

Altan Çilingirođlu'na Armađan
**YUKARI DENİZİN KIYISINDA
URARTU KRALLIĐI'NA
ADANMIŞ BİR HAYAT**

Studies in Honour of Altan Çilingirođlu
**A LIFE DEDICATED TO URARTU
ON THE SHORES OF THE UPPER SEA**



ARKEOLOĐİ VE SANAT YAYINLARI

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ARKEOLOJİ VE SANAT YAYINLARI

REGIONAL CULTS IN THE LYCOS VALLEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

Celal ŞİMŞEK*

“Bizlere birçok konuda yol gösteren, Türk Arkeolojisinin gelişmesi ve tanınmasında büyük katkıları olan, gerçek bilim adamı, babacan insan Prof.Dr. Altan Çilingiroğlu’na bugüne kadar olduğu gibi bundan sonraki yaşamında da sağlık ve başarı dilekelerimle”

The Lycos Valley (Çürüksu), in the boundaries of modern Denizli, has served as the nexus of transportation routes throughout the region from ancient times until today. Its important location facilitates easy access to and from the places in its vicinity. The valley is on the crossing point of the regions of Caria, Lydia and Phrygia (Fig. 1-2). For this reason, the history of the region is as old, well known and rich as the history of Anatolia. The valley is situated on a small, but fertile plain. It is surely due to the suitable climate and its location on the ancient route passages that the variety and richness seen in the Lycos Valley has come about.¹

Both diverse regional and national characteristic belief systems have developed in the site by the regional nomadic peoples bringing in their different religions. The belief in the mother Goddess was common among the nomadic tribes in the region. They dedicated open-air sanctuaries to Cybele, in a wide area within the Phrygian region during the ancient ages.² Besides this, belief in the Greek god Zeus, major gods and goddesses and emperor cults occurred.³

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1 ŞİMŞEK 1999: 322. The most important ancient cities of the Valley: Colossai, located on the northwest of the mountain Kadmos (Honaz), is one of the most ancient settlements. Laodikeia, which was built in the very centre and east of the Valley in about the middle of the 3rd c. BC (The Asopos Hill excavations brought to light architecture, pottery, obsidian and flint stone finds reaching back to the Late Chalcolithic (3500 BC)-Early Bronze Age (3000 BC). Excavations in the North Necropolis and surveys in the west of the city indicated coins and potsherds going back to the fourth century BC. Excavations have shown that the city is a typical Anatolian foundation), Hierapolis, which was built in the west of the Valley in the early 2nd c. BC, Tripolis, which was built in the northwest part of the Meander River; Attouda, which was built on the Northwest foot of the mountain Salbacos (Babadağ), and finally, Trapezopolis and Karura. Laodikeia is in the centre of them all. It was on the crossing point of the roads coming from the south, north, east and west of the Valley in the ancient ages.

2 Most of them lean against a rock among the green countryside. See ERHAT 1978: 199; ŞİMŞEK 2007a: 23-38, Çiz. 1-3, Res. 45-56; ŞİMŞEK 2007b: 736-737, Res. 73-78; ŞİMŞEK 2008: 59-61, Res. 37-40; HASPELS 1971; SIVAS 1999.

3 RAMSAY 1895: 6-7; ŞİMŞEK 2000: 2; ŞİMŞEK 2007c: 227-245, Res. 78abcde-79abcd; D’ANDRIA 2001: 106-108.

Matriarchal worship was dominant in Lydia whereas patriarchal worship was dominant in Phrygia and Caria.⁴ The regional worship has, furthermore, gained dominance in Anatolia.

The Seleucid colony settled itself for the first time in Phrygia and Lydia during the Hellenistic age. Apart from belief in the Greek Pantheon, the cults of Zeus Aseis and Isis mixed with oriental cultures and beliefs also appeared in Laodikeia, which originally belonged to the Seleucid colony.⁵

The nomadic regional people developed a characteristic belief system for themselves in the mountain where they lived—Çökelez—against whose foot leans the ancient city of Hierapolis. There was indeed the mother Goddess cult before the Phrygians settled in Anatolia. The Alaburun Tumulus excavation, located in the Kurtluca Village boundaries near Hierapolis, has shown it to be a place of open-air worship, rather than just a tomb.⁶ The fact that the southern and eastern part of the tumulus called A, B, C, D, E, have walls of temenos and krepis, and the offering vessels left in these parts show that the area is a holy place (Fig. 3-4). There might have been the mother Goddess's "open air altar" in the opening between the two rocks. The nomadic people moved to the town after the establishment of Hierapolis in the Hellenistic period, but its survival continued due to their traditions of preserving its holy situation. A marble altar vessel with an inscription belonging to the Roman age shows that the site might have been dedicated to the god Apollo in later ages.⁷ This tradition took place in Hierapolis as well. The entrance of the cave of Plutonion, present before the establishment of the town and where poisonous gases emerge, was the holy place of Cybele, and later became the holy place "subterranean hell" of both Apollo and Hades (Serapis). It shows the presence of the God cult foundation in Hierapolis due to its altar having an inscription belonging to Hades (Serapis), which was found during the Agora excavations.⁸

The cave of Plutonion where poisonous gases emerge, of course, had been dedicated to the mother Goddess Cybele in Hierapolis before the establishment of the town in the Hellenistic period (Fig. 5). Many visitors had seen the town even during the imperial period, and castrated Galluses were used to try to show their immunity against poisonous gases.⁹ As mentioned in the Attis legend, the priests called Gallus had dedicated their masculinity to Cybele.¹⁰ Strabo (12.4-14) has given detailed information about the priests who used to live in the town. In the northern necropolis, to the left of the entrance, there is a niche with an arched top. On its bottom there is a small sacred basin. These finds in the Hellenistic tomb are symbols showing the respect for the Cybele cult in the town. That tomb could originally have belonged to a Cybele priest who had worked in the Plutonion. If so, he must have had radical beliefs and tried to keep them alive in his tomb, which is why the monumental tomb became both a ceremonial and holy place.¹¹ (Fig. 6). There is another niche on the

4 RAMSAY 1895: 7; ŞİMŞEK 2000: 2.

5 ŞİMŞEK 2000: 2; ŞİMŞEK 2007c: 349-355, Res. 149.

6 CEYLAN 1999: 263-276, Res. 1-16. It provides an uninterrupted chronology from the 7th c. BC until the Roman Age.

7 CEYLAN 1999: 266, Res. 16.

8 FERRERO 1999: 265, fig. 7-8; D'ANDRIA 2001: 106-108, fig. 4-17.

9 FERRERO 1993: 106; MAGIE 1950: 127-128; D'ANDRIA 2003: 142-144, Res. 125-126.

10 ERHAT 1978: 201, For the Plutonion, see RITTI 1987: 77; FERRERO 1993: 140; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 125.

11 A lamp was found in a niche in the tumulus belonging to the late Roman Age. ŞİMŞEK 1997: 17, Res. 9; RONCHETTA 1987: 111; SCHNEIDER 1972: 127(35), Tav. XXVII/a-b.

top of the entrance of a monumental tomb belonging to the Roman age on the Tripolis Street in the northern necropolis.

Between the neighbouring towns of Hierapolis, Colossai and Laodikeia, there have been some cultural, economical and religious similarities. Somehow several religious sects have emerged regionally by the mixture of the beliefs in Greek Gods and in the Lydian and Phrygian surviving there.¹² This type of religious blend can be possibly seen in the cave of Plutonion in Hierapolis. During the subsequent periods the cave in which Cybele, this being the oldest Anatolian belief worshipped, was also understood to be a home of Hades, which allowed passage to the other world.¹³ The religious centre of the city was the Sanctuary of Apollo, renowned for its alphabetic oracle, which rose above the cave of the Plutonion, one of the entrances to the underworld. Apollo was the most magnificent God in Hierapolis.¹⁴ Some temples should have been built for Artemis and Leto beside Apollo. The presence of the Leto cult is known due to the finding of pieces of sculpture and coins. The Attis sculpture, found during the excavations in Hierapolis, points to the presence of a Cybele-Attis cult in the town.¹⁵

Apollo Delphos, the founder God of the town, is also known as Pythios and Archegetes.¹⁶ Alongside Apollo, Leto appears to have had some of the characteristics of the Phrygian Mother Goddess (Cybele).¹⁷ The people in Hierapolis had not only worshipped Apollo's sister Artemis because of her hunter-like features, but had worshipped Ephesus Artemis as well.¹⁸ During the Roman period, the God had not only been worshipped as Apollo, Archegetes (Kitharoedos) and Pythios but as the native young God Apollo Kareios and Apollo Helios Lairbenos.¹⁹ Apollo Kareios had also the power of prediction and used to answer questions about the letters of the alphabet, which were determined by the drawing of lots.²⁰ Once every four years, races used to be arranged for Apollo as the God in Hierapolis.²¹ The reliefs on the walls of the theatre, which date from the time of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211), depict a race in which Apollo Archegetes is seen with the tower crown behind to be presented to the winner of the race. The reliefs of the Hierapolis theatre are completely related to Artemis and Apollo, and describe mythological scenes.²² Those reliefs illustrate Apollo's birth²³ as Apollo Kitharoedos in a long chiton (he holds a plectrum in his right hand and his lyre with a tripod).²⁴ They also show Marsyas and a music competition, Marsyas' capital punishment²⁵

12 HUMANN et al. 1898: 42; HEAD 1911: 675.

13 For the Hades-Serapis statue, see D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 207; RITTI 1987: 81.

14 RITTI 1987b: 75-78; FERRERO 1993: 139-140; ŞİMŞEK 1997: 5-6; BEJOR 1991: 3-6, Tav. 2-3; D'ANDRIA 2003: 228-231.

15 FERRERO 1999: 265, fig. 9-10; D'ANDRIA 2003: 94-95, Res. 72-73; D'ANDRIA 2001: 106-108, fig. 4/17-18.

16 FERRERO 1993: 117; RITTI 1987: 76; HUMANN et al. 1898: 42; D'ANDRIA 2003: 161-170, Res. 142ab-148; ÇUBUK 2008: 47-62, Res. 2.2-18.

17 D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 205-206.

18 RITTI 1987b: 76-82; FERRERO 1993: 117; D'ANDRIA: 2003, 171-181, Res. 150ab-156; ÇUBUK 2008: 29-44, Res. 1.3-18.

19 RITTI 1987b: 78-82; FERRERO 1993: 117; HEAD 1911: 675; RITTI 2006: 92-99, Res. 38-39.

20 FERRERO 1993: 117; D'ANDRIA 2003: 141, 228-231; RITTI 2006: 92-99, Res. 38-39.

21 FERRERO 1993: 115; RITTI 1987: 49-51; D'ANDRIA 2001: 104-106.

22 see D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: Tav.10-42; D'ANDRIA 2003: 147-181, Res. 130-156; RITTI 2006: 108-126, Res. 45-53.

23 D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 24-29, fig. 2/Ap 1b, Tav. 10/1-11/1; D'ANDRIA: 1987b, 94; FERRERO 1993: 141.

24 BEJOR 1991: 6-8, Tav. 4/2; D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 80-82, fig. 5/ApVa, Tav. 23/1; ŞİMŞEK 2001: 9, Res. 7; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 142b.

25 D'ANDRIA 1987b: 97-99; D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 49-69, fig. 3/ApIIIa-e, Tav. 16/1-2, 17/1-2, 19/1, 20/1-2; TAŞLIKLIÖĞLU 1963: 157; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 142a, 146.

and the naked character of Delphinos,²⁶ who is blessing the girls with holy water. Artemis also takes her place on those reliefs beginning from her childhood. We see her on Zeus' lap²⁷ practising the bow stretching as the character Artemis the Hunter.²⁸ There are sculptures of Artemis, with Anatolian character types, showing her being honoured by having holy water poured on her and the ceremonies arranged for her.²⁹ They also picture Niobid's murder scenes where the Goddess's importance for the town is being emphasized.³⁰ They also symbolize the importance attributed to the Ephesian Artemis by the town, and this fact may be seen in a relief showing an agreement being made on a rock that is situated on the water line from Karahayit to Hierapolis. The agreement is being strengthened by the handshaking (dexiosis) between Apollo Kitharoedos and Dionysos. This agreement could have been only witnessed by an honoured Goddess (Artemis) from the Anatolian people.³¹

The appearances of the typical Apollo Kareios and Apollo Lairbenos Gods are completely a local issue in Hierapolis and its neighbours. Such local worship shows its potency particularly during the Roman period in this area.³² The local worship of Apollo Lairbenos is much older than that of Apollo Archegetes.³³ The God's attribute has also been written as **KAREIOS APOLLWN** on the base of an Apollo Kareios sculpture dating from the 3rd c. AD, which was unearthed in the Hierapolis theatre³⁴ (Fig. 7). The God is shown standing in a short chiton extending to the knees. The chiton is knotted underneath the breast and makes a kolpos from the hip. A hylamus is placed on his neck. It is attached to the breast with a brooch needle. He puts his right foot supporting his weight plainly on the base, the left foot slightly bends backwards and opens sideward, the tips of the fingers are placed on the base and he wears sandals. The head curves from the base of the neck, and the arms are bended from the elbow. A curl of hair is seen on the left shoulder. Here no traces of the God whose attribute is a double-axe on the shoulder can be seen. The God's icon is completely different from the Hellenistic forms of Apollo Pythios and Apollo Musagetes. This appearance points out a different type that is peculiar to the region.

Apollo Lairbenos, who holds his double-axe against his left shoulder is long haired and holds a bunch of grapes in his left hand and a branch of oak in his right hand, has been found on one pediment of the stage facades of the Hierapolis theatre (Fig. 8).³⁵ A similar depiction, whose bottom

26 D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 71-76, fig. 4/Ap.IV a-b, Tav. 19/2, 21/1-2, 22/1-2; RITTI 1987b: 79; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 142ab, 147a-148.

27 D'ANDRIA 1987b: 97; D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 105-107, fig. 7/Ar Id; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 150a-151.

28 D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 111-119, fig. 7/Ar II a-b-c, Tav. 31/1-2, 32/1-2; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 150a, 152.

29 D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 143-160, fig. 9/IV.a-g, 10/g-1, Tav. 37/1-2, 38/1-2, 39/1-2, 43/2; FERRERO 1993: 117; RITTI 1987b: 80,83; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 150b, 155-156.

30 D'ANDRIA-RITTI 1985: 123-138, fig. 8/Ar III a-h, Tav. 33, 34/1-2, 35/1-2, 36/1-2.

31 ŞİMŞEK 2001: 5-15, Res. 1-6.

32 RITTI 1987b: 82; HEAD 1911: 675; FERRERO 1993: 117; HUMANN et al 1898, 42-43; TAŞLIKLIOĞLU 1963: 158-159.

33 TAŞLIKLIOĞLU 1963: 159.

34 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 60-61, Taf.14; RITTI 1987b: 78; RITTI 1985: 127-137, Tav. 22-23; BEJOR 1991: 8-10, Tav. 5; RITTI 2006: 172-173, Res. 70-71.

35 RITTI 1987b: 79; RITTI 1985: 135, Tav. 24/b; D'ANDRIA 2003: Res. 197; ŞİMŞEK 2001: 10-11, Res. 9.

is broken, can be seen on a votive stele in the Hierapolis graveyard.³⁶ The long-haired God can be seen holding his double-axe in his left hand with his cape flying backward from his neck. On his right, there is an oak branch, and on his left a grape leaf. He possibly used to hold a patera in his broken hand. A Goddess head is placed on top of the triangle pediment, a crescent moon is on the other side (possibly Selena). This type of casting seen on a votive stele dating from the 3rd c. AD has been used for the local Gods differently in different regions. Almost all of them have a double-axe (Labrys-bipennis). Apollo Kareios or Apollo Lairbenos might have been depicted on the Hierapolis relief. According to Laumonier, the God who has a double-axe or sometimes a beam crown is Lairbenos adapted for Apollo and Helios. This symbolic weapon is a kind of image, from his point of view, which has importance being adapted to the regional cults in the older ages.³⁷ This image of the God being related to the double-axe is especially common in the mountainous areas of Phrygia (Güzelpınar, Gözler-Thiounta, Dağmarmara, Motello, Medele, Dionysopolis, Apollo Lairbenos) and Laodikeia.³⁸ The horse rider God, found on the Roman period coins³⁹ found in Hierapolis, has a double-axe in his hand and is related to the regional cults. The double-axe has been equated with Zeus (Stratios and Labrayndos) in the Caria region.⁴⁰

The votive stele brought from Güzelpınar, located at the foot of the Çökelez Mountain against which Hierapolis leans and 2 km away from Hierapolis, is exhibited in the Hierapolis Archaeological Museum. It is important because it symbolises a regional cult.⁴¹ T. Ritti and A. Ceylan date the stele from the 2nd c. AD because of four Greek lines of writing on it (Fig. 9).⁴² The Greek inscription expresses that it had been presented to Apollo Kareios by Apollophanes, Apollonides' son. The names on the stele were derived from Apollo's name, the great God of Hierapolis. We conclude from this that the regional people, who were not far from Hierapolis, developed their own cult, worshipped and offered him a votive stele. A double-axe is in the centre, and two ears on either side of the stele. That double-axe is Apollo Lairbenos and Kareios' symbol. The ears of the God on each side represent him listening to his worship and hearing everything told to him.⁴³ Taken from the representation of King Antiochus I and Apollo Helios on the stele (dexiosis) from Sofraz (Besni) in the Commagene (Adıyaman) region, the God has been described as 'the God listening to worship'.⁴⁴

In antiquity Hierapolis extended its influence 40 km east, along the Meander River to the holy Apollo Lairbenos area. Although Apollo Lairbenos was near the ancient town of Dionysopolis, it was governed by Hierapolis.⁴⁵ That the name of Lairbenos was on coins of Hierapolis⁴⁶ and that the na-

36 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 62, Taf. 15.

37 LAUMONIER 1958: 510.

38 ANABOLU 1995: 225-226, Lev. LX-LXI, Res. 7-9; KAHIL 1969: 209, Pl. LXXXII/3

39 HEAD 1911: 675; HEAD 1906: 231-249, num. 23, 53-56, 68, 76-81, 93, 105-106, 113-119, Pl. XXX.2, 8-9, XXXI.1, 7, 9; RITTI et al 2000: 11; RICL 1995: 167-195, Pl. XLIV-LIII.

40 BEAN 1987: 33-35, Res. 1; AKURGAL 1983: 248.

41 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 57-61, Taf. 14.

42 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 58; RITTI 2006: 194-195, Res. 79.

43 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 58.

44 DÖRNER 1990: 198, Tav. 49. The stele made of sandstone is being exhibited in the Gaziantep Museum.

45 FERRERO 1993: 105.

46 BUCKLER et al 1933: 91, num: 133.

mes of such towns as Motella, Tripolis, Dionysopolis and Hierapolis were on the inscriptions around the temple⁴⁷ proves both the influence of Hierapolis on the area and the prevalence of the Apollo Lairbenos cult in the area. Apollo Lairbenos is a Phrygian God, and the double-axe (labrys-bipennis) became his constant attribute.⁴⁸ During the Roman period the votive stele occurred in the area 30 x 40 km (Güzelpınar, Thiounta-Gözler, Dağmarmara, Kabalar, Ortaköy, Develiler, Motello, Medelle, etc.),⁴⁹ between the Hierapolis and Apollo Lairbenos temples.⁵⁰ The local rider God carrying a double-axe is so common in Phrygian and Lydian towns⁵¹ that the double-axe can be seen amongst the mother Goddess Cybele's attributes.⁵²

During the Roman period the relationship between the mother Leto and her son Apollo is clearly seen in the temple of Apollo Lairbenos (Fig. 10ab). According to Ramsay, the fact that this name is given as Lairbenos, Lermonos, Lairmenos, etc. indicates that it is not of Greek origin, and it is a kind of local nickname.⁵³ Again, Ramsay mentions an ancient Cybele-Attis worship.⁵⁴ In our opinion Cybele worship replaced Lairbenos-mother Leto worship on the hill in this valley, and so that temple may have been built by the previous cult.⁵⁵

The stele, originally coming from South-western Anatolia and now exhibited in the Museum of Fine art in Boston, yields an exact Phrygian influence.⁵⁶ T. Ritti and A. Ceylan state that the votive stele was brought from the Dağmarmara vicinity, and they consider that the description of the stele expresses the God of Motello.⁵⁷

According to the description of the stele, the rider God has a labrys-bipennis on his left and goes forward to the Goddess, who sits on the throne with a modium on her head and feeds a snake with a patera in her hand. The work has been dated from the 3rd c. AD. Some researchers have established a relationship between the stele and the Cybele-Attis cult, but others state that the relationship extends to an unknown God or Goddess.⁵⁸ The relief has certainly been brought from the Dağmarmara neighbourhood and is related to the Cybele-Attis cult.⁵⁹

47 TAŞLIKLIOĞLU 1963: 152.

48 BUCKLER - CALDER 1939: 97-num. 273, 107-num. 286; TAŞLIKLIOĞLU 1963: 153-154.

49 See RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: fig. 1.

50 RITTI et al 2000: 10-11, Tav. 1/D13-D14.

51 HEAD 1911: 671.

52 ERHAT 1978: 200.

53 RAMSAY 1885: 133.

54 RAMSAY 1885: 91, 133.

55 The fact that the Phrygian features of some ceramic pieces found during the surface excavation extending until the 7th c. BC, denotes that the place was an open-air worship area. Samples of that tradition appear here in the same way as they appeared in Hierapolis, see ŞİMŞEK 2007b: 737-738, Res. 81

56 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 62-63, Taf. 15.

57 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 62.

58 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 62.

59 Cybele holds a snake in her right hand on a relief which was determined by B. Söğüt and A. Baldiran in the village of Karahisar, Beyşehir, Konya, and presented in the IInd Pisidia Antiochia Symposium (July, 02-04 '2000).

Since the goddess has a modium on her head on a relief exhibited in the Boston Museum, and because of the iconographic similarities, this proves the Cybele-Attis relation (see RAMSAY 1885: 133).

The small sculpture, which was catalogued in Sotheby's with the number 127 on 1 June 1995, was probably from the Dağmarmara or Güzelpınar neighbourhood (Fig.11).⁶⁰ That sculpture looks like Apollo Kareios, the rider God. The God faces to the right. He has a short chiton-hylamis with a belt and wears sandals. He holds the reins of his horse in his left hand and holds his double-axe against his shoulder with his right hand. There is an inscription on the base of the sculpture.⁶¹ The style of the sculpture and the characters of the inscription are believed to date between the end of the 2nd c. AD, and the first quarter of the 3rd c. AD. The rider God is iconographically Apollo Kareios with his double-axe.

The God with the double-axe is locally known as Torrhebos and Mopsos (local heroes) in the mountainous area of Lydia.⁶² That same God was commonly worshipped with the name of Apollo Kareios in the mountainous Phrygia. A votive stele, dedicated to Apollaphanes and exhibited in the Hierapolis Archaeological Museum, shows that there had been a holy local cult and a holy area on the hills surrounding Uzunpınar, Güzelpınar, and Dağmarmara. While the stone blocks exist among the rough lands and the same kind of blocks were used as building materials by the peasants, no information can be obtained about this. Two steles exhibited in the Hierapolis Museum and brought from Uzunpınar had been dedicated locally to Apollo Kareios. These date from the beginning of the 3rd c. AD. They also show the presence of the cult place for the God (Fig. 12).⁶³ On the first stele on a part of the pediment now broken, there are three rows of people above with offerings to the God. Artemis takes her place at the top of the stele with two rider Gods symmetrically placed on her two sides. On the left side of the Goddess, Apollo Kareios is depicted with the reins of his horse in his right hand, wearing a cape and holding a double-axe in his left hand against his shoulder and with a sun behind him. On her right side the local God Men Karou is standing in the same position with his Phrygian cap and holding a sceptre with a crescent in his left hand that is leaning to his left shoulder. A crescent is placed behind the God. A bust of the local Zeus Ktesios Patrios wearing a thin woollen garment is placed on the forefront of the pediment. A second votive stele bearing the same iconography of Apollo, Artemis and Men Karou is broken. The position and iconography of Apollo Kareios are the same in both steles, and the raised position of one of the horse's forelegs is the same as the Apollo Kareios sculpture that was put up for sale by Sotheby's. The broken votive stele, which was brought from Gözler Thiounta to the Hierapolis Museum, has the same iconography as those brought from Uzunpınar.⁶⁴

The typical double-axe image, which we meet on the way from Güzelpınar to Apollo Lairbenos, is extremely peculiar to Anatolia and its origin is as old as the Hittite civilization. The reliefs with double-axes are rather frequently encountered on Malatya and Sakçagözü orthostats.⁶⁵

There had been a temple for the honour of Apollo in Apollonia Salbace, which was located on the

60 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 63-64, Taf. 16.

61 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 63, Taf. 16

62 RITTI-CEYLAN 1997: 64.

63 RITTI 2002: 57-64.

64 MALAY 1994: 179-180, num: 15, Pl. XL/fig. 13.

65 AKURGAL 1995: fig. 97c, 118a.

boundaries of Medet and Tavas.⁶⁶ According to Laumonier, Apollo from Apollonia had been figured as representing a regional Hellenic Hero. This type is not unfamiliar to Caria. The legend in which the God Plutorchos kept the transition of the form of the double-axe is directly related to Caria.⁶⁷ In the Herakleia Heroon at Kızılcaölük Ören, Tavas the God is pictured as his sons, known as Niobids, are being murdered.⁶⁸ Here on the reliefs, the double-axe (Fig. 13) symbolises the local Apollo Lairbenos and Kareios. The mother Leto, Artemis and Apollo ternary is found in the scene of the murder of Niobids on the monument similar to one in Hierapolis.⁶⁹

The familiar Gods of Hierapolis are described on relief busts standing on the pediments of a monumental Apollo Temple Nymphaeum dating from the end of the 3rd c. AD to the beginning of the 4th c. AD. This is found on the walls of the courtyard (peribolos).⁷⁰ We can also see the lunar Goddess Selena (Fig. 14),⁷¹ behind whom there is a crescent in the same form found in the Hierapolis theatre stage pediments. Helios and Selena, who represent day and night, have been shown as a couple side by side in the Herakleia Salbace Heroon (Fig. 15).⁷² Zeus Kteios Patrios (Fig. 16) with his thin, curled wool clothing on his right shoulder and known as the father of the shepherds, ⁷³Artemis and Apollo, is the one who has caught our eyes. The continuation of the pagan belief shows the devotion to the previous traditions even in the early Christian period. We can conclude these fundamental traditional cults continued in Hierapolis for a long time. The polytheistic philosophers of the 6th c. AD, who give information about the Apollo Temple, used to enter the Plutonion cave.⁷⁴ The previous holiness of that place was transferred to Christianity. In any case Hierapolis, with its peerless natural beauties, white travertine, thermal water sources, and mystical Plutonion, has been revered and considered holy throughout every stage of history.

Zeus, as we mentioned previously, had gained a different local identity in the Lycos Valley and Tavas region, where he had been worshipped as “the defender father of the shepherds”. It is possible to observe this sort of title on an altar found in Herakleia Salbace, now exhibited in the Hierapolis Archaeological Museum (Fig. 17).⁷⁵ In his typical and unique description of this region, he stands wearing a thick coat which does not cover his right shoulder and breast upon on which he wears only a thin, curled wool undergarment. The God, shown on a relief dated from the 1st c. AD in the Herakleia Salbace Heroon (Fig. 16), has been described as having humped bulls in front of him. Again his right breast is naked, and he wears a thin, curled wool undergarment with a thick coat on top. His defence of the shepherds has been emphasised effectively here. In this region, we have ob-

66 ROBERT 1954: 241, Pl. XLI/1.

67 LAUMONIER 1958: 516.

68 BUCKLER-CALDER 1939: 55, num: 153, Pl. 26A; ROBERT 1954: 160-161, Pl. XXVI-XXVIII; FLEISCHER 2000: 405-453; FLEISCHER 2002: 325-337.

69 See D'ANDRIA 2003: Res.150a, 153-154; ÇUBUK 2008: Res. 1.7-10.

70 FERRERO 1987: 66-69; FERRERO 1993: 142-145.

71 FERRERO 1987: 69; D'ANDRIA 2003: 132-134.

72 FLEISCHER 2000: 431-436, Abb. 28-29; FLEISCHER 2002: 335, Abb. 21-22.

73 FLEISCHER 2000: 421, Abb. 17; FLEISCHER 2002: 330, Abb. 11.

74 FERRERO 1993: 112.

75 BUCKLER - CALDER 1939: 33, num: 87, Pl.16; ROBERT 1954: 165, num: 42; ŞİMŞEK 1997: 64, Res. 177..

served the presence of the humped bull on Tabai coins,⁷⁶ and this sort of characterisation is common at Apollonia Salbace and Tabai. Zeus, with the same local characteristics, can be seen on a relief dating from the early 3rd c. AD found in Laodikeia and now exhibited in the Hierapolis Archaeological Museum (Fig. 18).⁷⁷ The relief was dedicated to Zeus by Andronicos. The God holds an eagle in his right hand, and in his left, there is a sceptre on which there is a perched eagle. A small-sized, naked Hermes stands frontally on his right. He holds a kerykeion (caduceus) in his left hand and possibly a purse in his right hand. The God on the cylindrical altar is Ktesios Patrios,⁷⁸ another local Zeus shown on a relief carved in the same style. This relief dates from the third quarter of the 2nd c. AD, and was found during the excavation of grave D36 in the south graveyard of Hierapolis. Zeus Laodikeus, called Diospolis or Rhoas in Laodikeia⁷⁹ before its foundation in the middle of the 3rd c. BC, was depicted on the coins. He is standing frontally, wearing a long chiton and carrying a sceptre on which there is a perched eagle.⁸⁰

Zeus, depicted on a votive stele found in the İcikli in Baklan, Denizli, and now exhibited in the Hierapolis Archaeology Museum, dates possibly from the 3rd c. AD. He is standing frontally and wearing a thick coat that leaves his right breast exposed (Fig. 19). He holds his sceptre in his left hand, on which there is a perched eagle; he holds a bowl in his right hand. There is a small Hermes standing frontally, holding a kerykeion (caduceus) in his left hand and a purse in his right hand on the right side of the God. The only difference between Zeus Laodikeus and Zeus Ktesios Patrios is the lack of the thin, curled wool clothing as underwear. There is a Selena bust wearing a Phrygian cap, and a crescent behind her on the pediment of the İcikli stele. The stele conveys the local beliefs completely.

A marble relief of Zeus, found on the wall of a house in Hançalar, Çal, depicts a different image.⁸¹ This Zeus holds an eagle and a horn of fruitfulness in his left hand, while his right hand appears to hold the steering wheel of a chariot. Zeus Laodikeus was commonly worshipped in the region of Tripolis, Hierapolis and Laodikeia.⁸²

Attouda, which is located on the northern foot of the Salbacos Mountain (Babadağ), surely means Attis.⁸³ This fact points firmly to the Cybele-Attis cult in the city. There was worship of Cybele and Men, by the name Meter (Mater) Adrastos, in Attouda and its neighbouring towns Trapezopolis and Aphrodisias.⁸⁴

76 SEAR 1979: 449-450, num. 4945, 4947, 4949; ROBERT 1954: 128V, Pl. XX/31, XXI/23; HEAD 1897: 161, num. 13-16, Pl. XXV. 5; HEAD 1911: 627; ŞİMŞEK 2007a: 17, Res. 59.

77 ŞİMŞEK 1997: 63-64, Res. 176; MALAY 1994: 117, Pl. XXXVI-XXXVII/fig. 8A-8B; D'ANDRIA 2003: 208, Res. 182; ŞİMŞEK 2007c: 351-353, Res. 156.

78 ŞİMŞEK 1997: 63-64, Res. 173-175.

79 HEAD 1911: 678.

80 HEAD 1911, 679; HEAD 1906, Hierapolis, 231-232, 241, 248, 256, num. 24-27, 82, 123, 162, Pl. XXXI.10, LI.7, Laodikeia 289-330, num. 70-73, 94-95, 101-102, 114, 138, 147-152, 159, 164-173, 177-178, 186, 188-189, 195, 209, 215, 228-232, 254, 263, 270-271, 275, 277-279, 281-282, 285-289, Pl. XXXV.1, XXXVII.3, 7, 10; XXXVIII.2-3, LII.7, LIII.1-2, 4-6; ŞİMŞEK 2007c, 367-369, Res. 173, 177-179.

81 BUCKLER et al 1933: XIV-XV, 96, num: 267.

82 RAMSAY 1895: 193-194.

83 LAOMONUER 1958: 474; ŞİMŞEK 2002: 231-232.

84 ŞİMŞEK 1999: 325; HEAD 1911: 611; RAMSAY 1895: 166.

Attouda was one of the most important worship centres. From an inscription found in the town, we understand that Meter Adrastos was very well known.⁸⁵ Meter Adrastos, who was commonly worshipped in Attouda and Trapezopolis, has been illustrated on a unity coin from Attouda and Trapezopolis. She has a tower crown, wears a chiton and stands frontally holding two lions on each side.⁸⁶ The word **ATTODDEWN** is written on one of the side of the coin, and **TRAPEZOPOLEITÇWN** on the other side.⁸⁷ A Meter Adrastos (local Cybele) depiction, identical to the coins, can be seen on a marble relief in the Attouda Museum Depot (Fig. 20). The relief can be dated from the 3rd c. AD, and Meter Adrastos seems having taken some of the characteristics of the Goddess of animals in this mountainous area. According to Laumonier, Meter Adrastos, of course, is a local Potnia with a lion, and bears no relationship to the Caria Goddesses.⁸⁸ The inscriptions on one of the walls of the Attouda village mosque⁸⁹ and in Trapezopolis⁹⁰ inform us that races and festivals were arranged in Meter Adrastos' honour, and winners of the race were, in turn, honoured by being given his sculpture.

In antiquity Attouda's additional importance came from the regional temple, Men Karou, which was located within its governing boundaries. According to Strabo (12.8-20), the temple, located between Laodikeia and Karura, was a place for respectful behaviour, and a school of medicine had developed there. The temple was considered a very holy place by the people living there. It was located at Gerali in the Sarayköy boundaries,⁹¹ on the crossroads of the roads from Laodikeia, Attouda, Trapezopolis and Karura. Besides the bust of a God rising from a crescent, **MHN KAPOV** is written on the Attouda coins.⁹² The other character on the coins, with a pinecone, is related to the cult. The God Men is on a horse here, and he has gained a local character.⁹³ According to Laumonier, Men Karou and Meter Adrastos should have also been the heirs of an ancient Anatolian couple exactly like the fact that the Gods carrying double-axes are related to Attis and Apollo Lairbenos.⁹⁴ Men Karou, Meter Adrastos and Herakles were honoured by games arranged in accordance with the rules of the Olympic Games in Attouda. The holiness and the importance of the city have come from this religious origin.⁹⁵

During antiquity in the Lycos Valley and its neighbourhood, the traditional beliefs of the indigenous Carian and Phrygian Anatolian peoples were mixed with the beliefs of the peoples who migrated to the region in the process of history. The result of this phenomenon was that both regional

85 BUCKLER - CALDER 1939: 27, 30, nums. 74-75, 79; SHEPPARD 1981: 24-25, num: 5, Pl. III/a.

86 RAMSAY 1895: 166; HEAD 1897: 66-68, num. 27-30, 33-35, Pl. XI.1-2, for Trapezopolis, 177, 179, num. 3, 11, 13-14, Pl. XXVII. 5, 8-9; HEAD 1911, 611.

87 HEAD 1911: 611, 627-628..

88 LAOMONIER 1958: 474-475.

89 BUCKLER - CALDER 1939: nums: 65, 67-69, 76.

90 ŞİMŞEK 1999: 329, Res. 24..

91 ŞİMŞEK 1999: 327, Res. 18.

92 HEAD 1897: 65, 68, num. 16-19, 39, PL. X.15, for Trapezopolis, 117, 179, num. 2, 12, Pl. XXVII. 4.

93 RAMSAY 1895: 166-167; HEAD 1911: 611.

94 LAOMONIER 1958: 475-476, 478.

95 ŞİMŞEK 1999: 327.

God-hero cults and national cults developed. From this point of view, the cults of Apollo Lairbenos, Apollo Kareios, Zeus Laodikeus, Zeus Ktesios Patrios, Meter Adrastos and Men Karou became primarily important as local cults.

Consequently, in terms of the traditions, no matter how some regional belief systems were differentiated during the course of history, there is still a sense of continuity about the main beliefs. The ancient Anatolian tradition of dedicating sacrifices to the Gods and praying on the summit of a mountain has even extended into our current religious practices of worshipping the God in Heaven. A religious ceremony, performed by the people from Denizli and Muğla on the Çiçek Baba summit of the Sandıraz Mountain in the boundaries of Beyağaç, Denizli (on the final week of August between Wednesday-Thursday every year), is the best example of the tradition in our age (Fig. 21).⁹⁶ During the ceremony, the people walk with their animals to be sacrificed and pray around a symbolic grave (about 30 metres long) called Çiçek Baba (Flower Father). There they eat the meat of the sacrificed animals. We encounter this sort of ceremony commonly in the Hittite orthostats as a long-standing Anatolian tradition.⁹⁷

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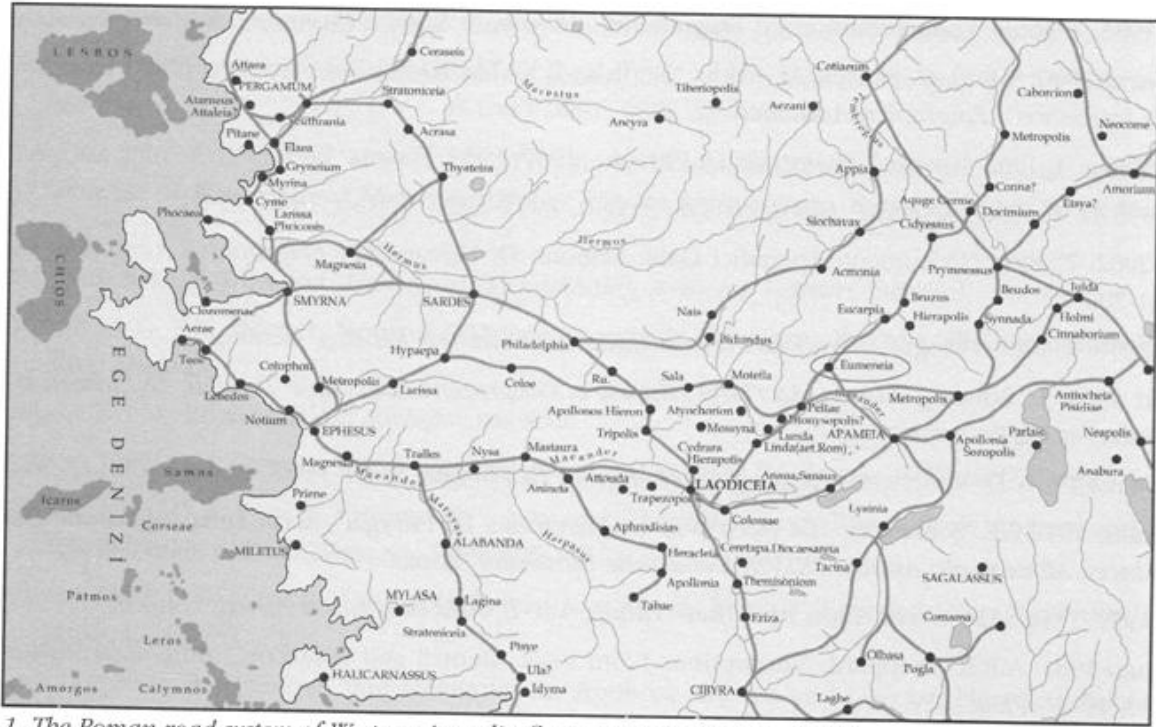
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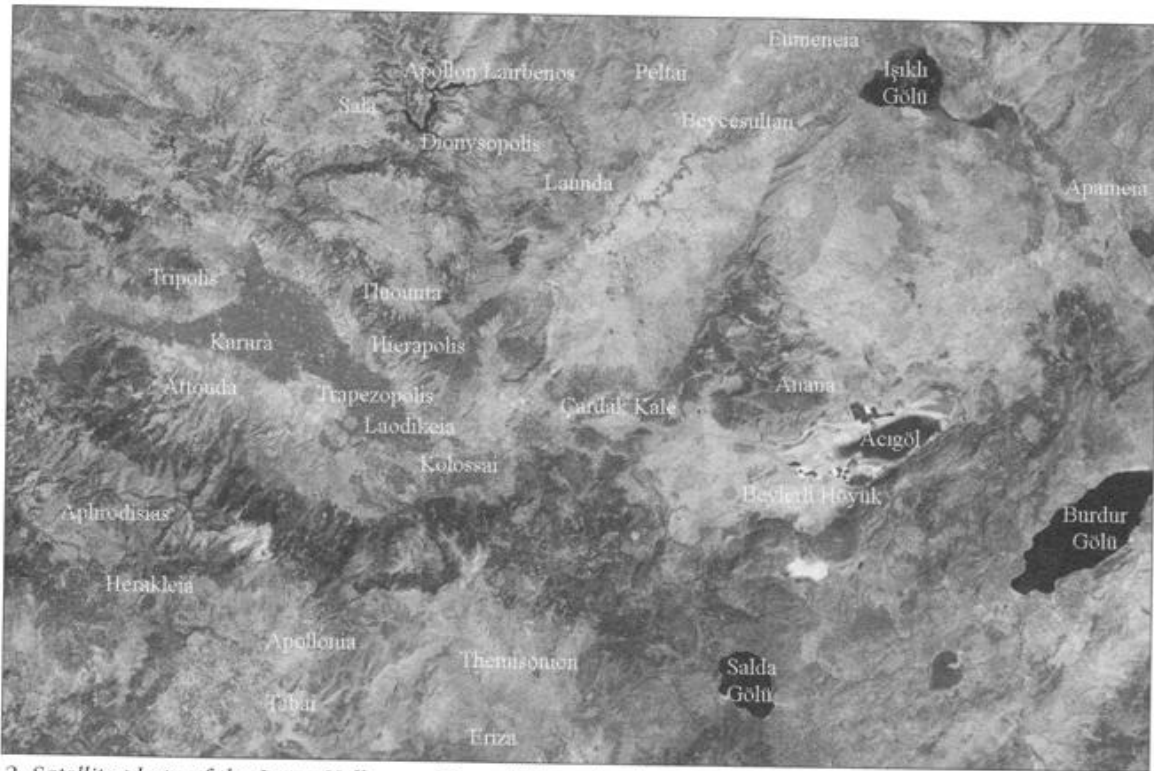
97 AKURGAL 1995: şek. 79, Lev. 87a-c, 88a,c, 92a, 138-139; AKURGAL 1983: 292-294, fig.123, 128b

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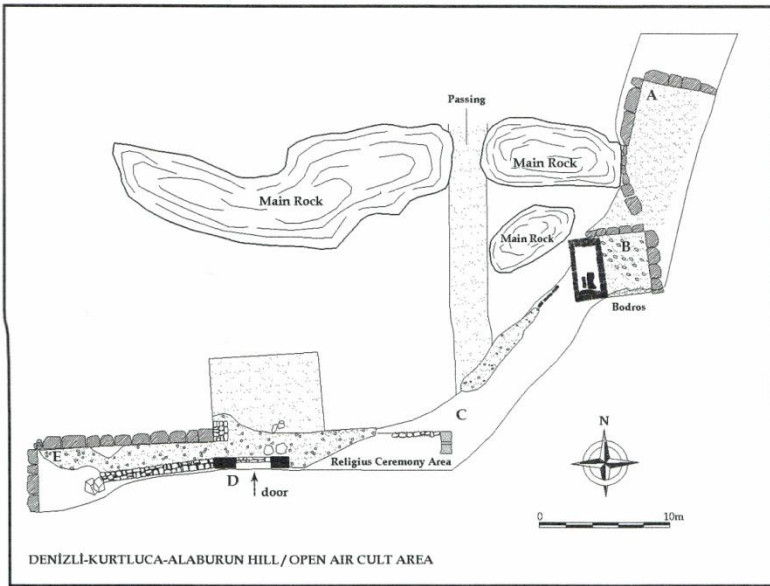
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1. The Roman road system of Western Anatolia (by W.M. Calder & G.E. Bean).



2. Satellite photo of the Lycos Valley and its neighbourhood.



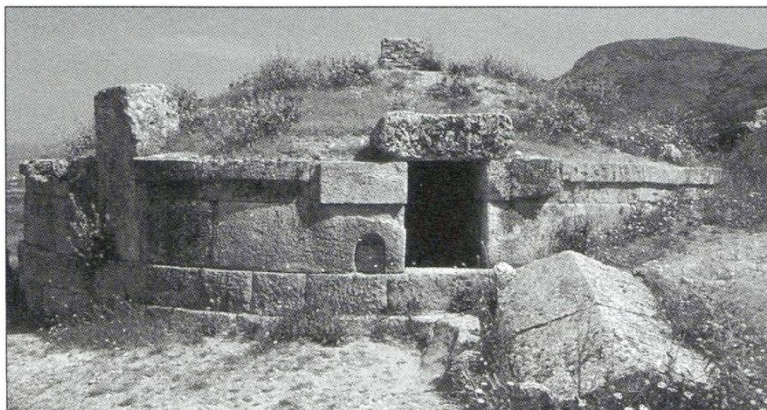
3. Alaburun, area of the shrine of Cybele and Apollo.



4. Phrygian sherds from Alaburun, the 7th c. BC.



5. Plutonium and area of the shrine of Cybele, Apollo and Hades in Hierapolis.



6. Tumulus tomb from north necropolis in Hierapolis.



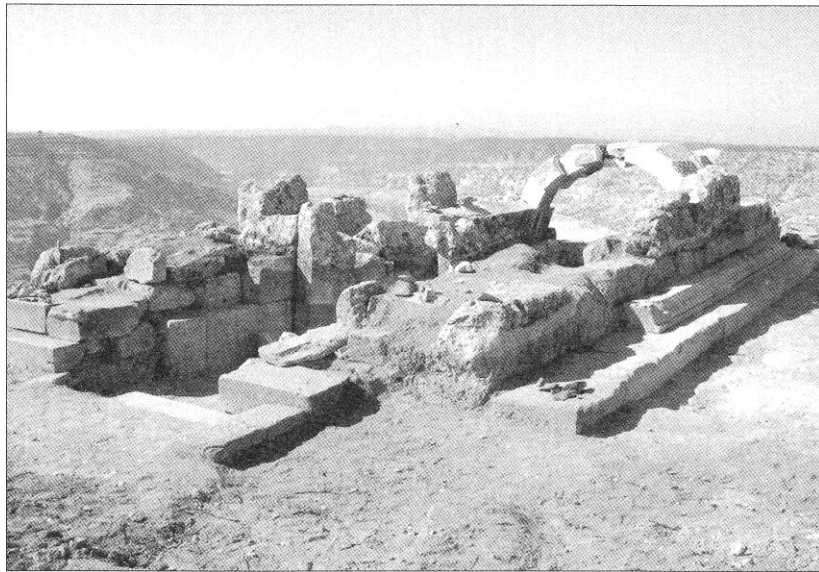
7. Statue of Apollo Kareios from Hierapolis theatre.



8. Pediment-relief from Hierapolis theatre, Apollo Lairbenos.



9. Stele dedicated to Apollo Kareios in the Hierapolis Archeological Museum.



10. (ab) Temple of Apollo Lairbenos, and relief of double-axe (labrys-bipennis).



11. Marble statue of Apollo (Kareios) on horseback (Cata. Sotheby's, June 1, 1995, no. 127. Photo. A. Ceylan-T. Ritti).



12. Votive stele from Thiounta in the Hierapolis Archeological Museum.



13. Double-axe from the Heroon of Heracleia Salbace.



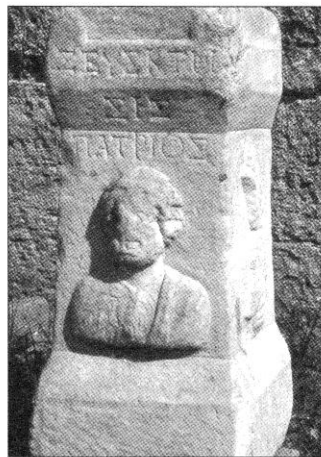
14. Selene, pediment-relief from the Apollo Temple Nymphaeum in Hierapolis.



15. Pediment-relief of Selene and Helios from the Heroon of Heracleia Salbace.



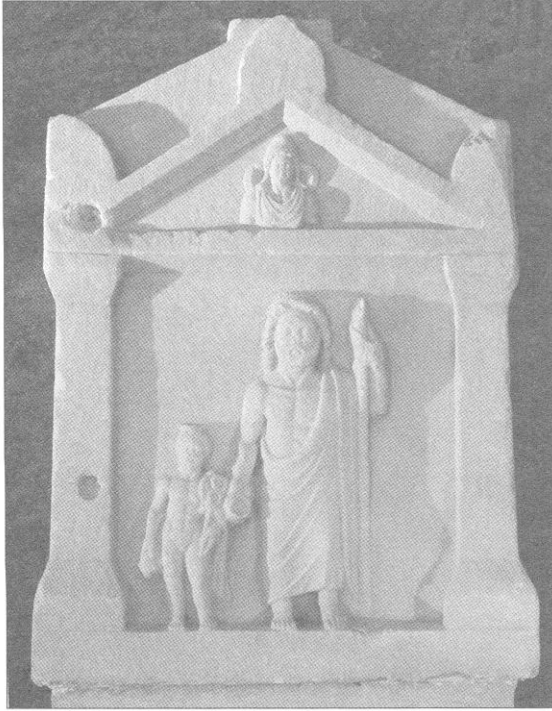
16. Marble block, carved on four sides, Zeus Ktesios Patrios and humped bulls from the Heroon of Heracleia Salbace.



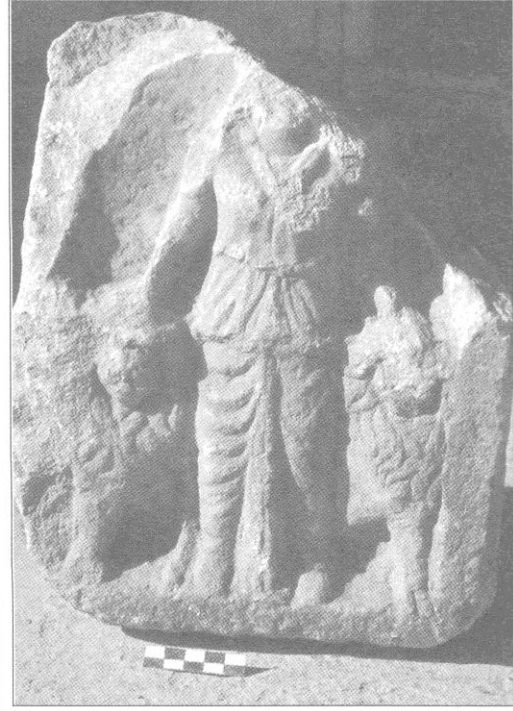
17. Marble altar, Zeus Ktesios Patrios from the Heracleia Salbace in the Hierapolis Archeological Museum.



18. Votive stele of Zeus Ktesios Patrios from Laodikeia in the Hierapolis Archeological Museum.



19. Votive stele of Zeus Laodikeus from İcikli in the Hierapolis Archeological Museum.



20. Marble relief of Meter Adrastos from Attouda (now lost).



A religious ceremony on the Çiçek Baba (Flower Father) summit of the Sandıraz Mountain within the boundaries of Beyağaç, Denizli (Photo M. Çakır).