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ROCK RELIEFS OF ZEUS AND HIS THUNDERBOLT IN THE HIGH PLATEAU SETTLEMENTS OF KABALIS/KABALIA

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Abstract: The worship of Zeus, the head of the gods of Olympus, is more widespread in rural areas than in urban centers in the Kabalis/Kabalia region. Zeus, who is generally seen in cities for the prosperity and well-being of the city or for amity in treaties, has a different presence in rural areas than the established cult in the cities. Zeus, who is mostly associated with the sky and celestial phenomena, also manifests himself in rural life in agriculture and animal husbandry. In this context, the bust of Zeus and the reliefs, altars and architectural blocks bearing winged or wingless thunderbolts, the attribute of Zeus and recorded in ancient literature, were analyzed on the basis of rural life and especially seasonal migration. In addition to these finds, two altars, one with an inscription, registered in the inventory of the Burdur Archaeological Museum, were also included in the research, and, in relation to rural life and transhumance activities the characteristics related to this deity were investigated. This depiction, which is sometimes seen as a winged thunderbolt and sometimes as a thunderbolt carried by an eagle on the coins of the cities of the Kabalis/Kabalia Region during the Hellenistic Period, appears on rock reliefs, architectural blocks, and altars in the high plateaus, permanent or periodic rural settlements during the Roman Imperial Period. Through the identification of the finds in the region, including those with similar reliefs, a preliminary impression of the epithets with which this deity may have been worshipped has been attempted.

KABALIS/KABALIA YÜKSEK YAYLA YERLEŞİMLERİNDE ZEUS VE ŞİMŞEK DEMETİ KABARTMALARI

Anahtar Sözcükler: Zeus, Şimşek, Kanatlı Şimşek Kabartması, Kabalis/Kabalia, Kaya Kabartmaları, Sunaklar

Öz: Olympos tanrılarının başını çeken Zeus'a ilişkin tapınımlar Kabalis/Kabalia bölgesindeki kent merkezlerine nazaran kırsal alanda daha yaygındır. Kentlerde genellikle kentin refahına, selametine ya da anlasmalarda dostluk adına görülen Zeus kırsal alanda kentlerdeki kurumsallasan kültten farklı bir yapıya sahiptir. Coğunlukla gök ve gök olaylarıyla iliskilendirilen Zeus, tarım ve hayvancılık ile de kırsal yaşamda kendini gösterir. Bu bağlamda Uylupınar (Erken Kibyra) Yüzey Arastırmaları kapsamında tespit edilen Zeus büstü ile Zeus'un atribusu olan ve antik literatürde de ver edinen kanatlı ya da kanatsız şimşek demeti taşıyan kabartmalar, sunalar ve mimari bloklar kırsal yaşam ve özellikle mevsimlik göç bazında incelenmiştir. Söz konusu buluntuların yanı sıra Burdur Arkeoloji Müzesi envanterine kayıtlı biri yazıtlı öteki yazıtsız toplamda iki sunak da araştırmaya eklenerek bu tanrıya ilişkin özellikler kırsal yaşam ve yaylacılık faaliyetleri özelinde desteklenmeye çalışılmıştır. Hellenistik Dönem'de Kabalis/Kabalia Bölge kentlerinin sikke darplarında kimi zaman sadece kanatlı simsek demeti olarak kimi zamansa bir kartalın tasıdığı simsek demeti olarak karsılasılan bu motif Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde kaya kabartmaları, mimari bloklar ve sunaklar üzerinde yüksek yayla, kalıcı veya dönemsel kırsal yerlesimlerinde görülmeye başlandığı tespit edilmiştir. Benzer kabartmaları taşıyan buluntular da dahil olmak üzere bölgedeki buluntular da tespit edilerek bu tanrının hangi epithetlerle tapınım görmüş olabileceğine dair de bir ön izlenim oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Zeus, the chief god of the Olympian pantheon, is a god frequently encountered and worshipped in the Kabalia, especially in rural areas. According to Epicharmus, "the ancient Greeks called Zeus 'air'. Zeus is wind and cloud, then rain and the cold of rain, then wind and air again"¹. Zeus, who is associated with celestial activities, also plays a role in earthly phenomena as a result of weather events. The Stoic philosopher L. Annaeus Cornutus stated that he was also called $\Delta \epsilon \dot{\nu} \varsigma$ (Deus) and associated him with the ancient Greek verb $\delta \epsilon \dot{\nu} \epsilon \nu$ (deuein; = to moisten) in connection with his moistening of the soil². Considering this definition of Zeus and his connection to the sky and the earth, it seems logical to add motifs such as lightning, thunderbolts and eagles symbolizing his power in the sky, and bulls and grape clusters symbolizing life and livelihood, i.e., agriculture and animal husbandry, on the earth. This deity, significant in his agricultural aspect, was believed to dwell on mountains and mountain peaks that could be touched by the clouds that brought the rains, and when it came to animal husbandry, he was venerated in pastures and plateaus. For this reason, the cult areas were mostly mountain peaks or foothills, or even plateaus and agricultural areas.

Many academic studies have been conducted on Zeus and his epithets³ ($\epsilon \pi (\theta \epsilon \tau \alpha^4)$, and it has been shown that the god's power had an impact on almost every aspect of the ancient

¹ Epich. fr. 53 = Varro I.I. 5, 65.

² Corn. 2. For the etymology see, Cook 1914, 1; Beekes 2010, 498 s.v. Ζεύς; Henrichs 2010, 918-921.

³ Cook 1914; 1925; 1940; Schwabl 1972, 253-376; Şahin 2001; Akyürek Şahin 2002; Karayaka 2007; Henrichs 2010, 918-926.

⁴ Epitheton (ἐπ(θετον) are words that describe the gods' power, their beauty, their peculiarities, the places and institutions where they were worshipped, their treaties, their attributes related to the household, strangers, manual labor, fertility and health, and adjectives that limit their power (see also Chaniotis 2004, 1065). These adjectives are clearly not addressed to the deity himself (theos), but to his power and the sphere in which he is competent (daimon). This is characterized as the polyvalence of the Greek gods, see Pironti 2017, 555.

world. The 'bundle of winged lightning', the subject of this article, is an attribute of Zeus, associated with rapid lightning and representing power. This depiction, which is not very common in ancient writings, is associated with the god's weapon⁵ and the fear and death that it brings with it. The 'winged thunderbolt' is expressed in ancient Greek either by πτεροφόρος, meaning 'wing-bearing', or by πτερωτός and πτερόεις, meaning 'winged'⁵:

Aristophanes says in his Birds: κεραυνόν πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος⁷ Zeus' winged weapon, lightning,

and Sophocles in his Oedipus at Colonos: Διὸς πτερωτὸς ἥδε μ' αὐτίκ' ἄξεται βροντὴ πρὸς Ἅιδην[®] Zeus' winged thunder will take me to Hades swiftly.

This winged weapon, which is also reflected in Latin literature, is described by Vergilius as 'fulminis alis'⁹ = 'with winged lightning', and the same lightning is described by Valerius Flaccus as 'horrifici fulminis alis'¹⁰ = 'with horrible, winged lightning'.

As for the epigraphic literature, there is no direct reference to this iconography. Epithets such as soter (σωτήρ), galaktinos (γαλάκτινος), khalazios (χαλάζιος), bronton (βροντῶν) appear in inscriptions to which this image is attached as a general attribute¹¹. The latter three are related to rural life and celestial phenomena respectively.

In the Kabalia region¹², where the depictions in this paper are found, there are not many agriculture-related epithets related to Zeus. Generally seen with Demeter and Ge, the karpophoros ($\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\delta\phi\rho\rho\sigma\varsigma$) is exemplified with Zeus in this region¹³. Depicted as an ear of wheat tied in the shape of a thunderbolt¹⁴, the karpophoros is associated with the fertility of the crops and the soil, bringing abundant crops and harvests. An inscription from Çeltikçi in Sagalassos' territory indicates that the god in question had the power to protect the products of the imperial estates in the region¹⁵. Sabazios is another deity encountered in relation to agriculture in the demos of Ormaleis. This god is a Phrygian god of fertility and syncretised with Zeus in the region¹⁶. This is

- ⁶ For the meanings see LSJ 1883, 1339-1340, s.v.
- ⁷ Aristoph. Aves 1714.
- ⁸ Soph. Oid. K. 1460.
- ⁹ Verg. Aen. 5, 319.
- ¹⁰ Val. Fl. Arg. 2, 97.
- ¹¹ For Soter see, MAMA IX 56 and pl. C56; for Bronton see, Akyürek Şahin 2002: for stelae with inscriptions bearing lightning bolts see, Kat. No. 35, 132, 144, 175; for stelae with inscriptions bearing lightning bolts and eagle motifs see, Kat. No. 9, 28, 41, 74, 90, 142, 159, 207, 280; for Khalazios see, Gökalp Özdil 2019; Eraydın 2022, 140 fn. 11; for Galaktinos see below p. 45.
- ¹² For Kabalia see, Cramer 1832, 271; Arkwright 1914, 64-65; Magie 1950, I, 38, 241, 530; Bean 1956, 136-156; Milner 1998, xiii-xviii; I.Kibyra, p. 1-4; Corsten Hülden 2012; Beceren 2018; Özüdoğru 2018, 751 fn. 38; 2020, 24-38; Doğan 2019.

- ¹⁴ See, Horsley 2007, 112 no. 190-191 and pl. 153
- ¹⁵ Talloen 2015, 249.
- ¹⁶ Milner 1998, 48 no. 114; Talloen 2015, 16, 91. For Sabazios see, CCIS 1983-1989.

⁵ The weapon in question, the thunderbolt (κεραυνός), is directly related to thunder (βροντή) and lightning (στεροπή), which correspond to natural phenomena, and was forged by Brontes (Βρόντης), Steropes (Στερόπης) and Arges (Άργής), the children of Uranus and Gaia, who were extremely strong, powerful, and skilled in manual labor, see Hes. theog. 140ff. See for the winged thunderbolt, Aristoph. Aves 1714; Soph. Oid. K. 1460; Verg. Aen. 5, 319; Val. Fl. Arg. 2, 97.

¹³ I.Kibyra 95.

good evidence that Zeus is encountered in the region as the patron god of farming and farmers. A previously recorded oracle inscription from Tefenni shows the epithets xenios (ξένιος), Ammon (Ἄμμων), keraunios (κεραύνιος) and ktesios (κτήσιος) in relation to Zeus¹⁷. Among these, keraunios is directly associated with thunder and lightning, although no other example has yet been found in the region. Other epithets and acclamations in the region are soter (σωτήρ), megas (μέγας), megistos (μέγιστος), epekoos (ἐπήκοοος), used for well-being, salvation, glory and praise. In contrast, the lightning and thunderbolts in question could be the epiphany of Zeus, who did not descend to earth, or they could be associated with the epithets brontaios (βρονταῖος) or keraunios (κεραύνιος)¹⁸.

The results of our surveys¹⁹ in the Kabalis/Kabalia region and its high plateaus have provided us with significant information about the regional lifestyle, economy, and settlement types. Archaeological traces of the rural economy and related settlements increased in the region in the Roman imperial period. More than one hundred rock reliefs depicting local deities have been identified in connection with the increasing rural settlements associated with the new economy, which can be defined as transhumance²⁰. The high plateau in Balboura territory is one of the most important centers where rock reliefs associated with the economic mobility of agro-pastoralists (mobile farmers/shepherds) as well as periodic settlements have been intensively traced²¹. The most common reliefs of local deities associated with these periodic settlements in the high plateau are the reliefs of Dioscuri and the goddess²². In the plain settlements within the Kibyratis, reliefs of Kakasbos/Herakles/Maseis, which are characterized as Pisidian equestrian gods, are observed²³. Thirdly, although in small numbers, the triad of gods called Theoi Dikaioi/Agrioi/Skleroi were also found in the city of Balboura and its high plateaus²⁴. In addition to the reliefs of local deities, the reliefs of Artemis Lagbene²⁵ and Cybele Pothnia Theron ²⁶ are the singular deities encountered. Other rock reliefs found both in the high plateau and in the Pisidian countryside include reliefs of the demigod Heracles²⁷.

The subject of this study, the reliefs of Zeus and the thunderbolt, are frequently found on rock reliefs, altars, and architectural blocks in the Kabalis/Kabalia region. Zeus is mostly represented by means of his attribute, the thunderbolt, especially in connection with highland period sites. Only in two reliefs are the bust of Zeus and his bundle of thunderbolts seen together. In the research area and in the Pisidian countryside, depictions of Zeus and bundles of thunder-

¹⁷ For detailed information see, Milner 1998, 41 no. 100.6.

- ²¹ Dökü Harmanda 2020.
- ²² Smith 1997; 2011; Coulton 2012, 144-161; Talloen 2015, 1; Dökü 2018; 2019b, 2020; 2021b, 289-299; Beceren 2018, 11-18, 27-30, 151-61 kat. no. 128-143; 2019; Dökü Harmanda 2020; Özüdoğru 2020, 323-324; Dökü Kileci 2022, 105-124.
- ²³ Özsait 2006, 261; 2010, 131-32; Labarre et al. 2006, 109; Corsten and Hülden 2012; Kahya 2015; Dökü Baytak 2016, 284-285; Beceren 2018, 148-50 kat. no. 125-127; 2019, 247-248; Dökü 2018, 263; 2019a, 517; 2020, 219; 2021b, 289-299; Özüdoğru 2020, 322, 324; Dökü Kileci 2022.
- ²⁴ Smith 1997, 2011; Coulton 2012, 144-61; Talloen 2015, 1; Dökü 2018; 2019b; 2020; Beceren 2018, 11-18, 27-30, 151-161 kat. no. 128-43; 2019; Dökü – Harmanda 2020; Özüdoğru 2020, 323-24.
- Petersen von Luschan 1889, 168 no. 207; Robert 1983, 594-596; Smith 1997, 8-9; Karayaka 2007, 97; Coulton 2012, 145, 333, 340, 400, 403; Beceren 2018, 19, 21, 32-33; Dökü 2019b, 63; 2020, 223; Özüdoğru 2020, 324-25.
- ²⁶ Dökü 2019b, 526; Dökü Baytak 2018, 442; Özüdoğru 2020, 316.
- ²⁷ Özsait 2006, 261; Labarre et al. 2006, 109; Özsait 2010, 131-132; Corsten Hülden 2012; Kahya 2015; Dökü Baytak 2016, 284-285; Beceren 2018, 148-50 kat. no. 125-127; 2019, 247-48; Dökü 2018, 263; 2019a, 517; 2020, 219; Özüdoğru 2020, 322, 324.

¹⁸ Şahin 2001, 194.

 ¹⁹ Dökü – Baytak 2012; 2015a; 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; Dökü 2013; 2018, 260-267; 2019a; 2019b; 2020, 217-235; 2021b, 289-299; Dökü – Harmanda 2020; Dökü – Kileci 2022, 105-124; Dökü – Çomak 2023.

²⁰ Dökü – Baytak 2016; 2017c; Dökü 2018, 260-267; 2019a; 2019b; 2020a, 217-235; 2021b, 289-299; Dökü – Harmanda 2020; Dökü – Kileci 2022, 105-124.

bolts are seen not only on rock reliefs but also on altars made with local craftsmanship. On the front facades of the altars, a bust of Zeus is carved, and on the side facades, there are usually depictions of a winged thunderbolt, a bunch of grapes and a bull. The other area where the thunderbolt reliefs were employed was in built walls. However, it is not known in which buildings and in what sense the thunderbolt reliefs surviving on architectural fragments were used. In the Kibyratis, in the Pisidian countryside, on the hillside on the present-day road to the Karamanlı Kağılcık village, an eagle carved out of the bedrock and attached to the rock with only its feet is seen with an offering pit in front of a sculptural relief of an eagle²⁸.



Fig. 1: Map Showing the Locations of the Thunderbolt Reliefs Attested During the Surveys (Map provided via Google Earth).

The reliefs of Zeus and the thunderbolt are found in the Kabalis/Kabalia region, along with rural settlements beyond the central cities. In this article, the rural economic mobility in the region is evaluated together with periodic settlement forms and the rock reliefs mentioned above. Thus, an attempt is made to understand the lifestyle and economic mobility of the period. Starting with the Roman imperial period, the number of high plateau and lowland settlements increased and became the main source of livelihood for the central cities²⁹. The high plateau in Balboura territory was the most mobile part of this economy of living. The periodic settlements identified describe mobile farmers and shepherds (agro-pastoralists), where animal husbandry and agriculture were carried out in a cycle. Rock reliefs are the most important road guides of the migration to the plateau, which usually starts in the spring. Dioscuri and goddess reliefs are the signs of water sources on the road routes and stopping points that start in spring and ascend in elevation towards the plateau. The Kakasbos reliefs in rural Kibyratis and Pisidia are usually

²⁸ Özsait et al. 2005, 167-189; Dökü 2021b, 297 Res. 8 a,b.

²⁹ Dökü 2018; 2019b, 66.

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associated with lowland settlements. The Zeus and thunderbolt reliefs, which are our subject, are semantically differentiated by the fact that they are found both in lowland settlements and on high plateau peaks together with permanent, periodic settlement types. In the following, the reliefs of Zeus and the thunderbolt will be described settlement by settlement (Fig. 1) and the connection of the reliefs with these settlements and their meanings will be discussed.

ROCK RELIEFS IN THE SHAPE OF A BUST OF ZEUS HOLDING THUNDERBOLT Yıkıklık Locality

The Yıkıklık locality was identified during the 2018 surveys in Uylupınar (Early Kibyra) within the borders of the Karaköy village of Çavdır district and is a small agricultural area³⁰. On a slight slope, in the agricultural terraces, coarse Roman and Eastern Roman roof tiles, fragments of pipe drains and ceramics were found. There are almost no architectural traces except a simple doorway. On an independent rock in the area, in a south facing position, a bust relief of a clothed woman with her face destroyed and her head covered was observed. The face of the relief is broken, and no attribute is visible. Therefore, it is not clear whom the relief depicts³¹.

A relief bust of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his hand was found on an upturned rock about one meter below the relief of the woman bust at the Yıkıklık locality³² (Fig. 2a-b). The bust of Zeus measures 57x50 cm and is carved in a round panel. In the right hand of the depiction of Zeus, who is holding a thunderbolt with three rays. The thunderbolt is 35 cm long and 16 cm wide. Zeus is shown here with wavy hair and a relatively short beard. Facial details are quite primitive and coarse. The fold under his long neck indicates that he is dressed. His right arm is bent at the elbow and holds a bundle of three rays in the center of his left breast. The left arm is not visible, being obscured by the body.



Fig. 2a-b: Yıkıklık Locality, Relief of Zeus Holding a Thunderbolt and Detail View.

- ³⁰ Dökü 2018; 2019b, 66; Beceren 2018, 31 kat. no. 144.
- ³¹ Dökü 2018; 2019b, 66; Beceren 2018, 31 kat. no. 144.
- ³² Dökü 2018; 2019b, 66 Res. 2; Beceren 2018, 20 kat. no. 119; Özüdoğru 2020, 324, 347.

The archaeological evidence at the locality of Yıkıklık indicates that the area was used for agricultural activities rather than as a settlement. On the other hand, it is important to ask with which epithet Zeus, holding a thunderbolt in his hand, is interpreted here. Unlike the thunderbolt reliefs that are the subject of this article, here Zeus is represented with a bust next to the thunderbolt. Here, Zeus is seen to have a different meaning than his connection with agriculture or animal husbandry. In the area called Yıkıklık, there are dense rubble stone ruins that have been exposed by natural events in the form of a crevice curving along a straight line that gives the area its name (Fig. 3a-b). According to the information received verbally from geologist C. Yaltırak, this situation was caused by a glacial deposit thousands of years ago. Therefore, the engraving of Zeus with the thunderbolt in this area must be due to the rubble stone destruction caused by the glacial sediment. The reason why there is a relief in this area is probably because this debris, which was also seen in antiquity, was thought to have been formed by the thunderbolts of Zeus.



Fig. 3a-b: Photographs Showing the Rubble Stone Ruins and Details at the Yıkıklık Locality.

Yazır Lake - İnönü Locality

Traces of a place were found in the hilly area of İnönü³³, located southeast of Yazır Lake, whose reliefs were documented during the surveys in Uylupınar (Early Kibyra)³⁴ in 2017. Roof tiles and pottery pieces were observed in the area, and a workplace and a weight stone were documented. High walls made of large rubble stones are observed in the hilly area at the upper level of the İnönü locality of Yazır Plateau, forming a context with small separate rooms. A large area in which these rooms constitute a temporary settlement on the high plateau, is surrounded by walls, which is probably used for security purposes during the Roman Imperial Period. The ceramics dating to the Roman and Eastern Roman periods indicate that this area was used intensively. A broken sarcophagus lid with a lion sprawling on top, a sarcophagus body with a broken garland and podium blocks were found in the flat area at the lower level of the İnönü locality³⁵.

Relief depictions of local gods are quite dense in the area. These include four reliefs dedicated to the triune gods named as Theoi Dikaioi/Theoi Agrioi/Theoi Skleroi and reliefs of two stelae which are thought to be related to the tombs. In front of these stelae, at the crossroads

³⁵ Dökü 2020, 217-235.

³³ Dökü 2020, 217-235.

³⁴ Dökü 2019a.

of the present road, there is a primitive bust of a man with no details visible and a thunderbolt next to it (Fig. 4a-b). Largely destroyed today, the thunderbolt and the bust of Zeus measure 25 cm in width and 30 cm in height. The thunderbolt, with five rays above and three rays below, is tied in the middle by a taenia. The dimensions are 30 cm in height and 29 cm in width³⁶.



Fig. 4a-b: İnönü Locality, Thunderbolt Relief and its Photogrammetric View.

The relief, which is quite small, is clearly connected with the temporary settlement at İnönü, which was on the route of mobile shepherds during the Roman period. This periodic settlement is located on the shore of Yazır Lake, with its wide and wet plain/pasture in front of it, an area where agriculture and animal husbandry are practiced in parallel even today. Therefore, the relief of Zeus and the thunderbolt must have been revered in this area both with the epithet of bronton, which means the bearer of rain and fertility in agricultural terms, and because of its connection with animal husbandry.



Fig. 5a-b: Fasıllar Locality, Zeus and Thunderbolt Relief.

The reliefs of the bust of Zeus and the thunderbolt, which are observed at the Yıkıklık and İnönü localities, are not frequently seen. A similar example is found in a niche in a Roman necropolis in the village of Fasıllar, outside this region, in rural Lycaonia. In the rock relief, which A. Baldıran states to be a local type of Zeus³⁷, the face of the bust of Zeus is highly deformed. He is wearing a himation that leaves the right shoulder exposed. Over the right shoulder of the bust is a winged thunderbolt with six rays, while a scepter is seen over the left shoulder (Fig. 5a-b).

The reliefs of the bust of Zeus and the thunderbolt in the Kabalis/Kabalia region, which can be linked to the settlements in detail above, must be associated with fertility in the agricultural field. In Lycaonia, on the other hand, the relief seen next to the rock-carved chamosorion necropolis and even next to a tomb, with the difference in context, carried a different meaning.

THUNDERBOLTS AS ROCK RELIEFS Yarıkkaya Locality

Within the scope of the survey in 2017, traces of settlement were found in the Yarıkkaya locality within the borders of the Kozağacı village in the Çavdır district of Burdur province³⁸. During the investigations in this area, rubble stone, dry masonry-based spaces were observed. It was observed that these spaces, which were not organized adjacent to each other, were single-roomed. Roof tiles and ceramics dating from the Roman imperial period to the Eastern Roman period were found inside the rooms. In the southwest of the rooms, there are two sarcophagus lids, on top of which are sprawling lions, without sarcophagi but with bedrock podium blocks. This settlement was among the temporary/periodic settlements used by mobile farmers/shepherds in the high plateau. The two sarcophagus lids are of Balbouran type sarcophagi³⁹, and they are among the data indicating that the plateau was actually within Balbouran city territory.

Observed on a rock in the northern extension of the settlement at the Yarıkkaya locality, is a relief of the thunderbolt carved on a square panel measuring 50x40 cm oriented in the northeast



Fig. 6: Yarıkkaya Locality, Winged Thunderbolt Relief.

direction (Fig. 6)⁴⁰. The relief is facing the small plain and the road in front of the settlement used by the inhabitants of the settlement. The thunderbolt with five rays is tied in the center and the taenias are flying on both sides. The presence of thunderbolt reliefs on road networks and associated with temporary settlements is linked to both the periodic settlement and the people using the road. The relief is also facing the small agricultural field in front of it. In addition, modern shepherds speak with fear of the intensity of the lightning that falls in the area in the autumn.

- ³⁷ Baldıran 2008, 36-37; 2015, 417-420.
- ³⁸ Dökü 2018, 264 Res. 6; Beceren 2018, 20 kat. no. 120; Özüdoğru 2020, 324, 348.

Dökü 2018, 264 Res. 6; Beceren 2018, 20 kat. no. 120; Özüdoğru 2020, 324, 348.

³⁹ For the sarcophagus lids with sprawling lions see Petersen – von Luschan 1889, 159, 161, 165-167, 171, 183; Bean 1948, 40-58; 1954, 490, 491 fig. 3, 4; 1956, 136-156; Milner 2004, 54, 71, 74, fig. 31, 65; Money 1990, 29-54; French 1994, 87, 88 fig. 4. 10. 1; Küçük 1999; Özsait 2007, 466, 467; 2008, 312, 314 fig. 8; Spratt – Forbes 2008, 268, 269, 273; Coulton 2012, 170-174, Tablo 16. 4; Corsten – Hülden 2013, 194, 196; Dökü 2013, 248; 2018, 260-267; 2019b, 68; 2021a, 136, 145 fig. 2; Dökü – Baytak 2016, 290-292 fig. 7-8.

Öreneğrek Locality

During the 2019 Uylupınar Early Kibyra surveys, the site of Öreneğrek was identified, 3 km east of the Kırkpınar recreation area in the Altınyayla District of Burdur⁴¹. There are rooms dated to the Roman Period in the area, most of which have preserved walls. Pottery and many tile fragments were observed in the settlement area spread over a large area. Two stele reliefs were identified and documented in the rocky area 100 m south of the settlement area. Also, as in the other settlements observed in this high plateau, a sarcophagus vessel cut from the bedrock but left unfinished is observed next to the stele reliefs⁴².

A relief of a winged thunderbolt was found in the settlement⁴³ (Fig. 7a-b). The winged thunderbolt is in a rectangular frame measuring 90x55 cm, facing north. The depth of the frame with the relief is 4 cm and the height is 80 cm. The thunderbolt has five rays of a thickness of 3 cm. There is a taenia in the center of the thunderbolt, and the width of the wings opening from it to the sides is 45 cm.



Fig. 7a-b: General and Detail View of the Winged Thunderbolt Relief at Öreneğrek Locality.

Based on the dense traces of space found in the settlement of Öğreneğrek locality, it can be said that this was a permanent, rural settlement. The difference from the settlements described above is that it is located on a slope and has no agricultural land. Here, the relief of the winged thunderbolt faces the settlement, not the road or the land used for agriculture. Therefore, based on the use of geographical space, it should be a rural settlement for livestock farming. It can be understood that a sacred area was created here with the relief of the winged thunderbolt.

Üyük Locality

Surveys in 2018 in Uylupınar Early Kibyra revealed an east-west oriented terrace wall built with large rubble stones on a high cliff in the location called Üyük on the southwestern slope

- ⁴¹ Dökü 2021a.
- 42 Dökü 2021a, 137-38.
- ⁴³ Dökü 2021a, 137-38.

of Karaköy-Bölmepinar Village⁴⁴. On the 1 m wide and 2.50 m high terrace wall, ceramics dating back to the Roman Imperial and Eastern Roman periods were found. In this area, traces of foundations carved into the bedrock and roof tiles belonging to the rooms were documented, spread over the entire rock in a quite dense manner. As can be seen from the architectural and ceramic finds around the village, it was a village settlement within the Kibyra territory during the Roman period.

At the western end of the cliff at the location called Üyük, there is a 97x30 cm relief of a thunderbolt with four rays carved in a very primitive way in a 10 cm deep smoothed area on the rock (Fig. 8a-b)⁴⁵. The relief of the thunderbolt, which the locals call a relief of a hand, measures 30 cm in length and 17 cm in width. The relief carved on the road-facing side of the rural settlement is important, as it shows this type of relief was found not only in periodic settlements on the high plateau, but also in lowland settlements.



Fig. 8a-b: Thunderbolt Relief in the Niche and the Clear Image Obtained by Photogrammetry.

While rock reliefs of thunderbolts are mostly found in the rural settlements of the Kabalis/ Kabalia region, they are also observed in the Pisidia region during the Roman period. The first of these was observed in the sanctuary in front of the cult area of the Eurymedon Zindan cave, located 2 km east of the Aksu district of Isparta province. The votive stelae dedicated to Zeus and the reliefs of thunderbolts show that Zeus was worshipped here in addition to Eurymedon and Cybele⁴⁶. As a second example in Pisidia, a relief of a thunderbolt on a rectangular altar carved on the rock was also found in Kelbessos, a settlement in the territory of Termessos and strategically located on the border of Pisidia and Lycia⁴⁷. As research increases with these high

- ⁴⁵ Dökü 2020, 230 Res. 9a.
- ⁴⁶ Dedeoğlu 2005a, 157 Res. 6; 2005b, 99, 102 Fig. 10.
- ⁴⁷ Özdilek 2008, 334.

⁴⁴ Dökü 2020, 230 Res. 9a-b.

mountain settlements in the Pisidian countryside, it is certain that the number of thunderbolt rock reliefs will increase.

ALTARS DEPICTING THUNDERBOLTS Hisarardı Village

Surveys were conducted in Hisarardı Village, which lies approximately 2 km southwest of the Uylupinar Village in Gölhisar District. In and around the village, there are Late Iron Age lakeside settlements associated with the settlement of Uylupinar (Early Kibyra) and stone masonry tumuli, which are quite numerous in the region. In and around the village center, architectural remains and ceramic finds belonging to settlements dating to the Roman and Eastern Roman periods are guite abundant. This area within the territory of Kibyra, like the other settlements to the east of Lake Uylupinar, has the characteristics of a scattered village utilizing the fertile plain formed by the recession of the lake. Although no rock reliefs were encountered during the surveys in and around the village, a 36 cm high and 25 cm wide votive stele fragment with a relief of Kakasbos was found in the village.

An altar found in the same area is also significant (Fig. 9). The quadrangular altar made of limestone is 74 cm high and 27 cm wide. Only one side was used as a depiction area. On the upper part is a 30 cm high, four-rayed thunderbolt, crudely carved; on the lower is a humped bull, which is also seen on the coins of Kibyra⁴⁸. This altar is highly primitive in its local workmanship⁴⁹.



Fig. 9: Stele with Winged Thunderbolt and Humped Bull Motif Found in Hisarardı Village.

The altar has a different iconography from the reliefs of thunderbolts found on the high plateau. This thunderbolt is quite primitive, in the form of straight lines, without detail and with four rays. Beneath the thunderbolt is a humped bull with both forelegs raised in the air. The village of Hisarardi, where the altar is located, is in the territory of Kibyra. The humped bull is a figure also seen on the Hellenistic and Roman coins of Kibyra. On the coins of Kibyra, the bull is depicted leaning forward and extending its right leg forward, bending its right leg at the knee to attack⁵⁰. The bull on the altar, dated to the Roman period, must be a local interpretation of the humped bull on the coins and it appears on this altar as the attribute of Zeus⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Although the bull is associated in myths with Zeus taking the form of a bull and kidnapping Europa (Apollod. bibl. 3, 1, 1; Moschos 2), in rural life it is identified with animal husbandry. For examples of humped bull depicting coins see, SNG Cop Phrygia 270-271; BMC Phrygia 21; RPC II 1267.

⁴⁹ Dökü – Baytak 2015b, 221.

⁵⁰ For the coins see fn. 48.

⁵¹ For the relation between Zeus and bull, see Özüdoğru 2020, 292-294.

Yağpınar Neighborhood of Kargalı Village

In the Yağpınar neighborhood, located 2 km east of Kargalı Village, west of Hisarardı Village, there are scattered ceramic finds dating from the Roman period. This area must have been a village connected to Kibyra during the Roman period, like Hisarardı village described above, with its plains and water sources overlooking the lake.

In the square of the neighborhood, a square altar made of limestone was found during the construction of a canal⁵². On one side of this altar, a five-rayed and winged thunderbolt measuring 74x48 cm can be seen (Fig. 10a-b). Next to the thunderbolt is a broken figure. This figure, which is almost the same size as the thunderbolt, is understood to be a standing person from photogrammetric analysis. It is most likely depicted with the figure's face facing the light-ning. However, due to the destruction of the figure, it is not possible to provide a clear opinion as to who was depicted.



Fig. 10a-b: Altar with Winged Thunderbolt and Human Relief and Photogrammetry Result.

The Forest Nursery at Kibyra

The altar of Zeus, which is preserved in the garden of the Forest Nursery in the west of Kibyra, attracts attention with its winged five-rayed thunderbolt on its front face (Fig. 11a-b)⁵³. The front side of the rectangular altar depicts the thunderbolt of Zeus, while the other sides are decorated with a Pisidian shield, a wreath, and a rosette. However, what distinguishes this depiction from the others is the depiction of a headless bird with its tail feathers and wings in the center of the thunderbolt. This altar in the Forest Nursery must have come from one of the dozens of rural settlements, large and small, that we have identified in the territory of Kibyra⁵⁴.

⁵² Dökü 2014, 234-235 Res. 7.

- ⁵³ Tarkan 2011, 32-33 kat. no. 16; Özüdoğru 2020, 332.
- ⁵⁴ Dökü Baytak 2017, 261-268.



Fig. 11a-b: Altar of Zeus in the Forest Nursery at Kibyra (Source: Tarkan 2011, 32-33 cat. no. 16).

Altar Depicting a Thunderbolt from Burdur Archaeology Museum

An altar of unknown provenance with the inventory No. 233.93.94 is in the Burdur Archaeology Museum (Fig. 12). The altar measures 65x41x36 cm and has upper and lower projecting profiles. There is an elevation measuring 31x31 cm at the top of the altar. The body of the altar is 37 cm high, and, in this area, it bears a 33 cm high three-rayed thunderbolt on the front face. Each ray is about 5 cm thick, and the bond is 6 cm. The rear side of the altar is rough, and the other sides are smooth. The altar does not carry any inscription.

Altar Sacred to Zeus Galaktinos from Burdur Archaeology Museum

A marble altar (Fig. 13) of unknown origin is in the Burdur Archaeological Museum. The upper part measures 26x21 cm with a projecting profile of 4 cm from the top and 7 cm from the bottom. It bears a four-line ancient Greek inscription, the first line of which is on the profile projection. The 30 cm high body is framed by a one cm molding on the right and left sides, within which the inscription and a winged thunderbolt in the form of a wheat bundle can be seen. The thunderbolt is finely carved and has six rays. There is a bud at the top and bottom, dividing the rays into two equal parts. The length is 22 cm. The taenias of the bundle are tied in the center and spread out on both sides and flutter like wings. The altar is plainly carved and profiled on all four sides, with a faded cross carved later on the left side. The ancient Greek inscription bears the letters broken-bar alpha, angular sigma, kappa with small ears, and omega with an inverted horn and two separate lines.

Find spot: Unknown. Inv. no.: -Dimensions: h.: 53 cm; w.: 25.5 cm (shaft) – 26 cm (profile); d.: 20-22 cm (shaft) – 26-28 cm (upper and lower profile); l.h.: 2 cm.

Date: Roman Imperial Period (due to lettering).

Διὶ Γαλακτίν[ῳ]	The priest Menis, son of Papas,
Μῆνις Παπου	(dedicated this altar)
ἰερεὺς μετὰ τέ-	with his children
κν ^(relief) ων.	to Zeus Galaktinos.

L. 1: The epithet Galaktinos derives from τὸ γάλα, meaning milk. This epithet meaning milkwhite was first recorded by W. Ramsay in 1884 during his second trip to Lydia⁵⁵. The inscription reveals that the people of Etsia offered offerings to Zeus Galaktinos for their crops in accordance with Apollo's order⁵⁶. An inscription at Lyendos (Aktas, Uşak) in Lydia records this epithet as Zeus Galaktios⁵⁷. Apart from Lydia, it has also been recorded in Konana of Pisidia, which is localized in Gönen, today's Isparta⁵⁸. The Konana inscription is on a libation altar decorated with a bull. This attribute of Zeus must be related to the fact that he was fed by the she-goat Amaltheia after his birth. Therefore, he was the protector of the milk animals and, according to the inscription found by W. Ramsay, of the crops⁵⁹. An epithet associated with milk in connection with crops can only be explained by animal husbandry in pasture and grazing areas. The inscription must have been brought to the museum from within the borders of Burdur, and thus from the Pisidia region.



Fig. 12: Altar Depicting a Thunderbolt, Registered in the Inventory of Burdur Archaeology Museum.



Fig. 13: Altar Sacred to Zeus Galaktinos.

55 Ramsay 1890, 235.

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- ⁵⁶ See also: Robert 1955, 240, 244; Schwabl 1972, 294.
- ⁵⁷ Although it has been suggested that the epithet Galaktios comes from a settlement called Galaktion, recent studies suggest that it would be the same as Galaktinos. See, de Hoz 1999, 49, 294 no. 61.30; see also Şahin 2001, 52.
 ⁵⁸ Jaharra et al. 2010, 85 of Jurgan 2012, 122 mp. 20.
- ⁵⁸ Labarre et al. 2010, 85 cf. Iversen 2012, 123 no. 29.
- ⁵⁹ See also, Calder 1912, 248.

LL. 2-3: Papas or Papes⁶⁰. Menis is seen as a priest of Zeus Galaktinos. In this case, a rural temple area should be expected.

In the rural settlements of Kabalis/Kabalia, Pisida⁶¹, Phrygia⁶² and Lykonia⁶³ a large number of altars dedicated to Zeus have been found. On most of these altars, the front face shows a clothed bust of Zeus, while on the side faces there is a bunch of grapes, almost like Dionysus, indicating that he was a god of fertility. In contrast, the bull is not depicted. In the examples found in Kabalis/Kabalia and rural settlements of Pisidia, the thunderbolt reliefs represent Zeus alone.

Sanctuary of Zeus in Kağılcık

A sanctuary of Zeus, which was identified during the surveys conducted by M. Özsait, is observed on the conical hill rising on the roadside next to the Roman settlement in the Karamanlı Kağılcık village⁶⁴. At the summit of this small hillock, next to a large round offering bowl carved on rock, a relief of an eagle representing Zeus, the most magnificent of the Olympian gods, clings to the rock with only its feet. It is understood that this sanctuary, which is probably located in the Roman settlement and on the antique route, was organized not only for the inhabitants but also for those who used the road. In the Pisidian countryside, there is no other open-air sanctuary with an offering pit dedicated to Zeus and an eagle depiction of Zeus' attribute right next to it.

THUNDERBOLT RELIEFS ON ARCHITECTURAL BLOCKS Tandır Locality

During the surveys conducted in the Tandır locality situated 4 km south of Ören Pınar and northwest of Yazır Lake, architectural block fragments used in the construction of the fountain in front of the Yörükler Fountain were documented. Among the blocks are a fragment of a column and a half block. On both sides of the block, there is a relief of a thunderbolt, of which the upper half has been destroyed⁶⁵.

In the rural settlements of Kabalis/Kabalia, the reliefs of thunderbolts on architectural blocks mentioned above are not as common as on rock reliefs or altars. The reason for this is the periodic use of rural settlements and the use of simple rubble stones for this purpose. However, the thunderbolt on the architectural block at the Tandır locality mentioned above is related to the settlement of Çakıryurdu⁶⁶. Architectural details such as limestone blocks, columns, etc. indicate that the area was used as a 'kome' over a long period of time. It is the central settlement of the high plateau. On the other hand, it is unclear in which building and for what purpose the block with the thunderbolt relief was used. A similar architectural block with a thunderbolt was found on the Propylon where access was provided to the North (Sacred) Agora of Laodicea. The relief is traced on the cassette section of the arch cassette block and eagle depiction is also seen on the blocks belonging to the building⁶⁷. The Propylon, according to C. Şimşek, opens to a

⁶⁷ Yılmaz Kolancı 2018, 381-383 Res. 360.

⁶⁰ Zgusta 1964, 407-409, §1191-1, §1191-2, §1191-3, §1191-4. See also, LGPN V.C s.v. Μῆνις and Παπας / Παπης.

⁶¹ See for Kelbessos, Özdilek 2008, 334 Res. 12. For the examples from the Antalya Archaeology Museum, see Gökalp Özdil 2020.

⁶² MAMA VI 87. This inscription is either a local deity or an epithet of Trajan, see Robert 1954, 165 no. 42. See also, Söğüt – Şimşek 2001, 279-332 Res. 19.

⁶³ For the cult and altars of Zeus in Lycaonia, see Baldıran 2008; 2015, 417- 420; Baldıran – Gider 2014.

⁶⁴ Özsait et al. 2005, 168, see also p. 181 Fig. 12-14; Dökü 2021b, 297 Res. 8a, b.

⁶⁵ Dökü 2018, 264.

⁶⁶ Dökü 2018, 264-265.

temenos where a temple of Zeus was located⁶⁸. According to S. Durugönül, in Cilicia, the reliefs of thunderbolts were found on the door lintels of farm buildings, dwellings and towers in the rural settlements in the territory of Olba⁶⁹. In addition to these civil structures, H. Şahin identified thunderbolts on the lintels of a temple/monumental tombs in Mountainous Cilicia⁷⁰. In this region, the reliefs of thunderbolts are found not only on civil buildings but also on monumental tombs, thus establishing the connection of Zeus with the tombs. Similarly, architectural blocks with reliefs of thunderbolts were also found by A. Baldıran in rural Lycaonia⁷¹.

Zeus and the Thunderbolt on the City Coins of Kabalis/Kabalia and Pisidia

The thunderbolt, the attribute of Zeus, is one of the most widely used depictions in ancient art and coins. On the reverse of the silver coins of Balboura⁷² and Oinoanda⁷³ from the cities of Kabalis/Kabalia, the thunderbolt was displayed in the Hellenistic period.

On the coins of Oinoanda, the thunderbolt does not appear alone. Here it is between the talons of the eagle⁷⁴, another attribute of Zeus (Fig. 14a). On the reverse of the coins of Balboura, a winged thunderbolt is seen in a wreath (Fig. 14b).



Fig. 14: Coins from Oinoanda (a; see WildWinds 1), Balboura (b; see WildWinds 2) and Kibyra (c, d, e; see respectively RPC I, 2885; IV.2, 1946; SNG von Aulock 3739).

The thunderbolt reliefs identified as rock reliefs are mostly located in Balboura territory. As explained in detail above, it is understood that the rock reliefs were made during the Roman Imperial period, based on the contexts found in the settlements. The coins of Balboura, on the other hand, date to the Hellenistic period. Therefore, there is a considerable time gap between the coins and the rock reliefs. However, the existence of a significant worship of Zeus in the city

- ⁶⁸ Şimşek 2013, 281; Yılmaz Kolancı 2018, 381-383 Res. 360.
- ⁶⁹ Durugönül 1998.
- **70** Şahin 2007, 115-179.
- ⁷¹ Baldıran 2015, 417-420.
- ⁷² BMC Lycia 2 Lev. X,8.
- ⁷³ BMC Lycia 1 Lev. XV,9.
- ⁷⁴ According to Pliny (nat. 10, 4, 15) the primary reason for attributing the eagle to Zeus is that this bird is immune to weather phenomena such as lightning and thunder.

of Balboura in the Hellenistic period is certain. With the increase in the economic use of the highlands during the Roman period, it would not be surprising that this cult spread to the countryside with the meanings of rain-maker and fertility-bringer.

In Kibyra during the Roman Empire, Zeus carrying a thunderbolt is seen standing on coins minted during the reign of Tiberius (Fig. 14c) and sitting on a throne during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Diadumenianus (Fig. 14d-e, respectively)⁷⁵.

In addition to Kibyratis and Kabalis/Kabalia, the mountainous Pisidian cities of the Hellenistic period also depict the thunderbolt on their coins.

In Kremna, one of the Pisidian mountain cities, coins dated to the end of the first century B.C. show the head of Zeus on the obverse and a winged thunderbolt on the reverse⁷⁶.

Above, we have described in detail the archaeological material from the high plateaus

and rural areas of Pisidia, where Zeus was represented by the thunderbolt. However, the coins of Selge are the most striking example of Zeus being a powerful deity in Kabalis/Kabalia and Pisidia and the widespread use of the thunderbolt in his depiction. The silver coins of Selge in the Hellenistic period are characterized by coins in which Zeus is worshipped with the attribute of the thunderbolt⁷⁷. These coins show the head of Heracles on the obverse, and a winged thunderbolt and a bow on the reverse. Therefore, it emphasizes the significance of Zeus and Heracles for the city from the second century B.C. onwards. On the coins of the city during the Roman Empire period, a quite different expression is observed. On the reverse side of the coins, two gnarled and leafless trees are seen on a rectangular platform, which is accessed by a ladder. In front of the platform are two altars, often with fire burning on them. Above or next to the platform, on the right is a thunderbolt, while on the left is a gnarled stick. The architectural platform depicted on the reverse of the coin



Fig. 15: Selge Coin Dated to the Reign of Hadrian (Source: RPC III 280).

is, according to Nollé⁷⁸, a place of worship sacred to Zeus and Heracles. There are also Roman imperial silver coins depicting the thunderbolt and bow on the reverse⁷⁹ (Fig. 15).

In the aforementioned coin issues, the thunderbolt represents Zeus in the cities of Kabalis/Kabalia and Pisidia from the Hellenistic period onwards. This iconography, which existed in the cities, was carried to the rural areas in the Roman period, where we have identified archaeological traces, with rock reliefs and altars.

⁷⁵ BMC Phrygia 39, 56; SNG Cop Phrygia 280, 288; von Aulock 3739; Tübingen 4101; RPC I 2884A-B, 2885; IV.2 1946. The depiction of Zeus, with or without the thunderbolt, has a prominent place in Kibyra. The depictions seen since the time of Augustus can be traced almost continuously until the third century A.D., see Kileci 2022, 189-192.

 ⁷⁶ BMC Lycia 3 pl. XXXV,3.
 ⁷⁷ BMC Lycia 47, 50

⁷⁷ BMC Lycia 47, 50.
⁷⁸ No. 16 (2015)

⁷⁸ Nollé 2015.

⁷⁹ RPC III 2819, 2820; IV.3 4959; IX 1040, 1043.

CONCLUSION AND ASSESSMENT

In the Kabalis/Kabalia region, which includes the cities of Kibyra, Oinoanda, Boubon and Balboura, many records associated with Zeus are encountered both in the cities and in rural and high plain areas. In the agreements between these cities and in some inscriptions, Zeus appears as philios⁸⁰ as a sign of amity and soter⁸¹ as savior, while in the countryside he is glorified with adjectives such as megas, megistos and epekoos⁸². Zeus was also identified with Sabazios, the Phrygian god of fertility, in this region and was also known as Zeus Sabazios⁸³. However, no thunderbolt nor a bust of Zeus is found in the material cultural remains that contain these epithets. On the other hand, the inscriptions found in and near this region, where the epithet karpophoros is recorded, contain the thunderbolt of Zeus⁸⁴. The best example of this is a relief shaped like an ear of wheat tied in the shape of a wheat spike but resembling a thunderbolt (Fig. 16). Considering the examples from outside this region and the altar in the inventory of the Burdur Archaeology Museum, this relief and its derivatives are also seen with the soter, galaktinos, bronton and khalazios⁸⁵.

In the city centers of Kabalis/Kabalia and Pisidia, there are very few examples where the thunderbolt attribute alone represents Zeus. On the high plateau, in permanent or periodic rural settlements, the thunderbolt is intensively traced on rock reliefs, altars, and architectural blocks. This can be

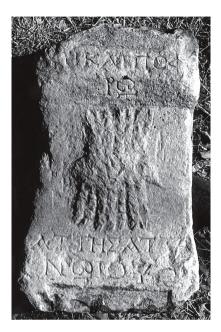


Fig. 16: Wheat Bundle Designed in the Form of a Winged Thunderbolt (Source: Horsley 2007, 112 no. 190-191 and pl. 153).

seen through an understanding of the economy created by the mobile farmers/shepherds on the high plateaus, detailed above. Therefore, not only the reliefs and inscriptions, but also the settlement patterns and the interpretation of the region with its local deities, such as the Dioscuri and the goddess, the triune gods and Kakasbos / Herakles, reveal that the thunderbolt reliefs are linked to agricultural productivity, animal husbandry and protection.

- ⁸¹ I.Kibyra 44A-E, 78, 95; Petersen von Luschan 1889, 187 no. 246-248; Milner 1998, 44 no. 108; SEG 48.1590.
- ⁸² Ramsay 1895, 307 no. 114; Corsten et al. 1998, 55-57; SEG 48.1605, 61.1235; I.Kibyra 79; Corsten 2015, 7-10.

- ⁸⁴ I.Kibyra 95.
- ⁸⁵ See fn. 11 and p. 45.

⁸⁰ I.Kibyra 2; IAph2007 8. 210; SEG 62.1377

⁸³ For Zeus Sabazios see also, Milner 1998, 48 no. 114; SEG 48.1585; CCIS II, 19 no. 43; Kileci 2022, 68-71.

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