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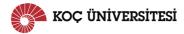
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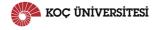
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# Contents

Federico Manuelli – Giovanni Siracusano  Economies in Transformation: A Zooarchaeological Perspective from Early Iron Age Arslantepe  (Southeastern Türkiye)	1
Nihal Tüner Önen – Betül Gürel Inscribed Ostotheks, Sarcophagi, and a Grave Stele from Phaselis	31
Dominique Kassab Tezgör From the Miltos / Sinopis of Ancient Sinope to the Yoşa of Modern Cappadocia	45
Banu Yener-Marksteiner – Philip Bes Big Brothers: Two North Pontic Amphorae of Type Zeest 83 / 89 found in Limyra	71
Melih Arslan – Richard Gordon – Yavuz Yeğin Six Amuletic Gems in Ankara	89
F. Eray Dökü – Şenkal Kileci Ares Reliefs and a New Votive Inscription to Ares in the Rural Highlands of Kabalis / Kabalia	105
Ahmet Oğuz Alp  Ancient Quarries in the Vicinity of Başara and a Local Roman Grave Stele Workshop	125
Elizabeth A. Murphy – Inge Uytterhoeven  Late Antique Industry in the Urban Public and Private Spaces of Asia Minor	137
Hale Güney – Erman Yanık  New Inscriptions from Northeast Phrygia: The 2021 Survey	161
Koray Durak  The Story of Storax in the Byzantine World: A Fragrant Resin of International Fame from Southern Anatolia	179

# Ares Reliefs and a New Votive Inscription to Ares in the Rural Highlands of Kabalis / Kabalia

F. ERAY DÖKÜ – ŞENKAL KİLECİ\*

#### **Abstract**

In the Uylupınar (Early Kibyra) surveys conducted in the highlands of Kabalis / Kabalia since 2017, extensive archaeological traces of rural life of farmers and shepherds during the Roman period were found. The most important of these remains are the routes of roads, rock reliefs dedicated to different gods who protect water resources, permanent or seasonal settlements, and tomb types associated with settlements in the rural highlands. All these tangible cultural data remains stem from the holistic lifestyle established in the region during the Roman period. In 2017, an Ares relief in a cave and an eight-line Greek inscription right next to the relief were found in the Ballık Locality of Ambarcık Village, situated within the border of Balboura. The iconography of the relief, clearly understood to be Ares with this inscription, has enabled us to determine that other reliefs found in the region with similar iconography also represent Ares. In addition, the oracle inscription and the small relief next to it, in front of the cave's entrance, and the Ares relief in the cave on the same rocky hill are related to Ares, who gave the oracle.

**Keywords:** Ares, Kabalis / Kabalia, rock reliefs, iconography

#### Öz

2017 yılından itibaren Kabalis / Kabalia yüksek yaylalarında sürdürülen Uylupınar (Erken Kibyra) yüzey araştırmalarında, hareketli çiftçi ve çobanların kırsal yaşamlarına dair Roma Dönemi yoğun arkeolojik izleriyle karşılaşılmıştır. Bu izlerden en önemlileri, kalıcı ya da dönemsel yerleşimler, yüksek yayla kırsalında yerleşimlerle bağlantılı mezar tipleri yanında yol güzergahları ve su kaynaklarını koruyan farklı tanrılara adanmış kaya kabartmalarıdır. Bütün bu veriler, Roma Dönemi'nde bölgede yaratılan yaşam biçimi bütününün bıraktığı maddi kültür verileridir. 2017 yılında Balboura sınırı içerisinde yer alan ve bugün Ambarcık kövü Ballık mevkisinde bir mağara içerisindeki Ares kabartması ve kabartmanın hemen bitişiğindeki sekiz satırlık Hellence yazıtı tespit edilmiştir. Bu yazıt ile Ares olduğu net olarak anlaşılan kabartmanın ikonografisi, bölgede tespit edilmiş olan, benzer ikonografiye sahip diğer kabartmaların da Ares'i temsil ettiğini anlamamız için yol gösterici olmuştur. Ayrıca mağarada yer alan Ares kabartmasıyla aynı kayalıkta mağaranın girişinin önünde, kehanet yazıtı ve yanındaki küçük kabartmanın da, kehanet veren Ares ile bağlantılı olduğu anlaşılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ares, Kabalis / Kabalia, kaya kabartmaları, ikonografi

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The Uylupınar (Early Kibyra) surveys carried out between 2012 and 2021 had by 2017 concentrated on the highlands and rural areas of the Kabalis / Kabalia region<sup>1</sup> (fig. 1). During these studies, the seasonal settlement patterns detected in the highland countryside within the territory of Balboura attracted attention.<sup>2</sup> These settlements consist of small rectangular spaces with rubble stone foundations. These utilize a high cliff as a shield to the north and open like a fan to the south of the rock. Necropolises consisting of various types and mostly sarcophagi with reclining lion lid / chamosorion are found. Rock reliefs dedicated to different gods were found on the rock where the settlement had expanded.<sup>3</sup> This type of seasonal settlement is a reflection of an active economy in the highlands. In oral history studies, we find economic models and seasonal settlement types that were enabled by the local geography until recently. Herein animal husbandry and dynamic farming were conducted together. This practice is also consistent with the available archaeological data and settlement types we have identified in the Kabalis / Kabalia highlands during the Roman period.<sup>4</sup> The high economic useage of the highlands during the Roman period is understood from the large number of seasonal settlements. Migration routes between settlements, agricultural fields, and pastures in the highland can be drawn by following the rock reliefs protecting the water sources and from the roads.<sup>5</sup> The temple architecture observed in the cities is replaced in the countryside by gods carved into the rocks with those attributes representing them. In mountainous Pisidia and Lycia, reliefs and votive steles placed in niches were widely carved into the rocks. Local gods are numerous in these reliefs and votive steles. Although few in number, reliefs of Greek and Roman gods / demigods are also seen.

Within the territory of Balboura, the Dioscuri as local deities and goddess as well as the triple deities - Theoi Dikaioi / Theoi Agrioi / Theoi Skleroi - have been identified throughout most of the highlands. In addition, the demigod Heracles is seen with all his attributes in both the territory of Balboura and in the rock reliefs of the Pisidian Region. In Pisidia, sanctuaries consisting of rock reliefs of Kakasbos, a local equestrian god, become widespread. The name Heracles is read in some of the inscriptions found together with these reliefs of the equestrian god. Apart from the local gods, reliefs of Zeus, Artemis Lagbene, and Ares originating from Greek mythology are the other reliefs observed in the highlands of Balboura's territory.

The research carried out in the highland between Burdur, Çavdır, and Altınyayla has yielded very important results with the seasonal settlements, tombs, and sanctuaries briefly summarized above. From this, the rock reliefs related to rural settlements clearly reveal the difference between the Roman-period highland countryside and the city.

On the Kabalis / Kabalia Region, see RE 10.2 s.v. "Kabalia"; Naour 1978; Zgusta 1984, §397: Κάβαλα, Καυαλα; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, s.v. "Kabalia"; Neue Pauly 6 s.v. "Kabalis"; Coulton 2012, 43-60; Dökü and Baytak 2017b, 224-26; Doğan 2019, 90-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the territory of Balboura, see Coulton 2012, 17-42; Doğan 2019, 96-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For highland settlement types, see Coulton 2012, 17-60; Dökü 2018, 2019b, 2020; Dökü and Harmanda 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dökü 2018, 2019b, 2020; Dökü and Harmanda 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Dökü 2018, 2019b, 2020; Dökü and Harmanda 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Smith 1997, 2011; Coulton 2012, 144-61; Talloen 2015, 1; Dökü 2018; Beceren 2018, 11-18, 27-30, 151-61, cat. nos. 128-43; 2019; Dökü 2019b, 2020; Dökü and Harmanda 2020; Özüdoğru 2020, 323-24.

Özsait 2006, 261; Labarre et al. 2006, 109; Özsait 2010, 131-32; Corsten and Hülden 2012; Kahya 2015; Dökü and Baytak 2017a, 646; Beceren 2018, 148-50, cat. nos. 125-27; 2019, 247-48; Dökü 2018, 263; 2019a, 517; 2020, 219; Özüdoğru 2020, 322, 324.

<sup>8</sup> Delemen 1999, 151-63, nos. 213-78, fig. 16, pls. 14-16, see especially nos. 218, 230, 246, 257, 263, 271; Labarre et al. 2006, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Beceren 2018, 19, 21, 32; Dökü 2019b, 63; Özüdoğru 2020, 324-25.

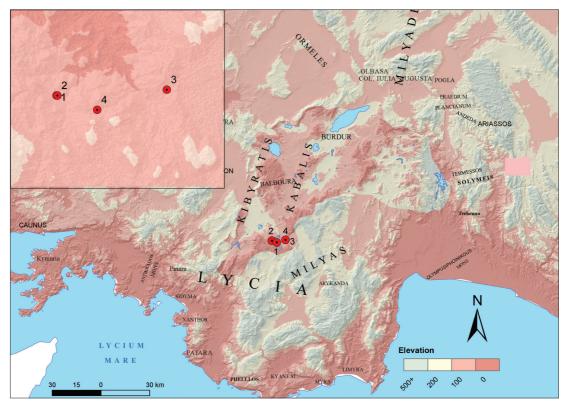


FIG. 1 Map of Ares sanctuary of Ballık Cave (1-2), Ares relief at Kelerli Yazılı Taş (3), Ares relief at Soğulgan Hill (4) by F. Adıgüzel.

# Ares Sanctuary of Ballık Cave

In 2017 we carried out studies around Ambarcık Village in the Çavdır district of Burdur. A small and narrow valley is located at the southwest exit of the village on either side of the stream flowing through the high rocky hills. In the west of this area called Ballık, there are reliefs of the Dioscuri with goddess carved on the rock. First published by Th. Corsten, today they are upside down as a result of the fall of the rock mass. An inscription of two lines in a rectangular frame is carved into the bedrock beneath the relief depicting a dressed goddess in the middle of the Dioscuri with two horses.<sup>10</sup>

The facade of the Dioscuri with goddess relief faces the stream, and the narrow valley formed by the stream is today the pedestrian path connecting Ambarcık Village and Kozağacı. The valley widens in front of the reliefs of the Dioscuri with goddess. An oracle inscription, first identified by Th. Corsten, is on the high hill directly opposite the relief (fig. 2). <sup>11</sup> On the right side adjacent to the inscription panel, there is a relief that cannot be seen very well due to natural erosion. This relief depicts a standing, clothed man within a rectangular panel. It is clear that he is wearing a pointed conical hood / helmet, but the facial details can no longer be determined. It is understood from three-dimensional images that the figure, depicted in a short dress that reaches down to the knee, holds a shield in his left hand and a *phiale* (?) in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *I.Kibyra* 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *I.Kibyra* 97. See also Petzl 1997; Nollé 2007, 244-45.

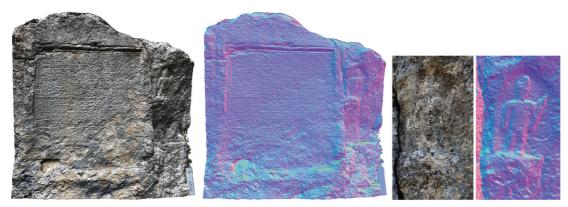


FIG. 2 3D View of oracle inscription and Ares relief in Ballık by A. Akçay.

his right hand (fig. 2). The details of the relief are not evident due to the erosion. A small cave entrance lies behind the relief. Although Th. Corsten determined that there were fragments of inscriptions also around this cave, he could not read them because the inscriptions were not carved deeply on the rough rock surface and did not follow a specific line. Th. Corsten interpreted the object in the relief next to the oracle inscription as a scepter, stick, or sword. Then he associates this figure with the oracle inscription. There is no iconographic evidence for this identification as Apollo. Although Th. Corsten is not sure, he states that this figure may be Hermes, who gives an oracle though lesser than those of Apollo. Th. Corsten did not publish the inscription within the cave, possibly because he did not see the relief inside the cave and therefore the inscription.

There is another large cave, which can be entered through a natural opening near the summit of the rocky hill, where the oracle inscription and small relief are located. After passing two oval-shaped doors in the wide and high cave, a larger room is reached. During our 2017 surveys, a relief and an eight-line inscription randomly engraved on the natural rock were found in the lower left part of the relief on the eastern wall of the room. This is a natural formation on the sloping rock that was not arranged for the relief (fig. 3a-b).<sup>13</sup>

The relief figure in the cave<sup>14</sup> was made on a rough rock surface with an inclination of approximately 32 degrees. The floor was destroyed, and the relief was carved approximately 140 cm above this destroyed floor. The relief is 158 cm high and 50 cm wide. In the area of the depiction, a standing clothed male figure has been carved. Most of the right arm is missing, and both feet are almost unidentifiable. There has been great abrasion and destruction to the surface. Abrasions are on all facial details, such as small ruptures and damage to the nose, lips, and cheeks.

The body is depicted from the front. While the right leg can be viewed from the front, the left leg is damaged. However, the left leg is slightly bent from the knee to the left. Since the feet are destroyed, their position is unknown. He holds a rectangular shield in his left hand. His right arm was extended to the side, bent at the elbow at a right angle, and lifted upwards. It can be understood from the tip of the spear that he is holding an upright spear

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *I.Kibyra* 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Dökü 2018, 262; 2019a, 515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> For the cultic records in caves, see Smith 1997, 6; Brixhe and Hodot 1988, 140-48, no. 46; Takmer and Gökalp 2005; Talloen 2015, 69 and n. 106; Takmer 2019, 89-90.

in his right hand, which is quite worn. The lower part of the spear, expected to be seen under the right hand, is destroyed (fig. 3a). His head faces straight ahead; he is depicted as wearing a conical (tufted, Corinthian?) helmet and beardless. The helmet tapers upwards like a cone. It left the hair falling on the forehead exposed in the front and covered the ears along with the hair at the sides. The tufts of hair are separated by a triangular line in the middle, just above the forehead. They are indicated by thin and diagonal lines on the sides. The facial contour is depicted with a deep line, prominent and oval. The forehead is narrow; the eyes are deep and almondshaped. The nose is thin, rectangular, and undetailed. The thick lips are separated by a deep groove. Although the details of the clothes cannot be clearly understood due to the destruction, it is understood from what is visible that he was wearing chest ar-

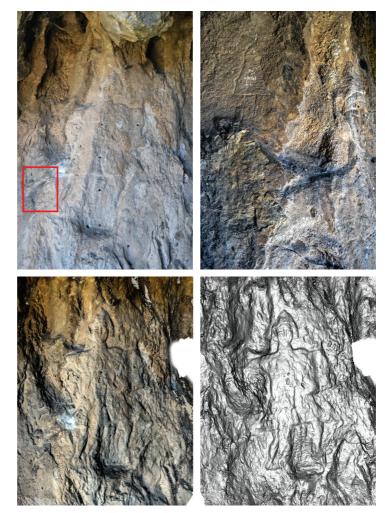


FIG. 3 a) Ares relief overview and inscription (left); Spear of Ares in detail (right) in Ballık Cave; b) 3D view of Ares relief in Ballık Cave.

mor reaching below the waist. Under the armor, it can be seen that he was wearing a short tunic that stretched to his knees and opened at both sides. <sup>15</sup>

Th. Corsten does not mention the Ares relief in the cave in his publications. The relief mentioned in his book is the relief inside the small panel next to the oracle inscription. <sup>16</sup> It is certain that the helmeted, armored figure with shield and spear in the cave is Ares, not only from its attributes, but also from the inscription next to it. The attributes of the figure located next to the oracle inscription in the lower level on the same rock are today unknown due to natural destruction. On the other hand, it is clear from 3D images that the standing dressed male figure wears a pointed conical headdress, although the facial details cannot be seen clearly (fig. 2). Both arms hang down from the shoulder. He should be holding a shield in his

 $<sup>^{15} \ \ \</sup>text{For Ares / Mars Type C see} \ \textit{LIMC} \ 2.1, \ 520, \ \text{nos.} \ 90\text{-}107, \ 2.2, \ 389, \ \text{nos.} \ 91, \ 93, \ 95, \ 102.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> *I.Kibyra* 97.

left hand, similar to the relief inside the cave. A *phiale* (?) is seen in his right hand. Although the details of the clothing cannot be seen, there is armor, similar to the relief, inside the cave (fig. 3a-b) on the upper body. However, its details cannot be determined. A short tunic can easily be seen reaching down to the knee. <sup>17</sup> The legs are upright and facing forward, but the stance from the feet cannot be determined. This relief was carved in a very primitive manner with local craftsmanship, and the relief depiction inside the cave should depict the same god. Therefore, this rocky cave is a sanctuary for Ares, who gave the oracle. This sanctuary is in the region where the narrow valley, which contains the route connecting the settlements, widens. It probably constituted a ceremonial area. The presence of the above-mentioned Dioscuri with goddess reliefs on the rock almost opposite the oracle inscription, again facing the road and the stream bed, also indicates that this area was specially selected for use in cult practices. It is important that we find this same unity of Ares, the Dioscuri with goddess reliefs at Kelerli Yazılı Taş, explained below.

#### New Votive Inscription to Ares

The inscription was randomly carved next to the right leg of Ares on the relief inside the cave mentioned above. The area where the inscription is located is naturally quite rough and indented. The inscription was carved irregularly on an area approximately 43 cm high and 40 cm wide, over the concave and convex indentations of the bedrock (figs. 3a, 4). The inscription was destroyed by scratching the letters with a hard object. Therefore, there are changes and distortions in the letters, while there is a loss in the fifth line. The letters are written in lunar form (C,  $\omega$ ,  $\in$ ), while the letter Y has a short leg in the fourth and seventh lines, and long legs in the other lines (fig. 4).

Findspot: Ballık, in the village of Ambarcık, territory of Balboura.

Measurements: Lh.: 0.02-0.04 m.

Date: Roman Imperial period (probably second-third centuries AD).

```
Τρω[ΐ]-
λος δ'
Πολυ-
4 δ<sup>ν.</sup> εύκους
ΑΚ [ - ca. 1/2 - ]ΔΑ
τ<sup>νν.</sup> ὸν Ά-
ρέα <sup>ν.</sup> εὐ-
8 χήν.
```

Troilos the fourth, son of Polydeukes, son of A...das dedicated the Ares.

LL. 1-2: The letter iota could not be seen. It was either lost among the cracks over time or forgotten in carving. This letter

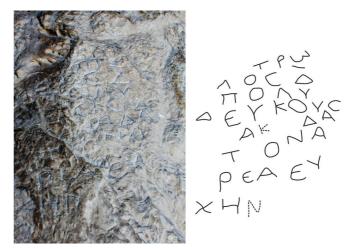


FIG. 4 Inscription on the lower left part of the Ares relief.

can also be placed as the first letter of the second line. The letter  $\Delta$  in the second line appears to have the letter T on it because of the indentation. But there is a straight line on  $\Delta$  symbolizing a

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$  For Ares / Mars types with holding *phiale*, cf. *LIMC* 2.1, 516, 2.2, 390, nos. 112, 114, 115, 118.

number ( $\bar{\Delta}$ ). The number four ( $\bar{\Delta}$ ) here indicates the fourth generation of the very common family name Troilos. <sup>18</sup>

LL. 3-4: The first name is of Polydeukes (Lat. Pollux), a boxer from the twin sons of Zeus, the father of Troilos. The name Polydeukes is known especially from Kibyra, <sup>19</sup> Balboura, <sup>20</sup> Bubon, <sup>21</sup> and the territories of these cities in the Kabalia Region, <sup>22</sup> as well as in the geographical area where the twin gods were frequently worshipped in the religious sense. <sup>23</sup>

L. 5: Since the letters evidence many modern scrape marks, there is extensive destruction (fig. 4). In the fifth line, although the characters can be seen as A, K,  $\Delta$ , and A respectively, only the first letter  $/\alpha$ -/ and the last  $/-\delta\alpha$ / can be read clearly. This part probably contains the name of Polydeukes' father. In the area between  $/\alpha$ -/ and  $/-\delta\alpha$ /, a suspicious letter  $/\kappa$ / can be seen just to the right of the alpha, but other areas cannot be read clearly due to modern vandalism. According to the last two letters  $(-\delta\alpha)$ , the nominative form of the noun should have the ending  $-\delta\alpha$ . Based on the traces on the surface of the inscription, there is a possibility that the letter  $/\rho$ / and the letter  $/\nu$ / or just  $/\nu$ / are on the rock. There is also the possibility that the letter  $/\rho$ / is a natural formation on the rock. If the existence of these letters is accepted, Akridas (AKPI $\Delta\Delta\Sigma$ ) or Akidas (AKI $\Delta\Delta\Sigma$ ) can be suggested for the name. Among these names, Akridas is a name that has not been identified before; however, the name Akidas (Åκί $\delta\alpha$ ) was recorded at Thasos. <sup>24</sup>

LL. 6-7: The expression τὸν Ἀρέα emphasizes the relief right next to the inscription. Troilos (4), the great-grandson of Polydeukes, fulfilled his vow and made a relief of Ares.

The epigraphic materials in Asia Minor regarding the god Ares were previously collected and evaluated by M. Gonzales. Ares is also worshipped as *megistos theos* in Bubon, *theos tauropolites* in Oinoanda, *theos megalos* in Kyaneiai, *epekoos*, *megalos*, and *meizon* in Phaselis, and with the epithets *epekoos* in Perge, as well as the river god *Meizoares* (ποταμὸς Μειζοάρης). There are also inscriptions about Ares in Xanthos, Sidyma, Syedra, and Side. Et al. 8: The letter N has been destroyed by scraping (fig. 4).

Dating: The characters are sometimes wide and sometimes short due to the use of the bedrock without flattening the surface. The random writing of the letters on the bedrock according to its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For the records see *LGPN* 5C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> *I.Kibyra* 47, 87, 410.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> *LBW* 1221; Heberdey and Kalinka 1897, 38, no. 51 and 51.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> I.Bubon Schindler 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See for more *LGPN* 5C.

Robert 1987, 404, no. 10; French 1994, 88; Delemen 1995, 317-18, nos. 27-29; I.Kibyra 87-89; Corsten 2009, 94-95; Beceren 2018, 125-38, cat. nos. 94-110; Dökü 2018, 261-62; 2019a, 515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In the inscription found in Thasos, the genitive case is ἀκίδου, which is either Akidas or Akides, see Pouilloux 1954, 263-64, no. 28. See also LGPN 1 s.v. "Akidas" or "Akides".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Gonzales 2004, 372-477. See also Farnell 1909, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> I.Bubon Schindler 3-4 (after 212 AD).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Heberdey and Kalinka 1897, 53, no. 76; Milner 1998, 3, no. 2 (second-third century AD).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> IGRR 3, 700; CIG 4303h1 (reign of Antoninus Pius).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> İplikçioğlu 2002, 130; 2003, 73; Arslan and Tüner Önen 2018, 315; 2020, 269-71. See also Talloen 2015, 62, 233-34 (Roman Imperial period).

<sup>30</sup> *I.Perge* 234-35 (second-third century AD).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> İplikçioğlu 2002, 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> *TAM* 2.1, 264 (early first century BC).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Bean 1978, 81; *SEG* 37, 1228 (Roman period?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Robert 1966, 96-97; Gonzales 2004, 436 (200-86 BC?).

<sup>35</sup> I.Side 377-78. These two inscriptions found in Side and dated to the late Roman Imperial period contain data on Ares giving an oracle (χρηματισθείς). For the oracle of Ares, see also Hdt. 7.75; Gonzales 2005. For the relation of the oracle with Phrygian rock-cut divinations, see also Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 143-205.

indentations and folds makes dating difficult. Due to the inscription's characteristic features, it must be dated within the Roman Imperial period. However, the majority of the inscriptions on Ares are dated to the second-third centuries AD. Due to factors such as the lunate form of the letters seen in some inscriptions in the Kabalis / Kabalia Region and Kibyratis, and the shortening of the leg of the upsilon letter, a date range in the second-third centuries AD can be suggested.  $^{36}$ 

#### Kelerli Yazılı Taş Reliefs of Ares, and the Dioscuri with Goddess

Rock reliefs can be seen on the pedestrian road connecting the village of Yazır Village in Çavdır District with the town of Söğüt, and on the road followed by the herds called Tırnaklı Road and near the water source. T.J. Smith first published the relief panels in the area called Kelerli Yazılı Taş (fig. 5).<sup>37</sup> Reliefs of the Dioscuri with goddess can be seen in the rectangular naiskos frame under the gable roof, of which acroteres can be seen. In this depiction the goddess is shown in the middle, frontal and standing. With her head covered, she wears a himation over a chiton. Her left hand holds a piece of her skirt while her right hand is on her chest. On both sides of the goddess, there are the Dioscuri wearing a tunic on their horses, holding the horse's reins in one hand, and a club? / sword? in the other. On the pediment, a beardless male head with short hair and triangular facial features is visible.

To the left of the relief of the Dioscuri with goddess, there is a male figure carved within a rectangular naiskos with a gable-roof frame, standing, frontal and dressed (fig. 5). His height is 46 cm and width 10 cm. He wears a conical helmet, and the details on his oval face, eyes and mouth are highly primitive. He wears armor and a plain, pleated short tunic that goes above the knee, beneath the armor. The figure is holding an upright long spear with its arm bent at a right angle upwards from the elbow. In his left hand, he holds a square shield. His legs and feet are frontal. The relief is on a raised base above the ground. The frame with the inscription to the left of these reliefs has been destroyed.





FIG. 5 Kelerli Yazılı Taş, reliefs of Ares, and Dioscuri with Goddess (left: Smith 1997, 50, pl. 1.b).

This standing relief is iconographically identical to the relief found inside the cave in Ballık, in terms of its stance and weapons such as a high conical helmet, armor, shield and spear.<sup>38</sup> In addition, it is noteworthy that both, Ares is seen next to the Dioscuri with goddess on this

<sup>36</sup> See the related footnotes above. For some examples of the lettering, see Horsley 2007, 32-33, no. 31, pls. 34, 56-57, nos. 81-83, pls. 79-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Coulton 1994; Smith 1997, 5, 7, 19, 21, 30, fig. 1b; Beceren 2018, 38, 109-11, cat. no. 76; Dökü 2020, 221, fig. 2F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> For Ares / Mars Type C see. *LIMC* 2.1, 520, nos. 90-107, 2.2, 389, nos. 91, 93, 95, 102.

rock, and among the reliefs of the Dioscuri with goddess, mentioned above, in Ballık. As a result, this relief likewise is a depiction representing Ares.

T.J. Smith, who published these relief panels, focused more on the reliefs of the Dioscuri with goddess. He defines the figure depicted with a helmet, spear, and rectangular shield and carrying all the attributes of Ares. However, he does not dwell on what or which god this relief represents.<sup>39</sup>

J.J. Coulton detected a relief depiction on a block within the borders of Fethiye Karaçulha Village (fig. 6).40 He mentions that this description is related to the relief published by T.J. Smith and described above. However, it is not a funerary stele, but a widely used votive relief. 41 Nevertheless, he does not mention to which god this votive relief was dedicated. The Karaçulha votive relief depiction is similar to both the Ballık and Kelerli Ares reliefs. The male figure in armor and armed is standing on a rectangular base. Although his head is broken, it is understood that he is wearing a high helmet. The armor worn by the figure is evident. The strap holding the sword and descending from the right shoulder is directed to the back over the waist. Under the armor, a two-layered short tunic descends to the knee with straight and parallel folds. The legs are straight and frontal. The right arm is lowered and depicted as holding a phiale in his hand. His left arm is invisible behind the round shield he is holding. He holds a long spear behind the shield in the same hand. As J.J. Coulton mentioned, all this iconographic depiction indicates it is a votive relief rather than a tomb stele. It is similar to the Kelerli Ares relief since it stands on a high podium and is depicted as a heavily armed warrior in armor, and in stylistic expression. However, here he holds a phiale in his right hand. A similar depiction is also seen in the relief (fig. 2) next to the Ballık oracle inscription. All of these iconographic attributes allow us to argue that this relief is an Ares relief.



FIG. 6 Ares relief in Karaçulha Village (Coulton 2012, 452, fig. E61.Kç.14a).

# Ares Cult Areas in Kabalia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia

The geography of the Pisidia Region consists of high, rocky mountains and relatively broad plains in between. This rough topography is the biggest factor in tracking different settlement patterns in both urban and rural areas. The rock reliefs and sanctuaries formed in the rural settlements mentioned above under this geographical influence are more prevalent and more common than in other regions.

The practice of depicting gods on rock in reliefs constituting rock sanctuaries, known since the Bronze Age in Anatolia, begins with the Hittites. As M. Darga mentioned, the presence of rock reliefs with depictions of Hittite kings and gods, situated on natural road routes, borders

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Smith 1997, 5, 7, 19, 21, 30, fig. 1b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Coulton 2012, 452 EL4.Kc.14a, fig. E.61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Smith 1997, 5, 7, 19, 21, 30, fig. 1b; cf. Coulton 2012, 452 EL4.Kc.14a, fig. E.61.

and rocks at water sources, was important during the Great Hittite Kingdom. <sup>42</sup> In addition to the Yazılıkaya sanctuary, the reliefs of Gavurkalesi related to the settlement and tomb became the sanctuary of the Hittite gods. In the Iron Age, the tradition of depicting gods and kings as reliefs on rocks continued in Neo-Hittite art. <sup>43</sup> Similar geography and perception appear in mountainous Phrygia in the Iron Age. Here, too, the rocky areas around the plains are documented with different types of settlements. <sup>44</sup> In mountainous Phrygia, rock temples of the mother goddess, which are connected with the road routes between its cities and rural settlements, are in abundant evidence. <sup>45</sup> The Phrygians perceived the goddess in the rocks. <sup>46</sup> The Hittites built the monumental masterpieces of the rock relief tradition, which the Phrygians took from Late Hittite art and concept. <sup>47</sup> After the Phrygians, the rock reliefs of gods or kings are almost never seen. However, a change is observed with the increase in the number of rural settlements where the economic use of the highlands increased in the mountainous regions of Kabalis / Kabalia, Pisidia, and Lycia during the Roman Imperial period. The common point among these different types of rural settlements is the presence of rock reliefs at open-air sanctuaries or votive steles of local gods placed in niches cut into the rocks.

In the Pisidia Region, the southern neighbor of Phrygia, reliefs and sanctuaries dedicated to different gods were formed in connection with Roman-period rural settlements, road routes, and water resources. In this period, the region where rock reliefs are most intensely seen is Kabalis / Kabalia, where rural life is documented with all its economic activity. In the highland of the region, the Dioscuri with goddess depictions are the most common gods carved into the rocks. Then, the triad gods - Theoi Dikaioi / Theoi / Theoi Agrioi / Theoi Skleroi - not found much outside these highlands, were identified with relief depictions, either individually or in groups. Among the local gods, the absence of rock reliefs of the equestrian god Kakasbos / Heracles, common in Pisidia, is important. From this emerges the important question of whether it actually defines the territory of the Dioscuri and the triad gods of Kabalis / Kabalia or only of Balboura. Although they are few in number, reliefs of Zeus and his lightning bolt, Ares, Artemis (Artemis Lagbene), and reliefs of the demigod Heracles and Nymphe, the are not as common as in Pisidia, are also found.

In this region, reliefs of the local equestrian god Kakasbos / Heracles are widely found in settlements, rural areas associated with the *necropolis*, seasonally used areas, and communication watchtowers.<sup>52</sup> Apart from these common god reliefs, the most common is the demigod

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Darga 1992, 174-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Tiryaki 2001-2002; Işık 2012, 23-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Emilie Haspels 1971; Berndt-Ersöz 2006; Işık 2012, 275, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Emilie Haspels 1971; Berndt-Ersöz 2006; Işık 2012, 275, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Işık 2012, 275, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Işık 2012, 275, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Frei 1990, 1828-829; Smith 1997, 3-5, 10-11; Milner 2004, 59; Coulton 2012, 148-49; Talloen 2015, 193, 214; Beceren 2018, 27-28; Dökü 2018, 264-67; 2019b, 63-65; 2020, 219-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Petersen and von Luschan 1889, 168, no. 207; Robert 1983, 594-96; 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.

Labarre et al. 2006, 109; Özsait 2006, 261; 2010, 131-32; Corsten and Hülden 2012; Kahya 2015; Dökü and Baytak 2017a, 646; Beceren 2018, 148-50, cat. nos. 125-27; 2019, 247-48; Dökü 2018, 263; 2019a, 517; 2020, 219; Özüdoğru 2020, 322, 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Naour 1976, 129, no. 20, pl. 8.20; Tiryaki 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Delemen 1999, 151-63, nos. 213-78, fig. 16, pls. 14-16, see especially nos. 218, 230, 246, 257, 263, 271; Labarre et al. 2006, 107.

Heracles.<sup>53</sup> The number of reliefs of Apollo,<sup>54</sup> Dionysus,<sup>55</sup> and Ares<sup>56</sup> originating from Greek mythology are quite few. On the other hand, reliefs of the Dioscuri with goddess are not found as relief figures in Pisidia.

# Soğulgan Hill Ares Relief

On the road to the highland of the village of Ambarcık in the territory of Balboura, south of the Ambarkaya, there is a high, small plain surrounded by small hills. It was discovered during the Uylupınar (Early Kibyra) survey in 2017.<sup>57</sup> Two relief panels were seen on the route from the entrance to the area today called Ovacık. In the south of the same area, the Dioscuri with goddess relief can be observed facing the road. The name of the settlement hill, surrounded by terrace walls and populated with extensive Roman-period ceramic finds, is Soğulgan Hill. Different types of tombs have been discovered around this hill.

On Soğulgan Hill, a rock relief 39 cm high is carved into the bedrock and faces east. Depicted within an arched frame, its details, however, cannot be seen precisely due to destruction. The relief depicts a standing male figure with a spear and armor. He holds a spear in his right hand, one end of which is on the ground, while a high

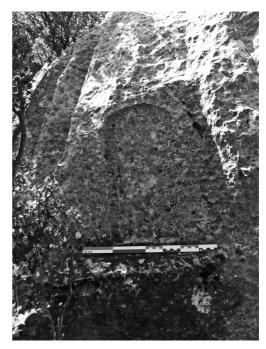


FIG. 7 Ares relief at Soğulgan Hill.

conical headgear and oval face are broken. In the left hand, the round shield is almost imperceptible. He is wearing a short tunic, and both legs are frontal<sup>58</sup> (fig. 7). Therefore, this depiction is similar to those on all the standing Ares reliefs mentioned so far. In the immediate vicinity of this rock relief and next to a Heracles relief was found another relief panel dedicated to the triad gods, Theoi Dikaioi / Theoi Agrioi.

Soğulgan Hill in Ovacık would serve as the seasonal settlement of active farmers using the small plain. While a part of the rocky hill upon which the settlement is located is surrounded by terrace walls, elsewhere on the rocky area open-air sanctuaries were formed with stele nests and votive relief panels. This Ares relief is also among these votive reliefs.

Labarre et al. 2006, 109; Özsait 2006, 261; 2010, 131-32; Corsten and Hülden 2012; Kahya 2015; Dökü and Baytak 2017a, 646; Beceren 2018, 148-50, cat. nos. 125-27; 2019, 247-48; Dökü 2018, 263; 2019a, 517; 2020, 219; Özüdoğru 2020, 322, 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Işın 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Özsait 2007, 466; Dökü and Baytak 2017a, 647; Beceren 2018, 23-24.

Heberdey and Kalinka 1897, 53, no. 76; Coulton 1994; Smith 1997, 5, 7, 19, 21, 30, fig. 1b; Milner 1998, 3, no. 2; Beceren 2018, 38, 109-11, cat. no. 76; Dökü 2019a, 515; 2020, 221, fig. 2F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Dökü 2018, 263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> For Ares / Mars Type C see. *LIMC* 2.1, 520, nos. 90-107, 2.2, 389, nos. 91, 93, 95, 102.

## Inscriptions Dedicated to Ares at Boubon

C. Kokkinia mentions two statue bases dedicated to Ares with inscriptions on their pedestals found during the Boubon surveys; these were from the cities of Kabalis / Kabalia.<sup>59</sup> The first inscription, number 71, is said to be related to Kale Tepe, a rural settlement on the Boubon - Balboura road.<sup>60</sup> Inscription number 72, found in Boubon on a statue base, was also dedicated to Ares. It is not known what type(s) of Ares statue was on the inscribed bases. However, both inscriptions are not related either to war or the oracle. These statues of Ares are interesting in that they were erected by those who served as clerk of the market inspectors (*agoranomos*) for their city.

# The Reliefs of Ares on Horseback at Taşlıpınar Village (Zekeriyaköy)

In eastern Pisidia, 18 km southwest of Amblada, at the border of the modern village of Taşlıpınar (formerly Zekeriyaköy), are seen seven reliefs of Ares wearing a high helmet and armor and riding a horse. <sup>61</sup> The inscriptions of these reliefs were dedicated to Ares. <sup>62</sup> As an equestrian god, Ares is not commonly seen in Greek iconography. Ares depictions are generally of a heavily armed hoplite, as in the Ares depictions found in Ballık and Kelerli. Therefore, L. Robert stated the Taşlıpınar Ares reliefs are of Ares combined with a local warrior god. <sup>63</sup> The striking point of these Ares figures is that not all the Ares reliefs have the same iconography. What they have in common is that they wear a high helmet and ride horses. They have different clothing and weapons. While some of these figures have short swords / daggers, others hold the reins of the horse in both hands. However, in the relief given by İ. Delemen, Ares is seen on the horse with a spear held parallel to the ground. <sup>64</sup>

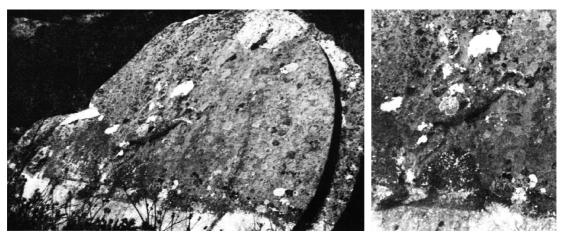


FIG. 8 Ares on horseback? on a shield relief in Kayabaş Village (Naour 1976, 141, pls. 8.25 and 10.25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Kokkinia 2008, 101-6, nos. 71-72; see also page 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Kokkinia 2008, 102.

<sup>61</sup> Sarre 1896, 49, 51; Swoboda et al. 1935, 46, fig. 101; Delemen 1993, 74-76, 299-303, cat. nos. 375-81, pls. 101-7; 1999, 69-70, 194-97, nos. 371-80; Talloen 2015, 96-97, 234, fig. 65.

<sup>62</sup> Sarre 1896, 49, 51; Robert 1955, 72-78; Delemen 1999, 69-70.

<sup>63</sup> Robert 1955, 72-78; Delemen 1999, 69-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Delemen 1999, 195, no. 373.

Similar iconography was discovered by C. Naour in the middle of a round shield in the village of Kayabaş within the border of Balboura (fig. 8).<sup>65</sup> There is a warrior figure with a high helmet standing alone on the rocky area. He holds a round shield and sits on a rearing horse that moves to the right. However, due to damage, the kind of weapon he holds in his hand cannot be determined. The shield is the attribute of Ares. So it seems possible that the warrior on horseback on this shield represents Ares when it is compared to the Taşlıpınar Ares reliefs. However, it is difficult to be certain about this.

## Ares Sanctuary: Mizir Locality and Ekizce Highland

The sanctuary in the Tahtacı Cemetery (Karabalçık Cemetery) of the Ekizce Highland in Üçoluk Mahallesi in Kemer, 48 km northwest of Phaselis, is known firstly from a series of inscriptions published by B. İplikçioğlu in 2012.<sup>66</sup> In the work carried out within the scope of the Phaselis Surveys in this highland area since 2017, nearly a hundred votive inscriptions, many uninscribed, as well as figured stele and various ceramics, terracotta pieces, spearheads and coin finds have been documented.<sup>67</sup> In the cult center located on a rocky area in the highland on the borders of the cities of Termessos and Phaselis, Ares is especially mentioned with the epithets of *epekoos* and *megalos*. While some of the steles found in the area only carry carvings of spearheads, others still have traces of lead. It is thought that



FIG. 9 Ares depicted on a stele at Ekizce (Arslan and Tüner Önen 2019, 75, fig. 116).

these traces belong to the attachment of the spearhead on the steles.<sup>68</sup> There is an undetailed relief on a high rectangular podium on the lower part of a votive stele found during the work on the Ekizce Highland. The lower part of the relief, starting from the bust, is clearly preserved. On the right side of the figure, who is stepping on the podium with both legs, there is probably the trace of a long thin spear while on the left there is the trace of a shield<sup>69</sup> (fig. 9).

In the Mizir locality in Ovacık Village, not far from the Ekizce Highland and 37 km northwest of Phaselis, Ares is glorified as *meizon*. A river god *meizoares* (ποταμὸς Μειζοάρης) is also seen.<sup>70</sup> In addition, although it is stated that there is a relief of a horseman on an inscribed stelle buried on the outer wall of a house, the details of this relief are not known.<sup>71</sup>

# Ares on the Coins of the Kabalia / Kabalis Region

While the earliest depictions of Ares are disputed in the Kabalis / Kabalia Region, they can be seen on the obverse of Hellenistic Kibyra silver drachmas. On the obverse of these coins, the helmeted beardless male bust should be Ares.<sup>72</sup> On the reverse, there is a young

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Naour 1976, 131, pls. 8, 10; Mitchell 1996, 73, ill. 6; Coulton 2012, 441 EE3, fig. E 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> İplikçioğlu 2002, 130; 2003, 73. See also Talloen 2015, 62, 233-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Arslan and Tüner Önen 2018, 315; 2020, 269-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Arslan and Tüner Önen 2020, 269-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Arslan and Tüner Önen 2019, 74-75 and fig. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> İplikçioğlu 2002, 130; cf. Şahin and Adak 2013, 304, n. 594. For the arguments on the river god Meizoares see Şahin and Adak 2013, 305 and nn. 599-601a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Arslan and Tüner Önen 2019, 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Özüdoğru 2020, 351-61, 381-83.

beardless cavalryman depicted on horseback with a helmet, armor, sometimes with a shield, and holding his spear parallel to the ground in one hand (fig. 10). This cavalry figure on the reverse is almost the archetype of the Taşlıpınar Ares figures on horseback mentioned above and dated to the Roman period. Therefore, all attributes indicate this figure may also be an Ares figure on horseback.<sup>73</sup> In addition, the cavalryman in the middle of the shield, found in Kayabaş village within the border of Balboura and described above dating to the Roman period, should also be evaluated among these types of Ares on horseback.

Ares is also depicted on the reverse of the Hellenistic-period bronze didrachmae of Oinoanda, another important city in the region (fig. 10).<sup>74</sup> Here, behind the head of Hermes with diadem and wings on the obverse, is the caduceus. On the reverse, a standing helmeted, armored male figure holds his round shield in one hand, which is propped up on the ground. He is holding the spear end resting on the ground in his other hand, which is bent up from the elbow. This type is also similar to the Mars Ultor typology widely used in the Roman period. R.H.J. Ashton compares the depiction of Ares on Oinoanda coins with a rock relief in the urban territory.<sup>75</sup> On this relief there is a male figure with a high conical - possibly Corinthian - helmet, a beardless face, armored and wearing a short tunic under his armor, with a frontal stance. While holding his spear in his right hand, he grasps the round shield propped down in his left hand. His stance and clothing is not different from examples of the Ares iconography observed in the region. The relief here is identified as Ares Tauropoleites (fig. 11).76

Ares depictions are seen on the coins of the city of Sillyon, which stands out with its warriors among the cities of the Pamphylia region.



FIG. 10 Kibyra silver tetradrachm (above: *SNG Fitzwilliam Museum* 4.6, 4950; *SNG von Aulock Phrygien* 3701; GHN 275, 3920); and Ares depiction on Oinoanda coin's Reverse (below: Ashton 2005, 86, pl. 5.2).



FIG. 11 Relief of Ares Tauropoleites in Karaçulha (Ashton 2005, 87, pl. 6.B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Özüdoğru 2020, 351-61, 381-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ashton 2005, 86, pl. 5.1-7.s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ashton 2005, 77, 87, pl. 6.B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ashton 2005, 77, 87, pl. 6.B.

According to B.Ş. Özdemir and M. Taşkıran, the portrait of Ares is depicted in profile on the obverse of Sillyon coins from the fourth-third centuries BC into the early Roman Imperial period. Another Ares type seen among the Roman provincial coins of Sillyon has Mars Ultor iconography on the reverse.<sup>77</sup>

#### Conclusion

By 2017, the Uylupınar (Early Kibyra) surveys were focused on the rural area of the Balboura highland. As a result of these surveys, small seasonal settlements were observed within the region due to the upland economy formed by active farmers and shepherds. During the field work, the ceramics found in these settlements are roughly dated to the Roman Imperial period. Also from this period are found numerous rock reliefs delineating the territorial boundaries of small settlements and marking the routes of roads, water resources, and possibly villages. On reliefs, there are many local deities such as the Dioscuri with goddess and triad gods (Theoi Dikaioi, Theoi Agrioi). In addition to the reliefs of these local gods, depictions identified as Zeus and his lightning bolt, Heracles and Nymphe originating from Greek mythology, and the reliefs depicting Ares are dominant when compared to depictions of the other gods. During the surveys, a relief differing from other reliefs in the region in its dimensions and iconographic expression was seen on the rough rock surface in a cave located on the rocky hill in the Ballık locality within the borders of Ambarcık village. This relief, 1.58 m high, is of human height. The helmeted figure in armor holds a rectangular shield in one hand and a spear in the other. The relief with all the attributes suggests that it depicts the god Ares. The eight-line inscription next to the relief, supports this iconographic depiction, described in detail above, which also states the depiction is of Ares. Under the cave, next to the oracle inscription identified by Th. Corsten, a helmeted figure holding short sword / shield in his left hand? and a phiale in the other hand should also represent Ares, the lord of the rock and giver of oracles. Based upon this, those reliefs having other similar attributes found by previous researchers in the region are also the subject of this study. The relief depiction next to the Dioscuri with goddess identified in Kelerli locality described above, and the reliefs depicted with other local gods on the same rock in Soğulgan area, depicted with helmets, armor and heavy weapons, should also represent Ares. The warrior figures with similar iconography that J.J. Coulton discovered during his research in the territory of Balboura confirm this supposition. Apart from these relief depictions, the fact that the name of Ares was read on two statue bases in the Boubon surveys, which C. Kokkinia also mentioned, indicates the depictions of Ares from the region are not limited to rock reliefs. All these relief descriptions were related to the routes and settlements, and the ceramics found in the research in the area did not date from before the Roman Empire period. On the other hand, §. Özüdoğru mentioned that there may be the head of Ares on the obverse of the Kibyra Hellenistic silver tetradrachmas and the cavalryman with a spear and armor on the reverse may represent Ares.<sup>78</sup> This cavalry iconography is also observed in the Roman period Taşlıpınar Ares reliefs in the Pisidia Region. A similar depiction is also found on the round shield in the rocky area identified by C. Naour in the Kabalis / Kabalia region. Therefore, it can be understood that Ares was a god worshipped in Kibyra by the Hellenistic period and his cult existed not only in the cities but also in the countryside, without losing its importance in the Roman Imperial period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Özdemir and Taşkıran 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Özüdoğru 2020, 351-61, 381-83.

As the Ares reliefs described above were depicted in the local style and heavily damaged, an analogical dating cannot be made. In contrast, the iconography is similar to the Ares / Mars iconographies of bronze statuettes quite common in the Roman world. Reliefs and votive steles dedicated to local gods found in rural Kabalis / Kabalia, Pisidia and Lycia were also generally dated to the period of the Roman Empire. Additionally, regarding our subject Ares, besides the date of the inscriptions seen with the reliefs, the archaeological material found during local research indicates that the reliefs cannot be dated before the Roman period.

In the middle of the 12th century, the etymological dictionary, Etymologicum Magnum (s.v. Σόλυμοι), whose author is unknown, recorded that Solymos, the ancestor of the Solyms, was the son of Ares. Strabo (13.4.17) states that the Solym language was spoken in Kibyra, hence in the Kabalis / Kabalia Region. However, there is no other ancient writing or epigraphic data to support this information dating from a very late period. Again, where Strabo describes the people of Kibyra and the unity of the city of Kabalia, he conveys the military power of the city and of the region. It is not surprising that the people of this militaristic and warlike region respected the god Ares. But it is insufficient to explain the prevalence of the Ares reliefs described above in the highland countryside of the Roman Imperial period. In addition, the warrior character in the iconography of the reliefs is important, although associated with an oracle in the Ballık locality. The fact that the person who dedicated the Ares statue is recorded as an agoranomos on the Boubon statue bases suggests that Ares cannot be interpreted solely in connection with war, warfare, and military power in the region. In order to explain this situation, it will be useful for us to understand both the recent and distant past, with the oral history carried out during our surveys. In the accounts of the last witnesses of the periods when geography was destiny and technology had not yet entered the region, an economy different from the lifestyles created by the active economy - whose archaeological traces we found in the Roman period - was not mentioned. Until recently, it has been reported that there was constant conflict between the mobile farmers and herders for the use of the highland and the territorial rights. In addition, it was surprising to us that the reliefs found on the highland were used while delineating the borders of the villages in the recent past. Therefore, can the existence of these Ares reliefs dating from the Roman Imperial period in the distant past be interpreted within the context of the conflicts between rural settlers fighting for land-use rights? The answers to these questions will hopefully be provided through new research and excavations, especially in the cities of Balboura and Kabalis / Kabalia.

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