cape of Good Hope than to travel by stagecoach from London to Edinburgh” (2009, 17).

which has wandered more than a few miles from its original home (a '*pierre errante*')" (Thonemann 2013, 36, and see also n. 143 regarding Phrygian "doorstones").

The process of decentralization and fragmentation begun with the Persian conquests around 550 BC appears to have continued up until the Roman period. The villages and towns in central Anatolia which aspired to become *poleis* in their own right, were at best little more than villages and towns. The Roman roads which spanned across Asia Minor and the Roman veneration of an Anatolian deity did not effectively unify and bring all the inhabitants in the region together. The landscape in central Anatolia throughout the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Imperial periods may very well resemble Scott's description of ancient geography of uplands in general: "To an eye not yet hypnotized by archeological remains and state-centric histories, the landscape would have seemed virtually all periphery and no centers. Nearly all the population and territory were outside their ambit" (Scott 2009, 5). However, for there to be a periphery, there must be a center. In other words, when there is no one strong identifiable center, the very ground one stands on becomes the center. Therefore, instead of a periphery, there are only centers, and not just one, but many. In this sense, one belongs all the more so to one's own immediate surroundings, be it a village or a whole valley.

Up until now, we have considered the plurality of Meter cults in their geo-political contexts. Essentially, we have only looked at the fact of multiple epithets, but not their semantics. As the meanings of Meter epithets can give us clues regarding the identity and social values of people living at the fringes of the state, this will be treated next.

6.8. Belonging Right Here, Local Concerns, and Good Honest Work

The meanings of Meter's epithets can provide some idea of how central Anatolians regarded their local, and usually rural, environs, and what their local concerns and values were. The epithets carrying ethnics reveal a sense of belonging and connection with specific locales. Meanwhile, the epithets which refer to natural features in the environment provide clues about attitudes in connection with the landscape. Finally, the goddess' names describing divine functions show what the general needs of her devotees may have been. These very three epithet types will be discussed in the following order: epithets which signify villages or ethnics, natural environmental features, and divine functions. However, preceding the consideration of divine functions, comparisons will be made with the phenomenon of local shrines in modern Spain.

In pondering the plurality of Greek cult epithets, Parker sensibly noted that the most basic function of an epithet was to differentiate between functions, sanctuaries, or places (Parker 2003, 177; and also Fassa 2015, 116). One powerful function that epithets can perform is to differentiate between one place and the next. The epithets of deities which carry a toponym generally do this, but toponyms are not the only means. If a local deity is associated with a specific town or region, but not anywhere else, then whatever the deity's epithet may be, it functions as a toponym insofar as particular places are evoked. The connotation of place is empowering because it can lend weight to a devotee's sense of connection and belonging to specific locales.

Versnel was very well aware of this when writing

One of the questions asked to establish Athenian citizenship in the examination of a candidate for the archonship was whether he had “an Apollo Patroios and a Zeus Herkeios, and (if so) where these sanctuaries were located” (εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων Πατρῴος καὶ Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστιν). The two gods, clearly disconnected from their Olympian namesakes and their pantheon, appear to play a major role in the construction of another type of meaningful coherence: the cultural definition of one's place of belonging (Versnel 2011, 88 and also n. 236; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3).

Nevertheless, one known-of epithet which refers to place far more directly perhaps than those which carry ethnics or toponyms comes not from Anatolia, but from Leukopetra in Macedonia. This is the Mother of Gods Autochthon (Μήτηρ Θεῶν Αὐτόχθων), discussed briefly in Chapter 4. Versnel not only translates the name as meaning “The Mother of Gods from right here”, but interprets it as “Our Mother of the Gods is autochthonous; she is not the same as the one from Asia Minor”, and he then goes on to point out that stating this “is an act of disarrangement undermining the greater unity suggested by the common name [i.e. The Mother of Gods]” (Versnel 2011, 88). This “disarrangement” is in essence a fragmentation of that which is universal. This claim “from right here” is in essence what all epithets with a toponym are claiming⁷⁸. Meter Malene is from Malos and not from Andeirene; and Meter Andeirene is not from Malos. Concerning the Mother of Gods Autochthon at Leukopetra, Fassa notices the democratization implied in this name. It was a privilege and a matter of distinction for cities during the Roman Imperial period to be the birthplace of a god; as this could bring political and financial benefit, cities such as Ephesus, Lydia, and cities in Bithynia would compete for “cultural and political primacy” via their cults (Robert 1977b, 1-39; Heller 2006; Chaniotis 2010, 2-3; Versnel 2011, 68-69 and nn. 173-176; Fassa 2015, 117). “Autochthony,” says Fassa, “was perceived as a source of local pride, but also of distinction and authority, in a period when the encompassing rule of the Roman Empire made religion an ideal arena for competitive display” (Fassa 2015, 117). In such a climate, it is likely that the villages in the hinterlands of the competing cities were aware of this, and thus, and in their own small way, found it only natural to compete with gods of their own. One may wonder, however, whether this spirit of competition ever reached the more remote villages of the central Anatolian highlands. This is rather likely, considering for example how the inhabitants of Orkistos, during the time of Constantine, had petitioned to elevate their town to the status of *polis* (Mitchell 1999, 33; Thonemann 2013, 36).

⁷⁸ The disadvantage of the epithet “from right here”, however, is that once a devotee of this Meter moves away from her place of origin, “here” becomes something other than her place of origin. For this reason, epithets bearing a toponym have an advantage, since we know exactly what locales are specified. Conversely, the epithet “from right here” would be advantageous for the Mother of Gods from right here as long as she is considered as present wherever her devotees may happen to be. In this case, the name would have by default the added benefits of portability. For more on the portability of epithets, see Parker 2003, 177-178.

Competition, in any case, may not have been the only motive for the plurality of epithets in central Asia Minor. The importance of belonging to the landscape and of having local needs addressed were likely reasons for the many local varieties of Meter, especially if that landscape was politically fragmented in actuality, but only unified nominally. Having discussed epithets containing village toponyms, we will now consider epithets which signify natural features in the environment.

As noted above, the pairing of Phrygian royalty and Meter in the Phrygian periods was an empowering act for the elites of Phrygian society. Not only did royalty secure the blessings and endorsement of the goddess, but their rule extended into the wilder landscapes under Meter's domain. Over and beyond taming the land with agriculture, with Meter's blessing and help, the Phrygian ruling elite could be seen as having tamed the mountains and animals of prey. With the flattening of hierarchal structures following the collapse of Phrygian power, however, such empowerment could be realized by the people. The inhabitants themselves could create bonds themselves with even the more foreboding parts of the landscapes in which they lived; and they could feel at home and protected under Meter's watchful maternal eye⁷⁹. Moreover, with their mother's blessing, their lands may become fertile, however harsh the conditions or climate (*cf.* Ramsay 1908, 131-132).

The value of belonging and of feeling some measure of security even in challenging wilderness environments is not to be underestimated⁸⁰. To begin with, any estrangement from rugged peaks out of dread or even aversion⁸¹ would be alleviated. Hippocrates brings to our attention a type of madness induced by wandering alone in remote and isolated landscapes:

⁷⁹ Segal highlighted some of the prevailing trends in Greek literature from the Archaic period up until the fourth century regarding views and approaches towards nature. A rough schematic of his observations are as follows: the human regard towards nature in the Archaic period was characterized by an acceptance of human helplessness, in the Classical period by a more optimistic attitude of having some measure of control in nature, and in the urbanized civilizations of the early Hellenistic period by the longing for reconciliation with nature (Segal 1963, 19-53). While central Anatolia could hardly be considered as urbanized, the desire for reconnecting with nature perhaps did not exactly apply. It may have been the case that a mixture of fatalism, having some measure of control, and a wish for a connection were all possible dispositions with regard to the wild.

⁸⁰ *Cf.* an example from Caria, in which a local mountain patrol force funds a Parthenon in honor of the Mountain Mother of Gods who listens (Roller 1999, 334-335).

⁸¹ Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1931, 177-178; in Homer: Ruskin 1863: 184, 191, *cf.* 192; and concerning Roman views: Hyde 1915, 78-79.

When bile collects in the liver . . . the patient suffers the following: his liver swells up and expands against the diaphragm. . . . And when it keeps expanding the patient becomes deranged; there seem to appear before his eyes reptiles and every other sort of beasts, and fighting soldiers, and he imagines himself to be fighting among them; he speaks out as if he is seeing such things, and he attacks and threatens. . . . When he goes to bed, he starts up out of his sleep on seeing dreadful dreams. . . . This disease usually attacks abroad, if a person is travelling a lonely road somewhere and dread seizes him because of phantoms, although it does also occur under other circumstances (Hipp. *De affectionibus interioribus* 48, modified from Porter, 2010, 303 in Kazantzidis 2018, 231).

Seeing phantoms, optical illusions, or sensing the presence of the supernatural in lonely wastes is not only an ancient phenomenon. Dodds (1951, 117) provides some modern examples as well as enumerates the mountain epiphanies experienced by ancient Greeks. Among them is Pindar's account of how the Mother of Gods approached him as a statue of herself during a storm in the mountains (Pind. *Pyth.* 3.79; cf. van Straten 1976, 14-15). Dodds then reminds us that "most of Greece was, and is, a country of small and scattered settlements separated by wide stretches of desolate mountain solitude that dwarf to insignificance the occasional farms, the ἔργα ἀνθρώπων. The psychological influence of that solitude should not be underrated" (Dodds 1951, 117). Dodd's description of Greece could apply as well to the rugged mountain ranges and high plateau of Anatolia from the Phrygian to Roman periods. Despite the network of Roman roads, with the Augustan via Sebaste being the earliest route completed in 6 BC, there remained great tracts of less accessible and remoter stretches of terrain (Mitchell 1999, 37). Moreover, via Sebaste itself traversed some long stretches of isolated terrain. Compare Ramsay's own personal description of the Anatolian steppe:

On the great level plains of the central plateau the spirit of man seems separated from the world by the mountains, and thrown back on its own nature; but it is not confined, for the idea of confinement is absolutely alien to that wide expanse, where the sole limit to the range of the human eye seems to be its own weakness of vision, where a remote mountain-peak only emphasises the sense of vastness because it furnishes a standard by which to estimate distance. The great eye of heaven, unwearying, unpitying, inexorable, watches you from its rising over the level horizon till it sinks below the same level again (Ramsay 1908, 131-132).

It is with this context in mind that we can better appreciate a stele dedication made to Meter Nounnou on behalf of members of a caravan in northwestern Galatia (**51.01**).

Dating to the second century AD, it reads:

[Λο]γγεῖν- / ος Ἀλεξ- / ἀνδρου ὕ- / πὲρ τῆς συ- / νοδίας Μ- // ἡτρί Νουν- / νου
εὐχί- / ν.

Longeinios, son of Alexandros, on behalf of the caravan, to Meter Nounnou, (in fulfillment of) a vow.

Before discussing Meter's names which evoke the natural landscape, let us consider first the ancient names of mountains. Tozer (1873, 50) brought to attention some of the old names of peaks in neighboring Greece. Not a few of these reveal to some extent the fear and awe that inspired those who named them. Tozer interpreted some of the mountain names to mean "thunder hills" (Mount Ceraunia), "the wild" (Maenalus), "whirlwind/smoke" (Typhrestus), "to terrify" (Ptoum), "to shudder" (Phrikion). Interestingly, Tozer remarked that the names of mountains "are usually among the most primitive in a country, and consequently may be derived from words or roots only partially known to the classical literature"; and he adds that such names may have also undergone some modification (Tozer 1873, 49). If some of the names of mountains in Greece, Thrace, and Asia Minor are indeed the most primitive names in those countries, then the awe and fear expressed in them may very well go very far back in time⁸².

Tozer may have inadvertently explained why the epithet Kybele has been so elusive with respect to assigning any certain meaning or locale. Yes, the name comes from an indigenous language. However, it does not seem to have undergone too much modification judging from the Phrygian inscription in the second century AD bearing the name Matar Kubeleya (**45.01**). It is probably far more likely that the meaning of the name has gone through considerable modification, which helps to explain the ambiguity and/or lack of consensus among classical writers and modern scholars

⁸² Hyde sensibly warned us, however, of judging the ancient regard for mountains based on only these epithets. He provided other early examples which reveal a light and playful spirit that went into naming some mountains according to their physical appearance such as "guitar" (Cithaeron), "cuckoo" (Coccygium), "lark" (Corydallos), or "chariot" (Harma in the Parnes range), among others (Hyde, 1915 74-75).

alike⁸³. Meanwhile the name Angdistis may have something to do with a mountain, but this is by no means clear (see Robert 1980, 236-240; Mitchell 1993 II, 20; Appendix: [1] Ἀνγδισί: 1).

Another enigmatic epithet found in Phrygia which may very well have some connection with landscape features is that of Meter of Kranosmegalos (**44.01**—**44.08**; and the Mother of Gods Kranosmegalos: **32.01**); and it has been subject to differing interpretations. For example, Akyürek Şahin suspects that the root κρᾶνος connotes some rocky topographical feature such as an outcrop or cave (Akyürek Şahin 2007, 68-69 and n. 13), whereas Cox and Cameron (*MAMA V*, xiv) suggested that κρᾶνος could mean κρήνη rather, and thus associated this Meter with the renown hot springs of Dorylaeum and also the Mother of Thermal Springs (Meter Thermene) found at Arap Ören (Döğançayır) (**25.01**) (*MAMA V*, xiv).⁸⁴

Epithets which refer to the landscape specifically include The Mother of Gods Steunene, Meter Kadmene, and Meter Zizimmene. The Mother of Gods Steunene refers to the renown Steunene cave sanctuary at Aizanoi (**36.01**). Meter Kadmene (**38.01**), which refers to either a mountain southwest of Lake Salda in southwest Pisidia close to where the inscribed epithet was found, or a mountain to the west near Denizli (or possibly even a stream) (see Appendix: [38] Μητρὶ Καδμηνῆ: 1). There is also the frequently attested Meter Zizimmene (**22.01**—**22.13**); the Mother of Gods Zizimmene: **29.01**—**29.02**; Minerva Zizimmene: **65.01**) in Lycaonia, a local variation of Dindymene, and also named after a mountain⁸⁵.

Meter apo Speleou (The Mother of the Cave) (**61.01**—**60.02**) may sound generic, but it refers to a particular cave sanctuary at Ahılar near Eskişehir. Meter Oreia (**52.01**—**52.03**), on the other hand, appears to refer to mountains in general. Additionally,

⁸³ See the discussion pertaining to the meaning of Kybele in Chapter 4.

⁸⁴ See Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.

⁸⁵ Both the Angdisseion, sacred to Angdistis and Zizma had mines. See Chapter 4.1 for more on this.

there is Meter Thermene (25.01—25.02), which may signify, on the one hand, thermal springs in general, or on the other, the nearest one.

A Meter whose epithet contains the very name of one's own village or local mountain is brought far closer to home than could any reconstituted Meter cult touted from far-off Rome. Locals could then, as devotees of their local Meter, directly connect with the land on which they lived and as well tap into its timelessness, its *longue durée*. The use of ancient names such as Kybele no doubt evoked that timelessness. The sense of timelessness must have certainly lent weight to the sanctuary of Angdistis at Midas City in the second to third centuries AD, which was established against the backdrop of a large step altar dating as far back as the Early Phrygian period (See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισί: 1). Roller notes that “this is not a case of continuous cult, but rather a deliberate revival of a sacred landscape that recalled the earlier and more glorious days of Phrygia,” although the dedications found at the site ranged from simple if not crude to those of a higher quality than most other Highland monuments of the time (Roller 2009, 7; *Highlands*, 188; Appendix: 2. Ἀνγδισί: 3). The illusion of continuity at the Angdistis sanctuary corresponds to both Halbwachs's more general observations of a phenomenon he calls *mémoire sociale* (Halbwachs 1925, 171) and Cosmopoulos' *lieux de mémoire* (Cosmopoulos 2016, 251-278; and see also 2014, 401-427). It is probably of no coincidence that the goddess is named Angdistis, a distinctively Phrygian name. The use of this name also must have contributed to a sense of belonging.

Up until now, we have primarily addressed the topography of uplands, but the wild fauna inhabiting these also come under Meter's domain. Sensing or believing in Meter's protection alleviates any fear of the wild as well as its predators. This brings to mind the many depictions of Meter as nurturer cradling a lion cub in her lap (for example: in a Hellenistic terracotta from Gordion in CCCA I, Pl. X no. 54). Moreover, devotees could be nurtured as well and guarded under their Mother's watchful eye. What Justin wrote concerning Midas (quoted in n. 64; Justin 11.7.14; Munn 2006, 88-89), could now be applied to anyone who was a devotee of the Mother. Devotees can be better protected than if they were always escorted by armed

guards. This calls to mind the following account as told by Dioscorides, who flourished in the late third century BC (Gow 1960, 88), regarding a case of protection from predators:

Chaste Attis, the chamber-guard of Cybele, furious, giving over his mad hair to the winds, wished to come to Sardis from Phrygian Pessinus. The wild blasts of his harsh ecstasy grew cold in him⁸⁶ as he made his way through the evening darkness, and he took refuge in a sloping cave, leaving the road a bit. A lion rushed after his tracks, a fear to courageous men and an unnamable grief to a gallus. He then remained speechless out of fear, and by the inspiration of a spirit put his hands upon his drum. When this beat heavily, the most courageous of quadrupeds ran swifter than the deer, not standing to hear the heavy sound. He cried out, “Mother, by the banks of the Sangarius river I dedicate a holy chamber as an offering for saving my life, and this noisy instrument, the reason for the beast’s flight” (Dios 36; Lane 1996, 118-119 with the original Greek)⁸⁷.

One cannot help but wonder whether this story was created in an attempt to explain how the cacophonous music of Cybele-related cults came into being or whether it hints at the music’s actual origins. In any case, the cave and the lion represent the wild landscape and the beasts under the domain of Kybele. The heavy drumming, no doubt amplified by the natural acoustics of the cave, was in essence an amplification of an empowered Meter devotee, who had direct access to the goddess’ power.

A wonderful parallel with respect to local and immediate accessibility, whether to deities or their powers, can be found in the culture of local and indigenous shrines in Spain as observed by Christian in an article published in *Numen* (1977) and mentioned briefly in Chapter 4. A closer look at this, I believe, can shed some light, not only on epithets which signify one’s hometown or some feature in the surrounding landscape, but it can aid our understanding of those which distinguish divine functions. We will finally consider this third epithet type following the brief discussion of Spanish shrines below.

The shrines of provincial Spain tend to house a venerated relic or image of either a saint, the Madonna, or Christ. They have a focusing effect not unlike what Parker speaks of concerning emphasized aspects or functions of deities signified by their epithets (Parker 2003, 176). Unlike official parishes of the Catholic church, the shrines tend to be set up outside villages, to be approached

⁸⁶ For speculation on the implications of the Gallus’ ecstasy wearing off, see Gow 1960, 92 n. 33.

⁸⁷ For another Hellenistic version of this account see Lane 1996, 119-120.

in times of need or during rites of passage. Their images are more accessible and endearing to the local population, and some can even be kissed; and they are regarded with higher emotional intensity, and as honored members of their communities (Christian 1977, 73-76).

It appears, judging from the anecdotes Christian provided, that the shrines belong to the people rather than the church. Christian noted that locals treat divine figures with “more personal affectation” in the more egalitarian north of Spain, rather than in the “highly stratified” south. The difference is especially clear when looking at contemporary votive inscriptions (1977, 76). One particularly colorful example is as follows:

Devotion to specific, local divine figures may be the oldest surviving form of religion in Spain. In the process of secularization it also seems to be the last kind of devotion to go, the longest to hold on. In many places during the most recent (as of 1975) civil war, the images of the parish church were destroyed, but those of the shrine were respected. In the valley of Cabuérniga (Santander), the local “reds” declared of their shrine image of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel that “our Virgin is Communist”. As in this case, in some areas of the country the shrine is seen as indigenous and local, having an independence from the established Church and the Church’s political interests. In many parts of Andalusia, although few people attend church, the rural population is still largely involved in the complex give and take of promises, in the network of allegiances, devotions, and patronage that forms around the images of the local and regional shrines. Recent apparitions in that area have occurred in part to persons who had rarely been to mass, but who were well acquainted with the area shrines (Christian 1977, 77-78).

Two things of particular interest here are “the give and take of promises” and the “recent apparitions”. The “give and take of promises” is reminiscent of the ex-voto culture; and as expressed in some inscriptions, this culture involves visions of deities. Apparitions appear as personal experience, this calls to mind the dedications from Pisidia (one to Meter Veginos and two to Meter Oreia) in response to epiphanies, visions, or dreams (34.01, 52.02—52.03)⁸⁸. Meaningful engagement with the local landscape is experienced on a personal level. What also operates on this level are immediate concerns, hopes, fears, and dreams.

⁸⁸ Divine commands in general (e.g. κατ’ ἐπιταγὴν or κατὰ κέλυσιν), have been thought to be received by means of dreams (van Straten 1976, 12-13; Mitchell 1993 II, 12; McLean 2002, 4 no. 7; Erten and Sivas 2016, 331). Compare Tert. *De anim.* 47.2. For oracular communication from the divine throughout Asia Minor, see Mitchell 1993 II, 12-13.

One major appeal of the relics and images housed in the Spanish shrines lie in their ability to address immediate and local needs:

For many people, whether or not they have much to do with the established Church, the [local] shrine and the shrine image is the only place they can turn to in times of need, the only feasible alternative. There they can find a sure ear, always willing to listen, the comfort of a benevolent presence . . . who, if anybody can, will alleviate the danger, the anxiety, the insecurity that are all too common features of rural life. No other agency is so comprehensive in its capabilities, dealing with the trivial bother as well as the ultimate questions. No one else will listen with such patience and discretion. No one else is at once so powerful and yet knowledgeable about local conditions (Christian 1977, 78).

What is clear in the passage quoted at length above is the emphasis on having local needs met, and the importance of having an invested and listening ear, particularly regarding issues and concerns. The importance of having a listening ear is evident in epithets from central Anatolia such as “epekoo”, which means “one who hears”.

While this epithet is used in connection with other deities and sometimes without any specific deity mentioned (see Appendix: 1. Ἀνγδισει θεᾷ ἐπηκόω: 1), it is used for a number of Meter deities. These include Angdistis Epekoo ([3.01, 22.02]) at Zizima, which appears on the multiple-Meter inscription discussed in Chapter 4; Angdistis Thea Epekoo at Bağsaray near Sagalassos (1.01); the Mother of Gods Epekoo in Gönen, Pisidia (28.01) north of Sagalassos; and the Mother of Gods Satureinaia Epekoo from Pessinus in Galatia (35.01). The first three date to the Roman Imperial period, whereas the one from Pessinus is undated. It is probably of some significance that here Epekoo is applied in two cases to the Mother of Gods and in two cases to Angdistis. It is also probably of no coincidence that both the Mother of Gods and Angdistis appear together with the Great Meter Boethene ([2.01, 12.01, 26.05]) on the multiple-Meter dedication at Iconium in Lycaonia, who is addressed with other deities as a savior goddess, and is also discussed in Chapter 4.

The epithet Boethene, “the one who helps” is another example in this class of interactive/interceding functions. The one other example also comes from Iconium, and is dedicated to Boethene (5.01). We know it is likely to be the Meter Boethene, not just because the other Boethene inscription is from the same city and of the Roman Imperial period as well, but because of the two lions carved on the altar (*RECAM* IV, 5-6 no. 10, fig. 12).

A third epithet which falls in the interactive/interceding function class is Tetraprosopos. Roller interprets “Meter Tetraprosopos” (“The Mother of Four Faces”) as meaning “the Mother who sees all” (Roller 1999); while Ramsay called her the “goddess of the crossroads, who looks along the four ways” (Ramsay 1918, 167). Perhaps here we have an omniscient function, or a protective watchfulness. Three inscriptions bearing some form of Tetraprosopos come from Phrygia and one from eastern Galatia. There is a Tetraprosopos from Çalköy in the Upper Tembris Valley (**67.01**); a Roman Imperial period Thea Tetraprosopos from a village near Dorylaeum (**9.01**); an undated Meter Tetraprosopos from Keskin, Dorylaeum (**62.02**); and a Hellenistic period Meter Tetraprosopos from Seyfi Ören / Küçük Hasan in Galatia (**62.01**).

Both Thea Tetraprosopos (**9.01**) from the vicinity of Dorylaeum, and the Meter Tetraprosopos from Küçük Hasan, located south of Pessinus, appear on altar dedications on which a wreath is strung between two bucrania (**62.01**). Bucrania appear on numerous altars in the region, however, there does seem to be some relation between bulls and Tetraprosopos (for more on this, see Appendix: [67] Τετραπροσώπων: 1).

Reliefs of bucrania also feature in the iconography of altar dedications and one stele dedication from the Angdistis sanctuary at Midas City (**2.04—2.06, 4.01, 4.04—4.06, 6.01, 23.01—23.02, 27.01**)⁸⁹. There are bucrania depicted as well on monuments **13.06, 14.01, 45.01, and 61.01**, and these were dedicated to other Meters and found to the north of Midas-City. Additionally, there are monuments **26.11 and 57.01**, which were found not too far to the northwest. These are all from Phrygia. In fact, with the exception of one or two, all of the monuments with bucranium reliefs in the catalogue come from north-central and northeastern Phrygia. The exceptions are the monument from Küçük Hasan and another found to the east of it at Çatak (**22.01**). Nonetheless, Küçük Hasan lies immediately to the southeast of northeastern Phrygia.

⁸⁹ All of the monuments from the Angdistis sanctuary with bucranium reliefs are bomoi with the exception of monument **23.02**.

Notably, Haspels interprets depictions of oxen from this quarter of Phrygia as being the equivalent of a phrase found in dedications, περ(ι) βοῶν (“on behalf of the oxen”) (*Highlands* 187 n. 120, 193 n. 142)⁹⁰. The region Haspels regarded when making this observation also includes where dedications on behalf of animals were made (see below, and also Map 10).

In light of the above, what was of importance was being listened to by the one “who hears”, to be cared for by the one “who helps”, and to be acknowledged and looked after by the one who “sees in all directions”. Moreover, Meter epithets bearing the name of a village or the name of a cult founder meant that the village or cult had the goddess’s ear, even if in a remote and difficult to reach corner of the Anatolian plateau.

A look at who or what dedications were made on behalf of and any accompanying relief imagery leads to further insight into local concerns. For example, on one face of the altar dedication to Angdistis Thea Epekoo (**1.01**), is a relief of three tied ears of grain, and on another face there is the relief of a grape bunch (Robert 1980, 238-239, Pls. 15-16). Thus, it appears that the iconography reflects agricultural concerns. The multiple-Meter dedication to the savior gods including the Great Mother Boethene ([**2.01**, **12.01**, **26.05**]) asks that the savior gods “be merciful and kindly to the colony of Iconium”. The Hellenistic altar dedication to Meter Tetraprosopos at Küçük Hasan (**62.01**) was made on behalf of people and livestock (“the four-footed”). The dedication to Meter Tetraprosopos found at Küçük Hasan numbers among the other dedications made on behalf of animals; and the like are peculiar to Phrygia and to a lesser extent Lydia (Jim 2014, 620-622). However, Jim (621) brings our attention to

“Socrates’ advice that men should propitiate the gods in matters of agriculture no less than in war, and that sensible men would cultivate the gods ‘for the

⁹⁰ I am not so convinced. In Berndt-Ersöz’s consideration of a bull depicted on a side panel to the right of Matar from a Gordion relief, she alludes to the city-gate reliefs at Alaca Höyük on which the Hittite Weather god in the shape of a bull adorns the left of the gate, whereas his female counterpart adorns the other side, but in anthropomorphic form (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 163-164 n. 161).

good of their fruits, crops, cattle, horses, sheep, and indeed for all their possessions,” (Xen. *Oec.* 5.19-20).

Three other dedications in the catalogue are made on behalf of animals in addition to the dedication at Küçük Hasan (**62.01**) just mentioned above (see Map 10, which shows the findspots). An altar dedication to Meter Kybele (**45.01**) from Nakoleia (Seyitgazi) and dated to the second century AD is made on behalf of oxen (Σκαλατηνοὶ [M]- / ἡτρί Κυβέλη(οῖ: η) εὖ- / χήν περὶ βο- / ὤν). There are traces of a bucranium below the inscription (*MAMA* V, 102 no. 213 and Pl. 49). Another dedication made on behalf of oxen comes from Yeniköy-Göçenlölük, Göçen Çeşme (**26.10**). Meanwhile, the dedication to Meter Malene (**49.01**) comes from Orhan-Kilise⁹¹ and reads, "Alpysos son of Limnaios on behalf of his masters and animals and dogs (dedicated this) vow to the Mother Malene" (trans. *PVS*, 1999, 370, no. 609)⁹².

Of particular interest on the stele dedicated to Meter Malene (**49.01**) is the cloaked and hooded figure in relief (for the description, see n. 94 below; *PVS*, 370 no. 609 with photo)⁹³. Meanwhile, a stele from the Angdistis sanctuary at Midas City (**2.10**), with its succinct and simple dedication Ἀνγδισί[σι or σε], bears the relief of a figure in similar attire and flanked by two animals. The garb in question is either a herdsman or traveler's cloak (*Highlands*, 301 no. 17, and Pl. 612; 189)⁹⁴. As herdsman looked after animals, being depicted besides them is only natural. Many travelers in the region must have also travelled with animals. Similar cloaked figures are frequently depicted in the votive steles to various Zeus deities from the Upper Tembris plain and also from southwest of Amorion. These are featured in the catalogue *Phrygian Votive Steles* (*PVS*). The hooded cloaked figure in relief on a Late Roman Imperial

⁹¹ For the location of Malos in Phrygia, see Appendix: Μητρί Μαλινῆ, 1.

⁹² Dedications made on behalf of animals have also been made near Amorion to Zeus Alsenos on behalf of goats and for the well-being of sheep (*PVS*, 208, no. 305, and 321 no. 336), and another has been made in the region of Cotyaeum on behalf of an unspecified animal (*PVS*, 349 no. 566).

⁹³ The cloaked male figure at right is probably the dedicant, and his cloak is not unlike the cloak usually worn by Telesphoros (*Hellenica* X, 30, 31 n. 1; Drew-Bear 1999, 38, 374-378). The woman in a draped garment at left appears to be standing, and may be the cloaked man's wife (*PVS*, 370 no. 609 with photo). Some have assuredly identified the female figure, however, as a seated Meter Malene (*Hellenica* X, 30). The cloak is rather reminiscent of those worn by the *Genii cucullate*, cloaked deities which are depicted in several parts of the (Celtic) Roman Empire (e.g. those found in a Romano-British well at Gloucestershire. See O'Neil and Toynbee 1958, especially Pl. VIII.)

⁹⁴ Masségliá prefers to call the depicted garb as "peasants' cloaks, as few sheep were represented on steles; (Masségliá 2013, 112 n. 35; cf. *Hellenica* VII, 152-160).

dedication to the Meter Malene reminded Robert of the cloaks still worn by Anatolian shepherds of his day (*Hellenica* X, 30-31; Mrs. Ramsay 1897, 258-259; cf. Ng 2004, 7; Gökyay 2009, 160). These are no doubt the *kepenek*, which are wool felt garments used by shepherds.

Masséglià observed that the ubiquitous herdsmen cloak “was proudly worn as a desirable costume”, and that this “can be seen from the large numbers of these figures who are shown in ‘off-duty’ environments, such as alongside their wives and families” (Masséglià 2013, 112). These were worn “without apology” alongside those garbed in the Hellenic himation (2013, 123). The phrase “proudly worn” reflects Thonemann’s observations regarding Phrygian funerary relief sculpture in which good honest work is valued. In the Phrygian Highlands and on the western fringe of the Axylon we find Phrygians proudly describing themselves as ‘farmers’ (γεωργός) in their funerary inscriptions” (Thonemann 2013, 38-39 and n. 145 with sources for examples). This is perhaps the sentiment in the inscription of a Roman Imperial period altar dedication made to Meter Poluettene (**56.01**). The dedicant Menis Philodespotos introduces himself as the head shepherd of his master. Pride in work is true also for craftsmen such as Docimeian stone-masons (Thonemann 2013, 39 and n. 146 with sources for examples; and see also Chapter 4, n. 13). From the Pisidio-Phrygian borderlands is a funerary inscription dated to the second century BC praising a certain Attas in elite circles as “hard-working” (πιλόεργου), a virtue normally reserved for slaves and women (Thonemann 2013, 39 n. 147). This echoes what Masséglià gleans from the fine-quality relief iconography of the Upper Tembris, in which “we find individuals who read, write, do their make-up and arrange their hair, but who also want to advertise their plough team, their excellent array of pruning tools and the technical complexities of their weaving apparatus” (Masséglià 2013, 99-102, 123; cf. Kelp’s interpretation of an Upper Tembris relief discussed above).

The value placed on work and the importance given to agricultural concerns “were far removed from the need for a public statement of prestige and power” ubiquitous among urbane elites (Roller 2009, 7). This circumstance led Thonemann to conclude

that “The pre-eminent social value assigned by Phrygians to the world of work—and in particular, to the world of subsistence production—is an indication of how superficially the inhabitants of this region were assimilated into the Roman value-system” (Thonemann 2013, 39 and n. 148). This is no other than “the mirage” of Graeco-Roman urbanization as discussed above.

6.9. Other Local Peculiarities in Brief

Two other local characteristics deserve at least some mention, even if they are not going to be fully discussed here. The first concerns the need for self-regulation and justice in some rural villages, especially in the vicinity of Dionysopolis in southwestern Phrygia. The so-called “confession inscriptions”, of which monument **46.02** addressing Meter Leto is one colorful example, reveal concerns for justice and proper behavior (see Levick 2013, 53; Roller 2009, 7-8; Mitchell 1993 I, 187-195). The second peculiarity concerns what appears to be a prevalence, especially in the Upper Tembris Valley in Phrygia, of extended and multiple family households. Thonemann notes that “a large class of Phrygian inscriptions” from this region in particular, “emphasize extended family . . . to an extent unparalleled in the funerary epigraphy of any other part of the Graeco-Roman world” (Thonemann 2013b, 124-142; and see also Masségliia 2013, 121-122). In one inscription from Hasanköy (**31.03**) in the environs of Akmonia, the dedicant Ammias makes a dedication to Meter Kasmeine on behalf of her foster father Markos. While not from the Upper Tembris Valley, it is the monument discussed above which shares the peculiar iconography and wording as a dedication to Tetraprosopos in Çalköy in the Upper Tembris. As also noted above, Hasanköy is only about 35 km to the southwest of Çalköy.

6.10. Concluding Thoughts

A theme which weaves throughout Scott’s account of southeast Asia is the empowerment of people living at the fringes of state. This empowerment derives from creating new centers in the peripheries. While these new small-scale centers may appear to be ephemeral and subject to flux when compared to a sprawling

empire, “the tremendous linguistic and ethnic fluidity in the hills is itself a crucial social resource for adapting to changing constellations of power, inasmuch as it facilitates remarkable feats of identity shape-shifting” (Scott 2009, 23⁹⁵). Even the Anatolians’ upland goddess Meter shifted identity from village to village, and from valley to valley, as the Mother of Gods Kasmeine here, and Kikleia over there. Thus the people inhabiting them can assert their own place in the landscape and develop their own value systems related to local concerns and needs. Judging from the clues provided by the phenomena of local Meter cult epithets we looked at above, this appears to have been the case with the lands of Greater Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period.

The process of decentralization and fragmentation which characterized the lands of Greater Phrygia over the course of centuries had its advantages for its locals. From the distribution of Meter epithets, especially those carrying local ethnics and bearing the names of topographical features, we can glean a sense of belonging to and connection with the immediate landscape. Some of the epithets designating a function such as “one who hears”, “one who helps” or “sees in all directions” show us that significant value was given to having personal concerns acknowledged by a higher supernatural power who is also invested in the domestic and able to intercede. Some of the needs discussed range from pastoral and agricultural concerns to the value of good honest work, however humble the trade. In essence, what the epithets show is that the peoples of Central Anatolia demonstrated some agency with respect to their local cults; and it is these very cults which offered a viable alternative to the one-size-fits-all Magna Mater cult as espoused by Roman Imperial rulers.

⁹⁵ *cf.* also Scott 2009, 22, and especially 220-237, concerning the pliancy of oral cultural traditions.

REFERENCES

- Akok, M. (1965 [1967]). Afyon – Çavdarlı Höyük Kazısı. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 14.1-2, 5-34.
- Akyürek Şahin, N. E. (2006). *Yazıdere (Seyitgazi) Zeus Kutsal Alanı ve Adak Yazıtları*. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Akyürek Şahin, N. E. (2007). Phrygia'dan İki Yeni Meter Kranomegalene Adağı. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*, 125, 67-74.
- Akyürek Şahin, N. E. (2012). Eskişehir'den Üç Yeni Meter *Tetraprosopos* Adağı / Three New Dedications to *Meter Tetraprosopos* from Eskişehir. *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities*, 2.1, 1-9.
- Alcock, S. (1994). Minding the Gap. In S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds). *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (pp. 247-262). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Anderson, J. G. C. (1897). A Summer in Phrygia: I. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 17, 396-424.
- Anderson, J. G. C. (1898). A Summer in Phrygia: II. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 18, 81-128, 340-344.
- Anderson, J. G. C. (1897/1898). Exploration in Asia Minor during 1898: First Report. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 4, 49-78
- Anderson, J. G. C. (1899). Exploration in Galatia cis Halym. II. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 19, 52-134, 280-318.
- Ateş, G. (2010). “Bilder aus gebranntem Ton“. Neues über den Kult der Kybele in der Aizanitis. In K. Rheidt (ed.), *Aizanoi und Anatolien : Neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie im Hochland des westlichen Kleinasien*, (pp. 48-55). Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- von Aulock, H. 1976. *Münzen und Städte Lykaoniens. Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 16. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.
- Bammer, A. & Muss, U. (2006). Ein Felsdenkmal auf dem Bülbüldağ von Ephesos. *Anatolia Antiqua*, 14, 65-69.
- BE = Bulletin Épigraphique: BE 1967—1979 (Robert & Robert); BE 2000 (Brixhe)
- Bean, G. E. (1954). Sculptured and Inscribed Stones at Burdur/Burdur'daki Kabartmalı ve Yazıtlı Taşlar. *Belleten*, 18, 469-510.
- Bean, G. E. (1959). Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia. Part I. *Anatolian Studies*, 9, 67-117.
- Bennett, J. (2006). The Political and Physical Topography of Early Imperial Graeco-

- Roman Ancyra. *Anatolica* 32, 189-227.
- Bennett, J. (2013). Agricultural Strategies and the Roman Military in Central Anatolia during the Early Imperial Period. *Olba*, 21, 315-434.
- Bennett, J. & Goldman, A. L. (2009). A Preliminary Report on the Roman Military Presence at Gordion, Galatia. In Á. Morillo, N. Hanel, and E. Martín (eds.), *LIMES: the 20th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, (pp. 35-45). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. (2006). *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice*. Leiden: Brill.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. (2009). Sacred Space in Iron Age Phrygia. In C. Gates, J. Morin, & T. Zimmermann (eds.), *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 2034, (pp. 11-19). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Berndt-Ersöz (2014). The Triad From Ephesos: The Mother Goddess and her Two Companions. In L. Karlsson, S. Carlsson, and J.B. Kullberg (eds.), *ΛΑΒΡΥΣ. Studies presented to Pontus Hellström*. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 35 (pp.415-425). Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Bodel, J. (2009). 'Sacred Dedications': A Problem of Definitions. In J. Bodel & M. Kajava (eds.), *Dedicatio sacra nel mondo Greco-Romano: diffusione, funzioni, tipologie / Religious Dedications in the Greco-Roman World: Distribution, Typology, Use*, (pp. 17-30). Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae.
- Bøgh, B. (2007). The Phrygian Background of Kybele. *Numen*, 54, 304–339. DOI: 10.1163/156852707X211573. Accessed 11/28/2017.
- Börker-Klähn, J. (2000). Zur Altersbestimmung von Midas- und Areyastis-Inschrift. *Incontri Linguistici*, 23, 85–98.
- Braudel, F. (1972). *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol. I*. Translated by S. Reynolds. Reprint of the English Translation, Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London: University of California Press, 1995. Page references are to the 1995 edition.
- Brixhe, C. (1979). Le nom de Cybèle. *Die Sprache*, 25, 43-45.
- Brixhe C. (1993). Du paléo- au néo-phrygien. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 137/2, 323-344.
- Brixhe C. (2000). Bulletin épigraphique: Asia Mineure. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 113, 538-563.
- Brixhe, C. & Lejeune, M. (1984). *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes* (Institut français d'études anatoliennes, Mémoire no. 45). Paris : Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Brown, J. E. with Cousins, E. (2001). *Teaching Spirits: Understanding Native American Religious Traditions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bruchmann, K. F. H. & Roscher, W. H. (1893). *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Buckler, W. H. (1914/1915 – 1915/1916). Some Lydian Propitiatory Inscriptions. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 21, 169-183.
- Buckler, W. H. (1917). Lydian Records. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 37, 88-115.
- Buckler, W. H. & Calder, W. M. (1939). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VI: Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Buckler, W. H., Calder, W. M., & Cox, C.W. M. (1924). Asia Minor, 1924. Monuments from Iconium, Lycaonia and Isauria. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 14, 24-84.
- Buckler, W. H., W.M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie (1933). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*. Manchester.
- Burkert, W. (1985). *Greek Religion*. Transl. J. Raffan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Burkert, W. (1999). On “Nature” and “Theory”: A Discourse with the Ancient Greeks. *Michigan Quarterly Review* 38.2. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.act2080.0038.205>. Accessed: 30 Jul. 2019.
- Cagnat, R. (1906). *Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* III. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- Cagnat, R. (1927). *Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* IV. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- Cahill, N. & Greenewalt, Jr., C. H. (2016). The Sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis: Preliminary Report, 2002–2012. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 120, 473-509.
- Çakırlar, C. & Marston, J. (2019). Rural Agricultural Economies and Military Provisioning at Roman Gordion (Central Turkey). *Environmental Archaeology*, 24, 91-105.
- Calder, W. M. (1910). A Cult of the Homonades. *The Classical Review*, 24/3, 76-81.
- Calder, W. M. (1911). Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 31, 161-215.
- Calder, W. M. (1912). Inscriptions d'Iconium. *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*, 36, 48-77.
- Calder, W. M. (1913). A Roman Imperial Domain. *The Classical Review*, 27, 9-11.
- Calder, W. M. (1928). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* I. London: Manchester University Press
- Calder, W. M. (1932). Inscriptions of Southern Galatia. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 36, 452-464.

- Calder, W. M. (1956). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VII: Monuments from Eastern Phrygia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Calder, W. M. & Cormack, J. M. R. (1962). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VIII: Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Calder, W. M. & Grégoire, H. (1952). Paulinus κοινωνός de Sébastè de Phrygie. *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 38, 163-183.
- Campanile, M. D. (1994). *I sacerdoti del Koinon d'Asia (I sec. a.C.-II sec. d.C.): contributo allo studio della romanizzazione delle elites provinciali nell'oriente greco*. Pisa: Giardini.
- Can, B. (2017). Blaundos Antik Kenti. In R. M. Czichon, Ş. Söyler, B. Can, & İlhan (eds.), *Çavuş. Yüzey Araştırmaları ve Kazılar Işığında*, (pp. 73-82). İstanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.
- CCCA = *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*
 CCCA I (Vermaseren 1987)
 CCCA II (Vermaseren 1982)
- Chaniotis, A. (2009). Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 2006 (EBGR 2006). *Kernos*, 22, 209-243. URL: <http://kernos.revues.org/1787>.
- Chaniotis, A. (2010). Megatheism. The Search for the Almighty God and the Competition Between Cults. In S. Mitchell & P. van Nuffelen (eds.), *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*, (pp. 112-140). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Page citations refer to the uploaded version at Academia: URL: <https://www.academia.edu/5846342/Megatheism>
The Search for the Almighty God and the Competition of Cults in S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen eds. One God Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire Cambridge Cambridge UP 2010 112-140. Accessed: 10 September 2019.
- Chaniotis, A. (2012a). Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 2009 (EBGR 2009), *Kernos*, 25, 185-232. URL : <http://kernos.revues.org/2117>. Accessed: 3 Feb. 2019.
- Chaniotis, A. (2012b). Inscriptions. In C. Ratté & P. D. De Staebler (eds.), *The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, (pp. 347-366). Darmstadt/Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Chaniotis, A. & Mylonopoulos, J. (2006). Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 2003 (EBGR 2003). *Kernos*, 19, 343-390. URL: <http://kernos.revues.org/469>. Accessed: 3 Feb. 2019.
- Christian, W. A. Jr. (1977). The Spanish Shrine. *Numen*, 24.1, 72-78.
- Chuang Tzu (1964). *Chuang Tzu: Basic Writings*. Translated by B. Watson. Reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Page references are to the 1996 edition.
- CIG = *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*. 4 vols. (Berlin: 1827-1877).

- Collignon, M. (1897). Inscriptions de Pisidie et de Pamphylie. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 333-347.
- Cooley, A. E. (2009). *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corsten, T., Drew-Bear, T., & Özsait, M. (1998). Forschungen in der Kibyratis. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 30, 47–80.
- Cosmopoulos, M. B. (2014). Cult, Continuity, and Social Memory: Mycenaean Eleusis and the Transition to the Early Iron Age. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 118, 401-427.
- Cosmopoulos, M. B. (2016). Lieux de mémoire mycéniens et la naissance des sanctuaires grecs. *Revue Archéologique*, 2016, 251-278.
- des Courtils, J. (2009). From Elyanas to Leto: The Physical Evolution of the Sanctuary of Leto at Xanthos. In C. Gates, J. Morin, & T. Zimmermann (eds.), *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 2034, (pp. 63-67). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Cox, C. W. M. & Cameron, A. (1937). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V: Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cronin, H. S. (1902a). First Report of a Journey in Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 22, 94-125.
- Cronin, H. S. (1902b). First Report of a Journey in Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia. II. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 22, 339-376.
- Cumont F. (1906). Essai d'interprétation de la stèle d'Ouchak. *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 8, 281-283.
- Dedeoğlu, J. (2005). Aksu Zindan Mağarası Kutsal Alanı. In *14. Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu*, 30 Nisan-2 Mayıs 2004, Ürgüp-Nevşehir, (pp. 153-166). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı DÖSİMM Basımevi.
- DeVries, K. (2005). Greek Pottery and Gordion Chronology. In L. Kealhofer (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, (pp. 36-55). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Dodds, E. R. (1951). *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Online Reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. Page references are to the online 1973 edition. URL: <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0x0n99vw/>. Accessed: 15 Jul. 2019.
- von Domaszewski, A. (1883). Inschriften aus Kleinasien. *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, 7, 168-188.
- Donnegan, J. & Patton, R. B. (1840). *A New Greek and English Lexicon: Principally on the Plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider*. Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co.

- Drew-Bear, T. (1976). Local cults in Graeco-Roman Phrygia. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 17, 247-268.
- Drew-Bear, T. (1978). *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*. Zutphen: Terra.
- Drew-Bear, T. (2008, 2015). Thomas. Société et vie quotidienne en Phrygie d'après les inscriptions du Musée de Kütahya. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 2008. Année 2015: 82-86.
- Drew-Bear, T., Thomas, C.M., & Yıldızlıturan, M. (1999). *Phrygian Votive Steles*. Ankara: Turkish Republic, Ministry of Culture, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations
- Drexler, W. (1894-1897). Meter. In Roscher, W. H. (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. II:2: Laas-Myton, (pp. 2848-2931). Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
- Dusinberre, E. R. M. (2019). The Collapse of Empire at Gordion in the Transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic World. *Anatolian Studies* 69, 109–132.
- Erten, E. & Sivas, H. 2016. Eine neue Weihinschrift für Meter aus Dorylaeum. In B. Takmer, E. N. Akdoğan Arca, & N. G. Özdil (eds.), *Vir Doctus Anatolicus: Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin / Sencer Şahin Anısına Yazılar*, (pp. 330-335). Istanbul: Kuzgun Yayınevi.
- Fassa, E. (2015). Claims to Autochthony and the Divine: the Mother Goddess of Leukopetra in Roman Macedonia. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 196, 116-122.
- Filges, A. (2003). Stadtentwicklung im Gebiet des oberen Mäander. Die lydisch-phrygische Grenzregion am Beispiel von Blaundos. In E. Schwertheim & E. Winter (eds.), *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien* (Asia Minor Studien 50), (pp. 3-50). Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Filges, A. (2006) Blaundos: *Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag.
- Finley, M.I. (1999). *The Ancient Economy*, updated edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Foucart, P. (1873). *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs: thiasés, éranes, orgéons*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Frangipane, M. (2011). Arslantepe-Malatya: A Prehistoric and Early Historic Center in Eastern Anatolia. In G. McMahon & S. Steadman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia: (10,000-323 BCE)*, (pp. 968-992). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frankfort, H. (1996). *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 5th edn. Yale University Press.
- Frei, P. (1983). Epigraphisch-topographische Forschungen im Raum von Eskişehir. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 1, 53-62.

- Frei, P. (1988). Phrygische Toponyme. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 11, 9-34.
- French, D. (2003). *Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions of Ankara: A Selection*. Ankara: The Foundation of The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.
- Fraser, J. (1906). Inheritance by Adoption and Marriage in Phrygia, as Shown in the Epitaphs of Trophimos and his Relatives. In W. M. Ramsay (ed.), *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, (pp. 137-153). Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- GLIA = *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*, I (Mitchell and French 2012)
- Gökay, M. (2009). Oral Art History of Art Through Traditional Artists in Konya. *Electronic Journal of Social Sciences* 8/29: 157-167.
- Goldman, A. L. (2005). Reconstructing the Roman-Period Town at Gordion. In L. Kealhofer (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion* (pp. 56-67). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Goldman, A. L. (2007). From Phrygian Capital to Rural Fort. *Expedition Magazine* 49.3: n. pag. Penn Museum, <http://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/?p=9131>. Accessed: August 10, 2019.
- Gow, A. S. F. (1960). The Gallus and the Lion. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 80, 88-93.
- Graillot, H. (1912). *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain*. Paris: Fontemoing.
- Greenewalt, Jr., C. H. (1992). When a Mighty Empire Was Destroyed: The Common Man at the Fall of Sardis, ca. 546 B. C. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 136, 247-271.
- Halbwachs, M. (1925). *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Félix Alcan. Electronic edition: classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Halbwachs_maurice/cadres_soc_memoire/cadres_sociaux_memoire.pdf. Accessed 1.7.2019.
- Hall, A.S. (1968). Notes and Inscriptions from Eastern Pisidia. *Anatolian Studies*, 18, 57-92.
- Haspels, C. H. E. (1951). *Phrygie, exploration archéologique 3. La cité de Midas, céramique et trouvailles diverses*. Paris: Boccard.
- Haspels, C. H. E. (1971). *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hawkins, J. D. (1981). Kubaba at Karkamiš and Elsewhere. *Anatolian Studies*, 31, 147-176.
- Head, B. V. (1887). *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Hedges, C. (2019). Worshipping the Electronic Image. *truthdig*: February 18, 2019. <https://www.truthdig.com/articles/worshipping-the-electronic-image/>. Accessed May 5, 2019.
- Heller, A. (2006). *Les bêtises des Grecs. Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine (129 a.C. - 235 p.C.)*. Pessac: Ausonius.
- Herrmann, P. (1981). *Tituli Asiae Minoris, V: Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti. Fasciculus I: Regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Highlands* = *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments* (Haspels 1971)
- Horsley, G. H. R. (2007). *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor (RECAM) V: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum*. London: British Institute at Ankara.
- Horsley, G. H. R. & Mitchell, S. (eds.) (2000). *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 57: The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- de Hoz, M. P. (2006). Literacy in Rural Anatolia: The Testimony of the Confession Inscriptions. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 15, 139-14.
- Hyde, W. W. (1915). The Ancient Appreciation of Mountain Scenery. *The Classical Journal*, 11.2, 70-84.
- IGR* = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*
IGR III (Cagnat 1906)
IGRI IV (Cagnat 1927)
- IK* [+ the Location] = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*
IK Central Pisidia (Horsley & Mitchell 2000).
IK Pessinus (Strubbe 2005)
IK Sultan Dağı (Jonnes 2002)
- Iversen, P. (2015). Inscriptions from Northwest Pisidia. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 48, 1-85.
- Jonnes, L. (ed.) (2002). *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 62: The Inscriptions of Sultan Dağı I: (Philomelion, Thymbrion/Hadrianopolis, Tyraion)* *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Jim, T. S. F. (2014). On Greek Dedicatory Practices: The Problem of *hyper*. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 54, 616–637.
- Kaya, D. & Mitchell S. (1985). The Sanctuary of the God Eurymedon at Tymbriada in Pisidia. *Anatolian Studies*, 35, 39-55.
- Kazantzidis, G. (2018). Haunted Minds, Haunted Places: Topographies of Insanity in Greek and Roman Paradoxography. In D. Felton (ed.), *Landscapes of Dread in Classical Antiquity: Negative Emotion in Natural and Constructed Spaces*, (pp. 226-258). London and New York: Routledge.
- Kealhofer, L. (2005). Settlement and Land Use: The Gordion Regional Survey. In L. Kealhofer (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work*

- at Gordion, (pp. 137-148). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Kearsley, R. A. (2001). *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia: Mixed Language Inscriptions and Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Interaction until the end of AD III*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Bd. 59. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Kelp, U. (2013). Grave Monuments and Local Identities in Roman Phrygia. In P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, (pp. 70-94). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kimball, S. E. (2000). Hittite *ariya*- "consult an oracle"? In Y.L. Arbeitman (ed.), *The Asia Minor Connexion: Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter*. Orbis Supplementa, 13, (pp. 133-149). Leuven: Peeters.
- Knibbe, D. (1978). Ephesos---nicht nur die Stadt der Artemis. Die anderen" ephesischen Götter. In S. Şahin, E. Schwertheim, & J. Wagner (eds.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner*, (pp. 489-503). Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Körte, A. (1897a). G. Radet, En Phrygie, Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques, Tome VI. Paris 1895. S. 425-594. In: *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 159: 386-416. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Körte, A. (1897b). Klein Asiatische Studien II. Gordion und der Zug des Manlius gegen die Galater. *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung*, 22, 1-54.
- Körte, A. (1902) *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*. Greifswald: Julius Abel.
- KO = *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Zgusta 1984)
- KP = *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Zgusta 1964)
- Kraft, J. C., Brückner, H., Kayhan, I., & Engelmann, H. (2007). The Geographies of Ancient Ephesus and the Artemision in Anatolia. *Geoarchaeology*, 22, 121-149. DOI: 10.1002/gea.20151.
- Küster, E. (1913). *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion*. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Bd. 13. Giessen: A. Töpelmann.
- Laminger-Pascher, G. (1984). *Beiträge zu den griechischen Inschriften Lykaoniens*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Laminger-Pascher, G. (1989). *Lykaonien und die Phryger*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lane, E. N. (1971). *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis dei Menis (CMRDM) I: The Monuments and Inscriptions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Lane, E. N. (1978). *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis dei Menis (CMRDM) IV: Supplementary Men-Inscriptions from Pisidia*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

- Lane, E. N. (2002). The Name of Cybele's Priests the "Galloi". In E. N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren*, (pp. 117-133). Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Laroche, E. (1960). Koubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle. In O. Eissfeldt (ed.), *Elements orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne. Colloque de Strasbourg 22-24 mai 1958*, (pp. 113-128). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Lehmmler, C. & M. Wörrle (2006). Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi IV: Aizanitica Minora II. *Chiron*, 36, 45-111.
- Levick, B. (1971). The Table of Mên. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 91, 80-84.
- Levick, B. (2013). In the Phrygian Mode: A Region Seen from Without. In P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, (pp. 41-54). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Levick, B., S. Mitchell, J. Potter, & M. Waelkens (1993). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua X: Monuments From the Upper Tembris Valley, Cotiaenum, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra, and Tiberiopolis Recorded by C. W. M Cox, A. Cameron, and J. Cullen*. London.
- Levick, B., S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens (1988). *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX: Inscriptions from Aezani and the Aezanitis Recorded by C. W. M Cox, A. Cameron, and J. Cullen*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Lubotsky, A. (1988). The Old Phrygian Areyastis-Inscription. *Kadmos*, 27, 9–26.
- Lubotsky, A. (1989). The Syntax of the New Phrygian Inscription No. 88. *Kadmos*, 27, 146-155.
- Macpherson, I. W. (1954). Inscriptions from Eskişehir and District. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 49, 11-16.
- Magie, D. (1950a). *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century After Christ*. Online Reprint, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. URL: <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/43676>. Accessed February 19, 2019.
- Magie, D. (1950b). *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century After Christ*, Vol. 2: Notes. Online Reprint, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016. URL: <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/51199>. Accessed February 19, 2019.
- MAMA = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (MAMA)
MAMA I (Calder 1928)
MAMA IV (Buckler et al. 1933)
MAMA V (Cox & Cameron 1937)
MAMA VI (Buckler & Calder 1939)
MAMA VII (Calder 1956)
MAMA VIII (Calder & Cormack 1962)
MAMA IX (Levick et al. 1988)
MAMA X (Levick et al. 1993)

- Marston, J. M. (2012). Agricultural Strategies and Political Economy in Ancient Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 116, 377-403.
- Masségla, J. (2013). Phrygians in Relief: Trends in Self-representation. In P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, (pp. 95-123). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McLean, B. H. (2002). *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor (RECAM) IV: Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum*. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Mellink, M. J. (1964). A Votive Bird from Anatolia. *Expedition*, 6/2, 28-32.
- Mellink, M. J. (1965). Archaeology in Asia Minor. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 69, 133-149.
- Michaud, J. (2017). What's (Written) History For?: On James C. Scott's Zomia, especially Chapter 61/2. *Anthropology Today* 33.1: 6-10.
- Michon, E. (1906). Bas-reliefs votifs d'Asie Mineure. *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 8, 181-190.
- Miller, K. (1985). Apollo Lairbenos. *Numen*, 32.1, 46-70.
- Miller, N. F. (2011). Managing Predictable Unpredictability: Agricultural Sustainability at Gordion, Turkey. In N. F. Miller, K. M. Moore, & K. Ryan (eds.), *Sustainable Lifeways: Cultural Persistence in an Ever-changing Environment*, (pp. 310-324). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Mirbeau, G. (1907). Inscriptions grecques de Dorylée, *Échos d'Orient*, 10, no.63, 77-82.
- Milner, N. P. (1998). *An Epigraphical Survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa Region Conducted by A.S. Hall* (RECAM 3 = BIAA Monograph 24. Hertford.
- Mitchell, D. W. (2008). *Buddhism: Introducing the Buddhist Experience*, 2nd edn. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, S. (1979). Iconium and Ninica: Two Double Communities in Roman Asia Minor. *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 28.4: 409-438. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4435687>. Accessed 5/9/2017.
- Mitchell, S. (1982). *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor (RECAM) II: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia*. Oxford: BAR.
- Mitchell, S. (1986). Galatia under Tiberius. *Chiron*, 16, 17-33.
- Mitchell, S. (1993). *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mitchell, S. (1999). The Administration of Roman Asia from 133 BC to AD 250. In W. Eck and E. Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, (pp. 17-46). Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag.

- Mitchell, S. (2000). The Settlement of Pisidia in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period: Methodological Problems. In K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Kodder, and P. Soustal (eds.), *Byzanz als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, (pp. 139-152). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mitchell, S. & French, D. (2012). *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), Vol. I: From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*. Munich: C. H. Beck.
- Mordtmann, J. H. (1885). Über einige vorderasiatische Gottheiten. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 10, 11-14.
- Munn, M. H. (2006). *The Mother of Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Naour, C. (1985). Nouveaux documents du Moyen Hermos. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 45, 37-74.
- Naumann, F. (1983). *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der Griechischen Kunst. Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 28. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.
- Ng, F. M. C. (2004). A Review of the Development of Basketry, Braiding, Crochet, and Felting towards the Creation of Seamless Fashion. *Research Journal of Textile and Apparel*, 8.2, 65-75. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1108/RJTA-08-02-2004-B009>. Accessed: March 7, 2019.
- Nhat Hanh, Th. (1988). *The Heart of Understanding: Commentaries on the Prajnaparamita Heart Sutra*. Edited by P. Levitt. Reprint, Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press, 2009. Page references are to the 2009 edition.
- NI = *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine, Ire partie* (Robert 1963)
- NIP = *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Phrygie* (Drew-Bear 1978)
- Nollé, J. (2007). *Kleinasiatische Losorakel. Astragal- und Alphabetchresmologien der hochkaiserzeitlichen Orakelrenaissance*, Munich: C. H. Beck.
- O'Neil, H. E., Toynbee, J. M. C. (1958). Sculptures from a Romano-British Well in Gloucestershire. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 48.1, 49-55.
- Orel, V. (1997). *The Language of Phrygians: Description and Analysis*. Delmar, NY: Caravan Books.
- Ousterhout, R. (2000). The Church of the Holy Sepulchre (in Bologna, Italy). *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 26/6, 20-35.
- Özsait, M., Labarre, G., & Özsait, N. (2006). Nouveaux témoignages sur le culte de Cybèle en Pisidie occidentale. *Adalya*, 9, 1-31.
- Parker, R. (2003). The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithet. *Opuscula Atheniensi*, 28, 173-183.
- Petzl, G. (1994). *Die Bechtinschriften Westklienasiens. Epigraphica Anatolica*, 22. Bonn: R. Habelt.

- Phillips, D. 2019. Bolsonaro Declares ‘the Amazon is Ours’; and Calls Deforestation Data ‘Lies’. *The Guardian*: 19 Jul. 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/19/jair-bolsonaro-brazil-amazon-rainforest-deforestation>. Accessed 20 Jul. 2019.
- Porter, J. (2010). *Hippocrates*. Vol. IX. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Prayon, F. (1987). *Phrygische Plastik: die früheisenzeitliche Bildkunst Zentral-Anatoliens und ihre Beziehungen zu Griechenland und zum Alten Orient*. Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, 7. Tübingen. Ernst Wasmuth.
- von Prott, H. (1902). Funde. *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 27, 267-271.
- PVS = Phrygian Votive Steles* (Drew-Bear et al. 1999)
- Radet, G. (1895). En Phrygie. *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, 6, 425-594.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1883). The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4, 370-436.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1888). Laodiceia Combusta and Sinethandos. *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 13, 233-272.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1890). *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. London: John Murray.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1895). *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Vol. I, Part I. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1897). *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Vol. I, Part II. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1905a). Lycaonian and Phrygian Notes. *The Classical Review*, 19, 367-370.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1905b). Lycaonian and Phrygian Notes (Continued). *The Classical Review*, 19, 413-429.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1905c). Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 8, 79-119.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1906). The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends: an Anti-Christian Society on the Imperial Estates at Pisidian Antioch. In W. M. Ramsay (ed.), *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, (pp. 305-377). Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1908). *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion*. New York: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Ramsay, W. M. (1918). The Utilisation of Old Epigraphic Copies. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 38, 124-192.

- Ramsay, W. M., Mrs. (1897). *Everyday Life in Turkey*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- RECAM = *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*
 RECAM II (Mitchell 1982)
 RECAM III (Milner 1998)
 RECAM IV (McLean 2002)
 RECAM V (Horsley 2007)
- Rein, M. J. (1993). *The Cult and Iconography of Lydian Kybele*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI.
- Rein, M. J. (1996). Phrygian Matar: Emergence of an Iconographic Type. In E. N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren*, (pp. 223-237). Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Reinach, T. (1908), Parthenon (en grec). *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 32, 499-513.
- Rheidt, K. (2010). Vom Siedlungshügel zum anatolischen Dorf. Über 5000 Jahre Entwicklungsgeschichte von Aizanoi. In K. Rheidt (ed.), *Aizanoi und Anatolien : Neue Entdeckungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie im Hochland des westlichen Kleinasien*, (pp. 168-187). Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Ricl, M. (1992) Hosios kai Dikaïos. Seconde partie: analyse. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 19, 71-103.
- Ricl, M. (1994). Inscriptions votives inédites au Musée d'Eskişehir. *Žina Antika (Antiquité vivante)*, 44, 157-174.
- Ricl, M. (2003a). Society and Economy of Rural Sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 35, 77-101.
- Ricl, M. (2003b). Varia Epigraphica. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 35, 102-112.
- Ricl, M. (2017). Cults of Phrygia Epiktetos in the Roman Imperial Period. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 50, 133-148.
- Ritti, T., Şimşek, C., & Yıldız, H. (2000). Dediche e καταγραφαί dal santuario frigio di Apollo Lairbenos. *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 32, 1-88.
- Robert, J. & Robert, L. (1967). Bulletin Épigraphique. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 80, 379-383: 453-573.
- Robert, J. and Robert, L. (1968). Bulletin Épigraphique. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 81, 386-388: 420-549.
- Robert, J. and Robert, L. (1969). Bulletin Épigraphique. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 85, 391-393: 424-540.
- Robert, J. & Robert, L. (1972). Bulletin Épigraphique. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 85, 406-408: 364-526.
- Robert, J. & Robert, L. (1979). Bulletin Épigraphique. *Revue des Études Grecques*, 92, 438-439: 413-541.

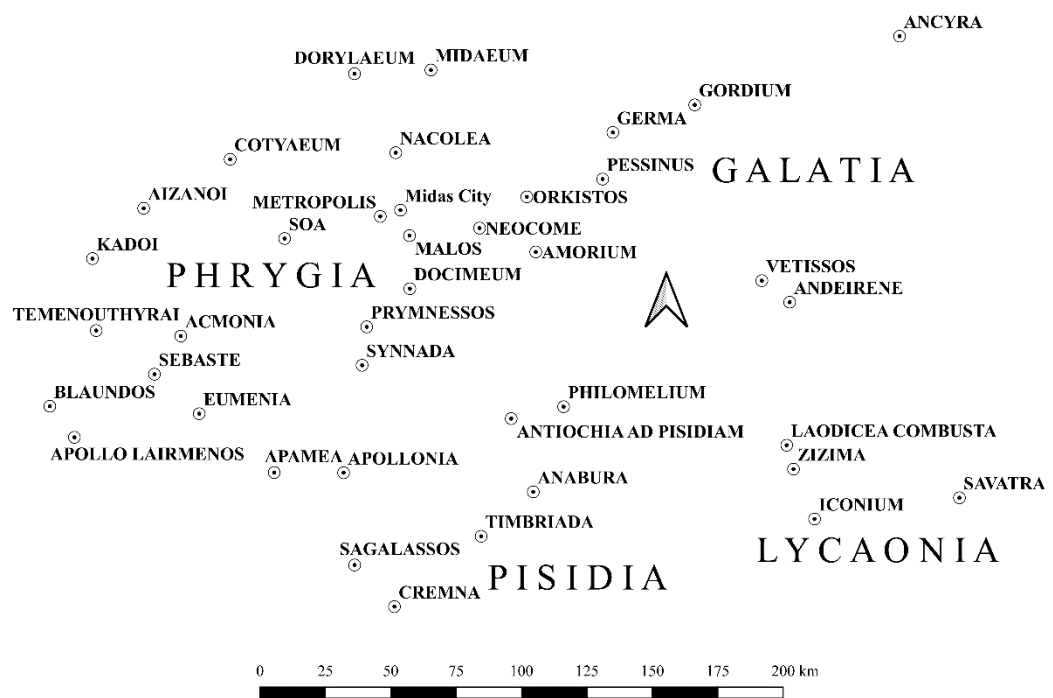
- Robert, L. (1949). *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, VII. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Robert, L. (1955). *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, X. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Robert, L. (1962) *Villes d'Asie Mineure. Études de géographie ancienne*. 2nd edn. Paris : E. de Boccard.
- L. Robert, L. (1963). *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine, 1re partie*. Paris : Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Robert, L. (1965). *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, XIII. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Robert, L. (1975). Nonnos et les monnaies d'Akmonia de Phrygie. *Journal des Savants*, 3, 153-192.
- Robert, L. (1977a). Documents d'Asie Mineure. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 101.1, 43-132
- Robert, L. (1977b). La Titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: la gloire et la haine. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 81, 1-39.
- Robert, L. (1980). *A travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*. Athens: Ecole française d'Athènes; Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Robert, L. (1981). Documents d'Asie Mineure. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 105.1, 331-360.
- Robert, L. (1982). Documents d'Asie Mineure. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 106.1, 309-378.
- Robinson, D. M. (1927). The Discovery of a Prehistoric Site at Sizma. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 31, 26-50.
- Roller, L. E. (1984). Midas and the Gordian Knot. *Classical Antiquity*, 3, 256-271.
- Roller, L. E. (1994). The Phrygian Character of Kybele: The Formation of an Iconography and Cult Ethos in the Iron Age. In A. Çilingiroğlu & D. H. French (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 3: The Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-12 August 1990*, (pp. 189-198). Ankara: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Roller, L. E. (1996). Reflections of the Mother of the Gods in Attic Tragedy. In E.N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren*, (pp. 305-321). Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Roller, L. E. (1999). *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Roller, L. E. (2009). The Sacred Landscapes of Matar: Continuity and Change from the Iron Age through the Roman period. In C. Gates, J. Morin, & T. Zimmermann (eds.), *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 2034, (pp. 1-10). Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Ronan, S. (1992a). Chaldean Hekate. In S. Ronan (ed.), *The Goddess Hekate: Studies in Ancient Pagan and Christian Religion & Philosophy*, Vol. 1, (pp. 79-150). Hastings: Chthonios Books.
- Ronan, S. (1992b). Hymns to Hekate. In S. Ronan (ed.), *The Goddess Hekate: Studies in Ancient Pagan and Christian Religion & Philosophy*, Vol. 1, (pp. 73-78). Hastings: Chthonios Books.
- Rowe, G. (2012). Review of: Stephen Mitchell, David French (ed.), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), Vol. I: From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD. Vestigia, Bd 62*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2012.09.47. <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012-09-47.html>. Accessed May 30, 2019.
- Ruskin, J. (1863). *Modern Painters. Of Many Things*. Vol. III., Part IV (First American Edition). New York: John Wiley.
- Salway, B. (1994). What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 84, 124-145.
- Santoro, M. (1974). *Epitheta deorum in Asia Graeca cultorum ex auctoribus Graecis et Latinis* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità 44), Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica.
- Sarre, F. (1896a). *Reise in Kleinasien, Sommer 1895: Forschungen zur Seldjukischen Kunst und Geographie des Landes*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Sarre, F. (1896b). Reise in Phrygien, Lykaonien und Pisidien. *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, 19, 26-57.
- Sayce, A. H. (1926). The New Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 46.1, 29-35.
- Scott, J. C. (2009). *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. Yale University Press. New Haven & London. Kindle.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- Segal, C. P. (1963). Nature and the World of Man in Greek Literature. *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, 2.1, 19-53.
- Simpson, E. 1996. Phrygian Furniture From Gordion. In G. Herrmann (ed.), *The Furniture of Western Asia Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, (pp. 187-209). Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Spawforth, A. (2001). Shades of Greekness: A Lydian Case Study. In I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Center for Hellenic Studies colloquia 5, (pp. 375-400). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sterrett, J. R. S. (1888). *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Vols. II & III. Boston: Damrell and Upham.
- Strabo (1961). *The Geography of Strabo*. Translated by H. L. Jones. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd.

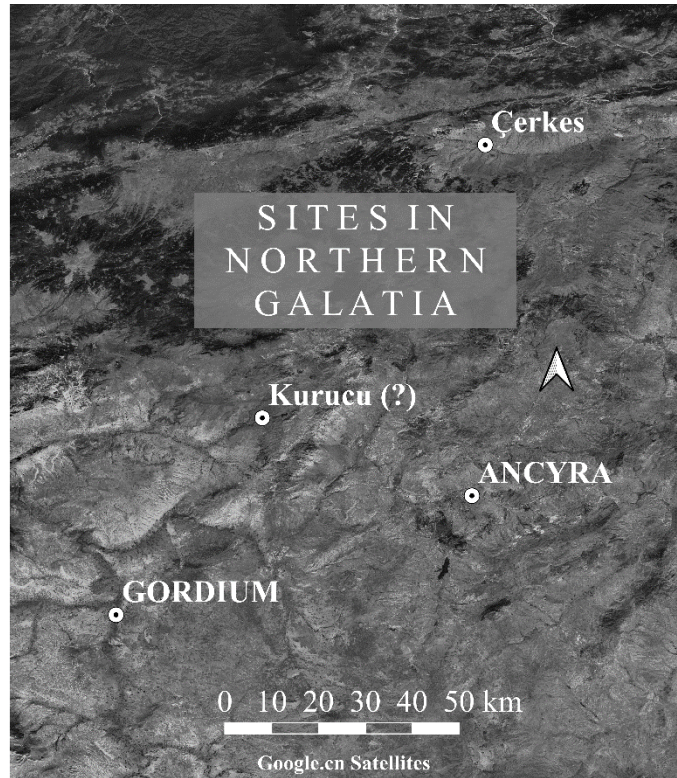
- Van Straten, F. T. (1976). 'Daikrates' Dream. A votive relief from Kos, and some other kat'onar dedications, *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving (BABesch)*, 51, 18-20.
- Strubbe, J. (ed.). (2005). *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 66: *The Inscriptions of Pessinous*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Swain, S. (1996). *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50-250*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Takmer, B. & Gökalp, N. (2005). Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of MHTHP ΘΕΩΝ ΟΙΕΓΕΙΝΟΣ at Zindan Mağrası I. *Gephyra*, 2, 103-113.
- Thonemann, P. (2012). A Copy of Augustus' Res Gestae at Sardis. *Historia*, 61.3, 282-288.
- Thonemann, P. (2013a). Phrygia: an anarchist history, 950 BC-AD 100. In P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, (pp. 1-40). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thonemann, P. (2013b). Households and families in Roman Phrygia. In P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, (pp. 126-142). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thonemann, P. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI: Monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia Recorded by M. H Balance, W. M Calder, A. S. Hall and R. D. Barnett*. Online Version. URL: <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/index.html>.
- Tozer, H. F. (1873). *Lectures on the Geography of Greece*. London: John Murray.
- Varinlioğlu, E. (1992). Meter Theon. *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1990 Yıllığı*, 39-43.
- Vassileva, M. (2001). Further considerations on the cult of Kybele. *Anatolian Studies*, 51, 51-63.
- Vermaseren, M. J. (1982). *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA), II. Graecia Atque Insulae*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Vermaseren, M. J. (1987). *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA), I. Asia Minor*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Versnel, H.S. (2011). *Coping with the Gods: Wayward Readings in Greek Theology*. Leiden: Brill.
- Voigt, M. M. (2002). Gordion: Rise and Fall of an Iron Age Capital. In D. C. Hopkins (ed.), *Across the Anatolian Plateau: Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, (pp. 187-196). Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Waelkens, M. & Poblome, J. (1997). *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995*.—Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae. 9. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Wallensten, J. (2008). Personal Protection and Tailor-Made Deities: The Use of Individual Epithets. *Kernos*, 21, 81-95.

- Weinreich, O. (1912). Θεοι επηκοοι. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 37, 1-68.
- Wiegand, T. (1911). Μήτηρ Στευνηνή. In *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 37, 302-307.
- Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. (1931). *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, Bd. I. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Xenophon (1979). Xenophon in Seven Volumes, Vol. 4. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA; William Heinemann, Ltd., London. 1979.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0032.tlg004.perseus-eng1:8.9> Accessed Feb.17, 2019.
- Young, R.S. (1969). Old Phrygian Inscriptions from Gordion: Toward a History of the Phrygian Alphabet. *Hesperia*, 38, 252-296.
- Zgusta, L. (1964). *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Prague: Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Zgusta, L. (1984). *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag.

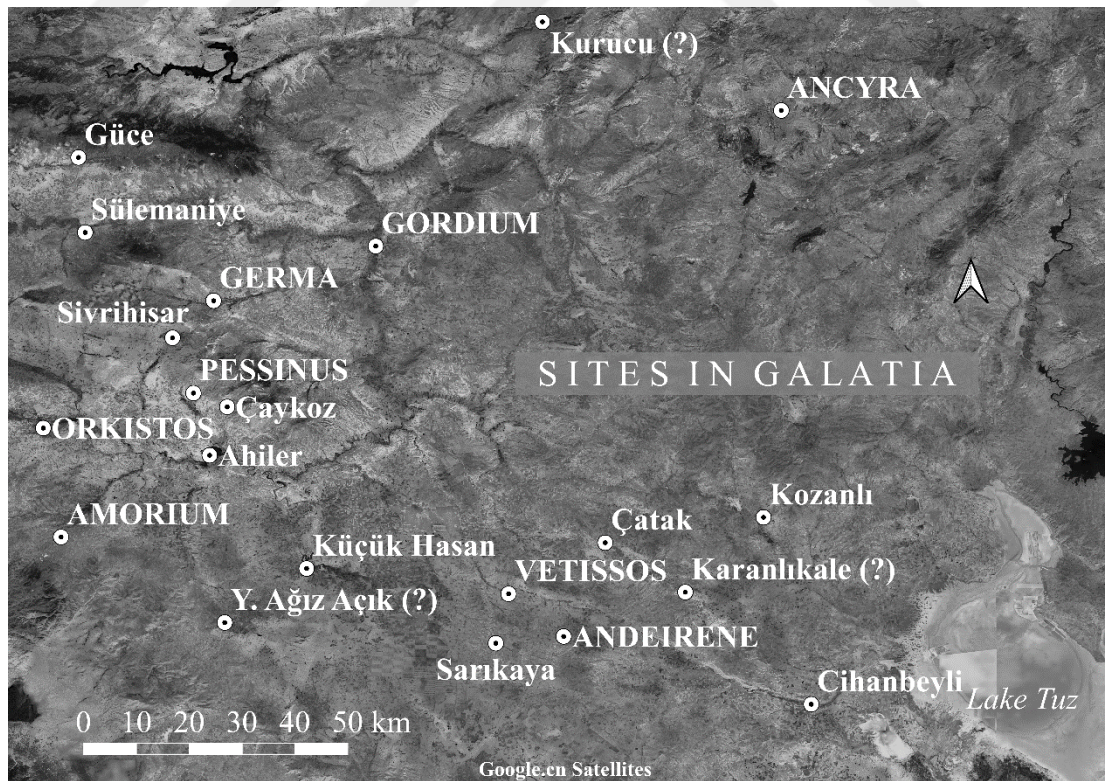
MAPS



Map 1: Roman Imperial Central Anatolia



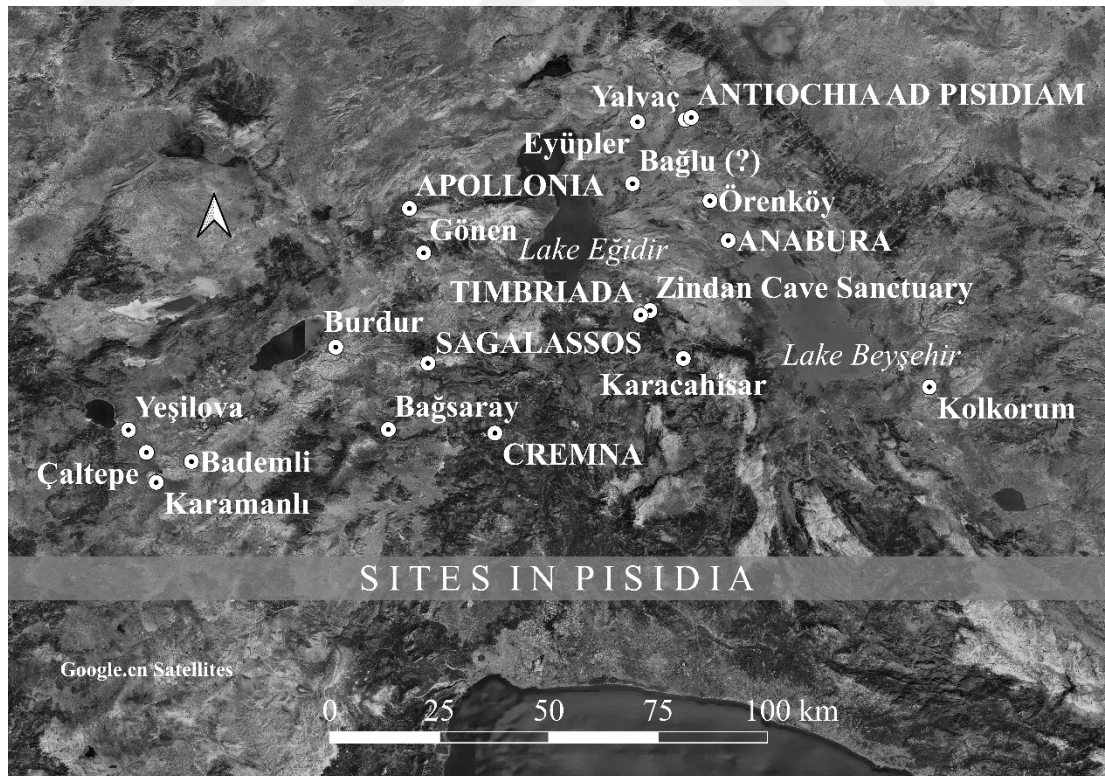
Map 2: Sites in Northern Galatia



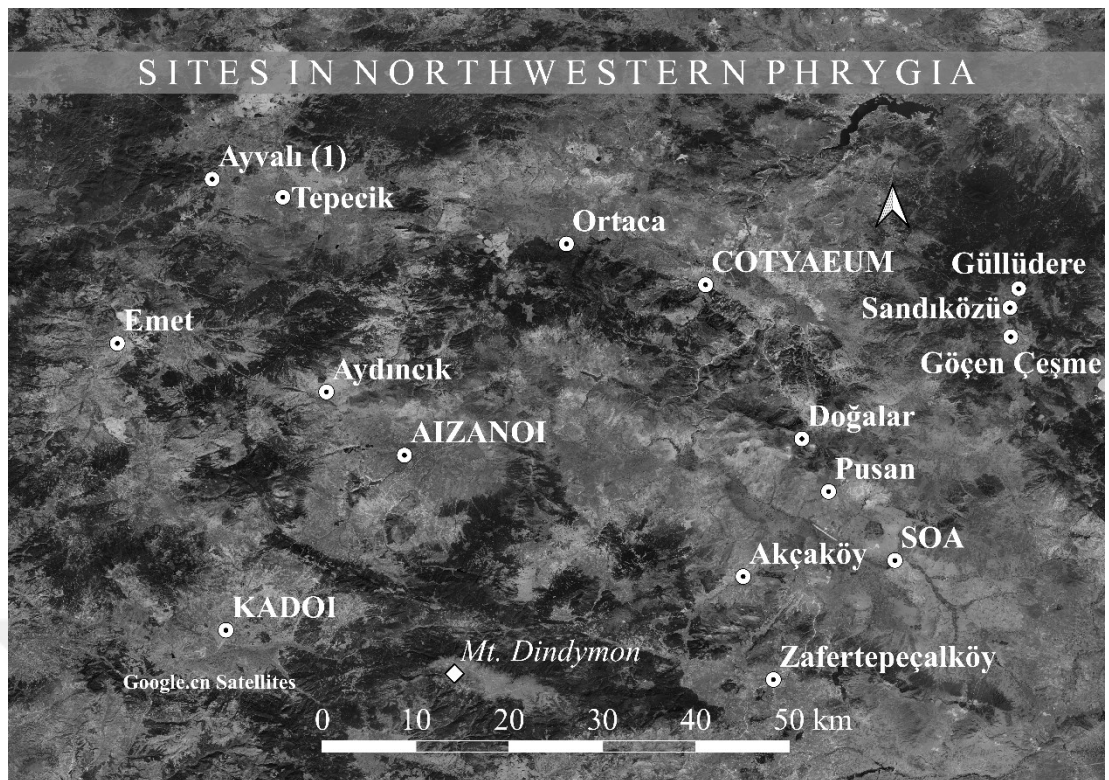
Map 3: Sites in Galatia



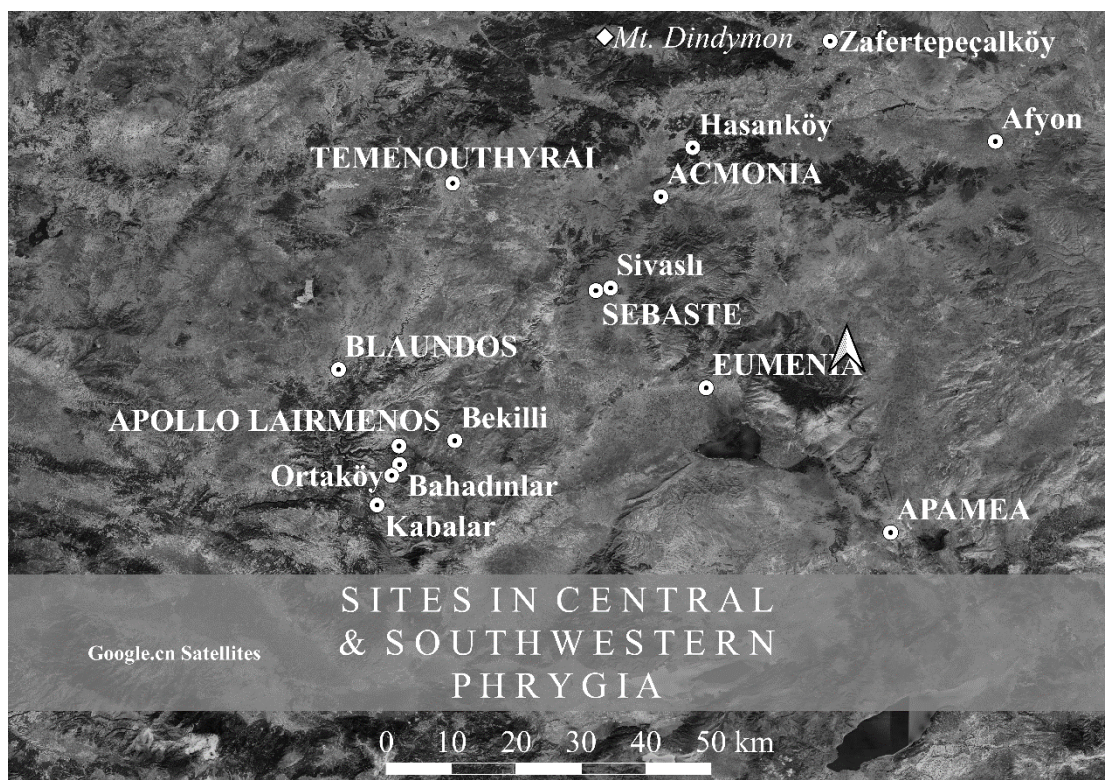
Map 4: Sites in Lycaonia



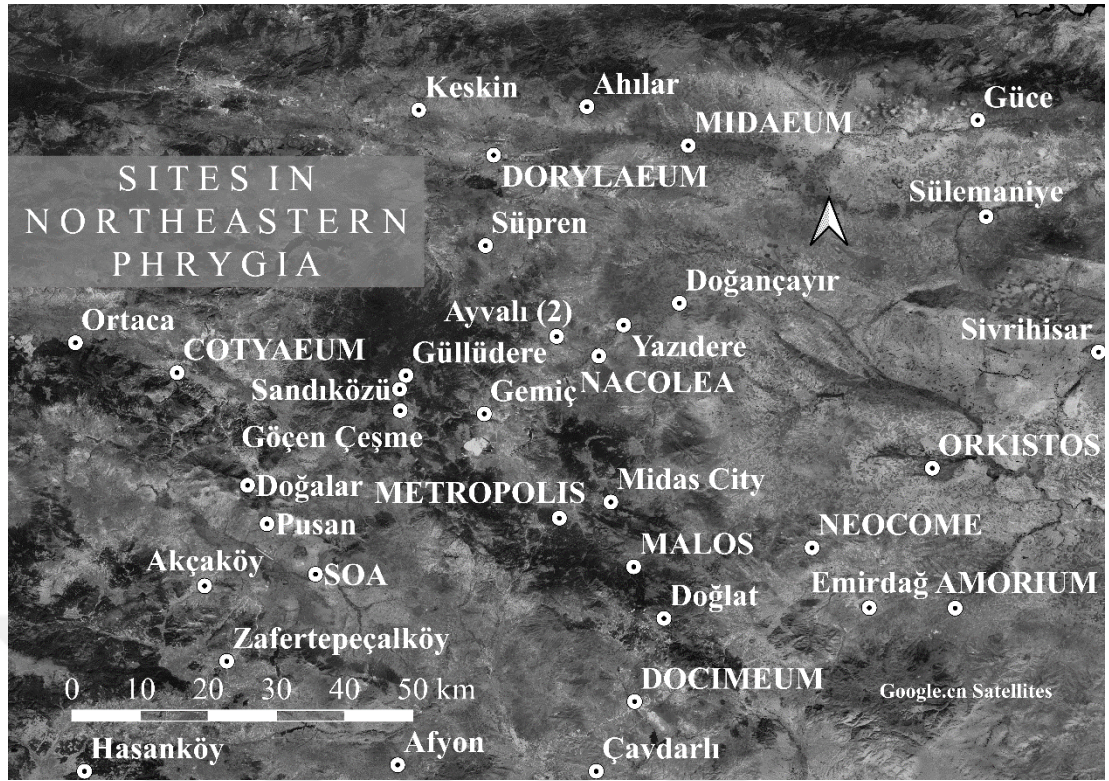
Map 5: Sites in Pisidia



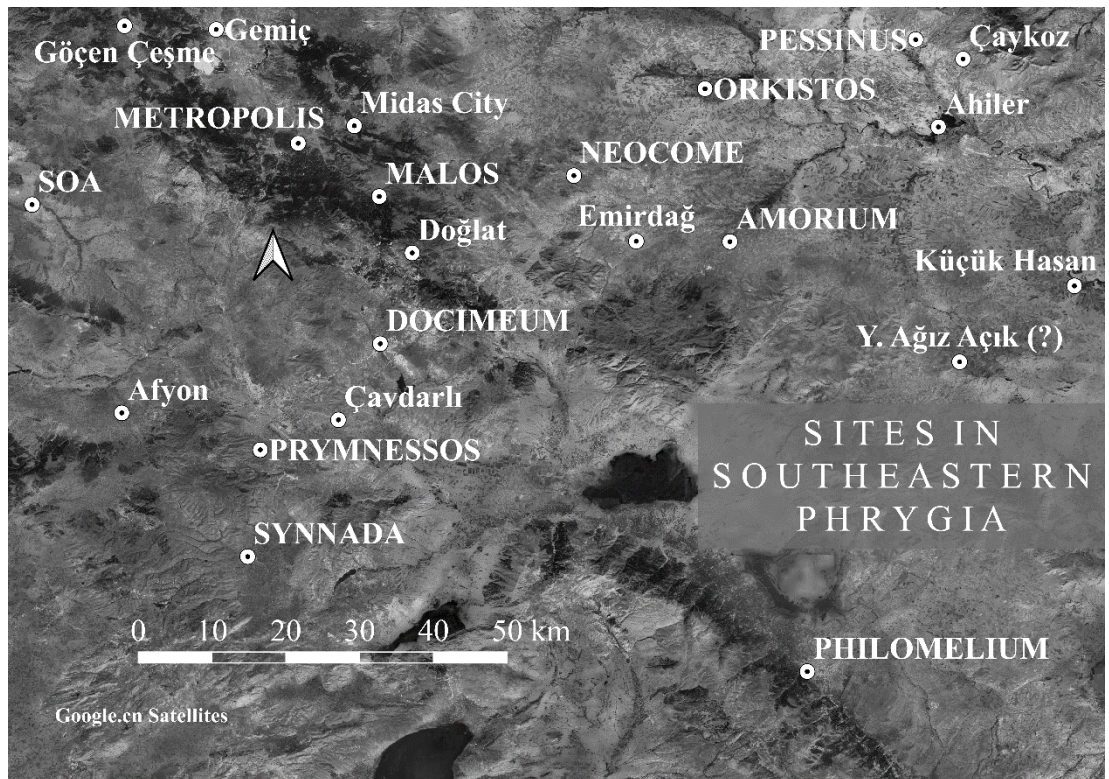
Map 6: Sites in Northwestern Phrygia



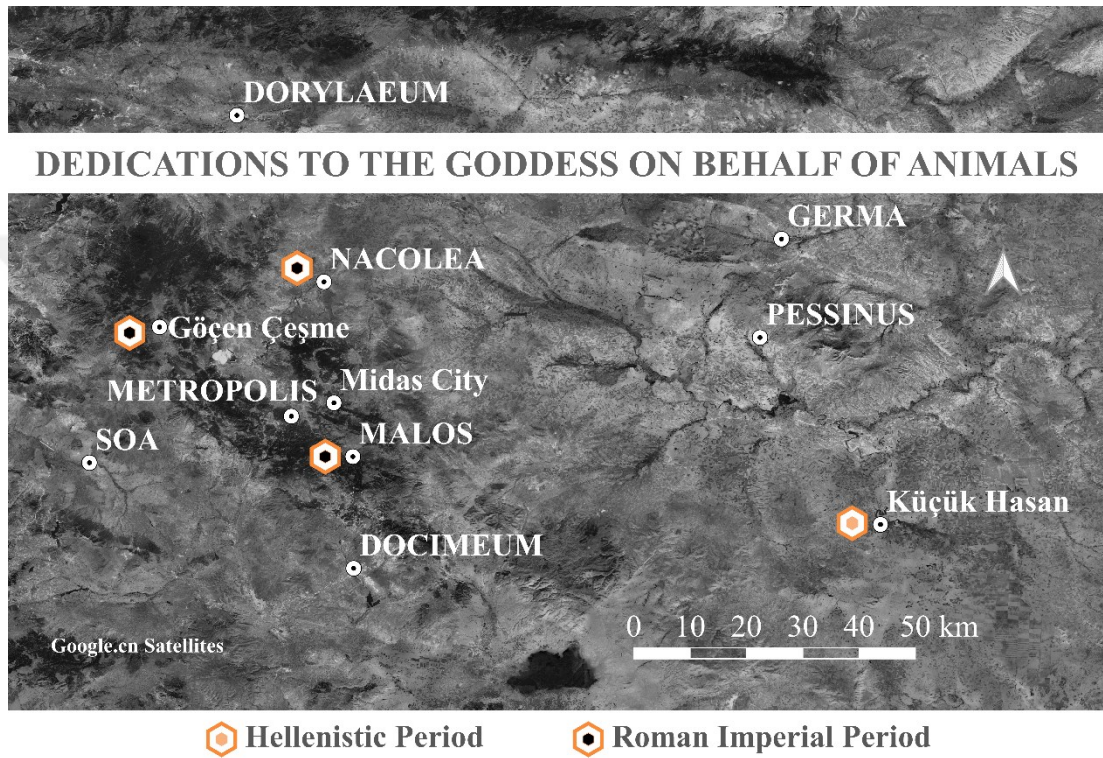
Map 7: Sites in Central & Southwestern Phrygia



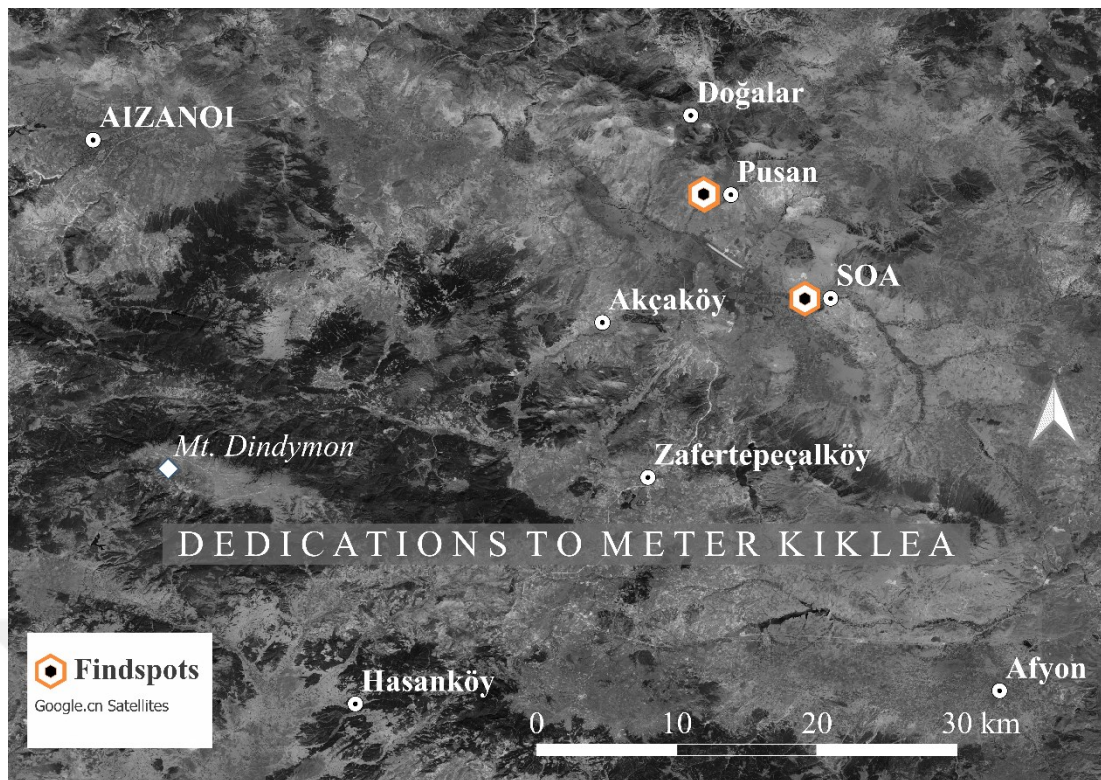
Map 8: Sites in Northeastern Phrygia



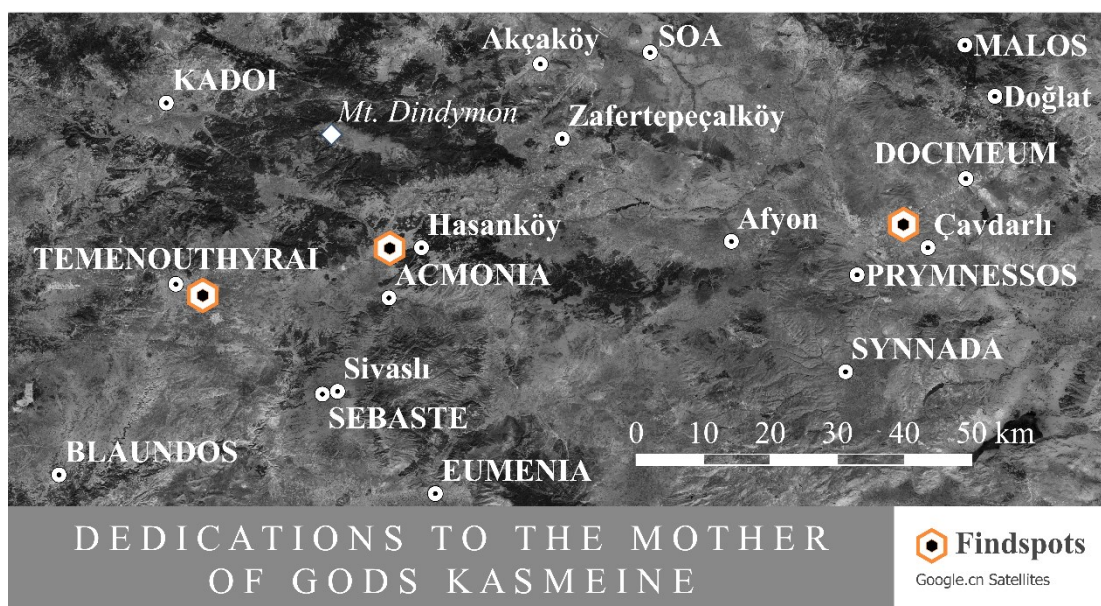
Map 9: Sites in Southeastern Phrygia



Map 10: Dedications to the Goddess on Behalf of Animals



Map 11: Dedications to Meter Kiklea



Map 12: Dedications to Meter Kasmeine

INDEX OF METER EPITHET HEADINGS

- [1] Ἀνγδισει Θεᾶ ἐπηκόω 1.01 PI
[2] Ἀνγδισι [2.01 = 12.01, 26.05] —2.02 LY; 2.03—2.10 PH
[3] Ἀνγδισι ἐπηκόω [3.01 = 22.02] LY
[4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ 4.01—4.06 PH; 4.07 PI
[5] Βοηθηνῇ 5.01 LY
[6] Εὐκτέω Θεᾶ Ἀνγδιση 6.01 PH
[7] Θεᾶς Ἰσπελουνηνῆς 7.01 GA
[8] Θεᾶ Μητρί 8.01—8.02 PH; 8.03 PI
[9] Θεᾶ τετραπροσώπω 9.01 PH
[10] Κλιντηνῇ 10.01 GA
[11] Matris Magnae [11.01 = 26.01] GA
[12] Τὴν μεγάλην μητέρα Βοηθηνὴν [12.01 = 2.01, 26.05] LY
[13] Μητρὶ 13.01—13.04 GA; 13.05 LY; 13.06—13.10 PH
[14] Μητρὶ Ἀκρεανῇ 14.01 PH
[15] Μητρὶ Ἀλασσηνῇ 15.01 PI
[16] Μητρὶ Ἀμλασενζηνῇ 16.01—16.02
[17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνῇ 17.01—17.04 LY
[18] Μητρὶ Βεδδυτῶν 18.01 GA
[19] Μητρὶ Γονανῇ 19.01 PH
[20] Μητρὶ Ἐίσσινδηνῇ [20.01 = 55.01] GA
[21] Μητρὶ Εσ[- - - -] 21.01 PH
[22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῇ 22.01 GA ; [22.02 = 3.01] —22.13 LY
[23] Μητρὶ Θεᾶ Ἀνδισση 23.01—23.02 PH
[24] Μητρὶ Θεᾶ Ἐπίκτητος 24.01 PH
[25] Μητρὶ Θεερμηνῇ 25.01 PH ; 25.02 PI
[26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν [26.01 = 11.01] —26.04 GA; [26.05 = 2.01, 12.01] —26.06 LY;
26.07—26.20 PH; 26.21—26.22 PI

- [27] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀνγδισση 27.01—27.02 PH
- [28] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἐπηκόω 28.01 PI
- [29] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ζιζιμηνῇ 29.01—29.02 LY
- [30] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ζινγοτηνῇ 30.01 PH
- [31] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ 31.01—31.03 PH
- [32] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κρανοσμεγάλου 32.01 PH
- [33] Μητρὸς Θεῶν μεγάλης 33.01 GA
- [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινω 34.01 PI—34.02 PI
- [35] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειναίᾳ ἐπηχόω 35.01 GA
- [36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ 36.01 PH
- [37] Μητρὶ Ἰμουγαρηνῇ 37.01 LY
- [38] Μητρὶ Καδμηνῇ 38.01 PI
- [39] Μητρὶ Καλλίππου 39.01 PH
- [40] Μητρὶ Κικλέα 40.01—40.02 PH
- [41] Μητρὶ Κοοταδειᾶ 41.01 LY
- [42] Μητρὶ Κουαδατηνῇ 42.01 LY
- [43] Μητρὶ Κουαήνη 43.01 PH
- [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου 44.01 GA; 44.02—44.08 PH
- [45] Μητρὶ Κυβέλη 45.01 PH
- [46] Μητρὶ Λητῶ 46.01—46.04 PH
- [47] Μητρὶ Μάγνη 47.01 GA
- [48] Μητρὶ Μακαρία Ὀσία Δικαία 48.01 PH
- [49] Μητρὶ Μαληνῇ 49.01 PH
- [50] Μητρὶ Μηνὸς 50.01 PH
- [51] Μητρὶ Νουννου 51.01 PH
- [52] Μητρὶ Ὀρεία 52.01 PH; 52.02—52.03 PI
- [53] Μητρὶ Οὐεγνα 53.01 PI
- [54] Μητρὶ Πεπροζετηνῇ 54.01 PH
- [55] Μητρὶ Πλιτανηῶ [55.01 = 20.01] —55.02 GA
- [56] Μητρὶ Πολυετηνῇ 56.01 GA
- [57] Μητρὶ Ποντανηνῇ 57.01 PH
- [58] Μητρὶ Σαλσαλουδηνῇ 58.01 PH
- [59] Μητρὶ Σιλανδηνῇ 59.01 LY
- [60] Μητρὶ Σομ[.]ηνῇ 60.01 PH

- [61] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλῆου 61.01 PH
[62] Μητρὶ Τετραπροσώπῳ 62.01 GA; 62.02 PH
[63] Μητρὶ Τιαιοβευδηνῇ 63.01 PH
[64] Μητρὶ Τυμενηνῇ 64.01 LY; 64.02 PI
[65] Minervae Zizimmenae 65.01 LY
[66] Ο.ΕΓΕΙΝΟΥ 66.01 PI
[67] Τετραπροσώπῳ 67.01 PH
[68] Less Certain Epithets 68.01—68.07



A CATALOGUE OF METER'S CENTRAL ANATOLIAN EPITHETS



A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
1.01 PI; Ἀνγδισει  / θεῶ ἐπηκόω lines 1-2	Bağsaray (formerly Arvalı köyü), Pisidia; the Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1320; Roman Imperial: 1st half of the 2nd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of hexagonal marble with an undercut plinth. On front, the inscription runs above and below a wreath with a fillet. On the panel to the right of the front is a relief of three tied ears of grain, while on the panel to the left is a grape bunch. The remaining panels are plain. H. 0.78; W. 0.40; Th. 0.35; letter H. 0.018.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
2.01 LY [= 12.01, 26.05]; (a) τήν τε / Ἄγγδιστιν καὶ (b) τήν μ[ε- / γάλην μητ]έρα Βοηθηνήν καὶ / (c) θεῶν τήν μητέρα line 2	Konya (Iconium); Alâedin hill; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 203; Roman Imperial: Hadrianic or later	Block of marble broken at left. H. 0.41; W. 0.89; Th. 0.51; letter H. 0.03-0.35.
2.02 LY; Ἀνγδιστ - / εἰ lines 5-6	Akçasar, Lykaonia; in the wall of a house; Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of grey marble, broken below. A small lipped basin is hollowed out of the upper surface. H. 0.46+; W. (upper molding) 0.25; (shaft) 0.22; Th. (upper molding) 0.20; letter H. 0.020-0.030.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
1.01 PI: Ἀνγδισει θεῶ / θεῶ ἐπηκόω / Βρεισηὶς Ἀν- / τίοχου Ἀττά- / (<i>wreath</i>) / λου Ἀρσακου // θυγάτηρ ἰέ-(ν.) / ρεια ἀνέθη- / κεν (<i>vac.</i>) To the Goddess Angdeisis who hears, the priestess Breiseis, daughter of Antiochos, who in turn is the son of Attalos and the grandson of Arsakes, set this up.	Bean 1954, 478-481 no. 9, fig. 13; <i>SEG</i> XIV, 801; Robert 1980, 238-239, Pls. 15-16; <i>CCCA</i> I, 229-30 no. 761, Pl. CLXVI; <i>RECAM</i> V, 9-10 no. 2, Pl. 3. See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [1] Ἀνγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1-2 for extended notes; [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
2.01 LY: [Εὐχομαι θεοὺς σωτῆρας τήν τε Ἄγγδιστιν καὶ τήν με- / γάλην μητ]έρα Βοηθηνὴν καὶ θεῶν τήν μητέρα καὶ τὸν / [.] τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τήν Ἄρτεμιν ἴλεως καὶ ε[ῦ- / νους εἶναι τῇ]ι κολωνεῖαι Εἰκονίωι· καθιέρωσε Μ. / [<i>ca.</i> 17 letters erased] τῇι δὲ γλυκυτάτη πατρίδι· // [- - ----- ὁ] υἱὸς αὐτοῦς τε καὶ τὸν νεῶν σὺν / [-----]. "[I pray] to the saviour gods, Angdistis, and the great Meter Boethene, and Meter of the gods, and . . . Apollo, and Artemis, to be merciful and kindly to the colony of Iconium; [So-and-so] (dedicated this) for his beloved native city; [So-and-so], (his) son, [set] them (i.e., statues of the gods) [up], and also [furnished] the shrine with [every decoration(?)]" (trans. <i>RECAM</i> IV, 5 no. 9).	L. 4: For more on Iconium's status as a Roman colony, see Mitchell 1979, 409-438. L. 5: The erasure is ancient and must have contained the name of the dedicant. Line 6's αὐτοῦς refers to the θεοὺς of line 1 (Calder et al. 1962, 53 no. 297). <i>CIG</i> III, 67 no. 3993 (Lucas), 1108; <i>MAMA</i> VIII, 53 no. 297 and Pl. 12; <i>CCCA</i> I, 233-334 no. 777 and Pl. CLXIX; <i>Hellenica</i> XIII: 70; <i>SEG</i> XXIX, 1737; Magie 1950b, 1405-6; Mitchell 1979, 425; 1993 II, 19-20; <i>RECAM</i> IV, xi, 5 no. 9; and see also Bean 1954, 478-481. See Chapter 4 for multiple-Meter dedications; Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1, 4.
2.02 LY: Μ(ἄρκος) Αἴλιος / Μάντρι- / ος ὁ τοῦ / Μάρκου / Ἀνγδιστ - // εἰ εὐχὴν. M. Aelius Mantrios, son of Macer, to Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Αἴλιος, see <i>KP</i>, § 329, § 1040-7 n. 126. Ll. 2-4: "The name Μαντρίος is extremely rare" and one other example may come from Dorylaeum (<i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 279; see this also for a discussion of the genitive Μάρκου in line 4 as representing the Roman name Macer). See also 22.07 below. <i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 279 (with a photo and sketch of the front and a squeeze). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
2.03 PH; Ἀνγδισί line 1	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; Afyon Karahisar Museum; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. The altar has "projecting mouldings at top (decorated with acroteria in relief) and bottom except at the back, which was left rough; on the shaft at front is a serpent in relief, at right a two-handled amphora, and at left a defaced object. On the left side the sloping surface which joins the top projecting moulding to the shaft bears a roughly carved inscription, so worn as to be nearly illegible" (Drew-Bear 1976, 259 no. 14). H. 1.52; W. (top) 0.515; (shaft) 0.40; (bottom) 0.57; Th. (top) 0.525; (shaft) 0.45; (bottom) 0.56; letter H. 0.05.
2.04 PH; Ἀνγδι- / σι lines 5-6	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. On front is a two-handled <i>amphora</i> , which separates some of the text; on the right side is a five-pointed rosette within a circle; on the left are a pair of bucrania; and the backside is plain. There is a pair of horns at the top of the front side. H. 0.51; W. 0.25-0.235; Th. 0.235; letter H. 0.035.
2.05 PH; Ἀνγ- / δισή lines 3-4	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar, Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone: H. 0.50, W. 0.26-0.28, Th. 0.25; letter H. 0.02-0.0275. The right and left sides have bucrania on each, and on the backside is a six-pointed rosette in a slightly raised circle. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
2.03 PH: Ἀνγδισι / εὐχήν. To Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Drew-Bear 1976, 259-260 no. 14, Pl. 9 (front and right); <i>SEG</i> XXVI, no. 1382.; <i>CCCA</i> I, 53, no. 149. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2; [4] Ἀνγδισι θεᾶ: 1.
2.04 PH: Μενεκ- / ᾄ(ς) Δημο- / κρά- / του / Ἀνγδι- // σι εὐχή- / ν. Menekas, son of Demokritos, to Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: For the name Μενεκᾶς, see <i>KP</i>, § 900. <i>MAMA</i> VI, 135 no. 390, and Pl. 69; <i>Highlands</i>, 295 no. 1, Pl. 605; <i>CCCA</i> I, 54 no. 150. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
2.05 PH: Ἑρμων Ἀν- / θεστίου Ἀ- / ζου Ἀνγ- / διση εὐ- / χήν. Hermon, son of Anthestios and grandson of Azos, to Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Ἑρμων, see <i>KP</i> § 355-43; Ll. 2-3: For the name Ἀζος, see <i>KP</i>, § 20-1 and Int. 158. <i>MAMA</i> VI, 136 no. 393, and Pl. 69; <i>Highlands</i>, 296 no. 4, Pl. 606 (front, back, and one side); <i>CCCA</i> I, 54 no. 153, Pl. XXI (front). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
2.06 PH; Ἀν- / γδοισης line 4-5	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar, Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. The inscription covers the front side from under the horned band down onto the base. On the right side is a bucranium, and on the left is an eight-pointed rosette in a circle. The back is plain. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side. H. 0.51; W. 0.285-0.24; Th. 0.23; letter H. 0.02-0.035.
2.07 PH; Ἀνδιξεος line 6	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas-City, Phrygia. The upper part was found in two pieces at the sanctuary in 1935, and its lower part was excavated in 1936. The inscription in its complete form was first published by Haspels (<i>Highlands</i>, 300 no. 14, Pl. 610). Afyon Karahisar Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	Stele of tuff stone in two parts, but with a complete inscription. It has a pediment crowned by large acroteria, and a grape bunch hangs in the pediment's panel. There is also a "V" sign below the inscription. The bottom center is broken off, but the inscription is complete. The two parts join at line 11. H. 1.55; W. (top) 0.57; (middle) 0.51; Th. 0.30; letter H. 0.025-0.03.
2.08 PH; Ἀνδ- / [ισει lines 2-3	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found in the excavation of 1936; Afyon Karahisar Museum, Inv. nos. 756 and 762; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	Stele of tuff stone in two fragments. Its pediment has small volutes and palmette acroteria. The inscription runs above bead-and-reel and plain moldings. H. 0.66; W. 0.40; Th. 0.25; letter H. 0.03-0.035.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
2.06 PH: Ἀρτᾶς Μη- / νογένου / Μητηνὸς / ἱερεὺς Ἄν- / γδισσης κή // Ἀσκληπιῶ [ε]ὺ- / ξάμενος / ἀνέστησα / εὐχὴν. Artas, son of Menogenes, of Netos*, and priest of Angdistis and Asklepius, having prayed, set this up (in fulfillment of) a vow. *See Column E.	L. 1: For Ἀρτᾶς, see <i>KP</i>, § 108-14, Nachtrag p. 680; and <i>NI</i>, 103, 350. According to Robert (1980, 309 n. 2) the name Ἀρτᾶς is "purely Greek". Ll. 1-2: For the name Μηνογένης, see <i>KP</i>, § 910. L. 3: Μητηνὸς carries the ethnic of a village called either Nétos, Néta, Néton, or Nétoi (<i>NI</i>, 103; Robert 1980, 309-310 n. 2); and apparently, there was a Sicilian town named Neton (<i>MAMA VI</i>, 136 no. 394). <i>MAMA VI</i>, 136 no. 394, and Pl. 69; Robert 1980, 309-310 n. 2; <i>Highlands</i>, 296 no. 5, and Pl. 606 (front, right, and left sides); <i>CCCA I</i>, 54-55 no. 154, and Pl. XXII (front). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
2.07 PH: Πασικράτης κλυτὸν ἔργο[ν] / ἔτευξεν ἑῆς παλάμησ[ι] / Βευδουσοικεινοῦ Παπύλ[ου] / γόνος ἐνθάδε νήων / εὐξάμενος γλυκε- // ρῶς Ἀνδιξεὸς ἀγλα- / ὄν αὖχος ἦτις ἐπ' / ἄλ- / λοδαπῇ διέσωσε / νέον Πυθό[δωρον] // βήμασ[ι ---]ιοις / ἐπελευσάμενος / πελεκήσας εὐχὴν / ἀέναον ξυιδογλύ- / φον εὐπρεπὲς ἔργον // ἔστησα τειμὴν ἱε- / ποῖς ἐπὶ βήμασι θει.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 3, and also 1-2 for Angdistis.
2.08 PH: [ῶ . .]τος ΔΠΛ- / [. . . ε]ὐχὴν Ἀνδ- / [ισει . . . ο]ὐκ ἐτέλεσεν / . . . ΤΗκε . η ἔνδα. (in fulfillment of) a vow, to Angdistis . . . not accomplished	L. 3: Haspels supposed that the vow was not accomplished, judging from line 3; L. 4: τῇ κε . . η "may conceal a dative singular"; and ἔνδα = ἔνθα (<i>Highlands</i>, 301 no. 15). <i>Highlands</i>, 301 no. 15, and Pl. 612; <i>CCCA I</i>, 57-58 no. 164, Pl. XXVII. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
2.09 PH; Ανγδ- / ισει lines 9-10	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found in the excavation of 1936; Afyon Karahisar Museum, Inv. no 714; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	Plaque of grey marble in a <i>tabula ansata</i> with only the left handle preserved. The inscription follows the outline of a standing figure with his right hand across his breast. H. 0.019; W. 0.21; Th. 0.06; letter H. 0.008-0.012.
2.10 PH; Ανγδι[σι or σει]. line 1	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found in the excavation of 1936; Afyon Karahisar Museum, Inv. no 725; Roman Imperial: ca. 3rd century AD	Stele of white marble broken in two pieces: H. 0.17, W. 0.095, D. 0.04; letter H. 0.009. The stele is in the shape of a <i>naiskos</i> with a pediment decorated with acroteria. There is a small "triangle" inside the pediment. The worn away inscription runs along the architrave. A figure flanked by animals and wearing a large and hooded shepherd's cloak stands in the <i>naiskos</i> .

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
3.01 LY [= 22.02]; "Ανγδισι ἐπ[η]κόω (a) (and on another side: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηγῆ (b)) n/a	Sizma (Zizima), Lycaonia; found by Ramsay, but found again by Robinson in the summer of 1924 "in the court of a house in Sizma, with the wooden column of the porch resting upon it" (Robinson 1927, 28, fig. 2); Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> with inscriptions and four defaced reliefs on each side . . . (for the complete description, see Appendix: [1] 'Ανγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1.)

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
2.09 PH: Κλεωνίδη[ς] / ὑπὲρ / γυν- / αικὸ- / ς // καὶ π- / αιδί- / ων / Ἀνγδ- / ισει // εὐ[χρήν]. Kleonides on behalf of his wife and children, to Angdistis, (in fulfillment) of a vow.	Haspels noted that the missing half of the plaque may have contained another figure; and that the representation and dedication “have no parallel among the other examples in this sanctuary” (<i>Highlands</i>, 301). <i>Highlands</i>, 301 no. 16, and Pl. 611; <i>CCCA</i> I, 58 no. 165, Pl. XXVIII. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
2.10 PH: Ἀνγδι[σι or σει]. To Angdistis.	While Telephorus wears a similar cloak as the figure in the stele's <i>naiskos</i>, Haspels supposed that the cloaked figure represents "a shepherd, dedicating an image of himself" (<i>Highlands</i>, 189; and see also the discussion regarding this in Chapter 6; and Drew-Bear, et al. 1999, 374-378). <i>Highlands</i>, 301 no. 17, and Pl. 612; 189; <i>CCCA</i> I, 58 no. 166, Pl. XXVIII. See Chapter 6.8 for the discussion regarding shepherds' cloaks; and Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
3.01 LY: Side B) Ἀνγδισι ἐπ[η]κόω To Angdistis who hears. For all four inscriptions, see Appendix: [3] Ἀνγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [3] Ἀνγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
4.01 PH; Ἀν- / δισσ- / ι θεῶ lines 4-6	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. On front, the depiction of an amphora separates some of the text; on the right side of the altar is a ring with an animal above it; on the left side is a bucranium with an animal above it; and the back side is plain. It may have had a pair of horns at the top of each side. H. 0.51; W. 0.28-0.30; Th. 0.19; letter H. 0.0175.
4.02 PH; Ἀνγδοισι / θεῶ lines 3-4	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. The inscription is on front, while the sides and back are plain. There is a pair of horns at top only on the front. H. 0.40; W. 0.25; Th. 0.22; letter H. 0.025-0.03.
4.03 PH; Ἀ- / νγδοισι / θεῶ lines 2-4	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found in the excavation of 1936; Afyon Karahisar Museum, Inv. no. 709; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of tuff stone. The inscription is on front; on the right side is a coiled snake; on the left is the god Mēn on a prancing horse; and on the back is an eight-pointed rosette in a circular boss. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side. The horse, as well as the protruding band above it, contains traces of red paint. H. 0.49; W. 0.25; Th. 0.21; letter H. 0.025-0.04. See Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδοισι θεῶ: 1.
4.04 PH; [A]- / νγδοισι θ- / εῶ lines 2-4	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found in the excavation of 1936; Afyon Karahisar Museum, Inv. no. 711; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of tuff stone. Below the inscription on front is a bucranium; on right side is a wreath (a concentric circle); and on the left is a six-pointed rosette in a shallow circular boss. The back is plain. There may be a pair of horns at the top of each side. There are traces of red paint on the wreath. H. 0.49; W. 0.24; Th. 0.18; letter H. 0.025-0.04.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
4.01 PH: [N]ουμήνιους Δη- / μοκράτου / εὐξάμεν- / ος Ἀν- / δισσ- / ι θεᾶ ε- / ὑχήν. Note: In <i>MAMA</i> VI, 136 no. 391, Ἀν- / δισσ- / ι θεᾶ reads as Ἀν- / δισσ- / ιος. Nouminious, son of Demokrates, having prayed, to the Goddess Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>MAMA</i> VI, 136 no. 391, Pl. 69; <i>Highlands</i>, 295-296 no. 2, Pl. 605 (front, right, and left sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 54 no. 151, Pl. XXI (front). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
4.02 PH: Καρικὸς / Ἀσκληπίδ- / ου Ἀνγδισι / θεᾶ εὐχή- / ν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ- / ὤ. Karikos, son of Asklepiades, to the Goddess Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow on behalf of himself.	L. 1: For varying views on the origins of the name Καρικός, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 3. <i>MAMA</i> VI, 136, no. 392, Pl. 69; <i>Highlands</i>, 296 no. 3, and Pl. 607; <i>CCCA</i> I, 54 no. 152, Pl. XXI. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
4.03 PH: Καρικὸς / Ἡλίου Ἀ- / νγδισι / θεᾶ εὐ- / χήν. Karikos, son of Helios, to the Goddess Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For varying views on the origins of the name Καρικός, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 3. <i>Highlands</i>, 298 no. 9, Pl. 608 (all four sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 55-56 no. 158, Pl. XXIII (all four sides). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2; [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 1-3.
4.04 PH: Εὐτυχ[ος] / Τατάς [Α]- / νγδισι θ- / εᾶ εὐχή- / ν. Eutuchos, son of Tata, to the goddess Angdistis in fulfillment of a vow.	L. 1: Εὐτυχος is a common Greek name attested since the Classical period (<i>PVS</i>, 384). L. 2: According to Robert (<i>NI</i>, 347-348) Τατά is an indigenous <i>Lallnamen</i> (see also <i>KP</i>, § 1517-1). <i>Highlands</i>, 298 no. 10, Pl. 609 (front and sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 56 no. 160, Pl. XXV (front and sides). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
4.05 PH; Ἀγ- / δισι θεῶ lines 2-3	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found in the excavation of 1936; Afyon Karahisar Museum, Inv. no. 710; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of tuff stone. The inscription is on front; on the right side is a damaged bucranium; on the left is a damaged circular boss, and the back is plain. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side. There are blue paint traces below the inscription and on the protruding base on front; and on the right side, seven rows of red paint traces slant to the right on the protruding upper band. H. 0.49; W. 0.235; Th. 0.175; letter H. 0.025-0.03.
4.06 PH; Ἀ- / νυδισι / θεῶ lines 2-4	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; Afyon Karahisar, Museum, Inv. no. 723; Roman Imperial: c. 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of tuff stone. On front is an amphora which separates some of the text; on the right side is a bucranium; and on the left is a six-pointed rosette in a boss. The back is plain. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side. H. 0.58; W. 0.25; Th. 0.19; letter H. 0.015-0.026.
4.07 PI; θεῶς Ἀνγδισσεω[ς line 2	Örenköy (Viranköy), Pisidia; Undated	Fragment of an architrave. No measurements provided.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
4.05 PH: Ἑρμῆς Μᾶ-/ νουν Ἀγ-/ δισι θεᾷ εὐχήν. Hermes, son of Manes, to the Goddess Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For more on Ἑρμῆς, a theophoric Greek name common from the first century AD onwards, see <i>KP</i>, § 585; <i>PVS</i>, 384. Ll. 1-2: the first letter of line 2 is uncertain and may be a ν, γ, or π. Haspels suggested that Μᾶ-/ νουν may be derived from Μανησ, the name of the legendary Lydian King, see <i>Highlands</i>, 1971, 299; <i>KP</i>, § 858-9 for Μανους; and for the name Μανης, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾷ: 4. <i>Highlands</i>, 299 no. 11, Pl. 609 (front and sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 56 no. 159, Pl. XXIV, (front and sides). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
4.06 PH: Μενεκᾶς / Ουαζου Ἀ- / νγδισι / θεᾷ [ε]- / ὑχήν. Menekas, son of Vazos (or Thazos?)*, to the Goddess Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow. *See column E.	L. 1: For the name Μενεκ- / ᾱ(ς), see <i>KP</i>, § 900. L. 2: The O in Ουαζου may actually be a Θ (see <i>Highlands</i>, 299 no. 12). <i>Highlands</i>, 299 no. 12, Pl. 610 (front and sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 56 no. 161, Pl. XXVI (front and sides). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.
4.07 PI: [. . .] καὶ Κουρδουνέω[ν? . . .] / [. . . .] θεᾷς Ἀνγδισσεω[ς . . .] / [.] ΗΙΜΕΝΟC τὸν υἱ[ὸν . . .] / [.] εὐβοσιάρχη[ν . . .]. See column E.	L. 4: εὐβοσιάρχης appears on an architrave fragment from Yaka Emir (<i>MAMA</i> VIII, 70 no. 400 and Pl. 17). See also <i>CCCA</i> I, 171-172 no. 571 which contains εὐποσιάρχης. <i>MAMA</i> VIII, 70 no. 396, Pl. 16; <i>Hellenica</i> XIII, 108; <i>CCCA</i> I, 231 no. 767; <i>IK Sultan Dağı</i> I, 104 no. 561. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
5.01 LY; Βοηθηνη line 5	Konya (Iconium); Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1148; Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of reddish limestone with two lions in relief flanking a large cross. A roundel with a whorl pattern adorns the back side. An inscription, now damaged, originally ran across the horizontal bar (of the cross) and on uprights above the lions' heads. The cross may have been carved later for Christian propaganda (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 6 no. 10). H. (total) 0.52; (base) 0.12; W. 0.28, Th. 0.24, letter H. 0.0175-0.03 (very irregular, with the B and N of BOΘHNH measuring 0.03)

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
6.01 PH; εὐκτέω θεᾶ / Ἀνγδιση lines 2-3	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar Museum; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. The front and back sides have bucrania; whereas the left and right sides have wreaths with long draping fillets. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side. H. 1.13; W. 0.465-0.515; Th. 0.36; letter H. 0.02-0.03.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
7.01 GA; Θ[ε]- / ᾗς Ἰσπελουνην[ῆ] / ς lines 2-3	Yukarı Ağız Açık (= Yeşilyaylı?), Galatia; Roman Imperial, c. AD 250- 300	Plain block damaged below. H. 0.58; W. 0.55; Th. 0.10, letter H. 0.02- 0.0275.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
5.01 LY: ΘΥ[- -] / Ε[- -] / (<i>below</i>) / Ἡρώδου<υῖ>ός / Θιννασιωτη[ς] / Βοηθηνῆ εὐ- // ^{vv}χήν. son of Herodes of Thinnasia, to Boethene (in <i>fulfillment</i> of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: These originally contained a proper name in the nominative. L. 3: The name Herodes may be Levantine. The end of the line reads ΙΥΟΣ: lapis. L. 4: Θιννασιωτη[ς] carries an ethnic (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 5-6 no. 10). <i>RECAM</i> IV, 5-6 no. 10, figs. 12-13 (<i>bomos</i> and squeeze). See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1, 4.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
6.01 PH: Ἑρμῶν Ἀπολλωνί- / ου εὐκτέω θεᾷ / Ἀνγδισι ἀνέ(σ)τη- / σα εὐχήν. Hermon, son of Apollonios, set this up for the prayer-receiving Goddess Angdistis (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: For more on this particular dedicant, also attested in monument 27.01, see Appendix: [6] εὐχτέω θεᾷ Ἀνγδισι: 2. For the name Ἑρμῶν, see <i>KP</i>, § 355-43. For the Greek name Ἀπολλώνιος, see Appendix: [6] εὐκτέω θεᾷ Ἀνγδισι: 3. L. 3: A sigma is omitted in ἀνέ(σ)τη- / σα (<i>MAMA</i> VI, 137 no. 137). <i>MAMA</i> VI, 137 no. 396, and Pl. 69; Bean 1954, 480 n. 35; <i>Highlands</i>, 297 no. 7, and Pl. 607 showing the front and one side; <i>CCCA</i> I, 55 no. 156, Pl. XXII, 156 (front); and also Robert 1963, 508 and n. 4. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
7.01 GA: Αὐρ. Κυρίων Ἑρμο- / δόρου (<i>sic</i>) ἱερεύς θε[ε]- / ᾱς Ἰσπελουνην[ῆ]- / ς (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [7] Θεᾷς Ἰσπελουνηνῆς: 1.)	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [7] Θεᾷς Ἰσπελουνηνῆς: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
8.01 PH; [μ]ητρὶ θεῶ line 2	Emet, Phrygia; found in the east cemetery; Undated	"Grey marble <i>bomos</i> ; sides of capital broken and buried, broken off behind; rather worn letters" (<i>MAMA X</i> , 172 no. 527). Line 1 runs along the capital, while lines 2-3 are in the upper shaft. H. (exposed above ground) 0.58 ; W. (at the broken top) 0.52 ; (shaft) 0.44; Th. 0.30 - broken at back; letter H. 0.025-0.03.
8.02 PH; Θεῶ μητρὶ	Gediz (Kadoi), Phrygia; Undated	No description nor dimensions provided.
8.03 PI; Θεῶ Μητρὶ line 1	Çiçekler (Karacahisar), Pisidia; discovered in 1961 on the eastern bank of the River İrmak, and built into "a roadside çeşme [Akçapınar çeşmesi], about 1/2 km. north of the point where the side-track to Karacahisar leaves the main east-west road" (Hall 1968, 67); Undated	Block of speckled grey limestone broken above, to left, and to the right. H. 0.29, W. 0.86, Th. 0.23, letter H. 0.03 cm.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
9.01 PH; Θεῶ τετραπρόσω- / πῶ lines 3-4	Dorylaeum (Eskişehir), Phrygia. "The provenance . . . is uncertain, but believed to be the villages around Eskişehir" (Macpherson 1954, 11 n. 2). Eskişehir Archaeological Museum Depot, Inv. No. 192; Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of grey marble with acroteria and moldings on all sides. On the right side is a wreath between two bucrania. The stone is broken on the sides and rear and part of the inscribed area is damaged and worn. H. (visible) 0.777; W. 0.505; Th. 0.457; letter H. 0.019-0.022.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
8.01 PH: [Ἀπο]λλοφάνης / [μ]ητρὶ θεᾷ / εὐχὴν Apollophanes, to the Mother Goddess, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	MAMA X, 172 no. 527 (with a sketch), Pl. LIV (squeeze).
8.02 PH: Θεᾷ μητρὶ εὐχὴν ἅ- / νέθηκεν Ἀμίας καὶ ὕ- / πὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀπελλᾶ. To the Mother Goddess, Amias set up this dedication (in <i>fulfillment</i> of a vow) on behalf (of herself) and her husband Apellas.	L. 2: For the name Ἀμίας, see <i>KP</i>, § 57-5, 57-12. L. 3: For the name Ἀπελλᾶς, see <i>KP</i>, § 72. Reinach 1886, 157 no. 6.
8.03 PI: ὁ δῆ[μ]ος <i>vac.</i> ΠΕΔΑΙΕΩΝ Θεᾷ Μητ[ρί] / [<i>vac.</i>?] ἐποίησεν τὴν ἐστίαν ἐγκ (<i>sic</i>) [τῶν / αὐ] τῆς ἀναλωμάτων κατὰ [.] / [. . .] ἀν διὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ ? φ[λαοῦ] ? / broken below The people of Pedaieon, to the Mother Goddess, made the altar at their own expense according to . . . by means of the person in charge of the construction	L. 1: For the uncertain name of the community which set up the dedication (i.e. ΠΕΔΑΙΕΩΝ), and for the duties of the ἐπιμελητής, see Hall 1968, 67 no. 7 and n. 59-60. Hall 1968, 67 no. 7 and Pl. IVc (squeeze); <i>CCCA</i> I, 232 no. 770; <i>cf.</i> <i>BE</i>, 1969 no. 575.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
9.01 PH: [ἁ]γαθὴ τύχη / . ΙΚΑΒΟΠ ΟΙ / θεᾷ τετραπροσώ- / πω [εὐ]χὴν. With good fortune. The people of Ikabop—, to the Goddess Tetraprosopos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 2: "Unfortunately the condition of the stone prevents a satisfactory restoration of line 2, which presumably conceals an ethnic. The squeeze rules out the possibility of a name ending in -αγορά" (Macpherson 1954, 13 no. 4). Macpherson 1954, 13 no. 4; <i>SEG</i> XIV, 782. See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [67] Τετραπροσώπω: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
10.01 GA; Κλιντην[ῆ] line 3	The cemetery below Karanlı Kale, Galatia; Undated	Votive stele depicting the seated goddess flanked by felines. From the sketch it appears that the upper portion and most of the lion at right hasn't survived (MAMA VII, no. 475, fig. 475). The inscription runs below the relief. No dimensions provided.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
11.01 GA [= 26.01]; Matris Magnae (a); translated as Μητρὸς Θεῶν (b) in the Greek text of the bilingual Col. 4: Chap. 19.1-2	Temple of Augustus and Rome, Ankara, Galatia; Column 4 of the bilingual <i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti's</i> Latin text; on the right anta inside of the pronaos (Cooley 2009, 9, fig. 3; <i>GLIA</i> , 67-68); Early Roman Imperial: c. AD 19 (Mitchell 1986, 29-30; Cooley 2009, 8-9)	Column 4 of the Latin text: "mostly well preserved" aside from where it covers the fourth block and also the damage caused by metal theft at the right edge between the second and third courses from the top (<i>GLIA</i> , 69). H. 2.47; max. W. (at line 44) 1.17; letter H. 0.019-0.037 (not including line 52). For the traces of gold gilt used for the walls and the traces of red paint used for the lettering of both the Greek and Latin texts, see <i>GLIA</i> , 68.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
10.01 GA: Διο[τ]ρέφης καὶ Δ[ό]- / μνος Καλλιστράτου [έ]- / πὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ Κλιντην[ῃ] / εὐχήν. Diotrephes and Domnos, children of Kallistratos, on behalf of their family, to Klintene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 2-3: For the name Δόμνος, see <i>KP</i>, § 1581. Only one letter is lost at the end of the second line. Ll. 1-2: For Δ[ό]- / μνος, see <i>KP</i> §1581. <i>MAMA</i> VII, no. 475, fig. 475, and also xxxiii.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
11.01 GA: The Latin Text, Column 4, Chapter 19.1-2: <i>Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum templumque Apollinis in . . .</i> (for the complete inscriptions in both the Latin and corresponding Greek, see Appendix: [11] <i>Matris Magnae</i>: 1.	As points of departure: Cooley 2009; <i>GLIA</i>, 67-138. See Appendix: [11] <i>Matris Magnae</i>: 1-2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
12.01 LY [= 2.01, 26.05]; (a) τήν τε / Ἄγγδιστιν καὶ (b) τήν μ[ε- / γάλην μητ]έρα Βοηθηνήν καὶ / (c) θεῶν τήν μητέρα line 2	Konya (Iconium); Alâedin hill; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 203; Roman Imperial: Hadrianic or later	Block of marble broken at left. H. 0.41; W. 0.89; Th. 0.51; letter H. 0.03- 0.35.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
13.01 GA; Μητρὶ lines 2-3	Found in Güce Köyü (in the vicinity of Mihalıççık), Galatia; Eskişehir Museum, Inv. no. A- 21-72; Roman Imperial: 2nd -3rd Century AD	Stele of limestone with a triangular recessed pediment and acroteria (of which only the right one is preserved). Broken at top and bottom. H. 0.30; W. 0.16-0.195; Th. 0.065; letter H. 0.025- 0.03.
13.02 GA; Μητ- / ρὶ lines 4-5	Found in Güce Köyü (in the vicinity of Mihalıççık), Galatia; Eskişehir Museum, Inv. no. A- 22-72; Roman Imperial: 2nd Century AD	Stele of limestone with a pediment and base. Damaged at the top. H. 0.33; W. 0.115-0.145; Th. 0.065-0.07; letter H. 0.013-0.025.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
13.03 GA; Μητρεε line 3	Sultan Mezarlık (south of Kozanlı), Galatia; copied by Anderson and transcribed by Calder (Calder 1911, 212 no. LXVI) (see also 13.4 GA); Undated	"Altar, with serpent in relief on one side. The letters are clear" (Anderson 1899, 123 no. 132).
13.04 GA; Μητρι line 4	Kozanlı, Galatia; found by Calder in 1910 (Calder 1911, 212) (see also 13.3 GA); Undated	Small octagonal <i>bomos</i> with four wide and four narrow sides. At front is a wreath on the shaft below the inscription, and on the back are two serpents. "Part of the inscription is engraved in a sunk space at the top: the remainder on the face of the altar" (Calder 1911, 212). Measurements not provided.
13.05 LY; Μη[τ]ρι line 2	Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Lycaonia; Undated	Bust of the Mother goddess with the inscription at bottom. H. 0.37, W. 0.17-0.23, letter H. 0.015-0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
13.03 GA: Μηνουδουτο / Έσταρτωνος / Μητερε στησ- / ον (Calder 1911, 212 no. LXVI); <i>cf.</i> Μηνούδουτο(ν) (= Μηνόδοτον) Έστάρτωνος μήτ(η)ρ ἔστησ(ε)ν (Anderson 1899, 123 no. 132). Menoudouto, son of Straton, set this up for Meter.	Ll. 3-4: στησ- / ον is "probably first person singular" and a variation of ἀνεστήσομεν, which appears in an inscription Calder copied in northern Lycaonia (Calder 1911, 212). Anderson 1899, 123 no. 132, Pl. IV (map of Galatia cis Halym); Calder 1911, 212-213 no. LXVI. See Appendix: [13] Μητρὶ: 1; [4] Ἀνγδισι θεᾶ: 1.
13.04 GA: ΠΑΝΜ[. . . .] / ΜΑΣ / [. . . .] / ανης Μητρὶ / εὐχὴν. *, to Meter, (in fulfillment of) a vow. *See Column E.	Ll. 2-3: Calder noted that while there is room between lines 2 and 3, the space may have never been engraved (1956, 97 no. 434, Pl. 140). Calder proposed the names Ἄνης (fem.) or Μασάνης after the Lydian hero (Calder 1911, 213 n. 77c). Α is the first letter in line 4 (Calder 1956, 97, no. 434 and Pl. 140). Calder 1911, 212-213 with an accompanying sketch; <i>MAMA</i> VII, 97 no. 434, and a sketch (front-top with inscription) on p. 140; <i>CCCA</i> I, 18 no. 41. See also Anderson 1899, Pl. IV (map of Galatia cis Halym). See Appendix: [13] Μητρὶ: 1; [20] Ἀνγδισι θεᾶ: 1.
13.05 LY: Ματεις ΤΑΠΕ- / ΙΔΜΩΝΟΣ Μη[τ]ρὶ / εὐχὴν. Mateis . . . to Meter, (in fulfillment of) a vow.? *See Column E.	L. 1: For the indigenous <i>Lallnamen</i> Ματεις, see <i>NI</i>, 339, 348 and n. 1; <i>KP</i>, § 882-2, Int. 33. Ll. 1-2: On the possibility of ΤΑΠΕ- / ΙΔΜΩΝΟΣ being divided as Τα Πειδμωνος, with τα in line 1 being the genitive of τας, see <i>MAMA</i> VII, 1 no. 2. L. 2: the trace of the stonecutter's guide line may be adding to the confusion of whether the Ι and Δ of line 2 are not ΓΔ (Calder 1956, 1 no. 2). <i>MAMA</i> VII, 1 no. 2, Pl. 125; <i>CCCA</i> I, 239 no. 795.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
13.06 PH; Μη- / τρι lines 2-3.	Mezea, Phrygia; from Mezea, but found in Eskişehir in the cemetery east of the city in 1883 Undated	Stele of bluish limestone broken into an upper and lower part. There is a bucranium relief in its pediment. H. (of fragment A) 0.56; (of fragment B) 1.13; W. 0.45; Th. 0.13.
13.07 PH; Μητρι line 3.	From the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods on Mount Türkmen Baba, Phrygia (see Appendix: [26] Μητρι Θεῶν: 4); Roman Imperial	Rectangular block of bluish marble. Poorly made. H. 0.245; W. 0.16; Th. 0.14; letter H. 0.025-0.035.
13.08 PH; Μη / τρι lines 2-3.	From the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods on Mount Türkmen Baba, Phrygia (see Appendix: [26] Μητρι Θεῶν: 4); Roman Imperial	Stele of bluish marble of which only the lower part is preserved. Poorly made. H. 0.26; W. 0.19-0.225; Th. 0.05; letter H. 0.015-0.02.
13.09 PH; Μητρι line 2	Malos, Phrygia; in the village of Kilise-Orhaniye (= Malos), now named Gökçeyayla; Roman Imperial	Slab of white marble. The upper part is missing. The inscription runs beneath a goddess standing in what appears to be a <i>naiskos</i> . H. 0.095; W. 0.11; Th. 0.022; letter H. 0.012-0.07.
13.10 PH; Μητρι line 2	Selçukler (Sebaste), Phrygia; Found in the ruins of a Byzantine church; Afyon archaeological museum; Undated	Relief of marble with an inscription beneath a horseman riding towards the right. In the horseman's raised right hand, but in a deteriorated state, is what may be a <i>bipennis</i> (known to be the weapon of the deity). The relief and inscription's measurements are unknown.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
13.06 PH: A) the upper part: Μ[ε]ζ[ε]αν- / [ο]ἰ Ἡρακλῆ / [Α]νεικήτω / [Μεζ]ανῶ κέ εκ . . . B) the lower part: . . . χοι καὶ / Μεξεανοὶ Μη- / τρὶ εὐχήν. A) The Mezeanoi, to Hercules the Unconquerable . . . (?) B) . . . and the Mezeanoi, to Meter, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	This was a double dedication, to both Hercules the Unconquerable and the Mother (Radet 1895, 572-572 no. XXII, figs. A and B). B. L. 2: Ramsay believed that "Mezea was in the territory of Dorylaeum" (Ramsay 1897b, 504 no. LXXIX). von Domaszewski, 1883, 177 no. 25, figs. A and B; Radet 1895, 572-573 no. XXII, figs. A and B and Pl. III for a map of Dorylaeum's surroundings; Ramsay 1897, 504 no. LXXIX; CCCA I, 64-65 no. 193. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.
13.07 PH: AMNA . / Ε . . ΔΟ / Μητρὶ / εὐχήν. (?) . . . to Meter, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>Highlands</i>, 194-195; 344 no. 121, Pl. 634, and also Pls. 250 and 491 for photos of Mount Türkmen Baba and of the crudely built wall respectively; CCCA I, 64 no. 191. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.
13.08 PH: [- - -] / ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ Μη- / τρὶ εὐχήν. . . . on behalf of a son, to Meter, in fulfillment of a vow.	<i>Highlands</i>, 194-195, 345 no. 122, Pl. 634, and also Pls. 250 and 491 for photos of Mount Türkmen Baba and of the crudely built wall respectively; CCCA I, 64 no. 192. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.
13.09 PH: Ἐπιτύν- / χανος Μητρὶ / εὐχήν. Epitunchanos, to Meter, in fulfillment of a vow.	Ll.1-2: For the Greek name Ἐπιτύνχανος, which was common under the Roman Empire, see <i>PVS</i>, 384. <i>Highlands</i>, 169-170, 319 no. 52, fig. 619; CCCA I, 41 no. 117, Pl. XVI. See Appendix: [49] Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ: 1.
13.10 PH: Ἀμμία Μελίτονος Ἡλίῳ / Λερβηῶ καὶ Μητρὶ εὐ- / χήν. Ammia, daughter of Meliton, to Helios Lairbeos and Meter, in fulfillment of a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1, and especially 2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
14.01 PH; Μη- / [τρ]ῖ Ἀκρεανῆ lines 1-2	Eskişehir (Dorylaeum), Phrygia; found in the Hoşmüdiye neighborhood's power station yard and said to have been brought there from the former Armenian cemetery; Undated	<i>Bomos</i> of marble recently split into two (for the complete description, see Appendix: [14] Μητρὶ Ἀκρεανῆ: 1).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
15.01 PI; Μητρὶ Ἀλασσηνῆ line 1	Karamanlı (Alassos), Pisidia. “Gefunden im Feld von Bekir Ağa Bei Karamanlı, heute mit Nr. 12 aufgestellt am Eingang des Teegartens bei der Quelle Kocapınar, die am Ortsausgang von Karamanlı an der Straße nach Tefenni liegt” (Corsten et al. 1998, 52). Roman Imperial: 1st or 2nd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of white marble with acroteria and a relief . . . (for the complete description, see Appendix: [14] Μητρὶ Ἀλασσηνῆ: 1).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
16.01 LY; Μητρὶ Ἀμλασεν- / ζηνῆ lines 1-2	In the region of Cihanbeyli, Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1970.26.143; Roman Imperial	Reddish limestone statue of Kybele seated between two lions. The inscription runs along the statue base. H. 0.30 (broken at top); W. 0.32; Th. 0.17; letter H. 0.015.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
14.01 PH: Ἀκλεανοὶ Μη- / [τρ]ὶ Ἀκρεανῆ εὐ- / χήν. The Akleanoi, to Meter Akreane (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: "The interchangeability of Λ and Π is neatly illustrated" (<i>MAMA</i> V, 4 no. 7). Frei (1988, 24-25 no. 11), however, suggests the possibility of there being a Σ preceding the initial Α in line 1, thus spelling a yet to be elsewhere attested Σακλεανοί; and he is right to be suspicious of variant spellings within the same line. <i>MAMA</i> V, 4 no. 7, Pl 15, 7 A-C (front, left, and right sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 66 no. 198, Pl. XXXVI (front, left, and right sides); Frei 1988, 24-25 no. 11. See Appendix: [14] Μητρὶ Ἀκρεανῆ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
15.01 PI: Μητρὶ Ἀλασσηνῆ / Ἀρτέμων Σω[. .] / ΜΑΡΙ ^{vac} ΟΖ[. .] / Relief / ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας / καὶ προκοπῆς · Μ(άρχου)· // Καλπουρνίου · Λόγ- / γου · τοῦ δεσπότη / αὐτοῦ · εὐξάμενος / ^{vacat} ἀνέξ ^{vac} τησεν. To Meter Alassene, Artemon . . . having prayed, erected this for the well-being and progress of his master M. Calpurnius Longus.	L. 1: The name Alassos refers to the property of a high Hittite official from the Late Bronze Age (13th century BC) (Corsten et al. 1998, 56; Talloen et al. 2004, 435; and for other inscriptions in connection with Alassos, see Corsten et al. 1998, 54-58 nos. 4-5). L. 2: For the name Ἀρτέμων, akin to the Greek theophoric, see <i>KP</i> § 108-11 n. 416. L. 6: For the name Calpurnius, see <i>NI</i>, 50; and also monument 17.02. Corsten et al. 1998, 51-53 no. 3, p. 56, Pl. 18. See Appendix: [15] Μητρὶ Ἀλασσηνῆ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
16.01 LY: Μητρὶ Αμλασεν- / ζηνῆ εὐχήν. To Meter Amlasenzene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ἀμλασενζηνη may bear the ethnic of a place name such as "Amlasenza" (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 7 no. 14). <i>RECAM</i> IV, 7 no. 14, figs. 19-20 (photo and squeeze).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
16.02 LY; Μητρὶ Ἀμλασενζη- / [ν]ῆ lines 2-3	Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Lycaonia; Roman Imperial: 2nd or 3rd century AD.	Grey marble base of a feline statuette, of which only the front paws and right back paw survive. The inscription runs along the base below the two front paws. H. 0.15+; W. 0.23; Th. 0.21; letter H. 0.015-0.025.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
17.01 LY; Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνῆ a single-line inscription	Ağalar, Lycaonia; Undated	Lintel with a broken upper molding. A single-line inscription runs beneath a course of vine leaves and grape bunches. H. 0.28; W. 1.7; Th. c. 0.25; letter H. 0.03.
17.02 LY; Μητρὶ Ἀνδε- / ιρηνῆ lines 6-7	Eldeş, Phrygia; found by the house of Mevlüt Doğan; Roman Imperial	Stele of white marble broken on the right. The inscription begins in the pediment and continues onto the field. H. 0.56; W. 0.26; letter H. 0.02.
17.03 LY; Μητρὶ Ἀ- / [ν]δειρηνῆ lines 1-2	Konya District, Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum (no inventory no.); Roman Imperial	Limestone statue of a seated female (with head now missing). Her hands rest on the heads of felines worked into the design of the throne. The inscription runs across the base molding. The letters are irregular, and several are even tilted. H. 0.35; W. 0.27; Th. 0.17; letter H. 0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
16.02 LY: Αἴλιος Λόνγος / Μητρὶ Ἀμλασενζη- / [v]ῆ εὐχὴν. Aelius Longus, to Meter Amlasenzene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For the name Αἴλιος at Laodicea, see also <i>MAMA</i> XI, no. no. 257. See also <i>KP</i>, § 329, § 1040-7 n. 126. <i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 256 (with photo and squeeze).

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
17.01 LY: Μάμας Μενελάου Κινδυριαεΐτης οἰκοῦντος ἐν Λαγεῖνοις Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῇ κατὰ κέλευσιν. Mamas, son of Menelaos, of Kinduria and resident among the Lageinians, to Meter Andeirene, as commanded.	While Μάμας was from Kindyria, he appears to have resided in Lageina (Ilgin?) (Calder 1932, 457; see also <i>MAMA</i> VII, xvii-xviii). For the name Μάμας, a native Phrygian name, see <i>KP</i>, § 910 n. 197; <i>NI</i>, 439, 443, 526; <i>PVS</i>, 387. Calder 1932, 457 no. 13, 461 no. 20; <i>MAMA</i> VII, 21 no. 106, Pl. 7, and also xvii-xviii; <i>IK Sultan Dağı</i> 82 no. 381, and see also the Tyraion chapter introduction on p. 61. See Appendix: [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῇ: 1-2.
17.02 LY: [Υπ]ἔρ κυ[ρίου] / [Λ.?] Κ(αλπουρνίου) Πρόκλο[υ] / σωτηρίας / Εὐκαρπος / οἰκονόμος // Μητρὶ Ἀνδε- / ρηνῇ εὐχὴν. "Eukarpos, the administrator of the property of L. Calpurnius Proculus, made this dedication to Meter Andeirene for the well-being of his master" (Chaniotis, and Mylonopoulos, 2006, 380 no. 142).	Ll. 1-2: ερκυ / ΚΠΙΟΚΛΟ are how the first two lines read before Ricl's restoration. If Ricl's restoration is correct, it "supplies new evidence of major estate-owners in the area" (Ricl 2003b, 111). For the name Calpurnius, see <i>NI</i>, 50; and also monument 15.01. <i>IK Sultan Dağı</i>, no. 404; Ricl 2003b, 111 n. 41; Chaniotis, and Mylonopoulos, 2006, 380 no. 142). See Appendix: [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῇ: 1.
17.03 LY: Καρικὰ Μητρὶ Ἀ- / [v]δερηνῇ εὐχὴν. Karika, to Meter Andeirene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the dedicant's name Καρικὰ, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 3. <i>RECAM</i> IV, 6 no. 12, figs. 16-17 (photos: statue and squeeze). See Appendix: [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδερηνῇ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
17.04 LY; Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρην- / ῥῆ lines 2-3	Konya district (Çeşmeli Zebir?) Lycaonia. "In 1908 this stone was seen by Calder at Cheshmeli Zebir in the hands of a Greek itinerant merchant" (Buckler et al. 1924, 26-27 no. 3; Calder 1932, 461 no. 20). Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 251; Roman Imperial, 3rd-4th centuries AD	Marble statuette of a heavily draped woman (now headless) standing on an oblong pedestal along which the inscription runs. Her right palm is raised to her chest and facing outwards. Her neck with a beaded necklace is revealed. The P of Ἀνδειρην/ῥῆ resembles an A tilted to the right, according to a later fashion (Buckler et al. 1924, 26 no. 3). H. 0.3; W. 0.21; Th. 0.14; letter H. 0.01-0.015.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
18.01 GA; Μητρὶ Βεδδου- / τῶν lines 3-4	Brought from Ahiler Köyü, Galatia; Eskişehir Museum, Inv. no. A- 188-79; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd Century AD	Stele of white limestone with a base and a triangular pediment with acroteria (the one in the center alone is preserved). A pine cone sits in the tympanum. Guiding lines are visible. The stele is broken off at the left. H. 0.62; W. 0.228-0.26; Th. 0.06; letter H. 0.01-0.02.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
19.01 PH; Μητρὶ Γο- / νανη lines 2-3	Ayvalı (1) (NW of Emet), Phrygia; found in a fountain in the center of the village. Note: This is not the Ayvalı near Seyitgazi (Nacoleia). Roman Imperial: possibly the 2nd century AD	"Grey marble <i>bomos</i> of large size; front has vertical curved double bar on either side of capital; stylized ivy wreath on shaft; r. side narrower; double-barred as front, with top of shaft filled with wreath; l. side similar; back moulded but no inscription; lettering strong and well-preserved" (MAMA IX, 26 no. 67).

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
17.04 LY: Δουδα κὲ Μάνης Non- / νας Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρην- / ῆ εὐχὴν. Douda and Manes, children of Nonna, to Meter Andeirene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνη: 3, and also 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
18.01 PH: Φιλλῆς καὶ / [Α]πας (ἄ)δελφοὶ / Μητρὶ Βεδδου- / τῶν εὐχὴν. The brothers Philles and Apas, to Meter Bedduton, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 2: For Απας, see <i>KP</i>, § 66-1. Ricl 1994, 172 no. 29 and fig. 29; <i>SEG</i> XLIV, no. 1062.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
19.01 PH: Ἀντίοχος Διογέ- / νους Μητρὶ Γο- / νανη εὐχὴν / καὶ τὴν τρά- / πεζαν Antiochos, son of Diogenes, to Meter Gonane, in fulfillment of a vow, and the table.	Ll. 2-3: Γο- / νανη may refer a village close to Ayvalı. On the other hand, an inscription found in a cave in Caria between Aphrodasias and Tabae contains the inscription Δὲ Γονέως (<i>BE</i>, 190 no. 211; <i>MAMA</i> IX, 26 no. 67). Ll. 4-5: The <i>bomos</i> itself may itself be the table of the deity (<i>MAMA</i> IX, 26 no. 67; Levick 1971, 80-84). <i>MAMA</i> IX, 26 no. 67, Pl. IX (front).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
20.01 GA [= 55.01]; Μη- / τρι / Πλ- / ιτα- / ηνῶ (a) / καὶ Εἰσοινδηνη (b) lines 1-2, 6	Found in Güce Köyü (in the vicinity of Mihalıççık), Phrygia; Eskişehir Museum, Inv. no. A-23-72; Roman Imperial: 3rd Century AD	Stele of marble with a rounded pediment and broken into three fragments (now joined). Two long-haired goddesses with identical long gowns and coats stand side by side. The inscription wraps around the two figures counter-clockwise so that lines 3-6 fall to the right of the relief. H. 0.50; W 0.29; Th. 0.05; letter H. 0.015-0.02 cm.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
21.01 PH; Μητρι Εσ - - - -	Aydıncık (formerly Işıklar), (NW of Aizanoi), Phrygia. "1997 in den Feldern südlich des Dorfes, vom Fußballplatz aus ca. 500 m weiter nach Süden am Rand eines ost-westlich verlaufenden Feldwegs, von dem hier ein Weg nach Süden hügelan absteigt" (Lehmle and Wörrle 2006, 73 no. 132). Undated.	Small round altar, badly damaged with the upper part broken and its base still in the ground. D. ca. 0.38; letter H. 0.54. The altar and the two large stone slabs found besides it, are probably the remnants of the sanctuary to this Meter (Lehmle and Wörrle 2006, 73 no. 132).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
22.01 GA; Μητρι Ζιμμ- / ηνῆ line 1	Çatak, Galatia Roman Imperial Period	"Statue base, the inscription on a stepped recess in the middle, flanked on either side by bucrania and by six-pointed rosettes" (<i>RECAM</i> II, 277-278 no. 361 and 420 fig. 4; cf. <i>MAMA</i> VII, 109 no. 515). Measurements not provided.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
20.01 GA: ΥΡΑ / ΥΝ Ι ΙΙΙΙ Η Μη- / τρι / Πλ- / ιτα- // ηνῶ / καὶ Εἰσσινδηνῆ / εὐχὴν. Ricl at first misread the ΠΙ in Πλ- / ιτα- / ηνῶ as ΠΑ (Ricl 2017, 143 n. 164). to Meter Plitano and Eissindene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: The damaged first two lines probably contained the name of the dedicant. L. 7: Three known cities and one village, all in Ionia, bore the name Εἰσσινδηνή. Ricl supposes there must have been a community by that name close to where the stele was found (Ricl 1994, 173 no. 31; <i>KO</i> 202-203 § 384-1, 2, 3). Ricl 1994, 173 no. 31 and fig. 31; <i>SEG</i> XLIV, 1064; Ricl 2017, 143 n. 164. See Chapter 4 regarding multiple Meter dedications; see also Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδιαι: 4.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
21.01 PH: Ἀκύλα[ς - - -] / Μητρι Εσ - - - - / εὐχ[ήν]. Aquila . . . to Meter Es— (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Lehmler and Wörrle 2006, 73 no. 132 fig. 54; Chaniotis 2009, 331-332 no. 73; <i>SEG</i> LVI, 1431.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
22.01 GA: Συγενικὸν Μετρι Ζιμμ- / ηνῆ εὐχὴν. The kinsmen, to Meter Zimmene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For more on συγενικός, see <i>RECAM</i> II, 277-278 no. 361. Ll. 1-2: Calder calls Ζιμμ/ηνῆ "a slip for Ζιζιμηνῆ" (<i>MAMA</i> VII, 109 no. 515). <i>MAMA</i> VII, 109 no. 515, 142 fig. 515; <i>RECAM</i> II, 277-278 no. 361 and 420 fig. 4; <i>CCCA</i> I, 20 no. 47. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρι Ζιζιμηνῆ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
22.02 LY [= 3.01]; (b) Μητρι Ζιζιμμηνη (and on another side: (a) Ἀνγδοισι ἐπ[η]κόω) Side D, a single line inscription	Sizma (Zizima), Lycaonia; rediscovered by Robinson in the summer of 1924 "in the court of a house in Sizma, with the wooden column of the porch resting upon it" (Robinson 1927, 28, fig. 2); Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> with inscriptions on each side and four defaced reliefs. See Appendix: Ἀνγδοισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1.
22.03 LY; Μητρι Ζιζιμμηνη line 2	Sizma (Zizima), Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 119. Roman Imperial: 1st-2nd centuries AD	Block of molded marble with the inscription on its first and second moldings. The right of the inscription is incomplete. "It must have been the narrow lintel of some monument" (Robinson 1927, 27). H. 0.17; W. 0.58; Th. 0.30; letter H. 0.02-0.025. Ligatures: in both line 1 and 2's NH.
22.04 LY; Μητρι Ζιζι- / μμηνη lines 2-3	Either from Sizma (Zizima) or Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia (Ramsay 1905a, 367). Roman Imperial: probably 3rd century AD (CCCA I, 237-238 no. 787).	Statuette of "blue-grey, large- crystallised marble with brown patina, perhaps Proconnesian" (Rome as quoted in CCCA I, 237 no. 787). Cybele, in a <i>polos</i>, veil, chiton, and himation, is seated on a throne flanked by two forward-facing lions. Her left hand (her left) rests on the rim of a tympanum, which in turn is resting on the left lion's head. Her face is worn, and most of her right arm is missing. The inscription is engraved clearly across the base. H. 0.52; W. 0.31.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
22.02 LY: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνηῖ To Meter Zizimmene. Four all four inscriptions, see Appendix: [1] Ανγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: 1] Ανγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόω: 1.
22.03 LY: Δορυμένης Βιάνορος ΑΡ[- - - - - - - - -] / [κα]ὶ Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνηῖ κατ[ὰ - - - - - (The high priest?) Dorymenes, son of Bianor, to Meter Zizimmene, as [commanded]	Ll. 1-2: For the names Δορυμένης and Βιάνορ and also alternative possibilities for the missing parts of the text, see <i>RECAM</i> IV, 3-4 no. 5; and for Δορυμένης, also see <i>KP</i>, § 300-3, Int. 142. Robinson 1927, 27-28 and fig. 1; <i>SEG</i> VI, 391; <i>RECAM</i> IV, 3-4 no. 5, fig. 6. See chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνηῖ: 1.
22.04 LY: Πρεῖσκος καὶ Χαρ- / ἴτιον Μητρὶ Ζιζι- / μμηνηῖ εὐχήν. Preiskos and Charition, to Meter Zizimene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>CCCA</i> I, 237-238 no. 787, Pl. CLXXI. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνηῖ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
22.05 LY; Μητρὶ Ζιζιμ- / μηνῆ lines 1-2	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; limestone pillar built into the public fountain base in the Sheikh Ahmet Mahallesi. Buckler, Calder, and Cox suspected that this piece may have once served as spolia in the then recently demolished walls of the palace of Ala-ed- din (Buckler, Calder, and Cox 1924, 27 no. 4). Undated	Pillar of rectangular limestone with a plain flat molding at top over the well- cut inscription. H. 1.35; W. 0.37; Th. 0.37; letter H. 0.045.
22.06 LY; Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῆ line 3	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; copied at Sizma (Zizima) by Ramsay and Calder in 1910 Undated	Statuette of an erect and menacing lion on an inscribed pedestal.
22.07 LY; Μη- / τρι Ζι- / ζι- / μη- / ν- / ῆ lines 5-7	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 15; Roman Imperial	Rough <i>bomos</i> of limestone with protruding moldings at top and bottom. The inscription wraps around a damaged relief on front and reads from left to right, interrupted by the relief. The first three lines, however, run across the upper molding. The altar is broken at back. A hole (0.03 diameter) on top has a drainage channel leading to the rear. H. 0.70; W. 0.28-0.47; letter H. 0.025-0.04.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
22.05 LY: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμ- / μηνῇ εὐχὴν / Μεῖρος καὶ / Δαμαλὶς γυ- / νή. Meiros and Damalis his wife, to Meter Zizimmene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 3: The name Μειρος is attested at Iconium. For more on this name, see Buckler et al. 1924, 27 no. 4; <i>KP</i>, § 889, § 890. L. 4: For the name Δαμάλις, see <i>NI</i>, 60. Calder 1912, 72, no. 45; Buckler et al. 1924, 27 no. 4, Pl. I, 4. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμνηνῇ: 1.
22.06 LY: [Θ]υς(?) Γά(ῖ)ος Δαδ[ε]ο- / ς Ἀσιοκωμήτης / Μητρὶ Ζιζιμνηνῇ ε- / ὑχὴν. (?) Gaius Dadeos, of the village of Asiokome, to Meter Zizimene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: For alternatives for the name of the dedicant, see Laminger-Pascher 1984, 92 no. 150. For the name Γάϊος, see <i>PVS</i>, 383. L. 2: Calder supposed that the village Asiokomé fell under the goddess' domain, but he was at a loss as to how this related to Iconium (Calder 1912, 72 no. 45). Calder 1912, 72 no. 45A; Calder 1911, 169; Laminger-Pascher 1984, 92 no. 150; <i>SEG</i> XXXIV, 1319. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμνηνῇ: 1.
22.07 LY: Πάπου θυ- / μέλη. / Σέξτος Αἴλιος / Σατριανὸς / Μητρὶ Ζι- / ζι- / μη- / ν- / ῇ / ε- / ὑχ- / ῇν. Altar of incense.* Sextus Aelius Satrianus, to Meter Zizimene, (in fulfillment of) a vow. *See column E.	L. 1: Πάπος = something used as incense (<i>LSJ</i> rev. supp. 238 look this up; and Laminger-Pascher 1984, 51 no. 70). Calder noted that the altar was small enough to allow for this rather than a burnt sacrifice (Calder 1912, 74). L. 2: For more on the dedicant's nomen Aelius, and the cognomen Satrianus, see Calder 1912: 73 no. 46; <i>RECAM</i> IV, 3, no. 4; and Mitchell 1979, 431. For more on Aelius, see 2.02 Column D and E above. Calder 1912: 73 no. 46; <i>SEG</i> VI, 433; Ramsay 1941, 165 no. 161; Laminger-Pascher 1984, 51 no. 70; <i>SEG</i> XXXIV, 1319 p. 365; <i>RECAM</i> IV, 3 no. 4, fig. 5. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμνηνῇ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
22.08 LY; τῆς / κυρίας Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη line 2	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; copied at Konya by Ramsay in 1902; Undated	Entablature fragment of longer than five feet.
22.09 LY; Μητρὶ Ζιζιμ- / [μηνῆ lines 1-2	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; copied at Konya; found by the highway west of the city and hollowed out to be used as a water trough; Undated	Part of a base. H. 0.34; W. 1.33; Th. 0.66.
22.10 LY; Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη line 2	Meydanlı (Lycaonia); Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1205; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd centuries AD	Well-carved bust of marble on a plinth. The bust depicts a female wearing a mural crown with veil and a chiton and mantle. H. 0.52; W. 0.33; Th, 0.16; letter H. 0.015-0.02.
22.11 LY; Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη line 1	Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Lycaonia; found in the cemetery (<i>MAMA</i> I, 2 no. 2d). No location is given in <i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 255; Roman Imperial: AD 41-138 (based on the ethnic of Claudiconium).	For two varying descriptions with varying dimensions, see Appendix: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη: 2.
22.12 LY; μη[τρὶ Ζι]ζιμμηνη line 2	Sarayönü, Lycaonia; Undated	An inscribed fragment. No measurements provided.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
22.08 LY: Μελέαγρος Διομήδους ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ κέλευσιν τῆς / κυρίας Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ εὐχὴν. The high priest Meleagros, son of Diomedes, to the lady Meter Zizimmene as commanded (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Cronin 1902b, 341 no. 64; <i>CCCA</i> I, 233 no. 774. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ: 1.
22.09 LY: [ὁ δεῖνα κατὰ κέ]λευσιν τῆς θεᾶς Μητρὶ Ζιζιμ- / [μηνῇ ἀνέστησ]α ἐπὶ εἰερέος Θεοξένου. erected this as commanded to the Goddess Meter Zizimene in the presence of the Priest Theoxenos.	Sarre 1896a, 174 no. 10; 1896b, 31-32 no. 10; Cronin 1902b no. 65; <i>CCCA</i> I, 233 no. 775. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ: 1.
22.10 LY: Μάνης Μακέδονος / Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ / εὐχὴν. Manes, son of Makedon, to Meter Zizimene (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Μανης, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδοῖσι Θεᾶ: 4. Ligatures: line 1's NHΣ; line 2's second HN. <i>CCCA</i> I, 235 no. 780 and Pl. CLXX; <i>RECAM</i> IV, 3 no. 3, figs. 3-4 (bust and squeeze). See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ: 1.
22.11 LY: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ εὐχὴν / Ἀλέξανδρος / Ἀλεξάνδρου / Δοκιμεὺς ὁ / καὶ Κλαυδεῖ / [κ]ονεύς. To Meter Zizimene, (in fulfillment of) a vow, Alexandros, son of Alexandros, and citizen of both Docimeum and Claudiconium.	For notes and sources: see Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ: 2, and for Meter Zizimene, see also 1.
22.12 LY: Τίβειος Τ[. . . / μη[τρὶ Ζι]ζιμμη[νῇ] / κατὰ κέλευσιν Tibeios (Tiberius?)* T----- to Meter Zizimmene as commanded. *See Column E.	L. 1: For the name Τίβειος elsewhere attested, see <i>KP</i>, § 1556-2, Int. 7, Nachtrag 699; <i>NI</i>, 530. Laminger-Pascher 1984, 79 no. 128, fig. 11 (photo). See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
22.13 LY; Μητρὶ] / Ζιζιμμη[νῆ lines 2-3	North of Iconium, Lycaonia; in a copy shown to Ramsay in 1902: "A bad copy of an inscription, said to have been found at a village, twelve hours towards the north of Konia. In the hope of receiving money as a guide, the owner refused to tell the name of the village" (Cronin 1902b, 342 no. 65A). Undated	No description provided.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
23.01 PH; Μητ- / ρὶ Θεῶ Ἀνδῆ lines 3-4	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas-City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar, Museum; Roman Imperial: 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. The front side features the inscription along with an amphora and two corn stalks. On the right side is a coiled snake; on the left is an eight-pointed rosette; and on the back is an bucranium. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side except for the back. H. 0.63; W. 0.29-0.32; Th. 0.19; letter H. 0.015- 0.025.
23.02 PH; (εὐλαϊκεῖνεατη) Μητρὶ Θεῶ Ἀν- / δισση lines 5-6	From the Agdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas-City, Phrygia; found at the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar, Museum; Roman Imperial: 3rd century AD	Stele of tuff stone: H. 1.47, W. 0.63- 0.58, D. 0.29; letter H. 0.03-0.035. The stele is crowned by a pediment, on which there are acroterion. A grape bunch hangs in the middle of the pediment. Below the inscription is part of an amphora with bucrania above it.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
22.13 LY: Μάνιης Πα[σικράτους ?] / κε [Δ]ίδας γυ[νὴ αὐτοῦ Μητρὶ] / Ζιζιμμη[νῆ εὐχὴν]. Manies Pa— (?) and Didas his own wife, to Meter Zizimmene (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Μανιης, see <i>KP</i>, § 865-6. Cronin 1902b, 342 no. 65A; <i>CCCA</i> I, 233 no. 776. L. 2: For the name [Δ]ίδας, see <i>KP</i>, § 282-1, § 282-2. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
23.01 PH: [Α]λέξανδρος / Ἀλεκκᾶς εὐ- / ξάμενος Μητ- / ρὶ Θεᾷ Ἀνδξι / εὐχὴν. Alexandros, son of Alex*, having prayed, to the Mother Goddess Angdistis (in fulfillment of) a vow. *See Column E.	Ll. 1-2: For the Greek name Ἀλέξανδρος, see <i>NI</i>, 519; <i>PVS</i>, 381, of which Ἀλεκκᾶς may be an abbreviation (<i>MAMA</i> VI, 136 no. 395). <i>MAMA</i> VI, 136 no. 395, Pl. 69; <i>Highlands</i>, 188, n. 122, 199-200, 297 no. 6; fig. 607 (all four sides); <i>CCCA</i> I, 55 no. 155, Pl. XXII (front). See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2; [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾷ: 1.
23.02 PH: Ἀγαθὴ τύχη / εὐλαικεινεατη / οἱ κατοικοῦντες / εὐξάμενοι ἀνεστή- / σαμεν Μητρὶ Θεᾷ Ἀν- // δισση εὐχὴν. Good fortune; the inhabitants in Laikeineate*, having prayed, set this up (in fulfillment of) a vow, to the Mother Goddess Angdistis. *If reading εὐλαικεινεατη as ἐ(ν) Λαικεινεάτη. For more on this and other suggested readings, see Appendix: [23] Μητρὶ Θεᾷ Ἀνδισση: 1.	For inscription notes and sources, see Appendix: [23] Μητρὶ Θεᾷ Ἀνδισση: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
24.01 PH; [Mητρ]ῖ θεᾶ Ἐπίκτητ[ος] single line inscription	Çavdarhisar (?) (Aizanoi), Phrygia; "jetzt im Schuldepot" (Lehmle and Wörrle 2006, 72 no. 131); Undated	Fragment of an altar or stele broken at top, right, and bottom. On front is a bust with what appears to be a kalathos and short veil. The head extends into the profile bearing the single-line inscription above. The fragment of a rosette sits above the inscription. H. 0.39; W. 0.30-0.34; Th. 0.13; letter H. 0.017

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
25.01 PH; Μητρῖ / Θερμηνῇ lines 4-5	Doğançayır (formerly Arap Ören), Phrygia; Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 4080 (<i>Hellenica</i> X, 78 no. 14); Undated	Stele of white marble. H. 0.27; W. 0.15. Cf. Robert's measurements: H. 0.25; W. 0.13; Th. 0.04 (<i>Hellenica</i> X, 78 no. 14.).
25.02 PI; Μητ[ρ]ῖ Θερμίων lines 1 and 3	Yeşilova, Pisidia, at the Burdur; Archaeology Museum, Inv. no. 4792; Roman Imperial: 2nd-3rd century AD	A worn stele of limestone with three worn acroteria. A seated female sits within its arched recess enthroned and with her feet on a footstool. Her head covering falls below her shoulders. Birds, probably raptors, are perched on either side facing her head. Her hands rest on seated, but unidentifiable, animals flanking her throne. The first two lines of the text run below the relief, and the third line runs along the arch above. Surviving H. 0.41 ; W. 0.27; Th. 0.18; letter H. 0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
24.01 PH: [Μητρ]ὶ θεᾷ Ἐπίκτητ[ος]. To the Mother Goddess Epiktetos.	L. 1: For the part of Roman Imperial Phrygia called Epiktetos, which included the urban centers Kadoi, Aizanoi, Kotiaion, Nakoleia, Dorylaeum, and Midaëum, see Rici 2017, 133. Lehmler and Wörrle 2006, 72 no. 131 fig. 53; Chaniotis 2009, 331-332 no. 73; SEG LVI, no. 1430. See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
25.01 PH: Μαρκιανή / Μάξιμα υἱ- / πέρ Ἀμφείο- / νος Μητρὶ / Θερμηνῇ ἐυχήν. Marciana Maxima, on behalf of Ampheion, to Meter Thermene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ampheion was most likely healed by the Mother of Thermal Springs, but whether the goddess was associated with the immediate vicinity of Doğançayır or the wider region, which has a number of thermal springs throughout it, is not known (<i>Hellenica</i> X, 81). L. 1. Marciana could be the eldest daughter of a Marcus. Marcianus could possibly be the nomen of Marciana's father. von Prott 1902, 271; <i>Hellenica</i> X, 78-82 no. 14; cf. also 15.1 Pl. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.
25.02 PI: Θερμέων εὐ[χὴν] / Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] / Πρωτέου Μητ[ρὶ]. Apollonios, son of Proteas, to Meter Thermeon, (in fulfillment of) a vow. Note: The first line is actually the third. Having run out of space after the second line, the cutter continued the text in the arch of the stele.	L. 1: The epithet "of the Thermeis" is a likely reference to the hot springs still at Yeşilova today (<i>RECAM</i> V, 88 no. 119). L. 2: For the Greek name Ἀπολλώνιος, see Appendix: [6] εὐκτέω θεᾷ Ἀνγδιση: 3. L. 3: For the Greek name Πρωτέας, see <i>KP</i>, 435 § 1280 Anm. <i>RECAM</i> V, 88 no. 119, Pl. 123; cf. also 25.1. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.01 GA [= 11.01]; (a) <i>Matris Magnae</i> translated as (b) Μητρὸς Θεῶν in the Greek text of the bilingual Col. 10, Chap. 19.1-2	Temple of Augustus and Roma, Ankara, Galatia; Column 10 of the bilingual <i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i>'s Greek text; "on the outside face of the cella wall" (Cooley 2009, 9, fig. 3; <i>GLIA</i>, 67-68, 138); Early Roman Imperial: c. AD 19 (Mitchell 1986, 29- 30; Cooley 2009, 8-9)	Col. 10 of the Greek text: "The entire surface of this column has been slightly cut back, reducing but not obliterating its legibility. The large area of damage at the bottom left, already present in 1882, has now extended upwards to remove the beginnings of lines 17 to 19, which had then been readable. There is a two-line Byzantine inscription at the bottom of this column" (<i>GLIA</i>, 97). H. 1.110; W. (of line 1) 0.965; letter H. 0.02-0.04.
26.02 GA; <i>Μητρὶ / Θεῶν</i> lines 3-4	Ankara, Galatia; found on 12.03.1991 in the foundations of a house located c. 30-40 m SE of the Temple of Augustus (<i>GLIA</i>, 393 no. 201); The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations [Inv. no. 29.1.91]; Roman Imperial: probably late first or early second century AD	"A small, rectangular altar of red (Ankara) andesite, broken above and below at the right corner. The molding at the base has been cut away. The even and well-formed lettering is worn but clear (Mitchell and French 393 no. 201). H. 0.445; W. 0.51; Th. 0.49; letter H. 0.03.
26.03 GA; <i>Μητρὶ Θε- / ῶν</i> lines 3-4	Sarı Kaya (Κώμη Ἀ(ν)δερηνή?), Galatia; Undated	Stele with a panel and broken just above line 1 and below. A wreath with fillets lies below the inscription. H. 0.62; W. 0.50- 0.55; letter H. 0.03- 0.045.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.01 GA: The Greek Text, Column 10, Chapter 19.1-2: Βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸ πλῆσιον αὐτῷ (ν) Χαλκιδικόν . . . (for the complete inscriptions in both the Latin and corresponding Greek, see Appendix: [11] <i>Matris Magnae</i>: 1).	As points of departure: Cooley 2009; <i>GLIA</i>, 67-138. See Appendix: [11] <i>Matris Magnae</i>: 1-2.
26.02 GA: Φλαμινία Πρόκιλλα / Γαῖου Ποντίου Ἀπολλ[ι]- / ναρίου γυνή Μητρὶ / θεῶν εὐχήν Flaminia Procilla, wife of Gaius Pontius Apollonarius, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [26] <i>Μητρὶ Θεῶν</i>: 1.
26.03 GA: δῆμος [Οὐ]- / ητισσέων / Μετρὶ Θε- / ῶν εὐχήν. The people of [Ve]tissos, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1-2: Two letters are lost at the end of line 1. [Οὐ]- / ητισσέων may be the ethnic of [Οὐ]- / ετεστον, and the Vestissos mentioned by Ptolemy (Calder 1932, 461 no. 20). Calder 1932, 461 no 20, and see also 457; <i>MAMA</i> VII, 86 no. 363, Pl. 23; <i>CCCA</i> I, 62 no. 183, Pl. XXXI. See Appendix: [17] <i>Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνῆ</i>: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.04 GA; Μητρὸς Θεῶν line 6	Ballıhisar (Pessinus), Galatia; "said to have been brought from the eastern necropolis (southern part)" (Strubbe 2005, 84 no. 64); in the local museum; Inv. no. 66.48; Roman Imperial: probably the last quarter of the 2nd century AD (based on stylistic grounds)	<i>Bomos</i> of white marble . . . (for the full description, see Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 2).
26.05 LY [= 2.01, 12.01]; (a) τήν τε / Ἄγγδιστιν καὶ (b) ἦν μ[ε- / γάλην μητ]έρα Βοηθηνήν καὶ / (c) Θεῶν τήν μητέρα line 2	Konya (Iconium); Alâedin hill; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 203; Roman Imperial: Hadrianic or later	Block of marble broken at left. H. 0.41; W. 0.89; Th. 0.51; letter H. 0.03- 0.35.
26.06 LY; Μητρ[ὶ θ]ε- / ῶν lines 2-3	Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Lycaonia; found in a wash- house (MAMA I, 1 no. 1); Roman Imperial: possibly before AD 150/200 judging from the use of a praenomen in the dedicant's name.	<i>Bomos</i> of grey limestone panelled on three sides, and with horns on at least the front, and with a rough back. H. 1.25; W. 0.60 (top and base); 0.43 (shaft); Th. 0.47; letter H. Unknown.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.04 GA: Ἀτατααῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἑαυτῇ (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 2).	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 2.
26.05 LY: [Εὐχομαι θεοὺς σωτῆρας τὴν τε Ἀγγδιστὶν καὶ τὴν μ[ε- / γάλην μητ]έρα Βοηθηνὴν καὶ θεῶν τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν / [.] τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἰλεως καὶ ε[ῦ- / νους εἶναι τῇ]ι κολωνεῖαι Εἰκονίωι. καθιέρωσε Μ. / [ca. 17 letters erased] τῇ δὲ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι // [- - - - - - - - ὁ] υἱὸς αὐτοῦς τε καὶ τὸν νεῶν σὺν / [- - - - -]. "[I pray] to the saviour gods, Angdistis, and the great Meter Boethene, and Meter of the gods, and . . . Apollo, and Artemis, to be merciful and kindly to the colony of Iconium; [So-and-so] (dedicated this) for his beloved native city; [So-and-so], (his) son, [set] them (i.e., statues of the gods) [up], and also [furnished] the shrine with [every decoration(?)]" (trans. RECAM IV, 5 no. 9).	L. 4: For more on Iconium's status as a Roman colony, see Mitchell 1979, 409-438. L. 5: The erasure is ancient and must have contained the name of the dedicant. Line 6: αὐτοῦς refers to the θεοὺς of line 1 (Calder et al. 1962, 53 no. 297). CIG III, 67 no. 3993, 1108; MAMA VIII, 53 no. 297 and Pl. 12; CCCA I, 233-334 no. 777 and Pl. CLXIX; Hellenica XIII: 70; SEG XXIX, 1737; Magie 1950b, 1405-6; Mitchell 1979, 425; 1993 II, 19-20; RECAM IV, xi, 5 no. 9; and see also Bean 1954, 478-481. See Chapter 4 for multiple-Meter dedications; Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [2] Ἀγγδισι: 1, 4.
26.06 LY: Calder's version: Γάιος Καλουεῖσιος / Πρόκλος Μητρ[ὶ θε]ε- / ῶν εὐχὴν (<i>MAMA</i>, 1 no. 1). Ramsay's version: Πόπ]λιος Καλουεῖσιος / Πρόκλος Μητρὶ Θεῶν εὐχὴν (1888, 237 no. 8; cf. 244 no. 28). Gaios Kaloueisios Proklos, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ramsay 1888, 237 no. 8; <i>MAMA</i> I, 1 no. 1 (front).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.07 PH; Μητρὶ / Θεῶν lines 2-3	Tepecik (north of Aizanoi) Phrygia; "In use as 'straddle' supporting corner of wooden shed on N. Side of village" (MAMA IX, 25 no. 65); Roman Imperial: 263 = AD 178-9 (Sullan era), 232-3 (Actian) (MAMA IX, 25 no. 65).	<i>Bomos</i> of greyish marble with its bottom buried. It has a framed sunken shaft panel where an inscription of well-cut and regular letters runs along its top. Its capital and base are "cut back to shaft level at back" (MAMA IX, 25 no. 65). H. 0.815; W. 0.38 (shaft); 0.46 (capital); letter H. 0.02.
26.08 PH; Μητρὶ Θεῶν single line inscription	Kütahya (<i>Cotyaenum</i>), Phrygia; Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1157; Roman Imperial: 2nd or 3rd century AD	White marble statue of Cybele seated on a high-backed throne flanked by forward-facing lions. She is wearing a <i>tunica</i> , girdle, mantle and diadem with two long tresses. In her left hand is a <i>tympanum</i> ; and most of her right arm, hand, and the <i>patera</i> she is holding are missing. The inscription runs along the base. H. 0.38-0.4; W. 0.205-0.22; Th. 0.13; letter H. 0.01- 0.015.
26.09 PH; Μ[η]τρὶ Θε[ῶν] line 3	Yeniköy-Göçenoluk, Göçen Çeşme, on the Makas Alan plateau, Phrygia; found near the fountain at the southeast border of the village Yeniköy- Göçenoluk; used as a bier and laid on two supports. The monument was said to have come from the ruins of Göçen Çeşme plain (<i>Highlands</i> , 193). Roman Imperial	Badly weathered stele of blue marble. In a shallow sunken panel is the inscription below the relief of a garland formed by two cornucopiae suspended by fillets (cf. 26.10 PH). An incised horizontal crescent appears above this. The right side shows signs of re-use. H. 2.00; W. 0.78; Th. 0.25; letter H. 0.016-0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.07 PH: ἔτους σξγ' Μητρὶ / Θεῶν τὸ θύρωμα "In the year 263. * To Mother of Gods, a door." *See column B.	L. 3: τὸ θύρωμα: "The word refers to a door leading to a temple or other sacred building, and dedications or consecrations of those are not uncommon" (<i>MAMA IX</i>, 26 including sources for other examples). A second <i>bomos</i> may have borne the dedicant's name (<i>MAMA IX</i>, 26). <i>MAMA IX</i>, 25-26 no. 65, xxxiii, Pl. IX (squeeze).
26.08 PH: Ἀντίοχος Ἀμμία Μητρὶ Θεῶν εὐχήν. "Antiochos, son of Ammia, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow."	L. 1: Ammia is a common feminine <i>Lallnamen</i> with other attestations in the region of <i>Cotyaeum</i> (<i>PVS</i>, 392). CCCA I, 48-49 no. 141, and Pl. XIX.
26.09 PH: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (<i>vac.</i>) Κελ[λ]ηνοὶ / ὑπὲρ τῶν κατοικούντων / Μ[η]τρὶ Θε[ῶν] εὐχήν. "With good fortune. The Kellenoi, on behalf of their settlement, to the Mother of Gods (in fulfillment of) a vow."	L. 1: "οἱ" may have once filled the space between the words "τύχῃ" and "Κελ[λ]ηνοὶ" (<i>Highlands</i>, 335 no. 98). <i>Highlands</i>, 164, 193, 335 no. 98, fig. 627 (detail of the cornucopiae and a squeeze); CCCA I, 52, 184; <i>BE</i> 1972, 477-478 no. 464. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 3.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.10 PH; Μητρὶ / Θεῶν lines 2-3	Yeniköy-Göçenoluk, Göçen Çeşme, Phrygia; used as a stepping stone at the foot of a wooden staircase in the courtyard of a house in Yeniköy-Göçenoluk. The monument was said to have come from the ruins of Göçen Çeşme plain (<i>Highlands</i>, 193). Roman Imperial	Stele of blue marble with the upper corners broken off. Two cornucopiae form a wreath (cf. 25.1 PH) suspended by fillets in the top part of the slightly sunken main panel (cf. 26.9 PH). Line 1 is flush left in the upper panel, line 2 covers the raised border between the upper and main panels, and line 3 is at the top of the main panels with ample space between the words Θεῶν and εὐχήν. H. 1.40; W. 0.80; Th. 0.21; Letter H. 0.015.
26.11 PH; Μητ- / ρὶ Θεῶν lines 1-2	Akoluk, on the Makas Alan plateau, Phrygia; Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of marble of good quality and preservation. A woman's bust adorns the upper front side between flat acroteria, whereas a three-petalled rosette in a circle occupies the corresponding areas on the other three sides. Below the bust on front is the inscription above a pair of bucrania. While the corresponding areas of the sides are plain, the rear has a wreath. On top of the altar, a disc in relief faces upwards (H. 0.045; D. 0.155). H. 0.82; W. 0.28-0.36; Th. 0.28; letter H. 0.02-0.25.
26.12 PH; Μητρὶ Θε- / ῶν lines 4-5	Sandık Özü, Phrygia; Roman Imperial	A plain small <i>bomos</i> of marble with a damaged top and base. A boss in relief in its field separates lines 1-4 of the inscription above from line 5 below.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.10 PH: Ἀγαθὴ τύχη / [[. . .]] περ(ι) βοῶν Μητρὶ / Θεῶν εὐχήν. "With good fortune. [The dedicant], on behalf of his oxen, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow."	L. 2: The first part may have been destroyed in a case of <i>damnatio memoriae</i> (<i>Highlands</i>, 335-336). Robert and Robert proposed that περ(ι) may also be [ὕ]πέρ (<i>BE</i>, 1972, 477-478 no. 464). <i>Highlands</i>, 164, 193, 335 no. 99, fig. 627; <i>CCCA</i> I, 53 no. 185; <i>BE</i> 1972, 477-478 no. 464; cf. Drew-Bear 2008, 2015, 85. See Chapter 6.8 and n. 90 for dedications made on behalf of animals; and Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 3.
26.11 PH: Ἀγαθὴ τύχη Μητ- / ρὶ θεῶν περὶ τῶν / ἰδίων πάντων / Ἄσκλας εὐξάμ- / ενος ἀνέθηκα. "With good fortune. To the Mother of Gods, on behalf of all his family, Asklas, having prayed, erected this."	<i>Highlands</i>, 164, 193, 336 no. 102, and fig. 628 (front and squeeze); <i>CCCA</i> I, 51 no. 146, and Pl. XXI (front); <i>BE</i> 1972, 477-478 no. 464. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 3.
26.12 PH: Ἀππη ΠΟ[.] / ΗΤ ΤΟΥΑΓΟ / Μενεανη / Μητρὶ Θε- / ῶν.	L. 1: For the name "Ἀππη" (f), see <i>KP</i>, § 66-13. L. 2: The sixth letter in line 2 could be either an alpha, or lambda, and there is also "room for two narrow letters instead" (<i>Highlands</i>, 340 no. 110). L. 3: The name Μενεανη may be an ethnic (Μενεανή) (<i>Highlands</i>, 340-341 no. 110). <i>Highlands</i>, 195, 340 no. 110, Pl. 629, fig. 481 for a photo of the village with the <i>höyük</i> behind it; <i>CCCA</i> I, 63 no. 186.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.13 PH; M- / ητρί Θεῶν lines 3-4	From the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods on the Türkmen Baba, Phrygia; found in Güllü Dere, at the foot of Mount Türkmen Baba (see Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 4); Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of white marble. "Now badly weathered", it is the largest of the surviving dedications found at Güllü Dere. While the front features the inscription, the back features a "crudely hacked garland in relief, with, on either side, an incised heart-shaped leaf hanging down from it on a stiff stem" (<i>Highlands</i> , 194, 342). H. 0.87; W. (top) 0.40; (shaft) 0.36; Th. (top) 0.15; (shaft) 0.135; letter H. 0.025-0.03.
26.14 PH; [M]ητρί Θεῶ[v] lines 1	From the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods on the Türkmen Baba, Phrygia; found in Güllü Dere, at the foot of Mount Türkmen Baba (see Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 4); Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of marble. Two busts decorate the front, one of the god Hosios (at left), radiating light from his head, and the other of the Mother of Gods (at right) wearing a high <i>polos</i> and veil. These sit above the inscription, a combined dedication to both deities. On the right side is a wreath with raised knob at center. Meanwhile, the left and back are left plain. H. 0.71; W. (top) 0.29; (shaft) 0.26; Th.(top) 0.27; (shaft) 0.22; letter H. 0.025-0.03.
26.15 PH; Μητρί Θε- / [ῶν lines 4-5	From the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods on Mount Türkmen Baba, Phrygia (see Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 4); Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of marble found in a damaged state, but apparently of good quality and with "careful lettering". H. (surviving) 0.635; W. (surviving) 0.22; Th. 0.29; letter H. 0.02-0.035.
26.16 PH; Μητρί Θ- / εῶν lines 2-3	From the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods on Mount Türkmen Baba, Phrygia (see Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 4); Roman Imperial	Stele of bluish marble of which only the lower part survives. It is well made and contains the end of an inscription. H.(surviving) 0.14-0.17; W. 0.26; Th. 0.055; letter H. 0.025-0.03. Line 1 is mostly broken off.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.13 PH: Ὀνήσιμος Τατα[.] / καὶ [. .] ΑΛΙΟΝΟΡ[.] / [. . .] τέκνοις κὲ Μ- / ἡτρὶ Θεῶν εὐξ- / ἥ -- ν.	<i>Highlands</i>, 194-195, n. 146, 342 no. 115, figs. 632 (squeeze) and 633 (front and back); <i>CCCA</i> I, 63 no. 115, Pl. XXXI (front and back). See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.
26.14 PH: [Μ]η[τρὶ Θε]ῶ[ν] / Ὅσίῳ εὐχῇ- / ν πε[ρ]ὶ τέκ- / νων. "To the Mother of Gods (and) Hosios, (in fulfillment of) a vow, on behalf of the children."	The iconography is all the more unique, considering that depictions of deities are rare in the Phrygian highlands (<i>Highlands</i>, 194-195, 342-343 no. 116, fig. 633). <i>Highlands</i>, 194-195 n. 146, 342 no. 116, fig. 632 (squeeze) and 633 (front and back); <i>CCCA</i> I, 63-64 no. 188, Pl. XXXII (front). See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.
26.15 PH: [Φ]λάουιος Π[α]- / [ππ]ος ὑπὲρ / [υἱ]οῦ Ὀνησί- / [μου] Μητρὶ Θε- / [ῶν ε]ὐχὴν 𐌸 𐌸 // ΩΖΕ / ΤΩΝ. Ll. 1-5: "Flavius, son of Pappos, on behalf of his son Onesimos, to the Mother of Gods (in fulfillment of) a vow"	Ll. 1-2: For the patronymic, see Robert 1963, 62-63, 513; <i>KP</i>, § 1199-2. <i>Highlands</i>, 194-195, 203, 343 no. 119, fig. 634 (front and squeeze); <i>CCCA</i> I, 64 no. 189; and also Robert 1963, 62-63. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.
26.16 PH: [.]ΗΜΛΟ[.]- / ς Μητρὶ Θε- / ῶν εὐχ- / ἥν. "[The dedicant], to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment) of a vow."	Ll. 1-2: See <i>Highlands</i>, 344 no. 120 for doubts concerning the reading of the dedicant's name. L. 3: The omega in line 3 is inverted, strangely enough. <i>Highlands</i>, 194-195, 344 no. 120 and fig. 634; <i>CCCA</i> I, 64 no. 190. See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 4.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.17 PH; [M]ητρὶ θεῶν	Dorylaeum (Eskişehir); from the museum at İnönü; Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 4481; Roman Imperial: 2nd or early 3rd century AD	Stele of gray marble. In the pediment is a bust of Zeus Bronton with a rather large right hand placed on his chest (for the complete description, see Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 5).
26.18 PH; Μη- / τρι θεῶν lines 3-4	Provenance unknown, but brought from Alpu ilçesi, Phrygia; Eskişehir Museum Inv. no. A-281-79; Roman Imperial: 2nd Century AD	Stele of marble with a base and broken at the top and bottom. Guide line traces are visible. H. 0.23; W. 0.13-0.17; Th. 0.055; letter H. 0.015-0.02.
26.19 PH; Μητρὶ θε- / ῶν lines 12-13	Guluşlu, Phrygia (near the village of Beyköy = Neocome); "in front of the mosque" (MAMA I, 213, no. 408); Undated	<i>Bomos</i> of limestone. H. 0.85; W. (top): 0.43; (shaft) 0.35; W. (base) 0.46; Th. (top) 0.46; (shaft) 0.39; (base) 0.48; letter H. unknown.
26.20 PH; Μ- / ητρὶ θεῶν lines 3-4	"Sürmeneh or Sülimaniye (Anabura)" = Augustopolis (?), Phrygia; from the cemetery; Undated	<i>Bomos</i> of white marble, weather-worn, and with reliefs on its sides. H. 0.90; W. 0.45; Th. 0.42; letter H. 0.015. (No other details provided).

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.17 PH: A) ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ☿ / Διομᾶς καὶ Εὐτύχῃ- / ς λατύποι B) [Μ]ητρί Θεῶν Φοίβῃ τ' ὀσίῳ καὶ Μηνί / δικαίῳ ☿ ὀφθαλμῷ τε Δίκῃς δικε- / οφροσύνης χάριν ἄνδρες (<i>vac.</i>) / Σακλεανοὶ σωτῆρσι θεοῖς (<i>vac.</i>) / ὀσίῳς ἀνέθηκαν ☿ A) Good Fortune! The stonecutters Diomas and Eutuches B) To the Mother of Gods, Phoebe the Holy, and Mēn the Just, the eye of avenging(?) Justice, the grateful men, the Sakleanoi, set this up for the holy savior Gods.	A L. 1: runs along the divider between the pediment and the shaft. L. 2: The name Diomas is attested at Inönü (Frei 1988, 29). Ll. 2-3: offset to the right by Helios' radiating halo; and the ς at the end of the second nominative noun appears on L.3 under the η. B Ll. 2-3: the word δικε- / οφροσύνης is otherwise unknown. Frei notes that other than what may possibly be Mēn, the iconography program does not obviously represent the deities addressed in the text (Frei 1988, 29). Frei 1988, 25,12; <i>SEG</i> XXXVIII, no. 1310. See Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 5; [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεῶν: 1 .
26.18 PH: '----- / ίου εὐξά- / μενος Μη- / τρὶ Θεῶν / εὐχὴν. / Ἦτοκωμήτης. having prayed, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow. Etokometes.	L. 6: Ἦτοκωμήτης is a new demotic. Ricl 1994, 174 no. 34, fig. 34.
26.19 PH: ἰσπουδασάντω- / ν Θεοτείμου Κα(λ)- / λίστου κ. Καρικοῦ / οἰκονόμου (for the complete inscription, see See Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 6.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [26] Μητρί Θεῶν: 6.
26.20 PH: / ὑ[πὲ]ρ δήμου σωτηρί- / ας καὶ τέκνων Μ- / ητρί Θεῶν ε- / ὑχὴν ἀνέθη[κ]εν. "[The dedicant], for the wellbeing of the people and his (or her) children, erected this to the Mother of Gods (in fulfillment of) a vow."	L. 1: The dedicant's name must have been inscribed in the illegible first line. Körte 1897b, 31 no. 6.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
26.21 PI; Μητρὶ θεῶν line 1	Burdur, Pisidia; seen by Collignon in Burdur over a century ago, and thought by Vermaseren to have come from Sagalassos (Collignon 1879, 339 no. 13; CCCA I, 759); Roman Imperial: 1st or early 2nd century AD	Abraded <i>naiskos</i> stele of limestone with an arching top resting on fluted pillars with Corinthian capitals. The capitals' acanthus leaves have drill holes for decoration. The relief of a figure in the niche is badly damaged but a fluted radiating nimbus survives in its upper section. The left side is plain while the right and back are rough-worked. H. 0.99; W. 0.78; Th. 0.39; letter H. 0.025.
26.22 PI; [Μη]τρὶ θεῶν line 2	Karamanlı, Pisidia; Roman Imperial: AD 134/5? (See <i>RECAM</i> V, 79).	<i>Bomos</i> containing reliefs on all four sides and an inscribed poem of five hexameters. It is dedicated by the same Troilos known from another altar dedication found at Akören in the Makron Pedion, which also features a poem (<i>RECAM</i> V, 75-79 no. 108). Above the hexameter on the <i>bomos</i> at Karamanlı is a relief of three seated female deities. On the other sides, which are badly abraded, are Mēn with a smaller devotee beside him; a rider on horseback moving left and with an arm raised and probably holding an implement; and an indistinct bust.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
27.01 PH; Μητρὶ θεῶν / Ἀνγδισση lines 2-3	From the Angdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas-City, Phrygia: found in the sanctuary in 1935; Afyon Karahisar, Museum; Roman Imperial: 3rd century AD	<i>Bomos</i> of chalky limestone. On both the front and back sides is a bucranium, whereas on the right side is an amphora, and on the left is a wreath. There is a pair of horns at the top of each side. H. 1.10; W. 0.52-.53; Th. 0.29; letter H. 0.025-0.03.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
26.21 PI: Along the arch: Μητρὶ Θεῶν ☿ / on the pilaster capitals: εὐ- (<i>vac.</i>) χήν / below the relief: Κοτῆς Καλλικλέους (<i>vac.</i>) / ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν (<i>vac.</i>). "To the Mother of the gods, Kotes, son of Kallikles, set up the (<i>fulfillment</i> of his) vow at his own expense" (<i>RECAM</i> V, 87 no. 118).	Ll. 3: While the patronymic is Greek, the name Kotes is indigenous to Phrygia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia (see <i>KP</i>, § 249-50; <i>NI</i>, 283 and n. 3, 391 n. 8; Bean 1959, 75 no. 16; and Bean 1960, 72-73 no. 125. For further and more recent sources, see <i>RECAM</i> V, 88). Collignon 1879, 339 no. 13; Ramsay 1895, 337 no. 173; <i>CCCA</i> I, 759; <i>RECAM</i> V, 87-88 no. 118, Pl. 122.
26.22 PI: ἔτους · ΠΙ' ΝΑ' / (relief) / [Μη]τρὶ Θεῶν ἀγνῆ χρυ- / σοπλοκάμω ἀνέθηκε[αν] . . . (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 6).	The two altars dedicated by Troilos suggest he had a Greek literary education, but elsewhere such as the Olbasa or the larger Kybria, as the Makron Pedion would be unlikely to have a school for this (<i>RECAM</i> V, 79). For speculation on whether Troilos owned a local estate, see <i>SEG</i> XLVII, 1819; and Corsten 2005, 23. Corsten et.al. 1998: 65-70 no. 12, Pls. 21-2 <i>SEG</i> XLVII, 1809; <i>BE</i> 2000, no. 580; <i>RECAM</i> V, 79-80 no. 108 commentary, Pl. 112 (front). See Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 7.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
27.01 PH: Ἑρμῶν Ἀπολλῶν- / νίου Μητρὶ Θεῶν / Ἀνγδισῆ εὐ[χ]ήν. "Hermon, son of Apollonios, to the Mother of Gods Angdistis, (in fulfillment of) a vow."	Ll. 1-2: For more on this particular dedicant, also attested in monument 6.01, see Appendix: εὐχτέω θεῶ Ἀνγδισῆ: 2. For the Greek name Ἀπολλώνιος, see Appendix: [6] εὐκτέω θεῶ Ἀνγδισῆ: 3. <i>MAMA</i> VI, 137 no. 397, and Pl. 70; <i>Highlands</i>, 188 and n. 122, 199-200, 298 no. 8, and fig. 608 showing the front and sides; <i>CCCA</i> I, 55 no. 157, and P. XXII showing the front. See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισί: 1, 2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
27.02 PH; Μετρὸς] / Θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[ς lines 5-6	Eumenia, Phrygia; found at the Işıklı (Eumenia) cemetery, before 1825, and it was still there c. 1884. Its present location is unknown. Roman Imperial: possibly after the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212 (Salway 1994, 134), or perhaps during the reigns of either Aurelius (AD 161 – 180) or Caracalla (AD 198 -217) (Ramsay 1897, 375-376). See Appendix: [27] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀνγδισση: 1, note for L. 10.	Unknown

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
28.01 PI; Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἐπη- / κόω lines 1-2	In the area of Gönen (Konane), Pisidia; found or studied as a part of the Isparta Archaeological Survey from 2009 to 2015; Roman Imperial	A rectangular block of pale brown limestone broken at the top. There is molding at the base and some molding preserved at the top. No dimensions provided.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
27.02 PH: Ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί[μῃσεν Αὐρήλιον] . . . (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [27] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀγγδισση: 1).	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [27] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀγγδισση: 1, and for Angdistis, see [2] Ἀγγδισσι: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
28.01 PI: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἐπη- / κόψ Ἄτταλος Παπα ἱερεὺς δι- / ἅ βίου τὸ ἱέρω- / μα σὺν τῷ βωμῷ / καὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέθηκε. "Attalos son of Papas when priest for life erected this dedication along with the altar and the table from his own funds to the Mother of the Gods Who Harkens" (Iversen 2015, 21 no. 10).	L. 1: This is the first dedication to the Mother of Gods found at Konane. L. 2: For Παπας, an Asian name attested widely in Galatia, Lykaonia, Phrygia, and Pisidia, see <i>KP</i>, 406–408 § 1199-1. Ll. 4-5: The offering (ἱέρω/μα) is probably this dedication (Iversen 2015, 21 no. 10). Ligatures: line 7's HK. Iversen 2015, 21 no. 10 (with photo). See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [1] Ἀγγδεισει Θεᾷ ἐπηκόω: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
29.01 LY; Μητρὶ θεῶν / Ζιζιμμη- / νῆ lines 2-3	Suwerek (Savatra), Lycaonia; found in a wall of the mosque. The village of Suwerek is west of the ruins called "Ak- Ören"/"White Ruins" by locals (Anderson 1889, 280). Roman Imperial: 3rd century or second half of the second AD	Stele of limestone, defaced above and along the left border. H. 1.25; W. 0.42; Th. 0.19.
29.02 LY; Μητρὶ / [θ]εῶν Ζιζιμμη-ν[ῆ] lines 2-3	More specific provenance unknown, Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum, no inventory no; Roman Imperial: 1st-2nd century AD	Small statue of a feline (now headless) sitting on its hind legs. The inscription is on its base. H. 0.6; W. 0.25; Th. 0.44; letter H. 0.02.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
30.01 PH; Μητ[ρὶ Θε]- / ῶν Ζιζιμμη-νῆ lines 2-3	Doğalar (in the Upper Tembris region), Phrygia; copied at Doğanlar, "a village two hours north of Altyntash, on the western edge of the Phrygian mountains" (Ramsay 1884, 260); Roman Imperial: 3rd century AD (based on the rhomboid omicrons and thetas of the inscription) (<i>MAMA</i> X, 67 no. 215).	"Altar with high socle. R. side cut away above and circular low relief in center cut away; l. side built in; back (broken above) has defaced relief of rider on plinth (ca. 0.34 x 0.25). Inscription on shaft" (<i>MAMA</i> X, 67 no. 215).

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
29.01 LY: Δαδα Ἀττά- / λου ἀρχιγάλ- / λου θρεπτή / Μητρὶ θεῶν / Ζιζιμμη- // νῆ εὐχὴν "Dada, adopted son of Attalos, the high priest of the Galloi, to the Mother of Gods Zizimmene, (in fulfillment of) a vow."	Ll. 1-3: Dada is the adopted son of Attalos\ the high priest of the galloi Attalos (Ramsay 1905a, 367). Dada is an indigenous Phrygian name (<i>PVS</i>, 393). Ramsay noted that "the particular priesthood" of the archigallus "marks the goddess as specifically Phrygian" (Ramsay 1905a, 367). Anderson 1899, 280-281 no. 263, Pl. IV (map of Galatia cis Halym); Ramsay 1905a, 367; <i>MAMA</i> I, 1 no. 2 with a photo of the stele; <i>CCCA</i> I, 240 no. 801. See Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῆ: 1.
29.02 LY: Σ(έξτος) Εἰριν- / α<ι>ος Σ(έξτοῦ) Εἰριν- / α<ί>ου ἱερεὺς Μητρὶ / [Θ]εῶν Ζιζιμμην[ῆ] κα^θ- / ^{vvvv} [έ]πιταγὴν. "S(extus) Irenaeus, son of S(extus) Irenaeus, priest, (dedicated this) to Meter Zizimene of the gods according to (her) command" (trans. <i>RECAM</i> IV, 4 no. 7).	L. 3: The second M in line 3 was corrected from a N (McLean 2002, 4 no. 7). <i>RECAM</i> IV, 3 no. 5; showing the statue and the inscription on its base. See Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῆ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
30.01 PH: Πατροκλῆς Ἀπολ- / λωνίου Μητρὶ θε- / ῶν Ζινγοτηνῆ κατ- / ᾧ κέλευσιν τῆς θε- / ᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ κέ τ- // ῶν ιδίων κέ τῆς κώ- / μης Ζίνγοτος σωτη- / ρίας τὸν βωμὸν ᾧ- / νίστησεν. "Patrokles, son of Apollonios, set up an altar to the Mother of Gods Zingotene as commanded by the goddess, on behalf of himself, his family, and the wellbeing of the village Zingotos"	Ramsay wrote, "I believe that this stone marks the grave which Patrokles intended to be occupied by himself and his family. He dedicates the spot to the Μητὴρ Θεῶν" (Ramsay 1884, 260-261; and see also Drexler 1894-1897, 2888). L. 1: For the Greek name Ἀπολλώνιος, see Appendix: [6] εὐκτέω θεᾷ Ἀνγδιση: 3. Ramsay, 1884, 260-262; Drexler 1894-1897, 2888; <i>CCCA</i> I, 42 no. 121; <i>MAMA</i> X, 67 no. 215 with a sketch of the rider relief, and Pl. XXIII.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
31.01 PH; Μητρὶ Θεῶν / Κασμεινῇ lines 2-3	Çavdarlı Höyük, 16 km east of Afyon Karahisar, Phrygia; discovered during excavations on the <i>höyük</i> (see Appendix: [31] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ: 2); Afyon Archaeological Museum; Roman Imperial	Stele of marble with a pediment and three acroteria. The pediment is decorated with what could be a patera, phiale, or a shield with a knob. The inscription is in the field beneath this. H 0.295; W. 0.145.
31.02 PH; Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ line 2	Acmonia (?), Phrygia; copied by Buresch at Uşak in 1895 (Körte 1902: 32, no. 57). However, its provenience is unknown. Vermaseren claimed it came from Acmonia (CCCA I, 36 no. 104; cf. Ramsay 1897a, 597). The Louvre, Inv. no. 3316 (formerly MND 425); Roman Imperial	Relief of marble with Cybele standing between two lions under a barrel- vault feature. Assorted figures, including Hermes and Zeus Bronton, people the cosmically stratified relief. The worn and much-erased inscription is at the bottom of the relief, under which is a broad protruding tenon (cf. <i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 131). For a fuller description, see Mihon, Graillet, and Vermaseren listed in the "sources" column; and for a wonderful interpretation of the iconography, see Cumont 1906, 181- 183. H. 0.84; W. 0.41; Th. 0.05; letter H. 0.013 - 0.01.
31.03 PH; Μητρὶ / Θεῶν Κ(α)σ- / μινῇ lines 2-4 (first column)	Acmonia, Phrygia; found in nearby Hasanköy; (Roman Imperial? See Appendix: [67] Τετραπρόσωπο: 2)	Stele of white marble. The lintel inscription consists of two columns which both begin at the lintel and then continue onto the field. The first column is to the right of a male bust, while the second fills the space between both the male and a female bust. Above the lintel are the barely remaining lower portions of three standing females with space enough for one more (<i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 131; cf. <i>MAMA</i> VI, 91 no. 245). H. 0.35; W. 0.48; Th. 0.14; letter H. 0.0125.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
31.01 PH: Νίκη / Μητρὶ θεῶν / Κασμεινῇ / εὐχήν. "Nike, to the Mother of Gods Kasmeine, (in fulfillment of) a vow."	Akok 1965 [1967], 12 no. 14 and fig. 52; Mellink 1965, 143; <i>BE</i> 1967, 570 no 587; <i>CCCA</i> I, 35 no. 99; Robert 1987: 335-340. See Appendix: [31] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ: 1-2.
31.02 PH: [Ἀγα]θῇ τύχῃ. Ἀπποῦς / Μητρὶ θεῶν Κασμεινῇ / [κατὰ κέλευσ]ιν εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδί- / [ων]. Γάϊος λατύπος. With good fortune. Appous . . . to the Mother of Gods as commanded, having prayed, on behalf of his family. The stone-cutter Gaius*. *See Column E.	L. 1: For the name Ἀππους attested in Lydia and Phrygia, see <i>KP</i>, § 66-9. L. 5: Signed by the marble mason: Γάϊος λατύπος (for more on this, see Michon 1906, 185-187). For the name Γάϊος, see <i>PVS</i>, 383. Körte 1902, 32 no. 57; Michon 1906, 184-187; Cumont 1906, 281-283; Graillot 1912, 358-359 and Pl. IX; <i>BE</i> 1967, 570 no 587; Naour 1985, 37-74; <i>CCCA</i> I, 36-37 no. 104, Pl. XIV. See Appendix: [31] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ: 1.
31.03 PH: [Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]η· / Μητρὶ / θεῶν Κ(α)σ- / μινῇ / Ἀμμίας ὑπὲρ Μάρκου τοῦ τε- // <τε>θρεμένου / τὴν στήλ- / λην ἀνέ- / θηχα / κατὰ- // ὡς ἐπέ- / ταξε. With good fortune. To the Mother of Gods Kasmeine, Ammias, on behalf of her foster-father Markos, erected this stele just as commanded.	This Meter found at Hasanköy has been equated with the Tetraprosopos dedicated to in a marble stele from Çalköy / Zafertepe (<i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 131). L. 1: Κ(α)σ in line 1 is clearly written as ΚΛΣ (<i>MAMA</i> VI, 91, no. 245). L. 5: For the name Ἀμμίας, see <i>KP</i>, § 57-23, § 57-5 n. 88, § 57-31; <i>PVS</i>, 392. For the name Μᾶρκος, an adopted Latin <i>praenomen</i>, see <i>KP</i>, § 848-1 Anm.; <i>PVS</i>, 387. <i>MAMA</i> VI, 91 no. 245, Pl. 43; <i>CCCA</i> I, 37 no. 105, Pl. 15; see also the discussion for <i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 131. See Appendix: [31] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ: 1; [67] Τετραπροσώπῳ: 2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
32.01 PH; Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κρα / [ν]οσμεγάλου lines 1-2	Dorylaeum (Şarhöyük / Eskişehir), Phrygia; found in the "bath" (Domaszewski 1883, 176 no. 23); Undated	Stele of marble. Measurements unknown.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
33.01 GA; Μητρὸς / Θεῶν μεγάλης lines 5-6	Pessinus, Galatia; found in 1897 in the Armenian cemetery at Sivrihisar; now lost; 2nd half of the 2nd century (see <i>IK Pessinous</i> , 32).	Slab of marble, possibly part of a base. The first and last lines are worn, but the rest is clear with traces of red chalk in the letters. The letters indicate styles prevalent after Hadrian, thus dating the inscription to close to the end of the first century. H. 1.20; W. 0.57; Th. 0.20; letter H.: 0.025

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
34.01 PI; Μητρὸ[σ] / Θεῶν Οὐγενίου lines 2-3	The Sanctuary at Zindan Mağrası (Zindan Cave), Pisidia (see Appendix: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενίω: 1-2); Roman Imperial: AD 169-180, in the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius (see Kaya and Mitchell 2005, 105).	Tabula ansata of fine-grained limestone and well preserved. It is decorated with ivy leaf motifs. The inscription fills the main field between moldings and is broken at the upper right corner. The letter type is similar to the inscription of monument 34.2 PI from the same sanctuary. H. 0.73; W. 1.11; Th. unmeasurable; letter H. 0.035.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
32.01 PH: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Κρα- / [ν]οσμεγάλου / Διοφάνης Τειμ- / [έ]ου ὑπέ[ρ] [τ]ε ἔαυ- / τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδί- // [ων πάντων / εὐχὴν]. To the Mother Goddess Kranosmegalos, Diophanes, son of Teimeos, on behalf of himself and all his family, (in fulfillment of) a vow. cf. Domaszewski's version after a copy: Μητρὶ Θεῶν κρά- / [τ]ο(υ)ς μεγάλου / Διοφάνης Τειμ- / [ι]ου ὑπέ[ρ] [τ]ε ἔαυ- / τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδί- / [ων πάντων / ἀνέστησεν] (1883, 176 no. 23).	Domaszewski 1883, no 176 no 23; Mordtmann 1885, 14 no. 3; Radet 1895, 572 no. 21, and and Pl. III for a map of Dorylaeum's surroundings; <i>BE</i> 1979, 509-510 no. 529.30. <i>CCCA</i> I, 66 no. 199; Akyürek Şahin 2007, 70-71 no. 1; <i>KO</i>, § 617-1. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
33.01 GA: Honorific inscription of the Attabokaoi (see Appendix: Μητρὸς Θεῶν μεγάλης: 1)	For Notes and Sources, see Appendix: [33] Μητρὸς Θεῶν μεγάλης: 1

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
34.01 PI: ☿ ἀγαθῇ (space) τύχη ☿ / Μέμνων Βιάνορος ἱερεὺς Μητρο[σ] / Θεῶν Οὐεγεινου, θεᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινω: 4).	L. 2: For the name Memnon, see <i>KP</i>, § 953 nn. 280-281, §959a n. 291. Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105-107 no. 1 with a photo of the inscription, and see also 103-113. See Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινω: 1-7

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
34.02 PI; Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενίῳ line 4	The Sanctuary at Zindan Mağrası (Zindan Cave), Pisidia (see Appendix: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενίῳ: 1-2); Roman Imperial, AD 169-180, in the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius (see Kaya and Mitchell 2005, 108).	Tabula Ansata of limestone. The inscription is worn, especially the second and last two lines. The letter type is similar to inscription of monument 34.1 PI from the same sanctuary, and it also contains ivy leaf motifs. H. 0.64 m; W. 1.27; Th. 0.245; letter H. 0.25-0.03 m.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
35.01 GA; Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειναίᾳ ἐπηχόῳ line 1	Pessinus, Galatia; found in 1883 at the Armenian cemetery at Sivrihisar, but now lost; Undated	Architrave block of marble, probably of a door (Domaszewski 1883, 180 no. 37), and with careful lettering. H. 0.24; W. 0.28; Th. 0.05. Strubbe calculated that the measurements given must be the result of a misprint (<i>IK Pessinous</i> , 43 no. 24).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
36.01 PH; Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ line 1	Gediz (Kadoi), Phrygia; seen by Buresch in Gediz, but originally from Assar-ardy (<i>sic.</i> ?); Undated (Hellenistic or Roman Imperial?)	Small base of marble. No further data provided.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
34.02 PI: ☞ ἀγαθῇ (space) τύχη [☞] / Αὐτοκ(ράτορι) Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρηλίω / [Ἀντωνίνω] Σε[βα]στῷ καὶ / Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενίω ἡ πόλις . . . (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενίω: 5).	L. 8: For the name Memnon, see <i>KP</i>, § 953 nn. 280-281, §959a n. 291. Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 107-109 no. 2 with a photo of the inscription, and see also 103-113. See Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενίω: 1-7.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
35.01 GA: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειναίᾳ ἐπηκῶμι Μάνης Παπ[- -] / Μενεκλέους δὲ ἀπελεύθερος τοὺς φλειοὺς [- - - -]. To the Mother of gods Satyreinaia the hearer, Manes, son of Pap—, (and*) the freedman of Menekles, (dedicated) the doorposts *See see Appendix: [35] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειναίᾳ notes for lines 1-2.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [35] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειναίᾳ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
36.01 PH: Διὶ καὶ Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δημητρίου Αἰζανεΐτης / ἱερεὺς κτίστης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. To Zeus and the Mother of Gods Steunene, Artemidoros, son of Demetrios and a citizen of Aizenoi and founding priest, erected this at his own expense.	In the Hellenistic period, both Kadoi and neighboring Aizenoi were counted as cities of Phrygia Epiktetos, and Ἀρτεμίδωρος may have founded a branch of the Meter Steunene cult in Kadoi (Robert 1981, 354 n. 54; <i>cf.</i> Ricl 2017, 140 n. 128). L. 1: For the name Ἀρτεμίδωρος, see <i>NI</i>, 401. For the common Greek name Δημήτριος, see <i>PVS</i>, 383. Robert 1981, 354; <i>CCCA</i> I, 42 no. 122. See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
37.01 LY; Μητ[ρ]ὶ Ἰμρου- / γαρηνῇ lines 1-2	Kadinhanı, Laodicea Combusta, Lycaonia; copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1911; Undated	"On a small round cippus" (Ramsay and Calder in 1911 quoted in <i>MAMA</i> I, 2 no. 2(b)). No measurements provided.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
38.01 PI; Μητ[ρ]ὶ Καδμη- / νῇ lines 2-3	Çal Tepe, SW of Lake Salda, Pisidia. Cut into the rocky slopes above the village of Çal Tepe (ancient Gebren); cut 300 m down from the summit and 2.5 m up from the ground; 6 km NW of the Karamanlı Dam; Roman Imperial: 2nd to 3rd centuries AD (for the inscription)	Rock-cut <i>naiskos</i> niche with reliefs and an inscription . . . (for the complete description, see Appendix: [38] Μητ[ρ]ὶ Καδμηνῇ: 1).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
39.01 PH; Μητ[ρ]ὶ Κα- / λλίππου lines 4-5	Ayvalı (2) (Nacoleia), Phrygia. Dug up by a man from his garden in the village of Kuyucak, to the east of Kalabak about 15 years before it was shown to Drew- Bear in 1973. It was also copied by a local ("a reliable copyist" (<i>Highlands</i> , 196) and sent to Haspels. Hellenistic	Stele of marble with a with triangular pediment, a gable with a spiral-motif molding, three spiraling acroteria, and a raised circular boss in its pediment. A stylized crescent garland with seven leaves hangs over the inscription in the main field. H. 1.62; W. (top) 0.42; (shaft) 0.39; (base) 0.51; Th. (top) 0.13; (base) 0.17; letter H. 0.03.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
37.01 LY: Μητρὶ Ἰμρου- / γαρηνηῖ εὐ- / χήν. To Meter Imrougarene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>MAMA</i> I, 2 no. 2(b); <i>CCCA</i> I, 239 no. 792.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
38.01 PI: Ἰέρω(ν) Ἑρμογᾶ / Μητρὶ Καδμη- / νῆ εὐχήν. Hieron, daughter of Hermogas, to Meter Kadmene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [38] Μητρὶ Καδμηνηῖ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
39.01 PH: Ἑρμων ὑπ- / ἔρ τῶν ἰδί- / ων πάντῳ- / ν Μητρὶ Κα- / λλίππου // εὐχήν Hermon, on behalf of all his family, to Meter Kallippou, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Ἑρμων, see <i>KP</i> § 355-43. Ll. 4-5: Kallippos was a very common name among elites in Aphrodisias (Chaniotis 2012b, 357, comments for no. 6). For epithets in the genitive, including those named after cult founders, see Appendix: [39] Μητρὶ Καλλίππου: 1. <i>Highlands</i>, 196 and nn. 151-153, 199; 348 no. 130 (includes the sent sketch); <i>NIP</i>, 42-43 no. 10, PL. 12 (photo); = <i>SEG</i> XXVIII, 1978, no. 1183. See Appendix: [39] Μητρὶ Κα- / λλίππου: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
40.01 PH; Μητρὶ Κυκλέα line 8	Soa ("Bennisoae" see Ramsay 1890, 144-145), at or near the modern village of Altıntaş, Upper Tembris, Phrygia. Soa was a main center on the Imperial estate of Tembrion by the River Tembris (Porsuk) (Anderson 1897, 417-422; 1998, 341); and it was seconded by Tataion/Tottaion mentioned in the inscription (Ramsay 1905b, 427 no. 13). Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> with worn and faint letters. No measurements provided.
40.02 PH; Μητρὶ Κι- / κλέα lines 4-5	Pusan, Upper Tembris, Phrygia; dug up at a fountain near the NW edge of the village. Roman Imperial: first or early second century AD (based on analogous styles) (<i>MAMA X</i> , xxix, 71 no. 226).	"Votive stele of pure white marble with tenon below. Two thin pilasters with plain projecting capitals and bases support a low triangular pediment with huge acroteria . . . Letters rude and faint between faint lines" (<i>MAMA X</i> , 71-72 no. 226). H. 0.465; 0.25 (shaft); 0.045 (tenon); W. 0.215 (capital); 0.195 (shaft); 0.22 (base); 0.075 (tenon); Th. 0.07; letter H. 0.01-0.02; 0.0075-0.012 (inserted 2nd line).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
41.01 LY; Μ- / ητρὶ Κοοταδει[ᾱ] lines 1-2	Tepeköy, Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1920; Roman Imperial	Reddish limestone bust of a veiled female. The statue's base has curving lines of inscription. H. 0.35, W. 0.23, 0.17 (bust), Th. 0.11, letter H. 0.15-0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
40.01 PH: ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Κυ- / ρίου Ἀντωνείνου / τ[ύ]χης κὲ νείκης κὲ / ἐ]ωνίου διαμο- / νῆς κὲ τῆς κώμης [Τ-] // άτου, Νάνα σύν / βιος Μενεκλέος / Μητρὶ Κικλέα εὐχή[ν] On behalf of Lord Antoninus' fortune and success and perseverance and the town of Tataion, Nana, the wife of Menekles, to Meter Kiklea (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 5-6: 'τῆς κώμης [Τ- / άτου contains the ethnic for Tataion/Tottaion, a main center in the Imperial Tembrion estate; and Ramsay adds that Tataion is a derivative from Tatas and its by-form Tottes, a common Phrygian personal name (Ramsay 1905b, 427 no. 13). L. 6: For the Phrygian name Νάνα, see <i>KP</i>, § 133-13 n. 24, § 1013-1; <i>NIP</i>, 52 no. 30; <i>PVS</i>, 395. L. 6: For the well-attested Greek name Μενεκλῆς, see <i>PVS</i>, 387. L. 7: For Kiklea, see <i>KO</i>, § 507. Ramsay 1905b, 427 no. 13; Graillot 1912, 361; <i>IGR</i> IV, 222 no. 604; Roller 1999, 328-329.
40.02 PH: Μάμης / Φιλίππου / γυ{η}νῆ / Μητρὶ Κι- / κλέα εὐχ(ή)ν. Mames, the wife of Philippos, to Meter Kiklea, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the native and common Phrygian name Μάμης, see <i>KP</i>, § 850-2 n. 37. 'L. 2: The Λ of Φιλίππου is inscribed over a Π. Ll. 2-4: Line 3, inserted between lines 2 and 4, has an unintended ligature (i.e. the H created by Y and N) (<i>MAMA</i> X, 71-72 no. 226). L. 4: For Kiklea, see <i>KO</i>, § 507. Whether this signifies a place name is unclear. <i>MAMA</i> X, 71-72 no. 226, Pl. XXV; <i>KO</i>, § 507.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
41.01 LY: Σεκοῦνδα Μ- / ητρὶ Κοοταδει[ᾱ] / ε[ὐ]χρήν. Secunda, to Meter Kootadeia, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: Secunda is a common Latin name in this region, and often a slave name (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 7 no. 15). Meanwhile, the ethnic for Kootadeia is unattested (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 7 no. 15). <i>RECAM</i> IV, 7 no. 15 and figs. 21-2 showing the bust and its base's inscription.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
42.01 LY; Μητρ- / ἰ Κου- / αδα- / τρηνηῖ Lines 1-4	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum Inv. No. 4; Roman Imperial: 1st-2nd centuries AD	Limestone altar with a round base at top and molding at the bottom. There may have once been acroteria. An inscription of deeply-cut letters wraps around a badly damaged woman's bust; and it reads from left to right, interrupted by the bust. H. 0.86; W. 0.51; Th. 0.34; letter H. 0.033-0.04.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
43.01 PH; [Μη]τρὶ Κουαήνη single-lined inscription	Çavdarhisar (Aizanoi), Phrygia; found in the court east of the village center (MAMA IX, 26 no. 66). Undated	Slab of gray marble with well-cut letters and a cornice slightly projecting above. H. 0.17; W. 0.94; Th. ca. 0.10; letter H. 0.35.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
44.01 GA; Μητρὶ Κρανομε- / γάλῳ lines 5-6	Çerkes / Karalar, Galatia: found "in loco Bukareler (Belso Karaly); Undated	Plaque or stele of marble. Measurements not provided.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
42.01 LY: Μητρ- / ἰ Κου- / αδα- / τρηνηῖ / εὐ- // χήν. To Meter Quadatrene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 2-4: Κου- / αδα- / τρηνηῖ is metathesis for Κου- / αδρα- / τρηνηῖ = Quadrata after an imperial estate near Laodicea Combusta (Calder 1913, 10-11; <i>MAMA</i> I, 24 - look this up; IX, xxxiv and n. 5; Mitchell 1993 II, 20). See also <i>RECAM</i> IV, 4 no. 6. According to Calder, this epithet was the name the Romans gave for Meter Zizimene once they acquired her estates (Calder 1913, 10; see also Ramsay 1906, 305ff.). Ligatures: in both line 4 and 6's HN; line 4's interesting rho stands for TP. Calder 1912a, 74 no. 47; Buckler, Calder, and Cox 1924, 28-9 no. 7 and fig. 2; <i>SEG</i> VI, 407; <i>RECAM</i> IV, 4 no. 6.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
43.01 PH: [Μη]τρὶ Κουαήνη ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοτ[εχνίας?] (or possibly ὁμον[οίας]) To Meter Kouanene, on behalf of the guild.	The deity is not otherwise known. For "on behalf of a guild", cf. <i>MAMA</i> IX, 19-20 no. 49). . <i>MAMA</i> IX, 26 no. 66 and Pl. IX (squeeze).

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
44.01 GA: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. / Ἐγοισοκωμῆτα[ι] / ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν / κ(αὶ) τῶν καρπῶν / Μητρὶ Κρανομε- // γάλω εὐχὴν. / ἐπιμελησαμένου / Ἀρίστωνος Φιλίππου / καὶ Οἰνοπίων- / ος Θεοδώρου. Good fortune! The Egoisokometai on behalf of themselves and their produce (or profits), to Meter Kranomegalos (in fulfillment of) a vow. Under the supervision of Aristonos, son of Pilippos, and Oinopionos, sun of Theodoros.	L. 7: can also read: ἐπιμελησαμέν[ων] (Akyürek Şahin 2007, 71 no. 4). <i>CIG</i> III, 109 no. 4121; <i>CCCA</i> I, 18 no. 40; Akyürek Şahin 2007, 71-72 no. 4. See also Mordtmann 1885, 14 no. 3; <i>KO</i>, § 617-1, 168, § 284. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
44.02 PH; Μη- / τρι Κρανοσμε- / γάλου lines 2-4	Dorylaeum (Şarhöyük / Eskişehir), Phrygia; Undated	A stele whose pediment is supported by two columns. A wreath lies above the inscription. H. 0.70; W. 0.48; Th. 0.16.
44.03 PH; Μητρ[ι] από Κρανός μεγά[λ]- / η lines 5-7	Şarhöyük / Eskişehir (Dorylaeum), Phrygia; Undated	Possibly a small stele(?) judging from the dimensions (Akyürek Şahin 2007, 71 no. 3) H. 0.22; W. 0.20.
44.04 PH; Μητρι / από Κρανοσ- / μεγάλο<υ> lines 2-4	Eskişehir (Dorylaeum), Phrygia; in the cemetery of the old Tatar Mahallesi; Undated	Small stele of marble with a pediment and three acroteria. H. 0.64; H. of shaft, 0.23; W. 0.27-0.29; Th. 0.05- 0.09; letter H. 0.025.
44.05 PH; Μη- / τρι από Κραν- / σομεγάλο[υ lines 4-6	Eskişehir (Dorylaeum), Phrygia; in the cemetery of the old Tatar Mahallesi; Undated	Stele of marble broken off at the bottom. A bust with a <i>polos</i> is centered in a pediment with three acroteria. H. 0.55; H. of shaft, 0.26; W. 0.23-0.27; Th. 0.08; letter H. 0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
44.02 PH: Νεικίας Ἀσκλη- / ηπιάδου Μη- / τρι Κρανοσμε- / γάλου εὐχὴν. Neikias, son of Asklepiades, to Meter Kranosmegalos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: Νεικίας is a common Greek name as is Ἀσκληπιάδης, which was common from the Hellenistic period onwards (<i>PVS</i>, 388). Körte 1987a, 405 no. 47; Akyürek Şahin 2007, 71 no. 2; and see also <i>KO</i>, § 617-1. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.
44.03 PH: Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἰου- / λιανὸς κ(αὶ) Κλ. / Ἐπικαρπία μετ[ά] / τέκνων κατ' / ἐπιταγὴν Μητρ[ὶ] // ἀπὸ Κρανὸςμεγά[λ]- / η εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκα. G(aius) Julius Julianus and Kl(audia) Epikarpia, together with their children, to Meter Kranosmegalene, as commanded (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Akyürek Şahin 2007, 71 no. 3; and see also <i>KO</i> § 617-1. See Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.
44.04 PH: Μένανδρος / καὶ Ἀπφη Μητρὶ / ἀπὸ Κρανοσ- / μεγάλο<υ> / εὐχὴ[ν]. Menandros and Apphe, to Meter Kranosmegalos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the common Greek name Μένανδρος, see <i>PVS</i>, 387. L. 2: For the name Ἀπφη, <i>KP</i>, § 66-18, Nachtrag 680. L. 4: "There are no traces after O, where the surface appears never to have been inscribed" (<i>MAMA V</i>, 4 no. 8). <i>MAMA V</i>, 4-5 no. 8 (and see also no. 9), and Pl. 15; <i>Hellenica X</i>, 111 and n. 5; Akyürek Şahin 2007, 72 no. 5 and fig. 5; and see also <i>KO</i>, § 617-1. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.
44.05 PH: Βαβου καὶ / Μένανδρ- / ος μετὰ τῶ- / ν ἰδίων Μη- / τρι ἀπὸ Κραν- // οσμεγάλο[υ] / ε[ὐ]χὴν[ν]. Babou and Menandros, together with their family, to Meter Kranosmegalos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
44.06 PH; Μετρί ἄ- / [πὸ Κρ]ανος- / [μεγάλου] lines 3-5	Ayvalı (2), (Nakoleia), Phrygia. According to the locals, the piece was brought from Karinin Pınar, about two kilometers from the village. Because of this stele's resemblance to 44.03 and 44.04 (<i>MAMA</i> V, nos. 8-9), Drew-Bear felt it should belong to the corpus of Dorylaeum as opposed to Nakoleia's (<i>NIP</i> , 52 no. 30). Undated	A small stele whose upper part is broken at an angle. Its pediment has three acroteria and a round boss at its center. The inscription runs between visible guiding lines. H. 0.37; W. 0.19-- 0.21; Th. 0.05; letter H. 0.02.5.
44.07 PH; Μητρί] / Κρανομεγαλήν η lines 2-3	Doğlat Köyü (north of Docimeum), Phrygia; Afyon Archaeology Museum, Inv. no. 1748 (3081); Undated	Stele fragment of marble with a tenon and a broken off pediment. In the field, a bust of the goddess is positioned above a walking lion in profile separates the second and third lines of the inscription. H. 0.14.5, W. 0.12, D. 0.02.5, letter H. 0.08.
44.08 PH; Μη- / τρι Κρ[α]- / νο με- / γαλή- / ν[η] lines 4-8	Doğlat Köyü (north of Docimeum), Phrygia; Afyon Archaeology Museum, Inv. no. 1750 (3079); Undated	Stele of marble in two broken pieces. The stele has a triangular pediment broken at left and which frames a raised patera. A bust relief of the goddess wearing the <i>polos</i> parts the inscription from lines two to eight. The ninth line runs across the tenon. Upper piece: H. 0.14.5; W. 0.14; Th. 0.03; lower piece: H. 0.15; W. 0.16; Th. 0.04.5; letter H. 0.01--0.01.2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
45.01 PH; [Μ]- / ητρι Κυβέλη lines 1-2	Nakoleia (Seyitgazi), Phrygia: found "in the foundations of a ruined house near the baths" (<i>MAMA</i> V, 102 no. 213); Roman Imperial: 2nd century AD	Small <i>bomos</i> of limestone, broken at the bottom and with traces of a bucranium below the inscription. H. 0.40, W. 0.39-0.37, Th. (shaft) 0.30; letter H. 0.025-0.04.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
44.06 PH: Νανα Μά- / ρκου σύνβ- / [ιοσ] Μετρὶ ἄ- / [πὸ Κρ]ανος- / [μεγάλου] // [εὐχὴν]. Nana, the wife of Marcus, to Meter Kranosmegalos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: The Phrygian name Νανα is well attested in Nakoleia as well as Dorylaeum (<i>NIP</i>, 52 no. 30; see also <i>KP</i>, § 133-13 n. 24, § 1013-1; <i>PVS</i>, 395). Ll. 1-2: For Μᾶρκος, “a Latin <i>praenomen</i> adopted into the Greek onomastic system”, see <i>KP</i>, § 848-1 Anm.; <i>PVS</i>, 387. <i>NIP</i>, 52 no. 30 and Pl. 17; <i>SEG</i> XXVIII, 1978, no 1184; Akyürek Şahin 2006, 125 V. no. 2 (with a photo); 2007, 72 no. 7, fig. 7; and see also <i>KO</i>, § 617-1. See Chapter 68. for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1.
44.07 PH: '----- / [----- Μητρὶ] / Κρανομεγαλήνη / εὐχὴν. to Meter Kranomegalene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Akyürek Şahin, 2007, 67-74; 69 no. I, fig. I; and see also <i>KO</i>, § 617-1. See Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features; and Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1-2.
44.08 PH: [- -]πιας Παπιο[υ] / [ύ]πέρ τῷ[ν] / [ι]δίων πάν- / των Μη- / τρὶ Κρ[α]- / νο με- / γα λή- / ν[η] / εὐχὴν. --pias, son of Papias, on behalf of all his family, to Meter Kranomegalene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For Παπιας, a common Phrygian name, see <i>KP</i>, § 1199-5, § 1199-13; <i>PVS</i>, 389). Akyürek Şahin, 2007, 67-74; 69 no. II, fig. II; and see also <i>KO</i>, § 617-1. See Appendix: [44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου: 1-2.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
45.01 PH: Σκαλατηνοὶ [Μ]- / ητρὶ Κυβέλη(ορ: η) εὐ- / χὴν περὶ βο- / ῶν. The Skalatenoi, to Meter Kybele, (in fulfillment of) a vow, on behalf of the oxen.	<i>NIP</i>, no. 9; <i>MAMA</i> V, 102 no. 213 and Pl. 49; <i>CCCA</i> I, 61 no. 178 and Pl XXX; Roller 1999, 328. See Chapter 6.8 for dedications made on behalf of animals; and Appendix: [45] Μητρὶ Κυβέλη: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
46.01 PH; Μητρὶ Λητοῖ line 1	Excavated at Bahadınlar, Phrygia, in the Dionysopolitan valley. "We saw it in possession of an <i>latros</i> in the Khan at Kaibazar" (Ramsay 1895, 382 n. 5). Undated.	"Small plate of marble, about 3/4 inch thick, 16 inches long, and 11 1/2 inches broad, with a hole at each side by which it was fixed on the wall of the building to which it originally belonged" (Ramsay 1895, 382-383).
46.02 PH; Μητρὶ / Λήτῳ; Μητρὶ Λητῳ lines 3-4; 8	Ortaköy (Dionysopolis), Phrygia; found high in the wall of a mosque; Undated (However, Buckler suggested c. AD 165/166 based on his interpretation of the date at the beginning of the text (Buckler, 1914-16, 172-173, no. 2).)	"A marble tablet broken at the top . . . The last two lines are very faint, but Mr. Sterrett and I agreed that the appearance of the letters was as above" (Ramsay 1883, 384-385 no. 7).
46.03 PH; Μητρὶ / Λητῳ lines 3-4	Bekilli (Dionysopolis?) on the Çal Plain, across the Meander from the Sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos (<i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 70 commentary), Phrygia; in a house wall; Roman Imperial: AD 139/140	Stele of marble with a pediment "with side pieces and acroterion containing a four-pointed rosette" (<i>MAMA</i> IV, (?) no. 314). H. 0.51; W. 0.34; letter H. 0.02-0.025.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
46.01 PH: Μητρὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ- / λῳνι Λυερμηνῶ Ἀπολλῶ- / νιος Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀ- / πολλωνίου Ἀτυοχωρεῖ- / της ὑπὲρ Λαομέδοντος // καὶ Εἰφινάσσης τῶν τέ- / κνων τὴν στοὰν ἐκ / τῶν ιδίων ἐποίησε. To Meter Leto and Helios Apollo Lairbenos, Apollo, son of Menophilos, grandson of Apollonios, and of Atyochorion, constructed a stoa on behalf of his children Laomedon and Iphianassa at his own expense.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητώ: 2, and for Meter Leto, see also 1.
46.02 PH: []ν' ἔτος' (?) / Ἀφιάς Θεοδότου / εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ / Λητώ, ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνά- / των δυνατὰ-των δυνατὰ πυεῖ, // <i>vacat</i> / κὲ κολαθῖσα ἰς τὸν γλουθρό[?]- / ν Μητρὶ Λητῶ εὐχὴν. The year [2] 50 (?). I, Aphias, daughter of Theodotos, thank Meter Leto, as she makes the possible out of the impossible; and after being punished with a pain in my rear (since healed), I dedicate this to Meter Leto (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητώ: 3, and for Meter Leto, see also 1.
46.03 PH: ἔτους σκδ' · / Μελτίνη Μενε- / κλέους Μητρὶ / Λητῶ εὐχὴν. The year 224. Meltine, daughter of Menekles, to Meter Leto, (in fulfillment) of a vow.	L. 2: For the Greek name Μελτίνη, see <i>KP</i>, § 893; <i>NI</i>, 230 and nn. 2-3, 313 n. 8. Ll. 2-3: For the well-attested Greek name Μενεκλῆς, see <i>PVS</i>, 387. <i>MAMA IV</i>, (?) no. 314, Pl. 63. See Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
46.04 PH; Μητρὶ Λητῶ line 3	Sivaslı (Sebaste); in private possession; Roman Imperial: third century AD	Stele of marble with a pediment, acroteria, and a tenon. On the shaft is a human leg in relief. H. 0.43; W. (top) 0.33; (shaft) 0.30; (base) 0.34; Th. 0.08; letter H. 0.010-0.022.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
47.01 GA; Μη- / τρι Μάγνη lines 2-3	Çaykoz, Galatia; found built into the Kusecik Çeşmesi after having been presumed lost (Strubbe 2005, 188 n. 10); Roman Imperial (based on the Latinism apparent in the epithet)	<i>Bomos</i> of white marble broken above and with a slightly defaced surface. Its front has a molding and semicircular recessed niche in which there are the traces of a figure, possibly of the goddess, in relief. The inscription runs below the niche; and line 5 is larger and engraved more deeply, perhaps executed by another hand. H. 1.00; W. 0.40; Th. 0.36.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
48.01 PH; μητρὶ μακα- / ρίᾳ Ὁσίᾳ Δικαίᾳ lines B1-2	Akçaköy, Phrygia; found in the pillar of a wash-house in the W. of the village; Undated	Rectangular <i>bomos</i> of white marble with molding at the top and bottom. The inscription runs along the front and right. On the left side are the remains a radiating haloed bust. See <i>MAMA X</i> , 49 for the measurements. Letter H. (front) 0.015-0.0175; (side) 0.01-0.175.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
46.04 PH: Αὐρ. Ἀτταλος ἐγ μεγάλης / νόσου σωθεὶς εὐχαριστ- / ὦ Μητρὶ Λητῶ καὶ / Νεμέσεσι προκα- / θημέναις καὶ ἰ- // εραῖς Νύνφαις I, Aurelius Attalos, delivered from a great illness, thank Meter Leto and the presiding Nemeseis and sacred nymphs.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητῶ: 4, and for Meter Leto, see also 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
47.01 GA: Ἀτυηνοὶ οἰκο- / δεσπότε Μη-^v / τρὶ Μάγνη ὑπὲρ / [τ]ῶν εἰῶν εὐχὴν.^v / Καὶ νίκην. (vine leaf)^{vac} The Atyenoι, the masters of the house, to Meter Magna, on behalf of their sons and victory, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: Ἀτυηνοὶ could be an ethnic rather than the name of a religious association. Ll. 1-2: For <i>oikodespotes</i> (read: householder of substance), see Strubbe 2005, 189; Mitchell II, 133. Ll. 2-3: Μήτηρ Μάγνη, instead of being Μήτηρ Μεγάλη, is a Latinism of Mater Magna. L. 4: εἰῶν = υἱῶν; see Strubbe 2005, 189. L. 5: This may have been added later. SEG 46, no. 1635; 54-1265; Strubbe 2005, 188-189 no. 171.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
48.01 PH: A) front: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ / Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν [κατ-] / οἰκούντων ΤΟΥ . . -Ν . . / Ὅσίῳ καὶ Δικέῳ ἐνήμῳ ἐυ[χὴν] B) side: καὶ μητρὶ μακα- / ρία Ὅσία Δικαία A) Good Fortune! On behalf of the safety of the settlement Tou—, to the seated Holy and Just, (in fulfillment of) a vow. B) and to the blessed Mother Holy and Just.	L. A4: For Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος, see <i>MAMA X</i>, 50; and see also Riel 1992, 71-103. L. B1: "μακαρία is normally used for human beings and the dead, μάκαρ for deities" (<i>MAMA X</i>, 50). Cf. Munn 2006, 336. L. B2: For <i>dikaia</i>, compare Wallensten 2008, 86 n. 19; Chaniotis 2012a, 231 no. 173. <i>MAMA X</i>, 49-50 no. 158 with sketches of the front and side with bust, Pl. XVII (squeeze).

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
49.01 PH; Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ line 7	Malos (Kilise-Orhaniye), Phrygia: Formerly in the Hughenin Collection (see Appendix: [49] Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ: 1); Late Roman Imperial (<i>Hellenica</i> X, 29 no. 7; see also Lochman 1999, 28-33.)	Stele of white marble with a pediment crowned by three acroteria. The inscription runs above and below the standing figures of a male in a cloak and a woman in a draped garment; and where the lines run across the field, they are broken up by the upper portions of the figures. There is a broken-off tenon. H. 0.36, W. 0.16- 0.19, D. 0.5; letter H. 0.010-0.012. For discussion concerning the figures in relief, see Chapter 6.8 n. 93.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
50.01 PH; Μητρὶ / Μηνὸς lines 6-7	Süpren Köyü, south of Eskişehir, Phrygia; Eskişehir Museum Inv. no. A- 103-80; Roman Imperial: possibly after the the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212 (Salway 1994, 134)	Quadrangular <i>bomos</i> of grey marble with two acroteria on each side of the upper section and a crown between the acroteria on the front. A wreath surmounts the inscription in the front facing field. H. 1.30; W. 0.365-0.45; 0.275-0.335; letter H, 0.02-0.03.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
51.01 GA; Μ- / ητρὶ Νουβ- / νου 5-7	Brought from Süleymaniye Köyü to the west of Mihalıççık, Phrygia; Eskişehir Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. A-184-72; Roman Imperial: 2nd Century (Ricl 1994, 172 no. 30)	Stele of limestone broken at top and with a base. H. 0.26; W. 0.155-0.19; Th. 0.05-0.06; letter H. 0.012-0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
49.01 PH: Ἄλυπος Λιμνα[ί]- / ου ὑπέρ δ- / εσποτῶ- / ν καὶ / τῶν θρεμάτων- / ν καὶ τῶν κυνῶν / Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ εὐ- / χήν Alypos, son of Limnaios, on behalf of his masters and animals and dogs, to Meter Malene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Λιμναῖος, see <i>NI</i>, 117. L. 7: Μαληνῆ bears the ethnic of what may have been "Malos" or "Mala" (<i>Hellenica</i> X, 29). Ll. 2-4: For other dedications on behalf of one's masters, see <i>Hellenica</i> X, 31-32). Ligatures: line 1's mu nu; line 6's nu kappa, omega nu kappa, omega nu; line 7's eta nu eta. See especially Chapter 6 n. 93 for discussion concerning the identity of the figures in the relief; and Appendix: [49] Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ: 1-2 for sources and extended notes.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
50.01 PH: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσκληπιᾶς / Μηνοφίλου, ἱερεὺς / κωμητικός, εὐξάμε- / νος ὑπέρ τῶν ιδίων κέ / κώμης σωτηρίας, // Διεὶ κέ Μηνὶ κέ Μητρὶ / Μηνὸς εὐχην. The village priest Aurelius, son of Asklepius and grandson of Menophilos, having prayed, on behalf of his family and the wellbeing of his village, to Zeus, Mēn, and Meter Menos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Αὐρήλιος, see <i>NI</i>, 130, 233, 361, 362, 365, 391, 527; <i>PVS</i>, 383. Ll. 6-7: Cf. instances of <i>Μενὸς τεκοῦσα</i> in Maeonia, Lydia (Ricl 1994, 159 no. 4 notes). Ricl 1994, 159 no. 4, fig. 4; <i>SEG</i> XLIV, no. 1037.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
51.01 GA: [Λο]νγεῖν- / ος Ἀλεξ- / ἀνδρου ὕ- / πέρ τῆς συ- / νοδίας Μ- // ητρὶ Νουν- / νου εὐχή- / ν. Longeinos, son of Alexandros, on behalf of the caravan, to Meter Nounnou, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [51] Μητρὶ Νουννου.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
52.01 PH; [Mη]- / τρι 'Ορινη lines 2-3	Ortaca, Phrygia; found at a house on the northern end of the village. "Ortaca is at the north edge of the Girei Ovası, close to the thinly-populated mountainous country which separates the plain of Aezani from Cotyaeum" (<i>MAMA X</i> , 98). Roman Imperial: 2nd half of the 1st century AD	Stele of greyish marble, broken at the very top of its triangular gable, which has free acroteria; and there are two bosses sitting side-by-side in the pediment. The upper part of the shaft has an elegant ivy wreath above the inscription with letters so faint and worn that Cox said they were "easier to copy than to squeeze" (<i>MAMA X</i> , 97 no. 307). H. 1.61; W. 0.64 (top); 0.61 (shaft); Th. 0.17 (top); 0.15 (shaft); letter H. 0.035-0.04.
52.02 PI; Μητρι'Ορεία line 3	Bağlu, Pisidia (15 kms SW of Antiochia ad Pisidiam = what is now the village of Akçaşar? or Eğirler?); on the Yılanlı plain, "in a fountain ten minutes south of the village" (Sterrett 1888 III, 280 no. 400); Undated	No description nor measurements provided.
52.03 PI; Μητρι / 'Ορέα lines 2-3	Burdur district, Pisidia; Burdur Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 8555; Roman Imperial: 2nd century AD	Rectangular <i>bomos</i> of limestone, with plain acroteria in the upper corners. On the shaft, the relief of a seated female sits in a high-backed throne. Her head is covered and she is wearing a chiton and a decorative waist-band. She holds a phiale over the head of one of the forward-facing lionesses flanking her. The inscription fills the base below the relief. H. 0.55; W. 0.26; Th. 0.20; letter H. 0.02 with some smaller letters.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
52.01 PH: Πάμφιλος κ[αὶ] / Τρυπερίον [Μη]- / τριῖ Ὀρινηῖ [εὐχὴν]. Pamphilos and Truperion, to Meter Oriene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 3: The adjective Ὀρινηῖ, though appearing for the first time, resembles the widely known Μητήρ Ὀρεία (<i>MAMA X</i>, 97 no. 307). <i>MAMA X</i>, 97-98 no. 307 (with a sketch). See Appendix: [52] Μητρί Ὀρεία: 1.
52.02 PI: Πρεῖμος Ἀντιόχου Βώξου / δοῦλος κατὰ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ / χρηματισθεὶς Μητρί Ὀρείᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δ]ίων / ἀνέθηκεν. Primus, son of Antiochos and grandson of Bochos, and a slave, according to the oracular response received from the epiphany of the deity, dedicated this to Meter Oreia at his own expense.	L. 1: For Πρεῖμος, “a Latin praenomen adapted into the Greek onomastic system,” see <i>PVS</i>, 389. For the name Bochos, see <i>KP</i>, §201, Int. 189; <i>NI</i>, 321. Sterrett 1888 III, 280-281 no. 400; <i>CCCA I</i>, 230 no. 764; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 106f. For a map, see Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 40 fig. 1. See Appendix: [52] Μητρί Ὀρεία: 1-2; [34] Μητρί Θεῶν Οὐγενίω: 3.
52.03 PI: Τερμίλας Τρογο- / δου Μανανεως Μητρί / Ὀρέᾳ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν / (νν.) ὀνείρου ☾ Termilas, son of Trogodas and grandson of Mananis, to Meter Ore(i)a in as commanded in a dream.	L. 1: For the name Τερμίλας, see <i>KP</i>, §1537-1, Int. 202. Ll. 1-2: Horsley notes that Trogodas is a phonetic variant of Tokondas; and he points out that the name Termilas is “clearly Lykian” (<i>RECAM V</i>, 85 no. 115). <i>RECAM V</i>, 85 no. 115 and Pl. 119. See Appendix: [52] Μητρί Ὀρεία: 1-2; [34] Μητρί Θεῶν Οὐγενίω: 3.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
53.01 PI; Μητ- / ρί Ο- / υε- / γνα lines 11-14	Ararım / Kolkorum, Pisidia (probably what is now Gökçimen c. 10 km SE of Lake Beyşehir (see Hall 1957, Fig. 2 map), Pisidia; shown to Hall in 1957; embedded as spolia in the wall of a village house. Undated	Block of limestone "with seated female figure in relief to left, facing front, inscription to right" (Hall 1968, 75 no. 19). H. (possibly broken above and below) 0.51; W. 0.15; Th. uncertain; letter H. 0.01-0.015 cm.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
54.01 PH; Μη- / τρι Πε- / προξε- / τηνῃ lines 1-4	Azizie (Emir Dağ) (but said to come from a village in Emir Dağ = Türkmen Köy ?), Phrygia (<i>MAMA</i> VII, 64 no. 281); Undated	Stele broken at top. H. 0.17; W. 0.17- 0.19; Th. 0.06, letter H. 0.02.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
55.01 GA [= 20.01]; Μη- / τρι / Πλ- / ια- / ηνῶ (a) / καὶ Εἰσσιονδηνῇ (b) lines 2-6	Found in Güce Köyü (in the vicinity of Mihalıççık), Phrygia; Eskişehir Museum, inv. no. A- 23-72; Roman Imperial: 3rd Century AD	Stele of marble with a rounded pediment and broken into three fragments (now joined). Two long- haired goddesses with identical long gowns and coats stand side by side. The inscription wraps around the two figures counter-clockwise so that lines 3-6 fall to the right of the relief. H. 0.50; W 0.29; Th. 0.05; letter H. 0.015- 0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
53.01 PI: Δ□[-]M- / ος οἱ π- / ἐρὶ Ἑρ- / διν Κιδ- / δεου // καὶ Κό- / ἴντον / Μάμ- / α εὐ- / χήν // Μητ- / ρί Ο- / υε- / γνα. concerning Erdin, son of Kiddeos, and Kointos, son of Mama, (in fulfillment of) a vow, to Meter Vegna (or Vetna*). *See Column E.	L. 1: The meaning of the first line is unclear (Hall 1968, 75 no. 19). Ll. 6-7: For the name Κόϊντος, see <i>NI</i>, 261, 329, 330. L. 8: For the name Μάμα, see <i>KP</i>, § 850-1, § 875-1 n. 130a, § 850-19. Ll. 12-14: The γ in line 14 is uncertain and could also be a τ. Thus, Ουεγνα or Ουετνα are possible. Hall, 1968, 75 no. 19, Pl. XIIa; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105-106 and n. 9. See Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ θεῶν Ούεγεινω: 1-5.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
54.01 PH: [. . .] Μη- / τρὶ Πε- / προζε- / τηνῇ / εὐχὴν. to Meter Peprozetene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	MAMA VII, 64 no. 281, Pl. 17.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
55.01 GA: ΥΡΑ / ΥΝ Ι ΙΙΙΙ Η Μη- / τρὶ / Πλ- / ιτα- / ηνῶ / καὶ Εἰσσινδηνῇ / εὐχὴν. Ricl at first misread the ΠΛΙ in Πλ- / ιτα- / ηνῶ as PLA (Ricl 2017, 143 n. 164). to Meter Plitaene and Eissindene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ll. 1-2: The damaged first two lines probably contained the name of the dedicant. L. 7: Three known cities and one village, all in Ionia, bore the name Εἰσσινδηνή. Ricl supposes there must have been a community by that name close to where the stele was found (Ricl 1994, 173 no.31; <i>KO</i> 202-203 no. 384, 1-3). Ricl 1994, 173 no. 31 and fig. 31; <i>SEG</i> XLIV, 1064; Ricl 2017, 143 n. 164. See Chapter 4 regarding multiple Meter dedications.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
55.02 GA; Μητρὶ Πλιτα[ηνῆ] line 2	Kurucu, Galatia; "From an ancient cemetery 1 km S. of Village where it had been excavated by bulldozers preparing a new road" (RECAM II, 68 no. 54A); Roman Imperial	"Fragment of white marble <i>bomos</i> with mouldings; border of egg and tongue decoration" (RECAM II, 68 no. 54A). H. 0.28; W. 0.48; Th. 0.42; letter H. 0.011-0.015.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
56.01 PI; Μητρὶ Πολ- / υεττηνῆ lines 5-6	Bademli, Pisidia; "Now built into the house of Osman Ergun," but found at a shrine on a hill in the immediate vicinity (Bean 1959, 97 no. 47; and see Appendix: [56] Μητρὶ Πολυεττηνῆ: 1); Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of marble with plain molding at top and bottom. The right and left edges are damaged. The letters are poorly written and not horizontal. H. 0.65; W. 0.25; Th. 0.25; letter H. 0.012-0.023.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
57.01 PH; Μη[τρὶ] / Πονταν- / ηνῆ lines 2-3	Gemiç, in the Kümbet Valley, Phrygia; copied by Ramsay in 1881 (Ramsay 1890, 435; 1905c, "Beiblatt" 104); Undated	No description nor measurements provided

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
55.02 GA: [Δι̃ Βρ]οντῶντι καὶ Μητρὶ Πλιτα[ηνῆ] / [— — —]κράτης. To [Zeus Br]onton and Meter Plitaene, -- krates.	L. 1: This inscription is unique for having the first attestation of Zeus Bronton in the same dedication as the Mother (<i>RECAM</i> II, 68 no. 54A). For speculation on whether there is an ethnic connection with Plitendum, one of the places on Manlius Vulso's march in 189 BC, see <i>RECAM</i> II, 68 no. 54A. <i>RECAM</i> II, 68 no. 54A

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
56.01 PI: Μῆνις Φιλοδε- / σπότου, Γαίο[υ] / Κορνηλίου [Μ?]- / εἰλωνος ἀρχ[ιτ]- / οῖμην, // Μητρὶ Πολ- / υεττηνῆ / εὐχῆν. Menis, son of Philodespotos and Gaius Cornelius [M?]ilon's chief shepherd, to Meter Poluettene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Μῆνις, see <i>KP</i>, § 62-9, § 910. Ll. 1-2: The name Philodespotos is late (Bean 1959, 97 no. 47; e.g. <i>MAMA</i> IV, no. 175 at Apollonia in Phrygia, 2nd-3rd century AD). L. 3: For the name Μείλων, see <i>KP</i>, 888-5. Ll. 6-7: "The epithet is no doubt local: the shrine stood on the hill where the stone was found," (Bean 1959, 97 no. 47). L. 6: The last letter is almost effaced, but the squeeze suggests a lambda (Bean 1959, 97 no. 47). Bean 1959, 97 no. 47. See Appendix: [56] Μητρὶ Πολυεττηνῆ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
57.01 PH: Μη[τρὶ] / Πονταν- / ηνῆ / εὐχῆν. To Meter Pontanene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Ramsay 1890, 435; 1905c, "Beiblatt" 104; <i>Highlands</i>, 199, 358 no. 153; cf. 357 no. 152 for a dedication made by the Pontan[en]oi found at nearby Akin. See Appendix: [56] Μητρὶ Ποντανηνῆ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
58.01 PH; Μητρὶ Σαλσαλουδηνῆ ; no line breaks indicated	Kabalar (Salouda?), Phrygia; Roman Imperial	No description nor measurements provided

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
59.01 LY; Μη- / τρι Σιλανδηνῆ lines 1-2	Kadınhanı, Lycaonia: copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1911; Undated	"Above the inscription, a defaced group, apparently consisting of a lion facing r., a female figure, and a male figure" (Ramsay and Calder in 1911 quoted in <i>MAMA</i> I, 2 no. 2(c)). No further description provided nor measurements provided.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
60.01 PH; Μητρὶ Σο- / μ . ηνῆ lines 2-3	Şarhöyük, Eskişehir (Dorylaeum), Phrygia; found south of the ancient city at Şarhöyük in excavations during road construction in 2009; Eskişehir Museum: its upper part is kept in the Main Depot / Aisle, Series No. II.A.4; whereas its lower part is in the Backyard, Row No. 19. Roman Imperial: Probably prior to AD 212	Limestone stele broken in two parts along a diagonal line from the left at inscription line 3 down to the right at line 5. A triangular pediment with three large palmette acroteria has an embossed concentric. Between the pediment molding and inscription is a large wreath with a fillet tied to its upper part. The rear is roughly worked. Upper portion: H. 1.20; W. 51; Th. 23; lower portion: H. 160; W. 61; Th. 9; letter H. 2.2–2.5.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
58.01 PH: Μητρὶ Σαλσαλου- / δηνῆ Τίτος Φλάβις / Ἐπαφρόδειτος εὐ- / ξάμενος ἀνέθηκα. To Meter Salsaloudene, Titos Phlabis Epaphrodeitos, having prayed, set this up.	Ll. 1-2: Ramsay supposed the epithet contained the ethnic for Salouda, which is mentioned in another inscription from Kabalar with a relief of the goddess herself enthroned between lions (Ramsay 1895, 156-157 nos. 64-65). L. 2: "Φλάβις for Φλάβιος" (Ramsay 1883, 386 no. 9). Ramsay 1883, 386 no. 9; 1888a, 277-278; 1895, 156-157 nos. 65; <i>IGR</i> IV, 266 no. 755.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
59.01 LY: Θεόφιλος Γαΐου Μη- / τρὶ Σιλανδηνῇ εὐ- / χήν Thophilos, son of Gaius, to Meter Silandene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L.1: For the name Γάϊος, see <i>PVS</i>, 383. <i>MAMA</i> I, 2 no. 2(c), and also xxxiii; <i>CCCA</i> I, 239 no. 793.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
60.01 PH: Σταβερριανὸς Δορυφό- / ρου ἱερεὺς Μητρὶ Σο- / μ . ηνῇ ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς / (vac) ἀ[ν]έθηκεν / μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων. The priest Staberianus, son of Doryphoros, to Meter Som[?]ene, set this up as commanded at his own expense (?).	Erten and Sivas 2016, 330-335 and figs. 1-3. See Appendix: [60] Μητρὶ Σομ[.]ηνῇ : 1 for inscription notes and sources.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
61.01 PH; Μητρὶ ἀ[πὸ] / [Σ]πηλέου lines 3-4	Probably from the Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλέου sanctuary at Ahılar, Phrygia; found in the Izmir Museum inventory with the label "Depot of Alsancak 1927"; Roman Imperial	A <i>bomos</i> . On front is the dedication; at the rear is a bucranium; on the right side is a garland; and on the left side is a grapevine with two clusters. H. 104; W. 40; Th. 26; letter H. 0.025-0.030.
61.02 PH; Μητρὶ / ἀπὸ σπηλέ- / ου lines 6-8	At the Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλέου sanctuary at Ahılar, Phrygia; found in a valley called Kocapınarderesi below a cave sanctuary on the southern slope of Bozdağ (Frei 1983, 58-59; and see Appendix: Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλέου: 1); Eskişehir Archaeological Museum Undated	Stele of light grey marble. H. 0.50; W. 0.40; Th. 0.19; letter H. 0.018.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
62.01 GA; Μητρὶ Τετραπ[ρο]- / σώπω lines 3-4	Seyfi Ören / Küçük Hasan, Galatia; found by an old deserted cemetery on the slopes of the Seyfi Öreni ridge "in the oda wall" (Anderson 1899, 303; see also the map); Hellenistic	<i>Bomos</i> with the inscription above the shaft. Two bucrania adorn the ends of a crescent wreath relief, which dominates the shaft. No measurements provided. Reproduced from a sketch.
62.02 PH; Μητρὶ Τ[ετρ]α- / προσώπω lines 4-5	Keskin (Dorylaeum), Phrygia; Undated	Grey marble <i>bomos</i> , left uncut behind. The inscription is badly weathered. "On upper surface, a circular <i>focus</i> , 0.12 in diameter and 0.03 deep" (MAMA V, 53 no. 101). H. 0.89; W. 0.43; Th. 0.26; Th. of shaft, 0.21; letter H. 0.02.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
61.01 PH: Μητροφάνης ΚΠΙ - - / ηνος περὶ τῶν ἰδί[ων] / πάντων Μητρὶ ἀ[πὸ] / [Σ]πηλέου εὐχή. Metrophanes, son of (?), on behalf of all his family, to the Mother of the Cave, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>Hellenica</i> 10, 110-113, Pl. XVII.3 (front), XVII.1 (left side), Pl. XVIII.1 (squeeze), and XXIII.3 (upper front with inscription); <i>SEG</i> XV, no. 816. See Appendix: [61] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλείου: 1.
61.02 PH: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ / Νέστωρ λυσιμ- / άχου ὑπὲρ τ- / ἔκνων καὶ τῶ- / ν ἰδίων πάν- / των Μητρὶ / ἀπὸ σπηλέ- / ου εὐχ- / / ἦν. With good fortune. Nestor, son of Lusimachos, on behalf of his children and all his family, to the Mother of the Cave, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: For the name Νέστωρ, see <i>NI</i>, 252, 546. Frei, P. 1983, 58-59, and for the inscription itself, 62 no. 4 (Fig. 5); <i>SEG</i> XXXIV, no. 1293. See Appendix: [61] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλείου: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
62.01 GA: . . Μένανδρος [Με]- / νάνδρου ὁ κὲ Ν[ου]- / νᾶς Μητρι Τετραπ[ρο]- / σώπῳ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπ[ων] / κὲ τετραπόδων εὐ[χ]ήν. Menandros, son of Menandros and Nouna, to Meter Tetraprosopos on behalf of the people and the four-footed (i.e. herds).	Ll. 1-2: For the common Greek name Μένανδρος, see <i>PVS</i>, 387. Anderson 1897/1898, 61; 1899, 303 no 237 with sketch; Graillot 1912, 361; <i>CCCA</i> I, 20 no. 48, and fig. 8. See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [67] Τετραπ[ρο]/σώπῳ: 1.
62.02 PH: ἀγ[α]θῇ τύχῃ. / Λ[ᾱ]σος Ποτά- / μωνος ἱερ[εὺς] / Μητρὶ Τ[ετρ]α- / / προσώπῳ εὐ- / χήν. With good fortune. The priest Lasos, son of Potamanes, to Meter Tetraprosopos, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>MAMA</i> V, 53 no. 101, Pl. 34 (font and inscription). See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [67] Τετραπ[ρο]/σώπῳ: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
63.01 PH; Μητρει Τιε- / ιοβευδηνῆ lines 3-4	Köle Deresi, near the village of Yazıdere, NNE of Seyitgazi, Phrygia; probably dug up by the locals (<i>NIP</i> 1978, 43); Seyitgazi Museum, Inv. no. 199; Undated	Stele of white marble broken away at top and bottom. H. 0.22; W. 0.245; Th. 0.07; letter H. 0.025.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
64.01 LY; Μητρὶ Τυμενηνῆ line 3	Ilgın (Tyriaion), Lycaonia; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 1298; Roman Imperial: 1st-2nd centuries AD (See <i>IK Sultan Dağı</i> , 61 for discussion on whether Ilgın is the location of ancient Lageina or Tyraion.)	Limestone statue of a lion sitting on its haunches on a plinth. The inscription is cut along the plinth. H. 0.71; W. 0.23; D. 0.42; letter H. 0.01-0.015.
64.02 PI; Μητρὶ Τυμενη- / νῆ lines 1-2	Eyüpler, near Pisidian Antioch; Yalvaç Museum, Inv. no. 323; Hellenistic period	White marble statuette of a goddess seated between two lions. She is wearing a <i>polos</i> , and holds a phiale and tympanum. H. 0.28; W. 0.13.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
65.01 LY; Minervae Zizim[menae] (= Ἀθηνᾶ Ζιζιμμηνῆ) lines 3-4	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia Roman Imperial: c. 1st century AD (Ramsay 1918, 171, 172, and n. 117.)	The right part of an inscription which ran across two blocks and was part of an architectural construction.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
63.01 PH: [Α]νδρων / [Κ]αρικοῦ / Μητρὲι Τιε- / ιοβευδηνῆ / εὐχὴν Andron, son of Karikos, to Meter Tieiobeudene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	L. 1: [Α]νδρων is attested in Nacoleia, and the patronymic appears in <i>NIP</i>, 44 no. 12. L. 2: For varying views on the origins of the name Καρικός, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεῶ: 3. <i>NIP</i> 1978, 43 no. 11, Pl. 14; <i>SEG</i> XXVIII, no. 1188. See Appendix: [63] Μητρὲι Τιειοβευδηνῆ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
64.01 LY: Κυρία Μάγνης ἀνή- / νενκεν* λεοντάρι- / α Μητρὶ Τυμενηνῆ- / εὐχὴν. Kyria, daughter of Magne, offered* (these) lions for Meter Tymenene, (in fulfillment of) a vow. *See Column E.	Ll. 1-2: (ἀνή- / νενκεν, s.v. ἀναφέρω) (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 6 no. 11). Ll. 2-3: λεοντάρι/α implies that our extant lion statue was one of a pair; and for the connection between Kybele and felines, see <i>RECAM</i> IV, 6 no. 11. Ligatures: line 3's final NH. <i>RECAM</i> IV, 6 no. 11, figs. 14-15 (statue and squeeze). See Appendix: [64] Μητρὶ Τυμενηνῆ: 1.
64.02 PI: Μητρὶ Τυμενη- / νῆ εὐχὴν. To Meter Tumene, (in fulfillment of) a vow.	Naumann 1983, 360, no. 563; <i>SEG</i> XXXV, no. 1403; Mitchell 1993 II, 20 fig. 8. See Appendix: [64] Μητρὶ Τυμενηνῆ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
65.01 LY: See Appendix: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῆ: 2 for the text as restored by Ramsay.	<i>IGR</i> III, 124 no. 260 (= <i>IGR</i> III 508 no. 1471); Ramsay 1905, 368; 1918, 170-172 no. XIII; Mitchell 1979, 425; 1993, 18 n. 57. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῆ: 1-2.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
66.01 PI; Ο.- / ΕΦΕΙΝΟΥ lines 3-4	The Sanctuary at Zindan Mağrası (Zindan Cave), Pisidia (see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγενειῶ: 1-2); Roman Imperial: in the 2nd half of the 2nd century, but probably before the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212 (see Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 54)	White limestone base, broken on the left and right, and below. The inscription lies just below a shaft surmounted by a pediment separated by a bead and reel molding. The relief in the shaft is damaged and "unidentifiable" (Mitchell 1985, 53 no. 4.). Total H. 0.73; W. 0.46; (shaft) H. 0.56; letter H. 0.024. The sigma, epsilon, and omega are lunate.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
67.01 PH; Τετραπροσώπῳ line 2	Zafertepeçalköy (Zafertepe), Upper Tembris Valley, Phrygia; found in a yard; Roman Imperial	Stele of white marble votive broken off at top and with a tenon. For a detailed description of its relief registers, see further notes. H. 0.68+; W. 0.35 (shaft); 0.39 (base); Th. 0.07 (shaft), 0.10 (base); letter H. 0.016-0.022.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
68.01 LY; Ἀθηνᾶ Ζι]ζιμμενηῖ = Minervae Zizim[menae] lines 3-4	Konya (Iconium), Lycaonia; Roman Imperial: c. 1st century AD (Ramsay 1918, 171, 172 and n. 117.)	The right part of an inscription which ran across two blocks and was part of an architectural construction.
68.02 LY; Ἀμμλασενζος(ηνῆ?) lines 1-2	Zıvarık (Altınekin), Lycaonia; found in a house; Roman Imperial	<i>Bomos</i> of greyish-white marble broken at the bottom and with two corner horns or acroteria at top. The inscription runs along the molding, and there seems to be a defaced relief on the undercut shaft below it. H. 0.33+; W. (upper molding) 0.26; (shaft) 0.20; Th. (upper molding) 0.22; (shaft) 0.17; letter H. 0.020-0.025

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
66.01 PI: Μάρωνα Ἀντιόχου . . . (for the complete inscription, see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινω: 6).	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινω: 6, and also 1-7.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
67.01 PH: Τρόφιμος Εὐφήμο[υ] / Τετραπροσώπῳ κατὰ / ὥς ἐπέτ[α]ζεν ἀνέ[σ]τησα. Trophimos, son of Euphemos, set this up for Tetraprosopos, just as commanded.	For notes and sources, see Appendix: [67] Τετραπροσώπῳ: 2 and for Tetraprosopos, see Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [67] Τετραπροσώπῳ: 1.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
68.01 LY: See Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη: 2 for the text as restored by Ramsay.	<i>IGR</i> III, 124 no. 260 (= <i>IGR</i> III 508 no. 1471); Ramsay 1905, 368; 1918, 170-172 no. XIII; Mitchell 1979, 425; 1993, 18 n. 57. See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη: 1-2.
68.02 LY: Αμμλασενζο ^ο (ηνῆ?) / {N} εὐχὴν To Ammlasenzos(ene ?), (in fulfillment of) a vow.	<i>MAMA</i> XI, no. 276 (front and squeeze). See Appendix: [16] Μητρὶ Αμλασενζηνη: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
68.03 LY; Μητρὶ Δ- / . . . ην]ῆ lines 1-2	Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), Lycaonia; copied by Ramsay and Calder in 1911" (<i>MAMA</i> I, 1 no. 2(a)); Undated	"A seated figure of the Mother Goddess, wearing <i>chiton</i> and <i>himation</i> , between her lions, which are in half-relief on the sides of her chair. Her r. hand rests on one lion's head; her l. hand appears to be raised. On the basis of the figure, the following inscription (five to six letters are lost on the l.)" (Ramsay and Calder in 1911 quoted in <i>MAMA</i> I, 1 no. 2(a)). Vermaseren notes that "it is not clear, whether the lions are seated nor whether the left hand in fact supports a tympanum" (<i>CCCA</i> I, 238-239 no. 791). No measurements provided.
68.04 LY; Μητρὶ Θεῶ[v or Μητρὶ Βελ — — ? line 1	Sizma (Zizima), Lycaonia; used as spolia built into the left side of a fountain. Late Roman Imperial	Cornice fragment. H. 0.30; W. 1.60; Th. (at top) 0.44; (at bottom) 0.29; letter H. 0.03-0.035.
68.05 LY; [Μη]τρὸς θεῶν (?)	Unknown provenance; Konya Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1996.8.8; Hellenistic or Early Roman Imperial: 1 BC - 1 AD	"Architrave block of grey limestone carrying an inscription on the lower two of three fasciae; similar; similar moulding on the back face indicates that the block was one of a series over a gateway; the left side and bottom are smooth" (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 4 no. 8). H. 0.32 (each fascia 0.10); Th. (top) 0.38; letter H. 0.25-0.03.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
68.03 LY: ?'Ikon]ιεὺς Ἴμαν Λευκίου Μητρὶ Δ- / . . . ην]ῇ εὐχὴν καὶ ἐφύτευσα / τὸν περι[βολον ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἅ- / [ναλωμάτων] ? Iman, son of Leukios to Meter D—ene, (in fulfillment of) a vow and planted trees in the peribolos at his own expense.	L. 1. Calder notes that Ἴkon]ιεὺς in line 1 could not read as ἱερεὺς; and that five or six letters are lost on the left. For the name Ἴμαν, see <i>KP</i>, § 466-1, Int. 171. Ll. 1-2: the space in line 2 is "too short for the restoration Δ[ινδυμην]ῇ" (<i>MAMA</i> I, 1 no. 2(a)). <i>MAMA</i> I, 1 no. 2(a); <i>CCCA</i> I, 239 no. 791. See Chapter 4.1 for Dindymene.
68.04 LY: — — ου καὶ Τυράννου καὶ Ἑρμογένους ἱερέως τοῦ μεγίστου Διὸς Μητρὶ Βει — — / — — τα μετὰ πάσης ἐπισκευῆς καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατὰ κέλευσιν αὐτῆς ἀνέσ[τησαν]. and Turrannos, and Hermogenes, priest of great Zeus, to the Meter Bei— (or Mother of Gods?), with much restoration and statues as commanded.	L. 1: For the name Τύραννος, see § 1594, § 1618, Einl. 15. It has been suggested that Βει [— —] at the end of line 1 may read rather as Θεῶ[ν] (see Laminger-Pascher 1989, 43 note 67; <i>SEG</i> XXXIX: 1417). Robinson 1927, 47, fig. 35; <i>SEG</i> VI, 394; Laminger-Pascher 1989, 43 n. 67; <i>SEG</i> XXIX: 1417.
68.05 LY: Ζιοκωμητῶν δῆμος κατὰ [- - -] / πρὸς θεῶν Ζιζιμηνῆς ἐπ' ἱε[ρέως - - -] / εντος, ἐπιμελητῶν Παδου Εὐμενεδήμου, [- - -] / δημοσ Παπα, Ἐγνάτιος Διομήδους, ΠΑΣΔ [- - -] The people of Ziokometai . . . in the presence of the gods of Zizimene, during the priesthood of . . . under the supervision of Pades, son of Eumenedemos, —demos, son of Papas, Egnatius, son of Diomedes . . . *See Column E.	L. 2: Whether this inscription contains a Meter epithet hinges upon whether the beginning of the line reads πρὸς θεῶν Ζιζιμηνῆς or [Μη]τρὸς θεῶν. The interpretation of this inscription rests on whether one reads the first letter as a tau or pi (<i>RECAM</i> IV, 5 no. 8; Thonemann 2003, 87). L. 3: Thonemann claims that ΕΠΙΕ at the end of the line is an error in transcription, and that Εὐμενεδήμου in line 3 was meant to read as the attested Menedemos (Thonemann 2003, 87). L. 4: Παπας is an indigenous <i>Lallname</i>, "characteristic of Phrygia" (<i>PVS</i>, 389; see also <i>KP</i>, § 1199-1 and § 1199-11; <i>NI</i>, 504). <i>RECAM</i> IV, 4-5 no. 8, figs. 9-11 (including a photo and squeezes). See Chapter 4.1 for Meter Zizimene; and Appendix: [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῆς: 1.

A. Epithet	B. Provenance; Findspot; Current Loc. (if known); Date	C. Description and Dimensions
68.06 PH; Meter Steunene: MHT, ΣTE	Çavdarhisar (Aizanoi) (see <i>MAMA IX</i> , 172-173 nos. 562- 565, and 567 for the findspots); Undated	What may be the boundary stones of a Mother of Gods or Meter Steunene sanctuary. Two of the four marble slabs are initialed with MHT, and two others with ΣTE and [Σ]TE. In addition is a marble base inscribed with MHT. These have been catalogued in <i>MAMA</i> <i>IX</i> (172-173 nos. 562-565, and 567, with a sketch of no. 564).
68.07 PI; Ῥείη line 4	The Sanctuary at Zindan Mağrası (Zindan Cave), Pisidia (see Appendix: Μητρὶ θεῶν Οὐγενίω: 1-2); Roman Imperial: Mid 2nd century AD	Statue base of limestone in the shape of a round altar. It is broken in two with the upper right portion missing. Total H. 1.03; D. 0.59-0.79; letter H. 0.03.

D. Inscriptions	E. Notes and Sources
68.06 PH: See column C.	<i>MAMA</i> IX (172-173 nos. 562-565, and 567, with a sketch of no. 564). See Appendix: [36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνην: 1.
68.07 PI: Τιμ[βριαδέων ὁ δῆμος] / Σάμον, Ἄβαντα / Πανέλληνας / παρὰ Ῥεΐη. The people of Timbriada (erected the statues) of the Panhellenes Samos and Abas in the presence of Rhea.	L. 2: For the name Σάμος, see <i>KP</i>, § 1365-2; <i>NI</i>, 391. For the name Ἄβας, see <i>KP</i>, § 1-2 and § 1-3. Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 109-12, no. 3 with photographs of the inscription and base as a whole. See Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐεγεινω: 1-7 (especially note 2).

APPENDIX: EXTENDED NOTES ON THE EPITHETS

[1] Ἀνγδισει Θεᾷ ἐπηκόω

1. The attribute ἐπήκοος (one who hears) is applied to at least four Meter deities in central Anatolia (**1.01**: Ἀνγδισει / θεᾷ ἐπηκόω; **28.01**: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἐπη- / κόω; **[3.01, 22.02]**: Ἀνγδισι ἐπ[η]κόω; and; **35.01**: Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειναία ἐπηχόω). It is commonly applied to other deities in Asia Minor (see Ramsay 1895, 304 no. 98, 306 no. 107; 1897, 377 no. 198; Weinreich 1912, 1-68; Bean 1954, 480 n. 35; and *RECAM* V, 10 comment on no. 2). It is likewise used without a more specific deity's name (e.g. *MAMA* X, 140 no. 430: θεᾷ ἐπηκόω, in a dedication from Kurtluhallar in Phrygia; and Riel 1994, 169 no. 24: θεοῖς ἐ- / πηκόοι[ς], in a dedication from the Eskişehir district). See also Bodel 2009, 21.

For more on Angdistis, see Chapter 4.1; and Appendix: **[2]** Ἀνγδισι: 1; and for divine functions, see Chapter 6.8.

2. Concerning monument **1.01** (Ἀνγδισει / θεᾷ ἐπηκόω): Notes and Sources:

The grape-bunch and corn-ear reliefs in monument **1.01** allude to Angdistis' role as protector of the harvest (Robert 1980, 238-239; *RECAM* V, 9-10 commentary on no. 2). Horsley notes that the epic/literary-resonant name of the dedicant priestess Breiseis in monument **1.01** suggests a cultured family, and judging from the list of forebears, one that is pedigree conscious (*RECAM* V, 10). The quality of work in the dedication, as well as in another made by the self-same dedicant to the *hagnai theai epekooi* at Sagalassos and dated to ca. AD 150, indicates some family wealth (*RECAM* V, 10, and 38-39 commentary on no. 48; Waelkens and Poblome, 147, fig. 67; and *SEG* XLVII, 1761(3)). Bean and Horsley suppose that because a priestess

made the dedication, a sanctuary to this Meter may have existed in the vicinity of Sagalassos (Bean 1954, 481; *RECAM* V, 10). Ll. 4-5: For the name of the priestess's grandfather Ἀτταλος, see *KP* § 119-14. L. 5: For the name Ἀρσάκης, an Iranian name, see *KP* § 107-13; Robert 1980, 239; *RECAM* V, 10.

[2] Ἀνγδισι

1. For the identification of Angdistis (Andissi) as the Mother of Gods, see Strab. 10.3.12 and 12.5.3; Hsch. *Lex*: “Ἀγδιστις: ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν Θεῶν”; *Highlands*, 195-200, 295-301 nos. 6, 8, and 13 for evidence at Midas City = **23.01** (Μητ- / ρὶ Θεῶν Ἀνδξί), **27.01** (Μητρὶ θεῶν / Ἀνγδισση), **23.02** ((εὐλαιοκινεατη) Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀν- / δισση), *cf.* from Eumenia: **27.02** (Μετρὸς] / θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[ς]; and *RECAM* V, 9-10 commentary on no. 2. See also *Paus.* 7.17.9-12, in which Pausanias mentions the Mother in the first legend he relates concerning Attis, and Angdistis in the second. For myths and legends involving Angdistis, see Roller 1999, 245-250. On the other hand, the multiple Meter inscriptions, especially the two from Lycaonia ([**2.01**, **12.01**, **26.05**] and [**3.01**, **22.02**]), throw into question the notion that the Mother of Gods and Meter are one and the same. *Cf.* Bean 1954, 479. See Chapter 4, which concerns multiple-Meter dedications.

For the name Agdistis in general, see Robert 1980, 228-240 and n. 69; and also *RECAM* IV, 5 commentary on no. 9, which lists fourteen variants; and monument **1.01** provides us with an example of what appears to be a Pisidian variant. Interestingly, Haspels notes that because the usual spelling at Midas City is Ἀνγδισις, that must most closely approximate how the Phrygians pronounced the name (*Highlands*, 200-201 and n. 162. See also note 2 below).

For the mountain Angdisseion and its renowned marble quarries at Docimeum, as well as the Docimeian coins minted with the legend Ἀνγδισσηον, see Robert 1980, 236-240 and Pls. 13-14; *cf.* *Paus.* 1.4.5. See also Chapters 4.1 and 5.3.

For classical texts on Meter in connection with Pessinus see Santoro 1973, 2, 127,

154, 180, 181, 187, 234, 235. See also Roller 1999, 264f. nn. 2-7, 269 nn. 30-36, 270 nn. 38, 40, 42.

The name Angdistis ([2] Ἀνγδισί) also occurs as part of longer epithets as [1] Ἀνγδισει Θεᾷ ἐπηκόω; [3] Ἀνγδισι ἐπηκόω; [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾷ; [6] εὐκτέω Θεᾷ Ἀνγδισι; [23] Μητρὶ Θεᾷ Ἀνδισσι; and [27] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Ἀνγδισσι.

2. Concerning the Angdistis sanctuary at Yazılıkaya / Midas City in Phrygia:

For the dating of the Angdistis sanctuary, see Haspels 1951, 7, 87; *MAMA* VI, xix, 135 commentary on no. 390 concerning also nos. 391-399 and 401); *Highlands*, 154-155, 163-164, 188-189; *CCCA* I, 51-53 no. 148; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 97; 255-256 no. 77; 405, fig. 132. Terracottas and ceramics date the first phase of the sanctuary to the late Hellenistic period, before the sanctuary fell into disuse. Haspels dated the terracottas to the second quarter of the second century BC (*Highlands*, 154). It was then revived in the Late Roman Imperial Period and represented by *stelae*, *bomoi*, and a plaque, whose inscriptions identified the site as being a sanctuary to Angdistis (*Highlands*, 154-155, 162, 164, 188-189; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 96-97; 255-256).

A predominant feature at the sanctuary is a rock-cut step altar, in front of which the Hellenistic sanctuary of Angdistis was built after the end of the Late Phrygian period (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 96-97). Berndt-Ersöz noted that the step altar may not have been in actual use in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods other than serving as a signifier of cultic importance and a sense of continuity (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 96-97). This calls to mind Cosmopoulos' *lieux de mémoire* (Cosmopoulos 2016, 251-278; and see also 2014, 401-427) and sociologist Halbwachs' *mémoire sociale* which creates the illusion of continuity (Halbwachs 1925, 171).

Haspels observed that among the later finds, the small tuff-stone *bomoi* “are very uncouth”, whereas the *stelae* and plaque “are of a higher standard than the average highland workmanship” (*Highlands*, 188). Most of the dedications were “unearthed” in 1935 by the Service of Antiquities, and four *bomoi* were found during a

preliminary excavation of the French Institute at Istanbul conducted in 1936 (*Highlands*, 188 n. 122). The small sanctuary's excavation cavity measures 18.60 by 14.56 m (*Highlands*, 154 n. 42). Meanwhile, two sepulchral inscriptions (*Highlands*, 164, App. III, 18-19) in the Midas valley date to the same period (*Highlands*, 164).

For maps and figures of the sanctuary itself, see *Highlands*, fig. 495 (map section U), fig. 29 (showing the excavation cavity); *CCCA* I, 52-53 figs. 15-16 (map and plan); Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 316 fig. 4 (map); 376 fig. 86 a-b (plans of the step monument); 405 fig. 132 (photo of the step monument).

3. Concerning monument **2.07**: Notes and Sources: L. 3: Βευδουσοιχεινοῦ is the ethnic of Βευδους Οἶχος, or Βευδους Ὀἶχος (*MAMA* VI 137, no. 399). See Appendix: **[63]** Μητρει Τειοβευδηγῆ: 1. For L3's Παπύλος, see *NI* I, 62. L. 4: Haspel notes that νήων = ναίων. L. 10: Πυθό[δωρον] could read as “Πυθόχρηστον” rather. Ll. 13-14: ξυιδολύ/φον is a composite of ξυίς and γλύφω (with ξυίς derived from ξύω, and γραφίς from γράφω). L. 17: θει equals θεῶ (*Highlands*, 300-301).

MAMA VI, 137 no. 399, Pl. 70; *Highlands*, 188, 300 no. 14, Pl. 610 and also n. 122, 191, 199-200, 202; *SEG* XXX, no. 1486; *CCCA* I, 57 no. 163.

See notes 1-2 above for Angdistis.

4. Concerning monuments **[2.01, 12.01, 26.05]**, **[3.01, 22.02]**, **5.01**, and **[20.1, 55.1]**: Monument **[2.01, 12.01, 26.05]** from Iconium is remarkable in that its inscription lists three Meters in one dedication: Angdistis, the Great Meter Boethene, and the Mother of Gods along with Apollo and Artemis. All are considered as savior deities. For another inscribed monument found at Iconium dedicated to Βοηθηνῆ, see **5.01**; and for other dedications listing more than one Meter, see **[3.01, 22.02]** and **[20.01, 55.01]**; and see also Chapter 4, which concerns multiple-Meter dedications.

[3] Ἀνγδισι ἐπηκόω

1. Concerning monument [3.01, 22.02]: Descriptions and Dimensions; Inscriptions (on all four sides: A—D); Notes and Sources:

Bomos with inscriptions on each side and four defaced reliefs. Side A has two horns, and the relief in the panel below it is of a man either on horseback or standing beside it (according to Ramsay 1905a, 368), or Apollo holding a lyre (according to Robinson 1927, 28-29). Side A's inscription starts between the horns and ends along the band just above the panel with the relief. Side B has a horseman to the left; Side C has a defaced bust of Helios, whose head is beaming rays; and Side D has an enthroned and forward-facing deity crudely rendered. H. (exposed above the ground) 0.70; W. (at the top on each side) 0.50; W. (shaft) 0.42; letter H. 0.025-0.04 (Ramsay 1905a, 368 no. 1; Robinson 1927, 28-29 and fig. 2).

Side A) Βουλευτῆς (between two horns in relief at the top of the altar) / Ἰα[τ]ροκλ[ῆ]ς [Μ]ενεμ- / άχου Ὀρέστου εὐχὴν / Ἀπόλλωνι Σώζοντι.

Senator Patrokles*, son of Menemachos, grandson of Orestes, (in fulfillment of) a vow, to Apollo Sozontos.

Side B) Ἀνγδισι ἐπ[η]κόω (To Angdistis who hears.)

Side C) Ἡ[λί]ου (To Helios.)

Side D) Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνῇ (To Meter Zizimmene.)

A. Ll. 1-2: "Line 1 is complete and separated from the rest of the inscription" (Ramsay 1905a, 368 no. 1). The dedicant Iatrokles (of Ramsay's restoration) was, according to Ramsay, a senator of Iconium some time after the founding of the Colonia (Ramsay 1905a, 368 no. 1). For the dedicant's name, however, Robinson

instead read: Π]ατροκλῆς (Robinson 1927, 28); and he noted that this, along with the name of the dedicant's grandfather Orestes, were the sort of heroic names characteristic of priestly families in Eastern Anatolia (Robinson 1927, 28-29). For Orestes as a priestly name, see Ramsay 1918, 131 and n. 10. See also *NI*, 376, 425, 527, 546. B. L. 1: For the attribute ἐπήκοος ("hearer of prayers"), see Appendix: [1] Ἀνγδισει θεᾷ ἐπηκόω: 1 below. C. L. 1: Ramsay notes that "ου for the ω in the dative is common in later Greek inscriptions of central Anatolia" (Ramsay 1905a, 368 no. 1). D. L. 1: The letters are of Roman date with C for sigma and a squarish omega (Robinson 1927, 28).

Ramsay 1905a, 368 no. 1; Robinson 1927, 28-29 and fig. 2; *SEG* VI: 392; *CCCA* I, 236 no. 786.

See Chapter 4 for Meter Zizimmene and multiple-Meter dedications; Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1; and [22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη: 1.

[4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾷ

1. Concerning monuments with serpent imagery (**2.03**, **4.03**, **13.03**, **13.04**, **23.01**, and **26.17**): Two *bomoi* found at the Angdistis sanctuary have the image of a coiled snake on the right side (**3.03**: Ἀ- / νγδισι / θεᾷ; and **23.01**: Μητρὶ Θεᾷ Ἀνδξι). Interestingly enough, there is another *bomos* from the same sanctuary and dedicated to Angdistis (**2.03**: Ἀνγδισι), which features an extended snake on its front side. Drew-Bear, who has also taken note of the snake reliefs, refers us to the work of Künster (1913, 85-121) with respect to its focus on the chthonic connotations of serpents in Greek religion. See also an altar found at Kozanlı (**13.04**: Μητρὶ), which has two serpents on its back side; and an altar found to the south of Kozanlı at Sultan Mezarlik, which has a serpent in relief on one side (**13.03**: Μητρε). It is not known whether the serpents depicted on monuments **13.03** and **13.04** are coiled or straight.

2. Concerning monument **4.03**: According to Haspels (*Highlands*, 200, and n. 164-165) the horse rider could be Mēn. She mentions a marble statuette of a horseman found at the Agdistis Sanctuary and other representations found in Phrygia.

3. Concerning monuments **4.02—4.03, 26.04, 26.19, and 63.01**, which contain the name Karikos, and **17.03**, which contains the female equivalent Karikas: There are various views regarding this name. On the one hand, Zgusta considered it to be Greek (*KP*, § 534); while on the other, Robert and Robert regarded it as indigenous to Anatolia (*BE* 1968, 525-526 no. 535). Meanwhile, in *PVS*, it is considered it to be the result of “a fortuitous encounter of the Greek adjective and a native Phrygian name”(*PVS*, 386, 394).

4. Concerning monuments **4.05, 17.04, 22.10, 35.01**, which contain the indigenous name Μανης: See *KP*, § 858-1; *NI*, 123, 290, 365, 531-532; and *PVS*, 387; and cf. *RECAM* IV, 3 no. 3; *IK Pessinous*, 44. See also Catalogue: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: **4.01**, Columns D and E for the name Μανους.

[6] εὐκτέω θεᾶ Ἀνγδιση

1. Concerning monument **6.01**: Haspels notes that εὐκτέω = εὐκταίω, “a highly poetic word”, and that it is used instead of the dative feminine εὐκταία (*Highlands*, 297-298). The adjective εὐκταῖος / εὐκταία, when used as an epithet for a deity, signifies that the deity receives prayers (Donnegan and Patton, 1840, 595; see also Bean 1954, 480 n. 35).

2. Concerning monuments **6.01 and 27.01**: Altars **6.01** (εὐκτέω θεᾶ / Ἀνγδιση) and **27.01** (Μητρὶ θεῶν / Ἀνγδισση) were erected by the same individual, Ἑρμῶν Ἀπολλωνίου (*MAMA* VI, 137 no. 396, Pl. 69). This implies that the selfsame

individual could/would make use of more than one epithet. For other examples of dedications made by the same individual, see *MAMA* V, R. 21 and pp. 162-3.

3. Concerning monuments **6.01**, **25.02**, **27.01**, **30. 01**, and **46.01**, which contain the name Apollonios: For the common theophoric Greek name Ἀπολλώνιος, see *KP*, Einl. 15, § 72 n. 298, Nachtrag 681; *NI*, 223, 508 nn. 3-4, 512. L. 4: and *PVS*, 382.

[7] Θεᾶς Ἰσπελουνηνῆς

1. Concerning monument 7.01 GA: Inscription; Notes and Sources:

Αὐρ. Κυρίων Ἑρμο- / δόρου (*sic*) ἱερεύς θ[ε]- / ᾄς Ἰσπελουνην[ῆ]- / ς τῇ θεᾷ
(ἀ)ρέσαντα (*sic*) κ[ε] / δῆμω<ι> ἀνέστησα // συνβίω γλυκυτά / τη Διδῶ Μαρμ[α?] /
κὲ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῇ[ς] / [Ο]ὐαναξων κὲ Κυ[ρ]- / [ί]ων κὲ Ἀππια κὲ // [?] Ἀμμιο]ν
τρε[π]ταί[. . . .

This was set up in gratitude for Aurelius Kurion, son of Hermodoros and the priest of the Goddess Ispelouniene, by the pleasing goddess, and the people, his sweet wife Dido, daughter of Mamm(as), and her own sons Vanoxon, Kurion, Appia, and (?) -n.

There are other records of divinities paying respect to their priests. One example comes from the Upper Tembris plain and concerns the priest Alexandros (Mitchell 1993 II, 26 fig. 11). For further examples, see Riel 2003a, 85 n. 42. L.1: For the name Αὐρήλιος, see *NI*, 130, 233, 361, 362, 365, 391, 527; *PVS*, 383. L1. 4-5: The A before P is missing inadvertently, and the iota in δῆμω<ι> may have been accidental (*MAMA* VII, 56 no. 257). L. 7: For the name Διδῶ, see *KP*, § 282-3. The name of Dido's father may be Mammas, which is usually spelled Mamas, a native Phrygian name attested especially in Eastern Phrygia and to its east and southeast (*MAMA* VII,

56 no. 257; *KP*, Μαμᾶς: § 910 n. 197, Μαμμάς: § 850-15; *PVS*, 387). L. 9. For the name Οὐαναξων, see first Drew-Bear 1976, 257-259; *cf.* *KP*, § 1138-2. L. 10: For the name Ἀππια, see *KP*, § 66-16, § 66-21 Anm.; *PVS*, 387. L.11: τρε[τρ]ταί = θρεπταί (*MAMA* VII, 56 no. 257).

MAMA VII, 56 no. 257.

[11] Matris Magnae

1. Concerning monument [11.01, 26.01]: From the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*:

The Latin Text, Column 4, Chapter 19.01: Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum templumque Apollinis in / palatio cum porticibus, aedem divi Iuli, Lupercal, porticum ad cir- / cum Flaminium quam sum appellari passus ex nomine eius qui pri- / orem eodem in solo fecerat Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, / **19.02**: aedes in Capitolio Iovis Feretri et Iovis Tonantis, aedem Quirini, / aedes Minervae et Iunonis Reginae et Iovis Libertatis in Aventino / aedem Larum in summa sacra via, aedem deum Penatium in Velia, / aedem Iuventatis, aedem Matris Magnae in palatio feci.

The Latin Text, Column 4, Chapter 19.01: I built the senate house and the *chalcidicum* adjacent to it, and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of deified Julius, the *Lupercal*, the portico near the Flaminian Circus, which I allowed to be called Octavian after the name of the man who had built an earlier one on the same foundation, the *pulvinar* at the *Circus Maximus*, **19.2**: the temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and of Jupiter the Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and of Queen Juno and of Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, the temple of the *Lares* at the top of the Sacred Way, the temple of the *Penates* on the Velia, the temple of Youth and the temple of the Great

Mother on the Palatine (Cooley 2009, 78).

The Greek Text, Column 10, Chapter 19.01: Βουλευτήριον καὶ τὸ πλῆσιον αὐτῷ ^(ν)
Χαλκιδικόν, / ναόν τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Παλατίῳ σὺν στοαῖς, / ναὸν Θεοῦ Ἰουλίου,
Πανὸς ἱερόν, στοὰν πρὸς ἱπ-/ ποδρόμῳ τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Φλαμινίῳ, ἣν /
εἶσα προσαγορεύεσθαι ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκείνου Ὀκτα- // οῦίαν, ὃ πρῶτος αὐτὴν
ἀνέστησεν, ναὸν πρὸς τῷ / μεγάλῳ ἵπποδρόμῳ, **19.02:** ^(ν) ναοὺς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ /
Διὸς Τροπαιοφόρου καὶ Βροντησίου, ναὸν / Κυρεῖν[ο]υ, ναοὺς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας
Βασιλίδος καὶ / Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου ἐν Αὐεντίνῳ, Ἡρώων πρὸς τῇ / ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ, θεῶν
κατοικιδίων ἐν Οὐελίῳ, ναὸν Νεό- // τητο[ς, να]ὸν Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ
ἐπόησα.

The Greek Text, Column 10, Chapter 19.01: I built the senate house and next to it the chalcidicon, and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the god Iulius, the shrine of Pan, the portico near the racecourse called Flaminian, which I allowed to be called Octavian after the name of that man who first set it up, the temple near the great racecourse, **19.02:** temples on the Capitol of Zeus Trophy-Bearer and of Zeus Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, temples of Athena and of Queen Hera and of Zeus Liberator on the Aventine, of the Heroes next to the Sacred Way, of the household gods on the Velia, the temple of Youth, temple of the Mother of the gods on the Palatine (trans. Cooley 2009, 79).

See Cooley 2009, 18f on how the Greek version, especially the appendix, may have been particularly adapted for a provincial Eastern Greek readership. See also *GLIA*, 138.

2. For the possibility of the temple's earlier dedication to the Mother and Mēn, see Appendix: [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 1; and also [36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευννηῇ: 1 concerning temples with double cults, particularly at Aizanoi.

[13] Μητρὶ

1. Concerning monuments **13.03** (Μητρεε) and **13.04** (Μητρὶ): While trying to make a case for establishing Kozanlı as ancient Pitnissos, Anderson described the region along the road along the western flank of Tatta Lake (Tuz Gölü, literally “Salt Lake”):

The country round the Lake was (strange as it may seem) thickly inhabited: nothing amazed us so much as the number of sites all over this district, which produces little but pasturage for great flocks and herds . . . These sites are more numerous than appears from the map. We must remember, however, that the salt trade was as important in ancient times as it is now (Anderson 1899, 117-118; *cf.* Strab. 12.6.1; and see also Magie 1950a, 455-456).

In one strikingly colorful passage, Strabo gives an account of how salt was collected at the lake (*Strab.* 12.5.4).

Something of note is that both monuments **13.03** and **13.04** have serpents in their iconography. For more on this, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 1.

2. Concerning monument **13.10**: Notes and Sources:

L. 1 For the name Ἀμμια, one of the most common *Lallnamen*, see *KP*, § 57-16, § 57-3 n. 76, 79, 83, § 466-8 n. 68, § 918-2 n. 214; and *PVS*, 392. Ll. 1-2: For attestations of Apollo Lairbenos as a sun god and his cult centers, see Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1.

Calder and Grégoire, 1952, 163-167 no. 4; *BE* 1954, 171 no. 233; Robert 1962, 362; *CCCA* I, 35-36 no. 101; Ritti, Şimşek, and Yıldız 2000, 10, D12; *MAMA* XI, no. 70 commentary.

[14] Μητρὶ Ἀκρεανῆ

1. Concerning monument **14.01**: Description and Dimensions: The marble altar is crowned by large *acroteria* on all sides. *Bomos* of marble recently split into two. The front of the altar: A draped bust of the goddess wearing a *polos* is centered above the inscription. Her right hand (on the viewer's left) emerges from her drape and is placed over her chest. Above each shoulder are small rosettes, and to the right of her face is possibly an *aspergillum*. A large rosette is suspended between the *acroteria*. The right side: Branching vines and bunches of grapes fill the field, and a trefoil is suspended between the *acroteria*. The left side: A fillet adorned bucranium is centered over an ample garland; and a ram's head is suspended between the *acroteria*. The back side: A ringed boss is suspended between the *acroteria*. H. 0.665; W. 0.235; (shaft), 0.21; Th. 0.215; (shaft) 0.17; letter H. 0.02.

[15] Μητρὶ Ἀλασσηνῆ

1. Concerning monument **15.01**: Description and Dimensions: *Bomos* of white marble with *acroteria*. The sides and back are plain. Three seated females of varying sizes sit facing forward; and each is wearing a chiton, *polos*, and veil. Their faces have been destroyed. The middle figure, flanked by clumsily depicted lions, is the largest; and the left figure is the smallest. The upper body of the goddess at left is destroyed and the altar is broken into two parts through the middle and left figures. Line one runs above the shaft; and the relief separates line 3 from 4. The letters are plain; and alphas and upsilons are cross-hatched. H. 1.12; W. (shaft) 0.41; (top) 0.50; Th. (shaft) 0.36-0.40; (top) 0.48; letter H. 0.03-0.035.

[16] Μητρὶ Ἀμλασενζηνῇ

Concerning **16.01**, **16.02**, and **68.02**: It is interesting that the two extant monuments **16.01** (Μητρὶ Ἀμλασεν- / ζηνῇ); and **16.02** (Μητρὶ Ἀμλασενζη- / [v]ῇ) dedicated to Meter Amlasenzene are not only statues, but have feline imagery. For a third monument (**68.02**: Ἀμμλασενζος(ηνῇ?)), a *bomos* which may be dedicated to the same Meter, see below.

McLean notes that Ἀμλασενζηνη may bear the ethnic of a place name such as "Amlasenza" (*RECAM* IV, 7 no. 14). However, the discovery of a monument at Zıvarık/Altınekin, **68.02** (Ἀμμλασενζος(ηνῇ?)), may point to a connection with this Meter and the securely located ancient village of Σενζουσα (Toprakkale, north-east of Laodicea, where **16.2** was found) (*MAMA* XI, no. 256). Toprakkale is 19 km NNE of Zıvarık, and c. 25 km SSE of Cihanbeyli, where monument 16.01 was discovered (*MAMA* XI, no. 256). The argument, however, would lose ground if the Ammlasenzosene in the Zıvarık/Altınekin dedication (**68.02**) were not in actuality a variant for Amlasenze.

[17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνῇ

1. The goddess is presumably named after the Phrygian city of Andeira that Stephen of Byzantium mentions (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀνδειρα; Buckler, Calder, and Cox 1924, 26 no. 3; *RECAM* IV, 6 nos. 12-13). Additionally, the village of Sarı Kaya in southern Galatia is identified as Κώμη Ἀ(ν)δειρηνή in an inscription copied in 1912, but now lost (*MAMA* VII, xxv, and no. 373). This may be a transplanted home of the Μητὴρ Ἀνδειρηνῇ referred to in four dedications found to the south in Lycaonia (**17.01** – **17.04**). Calder supposed that the Mother-of-Gods dedication also found at Sarı Kaya could have referred to The Mother of Gods (Andeirene) (**26.03**) (Calder 1932, 461 no. 20).

Note: Vermaseren appears to have listed the dedication to the Mother of Gods at Sari Kaya (**26.03** = *CCCA* I, 62 no. 183) in the wrong section of *CCCA* I. He listed a Sari Kaya near Nacolea on his map of Phrygia (*CCCA* I, 29 fig. 10), but this is not the Sari Kaya labelled on the map on p. xlv in *MAMA* VII. The Sari Kaya in connection with the dedication should have been labelled rather on Vermaseren's map of Galatia (*CCCA* I, 13 fig. 5).

2. Concerning monuments **17.01**, **23.02**, and **64.01**: For more on Lageina and its possible location at Ilgin, see Calder 1932, 456-457, and especially the commentary for no. 13. For a discussion of the added prothetic vowel prefix in Anatolian peasant pronunciation, see *MAMA* VII, xvii-xviii; and for an epithet found in Phrygia which may be in connection with Lageina, see *MAMA* VI, 137 no. 398 regarding **23.02**. See also *IK Sultan Dağı*, 82 no. 381, and see the Tyraion chapter introduction on p. 61.

Kindyria mentioned in **17.01** may be in modern Kunderaz in the territory of Laodicea (*MAMA* VII, xvii-xviii).

3. Concerning monument **17.04**: Notes and Sources:

That the mother is mentioned, rather than the father, may indicate an earlier Anatolian custom in which inheritance is passed down the maternal line, or it might be the case that the mother has survived her husband (Fraser 1906, 148-150; Calder 1910, 80-81; Buckler, Calder, and Cox 1924; *RECAM* IV, 6 no. 13 for sources). In a dedication from Ilgin (Tyriaion), the father of the dedicant may have already died, judging from the use of the matronymic Μάγνη (fem.) (*RECAM* IV, 6 no. 11). Ll. 1-2: For more on the names Δουδα (attested in Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Galatia), Μάνης, and Novva (attested in Phrygia), see McLean's notes (*RECAM* IV, 6 no. 13). For more on Douda, see *KP* § 306-1; *RECAM* II, nos. 314, 368. For more on Μάνης, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 4.

Buckler et al. 1924, 26-27 no. 3 and fig. 1 and Pl. I, 3; *RECAM* IV, 6 no. 13 and fig. 18.

[20] Μητρὶ Εἰσσινδηνῇ

1. Concerning the three monuments found in Mihalıççık (**13.01—13.02, [20.01, 55.01]**), and one from Kurucu (**55.02**): See Chapter 4.1 regarding the multiple Meter dedication to Meter Plitano and Eissindene (**[20.01, 55.01]**); and Chapter 6.3 under the subheading “Constellations of Epithets in Galatia”.

[22] Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῇ

1. See especially Chapter 4.1.

Other than in this work, dedications to Meter Zizimene are compiled in Mitchell 1979, 425 and in *RECAM* IV, 4 (in the commentary for no. 7). For a controversial inscription which may be addressed to either the Gods of Zizimene (πρὸς θεῶν Ζιζιμηνῆς), or [Μη]τρὸς θεῶν depending on how it is read, see Catalogue: **68.05**; *RECAM* IV 4-5 no. 8, figs. 9-11; Thonemann 2003, 87. For what may possibly be additional inscriptions including the epithet, or perhaps cases of wishful thinking, see Ramsay 1918, 130-135 no. I from Kadınhanı (*CIG* III 66, no. 3988; *IGR* III, 121 no. 248); and 138-139 no. IV (and *CIG* III, 67 no. 3994). For equation of Zizimmene with Minerva as found on a bilingual inscription, see Appendix: Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῇ: 3 below regarding inscribed monument **65.01**.

2. Concerning monument **22.11** (Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῇ): Descriptions and Dimensions; Notes and Sources:

Descriptions of the *bomos* differ slightly in *MAMA* I and in *MAMA* XI. In *MAMA* I: "Bomos of Bluish limestone, with a circular top and cornices at the four corners. On the r. Side, a garland; the l. side and back are plain" (*MAMA* I, 2 no. 2d). However, Ramsay had published it as "a sculptured stele" (Ramsay 1888, 237 no. 9). As the letters and line breaks are identical, the *bomos* and so-called stele appear to be one and the same *bomos*. The last three lines of the inscription are broken up from left to right by a defaced relief. H. 0.71; W. (top) 0.47; (shaft) 0.39; Th. (top) 0.47; (shaft) 0.38; letter H. 0.03. On the other hand, in the photograph provided in *MAMA* XI, no. 255, the altar is partially buried below and embedded in a wall. It is noted that line 1 of the inscription runs along a plain upper molding; while line 2 runs along a concave part of a cyma molding just below. The defaced bust is of a female figure wearing a *polos*. H. 0.48+; W. (upper molding) 0.46; (shaft) 0.39; Th. (shaft) 0.39; letter H. 0.025-0.030.

For the possibility that the dedicant is a stone-mason from Docimeum, and for the signatures of Docimeian stone-masons, see *MAMA* XI, nos. 340, 350, and the commentaries for nos. 7, and 255, and Chapter 4.1, n. 13. See also two monuments from Phrygia in the Roman Imperial period: **26.17** listing two stonecutters, and **31.02** signed by the stonecutter Gaius. Ll. 2-3: For the name Ἀλέξανδρος, a Greek name which became common after Alexander the Great's conquests, see *NI*, 519; *PVS*, 381. Ll. 4-6: For other examples of ὁ καὶ to signify dual citizenship, see the commentary for *MAMA* XI, no. 255. Ll. 5-6: "The epithet Claud- applied to Iconium is known only on coins and this inscription" (Ramsay 1888, 237; Head 1887, 596 "Laodiceia"; *IGR* III, 121 no. 246 note 1). This text is datable to between the reigns of Claudius and Hadrian (AD 41-138) based on the ethnic Κλαυδε[κ]ονεύς (Aulock 1976, 51-9, 75-90; Mitchell 1979, 412-5; *MAMA* XI, no. 255).

Ramsay 1888, 237 no. 9; *IGR* III, 121 no. 246; *MAMA* I, 2 no. 2d; *CCCA* I, 238 no. 790; 239 no. 794; *MAMA* XI, no. 255 (front and partial squeeze).

See Chapter 4, n. 8 for Meter Zizimmene; and Appendix: **[22]** Μητρὶ Ζιζιμμηνη: 1.

3. Concerning the bilingual monument (**65.01**): The following Latin-Greek bilingual inscription was restored by Ramsay according to his insightful realization that the original copy was not complete, as had been previously thought, but that it consisted of only the right half of a much longer inscription which would have run across two adjoining building stones (Ramsay 1918, 170-172 no. XIII; the figure below is taken from p. 171). Therefore, the entire left side (i.e. the part of the inscription on the left block, which has not been found) as well as the bracketed portions of the right side (i.e. on the right block) are restored. See Ramsay (1918, 170-172 no. XIII) concerning the earlier attempts at trying to make sense of this inscription

A (<i>lost</i>).	B (<i>copied by A. Körte</i>).
T·FLAVIVS·AVG·LIB·FELIX·	IOVI·OPTIMO·M[/////M[O·ET
GENIO·DOMINI·CAESARIS·N·E	T·MINERVAE·ZIZIM[MENAE·
TITOCΦΛΑΟΥΙΟCCΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ	ΑΠΕΛΕ[ΘΕΡΟCΦΗΛΙΞΔΙΗΡΙC
ΤΩΜΕΓΙCΤΩΚΑΙΘΕΑΑΘΗΝ	AZI]ZIMMHNHKAITYXHT[ΟΥΚΥΡ?

[T. Flavius Aug. lib. Felix] Ioni Optimo M[axi]m[o et] / [Genio Domini Caesaris n. e]t Minervae Zizim[enae] / [Τίτος Φλάουιος Σεβαστοῦ] ἀπελε[ύ]θερος Φῆλιξ [Διὶ ἄρισ- / τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Ζι]ζιμμηνη καὶ Τύχῃ τ[οῦ Κυρίου].

Note: While Titus Flavius Lib. would suggest a Flavian date, the name Ioni Optimo Maximo suggests a later date.

One of the most striking aspects of this inscription is that “the Zizimene Mother in the Latin is Minerva” (Ramsay 1918, 172), and that this would be naturally translated as Ramsay had done, to Athena (Ἀθηνᾷ Ζι]ζιμμηνη) in the Greek. However probable and likely, this may not necessarily be so. We can take as a caveat the bilingual *Res Gestae* inscription at Ankara ([**11.01, 26.01**]), in which the Greek translation supplies Μητρὸς Θεῶν, the Mother of Gods, for Matris Magnae, the Great Mother. These are not exactly the same. Nevertheless, judging from the bilingual, Ramsay inferred that “on coins of Iconium the common type of Pallas Athena must be interpreted as merely a Hellenized form of Meter Zizimme” (Ramsay 1905a, 368). It is probably of no coincidence that one of the four known-of tribes of Iconium is called Πυλὴ Ἀθηνᾶς Π[ολιάδος] (1905a, 368; 1918, 171 n. 116;

Mitchell 1979, 423-425). Ramsay guessed that this was the tribe in which the Phrygian segment of the population was enrolled (Ramsay 1905a, 368). Still, what exactly was written on the left block is hypothetical (*cf.* Mitchell 1979, 425 n. 108). Nevertheless, it is clear that the local cult of Meter Theon Zizimmene at Sizma was adopted by Iconium “as a patron goddess, where she was Hellenized and doubtless worshipped in an imposing civic temple” (Mitchell 1993 II, 18, and n. 18; Price 1984, 97; and also Ramsay 1905a, 368). A notable parallel can be drawn from Zeus Megistos, who was also adopted into Iconium from the countryside, and as equally attested as Meter Theon Zizimmene (Mitchell 1971 425 n. 108; 1993, 18 n. 57). This brings to mind the comparable example of Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ at Aizanoi (see Appendix: [36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ: 1 below). For the dating of the inscription, see Ramsay 1918, 171, 172 and n. 117. Latin was use in official municipal documents after c. AD 135; and yet, Ramsay noted that the inscription is by an individual dedicant rather than by the state.

[23] Μητρὶ Θεᾶ Ἀνδισση

1. Concerning Monument 23.01: Notes and Sources: L. 2: Buckler and Calder (*MAMA* VI, 137 no. 398) suggest that εὐλαικεινεατη may be a local name of the goddess or of the dedicants' village. If it is the village, then εὐλαικεινεατη might stand for Εὐλαικεινεᾶτ(αι), thus making it agreeable with κατοικοῦντες. They also note that the term might be a mistake for ἐ(ν) Λαικεινεάτη, which would be "a rustic rendering of Λαγεινιατίδι. For more on Lageina, see Appendix: [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνῇ: 2.

MAMA VI, 137 no. 398, Pl. 70; *Highlands*, 299 no. 13, fig. 610; *CCCA* I, 57, no. 162, Pl. XXVII.

See Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισι: 1-2; [17] Μητρὶ Ἀνδειρηνῇ: 2.

[26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν

1. Concerning monument **26.02**. This is the only dedication to the Mother of Gods found in Ankara. Though the block may be unassuming, the *gentilica* of both husband and wife "suggest a Roman citizen family of some standing"; and it has been speculated that the husband is related to a Roman centurion and the wife is related to the *scriba librarius*, both of whom are mentioned in other inscriptions (*GLIA*, 393 no. 201).

Varinlioğlu thought the dedication may lend weight to Tuchelt's argument that the Temple of Augustus, like those at Antiocheia ad Pisidiam and at Pessinus, was built on a site sacred to the Mother and Mēn (Tuchelt 1983, 501-522; Tuchelt and Preißhofen 1985, 317-322; *CCCA* I, 16 no. 36; Varinlioğlu 1992, 39-42). See also Appendix: **[36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευννηῖ**, 1 concerning temples with double cults, such as at Aizanoi.

Varinlioğlu 1992, 39-42 (43 with sketch); *SEG* XL, no. 1181; French 2003, 130 no. 30 (with photo); *GLIA*, 393 no. 201 (with photo).

2. Concerning monument **26.04**: Description and Dimensions; Inscription;

Bomos of white marble with broad molding above and below on the front, right, and left. A lion lies on top holding a small bovine between its forepaws. Its head, slightly damaged, is turned to the right (facing the viewer). On front of the *bomos* is a central pilaster dividing a double door in an Ionian frame capped with a cornice. The door panels feature: a knocker (top left); a key-plate (top right); and a lozenge in each of the two lower panels. To the left of the door is a tambourine; and to the right are cymbals. On the left and right sides of the *bomos* are raised forearms with outstretched hands sculpted later. The craftsmanship is rude and the inscriptions are carelessly engraved. The inscription on front runs between the crouching lion and the door, while the second inscription runs above the upraised hand on the left side. H. (without the lion) 1.10; (with the lion) 1.50; W. 0.59-0.67; Th. 0.46; letter H. 0.03.

Between the lion and door on front:

A. Ἀτατααῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἑαυτῇ / κὲ υἱῷ Ἀσκληπιοῦ γάλλῳ / vac. ἀρχι vac. / κὲ
Μηνοδώρῳ υἱῷ / τ[ῷ] καὶ Καρικῷ vac. // Μητρὸς θεῶν ζῶσα νν. / ἀνέστησε (vine
leaf) χέρε παροδ[ι]- / vac. τα.

"Atataais daughter of Asklepios set this up for herself and for her son Asklepios (archi)gallos* of the Mother of gods while alive. Farewell, passer-by. *and for her son Menodoros also called Karikos" (trans. Strubbe 2005, 85). For varying views on the origins of the name Καρικός, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 3.

Above the upraised hand on the left side:

B. Ὅς ἂν ἐνεχίρησε / Μηνοδώρῳ χω- / ρις θεοῦ βίας, / Ἥλι Κύρι, μὴ σ' ἀρέ- / vac.
σι.

"Whoever has laid a hand on Menodoros, unless it was the force of a god, Helios Kyrios, may he not please you" (trans. Strubbe 2005, 85).

A. L. 1: the name Ἀτατααῖς is unattested elsewhere, but for the debate over the name, see Strubbe 2005, 86 no. 64. Ll. 4-5 were engraved later. L. 5: "The name is attested in the Imperial period above all in Phrygia" (Strubbe 2005, 86). B. Ll. 1-5: Helios is invoked to avenge the death of young Menodoros, unless he died by the hand of a god. Helios, who sees all and detests injustice, is traditionally championed as avenger of murder and any violation of graves (Strubbe 2005, 86, where other examples of like invocations in the region are cited). The closing phrase μὴ σ' ἀρέσι is a construct used to ask a god to mete out punishment (Strubbe 2005, 86).

Bittel in *AA* 82, 1967, 148 and figs 7 a-c; *BE* 1968, 525-526 no. 535; 1970, 463-464 no. 600; *CCCA* I, 25 no. 57, fig. 9, Pl. XI.

3. Concerning monuments **26.09**, **26.10**, and **26.11**:

Akoluk and Göçen Çeşme were apparently rural centers on the upland plateau of Makas Alan. These may have lay along an east-west route across the highlands; and despite being rural and agricultural, their geographic openness to the west may have contributed to their openness to outside influences (*Highlands*, 164, 193).

The two large marble steles dedicated to the Mother of Gods (**26.09** and **26.10** = *Highlands*, App. III, 98 and 99) found at Yeniköy-Geçenoluk are more stylish in decoration than what is typically found in the highlands; and Haspels ascribed this to local prosperity (*Highlands*, 193). For more on monument **26.10**, see Chapter 6.8 and n. 90.

Meanwhile, pagan and Christian inscriptions found at the village of Akoluk are “of a good standard” including a dedication to the Mother of Gods (**26.11**). Depicted beneath the inscriptions on two stelai found here and dedicated to Zeus Bronton and to Zeus Semantikos, are a pair of oxen with a plough. App. III, 103 is a dedication to Zeus Bronton, and Haspels noted that it is “the first example with a vow to this deity that we come across in our tour northwards from the west among the highland hills” (*Highlands*, 193).

4. A sanctuary of the Mother of Gods is "at the extreme west" and top of the rather isolated and remote Mount Türkmen Baba, which is sacred to the Mother of Gods and sits in the central hills of the Türkmen Mountains in the northern part of the Phrygian Highlands (for a photo of the area, see *Highlands*, fig. 250). Of all the regions in the highlands, it is the most remote, rural, and isolated. The precipitous northern side of the mountain no doubt contributed to this.

Concerning monuments **26.13** and **26.14** (= *Highlands*, App. III, 115-116): These were found in Güllü Dere, at the foot of Mount Türkmen Baba; and they were first found by the village fountain. When Haspels returned to the site, they were used as

spolia in the walls of a washhouse then newly built in 1954, and with the inscriptions facing inwards (*Highlands*, 194 n. 146).

Concerning monuments **13.07**, **13.08**, **26.15**, and **26.16** (= *Highlands*, App. III, 121-122 and 119-120 respectively): These were used as spolia in a crude stone wall enclosing the grave of a Muslim saint immediately east of the sanctuary (*Highlands*, 194, and fig. 491 for a photo of the saint's complex, and Epilogue). According to the locals, the saint's name is Hökmen Baba; but no one seems to know when he lived, nor when the *türbe* was built. In any case, Haspels explained how rural *türbes* in the highlands are categorically called "tekkes", which in towns, are ordinarily considered lodgings for dervishes. In any case, these rural "tekkes" are considered as places of worship, and it is interesting how this place of worship sits alongside where the Mother of Gods was worshipped (*Highlands*, 194-195, 281, and see also 264, 342-346; Pls. 250, 251, 491, 632-634). Ramsay noted that the Turkish peasantry of his day venerated sacred sites with a past far older than their own faith. "In many cases we can prove that these places were held sacred in ancient time, though the religious veneration has taken on it some alteration of form, and, in particular, the holy personage connected with this sacred place, once a pagan god or a Christian saint, appears as a Mohammedan or Turkish personage, being often called merely the *dede* or heroized ancestor" (Ramsay 1895, 29).

5. Concerning monument **26.17**: Description and Dimensions: Stele of gray marble. In the pediment is a bust of Zeus Bronton with a rather large right hand placed on his chest. At his right is a round altar decked with wreaths. The left part of the pediment is broken off. The shaft is lined with columns bearing Corinthian-like capitals. In the upper field is a four-horse-drawn carriage bearing Helios with a radiating halo. Under this is a snake. Under the snake at left is what may be Mēn with a double-axe; and next to him is Dionysos in boots and fur and wielding a thyrsus. There are two inscriptions. The first runs along and below the divider between the pediment and shaft. The back is plain. H. 1.64; W. 0.63; Th. 0.18; letter H. of inscription A: 0.017-0.027; letter H. of inscription B: 0.019-0.024.

6. Concerning monument **26.19 PH**: Inscription; Notes and Sources:

ἰσπουδασάντω- / ν Θεοτείμου Κα(λ)- / λίστου κ. Καρικο[ῦ] / οἰκονόμου /
Νεοκωμητῶν // δῆμος ὑπὲρ / τῆς Ἡλίου(ν) Ὑπερή- / δου καὶ Παπα Ἀ- / ντιφίλο(ν) τοῦ
/ κ. Γαίου εὐερ- // γετῶν σωτη- / ρίας Μητρὶ θε- / ῶν εὐχὴν.

(For the first four lines, see notes) The people of Neokome, for the well-being of benefactors Helios, son of Hyperedros, and Papa, son of Antiphilos, and Gaiou, to the Mother of Gods, (in fulfillment of) a vow.

Ll. 2-3: Κα(λ)- / λίστου in lines 2-3 could possibly be κ. Ἀσλίστου. (*MAMA* I, 213-214 no. 408). Ll. 2-4: For varying views on the origins of the name Καρικός, see Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεᾶ: 3. Karikos could be the steward of Theotimos, the son of Kallistos in the inscription (*MAMA* I, 213-214 no. 408). L. 5: Neokome is the name of the ancient site at Beyköy, near Emirdağ. Ll. 7, 9: The engraving in lines 7 and 9 is careless (*MAMA* I, 213-214 no. 408). L. 7: For the name Ἡλῖος, which can be either Greek or indiginous, see *KP*, § 399; *PVS*, 385. L. 8: For the name Παπα, see *KP*, § 1199-10, § 1199-1 n. 24. Ll. 8-9: Ἀντιφίλος is well-attested Greek name (*PVS*, 382). L. 10: For the name Γάιος, see *PVS*, 383.

MAMA I, 213-214 no. 408 (with sketch); *CCCA* I, 39-40 no. 115.

7. Concerning monument **26.22**: Inscription:

ἔτους · ΠΙ΄ ΝΑ΄ / (relief) / | [Μη]τρὶ θεῶν ἀγνῇ χρυ- / σοπλοκάμῳ ἀνέθηκ[αν] / |
Τρωΐλος Ὠφελίωνος / ἀπὸ Μακροῦ Πεδίου[ο] / | καὶ Τατεις ἄλοχος, / θυγάτηρ
μεγάλου / Ἀγαθέινου · | καὶ φίλιο[ι] / παῖδες, οὓς δὴ σύ, / θεὰ βασίλια · | σώους /
ἀνθρώποισι φυλάσ- / σοις ἤματα πάντα

"To the pure, golden-haired Mother of the gods, Troilos son of Ophelion, from Makron Pedion, and his wife Tateis daughter of the great Agatheinos set this up, as did their loving children, whom indeed would that you, goddess and queen, keep safe among people all their days" (trans. *RECAM V*, 79).

[27] Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀνγδισση

1. Concerning monument **27.02**: Inscription; Notes and Sources:

Ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί[μυσεν Αὐρήλιον] / Μόνιμον Ἀριστίων[ος Ζηνόδο]- / τον
λαμπαδάρχην ἱερέα Διὸς] / Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καὶ] / Μηνὸς Ἀσξαννοῦ [καὶ
Μητρὸς] // Θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[ς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] / Δαίμονος χαὶ Εἵσε[ιδος καὶ Σε]- /
βαστῆς Εἰρήνης, σ[τρατηγὸν] / τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἔκτον [χρεοφυλα]- / κήσαντα καὶ
ἐκλογισ[τεύσαντα] // καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα κ[αὶ εἰρηναρ]- / κήσαντα καὶ
παραφυ[λάξαντα καὶ] / [γραμ]μ[α]τεύ[σαντα].

L. 2: Monimos was a lampardach priest, which according to Ramsay, served in a role corresponding to that of the Dadouchos at Eleusis in the sacred mysteries (Ramsay 1897, 375). For the name Μόνιμος, see *KP*, § 959a, Nachtrag 694. Ll. 3-8: Deities listed in order: Διὸς] / Σωτήρος (Zeus Soter) καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος (Apollo) καὶ] / Μηνὸς Ἀσξαννοῦ (Men Askaēnos) [καὶ Μητρὸς] / Θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[ς (Meter Angdistis) καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] / Δαίμονος (Agathos Daimon) καὶ Εἵσε[ιδος (Isis) καὶ Σε]- / βαστῆς Εἰρήνης (Imperial Peace). Ll. 5: Μηνὸς Ἀσξαννοῦ was worshipped in not only Phrygia, but also in Lydia and Pisidia (*IGR IV*, 260). Lines 7-8: Σε]- / βαστῆς Εἰρήνης is the Roman Goddess Pax Augusta (1927, 260). In addition to lampardach (L. 3), a number of civil and military functionaries are mentioned. L. 8: For the Strategos of the City, see Ramsay 1895, 67-70. Ll. 9-10: Α κρεωφύλαξ was a notary (Ramsay 1987, 369). L. 10: Ἀν ἐκλογιστήσ was a municipal auditor, and the office appears from around 200 AD. Ramsay suggests that since the ἐκλογιστήσ in the inscription was a citizen of the city, the inscription must be dated to no earlier than

the third century (Ramsay 1897, 369-371, 376). L. 11: An Agoranomos was an officer who regulated the markets and retail and who inspected weights and measures (Ramsay 1895, 70). Ll. 11-12: Ramsay notes that the offices of Eirenarch and Paraphylax are often mentioned together. A Paraphylax may have been the head of a police force, while an Eirenarch may have a wider jurisdiction extending beyond a single city (Ramsay 1895, 68; 1987, 376). L. 13: For the scribe “[γραμ]μ[α]τεύ[σ]”, see Ramsay 1897, 376. For more on Eumenia, see Ramsay 1897, 353-395.

CIG III, 3886; P. Ramsay, 1895b, 246 no. 88; 1897, 375-376 no. 197; *IGR* IV, 260 no. 739; Bean, 1954, 479 n. 34; Lane 1971, 66 no 101; *CCCA* I, 32 no. 84.

For Angdistis, see Appendix: [2] Ἀνγδισί: 1.

[28] Μητρί Θεῶν Κασμεινῇ

1. Concerning monuments **31.1—31.3**: While a toponym connected with Κασμ(ε)ινή has yet to be attested (*cf.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κασμένη, in Sicily), personal names appear to have close resemblances (Brixhe 2000, 551-552 no. 597). For more on this, see *PVS*, 173 no. 242 for a dedication from Kasmeina to Zeus Alsenos, and 394 *s.v.* Κασμεινα; and for sources for other examples, see *MAMA* XI, no. 131. See also *KP*, § 686. For the distribution of dedication findspots, see Map 12.

For the possibility of a connection between a (Μητήρ) Τετραπρόσωπος dedication in a marble stele from Çalköy / Zafertepe (**63.01**) and the Μητήρ θεῶν Κασμινή dedication at Hasanköy (**31.03**), see *MAMA* XI, no. 131, and also Appendix: Τετραπρόσωπ: 2 below.

2. Concerning the monument **31.01** found at Çavdarlı Höyük, 16 km SE of Afyon Karahisar, Phrygia:

During road work in 1964, a rural sanctuary was exposed in the north part of the mound along with a large deposit of about forty votive statues of varying sizes ("from very small to one third of life-size, many inscribed with dedications to Apollo in Greek") and of unweathered white marble. Some of these were brought to the Afyon Archaeological Museum (Mellink 1965, 143; Akok 1965 [1967], 5).

Additionally, our votive stele to Μητρὶ θεῶν Κασμεινῇ and what seems to be either a very schematic or unfinished marble figurine were found in the Area D opening at the highest point of the mound. The votive was found at --80 cm. down, and the rough figurine was found at --50 cm. Area D contained a room at north with a stone paved floor and shelves, and a southern room with only its walls and floor. Prehistoric shards going back to at least the Early Bronze Age were found just under these levels and in soil which varied far more than in the levels above with respect to color and quality (Akok 1965, 7, 10, 12 nos. 14-15 and figs. 52-53, and also fig. 1 (general map of the site), and fig. 25 (map of Area D)).

A Roman necropolis lies on its own mound to the northwest of the mound proper and contains "an extensive Early Bronze Age base" (Mellink 1965, 143; Akok 1965 [1967], fig. 1 (site map), figs. 31-42 (the finds)).

[33] Μητρὸς / θεῶν μεγάλης

1. Concerning monument **33.01**: Inscription; Notes and Sources:

[- - - - -] Ι Ι / [Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον - -] ΙΡΟΥ υἱ- / [ὄν
Κ]υρεῖνα Ἡρᾶν, δέκατον μετὰ / [τ]ὸν ἀρκιερέα, πέμπτον δὲ Γα- / λατῶν διὰ βίου
ἰρέα Μητρὸς // Θεῶν μεγάλης ἐν Πες- / σινοῦντι καὶ (Μ)ειδαίῳ, τῶν / τε
Σεβαστῶν ἐξάκις ἀρχιερέ- / α τοῦ κοινοῦ Σεβαστηνῶν Γα- / λατῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην,
σεβασ- // τοφάντην τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Πες- / σινοῦντι ἱερασάμενον πρώτο[ν], /

γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ ἐπιδ[ό]- / σεις δόντα, ἔπαρχον σπείρης / Ἰτουραίων, δις
 χειλίαρχον λεγ[ε]- // ὧνων δύο, δωδεκάτης Κερανν[ο]- / φόρου καὶ τρίτης
 Κυρηναϊκῆς, ὑπὸ] / τῶν Σεβαστῶν τετειμηνέν[ον] / δόρατι καθαρῷ καὶ στεφάνῳ
 τε[ι]- / χικῷ, Ἀτταβοκαοὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς // θεοῦ μυστηρίων μύστ[αι ἐτεί]- / μησαν τὸν [-
 -----]. (For a copy of the inscription showing partial letters, see Körte
 1897, 38-39 no. 23; and for commentary on this, as well as for a detailed history of
 restorations and revisions, see *IK Pessinous*, 31-32).

Honorific inscription of the Attabokaoi (for Tib. Claudius Heras?):

“[Tiberios Klaudios] Heras, son of [- -]iros (?), from the tribe Kureina, tenth after
 the high-priest, fifth priest of the Galatians for life of the great Mother of gods in
 Pessinous and in Meidaëion, and six times high-priest of the Emperors and
 agonothetes of the koinon of the Galatian Sebastenoi, Sebastophant of the temple in
 Pessinous having been the first priest (in this function), having been gymasiarch and
 having given voluntary contributions, praefect of the cohort of the Itourai, twice
 tribune of two legions, of Twelfth Fulminata and of Third Cyrenaica, having been
 honoured by the Emperors with a honorific spear and a mural crown, the Attabokaoi,
 initiates in the mysteries of the goddess, have honoured their - - “ (trans. *IK*
Pessinous, 32).

Ll. 3-5: The *archiereus* was head of ten priests, of which the first five were Phrygian,
 and the last five were Galatian (*IK Pessinous*, 33). All ten priests were called “Attis”,
 unlike in the Hellenistic period, when only the head priest bore that name; and the
 ten were Roman-citizen priests for life and not eunuchs (*IK Pessinous*, 33). L. 7: For
 classical sources on Midaëum (Karahüyük), “situated in Phrygia at ca. 85 km NW
 from Pessinous as the crow flies” (*IK Pessinous*, 33), and where the Meter cult was
 known, see Strabo 12.8.12; Cassius Dio 49.18.4; Steph. Byz. s.v.; *CIL* III, 7000. For
 coins (Domitian and Caracalla) associating Meter worship with Midaëum, see Körte
 1897, 40-41. Graillot wrote that the name Midaëum retains the name of Midas
 (Graillot 1912, 354). Ll. 10-12: For a bibliography on excavations at the Imperial
 temple at Pessinous, see *IK Pessinous*, 33. See also Strubbe 2005, 33-34 for a
 discussion of Ll. 10-12’s “sebastophant”. Ll. 14-17: The dedicatee, a Roman knight,
 served as a legionary tribune in two legions during the first Judaean War (Körte

1897b, 41ff.; cf. Tac. Hist. 5.1; Strubbe 2005, 34). The *corona muralis* and the *hasta pura* of Ll. 19-20 were typically awarded for martial bravery (*IK Pessinous*, 34). L. 20: The Ἀτταβοκαιοὶ may have been an association in connection with the priesthood at Pessinus (Roller 1999, 341; cf. Körte 1897b, 42-43). For an honorific inscription of the Attabokaoi for Tib. Claudius Deiotaros of the late 2nd Century, see *IGR* 225 and Strubbe 2005, 34ff no. 18.

Körte 1897b, 38-43 no. 23; *IGR* III, 116-117 no. 230 (and compare 115 no. 225); Hepding, Attis, 79 no 7; Dittenberger, *OGIS* II, 212ff no 540; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 618f; J. Strubbe 2005, 221 no 17; *CCCA* I, 25-26 no. 59; *IK Pessinous*, 31-34 no. 17.

[34] Μητρὶ θεῶν Οὐγγεινῷ

1. The sanctuary at Zindan Cave in the rugged upper reaches of the Eurymedon River (Köprüçay) was discovered during tunnel construction in 1977. It lies 2 km east of Aksu in Isparta. It was originally thought to be a sanctuary to Eurymedon himself before inscriptions suggesting that the sanctuary belonged to the Mother of Gods Veginos eventually came to light (**34.01** and **34.02**) (Dedeoğlu 2005, 98) in addition to the initially enigmatic inscription **66.01**, which lists a “Veginos”. Also, an inscription dedicated to either Meter Vegna (or Vetna) was copied about 10 km SE of Lake Beyşehir (**53.01**) by Hall (Hall, 1968, 75 no. 19, Pl. XIIa). Occupation of the site at Zindan spanned from the Hellenistic to Seljuk periods. However, the Roman Period sanctuary built by Memnon, son of Bianor, to Veginos dates to the late second century AD (Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 39-55; Dedeoğlu 2005, 153-166; and Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 103-113.) More specifically, Takmer and Gökalp assign it to the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius, AD 169-180 (Takmer and Gökalp 1985, 105f). For more on the subterranean room, the deipnisterion and triclinium mentioned in monument **34.01**, see Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 108 and n. 22.

2. Timbriada (mentioned in Strabo 12.7.2) was the chief urban center connected with the Zindan sanctuary, although the sanctuary was also a regional center (Dedeoğlu 2005, 96). For a colorful history on the speculation of its precise location in the vicinity of Asartepe (Asar Hill) on the Yılanlı Plain and the south of Mount Akpınar, see Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 40-41; Dedeoğlu 2005, 154; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 110 n. 38; and Sterrett 1888 III, 280 no. 399. A statue base inscription (App. **68.07**) found at the Zindan Cave sanctuary has been restored to read: Τιμ[βριαδέων ὁ δῆμος] / Σάμον, Ἀβαντα / Πανέλληνας / παρὰ Ρεΐη. (“Timbriadians (erected the statues) of Samos and Abas, the Panhellenes, in the presence of Rhea”) (Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 109-12 no. 3). Although brief, the inscription brings a number of interesting points to our attention. The first is that Timbriada was a member city of the Panhellenion created by Hadrian in AD 131/132. Although not Roman citizens, Samos and Abas represented Timbriada as delegates. In addition, the Meter of this Sanctuary appears to be equated with Rhea (*cf.* Strabo 10.3.12 and 10.3.15). See also Bøgh 2007, 317; and Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 108-12 nos. 2-3 and nn. 51-53. Despite the enigma of pinpointing Timbriada’s location, coins from the city have come to light. For coins from Tymbriada showing its connection with Eurymedon, see Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 41 n. 13; for coins from Tymbriada depicting Cybele with Eurymedon, see Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 112 n 53; and for coins from Tybriada depicting Mēn, see Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 54: note on line 4 of the inscription.

3. The meaning of Veginos remains elusive. Nevertheless, the anthroponym Ουεγινος, is attested in an inscription found on an altar at Koças, about 10 km to the north of the Zindan Cave sanctuary towards Doğanhisar (Sterrett 1888 II, 175, no. 170; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105-106 and n. 9). In any case, Takmer and Gökalp (2005, 106-107) lean, in want of solid ground, towards a topographic meaning closer to the Meter Oreia of an inscription found in the Timbriada territory at Bağlu (**52.02**). They also note how in this inscription in particular, “an appearance” of the deity is mentioned as in one dedication to Meter Theôn Veginos from Zindan Cave (**34.01**) (Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105-6 no. 1; Sterrett 1888 III, 280 no. 400). For a discussion regarding the dream/vision-based dedications **52.02** and **52.03**, see Chapter 6.6 under the subheading “Constellations of Epithets in Pisidia”. Monument

52.3 is a dedication made to Meter Oreia according to instructions given by way of a dream.

4. Concerning monument 34.01: Inscription:

☞ ἀγαθῇ (space) τύχῃ ☞ / Μέμνων Βιάνορος ἱερεὺς Μητρὸ[ς] / θεῶν Οὐεγεινου,
θεᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς, / φιλόπατρις, ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν / Σεβαστῶν τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν // ἐπ' αὐτῷ
τρίκλεινον σὺν παντὶ / αὐτῶν κόσμῳ κατασκεύασας / ἀνέθηκεν ☞ τῇ θεῷ ☞ καὶ τῇ /
☞ πατρίδι ☞

"With good fortune! Memnon, son of Bianor, the priest of the appearing Goddess Meter Theôn Veginos, the patriotic man, the high priest of the Augusti, dedicated the temple and the triclinium above it with their complete ornaments to the Goddess and his fatherland" (trans. Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105).

5. Concerning monument 34.02: Inscription:

☞ ἀγαθῇ (space) τύχῃ [☞] / Αὐτοκ(ράτορι) Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ / [Ἀντωνίνῳ
Σ]ε[βα]στῷ καὶ / Μητρὶ θεῶν Οὐεγεινῷ ἡ πόλις / τὸν τε κατάγειον οἶκον, δει- //
πιστήριον καὶ (vac) τὸν κατ' αὐ- / τοῦ τρίκλεινον ἔκ τε προσόδων / τῶν δεδομένων
ὑπὸ Μέμνονος / Βιάνορος καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων κατασκευ- / [άσασα], προνοητῶν ἥ
Διοδώρου Νεάρχου // [καὶ ?] Ἀπίου Οὐάλωνος νέου τῶν καὶ ἀπξάμέ- / νων καὶ τ[ῶ]ν
πάντων, ἀνέθηκεν.

"With good fortune! The polis built the subterranean room, the deipnisterion and also the triclinium in it from revenues granted by Memnon, son of Bianor, and from other revenues; and set them up for the emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and the Goddess Meter Theôn Veginos, while Diodoros, son of Nearchos, and Apios?, son of Valon the Junior, were serving the city as supervisors of both the subjects and the whole" (trans. Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 108).

6. Concerning monument **66.01**: Inscription; Notes and Sources:

Μάρωνα Ἀντιόχου, ἄνδρα [ἄ]- / γαθον, ἄρζαντα τετράκι δη- / μωφελῶς,
ἱερατεύσαντα Ο.- / ΕΓΕΙΝΟΥ καὶ Μηνὸς πολ[υ]τε- / λῶς, πόλλας πρεσβείας ἀπα[ρ]-
// τίσαντα, μιὰν δὲ καὶ πρὸς [Αὐτο]- / κράτορα μεχρὶ τῆς [βασιλίδος] / [Ῥώ]μης
προῖκα, ΕΠ. /

“Maron, son of Antiochus, a noble man, who has been archon four times in a public spirited manner, has held the priesthood of (?) and Mēn with generous expenditure, has successfully completed many embassies, including one to the emperor as far as the ruling city of Rome at his own expense, . . .” (trans. Mitchell 1985, 54).

The "(?)" for O./ΕΓΕΙΝΟΥ in the translation apparently refers to ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΩΝ ΟΙΕΓΕΙΝΟΣ (Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 103-113). Mitchell suggests that the embassy to Rome was more likely to be to the sole reign of Commodus in the second half of the second century (Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 54).

Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 39-55 no. 4; see also Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 103-113.

See also notes 1-7 above and below.

7. Priests indicated in inscriptions from Zindan Cave are associated with positive attributes which call to mind the set of virtues priests were ideally meant to live by (Riel 2003a, 85). For example, in **34.01** the high priest Memnon, son of Bianor, is called φιλόπατρις (patriotic) (Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105-107 no. 1; cf. an inscription at Yenice in Hall 1968, 77 no. 22). In another (**53.01**: O.- / ΕΓΕΙΝΟΥ), Maron, son of Antiochus, is called ἄνδρα [ἄ]- / γαθον (a noble man). He is also credited with serving the priesthood in a “spirited manner”, and like the Memnon mentioned in **34.01** and **34.02**, for being generous (Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 39-55 no. 4; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 105-109 nos. 1 and 2). It was common in remoter regions for non-Roman-citizens, such as Memnon and Maron, to serve as priests

prior to the Constitutio Antoniniana of AD 212 (see Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 54; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 107-109 no. 2; Rici 2003a, 81). However, being that Memnon was high priest of the Augusti, he was possibly a priest of the Imperial Cult, and thus possibly a freedman.

[35] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Σατυρειαίᾳ ἐπηκόῳ

1. Concerning monument **35.01**: Notes and Sources: L. 1: The adjective Σατυρειαίᾳ may denote the name of the sanctuary's founder, whose name would have been Σατυρ(ε)ῖνος/α (*IK Pessinous*, 43-44; Chaniotis 2012b, 353-354). Graillot believed it may have alluded to the link between Midas and the satyrs (Graillot 1912, 354 n. 6). Ll. 1-2: “Manes cannot be the freedman of Menekles if he has a patronymic; the dedication was probably made by two or more men” (*IK Pessinous*, 44). For the name Manes, see *IK Pessinous*, 44, and also Appendix: [4] Ἀνγδισι Θεῶ: 4. For the well-attested Greek name Μενεκλῆς, see *PVS*, 387. L. 2: Domaszewski suggested that φλ(ε)ῖος could = φλ(ε)ῖα (Domaszewski 1883, 180 no. 37; see also *IK Pessinous*, 44).

Domaszewski 1883, 180 no. 37; Drexler in Roscher 1884-1937, col. 2895; Graillot 1912, 354 n. 6; O. Weinreich 1912, 16 no 68; *CCCA* I, 27 no. 61; *IK Pessinous*, 43-44 no. 24; Chaniotis 2012b, 353-354.

See Appendix: [1] Ἀνγδισει θεῶ ἐπηκόῳ: 1 (for the epithet “ἐπεκοῦ”).

[36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευννηῇ

1. The location of Steunos Cave, sacred to the Mother, and mentioned twice by Pausanias (Paus. 8.4.3; 10.32.3), has been confirmed, and so has his description of its round and lofty interior. The sanctuary by the Penkalas River features a mix of Hellenic and Phrygian features including votive niches, a step altar, and two circular *bothroi* with shaft openings into the cave, as well as terracotta votive figurines of the Mother standing as in older Phrygian styles (Ateş 2010, 57; Roller 1999, 337). The complex was in use from the first century BC until the second century AD; and then appears to have been transferred to the subterranean chamber of the Zeus Temple in Aizanoi about three kilometers away. (If the temple architects had indeed wished to evoke a spacious cave with light shafting through, then they were rather successful). Temples catering to double cults have existed elsewhere in Asia Minor (see Roller 1999, 340 n. 68. See also Appendix: [11] *Matris Magnae*, 2; [26] Μητρὶ Θεῶν: 1).

Strabo wrote of the Phrygians having equated their mother goddess with Rhea (*cf.* Strabo 10.3.12 and 10.3.15). This appears to have been the case at the Zindan Cave Sanctuary in Pisidia (see Appendix: [34] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Οὐγγεινῶ: 2 and monument 68.07). This also appears to have been the case at Aizanoi. The story of the birth of Zeus and its traditional locale on Crete was transplanted by the Penkalas. Aizantetan coins feature the Kouretes and Mother holding an infant Zeus (*MAMA IX*, xxxiii-xxxiv; Mitchell 1993 II, 18-19; Roller 1999, 340; and for the coins, see Robert 1981, 350f. figs. 16-24 including coins from Aizanoi, Akmonia, and Tralles; Rheidt 2010, 172 figs. 176 a-c). The transference of sacred topography was not uncommon in the ancient world. For a later example concerning the transference of sacred sites in Jerusalem to Bologna, see Ousterhout 2000, 21-35. Compare also Appendix: [38] Μητρὶ Καδμηνῇ: 2 below.

For a statue of Meter that may have been dedicated to her and was found lying in the NE corner of the temple of Zeus, see *CCCA I*, 46 no. 135, and Pl. XVII; *SEG LVI*, no. 1429; Lehmler and Wörrle 2006, 71-72 no. 130 fig. 52.

See also **68.06** (in the catalogue section “Less Certain Epithets”) for initialed marble slabs from Aizanoi that may have been boundary markers for a sanctuary to either Meter Steune or the Mother of Gods.

For more on the Meter Steunene cave sanctuary, see Paus. 8.4.3; 10.32.3; *CCCA* I, 44 no. 124; Anderson 1897-1898, 55-57; Th. Wiegand 1911, 302-307; Robert 1981, 331-360; *CCCA* I, 42-47; Mitchell 1993 II, 18-19; Roller 1999, 336-341; Ateş, G. 2010, 44-55.

[38] Μητρὶ Καδμηνῇ

1. Concerning monument **38.01**: Description and Dimensions; Notes and Sources:

Rock-cut *naiskos* niche with reliefs and an inscription. A forward-facing Cybele sits enthroned and centered in the *naiskos* wearing a *polos*. A chiton covers her legs but leaves her feet revealed. The triangular pediment of the *naiskos*, together with its columns and capitals, is well preserved. A bull's head with a visible face sits in the center of the pediment. The *naiskos* is of superior quality to the panel and bust at left, and predates it. At right stands a cloaked figure with an upraised arm and who is flanked by two left-facing lions on either side of him/her. One lion is in a walking pose. At left is a clumsily sculpted male bust, perhaps the dedicant's, over an inscribed panel. The inscription is as poorly executed with letters mixed in the dedicant's name and the last H in line 2 sitting on the column of the *naiskos* to the right of the panel. The letter height varies from 2.5-3 cm, but the Y in the third line measures at 5.3 cm (Özsait et al. 2006, 4 and figs. 15-17).

A second relief is cut to the right of the first. It features a hunting scene, in which a hunter brandishing either a spear or a whip faces right towards a lion facing left. H. 64 cm, W. 72 cm (Özsait et al. 2006, 4 and fig. 15; and especially 5 for a wonderful

analysis of the hunting scene relief, which may or may not be directly related to the Cybele *naiskos* relief).

L. 1: Özsait et al. (2006, 4-6) note that the dedicant is of Greek origin, and that his father's name is a shortened derivative of Hermogenes (*cf. PVS*, 384). Ll. 2-3: They then note how the epithet Kademe refers to Mt. Kadmos. This not only sits squarely in the tradition of particular mountains in western and central Asia Minor being sacred to various Meters (Roller 1999, 189; 199), but to the tradition, inspired by Greek colonists' stories of the heroic founder of Thebes, of naming certain mountains and streams in Asia Minor "Kadmos" (Strabo 12.8.16; 14.1.12). Seated representations of Kybele are also a Greek influence. The authors assert that the old name of Çal Tepe, by means of epiclesis, itself was once Kadmos: Dans les deux cas, cela témoigne d'une persistance de la culture anatolienne ancienne et cela signifie que le toponyme antique du Çal Tepe était le Mont Kadmos (Özsait et al. 2006, 4-6). This contrasts with Milner's view, who was apparently influenced rather by Strabo 12.8.16, in *RECAM* III, no. 122: "The Mother goddess, identifiable as Cybele by the lion iconography, has here a local name pertaining to Mt. Kadmos, now Baba or Ak Dağı, south of the Büyükenderes (Maender) basin, near Denizli"). Compare Appendix: [36] Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευννηῆ: 1 above. For other rich testimonies to Meter in the vicinity (i.e. SW and W of Lake Salda), including another relief and two step altars, see Özsait et al. 2006, 1-31.

RECAM III, no. 122; Özsait et al. 2006, 4 and figs. 1 for a map, and 14-21 for images of the reliefs and environs.

[39] Μητρὶ Καλλίππου

1. Concerning monument **39.01**: As noted in the catalogue listing for **39.01**, Kallippos was a common name among the elites of Aphrodisias in Karia; and

someone with this name may have founded the cult of Meter Kallippou, Kallippou being the genitive of Kallippos. What is perhaps not such a coincidence, is that there is a Μετρὸς Ἀδράστου cult attested at Attouda near Aphrodisias, where Adrastos is the most common name among Aphrodisian elites (Chaniotis 2012b, 353-354, 357 comments for no. 6, 365 no. 24). A marble block fragment dedication to Meter of Adrastos reads: [Ἀνδρ?]όνικος ἀνέθηκ[ε] / [] Μητρὶ Ἀδράστου / [εὐχῇ]ν: Andronikos (or Stratonikos) dedicated this to Meter of Adrastos in fulfillment of a vow) (Chaniotis 2012b, 365 no. 24). Also;

For more on epithets containing the genitive in the singular, see a stele dedication to *Μητρὶ Ἀδιασσοῦ- / λου* from Kula in eastern Lydia (Herrmann, 87 no. 256); Roller 1999, 329 and nn. 8-9; and Akyürek Şahin 2007, 68; and Chapter 6.8 for discussion concerning epithets named after cult founders; and from this catalogue, see monument **51.01** for Meter Nonnou, and **36.01** for a dedication from a cult founder. Also see Appendix: [3] Ἀνγδισι ἐπ[η]κόω: 1 above for what Ramsay says concerning the genitive taking the place of the dative.

[44] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου

1. Concerning primarily monuments **32.01**, **44.01**—**44.08** (and by cross-reference: **25.01** (and also **25.02**), and **61.01**—**61.02**: Akyürek Şahin (2007, 68-69 and n. 13) suggests that κρᾶνος denotes a rocky topographical feature such as a cave, and that it is thus akin to Meter Oreia in describing mountainous landscapes. Cox and Cameron, on the other hand, by reading κρήνη in the name, had associated this Meter with the renown hot springs of Dorylaeum and also the Meter Thermene found at Arap Ören (Dögançayır) (**25.01**; cf. **25.02**) (*MAMA* V, xiv, 5 nos. 8, and Pl. 15; von Prott 1902, 271). However, Robert had also questioned the connection of this Meter with baths (*Hellenica* X, 78-82 no. 14, 111 n. 5). For earlier speculation on what the epithet connotes, see Mordtmann 1885, 14 no. 3; Radet 1895, 572 no. XXI, and Pl. III for a map of Dorylaeum's surroundings; and Körte 1897a, 405 no. 47. See also *KO*, § 617-

1. Akyürek Şahin proposes that a sanctuary may have existed in the village of Döğlat in the Afyon province, from which monuments **44.07** and **44.08** came. This sanctuary would be in addition to the one thought to be in the vicinity of Dorylaeum in the Eskişehir province (Akyürek Şahin 2007, 67-68). Cf. Tozer 1873, 49. Another epithet containing ἀπὸ and the subsequent name in the singular genitive is Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλίου (**61.01—61.02**). Both denote actual places, and at least one, if not both, a sanctuary (see Frei 1983; and Akyürek Şahin 2007, 68).

See also Chapter 6.8 for natural landscape features.

2. Concerning monument **44.05**: Notes and Sources: L. 1: For the name Βαβου, see *KP*, § 133-13; *NI*, 368. L. 2: For the common Greek name Μένανδρος, see *PVS*, 387. L. 6: There is space for one more letter at its end where the stone is broken away. Ll. 6-7: The upper part of E in line 7 is cut under the M in line 6 (*MAMA* V, 5 no. 9). *MAMA* V, 5 no. 9 (and see also 4-5 no. 8), and Pl. 15; *Hellenica* X, 111 and n. 5; Akyürek Şahin 2007, 72 no. 6 and fig. 6; and see also *KO*, § 617-1.

See also Chapter 6 on natural landscapes.

[45] Μητρὶ Κυβέλη

1. Concerning monument **45.01**: This epithet calls to mind the Matar Kubile epithet found in the Köhnuş Valley near Midas City in Phrygia (Sayce 1926, 33 no. 11; *Highlands*, 91, 293 no. 13 and fig. 138; Vermaseren 1987, 38 no. 110). For other occurrences of Μητρὶ Κυβέλη, see *MAMA* V, in the notes for 102 no. 213 and Foucart 1873, 238-240 no. 65.

[46] Μητρὶ Λητώ

1. Concerning monuments **13.10** (Μητρὶ) and **46.01—46.04**: Meter Leto is attested in a delimited territory spanning from southern Phrygia up into eastern Lydia (*MAMA* XI, no. 70 with references to both Phrygian and Lydian examples). Judging from the inscription of **46.01**, she may have shared the main sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos at Motella overlooking a bend of the Meander River (*MAMA* XI, no. 70; *BE* 1954, no. 233). Ex-votos to Meter Leto (**46.02—46.03**) come from the same region. A branch cult is attested about 40 km to the northeast at Sebaste with its own sanctuary (see *MAMA* XI, no. 70 commentary concerning the unpublished inscription from the Uşak Museum; cf. *BE* 1954, no. 233; *Hellenica* XIII, 120). The Meter of the **13.10** dedication to Helios Lairbenos and Meter is most likely Meter Leto; and at least one other dedication to Meter Leto is known from Sebaste (**46.04**). For attestations in the vicinity of Motella of Apollo Lairbenos as a sun god, see Miller 1985, 50-65; and also **46.01** (Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ- / λωνι Λυερμηνῶ) in this catalogue. For connections of Helios Lairbenos with Leto and Attis in the region around Hierapolis, see Robert 1962, 128f; Miller 1985; Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000, 3-6. For a dedication to Apollo Alsios and Meter Leto which surfaced in the London antiquities market and may also be from Sebaste, see *SEG* XXXIX, no. 1726 and *MAMA* XI, no. 70 (commentary). For a connection between Leto and the “the mother of this sanctuary” at Xanthos in Lycia, see des Courtils 2009, 65.

2. Concerning monument **46.01**: Notes and Sources: L. 1: For Meter Leto, see Ll. 3-4: For the Greek name Ἀπολλώνιος, see Appendix: [6] εὐκτέῳ θεᾷ Ἀνγδιση: 3. L. 3: For the name Μηνόφιλος, a common theophoric Greek name in use from the Hellenistic period onwards, see *KP*, § 910, *NI*, 514; *PVS*, 387. L. 4: Ramsay believed that Atyochorion was a village of the Dionysopolitan valley (Ramsay 1895, 382-383; 1889, 221). Ll. 5-6: The names of the dedicant Apollonios' children indicate his being versed in Homer and the Trojan Cycle. The selfsame Apollonios is listed as a priest of Askepios Soter in a funerary inscription found at nearby Zeive (Ramsay 1883, no. 6; 1895, 146-147 no. 35). L. 7: Ramsay supposed that Apollonios probably erected the stoa in either his own village or in Dionysopolis (Ramsay 1883, 383 no.

5).

Ramsay 1883, 383 no. 5; 1888a, 277; 1895, 146 no. 34; Villes, 129; Miller 1985, 53; Ritti, Şimşek and Yıldız 2000, 8, D5; *MAMA* XI, no. 70 commentary.

3. Concerning monument **46.02**: Notes and Sources: This inscription numbers among the "confession" inscriptions collected and catalogued by Petzl (1994); and it exemplifies how this genre doubles as both a testimony to divine power as well as a dedication with the language common to ex-votos (Ritti, Şimşek, and Yıldız 2000, 12, D18.). L. 1: For more on Meter Leto, see Appendix: **[46]** Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1. Buckler (Buckler, 1914-16, 172-173, no. 2) suggested c. AD 165/6 as a date for this inscription based on his reading of the date at the beginning of the text. Ll. 4-5: Regarding what Ramsay called a "Semitic character" of the phrasing "The 'mighty goddess,' who makes impossibilities possible", and for its appearance in an inscription from Katakekaumene, see Ramsay 1895, 153-154 no. 53; Petzl 1994, 140-141 no. 122. Ll. 6-7: For discussion concerning the idiosyncrasies of the text, see especially Ramsay, Buckler 1914-1916), and Petzl (1994) in the sources listed below.

Ramsay 1883, 382-283 no. 7; 1895, 153-154 no. 53; Steinleitner 59, 31; Buckler, 1914-16, 172-173 no. 2; SEG VI, 248; Petzl 1994, 140-141 no. 122; Ritti, Şimşek, and Yıldız 2000, 12, D18.

See Appendix: **[46]** Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1 for more on Meter Leto.

4. Concerning monument **46.04**: Notes and Sources: This inscription sits squarely in the εὐχαριστήριον genre of ex-voto inscriptions, which express gratitude for healing from physical afflictions (*MAMA* XI, no. 70 with sources for other examples). L. 1: For the name Αὐρ(ήλιος), see *NI*, 130, 233, 361, 362, 365, 391, 527; *PVS*, 383. For the name Ἀτταλος, *KP*, § 119-14, § 66-1 n. 169. L. 3: For Meter Leto, see Appendix: **[46]** Μητρὶ Λητώ: 1 above. L. 4: for more on the Nemeseis, see *MAMA*, no. 70.

Ricl 1992, 95 n. 102 ("dans le musée d' Uşak . . ."); *MAMA* XI, no. 70 with a photo and squeeze.

See Appendix: [46] Μητρὶ Λητὼ: 1.

[49] Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ

1. Concerning monuments **13.09** (Μητρὶ) and **49.01** (Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ): Haspels (*Highlands*, 169-170) asserted that monument **49.01** (Μητρὶ Μαληνῆ) came from the Malos of Roman Imperial times, which she located at the town of Kilise-Orhaniye in the SE Phrygian highlands (*cf. Hellenica* X, 28-33). She based this on a dedication of a noticeably higher quality of workmanship made on behalf of the demos of the Malenoi (*Highlands*, App. III, no. 51). Haspels noted that the location allowed for communication with the outside world via a plain connecting it with Afyon, a city from which the piece could have easily been brought by train to Istanbul (a possibility beginning with 1895). The piece is listed as formerly having come from the Hughenin Collection. Hughenin (d. 1926) was director of the Anatolian Railways (*Hellenica* X, 29 and n. 1). For the dedication made on behalf of the Malenoi, see *Highlands*, 164, 169-170, App. III, 318-319 no. 51 and Pl. 618. Monument **13.09** (Ἐπιτόν- / χανος Μητρὶ / εὐχίν.), which is also from Kilise-Orhaniye and dated to the Roman Imperial period, may be dedicated to the Meter Malene as well.

2. Concerning monument **49.01**: Sources: *Hellenica* X, 28-33 no. 7, PL. VII; *SEG* XV, 787; *Highlands*, 164, 169-170, 319 no. 52, and Pl. 619; Drew-Bear, Thomas, and Yıldızıuran 1999, 370 no. 609 with photo; 374-378; and also Lochman 1999, 28-33.

See also Chapter 6, n. 94 for discussion concerning the identities of the figures in relief.

[51] Μητρὶ Νουννου

1. Concerning monument **51.01**: Inscription Notes: Ll. 4-5: For τῆς συ/νοδίας (ἡ συνοδία = ἡ σύνοδος), see Riel 1994, 172 no. 30 and compare the following:

a) A *bomos* inscription from Kandira, Bithynia (145-146 AD): Ἔτους ἡ [ἐπὶ Ἀν]- / τωνεῖνο[υ Καίσαρος] / Π. Αἴλιος Μ[αρ]- / κιανὸς θε[ᾶ] / Ἀνγδιστη ὑ[πέρ] / τῆς συνόδ[ου] / εὐχαριστή[ρι]- / ον (CCCA I, 77 no. 237).

b) Two inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Mēn Askaenos (Karakuyu) in Yalvaç (Antiocheia), Pisidia (of the Roman Imperial Period): ἡ συνοδί- / α Μηνὶ εὐ- / χήν (Lane 1971, 118 no. 193-2); ἡ συνοδί[α] / καὶ Σύντροφ[ος τεκ]- / μορεύσαν[τες] / καὶ τέκνου [.....] (Lane 1978, 44 no. 130).

On the other hand, ἡ συνοδία (a party of travelers, or a caravan) is already a known word, so why change it? Cf. Donnegan 1840, 1201 for both συνοδία and σύνοδος.

Ll. 6-7: See KP, 365-364, § 1051-4 for the name Νουννος; cf. PVS, 388 "Νουννας": "an indigenous name attested in central and southeast Phrygia and on the Galatian border".

Riel 1994, 172 no. 30 and fig. 30.

See Chapter 6.8 regarding travel in the uplands; Appendix: **[51]** Μητρὶ Νουννου: 1 for inscription notes and sources; and **[39]** Μητρὶ Καλλίππου 1, for epithets ending in the genitive singular.

[52] Μητρὶ Ὀρεία

1. For a listing of where the Mountain Mother, Meter Oreia, has been documented in Asia Minor, see the notes for *MAMA* X, 97 no. 307).
2. Concerning monuments **52.02—52.03** and also **34.01**: For a discussion regarding the dream/vision-based dedications **52.02** (Μητρὶ Ὀρεία) and **52.03** (Μητρὶ / Ὀρέα), see Chapter 6.6: under the subheading: “Constellations of Epithets in Pisidia”.

[56] Μητρὶ Πολυετηνῇ

1. Concerning monument **56.01**: “Close to Bademli,” wrote Bean (1959, 97 no. 47),
“there is a small ancient site that has not hitherto been recorded. About a kilometer north-west of the village is a low hill on which is an abundance of sherds and three rather curious blocks with holes like large stele-sockets. Just across the road is another low hill with flat top, on which also are numerous sherds. On this latter hill was found the following inscription . . . The epithet [Polyetta] is no doubt local: the shrine stood on the hill where the stone was found, and the village of Polyetta on the other hill across the way.”

[57] Μητρὶ Ποντανῇ

1. Concerning monument **57.01**: A dedication found at nearby Akın, and set up by the Ποντανῆνοί, reads as follows: Πονταν[η-] / [ν]οὶ Ὀσίω / [κὲ] Δικέω εὐ- / χήν (with a bucranium above the inscription). “The strange name ΠΟΥΗΝΤΑΣ has some resemblance to the village name Pontana or Pontanos, two miles north of Kumbet (Metropolis or Knonna). Pontanos is marked on Kiepert's map” (Ramsay 1905c, “Beiblatt” 104; see also Ramsay 1890, 435; Highlands, 357-358 nos. 152-153).

[60] Μητρὶ Σομ[.]ηνῆ

1. Concerning monument **60.01**: Ll. 1-2: While the dedicant is not a Roman citizen, his name Staberianus (Σταβερριανὸς Δορυφό- / ρου) is an ancient Latin cognomen, and his father's name is a familiar Greek name (Ertan and Sivas 2016, 332). For attestations of Staberianus, see *SEG* XXVII, 716 (Titus Flavius Staberianus as attested in a dedication from Aphrodisias); and Ertan and Sivas 2016, 332 n. 17. Ll. 2-3: The indecipherable letter in Σομ[.]ηνῆ could have been an alpha, delta, or lambda, and thus could have read as Somaene, Somdene or Somlene (Ertan and Sivas 2016, 331). It is not known whether the name indicates a village or topographical feature. Ertan and Sivas propose that there could in any case have been a sanctuary to this Meter nearby when considering that a priest consecrated the stele (2016, 331-332).

[61] Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλίου

1. Concerning monuments **61.01** (Μητρὶ ἀ[πὸ] / [Σ]πηλίου) and **61.02** (Μητρὶ / ἀπὸ σπηλίου- / ου): Robert insightfully guessed that monument **61.01**, dedicated to the Mother of the Cave, and which he saw in Izmir, came from the interior. Its iconography and placement of inscriptions has Phrygian parallels, particularly with an altar from Dorylaeum (*Hellenica* X, 110 and nn. 3-4). A cave sanctuary of Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Σπηλίου has since been found NE of Eskişehir at Ahırlar (Frei 1983, 58-59; *SEG* XXXIV, no. 1293), and monument **61.02**, also dedicated to the Mother of the Cave, was found in the Kocapınar valley just below the cave itself. Among the shards washed onto the slope below the cave at Ahırlar were 3 cm-long terracotta horns belonging to small votive bull heads. See Frei (1983, 58-59) for more on the location and state of the cave. Frei guessed that further investigation of a possible Mother and bull cult connection at the site would be worthwhile (Frei 1983, 58-59). Another epithet containing ἀπὸ and the subsequent name in the singular genitive is 'Μητρὶ ἀπὸ Κρανοσμεγάλου (**44.02—44.08**). We know that ἀπὸ Σπηλίου not only

names a natural feature, but also an sanctuary (see Frei 1983; and Akyürek Şahin 2007, 68).

[63] Μητρει Τειοβευδηνη

Concerning monuments **2.07** and **63.01**: The epithet Μητρει Τει- / ιοβευδηνη is unattested outside of monument **63.01**. However, Drew-Bear brings our attention to an ethnic minted on a coin from Synnada under Hadrian: Παλαιοβευδηνοί (*NIP*, 43 in the commentary on no. 11, and see also n. 43; *KO*, § 149-2) and to a Βευδουσοικεινός (probably Βευδους Όϊκος, or Βευδους Όϊκος) attested at Midas City (**1.7**; *Highlands*, 300 no. 14). See also Robert 1975, 184-185 n. 134 concerning “Boudeia”.

[64] Μητρι Τυμενηνη

1. Concerning monuments **64.01** and **64.02**: For more on the enigmatic whereabouts of Mount Tymenaion, see *RECAM* IV, 6 no. 11, and also Step. Byz.: **Τυμέναιον**, ὄρος περὶ Φρυγίαν. οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τυμεναῖοι.

[67] Τετραπροσώπω

1. Concerning monuments **9.01** (θεῶς τετραπρόσω- / πω); **31.3** (Μητρι / Θεῶν Κ(α)σ- / μινῃ); **62.01** (Μητρι Τετραπ[ρο]- / σώπω; **62.02** (Μητρι Τ[ετρ]α- / προσώπω); and **67.01** (Τετραπροσώπω): Roller interprets “Meter Tetraprosopos” (“The Mother of Four Faces”) as meaning “the Mother who sees all” (Roller 1999); while Ramsay

called her the “goddess of the crossroads, who looks along the four ways” (Ramsay 1918, 167). It is interesting to compare Chaldean Hekate, who is also called Tetraprosopos in a hymn to Selene (Ronan 1992, 76, 106; see also Ramsay 1918, 167-168). In the hymn, she is bull-faced (*cf.* the prominent bucrania of the altar at Küçük Hassan (**62.1**), which is perhaps a mere coincidence). In one Chaldean fragment, Hekate is called "four-headed", and has four animal heads. These are associated with the four elements. For example, the bull is associated with air (Ronan 1992, 96, 105). See also the discussion in the notes for *MAMA* V, 54, no. 101. See also Akyürek Şahin 2012, 1-9 regarding three carved works in stone she considers to be representations of this goddess from the vicinity of Dorylaeum and Nacolaia.

2. Concerning monuments **31.03** (Μητρί / Θεῶν Κ(α)σ- / μινῇ) and **67.01** (Τετραπρόσωπο): For the possibility of a connection between (Μητήρ) Τετραπρόσωπος and the Μητήρ θεῶν Κασμινῇ dedication at Hasanköy (**31.03**) see *MAMA* XI, no. 131. White marble votive stele with a tenon and broken off at top. Four females in relief adorn the upper register. Each is holding something in both their right and left hands, and each is dressed in a chiton and also a loose himation draped over the left arm. The first and fourth figures from the left carry what appear to be bunches of grapes in their left hands. The second figure from the left carries a loaf of bread in her right hand and a bird in her left. A mounted male figure representing the god Mēn in relief is dressed in a tunic, belt, trousers, and blowing cape. He holds a palm-leaf in his right hand. While riding to the right, both his face and that of his horse turn facing the viewer. The horse's inner fore-leg is raised. The inscription is clearly engraved along the base below the lower register. H. 0.68+, W. 0.35 (shaft), 0.39 (base), Th. 0.07 (shaft), 0.10 (base), letter H. 0.016-0.022. For other reliefs of Mēn depicted in the same style in northern Phrygia, see the commentary for *MAMA* XI, no. 131.

Concerning monument **67.01**: Notes and Sources: L. 1 The Greek name Τρόφιμος is well attested in the Roman Imperial period, and was common in the Upper Tembris plain (*PVS*, 391). Ll. 1 and 3: The upsilon in line 1, and the alpha and sigma in line 3 were omitted by the mason (*MAMA* XI, no. 131).

MAMA XI, no. 131 including two photographs.

See Chapter 6.8 for divine functions; and Appendix: **[67]** Τετραπρόσωπο: 1.

