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Priapus in Rough Cilicia?

The third inscription in the following text is well fitting to be written on the pediment of the Department of Ancient Languages and Cultures that Professor Sencer Şahin took great pains to construct.

Abstract: The phallic imagery encountered across Rough Cilicia has traditionally been associated with Hermes, the second most common deity in the region. An inscription on a door post from Güvercinlik, dating from the third or fourth centuries CE, challenges this assumption. The inscription and phallus, which serve the purpose of protecting the crop against the plunderers, recalls a similar epigram inscribed on a statue of Priapus from Acireale in Sicily, dating from the second or third century CE. In the West, Priapus was a common figure in Roman domestic spaces. The Güvercinlik inscription, on the other hand, belongs to a rural landscape with limited agricultural capacity, which nevertheless was aggressively exploited and inhabited from the Late Roman period till the end of antiquity. In light of the Güvercinlik inscription and the widespread occurrence of phallic symbols across this rural territory, we argue that a cult of Priapus may have existed in semi-urbanized rural contexts of Rough Cilicia, affected by Roman traditions.

Keywords: Rough Cilicia; Güvercinlik; Hermes; epigram; phallus; Priapus.

The use of phallic imagery as an apotropaic device is a wide spread and long-lasting tradition in the ancient world. In ancient Rough Cilicia, *phalli* inscribed on doors, towers, tombs, and rock surfaces have been noted by scholars, but never treated as a distinct group, unlike the so-called Olban symbols (e.g. sword, shield, triskelis, club, thunderbolt, Dioscuri caps) which have received due attention.¹ In fact, phallic symbols are more common and varied than it has previously been recorded. This paper, however, does not propose a comprehensive interpretation of phallic imagery in Rough Cilicia, nor does it survey all its occurrences in this geography. It rather aims to raise the question about the existence of a Priapus cult in Rough Cilicia by the Late Roman Period. Our question stems from an inscription with a phallic relief, tentatively dated to the third or fourth centuries CE, which we discovered in 2004 at the location known as Güvercinlik in the mountainous hinterland of Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Silifke).² This inscription is located west of the Yenibahçe Canyon, where we have also come across fourteen phallic symbols and one phallic figure (fig. 1). There is otherwise no epigraphic, numismatic, or archaeological evidence for a Priapus cult in Rough Cilicia.

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¹ Bent 1890; MacKay 1990, 2086–2102; Durugönül 1998, passim and especially 85–89.

² This territory was visited during Günder Varinlioğlu's survey in 2003–2007 on the Late Antique rural habitat west of the Yenibahçe Canyon. We would like to thank the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums for granting the survey permit. We are grateful to Halil Eyice, our local guide, who took us to Güvercinlik and showed us the inscription. The fieldwork was financially supported by the American Research Institute in Turkey and the University of Pennsylvania. We would like to acknowledge Burçak Delikan from the library of The British Institute at Ankara and Rona Razon from the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection for their invaluable assistance during the research process. We also thank Güngör Varinlioğlu for her help with the publications in Italian.

Ten kilometers northeast of Seleucia ad Calycadnum and less than fifteen kilometers south of Olba and Diocaesarea, Güvercinlik is situated at ca. 600 meters altitude, in a semi-arid zone with limited pockets of soil suitable for dry farming, particularly olives and vines. This area, where the remains of several hamlets and villages survive, was unknown in the scholarship until our visit, although sites in this vicinity like *Imbriogon Kome* and Meydan were visited by scholars as early as the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.³ Although Güvercinlik's remains escaped the scholarly attention, the site is conveniently located between two major itineraries, which are frequently used today as they were in antiquity. The road from Seleucia ad Calycadnum in the west, another one from Corasium in the east towards the Taurus highlands and then to the Anatolian plateau via the Sertavul Pass, were about one kilometer away from the site where the inscription was found.⁴ The route from Corasium has become a major regional thoroughfare after the last quarter of the fourth century, as a result of the revitalization of Corasium as a port settlement, without acquiring the status of a *polis*. Preserved stretches of paved roads at Güvercinlik suggest that this place was well connected to both itineraries.

The Güvercinlik Inscription

The inscription is on a much worn quadrangular limestone block (fig. 2), whose lower left side is broken off (height: 222 cm, width: 57 cm, thickness 74 cm). The block, now lying flat on the ground, must have originally been a door post. Four lines of inscription (letters: ca. 4 cm) and an erect phallus and scortum underneath, forming a curvilinear, somewhat crescent-like shape are preserved on the upper part of the block approximately at the eye level in its original position. The phallus is 'strategically' placed through and around the words βασκάνοις and πέος (fig. 3).

Letters: Square *Sigma*, *Omicron* and (cursive) *Omega*.

Δεσπότηις καρ-
 2 πούς κομίζω τοῖς
 δὲ βασκάνοις
 4 πέος.

I watch over the farmers' crop, and fuck the perfidious plunderers!

Our proposal for the existence of the Priapus cult in Rough Cilicia is based on an inscription on a statue of Priapus, dating from the second or third century CE and found in Acireale in the province of Catania in Sicily.⁵ Much like the Güvercinlik inscription, the Acireale epigram served the purpose of preventing the evildoers from causing damage to the crop that was grown by farmers:

[Ἐμὲ Πρίαπον Σ]άμ[ιος τὸν κηπουρὸν]
 [ἐνταῦθ' ἔθη]κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ[α βλέποντα]
 [μὴ εἰσέρχε]σθαι τοὺς ἀπ' ἄστεω[ς πτωχοὺς,]
 4 [μὴτ' εἰσέρ]χεσθαι τοὺς ἀπ' Ἄκιδο[ς κλώπας,]
 [σώσοντα τ']αὐτῷ καρπὸν ὡς ὀρ[θὸν φαίνω]
 [ἐμὸν πέος] τοῦτο τὸ παχὺ τοῖς σ[υλῶσιν]
 [Posuit hic] me Samius utroque in[spicientem]
 8 [meum en]ormen penem ut osten[dam furibus]
] (vac) Rubri Sami fil[i]

³ Hicks 1891, 270–271; Heberdey – Wilhelm 1896, 81–83; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 23–46.

⁴ For the itinerary of these roads, see Hellenkemper – Hild 1986, 132; Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 139–40.

⁵ SEG 2 533; SEG 4 59; SEG 34 948, which refers to Manganaro 1985.

Here Samios set me up, Priapus the gardener, to watch out for the beggars and thieves coming in both directions from the city Acis to plunder the crop in the field. I threaten them by showing my massive and erect phallus (I fuck them off!).

In Sicily, when menacing people came from the city to the countryside as beggars (πτωχοί) and thieves (κλώπες) to plunder the produce (καρπὸν) in the vineyards and orchards,⁶ Priapus, with his enormous member, kept guard over the place. Likewise in Rough Cilicia, where arable lands were scarce, the crops were placed under the same protective guard against the plunderers (βάσκανοι). The Güvercinlik inscription may be parsed as follows:

Line 1: δεσπότης: The owner of the land (and crop), see below. For the ownership of the land, cf. Σανδαίος ὃς γῆς (grave) δεσπότης ταύτης κύρει: “domaine de Sandaios.”⁷ In the same context, see the “Grabinschrift:”⁸ Ἑρμοφίλου χρυσοχ(όου) | Ἑρμοφίλου ἀδελφι[δ]οῦ δεσπότ(ου). The emperors and Jesus Christ as δεσπότης owned the royal and religious domain.⁹

Lines 1 and 2: καρπὸν κομίζω: Priapus promises the landowners to provide with the fruit they produced in the field. Here he presents himself as a god to ward off the damages caused by the plunderers,¹⁰ rather than to be a “Gott der Fruchtbarkeit,”¹¹ see also βάσκανοι below.

Line 3: βάσκανος: The word frequently appears in epitaphs together with the verb ἀρπάζω in the sense of carrying off and plundering: βάσκανος Ἄιδης or Δαίμων or another perfidious agent (Turkish: kahpe felek) depriving man of his soul.¹² Here it is a substantive, used together with πέος as a violent swear at the plunderers (οἱ βάσκανοι = Turkish: kahpe döleri).

Line 4: πέος (Turkish: Nah!¹³): There is no doubt the word should be restored πέος, as in line 6 corresponding to the Latin word *penem* in line 8 of the epigram on the aforementioned Priapus statue. Priapus was set in a position gazing in both directions ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα and *utroque* (lines 2 and 7) against the plunderers coming in different directions. As will be presented below, in Rough Cilicia, πέος in relief is frequently encountered in architectural and funerary contexts. We know now that this was the symbol of the guardian god against the agents menacing the land of the settlements and the proprietors of buildings, gardens, and graves.

An inscription from Antiochia ad Cragum in Rough Cilicia, refers to καρπὸν κομίσασθαι in a much polished manner in three metrical lines.¹⁴

Μὴ θέλε καρπὸν ἑτοῖμον ἀμοχθητῶς ἀνελέσθαι
 2 ἔστι παρεδρεύσαντι καλοὺς καρποὺς κομίζασθαι.
 Μοχθήσοντα γὰρ ἔστι τυχεῖν περὶ ὧν ἐπερωτᾶς.

Do not intend to gather a crop without toil and trouble! It is possible for you to reap a good crop if you work hard for it.

⁶ Cf. above SEG 34 948, line 1: [- - - τὸν κηπουρὸν]; Manganaro 1985, 163.

⁷ Dagron – Feissel 1987, 50–51 no. 20, line 11.

⁸ Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 290, Kry 568b, line 3.

⁹ Ibid., passim.

¹⁰ Cf. SEG 34 948, line 6: τοῖς σ[υλῶσιν]; Manganaro 1985, 163.

¹¹ RE XXII, 2, 1954, col. 1914 ff; Der Neue Pauly, 10, 2001, col. 308–309.

¹² Peek 1955, passim.

¹³ “Take that!” Accompanied with a gesture of the thumb between the index and middle finger of the hand, representing πέος, cf. Manganaro, 1975, 163, fig. 17 a-b.

¹⁴ Hagel – Tomaschitz 1998, 39, AntK 50.

Phallic symbols

The apotropaic textual and visual content of the Güvercinlik inscription is complemented by the frequent occurrence of phallic imagery in this landscape (see fig. 1). The phalli appear in various forms extensively at sites near Güvercinlik, known locally as Kültesir, Germeli, Aşağıdünya, Akhayat, and Sinekkale. They were also encountered in small numbers at Ovacık, Gökkale, and Meydan in the north, and Bağlıkçukur and at an unknown location near Akkale in the south. We should, however, underline the biases in this sample, which entirely consists of chance finds, and not systematically recorded. In other words, we spent more time and effort at Güvercinlik and environs than at the other sites marked on the map; therefore their concentration in this area does not necessarily indicate a tradition specific to these settlements. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that the villages of Karakabaklı and Işıkkale and their environs, which we have thoroughly explored, did not yield any phallic symbols. Scholars conducting epigraphic and archaeological reconnaissance surveys in Rough Cilicia continue to add new examples to this repertory.¹⁵

The dating of the phallic symbols in this territory is problematic. First, our documentation was limited to the basic recording of the reliefs and surroundings (digital photographs, GPS coordinates, cursory notes). As a result, we do not have sufficient data in hand to suggest dates for each structure on which they were carved. Using comparanda from Rough Cilicia, the masonry of the associated structures, and relying on the assumption that phallic imagery would predate the Christianization of the countryside in the fourth and fifth centuries, these examples might date as early as the Roman Imperial period.

Out of the fourteen examples found in our survey, twelve are placed on doors (mainly lintels, but also posts), while two are reliefs on an exterior corner, clearly visible to people approaching the structure (fig. 4). On door lintels, they are almost always coupled with one or more Olban symbol, most frequently a club, which is not always easily distinguishable from a *phallus* (fig. 5). If we were to categorize these samples, three main forms emerge:¹⁶ Form 1 is a crescent-like symbol with two protrusions (testicles?) hanging from the center (fig. 6). Such a form was found on a second-century CE inscription from Dösene/Demircili (Imbriogon Kome), southwest of Güvercinlik, by Keil and Wilhelm who identified it as a crescent moon with a socket, the symbol of Men, an Anatolian god of Phrygian origin.¹⁷ In fact, dual and triple *phalli* on wall paintings and as bronze amulets are well-known elsewhere in the Roman period.¹⁸ We came across variants of Form 1 on door posts and lintels at Akhayat (fig. 7), Aşağıdünya, Barakçikalesi, Gökkale, and Güvercinlik. Their close resemblance to the phallic symbol on the Güvercinlik inscription leads us to assign it an apotropaic function. Form 2 is a roughly L-shaped ithyphallic symbol preserved on the corners of walls made of mortar-free undressed polygonal and ashlar masonry at Bağlıkçukur and Germeli, and on a door post at Ovacık (fig. 8). All three examples are stylized in such a way to exaggerate and embellish the phallus. The Bağlıkçukur example stands out with its spiral-shaped tail (fig. 9). Form 3 is a simplified straight or slightly curved shape (fig. 10), oriented left or right like a club, thus sometimes difficult to distinguish unless these two symbols are depicted side by side (see fig. 5), which is in fact often the case. It appears solely on door lintels at Güvercinlik (two examples), Kültesir, Meydan, and Sinekkale. This form has been included in the repertory of the so-called Olban symbols and recorded by Durugönül in Esenpınar, Emirzeli, and Çatıören, further east, as well as Karaböcülü and Demircili, west of our territory.

¹⁵ Şahin 2010, 22; Şahin et al. 2011, 324; Şahin et al. 2012, 381.

¹⁶ We do not intend to create a definitive formal taxonomy for a relatively small group of phallic symbols; these are rather general observations.

¹⁷ Keil – Wilhelm 1931, p. 26 no. 50. This identification has been repeated by MacKay 1990, 2101 fn. 220; Mitford 1980, 1248; Durugönül 1998; Durukan 2001, 334; and Pilhofer 2006, 81, who points to the absence of numismatic (with the exception of Coracesium) and epigraphic evidence for Men cult in Cilicia.

¹⁸ For its occurrence on Pompeian wall paintings, see RE XXII, 2, 1954, col. 1924. Apotropaic phallic amulets from private collections in Sicily are briefly discussed in Manganaro 1985, 163–164, see esp. fig. 16.

In about half of the examples mentioned in this paper, and especially when they were carved on door lintels, *phalli* were accompanied by other Olban symbols, especially the club, an attribute of Heracles.¹⁹ *Phalli* coexisted with other symbols (not necessarily on the same architectural element) in Karaböcülü, Demircili, Hançerli, Çatiören, and Meydan, and on their own at Güvere, Emirzeli, and Mezgit (on a tomb). These have been interpreted as geographical markers of the territory controlled by priest kings of Olba, who may have served as the client-kings of the Seleucids, from the third or early second century BCE to the first century CE (possibly until Vespasian). Durugönül suggested that the doors bearing these symbols, especially the military symbols of power such as the shield, club, and the sword, were the houses of leading individuals, such as soldiers and priests.²⁰

Priapus and the land

In addition to these symbols, all of which we interpret as stylized *phalli*, we have found the relief of a phallic figure on a block of stone (perhaps a door post) on the mountain path south of Akkale.²¹ This is a standing ithyphallic figure holding a stick,²² shown at the moment of ejaculation (fig. 11). Complementing the Güvercinlik inscription and the other examples of apotropaic phallic symbolism on this territory, we believe that this is a representation of Priapus, the guardian of gardens, threatening the intruders with rape. The Priapus iconography is well known in Roman domestic space in the Mediterranean, such as the House of the Vettii in Pompeii. In this villa, a wall painting of Priapus on the doorway directs the visitor to the garden where a statue of Priapus spouts water from his exaggerated *phallus*.²³

The Güvercinlik inscription and its phallic iconography, as well as the rural habitat where phallic symbols were found, fit very well with the persona of Priapus depicted in the Roman period *Carmina Priapea*, a collection of poems on Priapus of controversial authorship and date.²⁴ Priapus, as protector of gardens, is a deity of pastoral and agricultural environments. But in the *Carmina Priapea*, which digresses from the earlier literary tradition of Priapean fertility and abundance, he appears in an urbanized rural setting with the leading team of infertility both of the deity himself and the gardens.²⁵ Bad-year agriculture and infertility were not foreign in Cilician semi-arid landscapes. The Güvercinlik inscription from the third or fourth centuries CE is set in an environment affected by Roman control, infrastructure, and urbanism, and possibly land ownership by the urban elite in the countryside.²⁶ This rather explicit inscription might also reflect the landowners' connection to the urban centres, where, unlike the rural environment, the epigraphic habit was much more widespread. The phallic apotropaic symbolism without words is well known in this territory, but the owners of this building and land at Güvercinlik, perhaps city-dwellers, begged to differ in the manner they warded off potential βύσκανοι.

¹⁹ The club or figure of Heracles appears on the coins of Diocaesarea and Olba. See MacKay 1990, 2101

²⁰ Durugönül 1998, 85–89, map 3; MacKay 1990, 2047, 2082–2103. We haven't tracked the symbols listed in Bent 1890. But some of his drawings (especially no. 8, also no. 4 or the "hunting-horn") may represent variants of phallic iconography. Regarding the "hunting-horns" that Bent saw on the towers at Çatiören, not far from the Hermes temple, see Bent 1891, 210 and MacKay 1990, 2090 fn. 175.

²¹ We regret not to have had a chance to revisit this piece and its environs, which we had recorded very cursorily.

²² The relief is unfortunately badly eroded. We wonder whether this stick may be a *thyrsus*, an attribute of Dionysus, Priapus's father and the deity he is most connected in his cult. In Priap. 25.1–2, Priapus's mentula (phallus) is referred as a wooden scepter: *Hoc sceptrum, quod ab arbore et recisum*. See Uden 2010, 203–204 fn. 52.

²³ Fredrick 1995, 283–284.

²⁴ Suggested dates between the late Republic to the Early Empire all predate the Güvercinlik inscription. For a short summary and references to the chronology and authorship of the *Carmina Priapea*, see Uden 2010, 190 fn.3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 190, 204.

²⁶ See *ibid.*, 197–200 for the increasingly urban and semi-urban themes in the *Carmina Priapea* as opposed to poor rural life in earlier literature.

The places where phallic symbols were found were all centers of production at various scales, well-connected to urban and commercial centers. Among them, Sinekkale and Gökkale stand out with a main house associated with a surrounding hamlet involved in agricultural production as attested by the substantial number and size of presses and threshing floors.²⁷ The rural landscape near Güvercinlik includes several hamlets and small villages, with architectural remains that might tentatively be dated to the Roman Imperial and Late Antique periods. Associated with the rising population and prosperity in the rural *territorium* of Seleucia ad Calycadnum during late antiquity, and especially the growth of the port at Corasium in the last quarter of the fourth century, this rural area was intensively exploited, existing small settlements or clusters of structures expanded, new ones were built, while Christianity manifested itself with Christian symbols (mainly simple crosses) on doors and tombs, and foremost with the construction of basilicas, starting in the second half of the fifth century. Numerous industrial size rock-cut olive/wine presses, grinding stones, threshing floors, and cisterns, which unfortunately cannot be firmly dated, point to an agricultural surplus. While increasing olive oil production (e.g. Akhayat, Karakabaklı, Işıkkale) has been suggested as a main source for the rise in prosperity, as attested by the expansion of the villages and the construction of stone houses, the extent and capacity of the agricultural activity during the Roman Imperial period, cannot be gauged without further archaeological fieldwork.²⁸ In any case, the rural inhabitants at all periods lived in a semi-arid environment with limited topsoil and made a living combining multi-cultural agricultural and pastoralist strategies, as well as using forestry resources. Regardless of the level of production, they wanted to protect their produce, animals, and belongings.

Who are these βάσκανοι?

In the context of Isaurian banditry, attested in the textual evidence intermittently from the early first century until the end of the fifth century CE, it is tempting to associate the use of faul language alongside apotropaic imagery, with the threat of the Isaurian plunderers from the mountains infesting the towns, farmsteads, and cities in the lowlands.²⁹ The period between the mid-first to the mid-third centuries CE, however, seems to have been relatively quiet, marked by Roman urbanism, road construction, benefactions, and the settlement of Roman colonists.³⁰ This period was followed by a resurgence of the raids,³¹ which intensified particularly starting in the mid-fourth century CE.³² While Shaw proposed a chronic tension between sedentarists and transhumant pastoralists, Lenski argued for a complex, symbiotic relationship that regulated the seasonal movement of the pastoralists, who have increasingly become sedentary under the Roman rule.³³ For the third and fourth centuries CE, to which we have tentatively dated the Güvercinlik inscription, the architectural remains and associated

²⁷ About the discussion of possible functions of Sinekkale (monastery, carvansarai, or villa rustica), see Eichner 2008. For the identification of the remains at Gökkale as a farmstead see Aydınoglu 2010.

²⁸ Varinlioğlu 2007 and 2011.

²⁹ For an overview of the Isaurian banditry and its scholarship, see Minor 1979, Shaw 1990a; Shaw 1990b, Lenski 1999, Feld 2005.

³⁰ Lenski 1999, 436. Shaw (1990a, 230–233) questioned the extent and efficacy of the Roman control over the hinterland.

³¹ Lenski (1999, 420) explains Diocletian's reorganization of the provinces of Isauria and Cilicia with the increased need for defense and underlines the fact that Diocletian was the first Roman emperor to send permanent legions to the region.

³² For an overview of textual references (e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus, Egeria's pilgrimage to St. Thecla, Life and Miracles of St. Thecla) to Isaurian brigandage, see Shaw 1990b, 237–249 and Lenski 1999, 422–423. The construction of the defensive walls in Anemurium and Corasium in the last quarter of the fourth century CE is also associated with the Isaurian problem.

³³ Lenski 1999, 446–455.

agricultural evidence indicate the existence of a significant sedentary population exploiting the meager resources of these limestone hills.

Located nearby thoroughfares connecting the coast to the highlands, the settlements west of the Yenibahçe Canyon must have been easy targets for plunderers. They were, however, neither fortified nor clustered in such a way to create defensive architectural entities in times of need. With the exception of the Hellenistic and Roman towers, which should be evaluated as more than defensive structures (e.g. surveying the land, communication, power symbols), evidence for constant state of danger and need for defense is lacking. Instead, the location of settlements was dictated by arable land, thus settlements (hamlets, villages, farmsteads, etc.) rarely formed nucleated entities until late antiquity. Even then, hamlets, farmsteads, clusters of structures continued to exist in a dispersed pattern.³⁴ In this context, the apotropaic symbolism is the only indirect clue reflecting the worries of the sedentary population against potential mobile attackers. However tempting it is to associate the βάσκανοι with the Isaurian bandits, there is no other evidence for an extraordinary threat against these particular places.

Conclusion

Scholars have often encountered φαλλούς in their expeditions in Rough Cilicia. They have, however, associated it not with Priapus,³⁵ but with Hermes, the second-most represented deity in Cilicia, alongside Zeus.³⁶ The Güvercinlik inscription and its phallic symbol challenge this assumption. The apotropaic function of phallic symbols against the βάσκανοι is for the first time verbalized, yet this new inscription is reticent about the name of the deity who performed this function. We propose Priapus as the guardian of the crops in Rough Cilicia, mainly based on the aforementioned epigram on a Priapus statue from Acireale in Sicily. The literary depiction of Priapus in the Carmen Priapea and the relief of an ithyphallic deity that brings to mind the representations of Priapus in Roman domestic contexts, strengthen our conviction that a cult of Priapus may have existed in Rough Cilicia during the Roman Imperial and Late Roman period.³⁷ This suggestion, however, needs to remain an open question until further evidence comes to the fore.

Abbreviated Literature

Aydinoğlu 2010	Ü. Aydınoğlu, The Farms in Rough Cilicia in the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods, <i>Adalya</i> 13, 2010, 243–282.
Bent 1890	J. T. Bent, Cilician Symbols, <i>Classical Review</i> 4, 1890, 321–322.
Bent 1891	J. T. Bent, A Journey in Cilicia Tracheia, <i>JHS</i> 12, 1891, 206–224.
Dagron 1978	G. Dagron (ed.), <i>Vie et Miracles de Sainte Thècle: Texte Grec, traduction et commentaire</i> , Brussels 1978 (<i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> 62).
Dagron – Feissel 1987	G. Dagron – D. Feissel, <i>Inscriptions de Cilicie</i> , Paris 1987.
Durugönül 1998	S. Durugönül, Türme und Siedlungen im Rauhen Kilikien: Eine Untersuchung zu den archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften im Olbischen Territorium, Bonn 1998 (<i>AMS</i> 28).
Durukan 2001	M. Durukan, Eine Studie zur Kultfiguren und Symbolen in Olba, in: E. Jean – A. M. Dinçol – S. Durugönül (eds.), <i>La Cilicie: pouvoirs et espaces locaux (2^e millénaire av. J.-C. 4^e siècle ap. J.-C.)</i> , Paris 2001, 327–348.

³⁴ Varinlioğlu 2013.

³⁵ About the occurrence of *phalli* as an attribute of Priapus, see RE XXII, 2, 1954, cols. 1923–4.

³⁶ Hermes cult has been documented in several instances in Rough Cilicia, such as the Hermes temples at Çatıören and environs, the Zeus, Pan and Hermes worship at the Corycian cave, Hermes cult near Meydankalesi. See Bent 1891, 2010–2011; MacKay 1990, 2090–2109; Durugönül 1998, 28–29, 111; Durukan 2001, 327–329; Pilhofer 2006, *passim*.

³⁷ Priapus was also assimilated into Pan or Dionysus in Asia Minor during the Roman Imperial period. See RE XXII, 2, 1954, col. 1937–8; *Der Neue Pauly* 10, 2001, col. 308; Preteux 2005, 246, 251, 255, 259. Hermes, Priapus and Pan are come across also the guardian of lands: Engelmann – Merkelbach 1971, 98–102.

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Özet

Dağlık Kilikya’da Priapos?

Taşeli’nde (Kilikia) karşılaşılan *phallos*lar, bölgenin yaygın olarak tapınılan ikinci büyük tanrısı Hermes’le ilişkili görülmüştür. Güvercinlik’te kapı dikmesi üzerindeki İ. S. III. ya da IV. yüzyıldan bir yazıt bu varsayımı yeniden ele almamızı gerektirmektedir. Yağmacılara karşı ürünü korumak amacıyla yazılmış olan bu yazıt ve altındaki *phallos* çizimi, benzer amaçla İ. Ö. II. ya da III. yüzyılda Sicilya’nın Catania bölgesinde Priapos heykeline yazılan epigramı anımsatmaktadır. Batıda Priapos, Roma kentsel alanlarında sık görülürdü. Güvercinlik yazıtı ise, kısıtlı tarım olanakları olan kırsal alanla ilgilidir. Bu alanda, geç Roma’dan Eskiçağın sonuna değin sürekli tarım yapılmış ve oturulagelmıştır. Güvercinlik yazıtının ışığında, *phallos*ların bölgede yaygın olarak görülmesi, tam kentleşmemiş Taşeli’nde, Roma geleneklerinin de etkisiyle, Priapos tapınmasının olabileceğini ileri sürmemizin gerekçesi olmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Dağlık Kilikya; Güvercinlik; Hermes; epigram; *phallos*; Priapus.

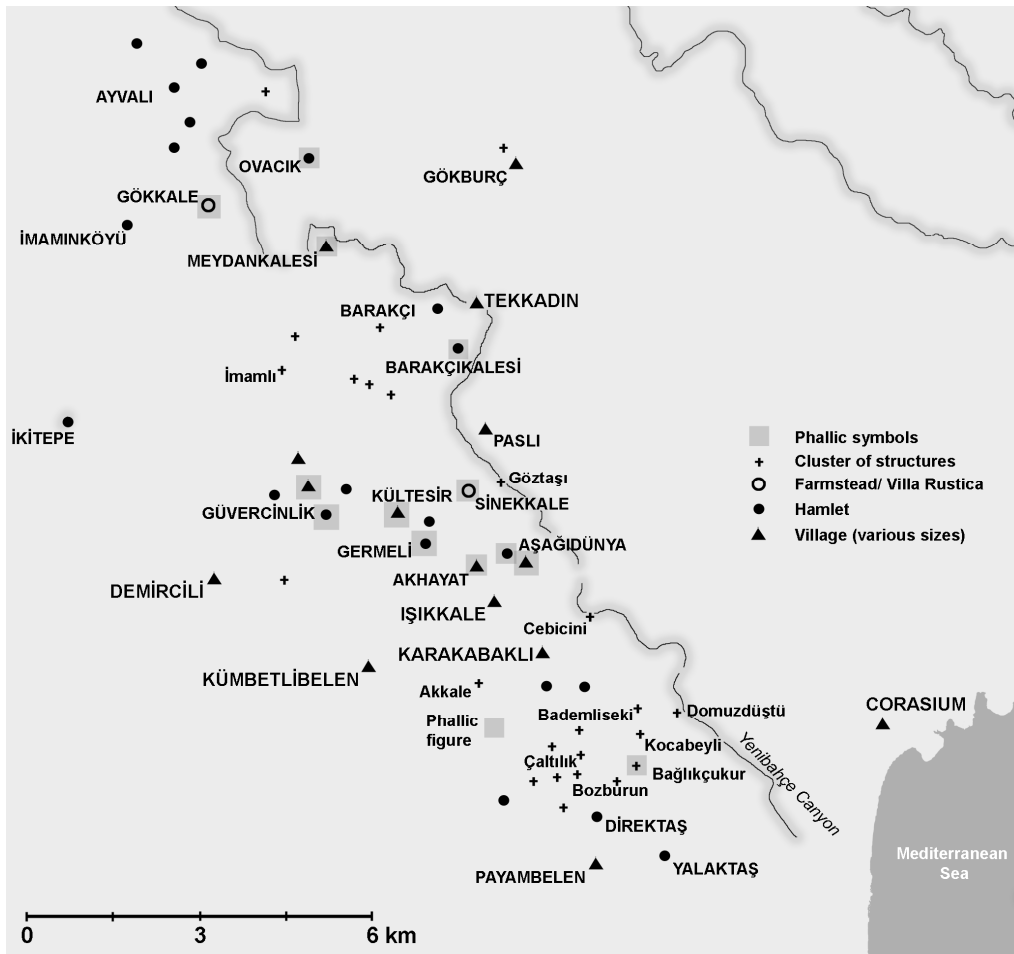


Fig. 1: Map of the territory showing the settlements and the locations of phallic symbols discovered in our survey



Fig. 2: The Güvercinlik inscription as it was discovered in 2004

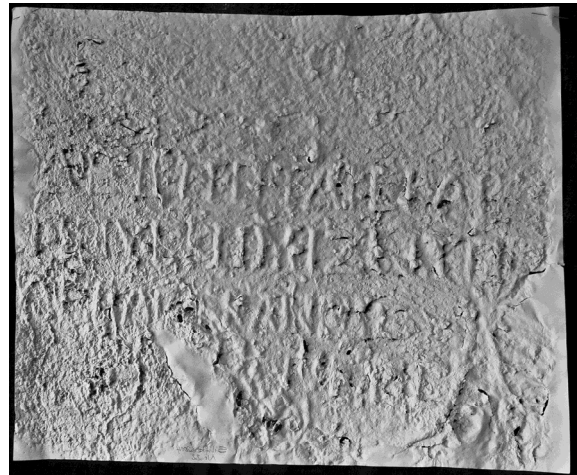


Fig. 3: Close-up view of the squeeze of the Güvercinlik inscription

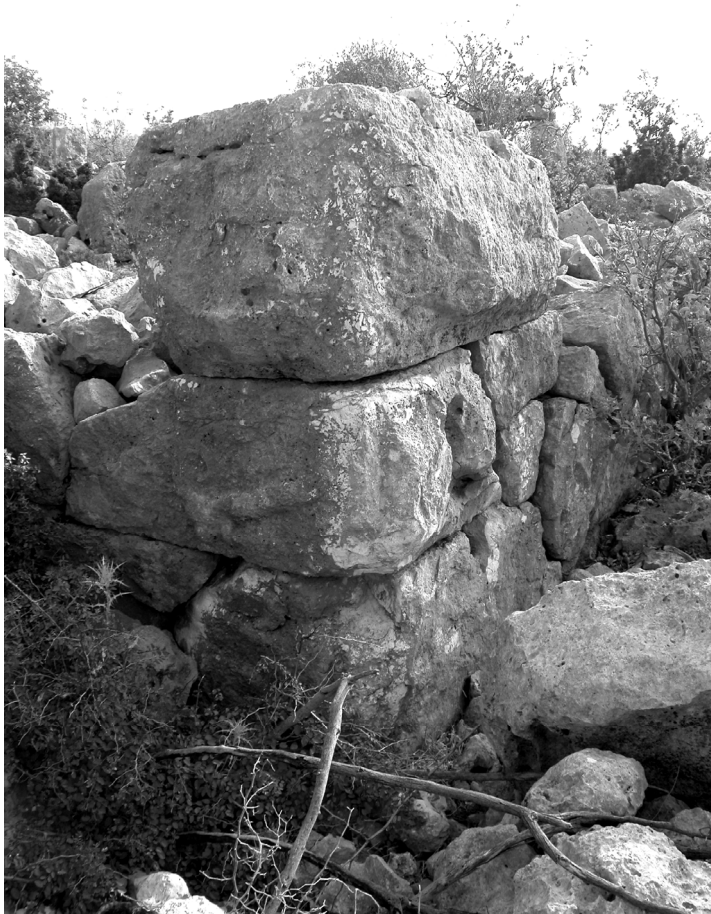


Fig. 4: Phallic symbol (form 2) on the corner of a structure at Bağlıkçukur (cf. fig. 9)

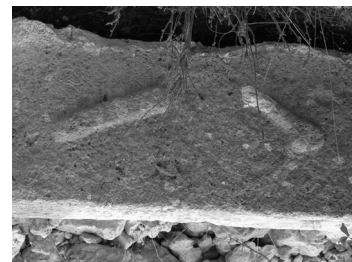


Fig. 5: Phallic symbol (form 3) and club on a door lintel at Sinekkale



Fig. 6: Stylized phallic symbol (form 1) on a door lintel at Aşağıdünya

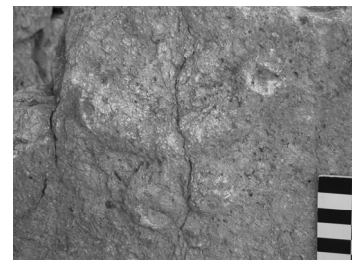


Fig. 7: Phallic symbol (form 1) on a door post at Akhayat



Fig. 8: Phallic symbol (form 2) on a door post at Ovacık



Fig. 9: Close-up view of the phallic symbol (form 2) with a spiral tail on the corner of a structure at Bağlıkçukur (cf. fig. 4)

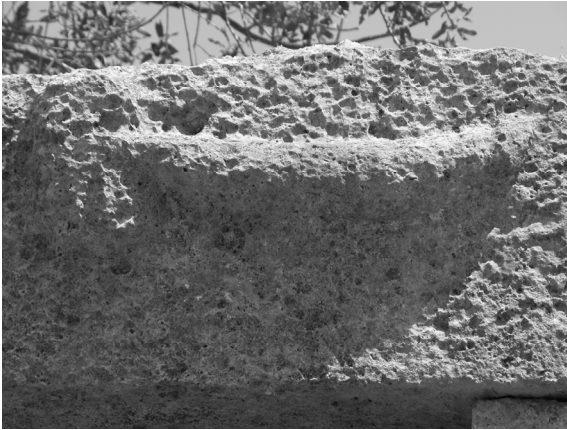


Fig. 10: Phallic symbol (form 3) on a door lintel at Güvercinlik



Fig. 11: Relief of an ithyphallic figure, possibly Priapus, found south of Akkale