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## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΩΝ ΟΥΕΓΕΙΝΟΣ AT ZINDAN MAĞARASI I<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The three inscriptions presented here were found during the excavation of the sanctuary at Zindan Mağarası (Zindan cave). The first inscription shows that the sanctuary was dedicated to Meter Theôn Veginos and the second inscription indicates that the sanctuary was constructed during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The authors suggest that the chief city of this rural sanctuary must have been Timbriada which can be located at the ruins in Asartepe in the vicinity of the modern county of Aksu in the Province of Isparta. From the last inscription we learn for the first time that the ancient city of Timbriada was a member of the Panhellenion created by the Emperor Hadrian in 131/2 A.D. The city was represented at the assembly of the Panhellenion through its citizens Samos and Abas, most probably during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Zindan Mağarası lies some two kilometers east of Aksu/Isparta, on the right bank of the upper reaches of the Eurymedon locally known as Zindan Deresi (s. map). During the construction of a tunnel at Aksu in 1977, the rear wall of a sanctuary constructed of white limestone blocks and a statue of the god Eurymedon with an inscribed base and four other inscriptions were discovered. The architectural fragments of the sanctuary and the statue of the God were published by D. Kaya with a detailed geographical and historical introduction while the inscriptions were published by S. Mitchell in the appendix of 1985.<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions, except for the one on the statue base of the god Eurymedon, were also copied by Cl. Brixhe in 1972 and published together with R. Hodot in 1988.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the authors published a new alphabetical oracle found at Zindan Mağarası.<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of the discovery of the statue of Eurymedon, Kaya and Mitchell suggested that the sanctuary belonged to this river god and that the site was a cult centre for the region,

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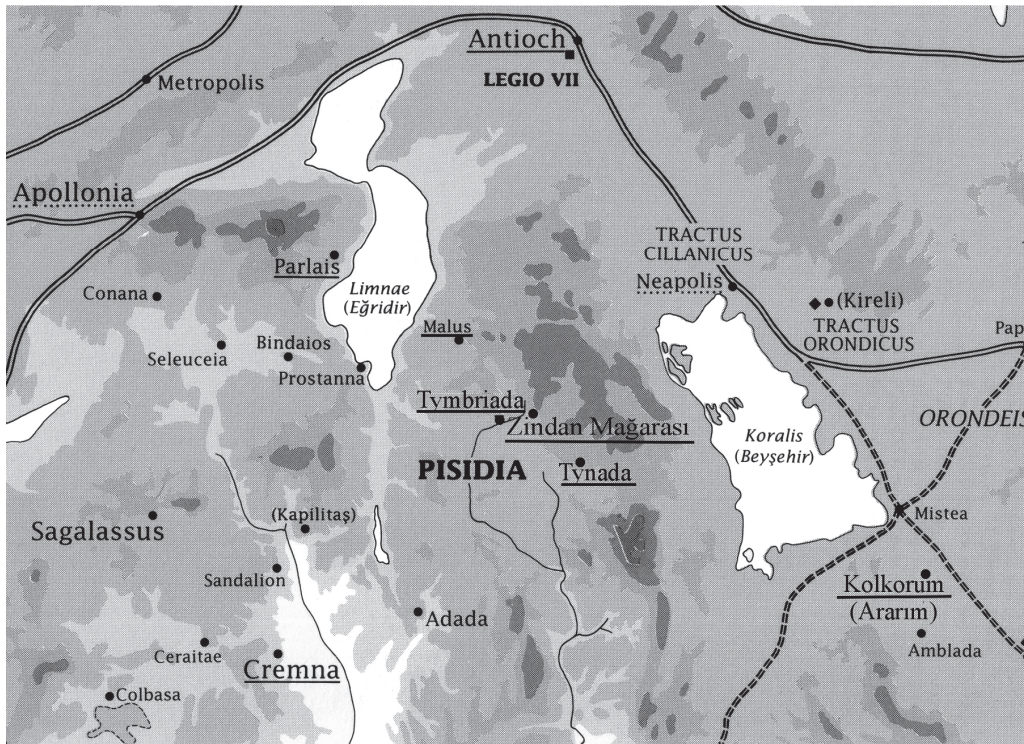
<sup>1</sup> Our special thanks are due to Miss. Jale Dedeoğlu who invited us to the excavation of the Museum of Isparta at Zindan Mağarası in order to investigate and publish the new inscriptions. For the excavation at Zindan Mağarası s. the previous article by J. Dedeoğlu.

<sup>2</sup> D. Kaya – S. Mitchell, The Sanctuary of the God Eurymedon at Tymbriada, AS 35, 1985, 39-55.

<sup>3</sup> Cl. Brixhe – R. Hodot, L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud. Inscriptions inédites, Nancy 1988, 28-32 no. 7 = SEG XXXV (1985), no. 1407 = Kaya – Mitchell, Sanctuary of Eurymedon (no. 2), 53ff. no. 4; Brixhe – Hodot, AMNS, 32f. no. 8 = SEG XXXV (1985), no. 1408 = Kaya – Mitchell, *ibid.*, 51f. no. 1; Brixhe – Hodot, *ibid.*, 33ff. no. 9, giving the transcription as Κιῶδρατις Νουδοῦς Κοοῦ = SEG XXXV (1985), no. 1410 = Kaya – Mitchell, *ibid.*, 52f. no. 2; Brixhe – Hodot, *ibid.*, 35-40 nos. 10-1 = SEG XXXV (1985), no. 1411 = Kaya – Mitchell, *ibid.*, 53 no. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Brixhe – Hodot, *Asie Mineure* (no. 3), 140ff. no. 46.

although Mitchell conceded that none of the inscriptions he published had any connection with the cult. Fortunately, the Museum of Isparta began excavation work at the site from where 17 new inscriptions have been unearthed to date, of which nos. 1-2 revealed that the sanctuary was built and dedicated by Memnon, son of Bianor, to Meter Theôn Veginos and to his home country during the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius (for further details s. below).



The Pisidian Taurus (Mitchell, *Anatolia I* [no. 17], map 5)

### The Inscriptions

The inscriptions treated below are those directly related to the sanctuary of Meter Theôn Veginos, while the others consist mainly of statue bases and fragments. In this present article we publish the inscriptions directly related to both the sanctuary and the cult of Meter Theôn. The remaining inscriptions will be published in the forthcoming volumes of *Gephyra* (for the location of these inscriptions and those published by Kaya and Mitchell see the following pictures).

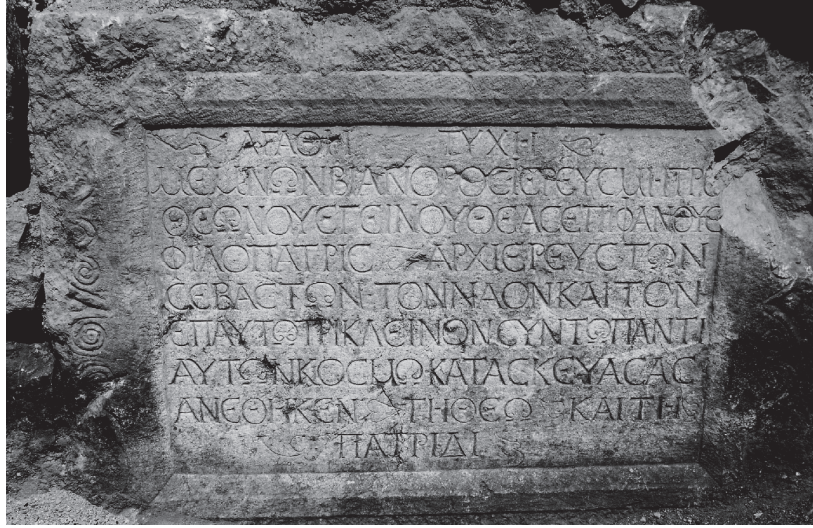




### 1. The Goddess of the Sanctuary: Meter Theôn Veginos

*Description:* Tabula ansata of limestone, fine-grained. The ansata is decorated with ivy offshoots. The front face is a single panel, inset between mouldings. Broken on the upper right corner. Surface and letters are well preserved.

H: 0.73 m; D: unmeasurable; W: 1.11 m; L: 0.035 m.



Ἀ ἀγαθῆ τύχη· Ὡ  
 2 Μέμωνων Βιάνορος ἱερεὺς Μητρο[ς]  
 θεῶν Οὐέγεινου, θεᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς,  
 4 φιλόπατρις, ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν  
 Σεβαστῶν τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν  
 6 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρικλεινον σὺν παντὶ  
 αὐτῶν κόσμῳ κατασκεύασας  
 8 ἀνέθηκεν Ὡ τῆ θεῷ Ὡ καὶ τῆ  
 Ὡ πατρίδι. Ὡ

*"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."*

Date: 169-180 AD.

On the basis of the discovery of the statue Kaya and Mitchell thought that the sanctuary was dedicated to the god Eurymedon.<sup>5</sup> Owing to the evidence obtained from the inscriptions nos. 1–2, it can now be safely argued a) that the sanctuary is dedicated not to Eurymedon, but to Meter Theôn Veginos and b) that the construction at the sanctuary dates to the sole reign of M. Aurelius. The cult of Kybele/Meter Theôn is also represented on coins from Timbriada.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Brixhe – Hodot, *Asie Mineure* (no. 3), 27.

<sup>6</sup> G.F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia*, London 1897, 278 nos. 1; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen II*, Wien 1902 (Sonderschriften des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Bd. 3), 413-4 nos. 2, 4-5; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Deutschland. Sammlung von Aulock. 12. Heft: Pisidien, Lykaonien, Isaurien*, Berlin 1964, nos. 5369–71 and 5374; B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, London 1977, 712; H. von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens II*, Tübingen 1979 (Ist. Mitt., Beih. 22), 169-74 nos. 2108–32; 2135–40; 2165-69; 2187–91.

Although the epithet Veginos was read on an inscription<sup>7</sup> by Mitchell, he could not give a plausible commentary on that name. Since Veginos appears on the inscription as a name and not as an epithet of Meter Theôn, he assumed that it was the name of a god. However, in respect of the inscription, published by Hall, from Kolkorum, formerly known as Ararım, some 10 kilometers southeast of Beyşehir, which mentions a dedication to Meter Ουεγνα or Ουετνα,<sup>8</sup> Brixhe and Hodot had already suggested a relationship between these epitheta, though they emphasized that this suggestion was not as yet certain. Nevertheless they supposed that the reading Ουεγνα is safe because of the anthroponym Ουεγνος.<sup>9</sup> thanks to these new inscriptions the probable relation between Meter Vegna and Meter Theôn Veginos as well as the reading of Vegna (instead of Vetna) as the epithet suggested by Brixhe and Hodot can now be presented as the more plausible reading.

As to the probable meaning of the epithet “Veginos”, a relationship between the cult of Meter Theôn Veginos and that of Meter Oreia may be taken into consideration on the basis of the inscription found at Bağılı<sup>10</sup> in the Timbriada territory<sup>11</sup> where the cult centre of Meter Theôn Veginos must be located. Said inscription mentions a dedication to Meter Oreia, touching on her epiphany which is reminiscent of the attribute of Meter Theôn Veginos on the inscription above. Owing to this relationship, the meaning of the epithet Veginos may have something to do either with the mountains surrounding the Yılanlı Ova or with the cave itself. However, Brixhe, Hodot and Zgusta thought that the epithet «Ουεγνα» has no connection with any toponym.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Strabo gives further evidence in favour of this suggestion by saying of Rhea that: “the Berecyntes, tribe of Phrygians, and the Phrygians in general, and those of the Trojans who live round Ida worship Rhea calling her Meter Theôn 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”.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, as most epithets of Meter Theôn (= Rhea in the Greek pantheon)<sup>14</sup> derive from the name of a mountain

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<sup>7</sup> Kaya – Mitchell, Sanctuary of Eurymedon (no. 2), 53f. no. 4.

<sup>8</sup> A.S. Hall, Notes and Inscriptions from Eastern Pisidia, AS 18, 1968, 75 no. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Brixhe – Hodot, *Asie Mineure* (no. 3), 30f.; cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 395 § 1150; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasitische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, 457 § 969. Ουεγνος is known as an anthroponym from the inscription found in Koçaş, some ten kilometres north to Doğanhisar, and published by J.R.S. Sterrett, *The Epigraphical Journey to Asia Minor*, Boston 1888 (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, II), 174 no. 170; cf. W.M. Calder, *Monuments from Eastern Phrygia*, Manchester 1956 (MAMA VII), 34 no. 167.

<sup>10</sup> For the inscription s. J.R.S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Boston 1888 (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens III), 280f. no. 400.

<sup>11</sup> For the location of the cult centre of Meter Theôn Veginos in the territory of Timbriada s. the commentary on the inscriptions (nos. 2-3).

<sup>12</sup> S. above no. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, 10,3,12: Οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες Φρυγῶν τι φύλον καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην κατοικοῦντες Ῥέαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι αὐτῇ, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἄγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυληνὴν καὶ Πεσσινουντίδα καὶ Κυβέλην [καὶ Κυβήβην]; cf. 10,3,15.

<sup>14</sup> The inscription no. 3 below gives a supplementary instance of the identity of Meter Theôn and Rhea.

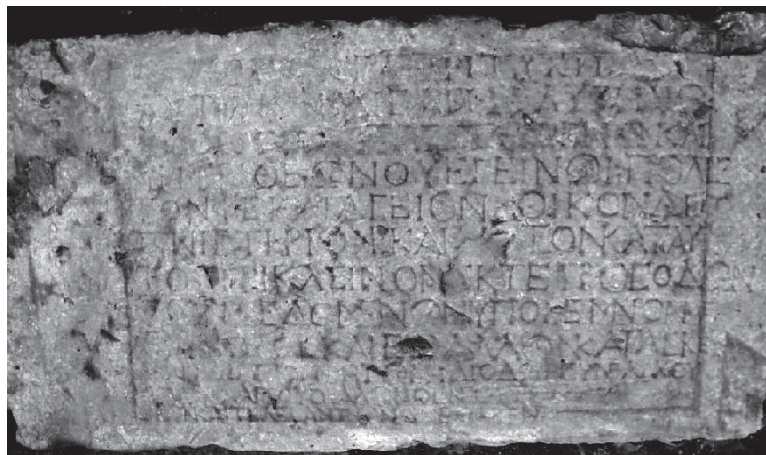
(from Mt. Ida, Mt. Dindymum,<sup>15</sup> Mt. Sipylus and Mt. Cybelum/Cybela<sup>16</sup>)<sup>17</sup>; this should be taken into account in favour of this suggestion.

As for the etymology of Veginos, the name may have been derived from a place name such as Οὐγγία<sup>18</sup> – analogously to the similar derivation of Οὐνδιεινός, the epithet of the God Men, from the Celtic place name of Vindia in Galatia.<sup>19</sup> At present, however, there is no evidence that an Illyrian or, probably, Celtic<sup>20</sup> toponym such as Vegia was brought into Galatia or into neighbouring places such as northern Pisidia during the Celtic invasion of Anatolia. Indeed, as Brixhe and Hodot had already said, it would be very hazardous to seek a Celtic connection for Veginos, eg with Vegnius, the epithet of Mars among the Treveri, because there is no trace of infiltration of Galatians into the region and because the Galatians who settled in Asia Minor merged their religion into the native population's religion.<sup>21</sup> This question is left to the linguists to decide.

## 2. The Construction Date of the Sanctuary: Sole Reign of M. Aurelius

*Description:* Tabula Ansata of limestone. It was reused in a wall of a later period built immediately in front of the rear wall of the sanctuary. The letter type is the same as that of inscription no. 1. The surface and letters are heavily worn, especially on the second and the last two lines.

H: 0.64 m; D: 0.245 m; W: 1.27 m; L: 0.025–0.03 m.



<sup>15</sup> For Dindymum as the name of the mountain s. Strabo, 12,5,3; Ptol. 5,2,13; Etym. Mag. s. v. Δίνδυμον.

<sup>16</sup> For Cybelum as the name of the mountain cf. Diod., Bibl. 3,58, 1; Etym. Mag. s. v. Κύβελον; for Cybela as the name s. Strabo, 12,5,3; Hesych. s. v. Κύβελα; Steph. Byz. s. v. Κυβέλεια; Suida, s. v. Κυβέλη; for Cybele as the name s. Ovid. Fasti, 4,249.36; Orph. Argon. 22; for Cybelus as the name s. Verg. Aen. 3,111.

<sup>17</sup> For the Mother Goddess in Central Anatolia is often simply styled Meter Theôn or is distinguished by a local toponym such as Imruragene, Silandene, Quadatrene, Andeirene (s. also L. Jonnes, The Inscriptions of Sultan Dağı I, Bonn 2002 [IK 62], 82f.), Plitandene in Galatia; Plastene, Sipylene, Aliene, Tarsene in Lydia, s. S. Mitchell, Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor II, Oxford 1993, 19-20.

<sup>18</sup> For Vegia, a Liburnian oppidum on the Adriatic Coast, s. B. Saria, RE VIII A1 (1955), 576f., s. v. Vegium.

<sup>19</sup> Mitchell, Anatolia II (no. 17), 25.

<sup>20</sup> For the mixture of Illyrians with Celts, especially in the northern regions, s. N. Vulić, RE IX 1 (1914), 1086, s. v. Illyricum.

<sup>21</sup> Brixhe – Hodot, Asie Mineure (no. 3), 31.

2 Αὐτοκ(ράτορι) Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ  
 [Ἀντωνίνῳ Σ]ε[βα]στῶ καὶ  
 4 Μητρὶ θεῶν Οὐεγεινῶ ἡ πόλις  
 τὸν τε κατάγειον οἶκον, δει-  
 6 πνιστήριον καὶ <sup>(vac)</sup> τὸν κατ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ τρίκλεινον ἔκ τε προσόδων  
 8 τῶν δεδομένων ὑπὸ Μέμνονος  
 Βιάνορος καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων κατασκευ-  
 10 [άσασα], προνοητῶν ἢ Διοδώρου Νεάρχου  
 [καὶ ?] Ἀπίου Οὐάλωνος νέου τῶν καὶ ἀρξαμέ-  
 12 νων καὶ τ[ῶ]ν πάντων, ἀνέθηκεν.

*"With good fortune!*

*The polis built the subterranean room, the deipnisterion<sup>22</sup> 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."*

Date: 169-180 AD

This inscription should be dated to the sole reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and not to that of Caracalla because it appears to have been set up before the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 AD. The fact that the statue of the God Eurymedon,<sup>23</sup> the stylized garlands on the two pieces of the frieze and the single vaulted Roman bridge<sup>24</sup> near the cave date from the mid 2nd century AD supports this suggestion. That a certain M. Aurelius Abas mentioned on the inscription published by Mitchell might have obtained citizenship under M. Aurelius (just as his namesake<sup>25</sup>, a well-known athlete from the nearby city of Adada, did<sup>26</sup>) provides further support for this date. As was usual in Roman Lydia and Phrygia before AD 212 when the majority of the village priests were not Roman citizens,<sup>27</sup> Memnon, who dedicated this sanctuary and was at the same time priest of Meter Theôn, carries a single Greek name; the same is true for a certain Maron<sup>28</sup> who probably held the same post in a later period.

The chief city of the cult centre mentioned in L 4 of the inscription must have been Timbriada, as had already been suggested by Kaya.<sup>29</sup> The restoration (Τιμ[βριαδέων]) of the first line of the following inscription (no. 3) evidently supports this suggestion. In this context the sanctuary may be defined as a rural sanctuary whose management and revenues must have been under the control of Timbriada. The composite structure of the cult centre with the subterranean room, the deipnisterion and the triclinium also requires interpretation. As M. Riel pointed out, the rural sanctuaries "also must have had rooms for storage and the activities of

<sup>22</sup> For a deipnisterion related to the temple of Dionysos, cf. J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum I*, Bonn 1993 (IK 43), no. 26; for a θηηπολείον δειπνιστήριον dedicated to Aphrodite Urania in Aphrodisias s. Th. Reinach, *Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias*, REG 19, 1906, 234.

<sup>23</sup> Kaya – Mitchell, *Sanctuary of Eurymedon* (no. 2), 50ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 47; for the bridge itself s. H. Sitte, *Römerbrücke bei Imrahor*, AA 1929, 478 ff.

<sup>25</sup> G. Moretti, *Inscrizioni Agonistiche Greche*, Roma 1953, 222 no. 76.

<sup>26</sup> Kaya – Mitchell, *Sanctuary of Eurymedon* (no. 2), 52. S. Mitchell, however, inclines towards a later date.

<sup>27</sup> M. Riel, *Society and Economy of Rural Sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia*, EA 35, 2003, 81.

<sup>28</sup> Kaya – Mitchell, *Sanctuary of Eurymedon* (no. 2), no. 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 41ff.



various personnel who work there”.<sup>30</sup> The subterranean room may have been used for these purposes.

Further, the structure suggests that the sanctuary was frequented by inhabitants from neighbouring cities between the lakes Limnae and Caralis (eg from Prostanna, Tynada,<sup>31</sup> Malos<sup>32</sup> etc.). The inscription found in Ararım/Kolkorum supports this suggestion.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, the communal repasts during festivals in honour of the divinity may have taken place in the deipnisterion with its triclinium.<sup>34</sup> As regards the *προνοηταί*,<sup>35</sup> it is difficult to decide whether they doubled as cult officials like the *ἐπιμεληταί* (curators) of Lydian and Phrygian shrines, who also administered the sacred revenues,<sup>36</sup> using them for construction and repair work in connection with the sanctuary.<sup>37</sup> Here, however, they rather appear to have acted as civic magistrates representing the polis.

### 3. The Urban Centre of this Rural Sanctuary: Timbriada

*Description:* Statue base in the form of a round altar of limestone. Broken into two parts from the second line of the inscription; the right of the upper part is missing.

H: 1.03 m (total); Diam: 0.59–0.79 m; L: 0.03 m.

Τιμ[βριαδέων ὁ δῆμος]  
2 Σάμον, Ἀβᾶντα  
Πανέλληνας  
4 παρὰ Ῥεΐη.



*"Timbriadians (erected the statues) of Samos and Abas, the panhellenes, in the presence of Rhea".*

<sup>30</sup> Ricl, Rural Sanctuaries (no. 27), 80.

<sup>31</sup> For the misreading of *Γυναιδέων* on an inscription found near Terziler by Sarre (F. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, 137f.; F. Sarre, *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich* 9, 1896, 56; cf. W. Ruge, *RE VII 2*, 1912, 2089, s. v. Gynada) and corrected to read «*Τυναιδέων*» s. W.M. Ramsay – E. Kalinka, *Österr. Jahresh.* 1, 1898, Beiblatt 96; W.M. Ramsay, *Military Operations on the North Front of Mount Taurus*, *JHS* 40, 1920, 102f.; W.M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman Province Galatia: VII - Pisidia*, *JRS* 16, 1926, 106f.; cf. W. Ruge, *RE VII A2* (1948), 1756, s. v. *Τυναιδείς*; K. Belke – N. Mersich, *TIB 7. Phrygien und Pisidien*, Wien 1990, 264f., s. v. Gynada. For the recently found inscriptions in Terziler/Tynada s. M. Özseit – H. Şahin, *1996 Yılı Isparta ve çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları*, *AST* 15, 1997, 125f.

<sup>32</sup> Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 674,3; J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Paris 1981 (*Geographie ecclesiastique de l'empire byzantin* 1), I, 429; III, 382; X, 496; XIII, 346; Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens I* (no. 7), 36f.; N. Mersich, *Malos in Pisidien*, *JÖB* 35, 1985, 51-4 (he localized Malos near Saridris); Belke – Mersich, *TIB 7* (no. 31), 334, s. v. Malos; D. Kaya, *Malos Antik Kenti Temizlik Çalışması*, *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 8, 1997, 304f.

<sup>33</sup> S. above no. 8.

<sup>34</sup> For the importance of these repasts held on the occasion of festivals for a divinity and demanded of the priest s. Ricl, *Rural Sanctuaries* (no. 27), 85 no. 41.

<sup>35</sup> S. *προνοητής* as supervisor or administrator of *πάντων*: OGIS 660.8; of estates: PLond.2.214; curator of public buildings, etc.: CIG 4591; of *γυμνασίου*: PGrenf.2.67.

<sup>36</sup> For sacred revenues in general s. B. Dignas, *Economy of Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Ricl, *Rural Sanctuaries* (no. 27), 87.

Date: Mid 2nd cent. AD.

L. 1: On the basis of the number of letters in other lines (approx. 11) Τιμ[βριαδεῖς] may also be regarded as a possible restoration of this line; however this reading is less probable, as οἱ Τιμ[βριαδεῖς] should be expected.

L. 4: Ῥεῖη = Ῥέη.

The restoration of L. 1 should be related to Ty-, Timbriada considered to be the chief city for the cult of the Goddess Meter Theōn Veginos.<sup>38</sup> In the literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources the name of the city appears in three versions, namely Tymbriada, Timbriada and Timbrias.<sup>39</sup>

The πανέλληνες in the third line of the inscription are surely connected to the Panhellenion created by the Emperor Hadrian in 131/2 A.D.<sup>40</sup> On the basis of an inscription from



<sup>38</sup> For the location of Timbriada at Asartepe in Yılanlı Ova s. Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition (no. 11), 280; cf. G. Hirschfeld, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1888, 592; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* (no. 31), 140; Sarre, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt.* (no. 31), 52ff. nos. 28-31; W.M. Ramsay, *Notes and inscriptions from Asia Minor*, MDAI(A) 10, 1885, 345; W.M. Ramsay, *Res Anatolicae III: Ecce Iterum Pisidia*, *Klio* 23, 1930, 246; W.M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Amsterdam 1962, 406; W. Ruge, *RE VI A1* (1937), 1247, s. v. Tymbriada; Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens II* (no. 7), 47-8; Belke – Mersich, *TIB 7* (no. 32), 405f., s. v. Timbrias: They made a mistake while they said of the inscriptions published by Mitchell that they were found at Asartepe; Kaya – Mitchell, *Sanctuary of Eurymedon* (no. 2), 41 no. 12. For the recently published inscriptions in the territory of Timbriada s. J. Borchhardt – G. Neumann – K. Schulz, *Vier pisidische Grabsteine aus Sofular*, *Kadmos* 14, 1975, 66-72; Cl. Brixhe – E. Gibson, *Monuments from Pisidia in the Koç Collection*, *Kadmos* 21, 1982, 130-69; Cl. Brixhe – T. Drew-Bear – D. Kaya, *Nouveaux monuments de Pisidie*, *Kadmos* 26, 1987, 122-70; Cl. Brixhe – M. Özsaıt, *Nouvelles inscriptions pisidiennes et grecques de Timbriada*, *Kadmos* 40, 2001, 155-76.

<sup>39</sup> For the form Τιμβρίαδα, s. Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 673, 9; Sterret, Wolfe Expedition (no. 11), 299 no. 420; K. Lanckoroński (ed.), *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens II*, Prag–Wien–Leipzig 1892, 225 no. 194; Hill, *BMC Pisidia* (no. 6), 278 nos. 1-2; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen II* (no. 6), 413-4; SNG XII Pisidien, Lykaonien, Isaurien (no. 6), nos. 5369-74; Head, *Historia Numorum* (no. 6), 712; von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens II* (no. 6), nos. 2106-92. For the form Τιμβρίαδα, s. Strabo, XII,7,2; Sterret, Wolfe Expedition (no. 11), 377 no. 548. For the form Τιμβρίας, s. *Not. Episc.* (no. 32), I, 384; II, 450; III, 458; IV, 394; VII, 459; IX, 342; X, 399; XIII, 406. It was connected with Thymbrion (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1,2,12) by K. Ziegler, *RE VI A1* (1936), 698, s. v. Thymbrion. Ramsay, however, rejected any connection between Tymbriada and Thymbrion which was situated east of Sultan Dağı (W.M. Ramsay, *Studies in Galatia* [no. 32], 104); cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor II*, Princeton 1950, 1313 no. 17, who links Thymbrion with Timbriani mentioned in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 5,95; cf. Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* (no. 10), § 1383, 639.

<sup>40</sup> For discussions of the Panhellenion s. M.N. Tod, *Inscriptions from Macedonia*, *JHS* 42, 1922, 173-180; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo 1934, 102-111; J.H. Oliver, *New Evidence on the Attic Panhellenion*, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, 31ff.; A.S. Benjamin, *The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program*, *Hesperia* 32.1, 1963, 57-61; J.H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 13, 1970, 132ff.; S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle*, Paris 1976, 113ff.; 125ff.; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus II*, Hildesheim 1983, 12ff.; A.J. Spawforth – S. Walker, *The World of Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis*, *JRS* 75, 1985, 78-104; A.J. Spawforth – S. Walker, *The World of Panhellenion. II. Three Doeian Cities*, *JRS* 76, 1986, 88-105; D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm*, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Neugestaltung Athens durch Hadrian*, Basel 1990 (*Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 16); M. Wörrle, *Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aizanoi I*, *Chiron* 22, 1992, 339-345; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian, Athens and the Panhellenion*, *JRA* 7, 1994, 426-431; C.P. Jones, *The Panhellenion*, *Chiron* 26, 1996, 29-56; A.J. Spawforth, *The Panhellenion Again*, *Chiron* 29, 1999, 339-352; P. Weiss, *Eumeneia und das Panhellenion*, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 617-637; E. Stephan, *Hono-*



Aizanoi, however, it is most probable that the Panhellenic games were not founded until 137.<sup>41</sup> Only the cities able to prove their membership in the Hellenic *genos* enjoyed the privilege of being admitted to the Panhellenic Council.<sup>42</sup> Thirty-three cities are documented to date as members of the Panhellenion, and it is noteworthy that the member cities are all from Hellas, Asia Minor, Crete and Cyrene, ie from the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>43</sup> Of these cities, those in mainland Greece (among them Athens and Sparta) were the foremost members probably entitled to automatic membership, while the admission of others would be the result of a complex procedure aimed at establishing their Greek origins.<sup>44</sup>

Spawforth and Walker described the activities of the Council in detail<sup>45</sup>, pointing out that the surviving inscriptions focus on two administrative posts of the Panhellenion, namely on the archon and the council (*synedrion*) of the delegates from the member-cities, who were called πανέλληνες. The archon held office at Athens for a period of four years, while the panhellenes' tenure was limited to one year.<sup>46</sup> These councillors were elected by the member bodies which they represented.<sup>47</sup> Spawforth and Walker also pointed out that membership was not uniformly represented on the council.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, Timbriada must have been represented by two delegates, namely Samos and Abas. This delegation from Timbriada in the Panhellenion Council should also be dated to the reign of the Antonines. Nevertheless, neither epigraphic nor numismatic sources provide any evidence as to when the Pisidian City of Timbriada was admitted to the Panhellenion.<sup>49</sup>

Almost all senior officers of the council, eg the archons, antarchon, agonothetai and priests, can be identified as Roman citizens, while more than half of the 25 known Panhellenes in the table drawn up by Spawforth and Walker are not *cives*<sup>50</sup>, as is also the case with the members from Timbriada.

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ratioren, Griechen, Polisbürger. Kollektive Identitäten innerhalb der Oberschicht des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien, Göttingen 2002, 215ff.; I. Romeo, *The Panhellenion and Ethnic Identity in Hadrianic Greece*, CPh 97.1, 2002, 21-40.

<sup>41</sup> Wörrle, *Aizanoi* (no. 40), 343f.; C.P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1999, 33; cf. Romeo, *Panhellenion* (no. 40), 21 no. 2; for the inscription s. further: A.S. Benjamin, *Two Dedications in Athens to Archons of the Panhellenion*, *Hesperia* 37.3, 1968, 338-344; R.A. Kearsley, *M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles of Aezani: Panhellene, Asiarch and Archiereus of Asia*, *Antichthon* 21, 1987, 49-56.

<sup>42</sup> For the machinery and other criteria of admission to the Panhellenic Council s. Spawforth – Walker, *Panhellenion I* (no. 40), 81f.; Romeo, *Panhellenion* (no. 40), 24ff.

<sup>43</sup> S. most recently: Romeo, *Panhellenion* (no. 40), 23 Fig. 1; for an earlier discussion s. Spawforth – Walker, *Panhellenion I* (no. 40), 80 table I.

<sup>44</sup> Romeo, *Panhellenion* (no. 40), 23f.

<sup>45</sup> Spawforth – Walker, *Panhellenion I* (no. 40), 82ff.

<sup>46</sup> Spawforth – Walker, *Panhellenion I* (no. 40), 79 and no. 3; Romeo, *Panhellenion* (no. 40), 25.

<sup>47</sup> Spawforth – Walker, *Panhellenion I* (no. 40), 79 no. 4.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 79 no. 5: Some cities sent more than one Panhellen to Athens. For example Cyrene sent two; Sparta at least two and perhaps more.

<sup>49</sup> For the documents which appear to be directly related to the admission of a new member s. Spawforth – Walker, *Panhellenion I* (no. 40), 81 no. 17.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 84ff. Table 2.

It is understandable that Meter Theôn was called Rhea by these Panhellenes, which was already reported by Strabo.<sup>51</sup> It is also important to note the derivation of Rhea from ῥέω by Chrysipp, who said that the rivers flow from the Earth.<sup>52</sup> This explains why the chief deity of this cult centre was Rhea and why the God Eurymedon was also worshipped here together with her.<sup>53</sup> It is also noteworthy that some smaller tributaries of the Eurymedon spring from this cave.

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<sup>51</sup> S. above no. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Etym. Mag., s. v. Ῥέα: Χρύσιππος δὲ λέγει τὴν γῆν Ῥέαν κεκληθῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ῥεῖ τὰ ὕδατα.

<sup>53</sup> For the representation of Cybele together with Eurymedon on the coins s. SNG 12 (no. 6), no. 5370; Aulock, Münzen und Städte Pisidiens II (no. 6), no. 2121-23.

## ÖZET

**Zindan Mağarası, Meter Theôn Veginos Tapınağı'ndan Yazıtlar I**

Bu makalede, Isparta Müzesi Müdürlüğü'nün Zindan Mağarası'nda yürüttüğü 2003 yılı kazı çalışmaları (bkz. bu dergide Dedeoğlu, s. 95vdd.) sırasında gün yüzüne çıkarılan on yedi yazıttan, Meter Theôn Veginos Tapınağı veya kültü ile doğrudan ilintili üçü tanıtılmaktadır.

Söz konusu yazıtlar, Zindan Mağarası'ndaki tapınağın, şimdiye kadar düşünüldüğü gibi Nehir Tanrısı Eurymedon'a değil; Meter Theôn Veginos'a ait olduğunu ve yapımının İmparator M. Aurelius'un tek başına yönetim dönemine tarihlenebileceğini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu kırsal tapınak, büyük olasılıkla Isparta İli'ne bağlı Aksu İlçe'sinin yaklaşık 10 km batısında bulunan Asartepe Öreni'ne lokalize edilebilecek Timbriada Kenti teritoryumu içinde yer almış olmalıdır. Buna göre, Tapınağı adayan şahıs Memnon da Timbriada kenti yurttaşı olmalıdır. 1 ve 2 nolu yazıtlardan elde edilen bilgilere göre kült merkezi mimari öğeleri ile kompleks bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu merkez, başta Timbriada kenti olmak üzere yakın çevredeki birçok kente hizmet ediyor olmalıydı. Nitekim Koralis (Beyşehir) Gölü'nün hemen güneybatısında bulunan ve Meter Vegna'ya ait bir yazıt kültün yayılım alanının genişliğine ışık tutmaktadır.

Bunun dışında makalede, söz konusu yazıtlarda geçen Meter Theôn'un epitheton'u Vegeinos'un etimolojisi tartışılmaktadır. Bu epitheton'un, Anadolu'daki Meter Oreia ve Kybele kültlerinde sıkça görüldüğü üzere, dağ ya da bölge adından kaynaklanmış olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Bu amaçla, Vegeinos adı Kelt kökenli Vegia kent adı ile karşılaştırılmakta, ama yine de bu konuda söylenecek son söz dilbilimcilere bırakılmaktadır. Makalede tanıtılan sonuncu yazıttaysa, İmparator Hadrian tarafından İ.S. 131/2 yılında kurulan Panhellen Birliği'ne Timbriada kentinin de dâhil olduğu ilk kez belgelenmektedir. Buna göre, kent eşrafından Samos ve Abas adında iki yurttaş, ilki 137–141 yılları arasında toplanmaya başlayan Panhellen Synedrion'unda (Panhellen Meclisi) büyük olasılıkla Marcus Aurelius'un hükümranlığı sırasında Timbriada kentini temsil etmişlerdir.

## Yazıtların Çevirileri:

1. *"Hayırlı, uğurlu olsun! Tezahür eden tanrıça Meter Theôn Veginos'un rahibi ve İmparator Kültü başrahibi olan, vatansever insan, Bianor oğlu Memnon, tapınağı ve üstündeki triclinium'u bütün bezemeleriyle birlikte yaptırarak vatanına ve tanrıçaya adadı."*

2. *"Hayırlı, uğurlu olsun! Kent(imiz, masraflarını) Bianor oğlu Memnon'un başısladığı gelirlerin yanında diğer başka gelirlerden de karşılamak suretiyle yeraltı odasını, deipnisterion'u ve içindeki triclinium'u yaptırarak İmparator Kaisar M. Aurelius ve Tanrıların Anası Veginos'a adadı. Nearkhos oğlu Diodoros ile Valon oğlu Apios? tebaayı ve diğer bütün şeyleri denetleme görevini kent adına yürüttüler."*

3. *"Timbriadalılar, Panhellen Samos ve Abas'ın (heykellerini) Tanrıça Rhea'nın huzurunda (diktiler)."*