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## A new Dedicatory Inscription of Athena Oreia from Corycus

**Zusammenfassung:** Ausgangspunkt des folgenden Beitrags ist der Fund eines Athena Oreia geweihten Altars aus dem Hinterland von Korykos. An derselben Fundstelle nahm der Autor vor einigen Jahren einen andren Altar auf, der dem Zeus Kodopas geweiht war. Der Befund deutet auf die Existenz eines ländlichen Kultplatzes hin, an dem mehrere Götter gleichzeitig verehrt wurden.

Im Anschluss wird versucht, die geographische Ausdehnung des Athena-Oreia-Kultes zu bestimmen. Im Rauhen Kilikien stammen Belege für die Berggöttin aus den Territorien von Seleukeia am Kalykadnos und Elaiussa. Auf zwei Inschriften aus dem Territorium der ersteren Stadt führt Athena Oreia zusätzlich das Epitheton Krisoa. Dieses Epitheton ist wahrscheinlich von dem in den Neubabylonischen Chroniken erwähnten Ort „Kiršu“ abgeleitet. Außerhalb des Rauhen Kilikien ist der Kult der meist in Höhlen verehrten Athena Oreia nur noch durch zwei Inschriften aus dem Territorium von Mopsuestia bezeugt. Athena Oreia scheint demnach nur im Osten des Rauhen Kilikien zwischen Kalykadnos und Lamos sowie in der Cilicia Pedias in Mopsuestia verehrt worden zu sein. Dagegen findet man den verwandten Kult der Meter Oreia in zahlreichen Regionen Kleinasien.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Athena Oreia; Korykos; Rauhes Kilikien; Zeus Kodopas.

In 2013, during the Settlement History and Epigraphy of Rough Cilicia Research Project<sup>1</sup> we discovered a Greek dedicatory inscription in Çele, 7 km northeast of Corycus (Kız Kalesi). The short inscription is cut on a profiled grey limestone altar. The inscribed area of the altar is broken at the upper right corner and damaged on the right. There is a leaf motif below the inscription.

Its dimensions are:

Height: 56 cm; Width: 33 cm; Letter Height: 3.5–4.5 cm.

Ἄθην[ᾶ]  
2 Ὀρε[ίᾱ]



«To Athena Oreia».

In 1914 J. Keil and A. Bauer found a Greek inscription consisting of six lines on the wall of a natural cave which is today within Sayağazı District of Silifke. It was published only as a drawing by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm in 1931. As their remark «Von dem Versuch einer Umschrift des rätselhaften Textes glaubten wir absehen zu sollen»<sup>2</sup> suggest, the text could not be solved at that time (fig. 1).



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<sup>2</sup> Keil – Wilhelm 1931, 19 n. 33.

In 1987 a rock relief was found during a survey led by S. Durugönül in Sömek Village of Silifke (fig. 2). The accompanying inscription makes it clear that the goddess portrayed on the relief is Athena Oreia Krisoa.<sup>3</sup> She is depicted frontal, standing in a semi-circular niche. She holds a spear in her right hand, while the left hand rests on her shield. Behind the left arm is a running or jumping horse. There are pilasters on the left and right of the niche. Above the right pilaster are a star, crescent and thunderbolt<sup>4</sup> and immediately to its right is a relief, thought to be a *Menorah*.<sup>5</sup> The relief contributed to correct the reading of Keil and Wilhelm's inscription and revealed that the cave was dedicated by Rhondas to Athena Oreia Krisoua.<sup>6</sup> Based on available evidence, Durugönül claims that Athena carries this epithet only in Rough Cilicia and Krisoa/Krisoua might have been derived from a name of a place.<sup>7</sup>

In 1994, three more altars with inscriptions dedicated to Athena Oreia were discovered in Paşabeyliği located within the territorium of Elaiussa/Sebaste (=Ayaş). The inscriptions on two of them mention a person named Menas, who dedicated the altars to Athena Oreia.<sup>8</sup> It is still unclear, however, whether Menas in these two inscriptions is actually the same person because they were found in different places. The third altar found in Paşabeyliği, which bears a round shield relief at the centre, was also dedicated to Athena Oreia by a person whose name is absent.<sup>9</sup>

Two inscriptions discovered in the south of Mopsuestia (=Yakapınar), 19 km east of Adana, demonstrate that Athena Oreia was worshipped not only in Rough Cilicia, but also in Plain Cilicia. One of them states that it was erected by the Seliadneis for the goddess. It is dated to 17 AD according to the Mopsuestian era.<sup>10</sup> The second one from the Plain Cilicia was found in a cave located on the western slope of Dede Mountain within the territorium of Mopsuestia. It too features a dedication by the Seliadneis to Athena Oreia.<sup>11</sup> The proximity of these inscriptions and the existence of niches inside the caves suggest that this was a sacred area of Athena Oreia,<sup>12</sup> and that the Seliadneis are the members of a religious association linked with the Athena Oreia cult.<sup>13</sup> That Seliadneis is a name given to a village community in the region is equally possible.

Numismatic<sup>14</sup> evidence indicates the existence of a widespread Athena worship in Rough Cilicia from

<sup>3</sup> Durugönül 1987, 115–116.

<sup>4</sup> Durugönül 1989, 50–51.

<sup>5</sup> Durugönül 1989, 50–51; Durugönül – Mörel 2012, 308–311.

<sup>6</sup> Durugönül 1987, 115–116; Şahin 2009, 223. S. Pilhofer (2006, 81) writes that Athena was worshipped as Ἀθηνᾶ Κρισουᾶ Ρωνδαῖς in Seleukeia (=Silifke). But it does not seem possible. The verb ἐπόησα in line 6 necessitates Rhondas to be a personal name, as documented in other inscriptions from the region. For Rhondas see Bean – Mitford 1965 n. 31; Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 57 n. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Durugönül 1999, 121.

<sup>8</sup> Sayar 2004, 456: Ἀθηνᾶ Ὀρείᾳ | Μηνᾶς and Ἀθηνᾶ Ὀρίᾳ | Μηνᾶς.

<sup>9</sup> Sayar 2004, 456: Ἀθηνᾶ Ὀρείᾳ].

<sup>10</sup> Sayar 2004, 457 (improved text: SEG 54, 1510): ἔτους πδ' καὶ | [--] Ἀθηνᾶ Ὀρείᾳ | [--] Σελιαδνεῖς | [--] ὀρῶν ἐγὼ καὶ τῶ[v ---].

<sup>11</sup> Sayar 2004, 457 (improved text: SEG 54, 1511): [π]δ' ἔτους | Σελιαδνεῖς Ἀθηνᾶι | Ὀρείᾳ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ΣΥΝ|ΤΟΣΚΟΥ v. ΑΛ.ΠΕΡΙΤΟΥΣ.

<sup>12</sup> It is thought that the cult of Athena Oreia is related to Meter Oreia which was worshipped in Ephesus. See: Keil 1915, 66–78; SEG 4, 526, 527; Börker – Merkelbach 1979 n. 107, 108; Engelmann – Knibbe – Merkelbach 1980 n. 1218, 1220; Vermaseren 1987, 616, 617, 625; Sayar 2004, 457–258. The cult of Meter Oreia is also attested in Amorion: Lightfoot 1994, 124–125; SEG 44, 1994, 1028; Apollonia Salbake (Karia): Robert 1937, 106; Robert – Robert 1954, 281–283 n. 162; Kula: TAM V/1 1981; Magnesia ad Meandrum: SEG 44, 1994, 935; Nisa: TAM II/3 n. 737; SEG 40, 1990, 1266; Frei 1990, 1814–1815; Takmer – Oktan 2013, 58; Oinoanda: Heberdey – Kalinka 1897, 54 n. 79.

<sup>13</sup> Sayar 2004, 457.

<sup>14</sup> SNG Levante 1986, 680–690, 702–709, 711–717; SNG Levante 1993, 887–916, 932–951, 953–957, 959–963.

the Hellenistic Period. The inscriptions also make it clear that the cult maintained its importance in the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>15</sup> The fact that the inscriptions with the epithets *Oreia/Oria/Oreia Krisoua/Oreia Krisoa*<sup>16</sup> («living/residing in the mountains») are limited as far as is known at present to natural caves and rock shelters in Eastern Rough Cilicia, between the Kalykadnus and Lamus rivers, and to the highlands of the territory of Mopsuestia, stresses the relationship between Athena Oreia and mountains.

As mentioned above, Durugönül rightly claimed that the name Krisoa/Krisoua could have been derived from a toponym.<sup>17</sup> The Neo-Babylonian chronicles mention a campaign of King Nergal-šarra-usur of Babylonia against King Appuašu of Pirindu in 557/6 BC.<sup>18</sup> They also feature a name «*Kiršu*», which is interpreted as a toponym or a fortress. It should be associated with *KRŠ* in the Aramaic inscription found at Meydancikkale/Meydan Kalesi<sup>19</sup> within Gülnar, to the northwest of Silifke. In addition, it is thought that the epithet Krisoa/Krisoua and the personal name *Κρισάμοας* (=Krisamoas)<sup>20</sup> seen on the inscriptions of Dalisandros (=Sinabiç?), 6 km north of Claudiopolis (=Mut), were derived from that toponym.<sup>21</sup>

In Çele, the findspot of the altar dedicated to Athena Oreia, we had discovered an inscribed altar dedicated to Zeus Kodopas in the 2007 survey,<sup>22</sup> though no related archaeological remains was found. A systematic surface survey in 2013 in the area where the Çele inscription was discovered did not change the situation. According to the villagers, however, there was once a rectangular structure there made of massive blocks, about 30 years ago. The blocks were removed in the course of time. This suggests that, although there is no direct evidence, Çele was a sacred area during the Roman Imperial period, where dedications were made to various gods.

#### Abbreviated Literature

Bean – Mitford 1965	G. E. Bean – T. B. Mitford, <i>Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1962 and 1963</i> , Vienna 1965.
Borgia 2003	E. Borgia, <i>Il culto di Athena Oreia in Cilicia</i> , in: <i>La campagne antique: espace sauvage, terre domestiquée</i> (Cahiers Kubaba V), Paris 2003, 73–89.
Börker – Merkelbach 1979	C. Börker – R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos II</i> , Bonn 1979 (IK 12).
Casabonne 2001	O. Casabonne, <i>Kirsu: une capitale cilicienne (6e–4e s. av. J.–C.)</i> , in: M. Mazoyer et al. (edd.), <i>Ville et pouvoir: origines et développements. Actes du Colloque international de Paris (Décembre 2000)</i> , Collection Kubaba, Série Actes I, Paris 2001, 101–114.
Davesne et al. 1987	A. Davesne – A. Lemaire – H. Lozachmeur, <i>Le site archéologique de Meydancikkale (Turquie): du royaume de Pirindu à la garnison ptolémaïque</i> , CRAI 1987, 359–382.
Desideri – Jasink 1990	P. Desideri – A. M. Jasink, <i>Cilicia. Dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista Macedone</i> , Firenze 1990.
Durugönül 1987	S. Durugönül, <i>Athena Krisoa Oreia</i> , <i>Epigr. Anat.</i> 10, 1987, 115–116.
Durugönül 1989	S. Durugönül, <i>Die Felsreliefs im Rauhen Kilikien</i> , Oxford 1989 (BAR In-

<sup>15</sup> For the inscriptions see: Şahin 2009, 221–227.

<sup>16</sup> The epithet Oreia carried by the goddess Athena only appears in the *Dionysiaka* by Nonnus of Panopolis, who was an epic poet in Late Antiquity, see: Nonnus, *Dionysiaka* XV, 178.

<sup>17</sup> Durugönül 1999, 112.

<sup>18</sup> Wiseman 1956, 75–77; Davesne et al. 1987, 372–373; Desideri – Jasink, 1990, 168–169 fn. 15; Casabonne 2001, 101–102.

<sup>19</sup> For Meydancikkale see: Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 349.

<sup>20</sup> For the inscriptions see: Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, Dal 11, Dal 36.

<sup>21</sup> Borgia 2003, 75.

<sup>22</sup> Sayar – Şahin 2008, *passim*.

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## Özet

### Korykos'ta Bulunmuş Yeni Bir Athena Oreia Adak Yazıtı

Makalede 2013 yılı Dağlık Kilikia Yerleşim Tarihi ve Epigrafya Araştırmaları sırasında Korykos (Kızkalesi) antik kentinin yaklaşık 7 km kuzeybatısındaki Çele Mevkii'nde bulunan bir adak yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır. Sunak Athena Oreia'ya adanmıştır. Aynı mevkiide 2007 yılı çalışmaları sırasında Zeus Kodopas'a adanmış bir sunak tespit edilmiştir. Bu durum Çele Mevkii'nin Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde farklı tanrılara sunular gerçekleştirilen bir kutsal alan olma özelliğini taşıdığına işaret etmektedir.

Athena Oraia kültünün varlığı Dağlık Kilikya’da yazıtlar araçığıyla ayrıca Seleukeia (Silifke) ve Elaiussa kentlerinin egemenlik alanlarında saptanmıştır. Athena Oreia, Silifke İlçesi’nin Sömek Köyü’nde yer alan bir kaya kabartmasında tasvir edilmiştir. Kabartmanın üzerine işlenmiş yazıttan burada betimlenen tanrıçanın Athena Oreia Krisoa olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Tanrıça Krisoa epithetonuyla ayrıca Silifke’nin Savaşçı Mahallesi sınırlarında bulunan doğal bir mağaranın duvarında yer alan bir yazıttan bilinmektedir. Bu yazıttan mağaranın Rhondas tarafından Athena Oreia Krisoua için yapılmış olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Krisoa/Krisoua ifadesi büyük olasılıkla bir yer adından türetilmiştir. Yeni Babil Kronikleri’nde, MÖ 557/6 yılında Babil kralı Nergal-şarra-usur’un Pirindu ülkesi kralı Appuaşu’ya karşı olan bir seferinden bahsedilmektedir. Bu kroniklerde bir yer adı ya da kale olduğu düşünülen “Kirşu” ifadesi geçmektedir. Bu ifade büyük ihtimalle Silifke’nin kuzeybatısındaki Gülnar ilçesi sınırları içerisinde bulunan Meydancikkale/Meydancık Kalesi yerleşiminde tespit edilmiş olan Aramice yazıttaki KRŠ ile aynı yer olmalıdır. Ayrıca, Krisoa/Krisoua epitheti ve Klaudiopolis (=Mut) antik kentinin yaklaşık 6 km kuzeyinde bulunan Dalisandos (=Sinabiç?) yazıtlarında görülen Krisamoas kişi adının da bu yer adından türemiş olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Mopsuestia kentinin territoriumu’nda farklı yerlerde ele geçen iki yazıttan Athena Oreia’nın Ovalık Kilikia’da da tapınım gördüğü anlaşılmaktadır. İlk yazıtta göre Seliadneis Athena Oreia için bu bloğu dikmişlerdi. Yazıt Mopsuestia Era’sı göz önünde bulundurularak MS. 17 yılına tarihlenmiştir. İkinci yazıt ise Dede Dağı’nın batı yamacındaki bir mağarada tespit edilmiştir. Yazıtta yine Seliadneisin Athena Oreia’ya bir adağı söz konusudur. Her iki yazıtın buluntu yerlerinin birbirine yakınlığı ve mağara içerisindeki nişlerinin varlığı, buranın Athena Oreia’ya ait bir kült yeri; adağı gerçekleştiren Seliadneisin ise bu bölgede Athena Oreia kültüne tapan dinsel bir derneğin üyeleri olduğu şeklinde yorumlanmıştır. Bu mümkün olmakla birlikte Seliadneisin bölgenin bir köy halkı olma ihtimali de bulunmaktadır.

Athena’nın «Dağlarda yaşayan Tanrıça» anlamına gelen «Oreia» epithetini taşıdığı yazıt buluntularının şimdilik Kalykadnos ve Lamos nehirlerinin arasında kalan Doğu Dağlık Kilikia ve Ovalık Kilikia’nın Mopsuestia antik kentinin egemenlik alanındaki dağlık kısmında bulunan doğal mağaralar ve kaya sığınaklarıyla sınırlı kalması, Athena Oreia’nın dağ ile olan ilişkisinin altını çizmektedir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Athena Oreia; Korykos; Dağlık Kilikya; Zeus Kodopas.

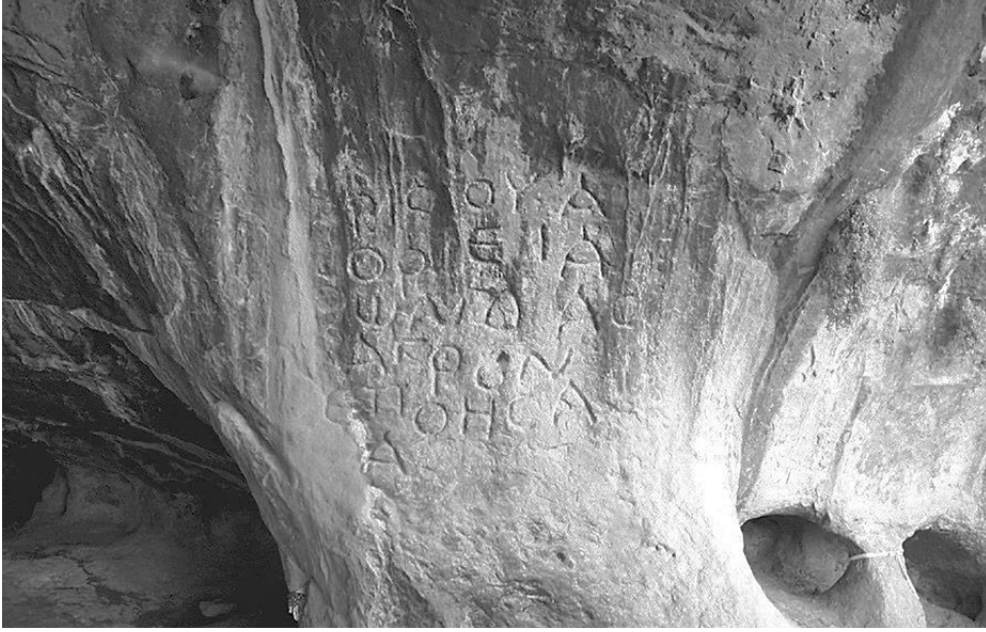


Fig. 1. Dedication to Athena Oreia Krisoua in a cave near Sayağazi.



Fig. 2. Relief of Athena Oreia Krisoua near Sömek.