

**CULTS AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF PAMPHYLIA  
FROM THE ARCHAIC TO THE LATE ANTIQUE  
PERIOD**

by

**İpek Dağlı Dinçer**

A Dissertation Submitted  
to the Graduate School of Social Sciences & Humanities  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Archaeology and History of Art



**KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ**

**Koç University**

**Spring 2020**

**Cults and Religious Life of Pamphylia from the Archaic to the Late  
Antique Period**

Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences & Humanities

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a doctoral dissertation by

**İpek Dağlı Dinçer**

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,  
and that any and all revisions required by the final  
examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

Associate Professor Dr. Inge Uytterhoeven

Professor Dr. Oğuz Tekin

Associate Professor Dr. Aşkim Özdizbay

Senior Lecturer Dr. Alan Greaves

Lecturer Dr. Anja Slawisch

Date: 05. 05. 2020

To my family...



## **ABSTRACT**

**Cults and Religious Life of Pamphylia  
from the Archaic to the Late Antique Period  
İpek Dağlı Dinçer  
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology and Art History  
Spring, 2020.**

The aim of this study is to evaluate the religious life of Pamphylia, a region situated in the southern part of Asia Minor. The thesis investigates various aspects, such as the pantheon of the region, sacred landscapes, festivals, ritual practices, religious personnel, and religious architecture based on archaeological, iconographic, numismatic and written sources. These sources are examined from the Archaic period to the Late Antiquity in order to understand the diachronological developments and changes in the religious life of Pamphylia. The principal settlements that constitute the scope of the thesis are Attaleia, Magydos, Sillyon, Perge, Lyrboton Kome, Aspendos, Lyrbe and Side; however, the cities that are situated on the western and eastern borders of the region according to ancient authors, such as Phaselis, Syedra, Korakesion are also included to establish a broader context. Although archaeological excavations and surveys have revealed a lot of information regarding the history and urbanistic development of the cities, the cults and religious practices of the region from the cities and the countryside have not been studied comprehensively yet. The evidence collected concerning the religious life of the region is interpreted within the broader historical framework of Pamphylia. As such, it is the first study dealing with the entire body of material and written evidence available for the cultic activities and religious life in Pamphylia.

Key words: Pamphylia, Classical Archaeology, Cult, Epigraphy, Inscriptions



## ÖZETÇE

**Arkaik Dönem'den Geç Antik Dönem'e Kadar  
Pamphylia Bölgesi Kültleri ve Dinsel Yaşamı  
İpek Dağlı Dinçer  
Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümünde Doktora Derecesi  
Bahar 2020**

Bu çalışmanın amacı Küçük Asya'nın güneyinde yer alan Pamphylia'nın kültürlerini ve dinsel yaşamını değerlendirmektir. Tez arkeolojik ve yazılı kaynaklara dayanarak bölgenin panteonu, kutsal peyzajı, festivalleri, tören ve ritüel uygulamaları, din görevlileri ve dini mimarisi gibi çeşitli yönleri kapsamaktadır. Bu kaynaklar Pamphylia'nın dinsel yaşamındaki gelişmeleri ve değişiklikleri anlamak için Arkaik Dönem'den Geç Antik Çağ'a kadar incelenecektir. Tezin kapsamını oluşturan başlıca yerleşimler Attaleia, Magydos, Sillyon, Perge, Lyrboton Kome, Aspendos ve Side'dir, ancak daha geniş bir bağlam oluşturmak için batı ve doğu sınırlarında yer alan şehirler de çalışmaya dâhil edilmiştir. Arkeolojik kazılar ve araştırmalar, kentlerin tarihi ve kent gelişimi hakkında çok fazla bilgi ortaya koymasına rağmen, bölgedeki kültürler henüz kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmemiştir. Bölgenin dini hayatı hakkında toplanan kanıtlar Pamphylia'nın daha geniş tarihsel çerçevesi içinde yorumlanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Pamphylia'daki kültür faaliyetleri ve dini yaşam için mevcut olan tüm maddi ve yazılı kanıtlarla ilgili ilk çalışma olacaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Pamphylia, Klasik Arkeoloji, Kült, Yazıtlar, Epigrafi

## Acknowledgements

Undertaking this dissertation has been a milestone in my life. I would like to thank all those who have been by my side during this process, without whose support and assistance this PhD would not have been possible.

First and foremost, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Doç. Dr. Inge Uytterhoeven for the continuous support, encouragement and patience she has provided in every step of this dissertation project. We have started our journey in the Koç University in the same year, I was first her teaching assistant then became her PhD student and without her guidance, knowledge, motivation, constant feedback and meticulous revisions, this PhD would not have been achievable. Her questions enabled me to broaden my research from many perspectives. I could not have imagined a better advisor for my study, and I am deeply indebted to her beyond the words.

Besides my advisor, I am grateful to the rest of my thesis committee. I owe many thanks to Prof. Dr. Oğuz Tekin whose uncontested knowledge about numismatics provided me great help in this field, which constitutes the main material evidence for my PhD. I am thankful to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aşkıñ Özdizbay with whom I had the chance to work with in many projects from the plains of Pamphylia to the mountains of Cilicia since I was an undergraduate student. He became a truly influential figure in my academic pursuit not only because of his knowledge of archaeology but also for his knowledge in life. I would also like to thank Dr. Carolyn Aslan. Although she was my committee member for a short period of time, her insightful comments and guidance enabled me to establish the framework of my research in the beginning of the project.

I am thankful to the Koç University Department of Archaeology and History of Art, and the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities to allow me to the Phd programme, for providing me a scholarship and afterwards the yearly tuition waver when I started to work at İstanbul University Classical Archaeology Department. I am also

indebted to my professors, colleagues and friends for supporting me in various capacities over my time at Koç University.

I owe gratitude to many people who supported me throughout my academic life. The professors of İstanbul University Classical Archaeology Department, including the late Professor Haluk Abbasoğlu, Prof. Dr. İnci Delemen and Prof. Dr. Elif Tül Tulunay, have provided me the education needed for the accomplishment of the thesis. Prof. Dr. Sedef Çokay Kepçe had a genuine interest in my project since the beginning and was a positive support in the writing process. I am also indebted to her for allowing me to benefit from the photographic archive of the Archaeological Research Center of the Antalya District. I want to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Müjde Peker for her support, Prof. Dr. Hamdi Şahin and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hasan Peker for enduring my endless questions, and Dr. Özgür Turak and Fatma Nihal Köseoğlu for providing me the joy that I needed to move on.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) and I am thankful to the George and Ilse Hanfmann and Machteld J. Mellink Fellowship committee. The funding has allowed me to carry out my research in libraries of the University of Oxford, École Normale Supérieure and in several Archaeological Institutes at Athens.

My thanks also go to the many colleagues and friends who contributed to my thesis with their research, photographs, advice, support or by just being in my life: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Olivier Can Henry and the whole Labraunda Excavation team, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dincer Savaş Lenger, Dr. Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karataş, Dr. Gürkan Ergin, Dr. Gülşah Günata, Dr. Buket Akçay Güven, Dr. Senem Özden, Dr. Eda Mızrak, Dr. Hilal Saraç, Dr. Filiz Şenbabaoğlu, Mustafa Kemal Baran, Mehmet Baran Yürük, Önder Cırık, Ozan Çakmak, Nazım Can Cihan, Yiğit Ozar, Nisan Lordoğlu and Mehmet Emir Uslu.

This study could not have been accomplished without the endeavors of many scholars who spent their hard work and dedicated their life to the archaeology of Pamphylia. In this regard, I am indebted to all the researchers from various universities from Turkey and abroad, from the Antalya and Side Museums and from the Archaeological Research Center of the Antalya District.

Last but definitely not least, I wish to express my warm thanks to my best friends Tuğçe İkiş and Sibel Aydın who were with me through this journey which could sometimes be very solitary. My mother, father and grandmother deserve special thanks for their

tremendous patience and love, for putting up all my mood swings in the writing process and for always believing in me. I always felt the support and encouragement of Emel Dinçer, Akın Dinçer and Rana Dinçer. Finally, I owe a special thanks to Berkay Dinçer who was always with me even though we were 1.455,6 km apart.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZETÇE .....	v
Acknowledgements .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
Abbreviations .....	xxix
Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Aims and Objectives .....	3
1.2 Scope and Methodology .....	4
1.3 Limitations .....	7
1.4 Chapter Breakdown .....	9
Chapter 2 SETTING THE SCENE.....	11
2.1 Introduction .....	11
2.2 Geographical Framework.....	11
2.2.1 Climate .....	14
2.2.1 Boundaries.....	17
2.3 Historical Framework .....	23
Chapter 3 THE MYTHICAL PAST OF THE PAMPHYLIANS .....	43
3.1 Introduction .....	43
3.2 Different Approaches to Foundation Myths .....	44
3.3 Foundation Myths and the Cities of Pamphylia .....	45
3.3.1 Phaselis.....	46
3.3.2 Perge.....	47
3.3.3 Sillyon .....	54
3.3.4 Aspendos .....	54
3.3.5 Side.....	56
3.4 Land of all Tribes: Locals, Colonists and Migrants .....	57

3.5 Interpreting the Foundation Myths of Pamphylia .....	59
Chapter 4 GODS, GODDESSES, AND CULTS OF PAMPHYLIA .....	66
4.1 Introduction .....	66
4.2 The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia .....	67
4.3 The Cult of Apollo in Pamphylia .....	87
4.4 The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia.....	114
4.4.1 Wanassa Preiia before Artemis Pergaia .....	115
4.4.2 The Iconography of Artemis Pergaia .....	122
4.4.3. The Sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia .....	133
4.4.4 The Status of the Sanctuary .....	146
4.4.5 Cult Personnel and Rituals of Artemis Pergaia .....	152
4.4.6 Festivals for Artemis Pergaia .....	159
4.4.7 Artemis Pergaia outside Perge.....	163
4.4.8 Artemis in Other Pamphylian Cities .....	168
4.5 The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia .....	170
4.6 The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia.....	191
4.7 The Cult of Hestia in Pamphylia .....	214
4.8 The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia .....	220
4.9 The Cult of Egyptian Deities in Pamphylia .....	235
4.10 The Cult of Ares in Pamphylia.....	244
4.11 The Cult of Dionysos in Pamphylia.....	256
4.12 The Cult of Demeter in Pamphylia .....	267
4.13 The Cult of Helios in Pamphylia .....	280
4.14 The Cult of Tyche/Fortuna in Pamphylia .....	287
4.15 The Cult of Poseidon in Pamphylia .....	301
4.16 The Cult of Men in Pamphylia .....	306
4.17 The Cult of Asklepios and Hygieia in Pamphylia .....	314

4.18 The Cult of Nemesis in Pamphylia .....	324
4.19 The Divinity of Rulers and the City of Rome in Pamphylia .....	334
4.20 Monotheistic Religions in Pamphylia .....	351
Chapter 5 THE SACRED LANDSCAPES OF PAMPHYLIA .....	364
5.1 Introduction .....	364
5.2 Landscape and Greek Religion.....	366
5.3 Sacred Caves, Rocks and Springs in Pamphylia .....	367
5.4 Rivers and River Gods .....	385
5.5 The Sea.....	391
5.6 Epithets .....	393
5.7 The Mythological Landscape .....	394
Chapter 6 AN INTEGRATED OVERVIEW OF CULTS AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN PAMPHYLIA .....	395
Chapter 7 CONCLUSION .....	410
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	421
FIGURES .....	477
APPENDIX 1: SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS.....	623
APPENDIX 2: TABLE 1: CITIES AND DEITIES (A) .....	632
APPENDIX 3: TABLE 2: CITIES AND DEITIES (B).....	641
APPENDIX 4: TABLE 3: VARIOUS EPITHETS.....	643

## LIST OF FIGURES

2.1: Pamphylia (Barrington Atlas). .....	478
2.2: Pamphylia and its cities (Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire <a href="https://dh.gu.se/dare/">https://dh.gu.se/dare/</a> ). .....	478
2.3: Tarhuntašša (Dinçol et al. 2000). .....	479
2.4: Western border of Pamphylia based on ancient sources (Google Earth). .....	479
2.5: Eastern border of Pamphylia based on ancient sources (Google Earth).....	480
2.6: The Acropolis of Perge in the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age (Martini 2017). .....	480
3.1: Phaselis. The upper and lower cities with the three surrounding harbors (Arslan- Tüner Önen 2016).....	481
3.2: Perge. The upper and lower cities (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	481
3.3: Perge. Aerial photo of the southern city gate with its round towers. To the left, the the southern baths. To the right, the <i>macellum</i> (Perge Excavation Archive).....	482
3.4: The Hellenistic southern gate of Perge based on the plan of Bulgurlu 1999 (Özdizbay 2008). .....	482
3.5: Perge. The eastern tower of the Hellenistic city gate with the niches in which the statue bases are visible (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	483
3.6: Perge. Reconstruction of the Hadrianic Arch at the northern side of the southern gate (Özdizbay 2008). .....	483
3.7: Perge. Base of Kalchas ( <a href="http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html">http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html</a> ).....	484
3.8: Perge. Base of Leonteus ( <a href="http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html">http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html</a> ). ....	484
3.9: Perge. Base of Rhixos (Perge Excavation Archive/İ. Dağlı Dinçer).....	484
3.10: Perge. Base of Minyas ( <a href="http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html">http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html</a> ). ....	485
3.11: Perge. Base of Machaon ( <a href="http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html">http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html</a> )...485	485
3.12: Perge. Base of Mopsos (Perge Excavation Archive).....	485
3.13: Perge. Base of Labos ( <a href="http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html">http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html</a> ).....	486
3.14: Perge. Monumental fountain in the north (F3) (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	486
3.15: Perge. Reconstruction of Fountain F3 by A. Dai (Özdizbay 2018). .....	487
3.16: Perge. Reconstruction of Fountain F3 by D. Aksoy (Aksoy 2016). .....	487
3.17: Perge. Statue of Apollo(?)/Machaon(?) found in Fountain F3 (Özgür 1996).....	488
3.18: Sillyon (Lanckoronski 2005).....	488



3.19: Base of Mopsos from Sillyon, used as <i>spolia</i> in the Byzantine walls (Hereward 1958).....	489
3.20: Coin of Sillyon, possibly depicting Leonteus from the period of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6206).....	489
3.21: Aspendos (Köse 2017).....	490
3.22: Coin of Aspendos, Mopsos and the boar-hunt, 375/6 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #6914). ....	491
3.23: Coin of Aspendos, Polypoietes and Leonteus on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6288).....	491
3.24: Plan of Side (Mansel 1978).....	491
3.25: Plan of side by S. Aydal (Alanyalı 2015). ....	492
4.1: Coin of Phaselis, Athena Promachos on a galley on the obverse, 230-190 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #8412). ....	492
4.2: Coin of Phaselis Athena Promachos on the reverse, Gordianus III (238-244 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #10664). ....	492
4.3: Coin of Side, a pomegranate on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse, 490-470 BC (Atlan 1967). ....	493
4.4: Coin of Side, a pomegranate and a dolphin on the obverse and the head of Athena on the reverse, ca.460 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #1016). ....	493
4.5: Coin of Side, a pomegranate on the obverse and the head of Athena on the reverse, ca. 445-425 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #1018). ....	493
4.6: Coin of Side, Athena on the obverse and Apollo on the reverse, ca. 400-380 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #1024). ....	493
4.7: Late Hittite artefact found in Side (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	494
4.8: Kubaba relief from Kargamış, 9 <sup>th</sup> century BC (Roller 1999). ....	494
4.9: Kubaba relief from the Büyükkale Citadel, 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (Darga 2011). ....	495
4.10: Location of the temples of Athena and Apollo in Side (Google Earth). ....	495
4.11: Temple of Athena (N2) to the North and Apollo (N1) to the South (Mansel 1978). ....	496
4.12: Side. Temples of Athena and Apollo, and the later built basilica (Yıldırım 2013). ....	496
4.13: Side. Medusa frieze of the southern temple (Alanyalı 2011). ....	497
4.14: Side. Frieze of the northern temple decorated with a tripod (Alanyalı 2011). ....	497
4.15: Coin of Side, seated Athena holding a Nike and a ship's prow on the reverse, Domitianus (81-96 AD) (RPC III, 1523).....	498
4.16: Coin of Side, standing Athena crowning a trophy on a tree on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2730).....	498

4.17: Coin of Side, Athena in a distyle temple, holding Nike on her hand on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6377).....	498
4.18: Coin of Side, Athena holding a model of a distyle temple, with the legend of <i>Neokoron</i> , Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Burrell 2004, no.144).....	498
4.19: Parapet of the fountain outside Side. Athena is depicted as making a libation on an altar with a ship on the background, 2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD (Mansel 1978).....	499
4.20: Drawing of the relief on the parapet (Lanckoronski 2005).....	499
4.21: Athena statue from Side, findspot unknown (İnan 1975).....	500
4.22: Head of Athena from Side, found in the colonnaded street in front of the theater (İnan 1975).....	501
4.23: Athena statue from Side, found in the monumental fountain outside the city gate (İnan 1975).....	501
4.24: Head of Athena from Side, findspot unknown (İnan 1975).....	502
4.25: Head of Athena from Side, findspot unknown (İnan 1975).....	502
4.26: Coin of Aspendos, <i>gorgoneion</i> on the obverse and helmeted head of Athena on the reverse, ca. 420-360 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#3930).....	503
4.27: Coin of Aspendos, wrestlers on the obverse and a standing armed Athena on a cylindrical base next to a slinger figure on the reverse, ca. 400-370 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID# 4384).....	503
4.28: Plan of the fortifications of Attaleia (Lanckoronski 2005).....	503
4.29: Attaleia (Kaymak 2009).....	504
4.30: Necropolis of Attaleia, so-called Eastern Garage (Akman-Tosun 2011).....	504
4.31: Coin of Attaleia, helmeted head of Athena on the reverse, Nero (54-68 AD) (RPC IX, 1086).....	505
4.32: Coin of Attaleia, Athena with a shield and spear and Nike on her right hand on the reverse, Decius (249-251 AD) (RPC IX, 1086).....	505
4.33: Coin of Attaleia, Athena in a distyle temple on the obverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV, 11019).....	505
4.34: Coin of Attaleia, Athena in a tetrastyle temple on the obverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV, 4075).....	505
4.35: Coin of Attaleia, Athena in a hexastyle temple on the obverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV, 4076).....	506
4.36: Coin of Magydos, armed Athena holding Nike on her right hand on the obverse, Tiberius (14-37 AD) (RPC I, 3367A).....	506
4.37: Coin of Perge, <i>Homonoia</i> between Perge and Side. Perge is represented by Artemis on the left and Side is represented by Athena on the right, Gordianus III (238-244 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#10327).....	506

4.38: Statue of Athena found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	507
4.39: Statue of Athena found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	507
4.40: Head of Athena found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	508
4.41: Statue of Athena found in the southern façade of the <i>Palaestra</i> of Cornutus at Perge (Orhan 2017). ....	508
4.42: Statue of Athena found in the southern façade of the <i>Palaestra</i> of Cornutus at Perge (Orhan 2017). ....	509
4.43: Coin of Side, Apollo with a <i>chlamys</i> , holding a laurel branch with a crow on his feet on the obverse, ca. 400-350 BC (www.wildwinds.com) .....	509
4.44: Coin of Side, Apollo with a <i>chlamys</i> , making a libation to an altar, crow on his feet on the reverse, ca. 375-333 BC (www.wildwinds.com).....	509
4.45: Apollo on the ceiling coffers of the theater of Side (Alanyalı 2011). ....	510
4.46: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes making a libation to an altar on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (www.wildwinds.com). ....	510
4.47: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes with a pomegranate on the reverse, Nero (54-68 AD) (RPC I, 3400). ....	510
4.48: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes with a tripod on the reverse, Lucius Verus (161-169 AD) (RPC IV.3, 10450). ....	511
4.49: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes with Athena, between them an altar on the reverse, Iulia Paula (RPC VI, 6390). ....	511
4.50: Coin of Side, Apollo in a hexastyle temple on the reverse, Annia Aurelia Faustina (Augusta) (RPC VI, 6384). ....	511
4.51: <i>Homonoia</i> coin between Side and Delphi. Both cities are represented by Apollo on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (www.wildwinds.com). ....	511
4.52: Coin of Side, depiction of the foundation myth of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi on the reverse, Decius (249-251 AD) (www.wildwinds.com).....	512
4.53: Marble base of the gilded altar in Side (Yurtsever 2012).....	512
4.54: Marble base of the gilded altar in Side (Yurtsever 2012).....	512
4.55: Fragment of a marble <i>omphalos</i> found in the Large Baths of Side (Özhanlı 2014). .....	513
4.56: Restitution drawing of a marble <i>omphalos</i> found in the Large Baths of Side (Özhanlı 2014). ....	513
4.57: Torso of Apollo found in the theater of Side (İnan 1975). ....	514
4.58: Statue of Apollo Kithairodos found between “Building P” and the Late Roman Fountain (İnan 1975). ....	514

4.59: Head of Apollo found in “Building M” in Side (İnan 1975). .....	515
4.60: Head of Apollo retrieved from the sea (İnan 1975). .....	515
4.61: Coin of Lyrbe, Apollo Sidetes on the reverse, Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1177).....	515
4.62: Relief of Apollo Sidetes in Pednelissos (Işın 2008).....	516
4.63: Detail from the relief (Işın 2008). .....	516
4.64: Apollo Sanctuary in Melli and rock-cut niche (Işın 2014). .....	517
4.65: Coin of Sillyon, laureate Apollo on the obverse and Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse, ca.300-100 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#6913). .....	517
4.66: Coin of Sillyon, Apollo next to sane coiled tripod, Commodus (180-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 5726). .....	517
4.67: Coin of Attaleia, Apollo leaning on a pedestal while holding a <i>lyra</i> on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV, 4604). .....	517
4.68: Aerial photograph of the intersection and the pylons of the arch in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	518
4.69: Restitution of the western side of the arch with the inscription (Özdizbay 2008). .....	518
4.70: <i>Homonoia</i> coin between Perge and Delphi depicting Artemis Pergaia and Apollo, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (Erol-Özdizbay 2012). .....	518
4.71: Statues of the Mousai found in the <i>frigidarium</i> of the Southern Baths of Perge (Akçay 2007).....	519
4.72: Aerial photograph of Fountains F2 and F4 in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	519
4.73: Pediment of Fountain F4 in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	520
4.74: Group of Marsyas, Muse and Apollo Kithairos found in the so-called gallery of Claudius Peison in the Southern Baths of Perge (Akçay 2007).....	520
4.75: Statue of the so-called priest of Apollo (Perge Excavation Archive).....	521
4.76: Tower of “Arete” in Lyrboton Kome (Erdoğan 2018). .....	521
4.77: Coin of Aspendos, Apollo between a <i>lyra</i> and a tripod containing a laurel branch on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV, 5707). .....	522
4.78: Coin of Aspendos, Apollo on the reverse holding a crown next to a <i>lyra</i> , Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 11017). .....	522
4.79: Statue of Apollo found in the excavation of the Roman basilica in Aspendos (www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr).....	522
4.80: Dialect inscription found in Fountain F4 in Perge, 5 <sup>th</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> centuries BC, (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	523

- 4.81: Coin of Perge, head of Artemis on the obverse and Artemis holding a wreath and scepter next to a deer on the reverse, ca. 260-230 BC ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#2033).....523
- 4.82: Coin of Perge, jugate heads of Artemis and Apollo on the obverse and Artemis resting on a scepter with a crown in her right hand on the reverse, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (SNG 3, no.340). .....523
- 4.83: Coin of Perge, sphinx on the obverse and Artemis on the reverse with wreath and scepter, legend in the Pamphylian dialect, 3rd-2nd centuries BC ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#3837). .....524
- 4.84: Coin of Perge, distyle temple with aniconic cult image of Artemis on the obverse, quiver on the reverse, 3rd-1st centuries BC ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#6041). .....524
- 4.85: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple on the reverse, Traianus (98-117 AD) (RPC III, 2686). .....524
- 4.86: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple with sphinxes on both sides on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2690). .....524
- 4.87: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple with a star and crescent on the reverse, Elgabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC IV, 6117). .....525
- 4.88: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple with torches on both sides, Gallienus (253-268 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#5886). .....525
- 4.89: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia on the hand of seated Tyche on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6156).....525
- 4.90: Cult image of Artemis Pergaia found in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....526
- 4.91: Cult image of Artemis Pergaia on the hand of Tyche, from the sacrificial frieze of the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....526
- 4.92: Cult image of Artemis Pergaia found in Kremna (Fleischer 1973). .....527
- 4.93: Restitution of the sacred stone (shown in yellow) at the Acropolis of Perge in the Middle Iron Age (Martini 2017). .....527
- 4.94: Pillar erected in the rocky area below the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). ...527
- 4.95: Restitution of the pillar erected in the rocky area below the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). .....528
- 4.96: Coin of Perge, Artemis Pergaia carrying a bow and torch on the reverse, Tiberius (14-37 AD) (RPC I, 3369). .....528
- 4.97: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia flanked by two torches on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#5886)....528
- 4.98: Drawing of Fountain F2 in Perge by A.Dai (Perge Excavation Archive). .....529

4.99: Pediment of Fountain F2, Charites and Artemis Pergaia with a bow and torch, Severan Period (195-204 AD) (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	529
4.100: Pediment of Fountain F2, priestess of Artemis, Aphrodite and Eros, Severan Period (195-204 AD) (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	530
4.101: Relief of Artemis Pergaia on a column in the eastern gallery of the north-south colonnaded street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	530
4.102: Sphinx found in the theater of Perge (Recke 2008). .....	531
4.103: Sphinx found in the theater of Perge (Recke 2008). .....	531
4.104: Sphinxes on the <i>polos</i> of Artemis Ephesia (Fleischer 1973). .....	532
4.105: Statue of Artemis found in the Late Roman Gate of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	532
4.106: Statue of Artemis found in the <i>natatio</i> of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	533
4.107: Statue of Artemis found in Fountain F3 in the north of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	533
4.108: Relief of Artemis on the pediment of Fountain F4 in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	534
4.109: Detail of Fountain F4 (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	534
4.110: Coin of Perge, Artemis Pergaia with crescent above her head on the obverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6184). .....	535
4.111: Coin of Perge, Artemis Pergaia with a radiate crown and crescent above her shoulders on the reverse, Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1118). .....	535
4.112: Zodiac disc found on the slopes of İyilikbelen Hill, 2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	535
4.113: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2690). .....	536
4.114: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a tetrastyle temple, on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2705A). .....	536
4.115: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a hexastyle temple on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2706). .....	536
4.116: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a tetrasyle temple on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6158). .....	536
4.117: Columns initially thought to belong to the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia, Acropolis of Perge (Recke 2007). .....	537
4.118: Plan of Perge by T�exier and Pullan. The sanctuary of Artemis is marked on the Acropolis (Recke 2007). .....	537
4.119: Location of the temple of Artemis Pergaia on the Acropolis and its connection with the lower city (Martini 2017). .....	538

4.120: Reconstruction of the possible sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia next to the rock formations and the fortifications of the Acropolis (Martini 2017).....	538
4.121: Perge and its river port of Kestros (modern Solak) (Martini 2017). .....	539
4.122: Perge. Plan of the Doric temple (Mansel 1970). .....	539
4.123: Perge. Three stepped <i>krepis</i> (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	539
4.124: Perge. Doric columns of the temple (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	540
4.125: <i>Cistophorus</i> of Rome, distyle temple of Artemis Pergaia on the reverse, Traianus (98-117 AD) (www.coinsarchive.com, Auction 29, Lot number: 2271). .....	540
4.126: Coin of Perge, distyle temple of Artemis Pergaia on the reverse with the legend of <i>asylos</i> on the pediment, Herennius Etruscus (251 AD) (RPC IX, 1104A).....	540
4.127: Perge. Statue of a priestess of Artemis Pergaia (Perge Excavation Archive)....	541
4.128a: Perge. Priestess of Artemis on the pediment of Fountain F2 (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	541
4.128b: Perge. Priestess of Artemis Pergaia on the pediment of Fountain F4 (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	542
4.129: Sacrificial frieze found in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive)....	542
4.130: Detail from the sacrificial frieze, Tyche with the cult image of Artemis Pergaia (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	543
4.131: Detail from the sacrificial frieze, servants preparing the sacrifices (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	543
4.132: Detail from the sacrificial frieze, elders with the sacrifices (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	543
4.133: <i>Temenos</i> of Artemidoros on Thera (commons.wikimedia.org). .....	544
4.134: Relief of the head of Artemis Pergaia on the <i>temenos</i> of Artemidoros (commons.wikimedia.org) .....	544
4.135: Coin of Pogla, distyle temple on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 7710). .....	544
4.136: Coin of Andeda, distyle temple on the reverse, Faustina II (RPC IV.3, 7291)..	545
4.137: Coin of Pednelissos, distyle temple on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV3, 7706).....	545
4.138: Coin of Selge, distyle temple on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC I, 3381). .....	545
4.139: Coin of Aspendos, cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides, Augustus (27 BC-14AD) (RPC I, 3381).....	545
4.140: Coin of Aspendos, cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides, Gallienus (253-260 AD) (www.wildwinds.com).....	546

4.141: Coin of Aspendos, Eurymedon holding cult statues of Aphroditai Kasstnietides on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC IV, 6286).....	546
4.142: Coin of Aspendos, cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietitides inside a distyle temple on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2718).....	546
4.143: Acropolis of Perge, “Area 1” (Martini 2017).....	547
4.144: Figurines found in the <i>bothros</i> in “Area 1”, 4 <sup>th</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC (Martini 2017). .....	547
4.145: Acropolis of Perge, “Area 2” (Martini 2017).....	548
4.146: Development of the cultic buildings in “Area 2” of the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). .....	548
4.147: Lead figurine of Aphrodite found in “Area 2” (Martini 2017). .....	549
4.148: Statue of Aphrodite of the Syrakusai type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	549
4.149: Statue of Aphrodite of the Capitoline type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	550
4.150: Statue of Aphrodite of the Capua type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	550
4.151: Statue of Aphrodite of the Pontia-Euploia type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	551
4.152: Statue of Aphrodite of the Capua type found in the western colonnaded street of Perge (photo taken by I. Uytterhoeven). .....	551
4.153: Statue of Aphrodite of the Venus Genetrix type found in the so-called Palaistra of Cornutus (Orhan 2017). .....	552
4.154: Coin of Magydos, Aphrodite on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6103). .....	552
4.155: Coin of Sillyon, Zeus Aetophoros on the reverse, 4 <sup>th</sup> century BC (www.asiaminorcoins, Coin ID#6913). .....	552
4.156: Coin of Sillyon, Capitoline triad on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 10217). .....	553
4.157: Coin of Attaleia, Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> century BC (www.asiaminorcoins, Coin ID#15656). .....	553
4.158: Coin of Attaleia, Zeus on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 3960). .....	553
4.159: Inscription from Perge dedicated to Zeus Soter (Kileci 2019). .....	554
4.160: Statue of Zeus found in Fountain F3 in the north of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	554
4.161: Coin of Aspendos, heads of Zeus and Hera on the reverse, Vespasianus (69-79 AD) (RPC I, 1520B). .....	555



4.162: Coin of Aspendos, Zeus and Hera, sitting on thrones face to face with an eagle between them on the reverse, Maximinius (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6312). .....	555
4.163: Coin of Side, Amatheia and Zeus with the Kuretes on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6440). .....	555
4.164: Metal tablet with inscription concerning the sale of an orchard (Tybout 2013). .....	555
4.165: Acropolis of Perge, “Area 3” (Martini 2017). .....	556
4.166: Hearth in “Area 3” (Martini 2017). .....	556
4.167: Restitution of the <i>hestiatoria</i> in “Area 1 (Martini 2017). .....	557
4.168: Coin of Magydos, Hermes with a purse and <i>kerykeion</i> on the reverse, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> centuries BC (Ünal 2008). .....	557
4.169: Coin of Aspendos, Hermes, sitting on a rock with a purse and <i>kerykeion</i> on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6304). .....	557
4.170: Coin of Perge, Herakles with a club and Hermes with a purse on the reverse, Salonina (253-260 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#4147). .....	557
4.171: Coin of Syedra, the judgement of Ares with Hermes and Dike on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV.3, 9366). .....	558
4.172: Statue of Hermes found in the Hellenistic Gate in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	558
4.173: Statue of Hermes found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	559
4.174: The “Sandal-tying” Hermes found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	559
4.175: Colossal Hermes statue found in the Theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	560
4.176: Fragment of a herm found in the north-south colonnaded street of Perge (Delemen 2013). .....	560
4. 177: Herms in the parapet walls separating the cavea from the orchestra in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	561
4.178: Statue of Hermes found in “Building M” in Side (İnan 1975). .....	561
4.179: Statue of Hermes found in the Fountain outside the City Gate of Side (photo taken by I. Uytterhoeven). .....	562
4.180: Head of Hermes found in the Fountain outside the City Gate of Side (photo taken by I. Uytterhoeven). .....	562
4.181: Head of Hermes found in the area of “Temples N1-N2” at Side (İnan 1975). .....	563
4.182: Temple of Hermes at Çatiören in Rough Cilicia (photo taken by A.Özdizbay). .....	563

4.183: Coin of Phaselis, crown of Isis with <i>lyra</i> and torch on the reverse, 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> centuries BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#1388). .....	564
4.184: Coin of Attaleia, head of Sarapis with <i>kalathos</i> on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 4051). .....	564
4.185: Coin of Aspendos, Sarapis in <i>quadriga</i> on the reverse, below Eurymedon, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC IV, 6283). .....	564
4.186: Coin of Aspendos, Sarapis inside a hexastyle temple on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC IV, 6289). .....	564
4.187: Coin of Aspendos, Sarapis on the reverse, sitting on a throne, Isis in front of him holding a <i>sistrum</i> , behind him Demeter, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6265). .....	565
4.188: Lamp and relief from Alexandria, Egypt (Hornbostel 1973). .....	565
4.189: Statue of Isis found in Perge (Perge Exvacation Archive). .....	565
4.190: Statue of Isis found in Perge (Delemen 2013b). .....	566
4.191: Statue of Sarapis found in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	566
4.192: Statue of Harpokrates found in Perge (Perge Exvacation Archive). .....	567
4.193: Coin of Sillyon, helmeted and bearded head of Ares on the obverse, 3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#6912). .....	567
4.194: Coin of Aspendos, warrior with helmet, shield and spear on the obverse, 3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC (www.wildwinds.com). .....	567
4.195: Inscription used as <i>spolia</i> in the Late Building in Syedra (photo taken by A. Özdizbay). .....	568
4.196: Coin of Side, armed Ares before a statue of Caracalla on the reverse (198-211 AD) (www.mfa.org). .....	568
4.197: Coin of Attaleia, Dionysos and Ariadne in a <i>biga</i> drawn by panthers, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV, 4061). .....	568
4.198: Dionysos herm found in the excavation of “Building P” in Side (İnan 1975)...569	
4.199: Location of the Theater in Side (Google Earth). .....	569
4.200: Theater of Side (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	569
4.201: Relief of Dionysos with different attributes on the ceiling coffers of the theater of Side (Alanyalı 2011). .....	570
4.202: Southern stoa of “Building M” with niches in Side (Alanyalı-Erkoç 2018). ...570	
4.203: Reconstruction of the Southern Stoa of “Building M” in Side (Alanyalı-Erkoç 2018, model made by A.Yurtsever). .....	570
4.204: Aerial photo of the so-called Temple of Dionysos and the wall of the theater in Side (Soykal Alanyalı, 2016). .....	571
4.205: Plan of the so-called Temple of Dionysos taken from Mansel 1978. ....	571

4.206: Different building phases of the so-called Temple of Dionysos in Side (Soykal Alanyalı, 2016).....	571
4.207: Stoa of Lyrbe and the Nektareion on the upper right (Yıldırım 2016).....	572
4.208: Inner façade of the <i>Nektareion</i> (Yıldırım 2016).....	572
4.209: Theater of Perge and the Dionysiac frieze on the stage building (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	573
4.210: Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, birth of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	573
4.211. Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, childhood of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	573
4.212. Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, childhood of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	574
4.213. Scene from the Dionysiac Frieze, <i>thiasos</i> of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	574
4.214. Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, discovery of Ariadne (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	574
4.215: Colossal Statue of Dionysos, found in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	575
4.216: Coin of Magydos, Demeter inside a <i>biga</i> on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6085).....	575
4.217: Coin of Magydos, seated Demeter on the reverse holding a poppy and ears of corn, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 3944). ....	575
4.218: <i>Kalathiskoi</i> found in the excavations of the Acrocorinth Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth ( <a href="http://www.corinth.asca.net">www.corinth.asca.net</a> ).....	576
4.219: Coin of Magydos, Demeter on the reverse with torchs in both hands, before a lighted altar, <i>cista</i> with a serpent behind, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6094). ....	576
4.220. Coin of Alexandreia, Sarapis, Isis and Demeter in a galley on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 5995). ....	576
4.221: Coin of Lyrbe, Helios with a <i>cornucopia</i> on the reverse, Gordianus (238-244 AD) (Erten 2007). ....	576
4.222: Coin of Perge, Helios holding a whip on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6162).....	577
4.223: Frieze with Hermes with a radiate crown from Fountain F3 of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	577
4.224: Soffite with head of Helios with radiate crown from the Propylon of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).....	577
4.225: Column with relief of Helios riding a <i>biga</i> , western gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).....	578

4.226: Statue of Helios found in Fountain F5 in the southern part of the Western Colonnaded Street of Perge (Kara 2015).	578
4.227: Coin of Attaleia, Helios with a radiate crown, riding a <i>biga</i> on the reverse, Caracalla (198-217 AD) (Baydur 1984).	579
4.228: Coin of Side, Tyche, seated on a throne holding a <i>cornucopia</i> and a prow on the reverse, Domitianus (81-96 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#8014).	579
4.229: Coin of Side, Tyche, standing while holding a <i>cornucopia</i> and rudder on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (www.wildwinds.com).	579
4.230. Coin of Side, Tyche, standing while holding a <i>cornucopia</i> and rudder on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (www.wildwinds.com).	579
4.231: Coin of Side, Tyche sitting on a rock with Melas under her feet on the reverse, Orbiane (225-227 AD) (www.wildwinds.com).	580
4.232: Coin of Side, Tyche inside a building with an arched pediment identified as the <i>Tholos</i> of Side on the reverse, Salonina (253-268 AD) (www.wildwinds.com).	580
4.233: Stairs and cella of the <i>Tholos</i> of Side (Yürük 2017).	580
4.234: Agora of Side and its <i>Tholos</i> (Mansel 1978).	581
4.235: <i>Tholos</i> of Side (Mansel 1978).	581
4.236: <i>Tholos</i> of Side after partial restoration (Yürük 2017).	582
4.237: Hypothetical reconstruction of the <i>Tholos</i> (Mansel 1978).	582
4.238: Coin of Perge, Tyche with a mural crown on the reverse, Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1128).	582
4.239: Statue of Tyche found in the Oval Courtyard of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).	583
4.240: Statue of Tyche from Perge, now in Belgium (www.hurriyet.com).	583
4.241: Agora/ <i>Macellum</i> of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).	584
4.242: Round towers and Agora/ <i>Macellum</i> of Perge (Özdizbay 2008).	584
4.243: Remains from the <i>Tholos</i> of Perge (Özdizbay 2008).	585
4.244: Hypothetical restitution of the <i>Tholos</i> of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).	585
4.245: Coin of Perge, Tyche in a distyle temple on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (SNG 3, no.547).	586
4.246: Coin of Aspendos, Tyche holding a rudder and a <i>cornucopia</i> on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 4948).	586
4.247: Coin of Aspendos, Tyche sitting on a throne and dropping a pebble into a voting urn on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 4949).	586
4.248: Coin of Aspendos, Tyche on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3.5706).	586
4.249: Coin of Magydos, Tyche on the reverse, Crispina (178-191 AD) (Ünal 2008).	587

4.250: Restitution of the <i>Tholos</i> in Attaleia (Kaymak 2009).....	587
4.251: Coin of Attaleia, bearded Poseidon on the obverse, dolphin with an anchor on the reverse, 2nd century BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#13361). ....	587
4.252: Coin of Attaleia, bearded Poseidon on the obverse, standing Poseidon with trident and <i>phiale</i> on the reverse, 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC (www.wildwinds.com). ....	588
4.253: Coin of Attaleia, head of Poseidon with trident on the obverse, 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC (www.wildwinds.com).....	588
4.254: Coin of Sillyon, Men on horseback with a crescent behind his shoulders on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6193).....	588
4.255: Coin of Sillyon, Men standing while holding a pine cone and scepter on the reverse, Caracalla (198-211 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#6193). ...	588
4.256: Coin of Sillyon, bust of Men with a Phrygian cap and a crescent behind his shoulder on the reverse, Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1139). ....	589
4.257: “Building P”, so-called temple of Men in Side (Mansel 1978). ....	589
4.258: Coin of Side, depiction of three temples on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Mansel 1978).....	589
4.259: “Building P” of Side (Kaymak 2015).....	590
4.260. Possible depiction of Demeter on the pediment of “Building P” in Side (Kaymak 2015). ....	590
4.261: Drawing of the possible depiction of Demeter on the pediment of “Building P” in Side (Kaymak 2015). ....	590
4.262: Coin of Perge, Asklepios with snake entwined scepter on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6116).....	591
4.263: Statue of Asklepios found in the <i>natatio</i> of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	591
4.264: Statue of Hygieia found in the <i>natatio</i> of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	591
4.265: Statue of Hygieia found in the Gallery of Claudius Piso in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	592
4.266: Fragment of a statue of Asklepios with Telesphoros found in Room VIII in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).....	592
4.267: Statue of Asklepios from the Late Roman Gate of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). ....	593
4.268: Statue head of Asklepios found in the Western Gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street (Perge Excavation Archive).....	593
4.269: Coin of Side, Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV.3, 11031). ....	594
4.270: Coin of Side, Asklepios with legend of <i>Neokoros</i> on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#9864).....	594

4.271: Coin of Side, Asklepios with legend <i>Neokoros</i> on the reverse, Aurelianus (270-275 AD) (Burrell 2004). .....	594
4.272: Coin of Attaleia, Asklepios on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#4824). .....	594
4.273: Statue of Asklepios found in Side (İnan 1975). .....	595
4.274: Statue of Hygieia found in Side (İnan 1975). .....	595
4.275: Coin of Aspendos, Nemesis holding a cubit over a griffon on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 8642). .....	596
4.276: Coin of Aspendos, Nemesis holding a cubit over a griffon on the reverse, Iulia Maesa (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6271). .....	596
4.277: Coin of Attaleia, winged Nemesis holding a cubit over a griffon on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6081). .....	596
4.278: <i>Homonoia</i> coin between Side and Attaleia, Attaleia is represented by a winged Nemesis, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Baydur 1975). .....	596
4.279: Statue of Nemesis from the Late Roman Gate of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	597
4.280: Statue of Nemesis from the <i>natatio</i> of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	597
4.281: Statue of Nemesis from the <i>natatio</i> of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	598
4.282: Statue of Nemesis from the so-called gallery of Claudius Piso of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	598
4.283: Grave Monument “M2” from Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	599
4.284: Votive relief, Hekate Triformis on horseback, Roman Imperial Period (Delemen 1999). .....	599
4.285: Inscription erected on the Tacitus Street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	600
4.286: Inscription erected on the Tacitus Street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	600
4.287: Statue of a priest of the Imperial cult found in the Western Gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street at Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	601
4.288: Statue of a priestess of the Imperial cult found in the Western Gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street at Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	601
4.289: Statue of a priest of the Imperial Cult found in the Agora/ <i>Macellum</i> of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	601
4.290: Northern portico of the <i>palaestra</i> in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	602
4.291: Coin of Side, Athena and Apollo Sidetes with the legend <i>Neokoros</i> on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Büyükyörük 2018). .....	602

4.292: Coin of Aspendos, legend of <i>Neokoros</i> inside a distyle temple on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Burrell 2004). .....	602
4.293: Possible routes between Pamphylia and Pisidia taken by St. Paul (Wilson 2009). .....	603
4.294: Plan of the Basilica which later turned into a mosque, first phase (Kaymak 2009). .....	603
4.295: Location of Late Antique/Byzantine Buildings in Perge (Martini 2017). .....	604
4.296: Christian Complex in Side (Yıldırım 2013). .....	604
5.1: Location of the Karain Cave (map taken from pleiades.stoa.org). .....	605
5.2: Entrance of the Karain Cave (www.tayproject.org). .....	605
5.3: Interior of the Karain Cave (www.tayproject.org). .....	606
5.4: Inscription on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık). .....	606
5.5: Niche and inscription on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık). ..	607
5.6: Niche and inscription on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık). ..	607
5.7: Niche and inscription above it on the wall of the Karain cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık). .....	608
5.8: Inscription and niche on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık). ..	608
5.9: Drawing of the inscription and the niche on the wall of the Karain Cave (Şahin 1985). .....	609
5.10: Coin of Traianus (98-117 AD) found in the Karain Cave (Çizmeli-Öğün 2011). .....	609
5.11: Location of the Gurma Cave (map taken from pleiades.stoa.org) .....	610
5.12: Entrance of the Gurma Cave (www.tayproject.org). .....	610
5.13: Stele with possible depiction of Meter (Metzger 1952). .....	611
5.14: Location of the Arpalık/Yumaklar Cave (map taken from pleiades.stoa.org).....	611
5.15: Section of the Yumaklar/Arpalık Tepe sanctuary (Işın 2005). .....	612
5.16: Plan of the Yumaklar/Arpalık Tepe temple (Işın 2005). .....	612
5.17: Some terracota votives found in the Yumaklar/Arpalık Cave (Işın 2015). .....	612
5.18: Altars dedicated to Meter and Apollo from the Yumaklar/Arpalık Cave (Işın 2010). .....	613
5.19: Statuette of the Great God Mamblasenos/Apollo from the Yumaklar/Arpalık Cave (Işın 2010). .....	613
5.20: Entrance of the Zindan Cave in the territory of Timbriada (Demirci 2016).....	614
5.21: Plan of the remains dating from the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD to the 6 <sup>th</sup> century AD (Demirci 2016). .....	614

5.22: Ancient city of Perge and the Kızılyapı Hill to the North (Google Maps). .....	615
5.23: Entrance of the <i>Mithraeum</i> at Perge (photo taken by O. Çakmak). .....	615
5.24: Building remains in the vicinity of the <i>Mithraeum</i> at Perge (photo taken by O. Çakmak). .....	616
5.25: Rectangular niche in the rear wall of the <i>Mithraeum</i> at Perge (photo taken by O. Çakmak). .....	616
5.26: Stele found in the vicinity of the <i>Mithraeum</i> at Perge (Şahin 1999a). .....	617
5.27: General view of the Varsak Doline (youtube.com) .....	617
5.28: Gallery inside the Varsak Doline with the carved names of pilgrims (Takmer and Tüner-Önen 2007). .....	618
5.29: Inscription with names of pilgrims (Takmer and Tüner-Önen 2007). .....	618
5.30: General view of the Acropolis of Perge (Google Earth). .....	619
5.31: Spring-house on the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). .....	619
5.32: General view of the Southeastern Hill of the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). .....	619
5.33: Caves above the Southeastern Hill of the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). ...	619
5.34: Niches and stairs, possibly used for votive offerings, on the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). .....	620
5.35: Damaged relief, possibly dating to the Hellenistic period, on the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017). .....	620
5.36: Relief of Zeus at Hurma (Çevik 1995). .....	620
5.37: Coin of Magydos, Katarraktes holding a reed and <i>cornucopia</i> on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV.3,10739). .....	621
5.38: Coin of Perge, Kestros holding a reed and <i>cornucopia</i> on the reverse, Caracalla (198-217 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#10669). .....	621
5.39: Panel from the theater of Perge showing the Kestros River and the personification of the city (Perge Excavation Archive). .....	621
5.40: Coin of Sillyon, Kestros resting on a rock, holding a reed on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2711). .....	622
5.41: Coin of Side, Melas at the feet of Tyche seated on a rock on the reverse, Orbiane (225-227 AD) (RPC VI, 6419). .....	622
5.42: Coin of Aspendos, Eurymedon holding the cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides in a distyle temple on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6286). .....	622



## Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANMED	Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri Bülteni
AnatSt	Anatolian Studies
AntK	Antike Kunst
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
ChrÉg	Chronique d'Égypte
CollAn	Colloquium Anatolicum
DNP	Der Neue Pauly
EpigAnat	EpigAnat
EtAC	Etudes D'Archaeologie Classique
ID	Inscriptions de Délos
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IK	Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNG	Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
KST	Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

LSJ	Liddell and Scott, Greek–English Lexicon
MASROP	Mimarlar Arkeologlar Sanat Tarihçileri Restoratörler Ortak Platformu E-Dergisi
MÉFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité
MJH	Mediterranean Journal of Humanities
RA	Revue archéologique
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RN	Revue Numismatique
RPC	Roman Provincial Coinage Project
SNG	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum
TAD	Türkiye Arkeoloji Dergisi
TAM	Tutuli Asia Minoris.
TAY	Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri Projesi
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu
TÜBA-AR	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Religion is defined as the belief and worship of controlling supernatural powers and as a distinct system of faith.<sup>1</sup> In the modern perception, it can be separated from “secular” characteristics of human life. In Antiquity, however, it was deeply embedded in every aspect of people’s lives either on the civic or private level. It was manifested through actions in the form of ritual, which enabled interaction with the divine. The dedication of gifts to appease the deities in return of favors to people created a reciprocal relationship that can be summarized with the Latin term “*do ut des*” (I give so that you may give). All these actions could be organized and practiced at the public/civic level or be performed in a private way in accordance with the traditions that established a pattern called ritual.<sup>2</sup> The term cult is derived from the Latin “*cultus*”, from the verb “*colere*”, which means cultivating in an agrarian content; however, in the figurative sense, it implies “taking care of”, as shown by Cicero who used the term “*cultus deorum*” to denote “the cult of deities”.<sup>3</sup> The term cult in this sense entails a community together with specialized personnel that leads and performs actions, which comprise the offerings of consumable (e.g., sacrifices of animals, libations and organic materials on a humbler scale, such as fruits, wheat and garlands) and non-consumable materials (e.g., statues, figurines, precious objects, and votive altars), the organization of religious festivals (*panegyreis*) that included sacred processions (*pompai*), communal sacrifices (*thysiai*), sportive and musical contests and games (*agones*). The cult personnel was also responsible for the maintenance of the sanctuaries and sacred revenues that were acquired from land dedicated to a specific deity. All these activities, therefore, were practiced in an institutionalized manner.<sup>4</sup> Private worship, on the other hand, denoted all rituals accomplished not in a public/civic manner but in a private context. Public/civic and private worship did not necessarily contradict each other, since both followed an established pattern of rituals. However, while public religion involved a particular set of

---

<sup>1</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary, <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/religion>.

<sup>2</sup> For theories of ritual, see Larson 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Cic.Sen.56.

deities accepted by the *polis* and civic authorities and appeared in legitimate media, such as coinage and inscriptions, private worship may have concerned any deity or even hero respected and venerated by individuals and families in the context of the household cult and the funerary cult. Private religious beliefs also involved superstitions; magic, cursing and divination not especially acquired from famous centers such as Delphi, Klaros, and Didyma but practiced on a humbler scale such as dice oracles.<sup>5</sup> All of these can be qualified as religious life.

Each region and city had its own deities, rituals, and sanctuaries. This thesis intends to be a comprehensive study examining the religion in Pamphylia from the Archaic to the Late Antique period. Situated in Southwestern Anatolia, Pamphylia is bordered in the west by Lycia, in the east by Cilicia Tracheia and in the north by Pisidia and the Taurus Mountains as a natural boundary. Especially the eastern and western boundaries of the region changed in the course of the history depending on political developments. For example, according to Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD), the city of Olbia formed the western border of *Pamphylia*, whereas Pliny (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) mentioned the Lycian city of Phaselis as its western border. The situation is similar when it comes to the east. For instance, Korakesion was the eastern border according to Strabo, whereas Pliny mentions Side.<sup>6</sup> Because of this everchanging situation in the western and eastern borders of the region and the uncertainty of the small *poleis* situated in the mountainous area in the north, determining the scope of this thesis has been a difficult task. All the cities mentioned by the ancient authors and by modern scholars as belonging to Pamphylia are evaluated within the scope of the thesis. The cities in the plain, such as Attaleia, Magydos, Perge, Sillyon, Aspendos, Side, and Lyrbe, and rural settlements, like Lyrboton Kome, are natural components of this study. In this regard, Phaselis in the west, as well as Syedra and Korakesion in the east are also included since these cities were often mentioned by both ancient writers and modern scholars as border cities. Selge in the north is evaluated because, although it is considered as a Pisidian city in many modern studies, it held undeniable cultural ties with its southern neighbours, especially with Aspendos.<sup>7</sup> Cities situated west of Cilicia and east of Pamphylia, such as Kasai, Kolybrassos, Karallia, Hamaxia, and Laertes, are included in this study as comparative

---

<sup>5</sup> Graf 2005.

<sup>6</sup> See The Geographical Framework, Chapter 2.

<sup>7</sup> For instance in a recent study about the cults of Pisidia, Talloen considered Selge as a Pisidian city, Talloen 2015.

materials, not only to evaluate the region of Pamphylia in its broader geographical context, but also to determine whether their pantheon and religious beliefs possessed resemblances with the inland cities or not.

From a chronological point of view, the earliest evidence for cult practices in the region goes back to the Early Bronze Age; however, it is from the Archaic period onwards that the identity of the cult recipients is known from literary or archaeological evidence. The traditional cults were practiced in the region up to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD; however, from this date onwards, Christianity started to dominate the religious beliefs of the Pamphylians as well as the urban layout of the Pamphylian cities. Monotheistic religions, such as Judaism and Christianity, appeared in the region at a relatively early date, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, which means that pagans, Jews and Christians co-existed during a long period of time.

### *1.1 Aims and Objectives*

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the religious life of *Pamphylia* enclosing various aspects, such as the pantheon of the region, sacred landscapes, festivals, ritual practices, religious personnel, and religious architecture based on archaeological evidence (e.g., sacred architecture, statuary, altars, votive reliefs, small finds), written evidence (e.g., literary texts, inscriptions), iconographic data (e.g. representations with a religious character), and numismatic evidence.

These sources will be evaluated from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity in order to understand diachronological developments and changes in the religious life of the region. Although archaeological excavations and surveys have revealed a lot of information regarding the history and urbanistic development of cities, their material evidence and the changes that occurred during the time span under study, the cults of the region have not been studied comprehensively yet. This study will not only cover the religious life of the cities but it will also include the Pamphylian countryside where extra-urban sanctuaries or smaller worship places may have existed. The information gathered about the religious life of the region will then be interpreted within the broader historical framework of the region. As such, it will be the first study dealing with the entire body of material, written, numismatic and iconographic evidence available for the cultic activities and religious life in Pamphylia.

## 1.2 Scope and Methodology

The main material evidence brought together in order to carry out a comprehensive study of the cults and religious life of Pamphylia consists of the following:

1) *Archaeological and architectural sources*: Religious architecture refers to a designated place for any kind of religious activity. These places are visited by people who seek for some sort of contact between the divine and the people. A sacred precinct called *temenos* enclosing a “Greek” or a “Roman” style temple with an altar in front of it was the general idea of ancient sacred architecture in the Graeco-Roman world. This kind of sacred architecture was, for instance, present in Side, where temples of Apollo and Athena, as well as so-called temple for Dionysos are known. However, in order for a place to become sacred, it did not need elaborate architecture but a certain natural quality, a spring, a cave, a rock formation or a grove, which makes the place divine.<sup>8</sup> For instance, the caves located at the foot of the Acropolis of Perge were the location of some cultic activities.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, religious practices were not only confined to temples and sanctuaries, but they could also be performed in the center of the cities, such as in *agorai*<sup>10</sup>, *bouleuteria*<sup>11</sup>, and theaters.<sup>12</sup> Although these public buildings cannot be identified as sanctuaries, some parts of them may have had a religious purpose. The religious architecture of the Late Antique period is a special source of information. The transformation of pagan temples, sometimes into churches or sometimes into other kinds of public buildings, or the reuse of these temple’s construction materials for public or domestic buildings indicate the attitudes of Christians towards pagan cults and the religious complexity of the people in the period.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, in some cases, Late Antique constructions give important information about the earlier phases of the buildings. For example, on the Acropolis of Perge, the area of Basilica III is heavily characterized by its Late Antique buildings, but the reuse of *spolia* dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD including a votive plaque with the name of Artemis Pergaia, may indicate religious activities that were conducted in this area before the Late

---

<sup>8</sup> Horster 2010.

<sup>9</sup> See The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, the *tholos* in the agora of Side might have had a religious purpose, see The Cult of Tyche in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.14.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, see The Cults of Hestia and Zeus in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.6 and 4.7.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, see The Cult of Nemesis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.18.

<sup>13</sup> For general knowledge about the changes in the cityscape during the Late Antique and Byzantine Periods, see Jacobs 2013.

Antique period.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, in this thesis, all the evidence related to religious architecture will be evaluated and placed in its broader chronological context.

2) *Iconographical sources*: Different material categories bearing representations of deities and religious symbols will also be discussed in the thesis. Among the iconographical sources, the most important ones are cult statues. These statues can be seen as a three-dimensional form but they can also appear as reliefs, figurines or coin depictions, such as the depiction of Artemis Pergaia on coins and reliefs found in the city of Perge.<sup>15</sup> Other, non-cult statues, on the other hand, especially statues of gods and goddesses, frequently appeared in the cityscape of an ancient *polis* and the cities of Pamphylia were not an exception. Although these statues might have had a decorative purpose for the buildings in which they were placed, they can generally give an idea about the deities venerated in an ancient city, and/or of the nature of their worship based on their iconographical characteristics. Votive reliefs, architectural reliefs and altars with images of deities are other important sources giving information about a city's pantheon and expressions of less institutionalised beliefs. Coins bearing images of deities are another type of medium in terms of understanding a city's pantheon but they should be treated cautiously since every deity appearing on coins should not be considered an indicator of an existing cult.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, especially the civic coinage of the cities gains much importance in this thesis, since it materialized the cities' social, religious and political self-image.<sup>17</sup> Imagery on small finds, such as ceramics, metalwork, glass and bone objects, constitute other sources that should be carefully evaluated. Although these artifacts should not necessarily be treated as cult objects, they could certainly provide a glimpse on the symbolic environment in which they were produced.<sup>18</sup> With the introduction of Christianity into the region, the attitude of Christians towards the iconographic sources, such as the mutilation of cult statues or, on the contrary, the continuous usage of these objects in Late Antique contexts, indicates the religious complexity of the region. Therefore, all the iconographic media bearing religious connotations will be examined within the scope of this thesis.

---

<sup>14</sup> Martini 2017.

<sup>15</sup> See The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, see Brandt 1998.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, see Howgego et al. eds. 2005, 1-19.

<sup>18</sup> Talloen 2015, 10.

### 3) *Written sources:*

a) *Epigraphic sources:* The habit of adorning public places, including religious buildings, cemeteries and also artifacts with inscriptions, is a very significant source of information, also for religious studies. Inscriptions can reveal the names of gods/goddesses, the personnel serving their cults, the name of worshippers, the nature of the deities, the intention of the dedicators, characteristics of the ruler cult, the localization of sacred buildings, games, and festivals.<sup>19</sup> A special sort of inscriptions are theophoric inscriptions bearing names derived from a god or a goddess, which may indicate the devotion of people or families to a certain deity.<sup>20</sup> However, epigraphic sources can sometimes be challenging, if they are detached from their original context. This study will include all the epigraphic data relevant to the religious life of the region and pay attention to their original (and sometimes secondary) contexts in which they should be interpreted.

b) *Literary texts:* Ancient literary sources are especially useful for the study of ancient religious practices in terms of localizing cult places and temples in a region and, therefore, they provide important information concerning the religious beliefs of the ancient inhabitants. For example, Pseudo-Skylax (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) and Polemon (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) give information about the location of the Artemis temple in Perge. There are also various authors who inform us about the mythological foundation stories of different cities. All the literary sources providing information about the region's religious life will be examined and evaluated together with the extant material evidence. However, we can question how trustworthy these literary texts are since none of them originated from Pamphylia. Therefore, these sources need to be supported with archaeological evidence, which in some cases might be challenging due to the lack of source materials.

The outcome of this PhD thesis is tightly connected to the material discussed above. Therefore, all the published material related to the religious life of the region and the primary written sources will be examined. For the epigraphic evidence inscription catalogues and inscriptions databases (such as <https://inscriptions.packhum.org/>) and for the numismatic evidence coin catalogues<sup>21</sup> will be taken into consideration. Besides, the

---

<sup>19</sup> Rives 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Parker 2000.

<sup>21</sup>For instance, SNG von Aulock Pamphylien. 1965, SNG France 3. 1994, SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen Band 4, Roman Provincial Coins (RPC Volumes, Online).



majority of the unpublished artifacts that have been found during the ongoing excavations and surveys are now housed in the archaeological museums of Antalya and Side. However, since this study is only based on published materials, the unpublished ones could be dealt with as subject of further research.

### 1.3 Limitations

The definition of the geographical setting in which the Pamphylians were settled has proven to be challenging, since in ancient times the western, eastern and northern borders of the region were not clear and several ancient authors were not unanimous about the cities that had to be considered as located within the region's limits. The borders of Pamphylia appear to have fluctuated depending on the period and the political developments. We tried to cope with this problem by not taking into consideration the borders set by political arrangements, but by natural geographical features, *i.e* we consider Pamphylia to be the area enclosed by the Taurus mountains in the east, north, and west, including the liminal cities mentioned by the ancient authors. This approach has enabled us to evaluate the region in its broader context and has helped to determine resemblances and differences between the cities. Taking into consideration the cities situated in the west of Cilicia and the east of Pamphylia such as Kasai, Kolybrassos, Karallia, Hamaxia, and Laertes might slightly deviate from the definition generally formulated by other modern scholars (e.g. in the numismatic *corpora*).

The large spatial and temporal scope of this study has in some cases evidently led to a certain generalization of the evidence. The lack of source materials for certain periods or places including archaeological and literary evidence is problematic. Often, this has made the identification of cults and religious practices in a given city or region difficult and, in some cases even impossible. Also, some cities where source materials for certain cults are abundant have naturally become prominent and, therefore, they somewhat overshadow other cities, for which the evidence is more limited. When it comes to evaluating the religious beliefs of past people, the lack of evidence does not always mean that a cult did not exist and gaps in the evidence during certain periods do not necessarily reflect the reality.

Undoubtedly, the agenda of researchers plays a decisive role in the type and amount of the currently available sources, since archaeological evidence has mainly been acquired due to their efforts. Pamphylia first attracted the attention of travelers in the

nineteenth century. Later, from the 1940s onwards, excavations started in various cities and their numbers have continuously kept increasing until today. Currently, scientific research, including systematic and rescue excavations and archaeological or epigraphic surveys, continues in several cities and settlements of the region, such as Phaselis, Attaleia, Sillyon, Perge, Lyrboton Kome, Aspendos, and Side, as well as at Syedra, Laertes, Kestros, Iotape, and Selinous in Eastern Pamphylia-Western Cilicia. Therefore, every year, the amount of data provided for the region increases accordingly. There are also some limitations when it comes to other sources. For instance, although the ancient sources contain abundant information concerning the mythical foundation stories, they do not deliver a similar consistency when it comes to the cult practices or the location of sacred spaces. The inscriptions from the region are vocal about the names of the cult personnel and deities but, on the other hand, they are silent about the rituals. The sources mainly allow determining which deities were worshipped in cities and when. Besides, they help us to learn about sacred space, religious personnel, and the organizations dedicated to them. The concrete understanding of the ritual practices, however, is lacking in many cases, since material culture in the form of votive offerings dedicated to a designated sacred space is non-existent, unless it is recorded in the epigraphic evidence and literary sources. This problem has been addressed through comparisons, primarily with neighboring regions and with the broader Greek and Mediterranean context. The same situation is valid for domestic cults, since the dwellings of the cities remain largely uninvestigated except for some examples at Perge, Side, and Antalya, which, however, have not produced clear evidence regarding private religious beliefs and practices thus far.

Moreover, most of the research that has been conducted in the region thus far has mainly focused on the urban centers resulting in a more limited knowledge about rural cults. One of the source categories giving information about rural cults are inscriptions. However, because of the lack of an archaeological context for the rural cults mentioned in the inscriptions- religious architecture, shrines, sanctuaries, and small finds- inscriptions alone cannot always be considered secure evidence.

The study of the cults and religious life in the Pamphylian region is also challenging because the majority of our data date to the Roman period. Few elements go back to the Hellenistic period and the earlier periods (which have been gathered especially from excavations on the Acropolis of Perge), making it difficult to understand religious practices dating before the Roman period. Moreover, the objectives of the excavators,

their preference to focus mostly on areas where Roman settlement was dense and the continuous occupation of sites in later periods are principal reasons for this lack of early data. Therefore, inscriptions found during surveys outside the city centers could provide significant evidence for the countryside of the region.

Finally, the nature of the study of the cults and religious life limits the research. Although it is possible to interpret the evidence that survives in the archaeological record and in the ancient written sources, some activities, which constituted the core of religious rituals, such as hymns, prayers, music, dance and sacrifice embedded in the religious lives of the common people, are less feasible and might, therefore, remain at least partly unknown.

Taking these issues and limitations into account we intend to fill a gap in the research of ancient Pamphylia by means of an interdisciplinary and diachronic approach.

#### *1.4 Chapter Breakdown*

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. The first chapter (Introduction) provides a general framework for the study by determining the aims, objectives, scope, methodology, limitations and the chapter breakdown. The second one (Setting The Scene) focuses on the geographical and chronological setting of my research in order to provide a framework for the study of cults and religious life of the region. The geographical conditions and natural environment played an indispensable role in the foundation of some cults. The topographical accessibility of the region enabled the introduction of new cults and new religious ideas from neighboring regions or even from further away. Besides, specific historical events were also often the reasons behind the establishment and development of particular cults. The third chapter (The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians) presents an overview of the mythological past of the Pamphylians by concentrating on various foundation myths of different cities, their indigenous or foreign natures and their reflection on the cultic practices and religious life. The combination of ancient written/archaeological sources with modern interpretations of the foundation stories enable us to discuss the foundation narrative of the region in a broader context. The fourth section (Gods, Goddesses and Cults of Pamphylia) constitutes the core of the dissertation, since it focuses on the gods, goddesses, and cults of Pamphylia. The deities evaluated in this chapter are Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, Hestia, Hermes, the Egyptian Deities, Ares, Dionysos, Demeter, Helios, Tyche, Poseidon, Men, Asklepios/Hygieia, and

Nemesis. The sub-chapters of the deities are arranged according to the moment of their first attestation. Each god/goddess is addressed in a chronological way while I provide analogies or differences with neighboring regions in order to be able to identify the characteristic aspects of the cults practiced in Pamphylia. Besides, the divinity of the rulers and the city of Rome is also evaluated in this chapter, since this constituted a substantial aspect of the religious life in the cities of Asia Minor starting from the Hellenistic period onwards. Monotheistic religions, such as Judaism and Christianity, constitute the final sub-chapter of this chapter. They appeared in the region from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards and demonstrate the co-existence of polytheists and monotheists in Pamphylia. The fifth chapter (The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia) focuses on the sacred landscape of the region and some particular gods/goddesses who were associated with distinct topographical aspects, such as rivers, the sea, caves, and grottoes. The mythological landscape and some epithets related to the natural features are also included, since they provide information on the nature of the deities. Sacred spaces built naturally or artificially to imitate natural features are also examined within the scope of this chapter. These sacred spaces are very significant, since the information about the religious architecture of Pamphylia is interestingly limited by their archaeological context. Additionally, they shed light on the cult practices concentrated on rural sites rather than in city centers, an important aspect of the region that has received only little scientific attention so far. This chapter also deals with mystery cults, such as those of Meter and Mithras who found devotees in Pamphylia. The sixth chapter (An Integrated Overview of Cults and Religious Life in Pamphylia) narrates the cultic and religious story of the region in its broader historical perspective focusing mainly on the reasons why a specific god and/or goddess was venerated within the region. The seventh chapter (Conclusion) aims to respond to some wh- questions (where, when, who, what, why and how?) concerning the cults and religious life in Pamphylia. The conclusion is followed by the bibliography, illustrations and appendices. The first appendix consists of selected inscriptions, which include the temple inventory of the *Artemision* of Perge, a decree for sale of the priesthood of Artemis Pergaia, the bases for the *ktistai* statues of Perge and the one on the wall of the Karain cave. These inscriptions are selected because either an English translation is provided for some of them or they are examined in a detailed way in the text. The second and third appendices are tables concerning the cities and their deities arranged in a chronological way, while the fourth one includes various epithets given to deities.

## Chapter 2

### SETTING THE SCENE

#### *2.1 Introduction*

Geographical and topographical conditions as well as natural resources have always played a direct role in the historical, social, economic and cultural development of a region. This is not an exception for Pamphylia in ancient times. Therefore, contextualizing the geographical framework of Pamphylia and defining Pamphylia and the Pamphylians who inhabited this area is necessary in order to understand the cultic activities taking place in the region and the religious beliefs of its people.

It is also important to define the region's historical setting not only to be able to provide a chronological framework but also to determine the foundation, the development, the continuity and the changes that can be seen in the religious life of the Pamphylians from a more historical perspective.

#### *2.2 Geographical Framework*

The region of Pamphylia can be described as the flatlands of present-day Antalya (Figure 2.1-2).<sup>22</sup> Indeed, Pamphylia is an alluvial plain located in the southern part of the western and middle Taurus Mountain Ranges, which are significantly different from a geo-tectonic point of view.<sup>23</sup> The region is enclosed by the Taurus Mountains on three sides, in the west, north and east. The mountains in the west and east rise immediately to the sea, are at once steeply elevated, and surround the alluvial plain as a semicircle.<sup>24</sup> Archaeological and geological investigations have shown that the coastal line was much

---

<sup>22</sup> Mansel 1956a, 3.

<sup>23</sup> The mountain formation processes of the Middle Taurus Range ceased towards the end of the Oligocene (38-25 million years ago), whereas the Western Taurus continued its process of formation until the end of the Miocene (25-5 million years ago). Because of these geo-tectonic differences, the Western Taurus range displays a less closed form compared to the Middle Taurus Range. Basins and plains of different sizes, some of which are undrained and situated at high altitudes, lie between the mountain peaks of the Western Taurus, while the high mountain chains form largely uniform and long rows of mountains that are adjoined by isolated karst basins in the Middle Taurus Range. Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 82.

<sup>24</sup> These mountains approach the sea in the east; therefore, they more or less determine the region's eastern border. Mansel 1956a, 4.

further inland during ancient times, so that Perge was a port town and Sillyon also had a harbour.<sup>25</sup> To the north, the natural geographic boundary between Pamphylia and Pisidia is largely determined by the Taurus Range and its foothills with high peaks of 3000 m and steep slopes.<sup>26</sup> The alluvial plain, which is the core of the region, is a roughly triangular flat area of 198.000 m<sup>2</sup> with fertile karst plains and is limited by calcareous terraces with abundant fresh water sources underneath.<sup>27</sup> This plain consists of various old geological strata of quaternary conglomerates, sand and alluvia with massive tufa (in some places 130 m thick) to the west of the Kestros (Aksu) river and the area of Antalya, extending northwards up to the Taurus Mountains, and forms a 25-30 m high cliff towards the coast.<sup>28</sup>

Four rivers with a north-south orientation coming out of the Taurus Mountains water the Pamphylian plain and discharge in the Mediterranean: from west to east these are the Katarraktes (Düden), the Kestros (Aksu), the Eurymedon (Köprüçay) and the Melas (Manavgat). Most of the Pamphylian cities were located in the valleys or at the mouths of these rivers. The Katarraktes, mentioned by Pseudo Skylax (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) and Pompeius Mela (1<sup>st</sup> century AD)<sup>29</sup>, flows from Lake Kestel<sup>30</sup> in the north both underground and at the surface until it passes in the south by Lyrboton Kome (Varsak) and rushes down (*katarrakton*) into the sea from a cliff on whose eastern end the city of Magydos is situated.<sup>31</sup> The 136 km long Kestros River originates in the Akdağ and Davras Mountains in the north; its reservoir extends into the eastern Göksu and Çandır Valleys and flows into the sea to the east of Attaleia.<sup>32</sup> According to Strabo, in ancient times, it was an up-stream navigable river and held the river port of Perge.<sup>33</sup> The Eurymedon River (184 km long) originates from the Anamas Mountains in Pisidia and was also navigable. It was possible to sail up to 60 stadia<sup>34</sup> (nearly 11,1 km) to Aspendos, which is situated on a sharp hill near its banks.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the easternmost and most profound Pamphylian River is the Melas, which originates from the Geyik Mountains on the Pamphylian-Pisidian border and runs down to the

---

<sup>25</sup> Brandt and Kolb, 2005, 13. For Sillyon's port see, Küpper 1997, 97-116.

<sup>26</sup> Erzen 1979, 96.

<sup>27</sup> Martini 2003a, 13.

<sup>28</sup> Erzen 1979, 95.

<sup>29</sup> Pseudo-Skylax 1.100; Str. 14.4.1; Mela 78.1, 79.1.

<sup>30</sup> The lake is currently drained for agricultural purposes.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson 2016, 237.

<sup>32</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 91.

<sup>33</sup> Str. 14.4.

<sup>34</sup> Str. 14.4.

<sup>35</sup> Mela 1.14; Arr. *Anab.* 1.27.

Pamphylian Gulf, in ancient times located 3 km east of Side.<sup>36</sup> The city of Sillyon was located near the Acisu stream and 40 stadia (7, 5 km) from the sea in ancient times, but nowadays it is situated 14 km inland due to the silting up of the river.<sup>37</sup> The rivers situated on the Pamphylian-Cilician border in the east of the region include the Dim, Kargı, Alara and Sedre Rivers.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the land is well watered thanks to these rivers, to such an extent that it has a tendency to be waterlogged in spring and winter.<sup>39</sup> These rivers did not only contribute to the local economy by irrigating the plains and thus providing fertile soil for agricultural purposes, but they also played an important role in defining both the eastern and western natural borders of Pamphylia as mentioned by several ancient writers (see below). These rivers also created sheltered harbors away from the dangers of the sea and by connecting inland cities, like Perge and Sillyon, with the Mediterranean, and they played a crucial role in maritime commerce from the Classical period onwards.<sup>40</sup>

The orientation of the mountain ranges and the rivers had an impact on the inland communication, since the roads were mainly constructed alongside the valleys of the rivers and streams. Therefore, they primarily followed a north-south orientation. These roads have been the subject of several studies and consequently, they have been adequately documented. Ercenk identified six separate roads in the region, including the Korakesion-Ikonion (Alanya-Konya) Road that connected Korakesion in the northwest of Pamphylia with Lykaonia in the north; the Side-Erymna Road connecting the port city of Side with Central Anatolia along the Melas Valley; the Side-Aspendos-Selge Road, which again started from Side and followed the eastern bank of the Eurymedon River in northern direction and reached Selge by merging with another road following the western bank of the river; the Perge-Adada-Pisidian Antioch Road which connected Perge with Pisidian Antioch through the Kestros valley;<sup>41</sup> the Attaleia-Kremna Road, extending northwards from Lyrboton Kome, continuing through modern Döşemealtı and reaching Kremna; and finally the Phaselis-Olbia-Attaleia Road connecting Lycia to Pamphylia along the coastal line.<sup>42</sup> However, the main communication road of Pamphylia was the *Via Sebaste*. The western portion of the *Via Sebaste* comprising the Klimax Pass may

---

<sup>36</sup> Today, this distance is 8 km. Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 91.

<sup>37</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 91.

<sup>38</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 92.

<sup>39</sup> Grainger 2009, xiii.

<sup>40</sup> Akdoğdu Arca et al. 2011, 287-313.

<sup>41</sup> This road has been identified by Ercenk as the Saint Paul route. For detailed information about St. Paul's route see Wilson 2009, 471-83; 2016, 229-51.

<sup>42</sup> Ercenk 1992, 361-70. For the milestones situated on these roads see French 2014.

have been used by Alexander the Great in 334 BC while marching from Pamphylia to Pisidia.<sup>43</sup> Around 25 BC, Augustus founded strategically situated military colonies in Pisidia, such as Komama, Kremna, Parlais, Apollonia and Antiocheia ad Pisidiam, populating them with Roman army veterans in order to pacify the hostile tribe of the Homanadenses and to ensure the safety of the populace.<sup>44</sup> The *Via Sebaste*, which began from Perge, was completed by the legate Cornutus Arruntius Aquila in 6 BC and enabled connecting the military colonies with each other, established a wider regional network and facilitated the Roman army to move quickly within the region.<sup>45</sup> The position of Pamphylia and its road network were also crucial in terms of allowing the Pisidian cities in the Taurus Mountains to reach the Mediterranean and to use the port cities founded on the coast.<sup>46</sup>

Pamphylia was indispensable for sea transport and maritime trade between the south coast of Anatolia, Mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, Cyprus, Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt from the Bronze Age onwards. This was due to its favorable and strategic location, since seafaring in Antiquity was mainly based on coastal sea routes instead of open sea travelling, making the port cities of Pamphylia very important.<sup>47</sup> Due to this location, Pamphylia was open not only to commercial goods but also to foreign influences and ideas coming from different parts of the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, which, as we will see, had an impact on the region's religious life too.

### 2.2.1 Climate

Pamphylia has a typical Mediterranean climate (subtropical climate). The temperature difference between winter and summer is relatively low. The Taurus Mountains located in the north of the region prevent cool terrestrial winds coming from the north, resulting in mild and rainy winters and hot and dry summers in the coastal part of the region.<sup>48</sup> An oro-Mediterranean climate with snowy and cold winters and rainy summers occurs in the

---

<sup>43</sup> Wilson 2009, 476-477.

<sup>44</sup> Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 28; Levick 1967; Mitchell 1993, 90.

<sup>45</sup> The itinerary of the *Via Sebaste* is Perge-Klimax Pass-Komama-Pisidian Antioch-Ikonion. This road was also a part of the Pergamon-Side Road built by Manlius Aquilius, the first governor of the Province of Asia (129-126 BC). As illustrated in the *Tabula Peutingerina* it followed these steps: Side, Aspendos, Sillyon, Perge, Klimax Pass, Komama, Kormasa, Laodikeia, Ephesos, Pergamon; French 2014. For the milestone bearing the name of Manlius Aquilius see Nollé 2001, no. 175.

<sup>46</sup> Talloen 2001, 289-327.

<sup>47</sup> For trade routes see, Casson 1971.

<sup>48</sup> İzbırak 2001, 327.



higher located inland areas, due to the increase of altitude from south to north.<sup>49</sup> Topographic conditions also determine the region's precipitation, since it is located in the south of the Taurus Mountain Range, which has heavy rainfalls and snow during winter.<sup>50</sup> This climatic situation obviously has effects on flora and fauna. The natural vegetation of the region consists of Mediterranean scrub and conifers on the coastal zones due to the high temperature and dense forests, mostly consisting of needle-leaved trees, on the northern hills because of the precipitation.<sup>51</sup> The region, as well as the neighbouring coastal areas, were particularly rich in forests during Antiquity and products obtained from wood were not only used for domestic purposes but also had an important economic value as export commodity. Timber, indeed, was an essential element of ship building. Strabo states that Hamaxia, located in Cilicia, east of Pamphylia was an important center for cedar timber. Besides, large cedar forests were gifted to Cleopatra by Marcus Antonius to construct the naval fleet that would be used in the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.<sup>52</sup> Timber was probably transported to the nearest shipyard and exported from there.<sup>53</sup> Other natural resources of the region were also praised by the ancient writers. Strabo states that Selge had a wonderful nature with fertile land, which could support thousands of inhabitants with olive trees, vineyards and abundant forests of different kinds of trees. Other densely traded local products of the city were a resinous material obtained from the *styrax* tree, which could be used as an incense by worshippers and ointments and was made from the Selgian iris.<sup>54</sup> The region was also rich in medicinal plants. According to Pliny the Elder (1<sup>st</sup> century AD), the hyssop plant, which was used for the treatment of skin diseases, grew best in the Taurus Mountains in Cilicia and in Pamphylia.<sup>55</sup> According to Dioskorides (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) one of the best unguent iris was produced in Perge.<sup>56</sup> The production of olive oil and wine was important for Selge as well as for other settlements of the region, since Strabo also mentions the olive tree planted hills of Side and Aspendos.<sup>57</sup> Archaeological evidence for olive oil production in Pamphylia has also been documented in Lyrboton Kome<sup>58</sup>, on the territory of Side<sup>59</sup> and in the mountainous areas

---

<sup>49</sup> Atalay-Mortan 1997, 214.

<sup>50</sup> Planhol 1958, Chapter 1; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 45.

<sup>51</sup> Grainger 2009, xiv.

<sup>52</sup> Str. 14.5.3; Meiggs 1982, 358.

<sup>53</sup> Drexhage 1991, 81.

<sup>54</sup> Str. 12,7, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Plin. *HN*. XXV, 136.

<sup>56</sup> Denham-Whitelegg 2014, 194 on Dioskorides I, 56.

<sup>57</sup> Str. 12, 7, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Çevik 1996-97, 79-102.

<sup>59</sup> Nollé 1993a, 15; 30.

situated in the east<sup>60</sup> and west<sup>61</sup> of Pamphylia. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence also testifies to the viticulture of the Pamphylians. An inscription from Perge dating to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC gives information about a vineyard in a place called Aronda, which was located near the temple of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>62</sup> A large number of *amphorae* dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, which bear seals written in the Pamphylian dialect and were found in Alexandria, attest the widespread wine trade of Pamphylia in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>63</sup> Stamped *amphora* handles from Pamphylian origin dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC have also been found on Delos and Cyprus.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, sesame and cotton grew in the region.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, the city of Aspendos exported salt, which was obtained from its vast salt pans.<sup>66</sup>

The physical situation of Pamphylia, including the southern coastal zones, the inland plains and northern mountainous areas, also strongly influenced the region's fauna. Fishery held an important place in Pamphylia's economy. According to the ancient sources a kind of sturgeon fish known as *hellops* was widely caught in the coastal areas of Pamphylia.<sup>67</sup> According to Plutarch (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD), sturgeon was rare and hard to catch and if fishermen succeeded to catch it, they decorated themselves and their boats with wreaths to celebrate their success and they were welcomed on the coast under loud shouting and applause.<sup>68</sup> It has been suggested that the name of the Kestros River derived from the fish named *kestra* which means pike or *kestreus*-mullet.<sup>69</sup> Fishes and fishermen were also depicted on coins.<sup>70</sup> An inscription carved on the wall of the Karain cave and dated to the Roman Imperial Period informs us about the presence of a fisherman's guild,<sup>71</sup> thus attesting the importance of the fishery industry for Pamphylia. Apart from that, the mountainous northern areas of the region, the Pamphylian-Pisidian border, offered favorable conditions for herding and transhumance. For instance, Strabo praised the city of Selge for having large pastures for cattle.<sup>72</sup> The archaeozoological remains

---

<sup>60</sup> Bulut 2005, 191-210.

<sup>61</sup> Çevik 1999-2000, 91-114.

<sup>62</sup> Jones 1999, 8ff; Şahin 1999a, 66.

<sup>63</sup> Grace 1973, 183-208; Brixhe 1976, 295-300, no. 175-77.

<sup>64</sup> Grace 1973, 191 and footnote 11.

<sup>65</sup> Columella, Rust. X 56; Brandt 1992, 138ff. footnote, 1208.

<sup>66</sup> Plin. *HN* 31, 73.

<sup>67</sup> Plin. *HN* 9, 169; Nollé 1993a, 31-2.

<sup>68</sup> Plut. *De soll. an.* 32.

<sup>69</sup> Van Neer 2000, 841. For fishing in ancient Asia Minor see, Bursa 2007; for the fishes of Pamphylia see 105-06.

<sup>70</sup> SNG France, 3 no. 846. For the depictions of fishes on the Pamphylian coins see Bursa 2007, 166-7.

<sup>71</sup> Şahin 1991, 132, 138, no. 8.

<sup>72</sup> Str. 12, 7, 1.

obtained from a Hellenistic *bothros* (hole or pit) from the Acropolis of Perge indicate that cattle (50.7 %) and ovicaprines (sheep and goat 25.17 %) were the dominant livestock in the dietary habits of the Pergaians during the 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. This ratio is followed by deer (7.2 %) and pig (6.8 %). The relatively high percentage of deer in the archaeological record has been interpreted as evidence for hunting and the presence of dense forests covering the Acropolis of Perge during that period of time.<sup>73</sup>

### 2.2.1 Boundaries

The most important issue that needs to be addressed within the framework of Pamphylia's geographical setting is the definition of the boundaries of Pamphylia. The topography of Pamphylia is very different from its neighboring areas since, as mentioned above, it consists of a plain surrounded by mountainous Lycia in the west, Pisidia and the Taurus Mountains in the north and Cilicia in the East. The Mediterranean forms the region's southern border. Therefore, the natural boundaries of Pamphylia may appear well-established by the mountains and the sea. In spite of these natural boundaries, the eastern and western frontiers of Pamphylia constantly changed due to political and cultural developments over a long span of time and, therefore, the territory of Pamphylia cannot be determined with certainty, neither politically nor ethnographically. This lack of certainty can also be found in the ancient writers who are not unanimous about the boundaries of Pamphylia. Not only the topography, but also the ethnical, cultural and political structures designate a region's extension and boundaries. Since the last three factors changed in the course of history, the boundaries of the region shifted over time, either in the sense of expansion or of contraction.

#### *Western Border*

The earliest evidence regarding Pamphylia's western border comes from a bronze tablet found during the 1986 excavation campaign at Boğazköy/Hattuša, which contains a peace treaty between Tuthaliya IV (1265-1215 BC), the king of the Hittites, and Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntassa. According to this document the river *Ka-as-ta-ra-ia* and the settlement of *Par-ha-a* defined the borders of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa (Figure 2.3). These toponyms have been identified with the Kestros River and the city of Perge

---

<sup>73</sup> Martini 2003b, 23.

respectively, bringing scholars to the conclusion that Pamphylia was settled during the Bronze Age, that a great part of the region was named Tarhuntassa and belonged to the Arzawa kingdom, that the Kestros River and Perge acted as a border between these two kingdoms and that they were left to the Lukka kingdom during this period.<sup>74</sup> According to this treaty, Parha/Perge was left in the Lukka lands and the east of the region comprising the other Pamphylian cities, such as Sillyon, Aspendos and Side, were inside the Tarhuntassa kingdom. From the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC dates the work of the geographer and historian Hekataios of Miletos who identified the city of Phellos as a Pamphylian city.<sup>75</sup> According to Treuber and Keen, however, this was a political boundary instead of a geographical one, which means that “Lycia” ruled no further than the city of Phellos and that before the Persian conquest, until the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the most eastern area of Lycia was located somewhere to the west of Phellos.<sup>76</sup> In his book *Periplus*, which dates to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and is considered one of the most important theoretical geographical studies that give information about the various tribes, regions, cities, harbors, rivers, and buildings on the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa<sup>77</sup>, Pseudo-Skylax stated that, when travelling to the east, one came, after Lycia, to the region of Pamphylia. According to his account, among the cities and geographical features of Pamphylia were Aspendos and the Eurymedon River, Sillyon, Side, Kibyra Minor<sup>78</sup> and Korakesion. The city of Phaselis, the island of Lyrnateia, the cities of Idyros, Olbia and Magydos, the Katarraktes River, the city of Perge and the temple of Artemis were consequently situated in the Lycia region.<sup>79</sup> This unusual extension of Lycia up to Sillyon and Aspendos to the east has been interpreted by Keen as a reflection of the additions made to Lycia by Alexander the Great as a result of the extension of the satrapy of Lycia in the 330’s BC.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, these boundaries were again established due to political developments. However, an inscription dating from around 300 BC that was found in Aspendos, designates the people who lived in Aspendos as “Pamphylians”.<sup>81</sup> While narrating the military campaign organized by Ptolemaios I (305/304-282 BC) to the southern coast of Asia Minor in 309 BC, Diodoros (90-30 BC) stated that Ptolemaios first captured Phaselis in Pamphylia and then continued

---

<sup>74</sup> Otten 1988, 38.

<sup>75</sup> Hecat. fr. 258, apud Steph. Byz. 661.19.

<sup>76</sup> Keen 1998, 79-80.

<sup>77</sup> Aslan 2012, 239.

<sup>78</sup> For the location of Kibyra Minor, see Nolle 1987, 245–48.

<sup>79</sup> Pseudo-Skylax, I.100-101.

<sup>80</sup> Keen 1996, 110-19.

<sup>81</sup> SEG 17, 639-6-7; Also Bean 1958, 21.

to Xanthos in Lycia.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, this author identified Phaselis as the western border. Later on, by the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the western border between Lycia and Pamphylia seems to have been set around Phaselis and Olbia.<sup>83</sup> According to Livy (59 BC–17 AD), Phaselis was situated on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia and stood on a headland jutting out into the sea.<sup>84</sup> However, he did not mention in which region Phaselis was included, since his main concern was the military advantage of this city. In his book *Geography*, Strabo (64 or 63 BC–c. 24 AD) gave diverse information about the boundaries of Pamphylia. In XIV.2.1, the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia were the mountains situated above the Chelidonian islands. However, in XIV.4.1, Olbia was the western border point of Pamphylia, and he thus located Phaselis in Lycia. According to this passage, the cities and the geographical elements of Pamphylia were Attaleia, Lyrnesos, Perge and the Kestros River, Sillyon, Aspendos and the Eurymedon River, Pednelisos, Side and the Melas River, Kibyra, Ptolemais and Korakesion. In a last section, in which he narrated the passage of Alexander the Great from Phaselis to Pamphylia (XIV.3.9), Strabo mentioned that Phaselis was a Lycian city that was founded at the Lycian-Pamphylian border. Similarly, according to Pomponius Mela (1<sup>st</sup> century AD), Phaselis was the last city of Pamphylia in the West.<sup>85</sup> In Pliny the Elder (77-79 AD) the same identification is found, as he identified Phaselis as the last city on the western coast of Pamphylia.<sup>86</sup> According to Pliny's account, the cities of Pamphylia were Phaselis, Olbia, Lyrnesos, Perge, Pletenissos (Pednelissos?), Perge, Aspendos and Side. Apart from the ancient sources written in the 1st century AD, a very important epigraphic source, the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* (1<sup>st</sup> century AD), gives information about the city of Phaselis. According to the new provincial arrangements made by the emperor Claudius in 43 AD, Lycia became a Roman province.<sup>87</sup> Phaselis must have remained in this newly organized *Provincia Lycia*, since it is one of the cities mentioned in the *Stadiasmus Patarensis*; thus, Pamphylia started from the city of Olbia. Among the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD writers, Dionysios Periegetes (117-138 AD) considered Phaselis as a Pamphylian city.<sup>88</sup> In Ptolemaios's *Geography* (150 AD), however, Phaselis is listed as a Lycian city, whereas Olbia is the

---

<sup>82</sup> Diod. Sic. XX, 27, I.

<sup>83</sup> The ancient city of Olbia has recently been localized at Kemer. It was founded in the western part of the Attaleia Bay during the colonization period (7th century BC) by the Greeks alongside other settlements, such as Thebe, Lyrnesos and Tenedos, which were founded by Aeolians. Adak 2006, 1-29.

<sup>84</sup> Livy, *ab urbe condita* 37.23.

<sup>85</sup> Mela, 1. 79.

<sup>86</sup> Plin. *HN* 5, 26

<sup>87</sup> Şahin and Adak 2007, 49-84.

<sup>88</sup> Arena 2005. 32.

first Pamphylian city in the West.<sup>89</sup> Ptolemaios's account is coherent with both that of Strabo and that of the *Stadiasmus Patarensis*. In contrast, a third century AD account, the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (226-229 AD), lists Phaselis as a Pamphylian city (Figure 2.4). Three centuries later, Stephanos of Byzantion (6<sup>th</sup> century AD) had a completely different view about the western city of Olbia. He contradicted Philon who accepted Olbia as a Pamphylian city and stated that Olbia was situated not in Pamphylia but in the land of the *Solymoi*.<sup>90</sup> In the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* Hellenkemper and Hild place the border between Lycia and Pamphylia from the Bay of Attaleia to the south of the territory of Termessos and Isinda /Korkuteli, by including Phaselis in Lycia during the Byzantine period.<sup>91</sup>

### *Eastern Border*

The information given by the ancient authors in terms of the border between Pamphylia and Cilicia in the east is as diverse as that about the western border. Also here, the territory appears to have changed from one period to another. Between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the eastern border was Nagidos according to Hekataios of Miletos,<sup>92</sup> Korakesion according to Pseudo-Skylax<sup>93</sup> and Kelenderis according to Artemidoros (c. 100 BC).<sup>94</sup> Among the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC writers, Cicero (106-43 BC) considered Side as the most eastern city of Pamphylia<sup>95</sup>, whereas Strabo mentioned Korakesion<sup>96</sup> and Pomponius Mela<sup>97</sup> named Anemourion as the beginning of Cilicia Tracheia. According to Pliny the Younger, Side and the Melas River formed the ancient boundary of Pamphylia.<sup>98</sup> Erzen interprets the description of "ancient boundary" (*finisque antiquus Ciliciae Melas amnis*) used by Pliny the Younger as a reference to an earlier source and an older political frontier and, therefore, he concludes that Side should be taken as the boundary between Pamphylia

---

<sup>89</sup> Ptol. Geog. 5.7.1

<sup>90</sup> Steph. Byz. 489; *Solymoi* is the name of a tribe and they are traditionally seen as the ancestors of the Termessians who settled around Mount Solymos (Tahtalı Dağ), located at the border of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia. Based on this account of Stephanos of Byzantium, P. Frei suggests that not only the Tahtalı Mountains, but also the Görece Mountains, which rise from the Gelidonya Cape and extend to the western beginning of the Pamphylian plain alongside the east of the Çandır Valley, should be considered part of the Solymos Mountain, Frei 1993, 82.

<sup>91</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 78.

<sup>92</sup> Hecat, fr. 266.

<sup>93</sup> Pseudo-Skylax, I, 101.

<sup>94</sup> Artemidoros apud Strabo 14.5.3

<sup>95</sup> Cic. Fam. 12.15.5.

<sup>96</sup> Str. 14.4.

<sup>97</sup> Mela 1, 79.

<sup>98</sup> Plin. HN. 5, 22.

and Cilicia.<sup>99</sup> However, an oracular inscription dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and found in Syedra, which is located to the east of Side, designates the people living in Syedra as Pamphylians.<sup>100</sup> According to Ptolemaios, Syedra formed the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilicia.<sup>101</sup> Two military *diplomata*, one found in Laertes and dating to the 139 AD, the other one from Syedra and dating to 145 AD, give information about these cities' locations. Based on these inscriptions, Laertes was situated in Pamphylia, but Syedra as well as Selinos were located in Cilicia during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>102</sup> (Figure 2.5).

Modern scholars also have formulated different opinions about the region's eastern border. According to Mansel, Side was the easternmost city of the region during earlier times, but after the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Korakesion was accepted as a border due to political reasons.<sup>103</sup> In his article "Zur Geographie Pamphyliens" Erzen took Pseudo-Skylax in consideration and placed the eastern border between Korakesion and Selinos.<sup>104</sup> In the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Hellenkemper and Hild accept the Sedre River, located east of Syedra, as the eastern limit between Pamphylia and Cilicia Tracheia based on the provincial division mentioned by Hierokles in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>105</sup>

### *Northern Border*

Although the Taurus Mountains drew a natural border between Pisidia and Pamphylia, identifying which city belonged to Pisidia and which one to Pamphylia can be problematic. In the northwest, the Pisidian city of Termessos with its territory including the settlement of Eudokias near Yukarıkaraman set the border between the two regions.<sup>106</sup> The position of the city of Kotenna situated in the Melas valley and that of Etenna and Erymna located to the north of the Melas River is not easy to define.<sup>107</sup> Selge, situated on the Eurymedon River, minted coins during the Classical and Hellenistic Period with the ethnicon *Estwediiys/Estvediius* in the Pamphylian dialect and a depiction of wrestlers just

---

<sup>99</sup> Erzen 1981, 93-8.

<sup>100</sup> Sokolowski 1968, 519-22.

<sup>101</sup> Ptol. *Geog.* 5.7.1.

<sup>102</sup> Kellner 1977, 315-22.

<sup>103</sup> Mansel 1956a, 3.

<sup>104</sup> Erzen 1979, 93.

<sup>105</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 77.

<sup>106</sup> For the Pisidian-Pamphylian border in the West, see Talloen 2015, 14. For the territory of Termessos, see Çelgin 2003a, 119-40; 2003b, 141-70.

<sup>107</sup> Çevik 1999/2000, 91-114.

like Aspendos did.<sup>108</sup> This indicates close relations between Aspendos and Selge and may even imply a cultural dependency of Selge on Aspendos.<sup>109</sup> The foundation stories of Selge also resemble those of the Pamphylian cities (see below), which might be taken as another indication of this cultural influence. The *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* sets the northern limit in the ravine of the Eurymedon in the east, the territories of Adada and Pednelissos (being in Pisidia) in the north and the chora of Sagalassos and Kremna in the west.<sup>110</sup>

Despite of the uncertainty of the region's borders, there are some people within certain borders perceived themselves as Pamphylian with a sense of belonging. For instance, an inscription used *spoila* in a Late Antique wall in Syedra dating to the Early Imperial Period identifies the people of Syedra as Pamphylians.<sup>111</sup> Again, an inscription from Perge dating to the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD) defines Perge –among other titles- as the first city of Pamphylia.<sup>112</sup>

Because of this everchanging situation on the western and eastern borders of the region and the uncertainty of the small *poleis* situated in the mountainous area on the north, determining the scope of this thesis was a difficult task. All the cities mentioned by the ancient authors and by the modern scholars are evaluated within the scope of the thesis. The cities in the plain, such as Attaleia, Magydos, Perge, Sillyon, Aspendos, Side, Lyrbe, and rural settlements like Lyrboton Kome are natural components of this study. In this regard, Phaselis to the west, Syedra and Korakesion to the east are also included since these cities are often mentioned by both the ancient writers and modern scholars as the border cities. Selge to the north is evaluated because, although it is considered a Pisidian city in many modern publications, it held undeniable cultural ties with its southern neighbours, especially with Aspendos.<sup>113</sup> The cities situated west of Cilicia and east of Pamphylia, such as Kasai, Kolybrassos, Karallia, Hamaxia, and Laertes, are included in this study as materials for analogy not only to evaluate the region of Pamphylia in its broader geographical context, but also to determine whether their pantheon and religious beliefs show resemblances to the inland cities or not.

---

<sup>108</sup> Morgen and Hansen, 2004, 148, 1213-214; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 79 also consider Selge a Pamphylian city because of its location.

<sup>109</sup> Talloen 2015, 84.

<sup>110</sup> Hellenkemper-Hild 2004.

<sup>111</sup> Bean-Mitford 1965, 21-23, no. 26; de Souza 1997, 477.

<sup>112</sup> Şahin 2004, 52-60.

<sup>113</sup> For instance, in a recent study about the cults of Pisidia, Talloen considered Selge as a Pisidian city, Talloen 2015.



### 2.3 Historical Framework

The Palaeolithic period in Pamphylia is characterized by the occupation of rock shelters, such as Belbaşı, Beldibi and Güzeloba, situated mainly on the coast to the west of Antalya, and of caves, such as Karain and Öküzini, which were used by hunter-gatherer groups due to the hard climatic conditions of the glacial periods. These are situated in limestone rocky hills near permanent springs.<sup>114</sup> The Belbaşı rock shelter yielded stone tools dating to the Epipalaeolithic Period during excavations conducted by Bostancı.<sup>115</sup> The Beldibi rock shelter, located 24 km southwest of Antalya on a rocky outcrop close to the sea, is one of the best-known Palaeolithic sites of the region alongside the Karain cave, due to its Upper Palaeolithic rock paintings and Epipalaeolithic assemblages.<sup>116</sup> Besides, researchers found stone tools dating to the Upper Palaeolithic/Epipalaeolithic Period in the Güzeloba rock shelter in the vicinity of the Aksu valley.<sup>117</sup> The Öküzini and Karain caves in the vicinity of Antalya and in the non-coastal areas of the region yielded evidence of Palaeolithic assemblages too. The Karain cave, with its findings dating mostly to the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Periods, attests seasonal habitation by hunter groups.<sup>118</sup> Besides, also the Öküzini cave is an important site for the study of the Palaeolithic/Epipalaeolithic Period.<sup>119</sup> The occupation of the Belbaşı and Beldibi rock shelters and the Karain and Öküzini caves was not only limited to the Palaeolithic period, but evidence concerning Classical and Roman settlements have been found in these sites too.<sup>120</sup> Some of these caves also maintained a cultic function during the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>121</sup>

The Neolithic Period (8000-6000 BC) was characterized by a new, sedentary life, determined by agricultural production and animal husbandry during which people

---

<sup>114</sup> Yalçınkaya et al. 1993, 101.

<sup>115</sup> Bostancı 1962, 232-51.

<sup>116</sup> Bostancı 1968, 51.

<sup>117</sup> Yalçınkaya, 1986, 429-47.

<sup>118</sup> Yalçınkaya 1989.

<sup>119</sup> Yalçınkaya et al. 1999, 39-55.

<sup>120</sup> According to Bostancı, this rock shelter is situated in a narrow passage opening to Lycia in the west. Bostancı determined three stratigraphical levels. The first and second level yielded stone tools dating to the Epipalaeolithic, whereas the third level included Neolithic as well as Greek and Roman ceramics testifying to the usage of the cave during entire Antiquity, Bostancı 1962, 232-51. Seven stratigraphical levels were identified in the Beldibi rock shelter, in which the upper levels (A1 and A2) yielded ceramics dating to the Classical Period, Bostancı 1968, 51. Ceramics and tiles dating to the Early Roman Period were found in the archaeological units IV and V of the Öküzini Cave, Yalçınkaya et al. 1999, 39-55.

<sup>121</sup> Karain was a cult center during the Roman Imperial Period evidenced by inscriptions on the walls, SEG XLI 1323, 1326, 1329. See *The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.

abandoned their nomadic behaviours and started to live in newly founded villages.<sup>122</sup> The systematically excavated Neolithic settlements of the region are concentrated to the northwest of Antalya, close to the Antalya/Burdur border, such as Bademağacı, and in the neighboring Lake District, such as Kuruçay and Hacılar, which were mainly characterised by rectangular mudbrick structures showing a developed Neolithic culture.<sup>123</sup> The Chalcolithic period (6000-300 BC) can be identified based on the use of copper for tools. Another feature of this period was the increase in population, which probably led to the rise of a ruling class and the development of defense systems. Reflections of this new system can be seen in the settlements of Hacılar and Kuruçay.<sup>124</sup> The beginnings of the settlement on the Acropolis of Perge also started in the Chalcolithic period. The Chalcolithic findings consist of silex and obsidian blades and burials of children in “Area 1” and in adjoining areas, which date around 5000 BC based on C<sup>14</sup> dating<sup>125</sup> (Figure 2.6).

Apart from archaeological research at Bademağacı and Gökhöyük, excavations carried out on the Acropolis of Perge yielded evidence regarding the Bronze Age settlements of the region.<sup>126</sup> Evidence for the Early Bronze Age at Perge consists of small pottery fragments including globular shaped bowls, jugs and a burial pot, which cannot be assigned to any architectural context but can be dated to 3000 BC based on C<sup>14</sup> analysis.<sup>127</sup> The earliest religious activity on the Acropolis was documented on the eastern hill (“Area 1”), since an *oinochos* dating to the Early Bronze Age and found at a place identified as an ash altar indicates that cultic activities emerged in the area from the Early Bronze Age onwards and continued up to the Early Byzantine Period.<sup>128</sup> However, the evidence for religious activities increased during the Middle Bronze Age, as evidenced by architectural remains related to libations wares, wares used for beer production and bronze daggers, which might have been dedicated as votives or have been used in

---

<sup>122</sup> Duru 2008, 7.

<sup>123</sup> Hacılar, Mellaart 1970; Kuruçay, Duru 1994 and 1996; Bademağacı, Duru 2008, 17-19; Duru-Umurtak 2019; Höyücek, Duru-Umurtak 2005.

<sup>124</sup> For other places with Chalcolithic findings, Duru 2008, 8.

<sup>125</sup> Martini 2010, 14. The babies were 1 to 5 years of age and buried in hocker position. In addition, a male who had a spearhead attached to his *sternum*, was buried 52 m east of “Area 1”. The Chalcolithic settlement of the Acropolis of Perge expanded over nearly 7 ha. The obsidian blades found here indicate trade, while the ceramic fragments found in the settlement resemble those found in Beycesultan and Demircihöyük.

<sup>126</sup> For Bademağacı, see Umurtak 1998, 1-12; Duru, 2008; Duru-Umurtak 2019. For Gökhöyük, see Yener-Atvur 2002, 13-20.

<sup>127</sup> Martini 2010, 16. G. Umurtak identified four different ware types, namely red ware, gray-black ware, light brown and orange ware and greyish-beige coarse ware. Similar examples can be found in Bademağacı and Kuruçay in the Early Bronze Age II layers. Umurtak 2010. 81–5.

<sup>128</sup> For a recent and detailed overview of “Area 1”, its chronology and an evaluation of the buildings, see Martini 2017, 1-246; See also Martini 2010; 2012a, 37-41; 2012b, 779-99.

rituals.<sup>129</sup> According to Martini, the Pamphylia of the Middle Bronze Age were already in contact with neighboring cultures, since they adopted foreign cultic traditions, such as rituals related to beer-making vessels, which were frequently used by the Hittites during their religious ceremonies.<sup>130</sup> Other ceramics dating to the Middle Bronze Age resemble those found at Beycesultan, evidencing contact between Pamphylia and southwestern Anatolia during this period.<sup>131</sup>

The Late Bronze Age was a period when foreign interactions further increased. Apart from the bronze tablet indicating the borders of Arzawa and Tarhuntassa mentioned above, Paribeni and Romanelli reported that a Syrian-Hittite seal dating to the 2nd millennium BC was found in Side.<sup>132</sup>

The archaeological evidence from the period between 1600-1100 BC also indicates that the settlement on the Acropolis of Perge witnessed changes, both in architecture and in the ceramic repertoire, which can point towards new foreign influences and cultural interactions. There is also evidence suggesting a new organization of the cult place in “Area 1” on the Eastern hill. The ash-altar of the Middle Bronze Age was surrounded now by an *anta* building, indicating that the ash-altar was continuously used. Judging by the wall remains, the building technique of this *anta* building was different compared to the other phases, since it featured a fairly uniform wall built from rectangular blocks of local limestone. According to Martini, this building technique, which required more labor work and suitable tools, was adopted from Cyprus, again indicating contact with foreign cultures.<sup>133</sup> The ceramic repertoire found in this area also illustrates a differentiation in cult practices, since the imported wares, such as a bull figurine fragment of Mycenaean import and libation arms of the Hittite culture, point towards an adaptation of external cultic traditions.<sup>134</sup> Although the beer-making vessels of the Middle Bronze

---

<sup>129</sup> Martini 2010, 6-20; 2017, 84-87, 144-52, 458-59.

<sup>130</sup> Martini 2017, 533. Beer was among the drinks and food that were prepared for the deities. During the religious ceremonies, which usually took place near a river, a pit was dug with a dagger by a priest and libations consisting of wine, beer and other liquids were mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal and poured into the pit. Pouring beers into the large vessels that were used for the beer fermentation process was among the tasks of the cult personnel, Trever 2004, 155; 185; 250.

<sup>131</sup> Recke 2011, 170.

<sup>132</sup> Nollé 1993a, 42.

<sup>133</sup> Martini 2010, 21.

<sup>134</sup> Martini 2017, 536. Libation arms, which are also called libation vessels, are vessels composed of a sculptured hand holding a vessel attached to a tubular body. These vessels were frequently found in the temples of Boğazköy and their absence in domestic contexts reinforces the opinion that they were connected to libations conducted during rituals that often took place in temples. For the terminology of the vessels, see Müller-Karpe 1988, 145; Coşkun 1979, 83-4; for the libation arms found in Boğazköy, see Seeher 2001, 341-62.

Age and the libation arms of the Late Bronze Age were connected to cultic activities of the Hittites, they were not locally produced in the Hittite capital of Hattusa. They are “Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware”, a type of ware that was circulated in a wide area during the Bronze Age and whose provenance is usually attributed to Northern Cyprus and Cilicia based on petrographic analyses.<sup>135</sup> “Area 3”, which is located south of “Area 1”, also contains structures related to the adoption of different cultures, namely a hearth with surrounding libation pits which could be seen in the cultic rituals of the Mycenaeans and Hittites.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, the archaeological evidence obtained from Perge illustrates that during the Bronze Age, the settlement on the Acropolis was in relation with southwestern Anatolia, the Hittites, the Mycenaeans, Cilicia, and Cyprus. These connections manifest themselves not only in terms of exchange and local production of goods but also through the adoption of foreign cultic rituals, as evidenced by several paraphernalia, such as votive offerings, vessels, and structures used during these rituals. The connection of foreign cultures also points towards the participation of Perge in the eastern trade, which was the most important novelty of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>137</sup> Bronze Age shipwrecks, which were found in the southern part of Asia Minor, show that Pamphylia was in this time an important trading center between the Levant, Egypt and the Mycenaean world,<sup>138</sup> making the region a melting pot of cultures from the Bronze Age onwards.

Besides the archaeological evidence mainly acquired from the Acropolis of Perge, the mythological and linguistic evidence suggests an Achaean migration at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC and a Doric migration after 1200 BC to Pamphylia.<sup>139</sup> The cities of the region, such as Phaselis, Perge, Sillyon, Aspendos, and Selge further to the north, attributed their foundations to Greek settlers who, after the Trojan War, came to western and southern Asia Minor to found new cities.<sup>140</sup> Although there is evidence that the settlements predated the probable migration in the time when the Trojan War is placed, as is the case with the Acropolis of Perge, the use of this common motif of the foundation

---

<sup>135</sup> This type of ware was seen in Central Anatolia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Crete and Rhodos. Knappett and Kilikoglu analyzed samples from Cyprus, Cilicia, Boğazköy and Egypt and determined Northern Cyprus as the most probable provenance for these types of wares. Knappett-Kilikoglu 2007, 1-26. However, since no analyses have been conducted on the Pergaian examples, their provenance remains unknown.

<sup>136</sup> Martini favors an Anatolian influence rather than a Mycenaean one due to the lack of inadequate evidence for a connection between Perge and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age, see Martini 2017, 535-6.

<sup>137</sup> Martini 2010, 21.

<sup>138</sup> Brandt 1992, 22.

<sup>139</sup> Bosch 1957, 16.

<sup>140</sup> See *The Mythical Past of The Pamphylians*, Chapter 3.

stories by the Trojan heroes or seers for many Pamphylian cities did not only create a common identity for these cities but also hints towards the presence of different Greek communities that might have settled in Pamphylia. The archaeological and literary evidence from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC until the Great Colonization Period of the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC is very limited. Ceramics including both local and Cypriot wares dating to the 11<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> CB have been found on the Acropolis of Perge.<sup>141</sup> Besides, in the recent research conducted at Aspendos, a long apsidal structure has been determined and due to its dimensions, it has been interpreted as an *hekatompedon*. The closest parallel for such a building comes from Lefkandi and can be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>142</sup> Future research will hopefully elucidate this thus far unique structure for Pamphylia. The literary evidence for this period is also problematic. Diodoros (1<sup>st</sup> century BC) states that the Assyrian king Ninus conquered Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia.<sup>143</sup> However, the name Ninus is not listed in the Assyrian kings' lists since he was the legendary founder of the Assyrian kingdom whose name was only mentioned by Greek and Latin authors.<sup>144</sup> The second literary attestation comes from Solinos (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD), who states that Pamphylia was part of Cilicia, which was under the administration of a local monarch named Synesis.<sup>145</sup> Cultural influence of the Phrygian kingdom can be seen in both Pisidia and Lycia but no evidence has been found in Pamphylia yet.<sup>146</sup>

The periods of the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC witnessed Greek merchants establishing settlements all along the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean and Pamphylia was no exception. The narrow coastal land between Phaselis and Attaleia was colonized by Aeolians resulting in the foundation of new cities, such as Lyrnessos, Thebe, and Tenedos.<sup>147</sup> Phaselis, which is situated in the westernmost part of the region, was alongside some of the Lycian cities founded by the Rhodians around 690/680 BC.<sup>148</sup> The Acropolis of Perge also yielded Rhodian ceramics, together with pottery imported from Cyprus and Miletos in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, which offers additional evidence for the presence of Rhodians or at least contacts with them in the region. On the other hand,

---

<sup>141</sup> Martini 2003b, 24; 2010, 29.

<sup>142</sup> <https://web.archive.org/web/20180404171443/http://www.aspendosgezi.com/tr/tarihce>, 25.07.2019

<sup>143</sup> Diod. Sic. 2.2.3, 357.

<sup>144</sup> Bosch 1957, 18.

<sup>145</sup> Bosch 1957, 18.

<sup>146</sup> For the Phrygian cultural influence in Pisidia, see Waelkens 2011, 19-54. For Lycia, see Dörtük 1988, 171-74.

<sup>147</sup> For a detailed summary of the Doric and Aeolian colonization in the western part of the region, see Adak 2007, 41-8; 2013, 63-78.

<sup>148</sup> Martini 2017.

Aspendos promoted an Argive descent for itself and according to Arrian (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) Side was founded by Cumaean settlers.<sup>149</sup> Although some of these movements may have resulted in the foundation of new cities, such as Phaselis, Lyrnas, and the above-mentioned Thebe, and Tenedos in the west of the region, other cities, such as Perge, Aspendos, Sillyon and Side, were already settled. For instance, a basalt base from Side, which was probably used for cultic purposes, can be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC and suggests a Syrian-Phoenician connection.<sup>150</sup> The period of the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC is in fact a period of transition for entire Pamphylia. While the Greeks established new cities on the western coasts of the region, they also developed relations with the existing ones situated on the inland plain, like Perge, Aspendos and Sillyon, and on the eastern coast, like Side.

As Herodotos states, during the period of Croesus (560-546 AD), the region was attached to the Kingdom of Lydia.<sup>151</sup> The region came under Persian rule in 540 BC and was afterwards, together with Lycia, Caria, Magnesia, Ionia, Aiolis and Milyas, included into the first satrapy of the Persian Empire during the reign of Dareios I (521-486 BC).<sup>152</sup> One of the Pamphylian cities, Sillyon, also hosted a Persian garrison.<sup>153</sup> When in 482 BC, under the rule of Xerxes (485-465 AD), the son and heir of Dareios I, the Persian embarked on an expedition against the Greeks, the Pamphylians contributed to Xerxes' army with hundred ships, which were armed like those of the Greeks.<sup>154</sup> After the defeat of the Persian army on the river bank of the Eurymedon by the Athenians led by Kimon in 467-466 BC, all the coastal areas of Asia Minor from Ionia to Pamphylia were cleared from the Persians. However, the cities of Pamphylia maintained their attachment to Persia. Phaselis and the Chelidonia Islands became the border between Athens and Persia as agreed in the Peace of Kallias, which was established in 449/448 BC, and, therefore, Pamphylia was left under Persian control.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, as pointed out by Arslan, it is not possible to talk about a firm Persian rule in Pamphylia, since the cities, like Side and Aspendos, minted their own autonomous silver coins from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>149</sup> Arr. Anab. 1, 24, 6.

<sup>150</sup> Özhanlı 2007, 17-31.

<sup>151</sup> Hdt. 1,27,28.

<sup>152</sup> Hdt. 3, 90; Pekman 1989, 17; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 96.

<sup>153</sup> Nollé 1993a, 47.

<sup>154</sup> Hdt. 7, 91, 1.

<sup>155</sup> For a detailed study of the situation in the region before and after the Eurymedon naval battle, see Arslan 2008, 49-63.

BC onwards.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, the names of the cities Perge, Sillyon and Magydos appeared on the Athenian tribute lists of 425/424 BC. The region came again under Persian rule based on the Peace of Antalkidas in 386 BC. In 366-360 BC, the Pamphylia participated in the Great Satraps' Revolt.<sup>157</sup>

The period between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC also witnessed the increase of Greek aspects in Pamphylia. From the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, ceramic import from Attica to Pamphylia began, as evidenced by the wares found on the Acropolis of Perge. This trade intensified in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, since Attic wares have been found at Perge, in the Karaçalı nekropolis situated near Perge, in the so-called "Eastern Garage Nekropolis" at Attaleia, at Aspendos, Sillyon and Lyrboton Kome.<sup>158</sup> Some important changes in architecture also occurred at Perge in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. After the demolition of the Archaic structures whose destruction was associated with the war between the Athenians and the Persians, new buildings were constructed in ashlar masonry on an orthogonal plan, and a fortification system with gates as well as possibly a new temple were built.<sup>159</sup> The increase of Attic drinking cups in the ceramic repertoire might also indicate the introduction of the Greek *symposion* custom into the city of Perge.<sup>160</sup> Despite the increasing Greek influence in the region, local characteristics maintained their significance within Pamphylia. One of the most important local aspects was the language. The Pamphylian dialect, which is documented through inscriptions from Aspendos, Sillyon and Perge and coin legends of Aspendos, Sillyon, Perge and Selge, was a dialect of the Greek language influenced by a substrate language with Indo-European origins. The Pamphylian dialect had a complex nature, including Achaian, Doric, Cypriot and Aeolian features.<sup>161</sup> The ethnicon *Estwediys/Estvediius* on 5<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Aspendos, *Stlegiys/Estlegiys* on 5<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Selge and *Seluuius/Selyviis* on 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC coins of Sillyon are not Greek but written in the Pamphylian dialect and point out the native background of the cities.<sup>162</sup> The Sidetic, on

---

<sup>156</sup> Arslan, 2008, 52. Aspendos minted its first coins after the naval victory of Kimon against the Persians, see Tekin 1991, 29.

<sup>157</sup> Diod. Sic. 15, 90, 3.

<sup>158</sup> Çokay-Kepçe 2010, 213-15.

<sup>159</sup> Recke 2003, s. 146-50; Martini 2003a, 42-6.

<sup>160</sup> Martini 2003b, 23; Recke 2010, 101-21.

<sup>161</sup> Brixhe 1976; Tekoğlu 1999-2000, 52-3; Skelton 2017, 104-29.

<sup>162</sup> Bean 1997, 61 (Aspendos), 44 (Sillyon) and 125 (Selge); The ethnicon *Estwediys/Estvediius* shares the same root with Azatiwataya, a place name read in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Karatepe. The ethnicon *Seluuius/Selyviis* is generally identified with Sallusa in the Hittite sources, see Tekoğlu 1999-2000, 49; Işık 2008, 573.

the other hand, was one of the Anatolian branches of the Indo-European language.<sup>163</sup> The use of the Pamphylian dialect and the Sidetic continued throughout the Hellenistic period. The indigenous characteristics, foreign influences and their peaceful coexistence can also be seen in the religious life of the region, which will be evaluated in the following chapters.

After his conquest of Western Asia Minor in 334 BC, Alexander the Great marched through Caria and by passing Lycia, he arrived at Phaselis. While he was still at Phaselis, the Pergaians offered him their guidance from Phaselis to Perge following the coastal road.<sup>164</sup> In this manner, the city of Perge showed no resistance to the Macedonian king. On his way further to the east he was met by delegates of Aspendos who offered him their city asking him not to sack it. Similarly, the Sidetans handed over their town to Alexander the Great without resistance. Alexander later marched to Sillyon but had no chance to attack this well fortified city since the Aspendians violated the terms of their agreement with the Macedonian king by repairing their city walls and by not letting the Macedonian delegates inside. Upon this, Alexander the Great quickly returned to Aspendos and set his military camp in the abandoned lower city. The Aspendians who were taken by surprise at the quick return of the Macedonian king, pleaded for another agreement and finally had to accept one with more severe terms.<sup>165</sup> Consequently, by the Spring of 334 BC, the Pamphylian cities had all been subdued to the power of Alexander the Great, either deliberately or by force. After this, Alexander marched through Phrygia and passed Pisidia. In 334 BC he appointed Nearchos the Cretan as satrap of Lycia and Pamphylia, a satrapy which also included Pisidia.<sup>166</sup> However, when Nearchos was immediately called for a campaign to India, his seat remained temporarily empty,<sup>167</sup> until the annexation of these regions to the satrapy of Phrygia, which was ruled by Antigonos the One-Eyed (333-323 BC).<sup>168</sup> Alexander the Great's principal purpose was to keep the roads connecting Bithynia with the harbors of Pamphylia under control, since these harbors had a vital importance both for the region and for the inland.<sup>169</sup> Pamphylia was part of the satrapy of Phrygia after the death of Alexander in 323 BC until, the Battle of

---

<sup>163</sup> Nollé 2001, 630.

<sup>164</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1, 25. 9.

<sup>165</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1, 26, 1,27, 5; Pekman 1989, 17-19.

<sup>166</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.29.3

<sup>167</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.6.

<sup>168</sup> Pekman 1989, 17.

<sup>169</sup> Kosmetatou 1997, 8.



Ipsos in 301 BC, which happened between Antigonos the One-Eyed and Lysimachos, Ptolemaios and Seleukos and which resulted in the defeat of Antigonos.<sup>170</sup>

Due to its strategic importance, from 301 BC onwards, Pamphylia became a point of contention between the Kingdoms of Ptolemaios and Seleukos.<sup>171</sup> Based on an agreement between the different kingdoms after the Battle of Ipsos, Lysimachos gained western and central Asia Minor up to the Taurus Mountains, while Seleukos I Nikator gained Cilicia and Ptolemaios I Soter (305/4-282 BC) took hold of Lycia and Pamphylia.<sup>172</sup> An inscription found in Aspendos and attributed to the period of Ptolemaios I Soter (305/4-284 BC) or Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (285-246 BC) offers a closer look to Ptolemaic rule in Pamphylia. According to this document, the Pamphylians, Cretans, Lycians, Greeks and Pisidians rallied to Aspendos because of an unknown conflict and became useful and courageous for both king Ptolemaios and the city of Aspendos.<sup>173</sup> According to Bosch, Aspendos must have been in battle with one of its neighbors, Perge, Sillyon or Side.<sup>174</sup> Ptolemaios and his mercenaries from various parts of the ancient world intervened in this battle in the favor of Aspendos. In return the mercenaries were awarded with the citizenship of Aspendos. An inscription found at Termessos and dated to the reign of Ptolemaios II (281/80 BC) informs us about a *pamphyliarkhes*, which means that the region was governed by an officer bearing this title.<sup>175</sup> However, one city was a decided opponent of the rule of the Ptolemaic kingdom in Pamphylia, namely Side, which was an obstacle for the Ptolemies to expand their territory from Lycia to Cilicia. This is why the city of Ptolemais was founded, possibly by Ptolemaios II (285-246 BC) or Ptolemaios III (246-222 BC), between the Melas River and Korakesion, east of Side, to surround the unruly city.<sup>176</sup> Side must have entrusted itself to the protection of the Seleucids, because without the help of the Seleucid kingdom, the city could hardly have dared to oppose the Ptolemaic power, which was almost constantly present in the region in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>177</sup> In return, in order

---

<sup>170</sup> Pekman 1989, 20.

<sup>171</sup> Brandt and Kolb 2005, 20.

<sup>172</sup> Brandt 1992, 41, Kosmetatou 1997, 18.

<sup>173</sup> Bosch 1957, 25.

<sup>174</sup> Bosch 1957, 25.

<sup>175</sup> Tekin 1991, 9.

<sup>176</sup> Bagnall 1976, 113; Nollé 1993a, 60; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 8, 821. By narrowing the time frame, Grainger attributes the city's foundation alongside Arsinoe in Cilicia between the first years of Ptolemaios II (282 BC) and the death of queen Arsinoe (around 270 BC), see Grainger 2009, 84.

<sup>177</sup> Nollé 1993a, 59-60.

to protect their ally, the Seleucids founded a garrison town to the west of Side on the coast, called Seleukeia.

After the death of Seleukos III in 223 BC, Achaios, a relative of the Seleucid kings, proclaimed himself king of Asia in 220 BC and conquered Pamphylia up to the Eurymedon.<sup>178</sup> The inhabitants of Pednelissos asked the help of Achaios against the Selgians and in order to fulfill this wish, Garsyeris, Achaios' commander, came to Pamphylia and set up a garrison at Perge.<sup>179</sup> Aspendos is the other Pamphylian city that formed an alliance with Achaios and sent him 4000 hoplites<sup>180</sup>, whereas Side remained loyal to Antiochos III (223-187 BC).<sup>181</sup> After Antiochos III defeated Achaios in 213 BC, he took control of entire Pamphylia and Cilicia in 197 BC and gave some privileges to the city of Side.<sup>182</sup>

The Pamphylian Gulf was the stage of another naval war after the Eurymedon Battle in 467/466 BC. The navies of Rome, Pergamon and Rhodos fought against the navies of Antiochos III accompanied by Hannibal along the coasts of the Sidetan peninsula in 190 BC. This battle resulted in the defeat of Antiochos III and Hannibal and prevented Antiochos from sailing forward to the Aegean. Thanks to this, the Romans could easily access Asia Minor by passing the Aegean and defeated, together with Pergamon, Antiochos III one more time at Magnesia in the same year.<sup>183</sup> This war and the subsequent peace treaty of Apameia in 188 BC ended Seleucid rule in Asia Minor and the political power now shifted to Pergamon (supported by Rome).<sup>184</sup> The Seleucids lost their lands and armies west of Tarsos and the Taurus Mountains and the rule over cities like Magnesia ad Sipylum, Ephesos, Magnesia ad Meandrum passed to the victorious party. The lands once belonging to Antiochos III were divided between Rhodos and Pergamon. The Kestros River was defined as the Pamphylian border of the Pergamene kingdom and Perge and the eastern cities remained autonomous.<sup>185</sup> Sillyon, Aspendos and Side were considered allies of Rome and in this way, they were freed of the hegemony of the Pergamene kingdom.<sup>186</sup> Side's friendship with the Romans, Rhodos and Egypt opened

---

<sup>178</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild, 2004, 99.

<sup>179</sup> Polyb. 5, 72, 7.

<sup>180</sup> Bosch 1957, 27.

<sup>181</sup> Nollé 1993a, 60-1.

<sup>182</sup> Nollé 1993a, 61-3.

<sup>183</sup> Bosch 1957, 28-9.

<sup>184</sup> Livy. *Ab urbe cond.* 38. 37-38. 1-18; Polyb. 21.40-46.

<sup>185</sup> Magie 1950, 758-59, footnote 56; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 103.

<sup>186</sup> Jones 1971, 129.

an opportunity for the Sidetan merchants to do business in an unhindered way throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>187</sup>

Between the years 188-133 BC, Pergamon became a powerful kingdom due to the expansion of its lands, which now included Thrace, Phrygia, Mysia, Lykaonia, Milyas, Lydia, a part of Pamphylia and also Pisidia.<sup>188</sup> In order to preserve these newly acquired lands, which gave the kingdom a large political and economic power, the Attalids started to establish new cities. Philadelphia to the south of Pergamon ensured the kingdom's southern borders, while in the east Dionysoupolis and Eumeneia served a similar purpose.<sup>189</sup> While Pergamon became powerful in the inland, it also wanted its share from the riches of the sea by reaching to the Mediterranean. However, Side, the most developed harbor city of the region, was already a friend of Rome. Consequently, a new port city, Attaleia, was founded by Attalos II in 159-155 BC. According to Hellenkemper, the reason behind the foundation of a new city named after Attalos II rather than developing the existing ones, like Magydos and Olbia, indisputably demonstrates the king's political and strategical agenda. He planned a new city with a new population, the construction of a fortification system and the expansion of the port.<sup>190</sup> The city was also able to provide the necessary income from both the sea and the land due to its strategic location.<sup>191</sup>

When Attalos III died in 133 BC without an heir, he bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman Republic. The Romans transformed the lands of the kingdom into a province, which was called *Provincia Asia*, in 129 BC. However, discussion exists about the parts of the old kingdom that now belonged to Rome. Some regions of the previous Attalid kingdom seem not to have been integrated into the newly founded province. For instance, Lykaonia was given to Cappadocia and Bithynia was initially attached to Pontos.<sup>192</sup> The situation in Pamphylia is also complicated. Perge and the Kestros, which initially formed the borders of the Pergamene kingdom, belonged to the *Provincia Asia*. Taking Perge and the Kestros as limits of the province, Bosch states that the Romans were never interested in taking southern Asia Minor under their control. Therefore, Eastern Pamphylia

---

<sup>187</sup> Nollé 1993a, 64.

<sup>188</sup> Polyb. 21.45. 9-10.

<sup>189</sup> Dimitriev 1999, 405.

<sup>190</sup> Hellenkemper 2004, 332.

<sup>191</sup> For detailed information on the foundation of the city and its strategical location, see Gökalp 2008, 28-32. On the other hand, the port of Attaleia was not in a favorable position: the construction of the pier was not feasible because of the depth of the water and there was no protection against southern winds, see Nollé 1993a, 65.

<sup>192</sup> Bosch 1957, 39.

remained autonomous until the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>193</sup> According to Brandt, although Pamphylia was free from Roman control for a decade, the whole region was attached to the province around 102 BC.<sup>194</sup> Bosch's opinion remains debatable since a milestone found in Side informing us that Manlius Aquilius, the Roman consul of 129-126 BC, constructed a coastal road reaching up to Side, has led to the interpretation that the region belonged to the *Provincia Asia* up to Side.<sup>195</sup>

The end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC were marked by a new danger threatening the coasts of southern Asia Minor. Pirates, who found ideal hiding places in the rugged coastal regions of Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia and in the inland rocky hills and valleys of the Taurus Mountains, gained control over the sea. Among the reasons of the piracy that increased from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards were the political unrest that was caused by the conflicts between the Hellenistic kingdoms, later the Mithridatic Wars (90-63 BC) and the increased need of slaves whose could be supplied through piracy.<sup>196</sup> These pirates found shelters and support in many cities, including those of Pamphylia, which at first were determined to oppose them but later had no chance than to collaborate with them more or less openly.<sup>197</sup> For instance, the pirates were allowed to use the harbor and shipyards of Side and Phaselis, and sell their captives as slaves on the city market.<sup>198</sup> Rome started military operations against the pirates by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC with the campaign of Marcus Antonius against the pirates operating in Cilicia from Side in 102 BC, which resulted in establishing a praetorian province in Cilicia. This meant that the control was exercised in the region by a praetorian who had military and naval forces in his command.<sup>199</sup> This organization comprised Pamphylia, Western Cilicia, some parts of Lycia and Pisidia. The region was mainly attached to the *Provincia Asia* since the cities of Phaselis, Attaleia, Magydos, Perge, Aspendos and Side were all included in the *Provincia Asia*.<sup>200</sup> Many Roman generals were engaged in the military operations against the pirates, but Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus finally defeated the pirates across Korakesion in 67 BC and cleared the entire coastal southern part of Asia Minor from the danger.<sup>201</sup> In 64 BC, Pompeius organised

---

<sup>193</sup> Bosch 1957, 40.

<sup>194</sup> Brandt 1992, 44.

<sup>195</sup> Nollé 1993a, 68-9; Özdizbay 2008, 849.

<sup>196</sup> Arslan 2003, 196.

<sup>197</sup> Nollé 1993a, 69.

<sup>198</sup> Strab. 14,3,2.

<sup>199</sup> Arslan 2003, 201.

<sup>200</sup> Özdizbay 2008, 850.

<sup>201</sup> Brandt 1992, 94-95; Brandt and Kolb 2005, 20; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 103.

the *Provincia Cilicia*, in which Pamphylia was included between 57-44 BC.<sup>202</sup> When the *Provincia Cilicia* dissolved in 44 BC, Pamphylia was again attached to the *Provincia Asia* in 43 BC.<sup>203</sup> In the meantime, Julius Caesar was murdered (44 BC) and his murderers were defeated by Octavianus and Marcus Antonius in 42 BC. During the Second Triumvirate (43-33 BC), the different parties shared the Roman lands and the control over the Eastern parts was given to the control of Marcus Antonius. In order to secure the Eastern part of Asia Minor against the Parths, the region's administration was given to the Galatian King Amyntas in 36 BC, together with Pisidia, until the king's death in 25 BC.<sup>204</sup> In 25 BC, a new *Provincia Galatia*, in which entire Pamphylia was integrated, was established by Augustus.<sup>205</sup>

The Hellenistic period is a timespan during which the cities of Pamphylia were under an increasing Greek influence. In Perge, this increase manifested itself mainly in cult buildings, since the earliest cult structures built in the Greek style dated to this period. For instance, on the west hill of the Acropolis, two temples were constructed on top of the previous Archaic structure. The first temple, dating to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and the second one, built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, were both constructed according to an “*in antis*” plan.<sup>206</sup> It is not known to whom this temple was dedicated and there is no information available about the possible differentiation in cult practices. However, at least in architectural terms, it is possible to see a Greek influence. There are also other structures, which comprised peristyles and have been interpreted as public buildings.<sup>207</sup> Furthermore, the settlement started to spread to the plain below in southern direction during this period, as evidenced by the fortification walls and monumental city gates.<sup>208</sup> The most important preserved monument of Side dating to the Hellenistic period, are the city walls, which can mostly be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>209</sup> Another example of Hellenistic fortifications and round main gates can be found at Sillyon.<sup>210</sup> Although Greek influence can be seen in religious, defensive and public buildings, the Pamphylians maintained their local aspects in an important way, their language. The Pamphylian

---

<sup>202</sup> Özdizbay 2008, 850.

<sup>203</sup> Brandt 1992, 96; Brandt and Kolb 2005, 21

<sup>204</sup> Brandt 1992, 96; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 103; Brandt and Kolb 2005, 21.

<sup>205</sup> Strab. 12,5,1; Pekman 1989, 46; Brandt 1992, 96-98; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 103-04; Brandt and Kolb 2005, 21.

<sup>206</sup> Martini 2003b, 19.

<sup>207</sup> Martini 2003a, 58; 2003c, 185.

<sup>208</sup> For the urbanistic activities that occurred during this period both in the upper and lower cities of Perge, see Özdizbay 2012, 16-21.

<sup>209</sup> Nollé 1993a, 67-8.

<sup>210</sup> Nosnov 2009, 33.

dialect and the Sidetic continued to be used in the region throughout the Hellenistic period. Coins of Perge featuring Artemis Pergaia with accompanying legends in the Pamphylian dialect, such as *Wanassa Preiia*, lasted until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC alongside the Greek legend *Artemidos Pergaias*.<sup>211</sup> Similarly, the Aspendians used the Pamphylian dialect in their funerary inscriptions until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>212</sup> Sidetic was also used on coins and in inscriptions. One peculiar example shows how this language was also used by individuals. A Sidetan, a certain Mnemon, scribbled something in the Sidetic language on Hippocrates' third epidemic book, which he borrowed from the library of Alexandria under the rule of Ptolemaios III Euergetes (246-221 BC).<sup>213</sup> It seems that the Pamphylians accepted Greek architecture but on the other hand they also maintained certain native aspects, such as their language.

The *Pax Romana* (Peace of Rome) starting with Augustus brought to the entire Mediterranean a period of relative prosperity. This newly introduced era soon became a period of prosperity and wealth for all Pamphylian cities, which possessed the necessary resources in terms of agricultural land, abundance of water, sea and river harbors, closeness to inland roads, strategic location and already developed organization of city-states. With the steady political environment that the *Pax Romana* provided, the cities' economic state flourished, which in return manifested itself through lavish and ambitious architectural projects embellished with statues. In this process, the contribution of the élites living in the different cities cannot be excluded. Benefactors (*euergetai*) gained a lot of importance in this system. The term euergetism has been defined by Longfellow as "the spending of private funds on public work projects and amenities in return for status and honor".<sup>214</sup> The *euergetai* attempted to beautify their city with various construction projects adorned with sculptures and inscriptions or restoration works in order to gain perpetual honours from the emperor, the citizens and the city in return. Among the physical manifestations of euergetism are statues and inscriptions set up in public places in honour of donors. Euergetism could also function on an Imperial level, with emperors bestowing grants to a particular city in the form of money, games, festivals or buildings.<sup>215</sup> As a result, the concept of euergetism refers to a complicated system, which differed from period to period and from place to place. The efforts of distinguished individuals in

---

<sup>211</sup> Colin 1996, 34-82.

<sup>212</sup> Brixhe 1976, 30.

<sup>213</sup> For the use of the Sidetic language in the Hellenistic period, see Nollé 2001, 625-46, no. S1-S11.

<sup>214</sup> Longfellow 2011, 2.

<sup>215</sup> Mitchell 1987, 333-365.

Pamphylia also contributed to the religious life of the cities as will be discussed below. The region was included in the *Provincia Galatia* from 25 BC until the foundation of the joint province of *Provincia Lycia et Pamphylia* by Vespasianus (69-79 AD).<sup>216</sup> The city of Perge received its first neocorate during this period, while the *Artemision* of the city obtained its *asylia*, inviolability, under Domitianus (81-96 AD) thanks to the efforts of members of a prominent family whose members are the brothers Apollonios and Demetrios.<sup>217</sup> Apart from these, many construction activities occurred in the cities of Pamphylia in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, especially at Perge, Side, Lyrbe and Attaleia.<sup>218</sup>

From its foundation by Vespasianus onwards, the *Provincia Lycia et Pamphylia* was governed by officers, *legati Augusti pro praetore*, who were directly connected to the emperor. The region did not possess a legion; however, auxiliary troops were stationed here.<sup>219</sup> In the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD), Pamphylia was handed over to the control of the Senate for a brief time but soon after its earlier status was reinstated.<sup>220</sup> Hadrianus (117-138 AD) visited Asia Minor twice during his long visits to the eastern parts of his Empire. During his second visit, which started in 128 AD, the emperor visited Athens in 129 AD and spent nearly a year there. He was given the epithet *Olympios* at Athens and many cities in Asia Minor also honoured him with this epithet, which provides a *terminus post quem* for these inscriptions.<sup>221</sup> From Athens, he sailed to Ephesos and then to Miletos and to Caria. After staying at Tralleis, he went to Laodikeia, one of the largest cities of Phrygia, and from here he went to Antioch after passing the area south of Cappadocia. He left Antioch in 130 AD and going south and eastwards, he arrived at Alexandria and spent there again a year. In 131 AD he returned to Antioch. From here, he went to Cappadocia and westwards to Galatia. After Galatia, he went south and came to the *Provincia Lycia et Pamphylia*, where he visited Phaselis, Attaleia, and possibly Perge and Side.<sup>222</sup> Arches with inscribed *atticae* were constructed in Phaselis, Attaleia and Perge in honor of his visits to these cities.<sup>223</sup> A more ambitious architectural project was realized at Perge under the patronage of Plancia Magna during the reign of Hadrianus (117-138

---

<sup>216</sup> For a thorough discussion of the organisation of the joint province, see Özdizbay 2008, 858-861.

<sup>217</sup> For this Pergaian family and their contributions to their city, see Özdizbay 2012, 112-17.

<sup>218</sup> Çakmak 2018.

<sup>219</sup> For the Roman armies stationed in Lycia and Pamphylia, see Bennett 2007, 132-53.

<sup>220</sup> Pekman 1989, 30; Brandt and Kolb, 2005.

<sup>221</sup> For the cities using this epithet in their inscriptions, see Kaya-Taşdöner Özcan 2016, 501.

<sup>222</sup> The visits of Hadrianus are still a subject of debate among scholars. Magie 1959, 612-23; Halfmann 1986, 188-208; Kaya-Taşdöner Özcan 2016, 501.

<sup>223</sup> For Phaselis, see Tüner-Önen 2008, 313-14, no.11; for Attaleia, see Gökalp 2008, 38-9; for Perge, see Özdizbay 2012, 52-62.

AD). She transformed the Hellenistic gates and courtyard into a complex with a more representative character by adding an arch to its northern end. The courtyard was adorned with the statues of legendary and contemporary *ktistai* and the most venerated deities of Perge.<sup>224</sup>

In the beginning of the 160's AD, the region was again given to the control of the Senate and governed by a *proconsul*.<sup>225</sup> During the period of the co-emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), Rome faced the threat of the Parthians on its eastern borders. After Lucius Verus became co-emperor, he left Rome for his Parthian campaign to the East and arrived to Athens in 162 AD.<sup>226</sup> From here he sailed to Ephesos and subsequently went to Antioch ad Orontem passing by Pamphylia and Cilicia.<sup>227</sup> He stayed there throughout the war until 166 AD; however, in 164 AD he went again to Ephesos to marry Lucilla, Marcus Aurelius' daughter. After 166 AD, he returned to Rome.<sup>228</sup> Lucius Verus passed the southern coasts of Asia Minor four times and naturally, many cities, like Erythrai, Chios, Patara, Phaselis, Attaleia, Perge and Olba, erected honorary inscriptions for the emperor.<sup>229</sup> A colossal statue of Lucius Verus found in Perge and dating to 162-166 AD has been interpreted by Delemen as an indication that Lucius Verus either visited the city or that his visit was expected by the Pergaians.<sup>230</sup>

During the Severan period (193-235 AD), the eastern campaigns continued. When Septimius Severus and his family went to Syria in 197 BC to march against the Parthians, they passed through the region.<sup>231</sup> The imperial family probably stopped at Attaleia as evidenced by coins minted in their honour and dedicatory inscriptions found in the city.<sup>232</sup> Despite the continuation of the Eastern campaigns of Rome during this period, the region must not have found itself in peril, since major construction activities occurred nearly in every Pamphylian city. At Perge, three monumental fountains (F1, F2 and F4), the *propylon* of the Southern Baths, the *tholos* of agora, the fountain at the intersection of the two colonnaded streets, the *scaenae frons* of the theatre and an arch were built during this period. Similarly, a fountain and the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Aspendos and a

---

<sup>224</sup> The transformation of the southern gate of Perge is analyzed in a more detailed way in Chapter 3, The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians.

<sup>225</sup> Şahin 1992, 77-90.

<sup>226</sup> Halfmann 1986, 210-11.

<sup>227</sup> Halfmann 1986, 210-12.

<sup>228</sup> For detailed information on Lucius Verus' Armenian, Median and Parthian campaigns, see Weiss 2007, 160-172.

<sup>229</sup> Tüner Önen 2016, 973.

<sup>230</sup> Delemen 2011, 303.

<sup>231</sup> Brandt 1992, 163.

<sup>232</sup> Gökalp 2008, 40.



fountain at Side are among the structures dating to the Severan Dynasty.<sup>233</sup> It seems that the region, due to its strategic position in southern Asia Minor had maintained its importance and hence its economic status.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD was a period of chaos for many parts of the Roman Empire and for its subjects. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD internal wars, struggles to become emperor, the invasions of Goths, Germanic tribes and Isaurians, the Sassanid threat in the East, and revolts in the provinces were among the main threats. Pamphylia was a target for foreign invasions due to its fertile plain and its harbour cities. The Gothic raids from the north, the Sassanid threat from the east and brigands from Isauria constituted the main danger for Pamphylia. The period of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) was marked by the foundation of the Sassanid Empire by Artaxerxes. The route of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) to Syria from Asia Minor passed, according to Şahin, from Nikaia, Nakoleia, and Pisidian Antioch, to Perge and Side.<sup>234</sup> When the campaign of Gordianus III to the Sassanid Empire resulted in the defeat of Rome in 244 AD, the Sassanids got hold of the southeastern parts of Asia Minor from Tarsos to Ikonion.<sup>235</sup> In 255 AD, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) passed through the region on his march against the Parthians.<sup>236</sup> Following the Sassanid threat, in 235-255 AD the Goths started to raid Asia Minor from the Black Sea and many cities in Asia Minor were exposed to these invasions.<sup>237</sup> The Gothic raids were not restricted to the inlands of Asia Minor but the Goths also laid siege to many Pamphylian cities, including Side in 269 AD.<sup>238</sup> When Diocletianus became emperor (285-305 AD), he made changes to the provincial system by creating twelve *dioeceses*, six in the West and six in the East. The province of *Lycia et Pamphylia* was included in the *Dioecesis Asiana*.<sup>239</sup> The end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD did not mean the end of foreign threats. After raids in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, especially the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD were marked by raids of the Isaurians on the Pamphylian countryside.<sup>240</sup> In the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD Ammianus Marcellinus stated that the Isaurians invaded and

---

<sup>233</sup> For further information on the construction activities occurring during this period in Pamphylia and Cilicia, see Türkmen 2007.

<sup>234</sup> Şahin 2004, 5.

<sup>235</sup> Mitchell 1993, 237.

<sup>236</sup> Baydur 1976, 66; Baydur 1986, 448, no. 37.

<sup>237</sup> Mitchell 1993, 235.

<sup>238</sup> Öztürk 2006, 83. Side resisted to the Gothic raids thanks to its fortification walls.

<sup>239</sup> Brandt and Kolb 2005, 26.

<sup>240</sup> Grainger 2009, 203.

plundered the wealthy Pamphylian villages and villas.<sup>241</sup> Eventually, the Isaurian raids were taken under control due to the efforts of Anastasius (491-518 AD).<sup>242</sup>

Pamphylia became the main station for Roman armies from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards and offered logistic support to Rome due to its strategic location. For instance, the city of Side put its harbour and ships under the Roman army's order, shipped wood, wheat and meat to the Roman armies fighting in the East and thus showed its loyalty to the Empire.<sup>243</sup> Perge became the main headquarters of the Roman army against the Goths in the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD).<sup>244</sup> The same function was probably given to the city of Side by Probus (276-282 AD) in his campaign against the Isaurians.<sup>245</sup> In this time legions were also stationed at Perge as evidenced by Anastasius' army edict that was found in the city.<sup>246</sup> The foreign invasions and the armies stationing in various cities of Asia Minor became an economical inconvenience for many cities; therefore, many of them started to lose their importance and became isolated as well.<sup>247</sup> The cities of Pamphylia, however, are an exception. Their strategic location gave them an advantage and they used this advantage in favour of Rome in order to get privileges from the emperors in return. The *Gerousia* of Perge honoured the emperors Gordianus I (238 AD), Gordianus II (238 AD) and Gordianus III (238-244 AD).<sup>248</sup> The city was awarded with the title of *Metropolis* in the period of Tacitus and the imperial treasury was moved to Perge thanks to the Roman legions stationing in the city.<sup>249</sup> Also, Side maintained its political and economic power in the Late Antique period. The increased status of the Pamphylian cities reflected upon the religious life and manifested itself through the foundation of new religious festivals and bestowments of new titles such as that of *neokoros*.<sup>250</sup>

The period between the 4<sup>th</sup> century and 7<sup>th</sup> century AD was not devoid of turmoil. Although raids of Gothic tribes were repelled, the Isaurians continued to be a threat for Pamphylia and other neighboring regions during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions that the Isaurians attacked the countryside of Pamphylia and raided

---

<sup>241</sup> Öztürk 2006, 140.

<sup>242</sup> Onur 2009, 312.

<sup>243</sup> Nollé 1990, 257.

<sup>244</sup> Foss, 1996, 3.

<sup>245</sup> Akın, 2012, 26.

<sup>246</sup> Onur 2007.

<sup>247</sup> Hartmann 1982, 56ff.

<sup>248</sup> Şahin 2004, no. 280; Şahin 2004, no. 281; Nollé 1993a, no. 42.

<sup>249</sup> Şahin 2004, no. 331.

<sup>250</sup> See The Divinity of the Rulers and the city of Rome at Pamphylia, Chapter 4.

the wealthy estates of the region. Their attacks mainly occurred during the harvest period, which resulted in stealing crops and animals.<sup>251</sup> These raids were taken under control by the emperor Anastasius (491-518 AD).<sup>252</sup> Inscriptions, which have especially been found in the countryside, record the endeavors of officials who were often stationed in rural areas and were responsible for the security of the Pamphylian *chora*.<sup>253</sup> The foundation of an internal regulation and the repelling of external attacks enabled the recovery of the agricultural production, which resulted in return in economic stability and wealth that was manifested in new urbanistic activities both in the city centers and in the countryside. The agricultural wealth of the Pamphylian cities in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD is also documented in the literary accounts. The *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, which narrates the economic geography of the Mediterranean basin during the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, characterizes Pamphylia as a very fertile, self-sufficient land that produced a lot of olive oil, which was also exported to other cities. Perge and Side were two of its splendid cities.<sup>254</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD also witnessed the foundation of additional centers for mercantile activities. For instance, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, a port called Emporion was built near the Kestros River of Perge. A port situated south of Sillyon, Kynosarion, might also date to the same period.<sup>255</sup> The need for such new commercial centers expresses the increase in agricultural activity of the region in Late Antiquity. The map *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 8 shows for the period of the 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century AD many settlements in the countryside besides the large cities of the region. The villages and farmsteads on the TIB map dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD are mainly concentrated to the northwest of Perge and the northeast of Side, which shows the numerous settlements situated in the *chorai* of these cities. The rural settlements in the *chorai* of Attaleia, Sillyon, and Aspendos were very few compared to those near Side and Perge.<sup>256</sup> This survey of TIB 8 supports the account of the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, which informs us that Perge and Side maintained their importance and splendor in the Late Antique Period. However, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries were not devoid of perils since a pestilence affected the southern coasts of Asia Minor in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>257</sup> The pestilence most probably came

---

<sup>251</sup> Grainger 2009, 203.

<sup>252</sup> Onur 2009, 312-13.

<sup>253</sup> For the subject, see Öztürk 2006.

<sup>254</sup> *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* XLV, 181.

<sup>255</sup> Grainger 2009, 192.

<sup>256</sup> See the map of TIB 8, the yellow squares identify the settlements dated to 4th-7th centuries AD.

<sup>257</sup> Erdoğan 2019, 14.

into the Pamphylian cities through their river ports and harbors of the region.<sup>258</sup> Due to the repetition of the disease for several hundred years and the high mortality percentage, agricultural and commercial activities declined, and military enlistments were hindered, which consequently had negative effects on the economy and safety of the cities.<sup>259</sup> The years 602-629 AD were marked by the Byzantine-Sassanid Wars. The numismatic evidence informs us that the coin production was interrupted from 622/3 AD until 629 AD at the end of the war, which indicates that the cities of Pamphylia were affected by this war.<sup>260</sup>

No direct evidence is present for the impact of the Arab invasions that occurred in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, when the Arabs took control of Rhodes, Crete and Sicily and invaded the coastal lands of Lycia and Smyrna and the island of Kos.<sup>261</sup> Pamphylia was included in the military organization of the *Thema* of *Anatolikon* in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD and later attached to the *Thema* of *Kibyrrhaioton* until the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>262</sup> The region came under the control of the Seljuks in 1207, the Hamidoğulları in 1300 and finally the Ottomans in 1422.<sup>263</sup>

---

<sup>258</sup> Grainger 2009, 204.

<sup>259</sup> Duggan 2004, 126.

<sup>260</sup> Tek 2015, 123-32.

<sup>261</sup> Pekman 1989, 43.

<sup>262</sup> Pekman 1989, 45; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 116.

<sup>263</sup> Pekman 1989, 48; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 116.

## Chapter 3

### THE MYTHICAL PAST OF THE PAMPHYLIANS

#### 3.1 Introduction

The term myth (*mythos*) refers to anything delivered by word of mouth, a speech, a conversation or a legendary tale.<sup>264</sup> These tales have distinct meanings as well as permanent value and are handed down from generation to generation.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, myths are products of collective memory since they were created by people to reflect their ideas about the world they lived in, their identity, their past and their religion.<sup>266</sup> Therefore, myths play a crucial role to primarily understand how people in Antiquity perceived themselves and the world surrounding them. Foundation myths, as a specific kind of myth, on the other hand, mainly concentrate on the explanation or the construction of the beginnings of things, such as the origin of a region, a city, or a race and they are often represented in different kinds of historical and material evidence ranging from literary sources to archaeological materials, such as inscriptions, coins, and decorative art. Foundation myths serve groups, communities and also make claims about where they came from and legitimize and document their place in the world.<sup>267</sup> They also play an important role in civic and religious rituals.<sup>268</sup> In societies, like the Greek, Roman or Anatolian ones, where people were constantly in contact with other communities, foundation myths were used, according to Mac Sweeney, as a means to define identity, social and political interactions, to negotiate cultural diversity in order to position oneself in relation to others and to justify the connection between past and present.<sup>269</sup> There can be many different variations of a foundation myth. These variations can have existed simultaneously, can have been written down by different ancient writers or can also have been found in the same ancient source.<sup>270</sup> Due to these characteristics, foundation myths

---

<sup>264</sup> Liddell and Scott 1998, s.v. “mythos”, 454.

<sup>265</sup> Oxford Antikçağ Sözlüğü 2013, s.v. “mitoloji”, 623

<sup>266</sup> Lopez-Ruiz 2009, 382.

<sup>267</sup> Buxton 2004, 42.

<sup>268</sup> Mac Sweeney 2015, 1.

<sup>269</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, 7.

<sup>270</sup> Mac Sweeney 2015, 6.

are mainly associated with colonization movements; in other words, they make a connection between the reason and the consequence of settling in a new place.

### *3.2 Different Approaches to Foundation Myths*

Foundation myths have been interpreted using diverse approaches in the course of history. These approaches have been thoroughly explained by Hall<sup>271</sup> and Mac Sweeney<sup>272</sup>. According to Hall, there are historical positivists, poeticists, and historical constructivists when it comes to interpreting foundation myths, whereas Mac Sweeney gives a fourth opinion with the discussion of the “foundation discourse”. The historical positivist approach (the traditional approach) tends to consider that each foundation myth involves some historical facts to a certain degree and mainly evaluates the literary sources but also the archaeological ones that give information about foundation stories as empirical and beneficial to reach the historical truth. According to this approach, the constituents and the narrative of a foundation myth could not have been invented without a reason. Therefore, each source (literary and archaeological) represents evidence for the accuracy of the foundation myth.<sup>273</sup> Consequently, foundation myths bear historical truths about a city, a colony or a race. An opponent view can be found in the historical constructivist approach, which considers foundation myths as tales that were socially invented and constructed under specific political situations and intentions.<sup>274</sup> They do not represent the historical truth but the social, cultural and political agendas of peoples. Therefore, both the myths and their variations should be evaluated within the time period in which they were told or written as they are the reflections of the community that created them. The third view, of which its adherents, such as Calame and Dougherty are called poeticists by Hall<sup>275</sup>, accepts the insufficiency of the literary sources by concluding nothing may have been known about what really happened during the actual process of colonization and focuses on the narrative pattern or plots of the colonization.<sup>276</sup> This approach depending mainly on literary sources rather than on archaeological evidence, suggests that foundation myths were constantly in the process of transforming; therefore, they cannot

---

<sup>271</sup> Hall 2008, 384-88.

<sup>272</sup> Mac Sweeney 2015, 1-19.

<sup>273</sup> Graham 1982, 83-162.

<sup>274</sup> Mac Sweeney 2015, 5-7.

<sup>275</sup> Hall 2008, 385.

<sup>276</sup> Dougherty 1993, 15.

be chronologically organized based on material sources.<sup>277</sup> The fourth and final opinion on interpreting foundation myths comes from Mac Sweeney and is labeled “foundation discourse”. It favors a broader approach and embraces the plurality and complexity of myths and the interactions between them instead of focusing on an individual myth in order to identify a single true story (like historical positivists do) or a series of political/strategic agendas (like historical constructivists do).<sup>278</sup> Therefore, this approach attempts to evaluate the relationship between literary accounts giving similar or contradicting information, and archaeological evidence by bringing them together.

Both the literary and archaeological evidence conveying information about the foundation myths of Pamphylia will be evaluated together in this chapter. The myths that reflect how ancient people perceived their world were created, developed, transformed and diversified by the same people just like their everyday artifacts, their technology, and their literary traditions. Therefore, in my opinion, it is not possible to exclude myths, especially foundation myths, from the religious life, civic and state cults and rituals. In this chapter, first literary and then archaeological evidence on the foundation myths of the region will be evaluated in a chronological order.

### 3.3 *Foundation Myths and the Cities of Pamphylia*

The Greek name of Pamphylia, comprised of πᾶσι (all) and φύλον (tribe), stands for “land of all tribes”; thus, the term Pamphylos (παμφύλων) defining its inhabitants means “of all tribes or sorts”.<sup>279</sup> Although Pamphylia/Pamphylos seems to signify a particular land inhabited by a variety of people living together rather than an ethnically united group, some ancient authors characterized the region from an ethnic point of view. For instance, Herodotos (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) described the Pamphylians among the people subjugated to Croesus and living west of the Halys River.<sup>280</sup> There are two principal mythological narratives about the origin of the Pamphylians. The first one links the Pamphylians with one of the three Doric tribes of the *Pamphyloi*.<sup>281</sup> The other narrative involves a group of seers/heroes who reached the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor after the Trojan War and founded many cities and colonies. Variations of these myths may exist in the

---

<sup>277</sup> Calame 1990, 277-78.

<sup>278</sup> Mac Sweeney 2015, 8.

<sup>279</sup> Liddell and Scott 1998, 516, s.v. “παμφύλων”.

<sup>280</sup> Hdt. 1. 28.

<sup>281</sup> Hdt. 5.68.2.

literary and archaeological record but there are some prominent mythological (sometimes even accepted as historical) characters who often appear in the foundation myths about the origin of the Pamphylians and the different cities in Pamphylia. The mythological motif of seeking a new home after the Trojan War and founding new cities under the leadership of heroes was very common.<sup>282</sup> Herodotos (5<sup>th</sup> century BC), Quintus of Smyrna (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) and Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), revealed that the Pamphylians were descendants of the Trojans who followed Kalchas and Amphilochos to the southern coasts of Pamphylia and Cilicia after the Trojan War.<sup>283</sup> The name of the region was associated with another famous seer, Mopsos, and his family. For instance, according to Theopompos (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Pamphylia was a homonymous daughter, and to Dionysios Periegetes (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) she was a homonymous wife of Mopsos.<sup>284</sup> As it is understood, the ancient writers generally favored a Greek origin for the region and its inhabitants as well as a link with Mopsos to such an extent that Pliny (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) states that the former name of the region was Mopsopia.<sup>285</sup> Apart from giving information about the origin of the Pamphylians, the literary sources also mention the foundation myths of the individual Pamphylian cities.

### 3.3.1 Phaselis<sup>286</sup>

Heropythos (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) gave a detailed story about the *oikist* Lakios and the shepherd Kylabros from whom Lakios purchased the territory of his new city of Phaselis in exchange of some smoked fish. This myth also had cultic reflections since, because of Kylabros's preference of smoked fish over bread, the Phaselites annually offered smoked fish to Kylabros as a *theoxenia* (offering of food eaten by the worshippers).<sup>287</sup> According to Philostephanos (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), the city of Phaselis was founded by Lakios, who was a follower of Mopsos.<sup>288</sup> Lakios, who was either from Lindos or Argos, was sent to

<sup>282</sup> For example, Teukros was sent to Cyprus by his father Telamon to found the city of Salamis, see Strabo 14.6.3; Agapenor settled in Cyprus and founded Paphos, see Paus. 8.5.

<sup>283</sup> Hdt. 7.91; Quint. Smyrn. 14, 364-369; Strabo refers to Herodotos while talking about the Trojans descendants, see Strb. 14.4.3; Pausanias states that the Pamphylians belonged to the Greek race and that they were among the people following Kalchas after the Trojan War, see Paus. 7.3.7.

<sup>284</sup> Theopompos, FGrH 115 f 103, 105; Dionysios Periegetesis, 850.

<sup>285</sup> Plin. *HN* 5.26.

<sup>286</sup> See Figure 3.1.

<sup>287</sup> Athenaios (2nd-3rd century AD) tells this story in the *Deipnosophistai* based on the information given by Heropythos in his book *Horois Kolophonion*, Heropythos *FGrHist* 448 F1. On the *theoxenia* ritual in Phaselis, see Ekroth 2000, 178-79.

<sup>288</sup> Athenaios (2nd-3rd century AD) tells this story in the *Deipnosophistai* based on information given by Philostephanos VII.51.



Phaselis by Mopsos upon a prophecy of Manto. However, Pomponius Mela (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) stated that the city was founded by Mopsos himself.<sup>289</sup> The last information comes from Aelius Herodianus (2nd century AD) who told that Lakios and his brother Antiphemos consulted the oracle of Delphi, which advised Antiphemos to go to the West and Lakios to the East, where he founded Phaselis.<sup>290</sup> Thus, in the literary sources, both the figure of Mopsos and the motif of consulting the Delphian oracle found their places in the foundation myths of Phaselis. A stele, erected by the Lindians and the priests of the temple of Athena Lindia in 99 BC, informs us that the Phaselites dedicated their weapons to Athena Lindia. These weapons were inscribed with the following text:

*“the Phaselites seized these from the Solymeans during the time when Lakios was leading the colony”.*<sup>291</sup>

These writings on the weapons are in concordance with the foundation myths of Phaselis as mentioned in the literary sources. This is another case where foundation myths and rituals were linked with each other.

### 3.3.2 Perge<sup>292</sup>

In Perge evidence is abundant. Most of it comes from the southern city gate, which was composed of two round shaped towers, an arched gate and an inner oval courtyard, and a monumental triple arch limiting the northern end of the courtyard (Figure 3.3).<sup>293</sup> The original gate with its towers backed by a semicircular wall was built during the Hellenistic period as part of the city’s defense system that encircled Perge on its eastern, western and southern sides (Figure 3.4). After the fortifications had lost their function during the *Pax Romana* (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD), the complex was visually and functionally transformed into a prestigious building with the endeavors of Plancia Magna, one of the most important benefactors of Perge. During the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD), she added an oval, two-storeyed courtyard featuring 28 niches to the towers as well as a triple monumental arch behind the courtyard (Figures 3.5-6).<sup>294</sup> Plancia Magna not only

<sup>289</sup> Mela I.79.

<sup>290</sup> Aelius Herodianus tells this story in his *Peri katholikes prosodias* III.1.25, based on the information given by Aristainetos.

<sup>291</sup> Blinkenberg 1941, 169-71, no. 2.

<sup>292</sup> See Figure 3.2.

<sup>293</sup> This complex was identified in a detailed way by Lanckoronksi and excavated by Mansel between 1953-1955. Its architectural layout was studied by Bulgurlu within the scope of a dissertation; von Lanckronoski 2005, 60-2, Mansel 1956c, 5-10; Bulgurlu 1999.

<sup>294</sup> For a detailed summary of the complex’s architectural layout, see Özdizbay 2012, 52-62.

improved the architectural layout of the building, but she also embellished both the courtyard and the arch with statues, which can be grouped as founders, divine/mythological figures and portraits. Nine statue bases with ancient Greek inscriptions featuring the name of the *ktistai* of the city were found during the excavations in front of the eastern and western walls of the courtyard.<sup>295</sup> Seven of these bases belonged to mythological founders and two of them belonged to members of the Plancii family who also identified themselves as founders. The bases found in front of the eastern wall belonged to C. Plancius Varus, brother of Plancia Magna; M. Plancius Varus, father of Plancia Magna; Kalchas of Argos, son of Thestor; the Lapith Leonteus, son of Koronos; and Rhixos of Athens, son of Lykos, son of Pandeion. The bases found in front of the eastern wall feature the names of Mopsos the Delphinian, son of Apollo; Minyas of Orchomenos, son of Ialmenos, son of Ares; Machaon of Thessaly, son of Apollo; and Labos from Delphi.<sup>296</sup> The bases are made of marble and their dimensions vary between 0,56-0,75x 0,50-0,79 m.; the dowel holes on top of them suggest that the statues they once carried were made of bronze.<sup>297</sup>

In the inscriptions, Kalchas is identified as the son of Thestor, and as someone from Argos (Figure 3.7).<sup>298</sup> It is evident from the literary sources that the myth of Kalchas was contradictory; there existed two different tales about his life and journey but the Pergaians undoubtedly adopted the story which placed the death of Kalchas in Cilicia after founding their city in Pamphylia. Kalchas' lineage is also matching with the statement of Homer on Kalchas being the son of Thestor.<sup>299</sup> However, his provenance is not certain in the literary sources, since according to Euripides (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) and Hyginus (1<sup>st</sup> century BC) he was from Mycenae and according to Pausanias from Megara.<sup>300</sup> However, he was also connected to the Argive kingdom through his grand-grandfather Abas, king of Argos, and his grandfather Idmon, who participated with the journey of the Argonauts as an Argive seer.<sup>301</sup>

---

<sup>295</sup> These statue bases were replaced inside the niches located closest to the places where they were found, Mansel 1956c, 5-10; Bulgurlu 1999, 109-10.

<sup>296</sup> Pekman, 1989, 8-16. Şahin 1999a, 135 no.101; 136, no.102; 137, no.103-04; 138, no. 105-106; 139, no.107; 140, no.108; 141; no.109.

<sup>297</sup> No statues of the *ktistai* were found during the excavations. They must either have been destroyed or intentionally melted since they were made of valuable metal.

<sup>298</sup> Mansel 1956b, 109; Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, 117, no. 24; Şahin 1999a, no. 101. Appendix 1.3.

<sup>299</sup> Hom. II. I. 70.

<sup>300</sup> Eur. *IT*. V.531-532; Hyg. Fab. 97, 15; Paus. 1.43.1.

<sup>301</sup> For a detailed summary on Kalchas' geneology, see Bouché-Leclercq 1882, II. 287-311; Louis-Fowler 2013, 213-15.

Leonteus is identified as the son of Koronos and as a Lapith (Figure 3.8).<sup>302</sup> His lineage was given by Homer: he was the son of Koronos, who was the son of Kaineus, king of the Thessalian Lapiths, and they both participated in the expedition of the Argonauts. He also stated that Leonteus was from the stock of Ares.<sup>303</sup> Leonteus was also mentioned by Apollodoros as being present in the soothsaying contest between Mopsos and Kalchas in Kolophon and he was among the men who entered Troy inside the wooden horse.<sup>304</sup>

Rhixos was the son of Lykos, grandson of Pandion, and he was an Athenian (Figure 3.9).<sup>305</sup> Rhixos was an unknown mythological figure until the discovery of the Pergaian base; therefore, no information is present, neither in the literary nor in the material sources. The name of Rixos's grandfather is given as Pandion, the legendary king of Athens coming from Erechtheus' dynasty and his father was Lykos, the eponymous hero of the Lycians.<sup>306</sup> The inscription on the base further informs us that "after Rhixos the Rhixoupous (Rhixos' foot) is named". Rhixoupous has been interpreted as a place name which had a foot-shaped natural characteristic that might have given this place a divine quality.<sup>307</sup> In any case, it seems that Rhixos was derived from the indigenous mythological tradition of the Pergaians or maybe the Pamphylians, and that, although he had no roots in Greek or Roman mythology, he was a well-known figure in the collective memory of the people, since his statue was placed in the oval courtyard together with other recognized heroes. Rhixos was also connected with Athens, since his grandfather was an Athenian king, but through his father, he was also linked with the region of Lycia. Therefore, he might also have belonged to a local myth shared between Lycia and Pamphylia.

Minyas is identified as the son of Ialmenos, who was the son of Ares, and as originating from Orchomenos (Figure 3.10).<sup>308</sup> This information was derived from Homer's *Iliad*, in which we can find that Minyas was the son of Ialmenos and the grandson

---

<sup>302</sup> Mansel 1956b, 109; Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, 117, no. 25; Şahin 1999a, no. 103; Appendix 1.4.

<sup>303</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2. 746.

<sup>304</sup> Apollodoros, E.6; Quintus of Smyrna, 12, 314-315; Appendix 1.5.

<sup>305</sup> Mansel, 1956b, 109, Abb. 61; Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, 119, no. 27a; Şahin 1999a, no. 107.

<sup>306</sup> For Pandion, see Grimal 1997, 601-602; for Lykos, see Hdt. 1.173.3.

<sup>307</sup> For detailed information about Rhixos and the sacredness of "Rhixoupous", see The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.7.

<sup>308</sup> Mansel 1956, 109; Weiss 1984, 181; Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, 118, no. 26; Şahin 1999a, no. 105; Appendix 1.6.

of Ares, and that he ruled over Orchomenos.<sup>309</sup> Ialmenos also participated in the journey of the Argonauts.<sup>310</sup>

Machaon was the son of Asklepios and he was from Thessalia (Figure 3.11).<sup>311</sup> His lineage is given in the *Iliad* too; he was a physician who led his army from Trikka in Thessalia to Troia and he was among the men who entered Troia inside the wooden horse.<sup>312</sup> The base indicates the presence of a temple dedicated to Zeus Machaonios on the Acropolis of Perge, where the earliest settlement of the city was located.<sup>313</sup> Therefore, Machaon's cult can be one of Perge's oldest cult, highlighting Machaon's antiquity and importance for Perge and his connection with Zeus thanks to the epithet Machaonios. The cult of Zeus is one of the earliest cults documented in Perge<sup>314</sup> but there are no further material or literary sources informing us about the Zeus Machaonios cult or its rituals on the Acropolis of Perge. It is not surprising that Machaon established a cult and a sanctuary of Zeus on the Acropolis of Perge because building sanctuaries was one of the primary and most important deeds of *oikistai* when they founded new cities in a new land.<sup>315</sup> Therefore, Machaon may have been venerated by the Pergaians as the founder of a Zeus cult who was commemorated by his own name. In her dissertation, Chi further makes a connection with the statuary programs of the southern gate and the monumental fountain (F3) that served as a monumental entrance to the Acropolis in the northern part of the city, at the northern end of the north-south colonnaded street (Figure 3.14). This fountain was excavated between 1970-1972 and has a columnar monumental façade with two or three stories, which were also decorated with statues (Figure 3.15-16).<sup>316</sup> Among the portrait statues there are two representations of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), one with a cuirass and the other in heroic nudity. Moreover, there are two women and several divine statues, including Zeus, Artemis, the river god Kestros and a youth that has been identified as Apollo (Figure 3.17).<sup>317</sup> The date of the fountain has also been established based on

---

<sup>309</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.251.

<sup>310</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* I,9,16; III.10.8.

<sup>311</sup> Mansel 1956b, 109; Weiss 1984, 181; Merkelbach-Şahin, 1988, 118, no. 25a; Şahin 1999a, no. 104; Appendix 1.7.

<sup>312</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.73.1-3- 4.200-19; Hyg. *Fab.* 108.

<sup>313</sup> For the recent study of the excavations and the early archaeological evidence on the Acropolis of Perge, see Martini 2017.

<sup>314</sup> Şahin 1999a, 3-4, no. 3.

<sup>315</sup> Dougherty 1993, 23.

<sup>316</sup> For the "F3 Fountain", see Mansel 1970, 172; 1973, 144-45; 1974, 112-13; 1975b, 83-92; 1975c, 369-71; Abbasoğlu 2000, 241; 2003b, 1-12; 2006b, 291; For a detailed summary of the fountain, see Özdizbay 2012, 62-6. For a recent restitution proposal with three stories, see Aksoy 2016, 49-83.

<sup>317</sup> Mansel 1973, 145; 1975c, 370; 1975b, 91-2; İnan 1974, 643-45, 649-50; 1974, 650-653.

the two statues of Hadrianus, assuming that the construction was started when Hadrianus was alive and that it ended after his death as the naked *divus* statue shows.<sup>318</sup> Chi identifies the statue of Apollo as Machaon by saying that the Pergaian figure might hold a sword in his right hand judging by his loose fist and that the sword was never an attribute of Apollo, but of Machaon of Thessaly.<sup>319</sup> She further makes a connection with the Zeus statue that was also used in the statuary program of the fountain. She suggests that these together are the visual reminders of the Zeus Machaonios cult and that the fountain did not only serve as a monumental access to the Acropolis but also as that to the Zeus Machaonios temple.<sup>320</sup> If this suggestion is correct, the cult of Zeus Machaonios had a much more important place in the religious life of the Pergaians than the material sources indicate.

The founder Mopsos was described as the son of Apollo and as coming from Delphi (Figure 3.12).<sup>321</sup> Mopsos appears in many legends of Greek mythology. However, he is also a prominent and important figure who not only played a crucial role in the foundation myths of Pamphylia but also in those of the neighboring regions of Cilicia and Western Asia Minor. He appears in many traditions and, therefore, it is often difficult to distinguish between him and various other personalities bearing the name Mopsos, who had roots in Thessalia, Argos, Ionia, Thracia and Lydia. The earliest tradition portrays Mopsos as a Lapith, being the son of Ampyx and Chloris and the grandson of Ares. He participated in the funeral games of Iason's father and in the Calydonian boar hunt. He was also among the Argonauts and acted as a seer in the journey. He died in Libya and gave his name to Mopsion, a city in Thessaly.<sup>322</sup> A Thracian Mopsos was defeated by the Amazon queen Myrina after having been exiled by the Thracian king Lykourgos.<sup>323</sup> According to another tradition, Mopsos was deeply connected with the city of Kolophon and the oracular center of Klaros. Mopsos was the son of Manto, who with her father Teiresias (also a seer) was sent as a prisoner to Delphi by the *Epigonoï* after the war of the Seven against Thebes. Manto was instructed in the temple of Apollo in Delphi to found a new city and a sanctuary. She married the Cretan Rhakios along the way, and upon arriving at Kolophon, she founded the city and its oracular shrine in Klaros.<sup>324</sup>

---

<sup>318</sup> Mansel 1974a, 113.

<sup>319</sup> Chi 2002, 175.

<sup>320</sup> Chi 2002, 173-76.

<sup>321</sup> Mansel 1956b, 109, Abb. 60; Weiss 1984, 181; Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, 118, no. 27; Şahin 1999a, no. 106; Appendix 1.8.

<sup>322</sup> Ap.Rhod. I. 1086; Paus. 5.17.10; Strab. 9.5.22.

<sup>323</sup> Diod. Sic. 3.55, 8-11.

<sup>324</sup> Paus. IX, 33, 1-2.

Mopsos, who was referred as the son of Rhakios and sometimes as that of Apollo<sup>325</sup> in order to strengthen his ties with the prophecy, defeated Kalchas in an oracular contest in Kolophon, which resulted in the death of Kalchas. After the contest, Mopsos and Amphilochos moved together with their companions to Pamphylia and later to Cilicia and founded many cities bearing their names.<sup>326</sup> Amphilochos appeared on the coins of the Cilician cities of Mallos and Tarsos from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards.<sup>327</sup> Strabo states that “*some of his men stayed in Pamphylia while others scattered in Cilicia and Syria and even as far as Phoenicia.*”<sup>328</sup> The death of Kalchas in Kolophon seems contradictory, since the foundations of the cities of Perge<sup>329</sup> and Selge were also attributed to him. Strabo states that Selge was first founded as a city by Kalchas and later by the Lacedaemonians, but that it became an independent city afterwards.<sup>330</sup> Another Mopsos tradition was related to Lydia. Mopsos was mentioned by Xanthos of Lydia (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) as a son of Lydos and a brother of Torrhebos, who captured the goddess Atargatis and her son Ikthys and threw them in a lake in the city of Ashkelon.<sup>331</sup>

As is evident, the myth, journey and different traditions encircling Mopsos are well-attested in the literary sources. The ancient sources do not directly point out a Delphic origin for Mopsos and do not identify his father as Apollo but the tradition related to Mopsos, his Clarian origin and his mother’s connection with Delphi is in concordance with the base of Perge.

The founder Labos was the son of Daeios and he was from Delphi (Figure 3.13).<sup>332</sup> He too, like Rhixos, is not mentioned in the tales of Greek mythology; hence, he must also have been a part of the local Pamphylian/Pergaian tradition. The only information the base gives is that he was from Delphi and that he gave his name to something

---

<sup>325</sup> Strab. 14.5.16.

<sup>326</sup> According to the tradition, Mopsos and Amphilochos founded the city of Mallos on the Pyramos river in Cilicia. However, Mopsos denied Amphilochos a share in the city’s government, which resulted in a duel and the killing of each other. They were buried in places that were not in the sight of each other, see Strab. 14.5.16. Another tradition states that Amphilochos was killed by Apollo in the city of Soloi, Hes. F279. There are two cities in Cilicia containing the name Mopsos. One is Mopsoukyrene (‘Mopsos’ spring’) which is an oracular site and the other is Mopsouhestia (‘Mopsos’ hearth’). Barnett 1953, 140-43; Finkelberg 2005, 151.

<sup>327</sup> Amphilochos was depicted slightly turned to the left, naked except for a coat around his neck and left arm, holding a branch in his lowered left hand and with a boar next to his feet. In some scenes, a large tripod accompanied the hero emphasizing his skills of prophecy, see Krauskopf 1981, 713-17.

<sup>328</sup> Strab. 14.4.3.

<sup>329</sup> The evidence about the foundation myths of Perge is archaeological rather than literary. Therefore, they will be evaluated in a more detailed manner below.

<sup>330</sup> Strabo. 12.7.3.

<sup>331</sup> Athenaios VIII, 346; Astour 1965, 56.

<sup>332</sup> Şahin 1999a, 136-37, no. 102; Appendix 1.9.

beginning with La-, which was completed by Şahin as the *Labeia* games celebrated in Perge. This completion was made based on a 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD inscription honoring a victorious wrestler in the *Labeia* festival, which took its name from a local hero and continued into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, again showing Labos' importance for the city and its citizens.<sup>333</sup>

Apart from the mythological founders, there are two statues belonging to the members of the Plancii family, M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus. These are also identified as *ktistai*, historical founders. The reason for receiving this title was not because of the fact that they actually founded the city, but because of their contribution to the city's embellishment, which manifested itself in a rich construction and statuary programme and in economic prosperity. It is also evident that during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD the title *ktistes* was widely separated from its original meaning and was given as an honorific title to *euergetai*, even for those who were not citizens, like emperors or other officials who contributed to the city in a certain way.<sup>334</sup> In addition to the mythological and historical founders, in the courtyard the statues of several divinities were on display, namely the Dioskouroi, Hermes, Apollo, Aphrodite, Herakles and (a fragmentarily preserved) Pan.<sup>335</sup> Although there have been made various suggestions about the placement of these three group of statues in the courtyard,<sup>336</sup> the complex undoubtedly emphasized Perge's early history, its religious identity, and élite patronage.

---

<sup>333</sup> For the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD inscription, see Şahin 2004, no. 315.

<sup>334</sup> Strubbe 1984-1986, 253-304.

<sup>335</sup> Bulgurlu 1999, 110-14.

<sup>336</sup> According to Şahin 1996, 45-52, Plancia Magna chose the founder statues herself as the organizer and planner of the complex and must have added the statues of C. Rutilius Plancius Varus and another Plancius Varus, C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus (her husband), C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus (her son) and herself to the statuary program despite the lack of the bases. He suggests that all the statues of *ktistai*, mythological and historical, were situated at the lower story and places them based on the dimensions of the bases and the importance of the figures. The mythological founders aligned from left to right were Kalchas, Rhixos, Machaon, Labos, Mopsos, Minyas and Leonteus; the historical ones being on the opposite side of the wall aligned from left to right were C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, Plancia Magna, C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, M. Plancius Varus, C. Plancius Varus, C. Rutilius Plancius Varus and the other Plancius Varus. Bulgurlu 1999, 109-01 places the statue of C. Plancius Varus inside the third niche of the first or second story, M. Plancius Varus inside the fourth niche, Kalchas inside the fifth niche, Leonteus in the sixth niche and Rhixos on the second story of the eastern wall; Mopsos inside the fifth niche of the first or second story, Minyas inside the sixth niche, Machaon in the seventh niche and Labos inside the seventh niche of the first or second story of the western wall. Chi 2002, 143-44, on the other hand, takes into consideration the various sizes and shapes of the niches and concludes that the fourteen niches with a similar shape on the lower story should have housed the largest group of statues, the divinities. On the upper story, there are eight square niches and since we have seven mythological founders, they should have been housed in the square niches while the remaining six half round niches were used for the members of the Plancii family.

### 3.3.3 Sillyon<sup>337</sup>

An inscription written on a statue base dating to the Roman Imperial period was later used in the Byzantine walls of Sillyon (Figure 3.19). On the statue base, we read the name Mopsos in the genitive form.<sup>338</sup> The rest of the inscription is unknown due to its poor state of preservation but the base and the statue on top of it can most likely be identified as the *ktistes* of the city of Sillyon. The depiction of a half-naked man with a spear looking to a lion-ox fight under a tree on a Sillyon coin of Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD) has been interpreted by Weiss as Leonteus, mentioned in the literary sources (Figure 3.20).<sup>339</sup>

### 3.3.4 Aspendos<sup>340</sup>

The foundation myths of Aspendos differ according to the ancient writers. Hellanikos, a historian and contemporary of Herodotos,<sup>341</sup> states that Aspendos was founded by the eponymous hero Aspendos. However, in Iambus 10, Kallimachos (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) claims that Aspendos was founded by Mopsos. According to the myth told by Kallimachos, the founder Mopsos vowed to Aphrodite Kastnietis that he would sacrifice to her the first animal that he would catch. He went hunting and caught a boar; therefore, the ritual of offering a pig to Aphrodite started in Aspendos and continued afterwards.<sup>342</sup> Later Strabo added, deriving his version from Kallimachos, that “*Aphrodite Kastnietis surpasses all (Aphroditai) in wisdom since she alone accepts the sacrifice of swine*”.<sup>343</sup> Aphrodite Kastnietis was an indigenous goddess of Aspendos who took her name from Mount Kastnion near the city and her cult is documented by epigraphic and numismatic evidence.<sup>344</sup> Dionysios Periegetes (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) also mentioned that at Aspendos sacrificing pigs to Aphrodite was common.<sup>345</sup> The third information about the foundation of the city comes from Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) and Pomponius Mela (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) who said that

---

<sup>337</sup> See Figure 3.18.

<sup>338</sup> Hereward 1958, 57.

<sup>339</sup> Weiss 1997, 773-774.

<sup>340</sup> See Figure 3.21.

<sup>341</sup> For more information about Hellanikos, see Sina 2009, 107-57.

<sup>342</sup> Kallimachos, Iambi, 10.

<sup>343</sup> Strab. 9.5.17.

<sup>344</sup> See The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.5.

<sup>345</sup> Bernhardt 1828, 393, 10-15.



Aspendos was an Argive colony.<sup>346</sup> The last -much later- account, Eusthatios (1150-1195), states that Leonteus and Polypoietes founded the city after the sack of Troy.<sup>347</sup>

The myth of Mopsos catching a boar and offering it to Aphrodite was depicted on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Aspendos. Silver drachms minted in the city show on the obverse a naked or a dressed man riding a galloping horse to the right or to the left while holding a spear in his raised hand; on the reverse there is a running wild boar above the ethnicon of the city in the Pamphylian dialect (Figure 3.22).<sup>348</sup> In some instances, these coins follow a narrative style, since the spear in the hand of Mopsos on the obverse is depicted as struck in the back of the boar on the reverse.<sup>349</sup> The foundation myths of Ephesos presented a similar motif. The legendary Androklos established his city on the spot where he hunted and killed a boar. This tale was frequently portrayed on the coinage as well as in statuary dating to the Roman Imperial period.<sup>350</sup> Scherrer, who examined the iconography of the boar-hunt and its implications, suggests that the boar-hunt was a recurrent pattern in ancient Greek foundation myths and that the boar signified the wilderness of an uncivilized place. Hence, killing a boar (perhaps killing enemies) was an act of rescuing the land and opening it up to agriculture and civilization.<sup>351</sup> Another coin, which might have a depiction of founding heroes, dates to the period of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), nearly six hundred years later than the boar-hunt depictions. On the reverse, there is a half-naked, male figure sitting on a rock and holding a scepter in his left hand. There is a dead ox lying right in front of his feet. The central figure is flanked by two half-naked figures. The right one holds a spear and puts his right foot on the rock; the left one is depicted facing backward with his face turned to the middle figure. Weiss identifies these two figures as Leonteus and Polypoietes from Argos, the founders of Aspendos mentioned by Eusthatios, and interprets the scene as a sacrifice to Zeus (the male figure in the middle) or the fulfillment of an *omen* (Figure 3.23).<sup>352</sup> The close link between Aspendos and Argos is confirmed by an inscription dating to 310-300 BC, which points out a connection between the Argives and the Aspendians. The decree, which was found in the sanctuary of Zeus in Nemea, lists the cities that had a kinship with Argos and

<sup>346</sup> Strab. 14.4.2; Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*, I. 78.

<sup>347</sup> Eusthatios I. 740, 335.

<sup>348</sup> For the coins, see BMC Pamph. nos. 10-13; SNG France, 3, nos.15-25. This figure was first identified as Mopsos by Robert 1960, 177-78.

<sup>349</sup> For instance, the drachm of 375-365 BC in [www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), coin ID #6914.

<sup>350</sup> For Ephesos, see De Bellefonds 2011, 28-32.

<sup>351</sup> Scherrer 2014, 113-16.

<sup>352</sup> Weiss 1997, 773-74. However, RPC VI, 6288 identifies the seated figure as Eurystheus and the standing one next to him as Heracles.

the privileges given to them by the Argives. The Aspendians are called *syngeneis* (kinsmen) and *apoikoi* (colonists) or *oikeioi* (members of the same house).<sup>353</sup> They were granted citizenship, and the right to address the Argive assembly. Moreover, the Aspendians also received an invitation to contests and the privilege to participate in processions and sacrifices for the Nemean Zeus and Argive Hera with the Argives.

### 3.3.5 Side<sup>354</sup>

The foundation myths of the city of Side are drastically different from those of the other Pamphylian cities, since they were not built upon the wandering Trojan seer/hero motif. On the contrary, the myths rather favor an Anatolian background for the city. Stephanos of Byzantium (6<sup>th</sup> century AD), probably relying on Hekataios of Miletos, informs us that Side was an Asian heroine, who was the daughter of the god Tauros and wife of the hero Kimolos.<sup>355</sup> Nollé rightfully points out the geographic closeness of the city to the Taurus Mountains and the economic relationship between Side and the mountains, which undoubtedly played an important role in the formation of the myths on the descent of the Sidetans.<sup>356</sup> He also notes that Kimolos was the name of a small island in the Cyclades and suggests that Hekataios did not know any other Greek hero with whom he could and would associate the non-Greek city of Side.<sup>357</sup> Another Side was a girl who killed herself in order to get rid of her father's molestation. The gods turned Side into a pomegranate tree and her father into a hawk.<sup>358</sup> This myth might have been invented in order to explain why the pomegranate was used as a symbol of the city. Eusebius (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) describes Side as a Cilician city and he gives 1405 BC as its foundation date "*Kadmeia and Side in Cilicia were founded*".<sup>359</sup> Based on this passage, Nollé thinks that there is a mythological link between the family of Kadmos, founder of Thebes, and Side, since two sons of Kadmos, Kilix and Phoinix, were eponymous heroes of Cilicia and Phoenicia.<sup>360</sup> Furthermore, there is another Side in the mythological tradition, the wife of Belos and

---

<sup>353</sup> Stroud completes the inscription as *apoikoi* and Habicht completes it as *oikeioi*; Stroud 1984, 193-216; Habicht 2006, 266.

<sup>354</sup> See Figure 3.24-25.

<sup>355</sup> Grimal 1997, 733.

<sup>356</sup> Nollé 1993a, 40-1.

<sup>357</sup> Nollé 1993a, 41.

<sup>358</sup> Grimal 1997, 733.

<sup>359</sup> Nollé 1993a, 155.

<sup>360</sup> Nollé 1993a, 41.

mother of Aigyptos, who gave her name to the city of Sidon in Phoenicia.<sup>361</sup> Although these references are quite fragmentary to provide a certain foundation story for Side, they might imply the city's close relationships with the East. Apollo is identified as *ktistes* in Roman inscriptions of Side dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>362</sup> Although he does not feature in the literary accounts, he had a prominent cultic and religious place among the Sidetans alongside Athena. He had an indigenous character, which might have given the epithet of *ktistes* to the god.<sup>363</sup>

### 3.4 Land of all Tribes: Locals, Colonists and Migrants

It is evident from both the literary and material sources that the foundation of some cities in Pamphylia was associated with heroes or settlers from various Greek cities and/or their colonies. To sum up, the *oikist* Lakios from Lindos or Argos for Phaselis, heroes from Argos, Thessaly, Athens, Delphi and Orchomenos for Perge and Argive settlers for Aspendos were pointed out. The city of Selge in Pisidia also claimed a Lacedaemonian descent, a similar foundation motif with those of Pamphylian cities.<sup>364</sup> A colonization movement, which resulted in the foundation of new cities, must have occurred in Pamphylia. The Rhodians colonized the city of Phaselis and some of the southern Lycian cities in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the narrow coastal land between Phaselis and Attaleia was colonized by the Aiolians resulting in the foundation of new cities.<sup>365</sup> The city of Olbia was also founded as a result of colonization movements.<sup>366</sup>

However, there are also accounts that focus on the native character of the region. The first one is Strabo who mentions that Ephoros (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC) grouped people living on the Anatolian peninsula as Greeks, barbarians and mixed people and that the Pamphlians were accordingly among the barbarians.<sup>367</sup> A similar account is present in Arrian (1<sup>st</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) who mentions how Cumaean settlers forgot their own language once they had arrived in Side and started immediately to talk a foreign

---

<sup>361</sup> Hist.Gr.Fr. IV, 544.

<sup>362</sup> For the inscriptions, see Nollé 2001, nos. 4, 44, 129, 134, 380.

<sup>363</sup> See The Cult of Apollo in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.3.

<sup>364</sup> Talloen 2015, 79.

<sup>365</sup> For the effects of the Rhodian colonization on the Acropolis of Perge, see Martini 2017, 89-93; for a detailed summary of the Doric and Aiolian colonization in the western part of the region, see Adak 2007, 41-8; see The Geographical Framework, Chapter 2 for a detailed overview.

<sup>366</sup> Adak 2006, 1-29.

<sup>367</sup> Strab. 14.5.23-25.

language.<sup>368</sup> Both writers emphasized that the Pamphylians were different from the Greeks because of their languages. However, archaeological and linguistic evidence paints a different picture than the majority of the ancient sources in terms of the native aspect of the region and its inhabitants and they bring the region's earliest known occupation history to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.

The bronze tablet, which was found during the 1986 excavation campaign of Boğazköy/Hattuša, indicates that Pamphylia was settled during the Bronze Age, that a large part of the region was named Tarhuntassa and belonged to the Arzawa kingdom, and that the Kestros River and Perge acted as a border between the two kingdoms.<sup>369</sup> The southern coasts of the Mediterranean held a very important place in the eastern/western oriented sea trade beginning from the Late Bronze Age onwards; therefore, these areas were suitable for settlement from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC onwards.<sup>370</sup> Research conducted at the Acropolis of Perge has revealed the presence of a Mycenaean cultural sphere that manifested itself both in the ceramic repertoire and in architecture. The presence of Late Mycenaean pottery of the LH3 phase represents the first non-Anatolian contacts of Perge and thus the city's involvement in the eastern Mediterranean trade. Architectural change is seen in the replacement of older architectural remains by more elaborate structures (some of them have been interpreted as cultic structures), which can also be seen in the Mycenaean architecture and in Cyprus in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age. Martini interprets these foreign influences as a turning point in Perge's cultural development and concludes that it must have been a non-invasive process without causing any disturbance to the locals or newcomers since no traces pointing out a heavy destruction has been spotted yet in the area dating to this period.<sup>371</sup>

Linguistic and archaeological data show the indigenous nature of some cities. A basalt column capital of an unknown origin that was found in Side and dates to the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC shows stylistic features belonging to Late Hittite Art.<sup>372</sup> Moreover, the city names of the western part of the region already point out a difference, since the Classical and Hellenistic coins minted in cities, such as Aspendos, Sillyon and Selge, bear legends that were originally rooted in Hittite sources. The ethnicon *Estwediys/Estvedius* on the

---

<sup>368</sup> Arr. Anab. 1.24.6.

<sup>369</sup> Otten 1988, 38; see The Geographical Framework for a detailed overview, Chapter 2.

<sup>370</sup> The Cape Gelidonia and Uluburun shipwrecks testify the busy sea traffic of the southern coast at the end of the Late Bronze Age, see Givon 1985, 99; Bass 1967, 15; 1986, 85-110.

<sup>371</sup> Martini, 2017, 459-67.

<sup>372</sup> Mansel 1958a, 1-13; Özhanlı 2007, 17-31.

5<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Aspendos, *Stlegiys/Estlegiys* on the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Selge and *Seluwius/Selyviis* on the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC coins of Sillyon are clearly not Greek but written in a local dialect and names, such as Magydos, Perge, Sillyon, Aspendos, and Side point out the Pre-Hellenic background of the cities.<sup>373</sup> Several Classical and Hellenistic epichoric inscriptions found in the Pamphylian cities also testify to their indigenous aspects. Some of these inscriptions were written in Sidetic, a language resembling Luwian and some of them were written in the Pamphylian dialect. The majority of the epichoric inscriptions were found in the area between Perge and Aspendos, including Perge, Sillyon, Selge, and Aspendos.<sup>374</sup> Many of these are short funerary inscriptions found in Aspendos and its vicinity and are very important in terms of learning local names, some of which are theophoric.<sup>375</sup> Based on the research conducted on the epigraphic material, scholars have concluded that the epichoric Pamphylian dialect was Greek, which was influenced by neighboring Indo-European Anatolian languages and was a combination of Achaian (Arcadian-Cypriot), Doric and Aeolic.<sup>376</sup>

These different elements in the local language clearly imply the presence of different communities in Pamphylia, either via colonization/migration or through cultural interactions, and thus justify the name of the region as “the land of all tribes”.

### 3.5 Interpreting the Foundation Myths of Pamphylia

Interpreting the foundation myths of the region can be challenging given the abundance of literary, material, epigraphic and numismatic sources. Literary evidence for the foundation myths includes both similar patterns and variations. Firstly, the pattern of a Homeric hero or seer in the foundation myths about the origin of the region or individual cities is very dominant, as witnessed in Phaselis, Sillyon, Aspendos, and Selge. However, variations between different literary accounts exist. A city might have had several different foundation myths, as seen in Phaselis, Aspendos, and Side, and these may have

---

<sup>373</sup> Bean 1999<sup>2</sup>, 61 (Aspendos), 44 (Sillyon) and 125 (Selge). The ethnicon *Estwediys/Estvedius* shares its root with *Azatiwataya*, a place name read in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Karatepe. The ethnicon *Seluwius/Selyviis* is generally identified with *Sallusa* in the Hittite sources, see Tekoğlu 1999-2000, 49; Işık 2008, 573.

<sup>374</sup> One inscription dating to the 2nd century BC was found near Side by Bean and interpreted as an epichoric inscription written in the Pamphylian dialect by Brixhe-Tekoğlu 2000, 4, no. 259.

<sup>375</sup> For the funerary inscriptions, see Brixhe 1976a, 205-286, nos. 19-169, (Aspendos); 197b6, 9-16, nos. 179-192 (Aspendos); 1991, 15-27 (Aspendos); 1996, 73-86, nos. 243-257. Brixhe-Tekoğlu 2000, 6-19, nos. 260- 74 (in the vicinity of Aspendos); Brixhe et al. 2008, 39-52, nos. 277-91.

<sup>376</sup> Brixhe 1976a.

been reported either by different writers or by the same author. The story of Kalchas is a good example. In his *Geographika* 12.7.3, Strabo states that Selge was first founded by Kalchas. However, in 14.1.27, he continues his story by referring to Hesiodos, and tells that Kalchas died in Klaros after his contest with Mopsos. However, in the same passage, he adds that Sophokles placed this contest, thus the death of Kalchas, in Cilicia. He further informs us in 14.4.3 that according to Kallinos (7<sup>th</sup> century BC), Kalchas died in Klaros. Therefore, it seems that his intention was not to give precise information about the different myths but to compile various stories that were told by various authors. However, it is evident from the literary sources that two different traditions existed about the location of the soothsaying contest between Mopsos and Kalchas. The ancient writers also conveyed information about the origin of the settler by linking the origin of a city with the identity of its founder (the founder of Phaselis is Lakios, a Rhodian hero) or by directly stating which city-state colonized a particular city (Aspendos was a colony of Argos, Selge was a colony of Sparta, Side was a colony of Kyme).

The material evidence, on the other hand, either supports the mythological tradition of the foreign founder (as in the Lindos inscription, coins of Aspendos and Sillyon, the Argive inscription concerning Aspendos and the statue base of Sillyon) or adds new names of founders to the list of founders as witnessed on the statue bases of Perge. A few exceptions aside, the wandering hero/seer motif is common in the region, since the literary, epigraphic, numismatic and material sources tell more or less a similar story without contradicting each other. One mythological character can be selected as a case-study to illustrate this discussion.

Mopsos and the question whether he was a mythological or historical figure have attracted scholarly attention over the last decade, considering that the epigraphic sources bearing his name are unusually abundant in various forms. Among the evidence is a fragmentary royal Hittite letter in cuneiform bearing the name Muksus and dating to circa 1400 BC that is in association with Ahhiyawa.<sup>377</sup> A variation of this name, *mo-ko-so*, appears in two Linear B texts coming from Pylos and Knossos and dating to the Late Bronze Age.<sup>378</sup> Other evidence comes from the region of Cilicia and can be dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. An inscription of Karatepe is written in Phoenician-Luwian and mentions

---

<sup>377</sup> Öttinger 2008, 64. This letter was an indictment of Madduwattas, a ruler from Western Anatolia. The name Muksus appears only once in the document and there is no information about Muksus' origin in the text, Astour 1965, 62.

<sup>378</sup> Lopez-Ruiz 2009, 490, footnote 17.

a local leader, Azatiwatas, who, according to the text, was a member of the “house of Muksas” (in Luwian hieroglyph) or MPS in the Phoenician script.<sup>379</sup> Another Luwian-Phoenician bilingual inscription found in Çineköy, southeast of Adana, mentions an Urikki/Warikas who was a descendant of Moksos/Muksas.<sup>380</sup> The same name appears in the Lydian onomastics as Moxsos.<sup>381</sup> Based on the ancient sources and the toponyms of the cities in Cilicia, some scholars see a historical accuracy in the migration stories of the Greek heroes from west to east and their role as city founders.<sup>382</sup> On the other hand, some scholars reject the notion of a Greek foundation and focus on the indigenous nature of the cities.<sup>383</sup> When these migration stories of the Greek heroes are placed in the context of the chaotic period that followed the collapse of the Bronze age, Mopsos and his companions gain a new role. Therefore, Barnett identifies Mopsos as a leader who traveled with his people through Anatolia during the time of disturbance in search of a new land.<sup>384</sup> The same opinion can be found in Gür, who concludes that Mopsos was a leader or a historical figure who participated in the migration movements from Western Anatolia to the areas further south and east.<sup>385</sup>

The origin of Mopsos is also a subject of discussion, centered around the question whether he was of Anatolian/Eastern or Greek origin. For instance, Oettinger suggests that Mopsos did not have an Anatolian origin, since the name Muksus-Muksas encountered in the Hittite-Luwian documents should be written as Mu-ku-ssu/Mu-ku-ssa if the name was Anatolian.<sup>386</sup> Bremmer, however, lays emphasis on an Anatolian origin based on the inscriptions discovered in Karatepe.<sup>387</sup> Işık proposes a contrary opinion by suggesting that the Greek name Mopsos might have been adopted from the Hittite Muksus like Perge was adopted from the Hittite Parha.<sup>388</sup>

The transfer of Hittite names into Greek was not exclusive to Mopsos. As Astour points out, some names, such as Mursilis/Myrsilos, Tarhundaraba/Tarkondara,

---

<sup>379</sup> Lane Fox 2008, 226-27.

<sup>380</sup> Çambel 2002, 132.

<sup>381</sup> Lopez-Ruiz 2009, 490, footnote 15.

<sup>382</sup> Özyar 2005, 26, “a mythological seer gains a historical identity”; Pekman 1989, 15, “Mopsos can be the founder of an Anatolian dynasty which will last for centuries”; Bean 1999, 16, “these inscriptions can be the evidence of Mopsos’ relationship with Pamphylia”; Tekoğlu 1999-2000, 56, “if one accepts the connection of Mopsos and Muksas/Mps, one should accept the migrations led by Mopsos and the others.”

<sup>383</sup> Işık 2008, 571-85.

<sup>384</sup> Barnett 1975, 359-78.

<sup>385</sup> Gür 2013 examines the archaeological evidence spread throughout Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean after the Late Bronze Age.

<sup>386</sup> Oettinger 2008, 65.

<sup>387</sup> Bremmer 2000, 391.

<sup>388</sup> Işık 2008, 572.

Telepinus/Telephos, could change over time and could be borrowed and transformed.<sup>389</sup> According to Astour, Mopsos was just an East Anatolian name, probably a theophoric one, which entered into the Western Anatolian vocabulary just like the above-mentioned names. Later, the name was adopted by the Greeks in the Mycenaean Age, as the Linear B tablets exemplify. From this time onwards, the name Mopsos became popular in the Aegean world, both as a human and divine name. During the colonization period when the Greeks proceeded to the Eastern Mediterranean, they discovered the presence of the same name in the area and identified this with the figure whom they already knew.<sup>390</sup>

Astour is not interested in the historical accuracy of Mopsos; he rejects the possibility of having only one figure playing a major role in the large territory comprising Greece, Western, Southern, and Eastern Anatolia to the Eastern Mediterranean down to Askalon, but focuses on the interrelations between the West and East that occurred during a large period of time and were manifested in onomastics, religion and material culture. Lane Fox has a similar opinion. He thinks that once the Greeks arrived on the eastern coasts of Cilicia and learned that they were in a land that was previously known as the lands of the “House of Muksas”, they identified this name with Mopsos, who was already embedded in their memory.<sup>391</sup> The justification or rejection of the historical accuracy of Mopsos apparently comes secondary in these interpretations. The primary focus should be on the multidirectional circulation and the reciprocal relationship between West and East. The example of Mopsos is inspiring, since through literary and archaeological evidence it gives us a glimpse of the traditions related to the colonization movements, migrations and the Greek heroes that might have a historical truth. However, the story of Mopsos is an exceptional case, since Mopsos is the only name in which literary and archaeological evidence meets. Mycaenean influence was present in the region from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC onwards but the scarcity of archaeological evidence makes it difficult to link it with a colonization resulting in the foundation of new cities.

When these foundation myths and material sources are examined based on a positivist approach assuming that they were created in accordance with the social, cultural and political agendas of peoples, they might be telling a different story. In this case, two concepts need to be considered, external and internal sources. The external sources are the writings of the ancient authors (none of them, by the way, were Pamphylians) offering

---

<sup>389</sup> Astour 1965, 63-65.

<sup>390</sup> Astour 1965, 65-67.

<sup>391</sup> Lane Fox 2008, 230.



an external view on the foundation by reflecting their thoughts about the origin of the region or individual cities. The internal sources, on the other hand, are the material sources that were produced in order to project a certain image about how the Pamphylians saw themselves or how they wanted to be seen by others.

Scholars are generally more inclined to assume that the notion of how the cities wanted to be seen by others played a greater role compared to how they saw themselves, as evidenced in the selection of some mythic characters for their origins. By emphasizing the non-Greek custom of sacrificing a pig to Aphrodite, Lane Fox concludes that the Aspendians used the mythical figure of Mopsos to define the “barbarian” nature of their cult in Greek terms.<sup>392</sup> He also states that in the Hellenistic period the Aspendians artificially shifted their claims of being the descendants of Mopsos to the Argives in order to have a nobler, Argive origin and to benefit from Alexander’s the Great’s favors.<sup>393</sup> The same practice can be seen in the city of Selge, which changed its Luwian identity into a Greek one and connected itself to Kalchas and the Lacedaemonians to maintain good relations with the Ptolemies during the Hellenistic period.<sup>394</sup>

A well-documented example of this self-expression in the Roman Imperial period comes from Perge where the statues of the *ktistai* were placed inside the oval courtyard in the southern city gate. The selection of the location is remarkable, since visitors coming from the southern direction entered the city via the south gate and because of the mythological founder statues, they immediately had an image about the city’s glorious past. The selection of the mythological characters shows that the Pergaians were familiar with the Homeric tradition. The lineages of Kalchas, Leonteus, and Minyas were directly taken from the *Iliad*. Another interesting point is the connection of some characters with the Argonauts, since Koronos, the father of Leonteus, and Ialmenos, the father of Minyas, participated in the expedition of the Argonauts. Although Mopsos was identified as a Delphic character, the Pergaians were probably also aware of the mythic tradition that portrayed Mopsos as a member of the Argonauts. In this way, the mythical ancestors of the Pergaians can be traced not only to the Trojan War but also to the Argonauts; thus, the connection between Perge and the Greek world was even strengthened. Perge was also connected with important cities such as Argos, Orchomenos, Athens, Thessalia, and Delphi, because of the origins of its founders. Aspendos’ relation with Argos started

---

<sup>392</sup> Lane Fox 2008, 232.

<sup>393</sup> Lane Fox 2008, 236-39.

<sup>394</sup> Quirce 2016, 51-71.

much later, in the Hellenistic period; therefore, at this time the influence of this city was already known in Pamphylia and this may be the reason behind the Argive descent of Kalchas. The founders also had divine parentage: Leonteus and Minyas were the grandsons of Ares, Machaon was the son of Asklepios and Mopsos was the son Apollo. All three divinities were also worshipped in Perge. The Acropolis housed the temple of Zeus Machaonios and votive inscriptions honoring Ares were also found on the Acropolis. The emphasis on Apollo and his oracular shrine in Delphi is striking. Apart from Mopsos, also the local hero/founder Labos is identified with Delphi. A statue of Apollo was found in the oval courtyard; therefore, his importance for the city and its origin was also visually enhanced. The god was widely worshipped in Pamphylia, especially in Side and he was venerated in Perge through the epithet *Pythias*, again emphasizing his Delphic roots.<sup>395</sup> The presence of local heroes/founders such as Labos and Rhixos is intriguing since they do not appear in the ancient sources but were undoubtedly familiar to the Pergaians. They may have been subjects of cults, since the sacred *Labeia* festival was organized in honor of Labos and Rhixos may have given his name to Rhixopous, a cult place which might have had a natural sacred quality. Even more intriguing is that, although Labos and Rhixos were local heroes, their descent can still be traced back to Delphi and Athens, which signifies that even through its indigenous heroes the city of Perge could still claim a Greek heritage.

For the Pre-Roman period, the evidence of such a claim is missing in Perge. Therefore, it is uncertain whether the city's foundation stories go back to an earlier time. The Hadrianic date of the reorganization of the southern gate has led scholars to focus on the political purpose of the complex. Şahin has argued that the representation of the mythological founders was directly in connection with the city's wish to be accepted in the *Panhellenion*, a league founded by Hadrianus in Athens, which aimed at providing a common political and cultural unity for those who had a Greek ancestry; for this reason, cities like Kibyra and Magnesia invented a Greek heritage for themselves. Şahin places the date of the *Panhellenion*, and hence the date of the founder statues, in 124/125 AD<sup>396</sup>; however, the league was founded in 131/132 AD during the emperor's third visit to Athens.<sup>397</sup> If the association of the founder statues with the *Panhellenion* is correct, then the statues would have been placed on their locations after the erection of the triple arch

---

<sup>395</sup> See The Cult of Apollo in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.3.

<sup>396</sup> Şahin 1996, 45-50.

<sup>397</sup> Boatwright 2000, 415 ff.

limiting the northern end of the oval courtyard.<sup>398</sup> Even if the wish to be accepted in the *Panhellenion* may not have been the main reason behind such an organization, the attempt of the city to connect its roots to the most prominent Greek cities, Greek deities and Greek heroes is very clear. An intercity-rivalry may also have been the case taking into consideration that the founder statues of the southern gate were in concordance and maybe in competition with the source materials, namely coins and statues that were produced in Aspendos, Sillyon and Selge, cities which claimed a similar historical foundation story. Apart from their mythological past, these cities had another thing in common: their indigenous Anatolian origin. It seems that these towns, which were part of the land of tribes, decided to choose a common Greek ancestry that surpassed their Anatolian one by means of creating, adapting and using foundation myths from the Hellenistic period onwards. In this context, one must emphasize the influence of a literary movement called Second Sophistic, which represents the Greek cultural revival or the Greek Renaissance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Many cities of Asia Minor like those of Pamphylia accentuated their Greek ancestry by putting their Greek founders on their Roman Imperial coins.<sup>399</sup>

The evidence of an *oikistes* cult in Pamphylia is scarce compared to the abundance of the literary, epigraphic and numismatic and material sources about the mythical founders of the region. The literary accounts of the foundation myths of Pamphylia are important in terms of providing information about the indigenous cult practices of some cities, such as Phaselis and Aspendos. In Phaselis, a smoked fish offering was annually given to Kylabros, a worshipped local hero, which also indicates the presence of a founder-hero cult in the city. Likewise, in Aspendos, it was customary to sacrifice a swine to Aphrodite Kastnietis, an indigenous goddess of the city, because Mopsos had offered the first animal that he had hunted. A festival dedicated to Labos was organized in the city of Perge and a temple dedicated to Zeus Machaonios stood on the city's Acropolis. However, in the Pamphylian cities, there is more evidence for the cult of the indigenous, Olympian and foreign deities than for founders's cults. This reinforces the assumption that the foundation stories were invented in order to create a civic identity rather than having an actual presence in the form of an official commemoration.

---

<sup>398</sup> Chi rejects this interpretation by suggesting that this would create a ten year hiatus, see Chi 2002, 137.

<sup>399</sup> For the depictions of mythological founders on the coinage of various towns, see Weiss 2004, 179-197; Heuchert 2005, 51-2.

## Chapter 4

### GODS, GODDESSES, AND CULTS OF PAMPHYLIA

#### *4.1 Introduction*

This chapter constitutes the core of our study. It discusses different deities venerated in the region. The first seventeen subheadings, which start with Athena and end with Nemesis, deal with the gods and goddesses whose worship is attested through literary accounts or material evidence. Each subheading follows a chronological order from the earliest to the most recent evidence, providing information on the nature of the cult, iconography of the deity, the religious personnel, festivals, rituals, and sacred space. The cults are also put in the broader framework of neighbouring regions of Asia Minor and comparative material is provided from Greece, Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean when useful to establish an analogy.

“Section 4.19” focuses on the notion of the divinity of the rulers and its projection on the region of Pamphylia in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. Although the ruler cult may seem inherently different than the worship of traditional pagan cults, it is a distinctive aspect of Greek and Roman paganism in the sense of perceiving the ruler as a power able to deliver benefits to his/her worshippers like the traditional gods and goddesses themselves. The rulers also received offerings, they had a sacred space where rituals in their honor were performed by the cult personnel operating in their name. Festivals, games and contests were organized paying homage to them. Therefore, the cult of rulers, which interconnected politics, propaganda and religion as was also the case with many other traditional cults, was clearly a part of the cultic life of the Pamphylians and needs to be evaluated within the scope of the study.

The final section deals with evidence concerning the monotheistic religions that could be found in various Pamphylian cities: Judaism and Christianity. Evidence for Judaism is present in Pamphylia from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, while Perge was among the cities where the Apostle Paul gave sermons on his way back to Antioch in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Therefore, worshippers of pagan cults, Jews and Christians lived side by side in the region for many years and in some instances, their attitudes towards each other

and especially towards each other's sacred places can be understood from the literary and archaeological evidence.

#### 4.2 *The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia*

One of the earliest cults whose identity we are aware of in Pamphylia based on the epigraphic evidence is the cult of Athena. Athena most probably came to the region with the Lindians from Rhodos, when they were in search of a new city in the East and when they founded Phaselis in 691/690 BC.<sup>400</sup> According to Greek customs, founding a colony required a series of steps, which the *oikistes* had to take. Among these steps were consulting the oracle at Delphi and obtaining the religious authority the oracle had granted<sup>401</sup>, choosing the site for the new colony and naming it, transferring the sacred fire from the motherland to the new city, and organizing the public and sacred space within the newly founded colony.<sup>402</sup> It is not known whether Lakios accomplished all these steps when founding Phaselis but two things are clear: according to the Lindos inscription erected in the temple of Athena Lindia and dating to 99 BC, the Phaselites fought with the Solymeans during the time when Lakios was leading the colony and they dedicated the helmets and sickles that they took from the Solymeans to the temple of Athena Lindia in Lindos.<sup>403</sup> This inscription illustrates that the cult of Athena was a religious tie between Phaselis and its mother city Lindos. The city of Phaselis is not the only example of a newly founded colony to which the Rhodians brought their own cult. Athena was also the patron deity of the Lycian cities of Rhodiapolis and Melanippion, the Cilician cities of Soloi and Tarsos and the Sicilian city of Gela, which were all founded by Rhodians. Two Lycian inscriptions found in Rhodiapolis mention *Maliya Wedrenni*, which was the equivalent of Athena *Polias*. One inscription dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC speaks of an

---

<sup>400</sup> See *The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians*, Chapter 3.

<sup>401</sup> Malkin interprets this process as “the divinely appointed oikist”; thus, he turned into a counterpart of Apollo, see Malkin 1987, 51.

<sup>402</sup> The earliest source for the endeavours of an *oikistes* after founding a colony comes from Hom. Od.7-10, when Nausithoos, after leading the Phaiakians to Scheria, constructed a wall around the city, built houses and temples to the gods and divided the land. For the role of religion in the colonization and the various roles of the settlers, see Malkin 1987, 15-91. Different narratives about Greek colonization and foundation are given by Dougherty 1993.

<sup>403</sup> Blinkenberg 1941, 169-71. Sickles were among votive offerings offered to various Greek sanctuaries from the 8th century BC onwards, such as the Heraion of Perachora, the Zeus temple at Olympia and the Poseidon temple in Isthmia, see Kron 1998, 187-215.

Athena temple in Melanippion.<sup>404</sup> The earliest epigraphic evidence that comes from Phaselis about the cult of Athena dates to the Late Archaic-Classical Period (5<sup>th</sup> century BC). Both inscriptions were secondarily used in a tower located on the Acropolis. They are votive inscriptions written in the Doric dialect and dedicated to the chief goddess of the city, Athena *Polias*. Nikandros and Polyainetos dedicated an inscription in gratitude of their ten years of seafaring.<sup>405</sup> The other inscription is a dedication from Euphanes as a fulfillment of a vow.<sup>406</sup> The epithet *Polias* usually denoted the goddess' relationship with the *polis* and her role as the protectress of the city. Due to this aspect, Athena *Polias* was among the most venerated deities alongside Zeus *Poliouchos* during the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>407</sup> The epithet *Polias* also referred to the Acropolis, the center of cities in the Greek period, where the civic, political and religious buildings were located, as Cole points out, "the goddess protects the Acropolis such as the Acropolis protects the city".<sup>408</sup> The temple of Athena *Polias* in Phaselis probably stood on the Acropolis, since the votive inscriptions were secondarily used in a tower on the Acropolis, in an area where also remains of colonnades and ashlar blocks are present. However, it has not been localized with certainty yet.<sup>409</sup> While describing the weapons of the heroic age, Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) stated that the spear of Achilles was dedicated to the temple of Athena in Phaselis without mentioning the location of the temple.<sup>410</sup> In addition, the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic coins of Phaselis bear symbols of Athena, such as the owl, *palladion* and the depiction of Athena *Promachos* (Figure 4.1), suggesting that the goddess held a significant place in the city's pantheon.<sup>411</sup> The cult of Athena was not only limited to the pre-Roman times but, on the contrary, continued to be worshiped in the Roman Imperial Period. An inscription dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD also gives information about a priest of Athena *Polias* honored by the *Boule* and *Demos*.<sup>412</sup> An inscription dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and documenting the festival of *Agon Palladeios* celebrated in Phaselis in honor of the deity and the coins minted in the period of

---

<sup>404</sup> Parker 2016, 73. For the cult of Soloi and Tarsos, see Bing 1971, 103-09. For Gela, see Malkin, 1987, 180.

<sup>405</sup> TAM II 1184; Blackman 1981, 139; Tüner-Önen 2008, 305, no.2.

<sup>406</sup> Tüner Önen-Yılmaz 2015, 121-31.

<sup>407</sup> For the cities where the epithet of *Polias* has been recorded, see Önen-Yılmaz, 2015, footnote 17.

<sup>408</sup> Cole 1995, 292-325.

<sup>409</sup> Tüner ÖneYılmaz 2015, 125.

<sup>410</sup> Paus. III.3.8; Önen-Yılmaz 2015, 125.

<sup>411</sup> Heipp-Tamer 1993, 41, nos. 75, 80.

<sup>412</sup> TAM II, 1200; Tüner Önen-Yılmaz 2015, 125.

Gordianus (238-244 AD) that feature on their obverses the depiction of Athena *Promachos* suggest that her worship continued in the Late Roman Period (Figure 4.2).<sup>413</sup>

Due to its favorable geographic location, Phaselis must have been an important overseas trade center from its foundation onwards, since it was one of the cities - the only one in southern Asia Minor - that participated in the foundation of the *Hellenion* in Naukratis in Egypt in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Coin hoards from Syria, Rhodos, and Egypt have yielded coins of Phaselis dated to the Archaic Period.<sup>414</sup> There is evidence that the Phaselites honored their goddess outside Phaselis too. The records of four temple inventories dating to 400-390 BC from Athens mention a certain Hierokles from Phaselis who dedicated a golden crown to Athena.<sup>415</sup> This is presumably not an example of the spread of the cult of Athena *Polias* of Phaselis outside the city but rather an example of the personal devotion of a Phaselite towards his city's patron deity elsewhere.

Apart from the Rhodian colonization, an Aeolian colonization has been documented for the western part of the region, specifically for the area between the cities of Phaselis and Attaleia.<sup>416</sup> Unfortunately, no evidence is present regarding the cults worshipped in these cities in this early period; therefore, it is not possible to conclude if the Aeolian settlers brought their cults from their homeland to be worshipped in these colonies as the Rhodians did at Phaselis.

However, the evidence for the Athena cult in one of the easternmost cities of the region, Side, is abundant. Athena was venerated as the patron deity of the city and her presence is so strong that Strabo mentions her temple in the city when describing Side.<sup>417</sup> The importance of the goddess for Side can also be seen in the earliest coins that were minted by the city in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>418</sup> On the first coins from 490-470 BC, a pomegranate and dolphins were depicted on the reverse and the obverse respectively (Figure 4.3). Coins minted in 479-460 BC show, on their obverses a pomegranate above a dolphin, while on the reverses, a head of Athena is present (Figure 4.4).<sup>419</sup> These have been interpreted as the symbols of Athena and Apollo. Beginning from 470 BC, however, the helmeted head of Athena started to be portrayed on the reverse until 400 BC, while

<sup>413</sup> TAM II, 1206; Önen-Yılmaz 2015, 125; von Aulock 1974, 77-79.

<sup>414</sup> Tüner Önen, 2008, 5. The other cities that were involved in the foundation of the *Hellenion* are Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodos, Knidos, Halikarnassos and Mytilene, Hdt.II.18.

<sup>415</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> nr. 1388; IG II<sup>2</sup> nr. 1393; CIG I 150; IG II<sup>2</sup> nr. 1400.

<sup>416</sup> Adak 2007, 41-50.

<sup>417</sup> Strab. 14.4.2.

<sup>418</sup> The coins of the city dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC have been thoroughly examined by Atlan 1967.

<sup>419</sup> Atlan 1967, nos. 4-7.

the pomegranate still dominated the obverse side (Figure 4.5).<sup>420</sup> This coin type changed at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and between 400 and 333 BC, when Athena (obverse) and Apollo (reverse) started to appear together. On these coins, a helmeted Athena is standing, wearing a *peplos* with *aegis*. An owl is visible on her right hand and she holds or leans on a shield with a *gorgoneion*. A pomegranate often appears next to her (Figure 4.6). After this, the owl was replaced with a Nike crowning the goddess on coins dated between 380–333 BC.<sup>421</sup> It is evident from the Archaic and Classical coins of Side that Athena and Apollo were both venerated in the city. However, judging from the predominance of coins depicting Athena, Atlan suggests that the goddess had a special position in the city's pantheon.<sup>422</sup> This is also apparent in Strabo, since he only speaks of the temple of the goddess in Side, which was situated on the harbor, a favorable location for a goddess who was worshipped by the Sidetans as the protectress of seafaring.<sup>423</sup> The Archaic and Classical coins also indicate that the pomegranate had a special meaning both for the city and the goddess. In his lexicon, Hesychius (5<sup>th</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> century AD) explains the meaning of "Side" as pomegranate.<sup>424</sup> The etymology of the word, both in ancient and modern dialects, was thoroughly examined by Witczak and Zadka, who concluded that the various ancient Greek forms of the word pomegranate - *sida*, *side*, *silba* - are all related to each other, that they contain Pre-Greek features and that an Anatolian origin for the word is thus highly possible.<sup>425</sup> In this regard, the symbol of the pomegranate was a *parasemon*, just like the symbol of the seal (*phoke*) on the Archaic and Classical coins of Phokaia and that of the rose (*rhodon*) on the coins of Rhodos dating to the Archaic and

---

<sup>420</sup> For the coins with a pomegranate on the obverse and dolphins on the reverse, Atlan 1967, 1-4, nos. 1-3; BMC 143, 5-6, Mionnet III, 471, 139-140; for the coins with a pomegranate on the obverse and the helmeted head of Athena on the reverse, Atlan 1967, 4-10, nos. 4- 49, BMC 143, nos. 1-4; 144, nos. 7-10; Mionnet III, 471, nos. 137-38.

<sup>421</sup> Atlan 1967, 17-37, nos. 50-75, 82-91, 97-120, 127-159; BMC 144, no. 11, 145, nos. 12-15; Mionnet III, 472, nos. 141-45.

<sup>422</sup> Atlan 1967, 40.

<sup>423</sup> For detailed information about the location of her temple and her function as the protectress of seafaring, see *The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia*, Chapter 5.

<sup>424</sup> Schmidt 1861, 590.

<sup>425</sup> According to the study, the word appears in Linear B texts as *si-da-jo* and can be read as *Sidaos* which may denote an ethnic term derived from a place name called Side or Sidai. The pomegranate was also called Side by the Boeotians according to Agatharchides of Knidos (2nd century BC), as well as in the Doric, Ionic and Aeolic dialects. Apart from the city in Pamphylia, there are many other cities with the same name or the same root, both in Greece and in Asia Minor, for instance in Laconia, Lamia-Hypata, Southern Boeotia, Pontos, Sibda in Caria, Sidake, Sidele, Sidous, Sidousa in Ionia, Sidake, Sidyma in Lycia, Sidous, Singua in Pamphylia and Sindia in Pisidia. The most similar word is the Hittite (Luwian) term *Saddu-wa* which means a type of tree or plant and the word may have entered into the Greek vocabulary, not because of a direct contact with the Hittite language but due to the close connection of the Greeks with the various Western Anatolian forms, see Witczak-Zadka 2014a, 113-26; 2014b, 131-39.



Classical Periods.<sup>426</sup> The Pre-Greek, Anatolian origin of the city of Side is also evident in the linguistic and archaeological evidence. The Sidetic language can be seen in inscriptions and on coins dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Due to the limited number of inscriptions, the language is poorly understood. However, according to linguists, it belonged to the Indo-European family like the majority of the Anatolian languages. It is written from right to left, a feature which can also be seen in the Anatolian writing systems. The language was influenced by Luwian, as was the case with Carian and Lycian.<sup>427</sup> Among the archaeological evidence is a basalt artifact that was found near the Athena and Apollo temples in the harbor, showing stylistic features belonging to Late Hittite art (Figure 4.7).<sup>428</sup> It was first interpreted as a crater by Mansel, as a caldron by Nollé and as a column base and later as a libation basin by Işık.<sup>429</sup> It was recently discussed by Özhanlı, who interpreted the artifact as an altar due to its find spot in the temple area of Side.<sup>430</sup> The artifact was dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC by Paribeni and Romanelli and to the 8<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> century BC by Mansel and Nollé.<sup>431</sup> The general consensus about it is that it is a Late Hittite product and, according to Işık, similar artifacts dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC can be seen in Near Eastern cities.<sup>432</sup> Mansel suggested that it belonged to the foundation period of the colony, thinking of the foundation story of Side related to Cumaean settlers. However, Özhanlı claimed that the basalt altar that is associated with the Late Hittite cultural sphere of Southeastern Anatolia and Northern Syria is strong evidence for commercial and social interrelations between Side and the Late Hittite cities in the 8th-7th centuries BC, and that the harbors of the Western Cilicia cities, such as Nagidos, occupied a crucial position in the establishment of these interrelations and the transfer of goods from East to West.<sup>433</sup> To attribute a Greek origin to the Pamphylian cities is a recurrent theme in the Greek literary sources and the cities themselves frequently used this narrative in order to create a common Greek identity for themselves. The above-mentioned account of Arrian continues with the story that as soon as the Cumaean settlers set foot on land, they immediately forgot their own language and

---

<sup>426</sup> For the coins of Phokaia, see Tekin 1997, 80; for the coins of Rhodos, see Tekin 1997, 100.

<sup>427</sup> For the Sidetic language and inscriptions that were found in Side, see Nollé 2004, 623-46.

<sup>428</sup> Mansel 1958a, 1-13; Özhanlı 2007, 17-31.

<sup>429</sup> Mansel 1978, 6; Nollé 1993a, 37; Işık 1996, 34.

<sup>430</sup> Özhanlı 2007, 18.

<sup>431</sup> Mansel 1978, 6; Nollé 1993a, 37

<sup>432</sup> Işık 1996, 34. Similar bases with floral decoration appeared in North Syria and Mesopotamia and can be found in Kargamış, Zincirli and Tell Tayinat. Wesenberg 1971, 179-85.

<sup>433</sup> Özhanlı 2007, 24-5.

started to speak a different language than Greek. This account has been interpreted by Adak as an illustration that the Sidetans stressed their own Asiatic-Luwian background as a result of a rivalry with the Pamphylian cities who generally claimed a Greek ancestry.<sup>434</sup> Even Hekataios, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, admitted that stories told by the Greeks were manifold, contradictory to each other and even ridiculous.<sup>435</sup> Therefore, the origin of the city cannot with certainty be attributed to Greek settlers and these Aeolians from Kyme can designate a group of Greek people who settled in the city as *metoikoi* as expected from any other busy port city of the time.<sup>436</sup>

Besides linguistic and archaeological evidence, the symbol of the pomegranate, which appeared on the Archaic and Classical coins alongside Athena, can be interpreted as evidence for the Pre-Greek and indigenous presence of the city. Pomegranate-shaped vessels of the Bronze Age have been interpreted as symbols for travelling to the Underworld.<sup>437</sup> The pomegranate was used as an attribute of a number of goddesses. A 9<sup>th</sup> century stone relief of Kubaba found in Karkamish depicts the goddess holding a mirror and a pomegranate (Figure 4.8).<sup>438</sup> It is again in the hands of Kybele in a statue from the post-Hittite Phrygian citadel of Büyükkale dating to the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Figure 4.9).<sup>439</sup> The pomegranate was also among the attributes of the Carthaginian goddess Tinnit and the Persian goddess Anahita.<sup>440</sup> The fruit especially played a significant role in the narrative of Demeter and Persephone, since Persephone had to live in the Underworld after eating a pomegranate seed. In the Demeter *Malopharos* sanctuary in Selinous, founded in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, numerous clay pomegranate figurines were found.<sup>441</sup> According to Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), in the Classical period, the cult image of the Argive Hera was a seated goddess holding a scepter and a pomegranate and among the votive offerings dedicated to the Heraion of Samos were pomegranates, offered as clay or ivory figurines or as real fruits.<sup>442</sup> The pomegranate also had a close relationship with Aphrodite as being one of her attributes as she planted the first pomegranate tree in

---

<sup>434</sup> Arr. Anab. 26.4; Adak 2013, 62-3.

<sup>435</sup> Momigliano 1990, 32-3.

<sup>436</sup> Adak 2013, 62-63.

<sup>437</sup> Pomegranates were used as vase decorations, fruit shape tokens in elite residences, faience and glass fruits in tombs, and they were painted on tombs and temples walls in the Late Bronze Age. For their use, their contexts and their symbolism in the Bronze Age, see Ward 2003, 529-41.

<sup>438</sup> Leick 2003, 212.

<sup>439</sup> Vermaseren 1987, 12, no.32.

<sup>440</sup> Lurker 1987 (Anahita) 13, (Tinnit) 185.

<sup>441</sup> Larsson 2007, 83.

<sup>442</sup> Paus. 2.17; Larsson 2007, 33.

Cyprus where she had a major cult.<sup>443</sup> In general, pomegranate fruit represented sexual life, marriage, fertility, death, and the Underworld and it was attributed to goddesses who were venerated as goddesses of fertility, wild nature, marriage, and chthonic connotations. Moreover, the symbol did not only appear in Anatolian areas but it simply was considered independently a symbol of prosperity and fertility in different cultures.<sup>444</sup> However, the unusual pairing of Athena and the pomegranate has drawn scholarly attention to the fact that a local goddess must have been replaced by Athena by the time Greek influence had started to be seen in the city. According to Atlan,<sup>445</sup> the local goddess of Side was a fertility goddess just like Kybele, whose sacred tree was a pomegranate tree in which the goddess possibly lived.<sup>446</sup> The reason why this goddess was not associated with Hera, Artemis or Aphrodite but with Athena after the city's contact with the Greeks may be that she originally was an armed goddess, similar to Athena. Therefore, as a result of their natural syncretism, the local goddess of Side was replaced by the Greek Athena but she did not lose the pomegranate as her attribute, which turned into the city's symbol. Nollé similarly points out that Athena may have replaced a local Anatolian goddess, possibly armed, and that she adopted the name, iconography, and cultic and mythical traditions of the Greek Athena under a lengthy Greek influence.<sup>447</sup> Özhanlı further suggests that the basalt artifact mentioned above was a libation altar that was dedicated by the Cilicians to the Sidetan local fertility goddess, who must have had the same attributes and same functions of protectress of seafaring as their own goddess.<sup>448</sup> In addition, Alanyalı assumes that the pomegranate, the fertility symbol of the Anatolian mother goddess, proves that the Athena cult of Side goes back to the oldest Anatolian cults.<sup>449</sup> According to Parker, Athena was always venerated as the city's patron deity and her unusual role in maritime life may be due to the continuation of her original character.<sup>450</sup> Although we do not have firm evidence about the identity of the local goddess of Side or her possible relation with the sea, it is important to note that Athena assumed a similar role in Phaselis, since a votive inscription was dedicated to honor her as a result of ten years of seafaring. Among other deities who had an association with the sea are Aphrodite, worshipped under

---

<sup>443</sup> Muthmann 1982, 39-52.

<sup>444</sup> For a general overview of the pomegranate in mythology, see Lazongas 2005, 99-109.

<sup>445</sup> Atlan 1967, 40-44.

<sup>446</sup> A similar worship could be seen in the city of Myra in Lycia, where the city's coins feature a goddess sitting in a tree, Philpot 2004, 87-88.

<sup>447</sup> Nollé 1993a, 107.

<sup>448</sup> Özhanlı 2007, 24.

<sup>449</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 76.

<sup>450</sup> Parker 2016, 17.

the epithet *Euploia* as the protectress of safe journeys,<sup>451</sup> and the Phoenician goddess Tanit, who was also venerated as goddess of safe navigation and of ships from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.<sup>452</sup> Scholars are unanimous concerning the syncretism of a local goddess of Side with Athena and this local goddess is generally interpreted as a mother goddess of Anatolian origin. However, another example of syncretism comes from Komana in Cappadocia, where a cult of Ma existed in the Roman Imperial Period, when she was depicted on coins as an armed goddess mainly symbolizing war and victory.<sup>453</sup> Based on her name, researchers have suggested that Ma originally derived from an Anatolian mother goddess, but a closer look at her iconography, cult and ritual practices reveals that she represents a continuation of the Hurri-Mitanni goddess Sawuska, who was a warrior goddess whose attributes were a mace and an axe. When the Hittites took over the region of Kizzuwatna, the goddess entered the Hittite pantheon under the dual name Ishtar-Sawuska. In the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, Ma replaced Sawuska, and continued to exist in the Roman Imperial period under that name, having the characteristics of Sawuska. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, one should also pay attention not to link every syncretism to the Anatolian mother goddess, especially in a geography such as Pamphylia, which was open to any kind of foreign interaction starting especially from the Late Bronze Age onwards.

It is not possible to determine with certainty when the cult of Athena as part of the Greek influence in Side started, and whether Aeolian settlers from Kyme brought the cult with them when they arrived at Side or the contact happened in another time. As mentioned above, the image of Athena, with an entirely Greek attire, was depicted on city coins dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The presence of Athena *Parthenos* on the coins of the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC of Side has been interpreted as a “specific choice of a symbol related to the statue of Athena *Parthenos* on the Acropolis of Athens and points out an alliance between Side and Athens.”<sup>454</sup> Atlan also emphasizes that, based on coin depictions, Athens seems to have been among the first cities in the West with which Side had relations during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Side borrowed the Athenian images of Athena for its coins and in return it gave, after the naval battle of Eurymedon in 468 BC, to Athens the cult statue of Athena Nikephoros, which was placed in the sanctuary of

---

<sup>451</sup> Demetriou 2010, 67-89.

<sup>452</sup> Christian 2013, 179-205.

<sup>453</sup> For detailed information about the cult of Ma in Komana, see Mutlu 2016, 311-22.

<sup>454</sup> Gaifman 2006, 270.

Athena Nike on the Acropolis.<sup>455</sup> The transfer of the Athena cult statue to Athens after the Eurymedon battle by Kimon as a commemoration of the victory was first put forward by Benndorf,<sup>456</sup> based on the narrative of Heliodoros (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) describing the statue as wingless, holding a helmet in her left hand and a pomegranate in her right one.<sup>457</sup> However, as a result of studies conducted in the Acropolis sanctuary in Athens by Mark, the cult statue must have been placed there already during the Archaic period (6<sup>th</sup> century BC), and after having survived the Persian destruction of the Acropolis, it must have been reinstalled in the new temple that was built in the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>458</sup> Although the relation of the pomegranate with the Athena statue in Athens seems intriguing, parallels should not be sought in Side but instead on the Acropolis itself where many Archaic *kore* statues were depicted holding a pomegranate. The association of the pomegranate with death can also be seen in a number of grave statues of *korai* holding a pomegranate.<sup>459</sup> The general meaning of the pomegranate must have been very strong, and, therefore, it cannot always be associated with Side. Consequently, the cultural, thus religious interaction between Side and Athena seems more unidirectional than reciprocal.

As mentioned above, Athena depictions continued to dominate the city's coinage in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. On the obverse, an Athena head with a Corinthian helmet was depicted and on the reverse a pomegranate or a Nike was present alongside the ethnicon of the city in the genitive form.<sup>460</sup> Sidetic inscriptions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC can further give information about the cult of Athena in the city. Among two bilingual inscriptions, one is called "the bilingual of Artemon" and was found by Paribeni and Romanelli in 1913 in a house at Side.<sup>461</sup> The Greek part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC inscription was severely damaged; however, according to the readings of Bossert and Darga, it was dedicated to Athena or Thea Athena.<sup>462</sup> The Sidetic equivalent of Athena in the Greek part was read by Darga as *-iathan*; therefore, she identified the Sidetic name of the

---

<sup>455</sup> Atlan 1967, 61.

<sup>456</sup> Benndorf 1879.

<sup>457</sup> Heliodorus, FGrHist IV, 425f.

<sup>458</sup> Mark 1993, 64-79.

<sup>459</sup> Lazongas 2005, 103-04.

<sup>460</sup> BMC nos. 30-1, 38-46; Atlan 1976, 40-2.

<sup>461</sup> Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 128-30.

<sup>462</sup> The name of the goddess was read based on a photograph of a squeeze, since the actual inscription is lost, Bossert 1950, 41-50; Darga 1967, 56-59, Brixhe 1969a, 146-147. Nollé, on the other hand, does not take into consideration the first line of the Greek part, since it is no longer legible, see Nollé, IGSK Side II, 630-33.

goddess as “Thana”.<sup>463</sup> The name of the dedicant is Artemon (Artmon in Sidetic) and his father’s name was read as Athanippios or Athenabios.<sup>464</sup>

Evidence for the Athena cult in the city increased during the Roman Imperial period. One of two peripteral temples built in the Corinthian style and located in the east of the harbor was dedicated to Athena, the other one to Apollo (Figure 4.10). No inscription is available to identify the temples as those of Athena and Apollo. The identifications are made based on the predominance of these two deities in the numismatic, archaeological and epigraphic evidence found in the city. The two peripteral temples with 6x11 columns in the Corinthian order stood at a distance of 10,50 m from each other. The first excavator of these temples, Mansel, named the southern temple N1 and considered it as belonging to Apollo, while he ascribed the northern one, N2, to Athena (Figure 4.11-12). The N1 temple is east-west oriented and is 16,37 m wide and 29,50 m long. It has a three-stepped *krepis* and is composed of a two columned *pronaos* and a *cella*. The frieze of the temple on top of the architrave consisted of Medusa heads between *acanthus* leaves.<sup>465</sup> The N2 temple, again oriented in east-west direction, has a width of 17,65 and a length of 34,97 m. It rose on a three-stepped *krepis*. Like the N1 temple, it consists of a two-columned *pronaos* and a *cella*, which is heavily destroyed due to reconstruction and reorganization activities in the Byzantine period. A fragment belonging to the frieze features a tripod with two figures.<sup>466</sup> The larger dimensions of the N2 temple played an important role in the identification, since Athena’s name always comes before Apollo’s in inscriptions.<sup>467</sup> Based on this, Mansel suggested that the largest temple should belong to Athena, the patroness of the city, and the smaller one to Apollo.<sup>468</sup> However, Alanyalı proposes a different identification by associating the console of the smaller temple to the south, which was decorated with Medusa busts (Figure 4.13), with Athena, and ascribing the frieze of the larger N2 temple to the north, which was decorated with a relief of a tripod (Figure 4.14), to Apollo, which makes the larger temple to the north belong to Apollo and the smaller to the south to Athena.<sup>469</sup> Mansel dated the two temples to the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) based on

---

<sup>463</sup> Darga suggests that the Isaurian name Thannis derived from the word Thana. For the reading of the name of the goddess Thana and its derivation, see Darga 1967, 57. For Athanippios, see Bossert 1950, 41-50, Brixhe 1969a, 146-147. For Athenabios, see Nollé 2001, 630-33.

<sup>464</sup> Nollé 2001, 630-44, S1, S4, S8.

<sup>465</sup> Mansel 1978, 121-28.

<sup>466</sup> Mansel 1978, 128-33.

<sup>467</sup> Mansel 1978, 121-42.

<sup>468</sup> Mansel et al. 1951, 21; Mansel 1963, 82-85; 1978, 133-37.

<sup>469</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 78.

architectural parallels in Asia Minor.<sup>470</sup> During his excavations, no older structure belonging to possible predecessors of the temples could be identified and this was interpreted as an indication that possible older temples might have been completely removed before the erection of the Roman temples.<sup>471</sup> However, excavations led by Alanyalı from 2012 onwards around Temple N2, revealed pottery sherds dating to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Imperial periods as well as remains of structures constructed in rectangular ashlar masonry; these remains have been interpreted as evidence for earlier construction activities in this area.<sup>472</sup> An inscription found in the southwestern part of Temple N1 in 1961 further reinforces this opinion, since it is an honorary inscription erected by the *Demos* of Side to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.<sup>473</sup> Pompeius was described as *isotheos time*, worthy to godly honors, and as a patron of the city on account of his accomplishments in the war against the pirates that ended in 67 BC.<sup>474</sup> Nollé further suggests that Pompeius was accepted as *synnaos*, temple sharer, of Athena and, therefore, received a joint cult with the goddess by having his statue erected in her temple.<sup>475</sup>

Athena continued to dominate the Roman Imperial coinage of Side from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. She was always portrayed as an armed goddess with helmet, shield and spear; thus, her warrior nature was always emphasized. On a coin dated to the reign of Emperor Tiberius (14-37 AD), she is advancing with a spear over her shoulder and a shield in her hand in front of a pomegranate, while a snake is depicted under her feet.<sup>476</sup> This depiction mainly prevailed but sometimes her attributes changed: sometimes she was portrayed with Nike<sup>477</sup>, as holding out a ship's stern (Figure 4.15)<sup>478</sup>, as standing on a prow<sup>479</sup>, as crowning a trophy

---

<sup>470</sup> Mansel 1978, 133.

<sup>471</sup> Mansel 1978, 135.

<sup>472</sup> Alanyalı 2014, 457-58.

<sup>473</sup> Bean 1965, 14-6, no. 101; Nollé 1993a, 333-35, no. 5.

<sup>474</sup> Pompeius was honoured as *soter*, *ktistes* and *euergetes* on Delos, Samos and at Mytilene and similar inscriptions have been found in certain cities in Asia Minor, such as Miletropolis, Ilion, Klaros and Miletos, see Bean 1965, 15; Nollé 1993a, 333, footnote 2.

<sup>475</sup> Nollé 1993a, 334.

<sup>476</sup> For Tiberius (14-37 AD), see RPC I, no. 3391.

<sup>477</sup> For Tiberius (14-37 AD), see RPC II, no. 3394; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, no. 2732; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11015; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6376.

<sup>478</sup> For Domitianus (81-96 AD), see RPC II, no. 1523.

<sup>479</sup> For Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, no. 2732.

erected on a tree (Figure 4.16)<sup>480</sup>, as holding an owl<sup>481</sup> and holding a *patera*<sup>482</sup>. On a coin dated to the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), Athena is portrayed sitting inside a distyle temple while holding a Nike and a spear in her hands.<sup>483</sup> Besides, Athena might also have had a political character, since she may also have been venerated as the protectress of the *Boule*: an inscription dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD mentions a certain Antipatros who dedicated a statue to Themis, Athena, and Boulaia. Although it is not possible to understand which goddess the epithet *boulaia* depicts, it seems that Athena was closely linked to the Themis and Boulaia cults in the city.<sup>484</sup> The same inscription also mentions that Antipatros won this statue as a prize in the *Themis Andronikiane*,<sup>485</sup> which was founded by L. Avidius Maximus in honor of the festival of the *epibaterion* of Athena. This *themis* was only open to citizens of Side and celebrated only for Athena but it got canceled in the Severan period.<sup>486</sup> The *epibaterion* festival symbolized the start of the sea season in Side and its rituals probably included carrying the cult statue of Athena in a ship as a coin from the Hadrianic period suggests.<sup>487</sup> Finally, an inscription informs us about Claudia Rufina, who was a priestess of Athena for life in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>488</sup>

From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards, the epigraphic evidence increased giving information about the festivals and contests celebrated in Athena's honor, her temple status, and her priests/priestesses. In an inscription, she is identified as “προκαθεζομενη θεός”, the goddess who sits before others, thus securing her position as the city's main goddess.<sup>489</sup> A coin of Elagabalus (218-222 AD) shows Athena in a distyle temple in the same manner as on the Severan coin (Figure 4.17).<sup>490</sup> Temple depictions are also seen on coins related to the *neokoros* status of the city. The cities tried to show their priorities by showing this status on their coins. Writing the term *neokoros* on the coins is an indication that there was a temple and emperor cult in the city, which had minted the coin.<sup>491</sup> Side

<sup>480</sup> For Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, no. 2721; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, no. 2730.

<sup>481</sup> RPC IV, no. 10818 (Antoninus Pius, 138-161 AD).

<sup>482</sup> For Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11032; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6383.

<sup>483</sup> Alanyalı 2013, 128, Fig. 6.

<sup>484</sup> Bean 1965, no. 146; Nollé 1993a, 120.

<sup>485</sup> The word *themis* has the same meaning as *agon*; however the winner of these contests gained a money prize which was called *thema*, see Pleket 2000, 627-44.

<sup>486</sup> Nollé 1993a, 86; 2001, 424.

<sup>487</sup> For the *epibaterion* festival, see Robert 1949, 74-76; Bean 1965, 44-47. For the coin, see footnote 66.

<sup>488</sup> Bean 1965, no. 128; Nollé 1993a, no. 74;

<sup>489</sup> Nollé 1993a, 195-201, Tep 1.

<sup>490</sup> RPC, VI, nos. 6377, 6390.

<sup>491</sup> Burrell 2004, 1-7.



first gained a neokorate under the joint reign of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) and Gallienus (253-268 AD).<sup>492</sup> Athena was often portrayed on the coins referring to the *neokoros*; for instance, a coin of Salonina shows Athena holding a small distyle temple (Figure 4.18), while also a coin of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) depicts the goddess in the same manner.<sup>493</sup> Her name still appears in an inscription dating to 275-286 AD, mentioning the city's sixth neokorate.<sup>494</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins and inscriptions also show her temple's *asylum* status.<sup>495</sup> The second *themis* organized in Side was called *Themis Pamphyliake Touesiaueios Epibaterios Theon Athenas kai Apollonos* and was founded by Aurelius Paioninus Tuesianus in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. This contest was probably organized after the cancellation of the *Themis Andronikiane* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and it became now inclusive to all Pamphylia and celebrated both Athena and Apollo.<sup>496</sup> These contests were also visualized on coins minted from the reign of Elagabalus (218-222 AD) onwards, portraying palm branches, agonistic crowns, and city deities, such as Athena and Apollo.<sup>497</sup> Finally, visual representations of Athena could be found all around the city in form of reliefs and statues. On a 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD parapet relief found in the monumental fountain outside the city gate, Athena was depicted as making a libation on an altar with a ship on the background (Figure 4.19-20). This depiction has been interpreted as a scene from the *Epibaterion* festival.<sup>498</sup> Her bust was also portrayed on the *scaenae frons* of the theater alongside other deities, such as Apollo, Kybele, Artemis, Demeter, and the Muses.<sup>499</sup> In an inscription dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD based on its letter forms, we read the names Athena and Artemis and it has been suggested by scholars that this altar might symbolize the *homonía* between these two cities in the reign of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) as also the coins show.<sup>500</sup> Apart from the reliefs, statues and fragments of statues have been published, one from the fountain, the same place where the relief was placed, one from the colonnaded street in front of the theater and three from an unknown place

<sup>492</sup> Burrell 2004, 181-89. See The Divinity of the Rulers and the city of Rome at Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

<sup>493</sup> For Salonina, see BMC 120,121; SNG France, 3, no. 940, 937. For Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see Boston 63.857.

<sup>494</sup> Mansel et al. 1951, no. 67; SEG 6:731.

<sup>495</sup> Rigsby 1996, 443-44.

<sup>496</sup> Uzunaslán, 2008, 125. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the festival started to be celebrated for Apollo as well, see the Cult of Apollo in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.3.

<sup>497</sup> Nollé 1990, 258-60.

<sup>498</sup> Mansel 1978, 106.

<sup>499</sup> Mansel 1978, 201.

<sup>500</sup> Adak 2015, no.13.

(Figures 4.21-5).<sup>501</sup> These reliefs and statues date to the Antonine Period (138-193 AD), except for the statue found in the fountain, which dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Inscriptions mentioning the cult of Athena in Side are not only found in the city center but also around the city, in its territory, such as at Aydolin castle at Karallia. For instance, the *Boule* and the *Demos* of Side honored Aurelius Mandrianus Longinus in 220-240 AD. He was, among many other offices, the high priest of the Imperial cult and priest of the patron deity of the city of Side, Athena, together with his wife Aurelia Killaramotiane Ies who also erected a statue for her husband.<sup>502</sup> Furthermore, an inscription found in the village of Hacılar (ancient name unknown), close to the city of Isaura northeast of Side, mentions a woman who served as the priestess of Athena at the city of Side.<sup>503</sup> Thus, it is evident from the literary, archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic sources that Athena was venerated in the city as a major deity of Side from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

The worship of Athena in Aspendos goes back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as the obols of 430-390/85 BC feature a *gorgoneion* on the obverse and the helmeted head of Athena on the reverse (Figure 4.26). On a series of wrestler staters of 430 BC showing Athena on the obverse and a figure of a slinger on the reverse, she again appears as an armed goddess on the background and thus functions as a symbol.<sup>504</sup> On a stater of 400-370 BC, the goddess is depicted holding a spear and shield while standing on a cylindrical base (Figure 4.27).<sup>505</sup> The goddess was also portrayed on coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, for instance on a coin of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) as an armed goddess who is crowning a trophy.<sup>506</sup> The city yields no other evidence for the cult of Athena; however, she is the only deity depicted on the earliest coins of Aspendos. Therefore, she certainly had an important place in the pantheon of Aspendos in the Classical and the Hellenistic periods.

Attaleia is the most recent city among the cities of the region, since it was founded by Attalos II Philadelphos in 159/158 BC due to the site's strategic location as a harbor.<sup>507</sup>

<sup>501</sup> İnan 1975, 49-52, no.13 (unknown place); 52 no.14 (colonnaded street); 131-33, no. 72 (fountain), 164, no.117 (unknown place), 164, no. 118 (unknown place).

<sup>502</sup> Nollé 1993a, 195-202, Tep 1.

<sup>503</sup> Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, no. Hac 4b.

<sup>504</sup> For the obols, see Tekin 1991, 31-33. For the wrestler series, see Tekin 2000, 159-69.

<sup>505</sup> www.asiaminorcoins.com, coin id: 4384.

<sup>506</sup> SNG France, 3 no. 182.

<sup>507</sup> After the peace treaty of Apamea (188 BC) between the Roman Republic and Pergamon, and the Seleucids, Antiochos III retreated to the east of the Taurus Mountains. Attaleia, founded in a strategic position in Pamphylia, had a military importance, since it acted as a military base and harbor and also had economic importance since it controlled the land and sea trade routes, and thus contributed to the richness of the Attalid kingdom, see Hansen 1971, 178-79; Allen 1983, 81-3. Gökalp 2008, 24-33.

However, Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) mentions that its founder, Attalos Philadelphos, from whom the city name was derived, sent a colony to Korykous, a small neighboring town, and that he surrounded his new city with a circuit wall (Figures 4.28-29). According to Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), Korykos was the name of the cape on which later Attaleia was founded.<sup>508</sup> The literary accounts, the existence of smaller settlements in the region, and the favorable location of Attaleia all imply the presence of earlier communities on the site and in its environment. In addition to that, excavations conducted in modern Antalya have revealed the presence of a necropolis that was continuously used from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, testifying the earlier background of the site (Figure 4.30).<sup>509</sup> However, no information is known neither about this early settlement nor about its cults. However, Athena dominated the coinage of the city of Attaleia from its foundation onwards and might have been brought here by the Attalids as the patron deity of Pergamon.<sup>510</sup> On the first coins of the city minted in 159-100 BC, the helmeted head of Athena appears on the obverse and Nike on the reverse.<sup>511</sup> Furthermore, Athena is depicted on the reverse of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC coins with Poseidon on the obverse.<sup>512</sup> As in Phaselis, she was worshipped in the city with the epithet *Polias*, as the protectress goddess of cities. This is evident in an inscription informing us that the *Demos* erected a statue for Terentia Polla who annually donated money for offerings made in honor of Athena *Polias*. The inscription has been interpreted by Pace, Bean, and Gökalp as an annual dedication, whereas Bosch completed the missing parts of the text as the *temenos* of Athena and interpreted the inscription as evidence that Terentia Polla donated money for the *temenos* of Athena *Polias*.<sup>513</sup> After this, Athena was continuously portrayed on the coins of the Roman Imperial period from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, mainly as a helmeted head (Figure 4.31)<sup>514</sup> or as a standing goddess with

<sup>508</sup> Strab. 14.4.4; Paus. VII, 3, 7.

<sup>509</sup> Büyükyörük-Tibet 1999-2000, 115-71.

<sup>510</sup> According to an inscription dating after the death of Attalos III (138-133 BC), the cult of Athena in Pergamon was founded by the mythological figure of Auge, who was the mother of Telephos, see Ins.v.Perg.156, II, 23-24. She was worshipped in Pergamon under the epithets *Polias*, *Nikephoros*, *Areia*, *Tritogeneia* and *Pallas*. Her sanctuary, which was built in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, was further embellished in the periods of Attalos I and Eumenes II. Her cult was organized in the same way as the Athena cult in Athens; her temple was dedicated to Athena *Polias* and there were are *Panathenaia* festivals in Pergamon, see Üreten 2010, 62-78.

<sup>511</sup> Baydur compares this Nike figure with those appearing on Side coins dating to 190 BC and the Athena head to that on coins that were struck in Pergamon in 150 BC, see Baydur 1975, 37.

<sup>512</sup> Baydur 1975, no.64.

<sup>513</sup> Pace, Annurio VI-VII, 416-417, no. 114; Bosch 1947, 100, no. 17; Bean 1958, 31 no. 18; Gökalp 2008, 103, no 4.1.3.5.

<sup>514</sup> For the helmeted bust on the coins of the reign of Augustus (31 BC-14 AD), see RPC I, 3363; of Tiberius (14-37 AD), see RPC I, 3364; of Claudius (41-54 AD), see RPC I, 3366; of Nero (54-68 AD), see RPC I,

shield and spear on the reverse (Figure 4.32).<sup>515</sup> However, from the Hadrianic period onwards, her cult statue holding a Nike on her hand and resting on a spear in front of an altar with an owl on top started to be placed inside a temple. The temple was often tetrastyle but depictions of hexastyle and distyle temples also occurred.<sup>516</sup> Temples are the most frequently represented edifices on Roman Imperial coins and the architectural accuracy of these representations have long been debated among scholars.<sup>517</sup> For instance, on Attaleian coins dated to the reign of Commodus Athena's temple is portrayed as a distyle, tetrastyle or hexastyle temple (Figures 4.33-5). Therefore, architectural accuracy or a chronological development in its architecture seems unlikely. Besides, the temple depiction first appeared on coins of the Hadrianic period; however, since the cult of Athena goes back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the city most probably had a temple earlier than the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Therefore, artistic and iconographic reasons and the need for emphasizing the temple and the cult statue, in a more or less detailed manner, seems to have determined the number of columns of the temple. Since no temple has been discovered in the city of Attaleia yet, it is not possible to make any assumptions solely based on numismatic depictions.

The small city of Magydos is situated about 10 km southwest of Attaleia, in the modern district of Karpuzkaldıran/Lara. Magydos, a city that has a native Anatolian name like Aspendos, Sillyon, Perge and Side, is known from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards in the literary accounts;<sup>518</sup> however, it started to mint its own coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards. The majority of the Roman ruins have been destroyed due to intensive Byzantine activity; however, a harbour, warehouses, sections of the city walls, an agora

---

3367; of Domitian (81-96 AD), see RPC II, 1506-1507; of Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, 2678; of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see Baydur 1975, 192; of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, 4053; of Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, 4071; of Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG Cop. no. 288.

<sup>515</sup> For the standing Athena on the coins of the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, 8639, 11018; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, 1079, 1086.

<sup>516</sup> For tetrastyle temples in the reign of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC, III, no.2679; Baydur 193-8; of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC, IV, no. 4045, Baydur no.203; of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161- 168 AD), see RPC, IV, no.4067; Baydur, no. 251; of Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC, IV, no. 4075; Baydur 265; of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC, VI, no. 6077, Baydur no. 303; of Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC, VI, no. 6083, Baydur, no.304. For hexastyle temples in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC, IV, no. 4060; of Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC, IV, no. 4076. For distyle temples in the reign of Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no.11019; of Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1083.

<sup>517</sup> For a discussion of the temple depictions on coins, especially with a focus on their features of the pediment, see Drew-Bear 1974, 27-63.

<sup>518</sup> Among the literary accounts are Pseudo Skylax, *Periplus*, 100; Strab. 14.4.1; Mela I.79 and Ptolemaios V.5.2, for a full list of literary accounts, see Adak and Atvur 1999, 64-67.

with *stoai* and a bath connected to an aquaduct have been documented in the city.<sup>519</sup> The coins of Magydos illustrate that Magydos and the neighboring city of Attaleia had a strong relationship with each other from the foundation of Attaleia onwards. According to Adak and Atvur, before Attaleia's foundation, Magydos was dependant on Perge and only attained its independence after the Pergamene rule in the region, as the similar coin types of Attaleia and Magydos suggest.<sup>520</sup> Athena was portrayed on the Hellenistic coins of Magydos, in the same manner as on those of Attaleia, i.e a one or two helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and Nike on the reverse. Coins with Athena depictions seem to have outnumbered other deities and, therefore, it seems evident that the goddess had an important position within the city. The portrayal of two Athena heads on the coins of Attaleia has been interpreted by Baydur as the possible combination of an Athena cult that was local to Attaleia -or whatever settlement was present at the site before the foundation of Attaleia- and a second Athena cult that was brought to the city by the Attalids after its foundation.<sup>521</sup> Adak and Atvur, on the other hand, suggest that these similar coin types were used by both cities in order to emphasize some sort of political unity, possibly against a third city in the area.<sup>522</sup> Therefore, the alliance between these two cities might have been expressed by the goddess Athena, as a patron deity of both Attaleia and Magydos. The close relationship between Attaleia and Magydos can also be seen in the epigraphic evidence, since Iulia Sancta, an *euergetes*, erected a statue for Paulina -Hadrianus' sister- in Attaleia and for Sabina -Hadrianus's wife- in Magydos.<sup>523</sup> Athena continued to dominate Magydos' coinage in the Roma Imperial Period, from Tiberius (14-27 AD) to Gallienus (253-268 AD), and she was depicted as a standing armed goddess with an helmet, spear and shield, holding a Nike on her hand and having a snake or eagle under her feet (Figure 4.36).<sup>524</sup> Unfortunately, no further evidence casting light on the goddess' epithets, festivals or cult personnel is available from the city.

<sup>519</sup> For detailed information about the city's history and ruins, see Adak and Atvur 1999, 53-68; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 701.

<sup>520</sup> For the similar coin types, see Baydur 1975, nos. 33-72, Groups D (nos. 35-44) and E (nos. 45-52).

<sup>521</sup> Baydur 1963, 26.

<sup>522</sup> Adak and Atvur 1999, 60.

<sup>523</sup> Adak and Atvur 1999, 62-4.

<sup>524</sup> For Tiberius (14-37 AD), see RPC I, 3367a; for Nero (54-68 AD), see RPC I, no.3368; for Domitianus (81-96 AD), see RPC I, no. 1510; for Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, nos. 2681, 2682, 2683; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, nos. 2684, 2685; for Antoninus Pius (138- 161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4950; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 5711; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, nos. 4947, 6548; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, nos. 5712, 10741; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, No. 6092; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI no. 6102; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG III, 318-19.

However, her depiction from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD on the coins points out that she was highly respected in Magydos.

The evidence regarding the cult of Athena in Perge is scarce and so far dates to the Roman Imperial period. Athena was portrayed on the *homonoia* coins of Perge and Side (minted by Perge) dating to the period of Gordianus III (238-244 AD), on which Perge is represented by Artemis and Side by Athena (Figure 4.37).<sup>525</sup> An inscription, dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, mentions a certain Claudia Paulina Artemisia, who was a priestess of Artemis *Asylos* and priestess for life of Athena.<sup>526</sup> In contrast to the scarcity of the epigraphic evidence, several statues of Athena were found in different parts of the city. One statue was placed in the Late Roman Gate.<sup>527</sup> The Southern Baths of Perge have yielded an impressive amount of statues, among which two statues of Athena (Figures 4.38-39) and a head of Athena (Figure 4.40) dating to the Antonine period.<sup>528</sup> During recent excavations, which have been concentrated on the eastern-western oriented colonnaded street, two more Athena statues dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD have been unearthed from the southern façade of the *Palaestra* of Cornutus,<sup>529</sup> situated in the northern part of the western colonnaded street (Figures 4.41-42). The fact that these statues were placed in or in front of buildings like the city gate, baths and *palaestra*, where the traffic was busy and social life was vivid, made them visible to a large number of people. These statues were not standing separately, but instead, they were part of a larger sculptural program that included other deities. For instance, in the Late City Gate, Athena was among statues of Artemis, Aphrodite, Nemesis and Asklepios. The Athena head in the Southern Baths was found together with Apollo, the Muses, Marsyas, Herakles, two statues of Aphrodite, a Satyros, Nemesis, Hygeia and Eros. The other two Athena statues were also part of a group, which comprised of two statues of Aphrodite, Asklepios and the Charites. Among the deity statues embellishing the southern façade of the *Palaestra* were Aphrodite and Artemis. The prevalence of these Athena statues, which especially dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, in the city despite the scarcity of evidence for her cult may imply that the Pergaians obviously respected her since she was a very well known deity in the region and that her images were an important part of the city's visual landscape.

---

<sup>525</sup> Franke-Nollé 1997, 167-170 and 191-93.

<sup>526</sup> Şahin 1999a, 92-194, no. 173.

<sup>527</sup> Mansel 1969, 92-104.

<sup>528</sup> İnan 1983, 15-16; 2000, 1-15; 17-30.

<sup>529</sup> Orhan 2017, 13-30.

The only evidence regarding the Athena worship at Lyrbe are coin depictions dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD in which the goddess is portrayed while holding a *patra* and a spear.<sup>530</sup>

In his detailed article of 2016, Parker thoroughly examined the presence of Athena in Anatolia.<sup>531</sup> He considered the relation of Athena with Greek settlers, the occurrence of the goddess in non-Greek communities or in mixed populations and her proliferation on coins dating particularly to the Roman Imperial period as the possible result of her acceptance as the embodiment of female virtue and as her being the global symbol of victory, female works and virtue. In Phaselis, where the goddess was venerated as Athena *Polias*, her cult owed its existence to Rhodian settlers. Her presence in Attaleia was similar to that in Phaselis, in the sense that she might have been brought here by the settlers of the Pergamene kingdom. The Greek background of the goddess is also clear in Pisidia, where she was absent on rural sites, was not equipped with an indigenous epithet, and was mostly connected with the *polis* institutions. Her Greekness was particularly emphasized in cities, such as Sagalassos and Selge.<sup>532</sup> On the other hand, in two others neighboring regions of Pamphylia, in Lycia and in Cilicia, her local aspects shone out. In Rhodiapolis in Lycia, a city founded by Rhodian settlers as well, two inscriptions written in the Lycian language mention a *Maliya Wedrenni*, which has been interpreted as the cultic equivalent of Athena *Polias* and may show a predecessor of the Greek Athena.<sup>533</sup> The association of Malis/Maliya and Athena is furthermore also documented in Lydia.<sup>534</sup> Maliya was a goddess who is well attested in the Hittite sources as a deity related to water; she also existed in the Luwian pantheon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century millennium BC. Therefore, she was also present in the Lycian language as the inscription from Rhodiapolis indicates, as well as a Lycian inscription on a Greek vase from Pithom in Egypt, which identifies Athena as Maliya in the scene of the judgement of Paris.<sup>535</sup> The existence of Maliya in the Hittite, Luwian and Lycian sources and her later equalisation with Athena in the Greek language exhibits a clear convergence of a local goddess with her Greek counterpart. In Rough Cilicia, the goddess had a distinctive character, since she was either worshipped as Athena *Oreia*, the mistress of the mountains, or under local epithets, as seen in various

---

<sup>530</sup> For Traianus Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, nos. 1169, 1174.

<sup>531</sup> Parker 2016, 73-90.

<sup>532</sup> Talloen 2015, 89-90.

<sup>533</sup> Parker 2016, 73.

<sup>534</sup> Parker 2017, 40, footnote 23.

<sup>535</sup> Payne 2019, 242.

caves on the slopes of the Tauros Mountains.<sup>536</sup> The unlikely identification of Athena with an unfamiliar territory, such as mountains, instead of Meter or Artemis brought Parker to determine an indigenous substrate for her cult; however, the process behind this attestation and its possible reasons largely remain unanswered thus far.<sup>537</sup> In Side in Pamphylia, the goddess was venerated as the patron deity of the city and dominated the numismatic evidence of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, in other words, from the earliest issues onwards and her cult maintained its importance until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Here, the unfamiliarity lies in her iconographic depictions, since she was shown in Greek attire while holding a pomegranate, referring to the name and the symbol of the city. Because of the pomegranate, Athena of Side is generally seen as the result of a syncretism with an earlier indigenous goddess, particularly a goddess related to fertility. In my opinion, the pomegranate next to Athena might have also been used to symbolize the city's identity rather than to identify the predecessor -if there was any- of Athena as a mother goddess, especially taking into consideration that the indigenous name of the city means pomegranate as well. However, the unusual association of the Sidetan Athena with the sea, given the location of her temple and the occurrence of an embarkment festival celebrated in her honor, might also suggest a local substrate for her worship in the city. Finally, her appearance on 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins from Lyrbe and on coins from Syedra<sup>538</sup>, Laertes<sup>539</sup> and Korakesion<sup>540</sup> in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD might have been in relation with the general proliferation of her image on coins throughout Asia Minor. This might also be the case with the predominance of the number of her statues in Perge, where the evidence about her cult remains limited. As a result, it seems that in Pamphylia, the cult of Athena was at the same time an outsider like the one in Pisidia, and an insider, as the ones in Lycia and Cilicia.

---

<sup>536</sup> Parker 2016, 80.

<sup>537</sup> Parker 2016, 81-85.

<sup>538</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 9840, 9359, 9357; SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no. 1182, 1183; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no.1209; for Maximus Caesar (235-238 AD), see SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no. 1218; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no. 1222.

<sup>539</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV.3, nos. 9255, 9344.

<sup>540</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV.3, no. 6017; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no.6932.



### 4.3 *The Cult of Apollo in Pamphylia*

The worship of Apollo was very common in Pamphylia. The god's presence is documented in the epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological sources. He received many different epithets, which indicates his various characteristics, accentuating his nature, local and/or regional importance, his ancestral status or his relation to his central sanctuary at Delphi in Greece. In the region the cult of Apollo goes back to the 490 BC's and continued to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Side was one of the most important towns in Pamphylia, when it comes to the Apollo worship and the influence of the cult on cities located further east. He appeared on the earliest coins of the city alongside Athena from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, and he was venerated as the founder of Side. His temple stood at the southern edge of the peninsula overlooking the sea, festivals celebrating him were organised and his statues, found all over the city, are the visual reminder of his importance for Side. Indeed, he was considered the patron god of the town alongside his female counterpart, Athena.

The symbol of Apollo, the dolphin, appeared on the reverse of coins dating to 490-479 BC and on the obverses of those dating to 479-460 BC.<sup>541</sup> The dolphin was one of the animals sacred to Apollo and his common epithet *Delphinios* is believed to have derived from the word *delphis*, which means dolphin.<sup>542</sup> He received this epithet either because he killed the dragon, the *Drakaina Delphyne*, at Delphi<sup>543</sup> or because he guided the Cretan colonists to Delphi under the guise of a dolphin.<sup>544</sup> In the latter case, the symbol of the dolphin can be identified with the god's role in seafaring and founding new colonies.<sup>545</sup> The epithet of Apollo Delphinios has not been encountered in Side; therefore, this symbol might symbolize the deity's close relationship with the sea in a port-city where the sea played an important role or the image might symbolize the city's foundation by the Cumaean settlers. The bust of Apollo appears on the reverses of coins dated to 479-460 BC and later; on these early coins he wears a laureate wreath.<sup>546</sup> From 400-380 BC onwards, Apollo started to be depicted on the reverses in standing position and

<sup>541</sup> Atlan 1967, 63, nos. 1-3. On the coins of 479-460 BC a pomegranate is above the dolphin, see Atlan 1967, 64, nos. 3-7.

<sup>542</sup> Liddell and Scott online Greek-English dictionary, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Ddelfi%2Fs>

<sup>543</sup> Ap. Rhod. 2.705–707.

<sup>544</sup> For Dolphin as the symbol of Apollo, see Boutsikas 2015, 80-81.

<sup>545</sup> For the spread of the cult in the Mediterranean, see Graf 1979, 2-22.

<sup>546</sup> Atlan 1967, 64-65, nos. 8-9; 12.

wearing a *chlamys* (Figure 4.43). In his right hand he held a long laurel branch with leaves on top and in his downwards extending left hand, a bow. To the left, an altar was represented, while at the right side a crow was depicted. The legend in the Sidetic language appeared on the front, behind and/or around the god.<sup>547</sup> The bow was sometimes replaced with a *phiale*.<sup>548</sup> The depiction of the god wearing a short *chiton* and *chlamys*, holding a *phiale* in his right hand and grasping a laurel branch with the other constituted, for this time, an unusual iconography of Apollo, which was -with minor differences compared to the Classical period coins- frequently used for coin imagery and reliefs dating to the Roman Imperial period. A similar iconography of Apollo who is making a libation from a *phiale* to an altar below while holding a laurel branch, with a crow next to the altar appeared on the coins of 370-360 BC<sup>549</sup>, 360-333 BC<sup>550</sup> and 325-300 BC<sup>551</sup> (Figure 4.44). The crow was also a sacred animal of Apollo and it had prophetic connotations since it was the god's informer. According to the myth, it informed Apollo about the betrayal of his lover, Koronis.<sup>552</sup> An oracular function was not assumed for the temple of the god in the city<sup>553</sup> until the discovery of a stone *omphalos* in the Great Baths in 2001. The obverses of the coins dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC show a laurate bust of the deity.<sup>554</sup>

Judging by the predominance of coin depictions, the important position of the deity in the city during the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, can be understood. Apollo likely possessed a sacred place within the town during these periods. One of the temples situated on the southern edge of the peninsula has been identified as the temple of Apollo (N1), but its remains are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Figures 4.10-2). However, excavations led by Alanyalı in 2012 around the nearby so-called Athena temple (N2) revealed pottery sherds dating to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Imperial periods and remains of structures constructed in rectangular ashlar masonry. These remains have been interpreted as evidence for earlier construction activity on the spot.<sup>555</sup> An inscription found in the southwestern part of the so-called Apollo temple in 1961 further reinforces

---

<sup>547</sup> Atlan 1967, 70-76, nos. 50-89.

<sup>548</sup> Atlan 1967, 76, no. 89.

<sup>549</sup> Atlan 1967, 78-82, nos. 98-120.

<sup>550</sup> Atlan 1967, 82-86, nos. 127-59.

<sup>551</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 642-58.

<sup>552</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 118; For further information on the role of birds in interpreting omnia, see Dillon 2017, 138-70.

<sup>553</sup> Neither Nollé (1990, 258-259) nor Alanyalı (2011, 77) suggested an oracular function for Apollo in Side.

<sup>554</sup> SNG France, 3, nos. 776-79.

<sup>555</sup> Alanyalı 2014, 457-58.

this opinion, since it is an honorary inscription erected by the *Demos* of Side to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.<sup>556</sup> Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus is described as *isotheos time*, worthy to godly honors, as patron of the city on account of his accomplishments in the war against the pirates that ended in 67 BC.<sup>557</sup> In addition, a basalt column base dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, which might have been used as an altar, was found in the area of the sanctuaries. This suggests the presence of very early religious activities conducted in the area.<sup>558</sup> None of this evidence, however, is a certain indicator for a sacred space dedicated to Apollo but one should keep in mind that the practice of a cult does not necessitate the presence of an elaborate architectural setting.<sup>559</sup> Therefore, the lack of a temple does not always mean the lack of a sacred space. Nollé also argued that the depictions of Apollo Sidetes on coins -Apollo wearing a *chiton* and *chlamys* and sacrificing on an altar from a *phiale* while holding a laurel staff- which appeared in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC century, and were widely portrayed in the Roman Imperial period, could represent the ancient cult image of the god situated once in his temple.<sup>560</sup> A relief of the god carved on the ceiling coffers of the theater dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD also showed archaizing elements -the frontal depiction, the large almond-shaped eyes, convex eyebrows, large forehead, long tresses of hair (Figure 4.45). Although five additional deities were also represented on the ceiling coffers of the theater, Apollo is the only one who is represented in this manner. Therefore, building further on the idea of Nollé, Alanyalı suggested that the depiction of Apollo on the coffer cassette could also be a reproduction of the cult image that once stood in his temple.<sup>561</sup> Furthermore, two inscriptions demonstrate the presence of priests of Apollo at Side. One of them is dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and was found in the Museum Baths. It commemorates Tiberius Iulius Magnus, priest of Dea Roma, *demiourgos*, high priest of Caesar Augustus, *agonothetes* of the Penteteric Games, and priest of Apollo.<sup>562</sup> The second one, which can be dated to the Early Imperial period, was found at the same location and mentions Marcus Annius Afer, priest of Dea Roma, *demiourgos*, high priest of the Imperial cult, priest of Apollo for four years and priest of

<sup>556</sup> Bean 1965, 14-6, no. 101, Nollé 1993a, 333-35. no. 53.

<sup>557</sup> Pompeius was honoured as *soter*, *ktistes* and *euergetes* in Delos, Samos and Mytilene and similar inscriptions were found in several cities in Asia Minor, such as Miletropolis, Ilion, Klaros and Miletos, Bean 1965, 15; Nollé 1993a, 333, footnote 2.

<sup>558</sup> Özhanlı 2007, 17-31.

<sup>559</sup> See especially The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

<sup>560</sup> Nollé 1993a, 113.

<sup>561</sup> Alanyalı 2005, 89.

<sup>562</sup> Nollé 2001, 367-368, no. 75.

Poseidon.<sup>563</sup> The latter inscription is important in terms of showing the duration of service of the priests of Apollo, at least in the Early Imperial period.

The iconography of the deity created around 400-380 BC was still frequently seen on coins of the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD with minor differences. Apollo Sidetes, leaning against a laurel branch while holding a pomegranate, first appeared on Roman Imperial period coins from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards.<sup>564</sup> His most common iconography depicts him standing and wearing a short *chiton*, a *chlamys* and long boots, a variation that was not encountered before. He is holding a *phiale* in his right hand and leans against a long laurel staff, which he is holding in his left hand.<sup>565</sup> Some coins feature an altar (Figure 4.46)<sup>566</sup>, a pomegranate (Figure 4.47)<sup>567</sup> and/or a tripod (Figure 4.48).<sup>568</sup> Nollé summarized the iconography of Apollo Sidetes on the coins under three different variations. In the first group, the naked god wears a *chlamys* fastened on his shoulder and he has a bow in his left hand and a laurel branch in his right one. The second iconographical variant depicts him in the same attire while he is making a libation from a *phiale* and is holding a laurel staff. The third one differentiates from the second only by the clothes, since Apollo is wearing a short *chiton*, *chlamys* and long boots.<sup>569</sup> In her recent study of the Roman Imperial Sidetan coins preserved in the Antalya Archaeological Museum, Büyükyörük indicated that the god was also sometimes depicted with winged boots, an unusual iconography for Apollo,<sup>570</sup> seen mainly in the

<sup>563</sup> Nollé 2001, 361-362, no. 71.

<sup>564</sup> For Nero (54-68 AD), see SNG France, 3, no. 782; RPC I, no. 3400; The other coins on which he holds a pomegranate were minted in the period of Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, 2722; Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 801; RPC III, 2733-2736. On one coin, he stands while holding a pomegranate and a laurel branch between two emperors, Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), RPC IV, 5718.

<sup>565</sup> For Traianus (98-117 AD), see Büyükyörük, 2018, 40; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, 45; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, 10449; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, 11034; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 850, RPC VI, 6449; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 855-57; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-251 AD), see RPC IX, 1158; for Aemilianus (253 AD), see RPC IX, 1164; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 891, 902, 924; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, 192; for Aurelianus (270-275 AD), see SNG France 3, no.950.

<sup>566</sup> For Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 829; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, nos. 117-118.

<sup>567</sup> For Domitianus (81-96 AD), see SNG France 3, 789; RPC II, 1524-1526; for Traianus (98-117 AD), see SNG France 3, 797; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, 132-134; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 943-46, 948,

<sup>568</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 50; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10450.

<sup>569</sup> Nollé 1993a, 109-14.

<sup>570</sup> For Domitianus (81-96 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 34; for Traianus (98-117 AD), see no. 40; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see no. 45; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see no. 50; for Lucius Verus-161-169 AD, see no. 63; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see no. 86; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), no. 117-118;

iconography of Hermes.<sup>571</sup> Another epithet, which forms a connection between Hermes and Apollo comes from Perge and will be discussed below.

Not only the coins but also Apollo's epithets, although provided by relatively late inscriptions, further emphasize the god's connection to the city. The most common epithet for the god was *Theos Patroos Ktistes* (the ancestor god and founder), which was frequently used in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>572</sup> The epithet was commonly encountered in relation to Apollo in the cities of Lycia, such as Patara, Kadyanda, Oinoanda, Rhodiapolis and Balboursa, during the Roman Imperial period. Here he was mainly venerated as the patron deity of the region, as a god who protected families and family members and he was considered the titular deity of the Lycian League.<sup>573</sup> He was also venerated with this title at Eudokias near Termessos, at the border between Lycia and Pisidia.<sup>574</sup> The cult of Apollo *Patroos* has not been documented in Rough Cilicia thus far. However, an inscription from Tarsos in Cilicia Pedias honors the deity with the epithets of *Patroos* and *Argeios*.<sup>575</sup> The epithet *ktistes* (the founder) on the other hand, was generally given to Apollo due to the involvement of the Delphi oracle in the colonization of the region.<sup>576</sup> Also at Side the epithet *ktistes* highlighted Apollo's founding role in the city. Apollo was a Sidetan, he established the city, was the ancestral god and the protector of families and therefore the protector of the people. The founding status of Apollo at Side is unclear from the literary sources. Perhaps, he was brought to Side by Cumaean settlers who made their journey upon an order from the Delphic oracle. As mentioned above, the foundation myths of the city of Side are drastically different from those of the other Pamphylian cities, since they do not develop around a Trojan seer motif but instead favor an Anatolian background for the city.<sup>577</sup> Alanyalı suggested that the cult of Apollo at Side might have been associated with a local god whose origin went back to an old patron deity.<sup>578</sup> The Anatolian aspects in the foundation myths may be related to that old patron deity of Side and the myth of Cumaean settlers who brought Apollo with them may have led to the

---

for Gallienus III (253-268 AD), see nos. 132, 161-163; for Salonina, see nos. 174-174,186-187; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see no. 192.

<sup>571</sup> See The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.8.

<sup>572</sup> Nollé 1993a, no. 4, 44; Nollé 2001, nos. 129, 134, 267, 380.

<sup>573</sup> For Patara, see Taşlıkılıoğlu 1963, 105-06; for Kadyanda, see Taşlıkılıoğlu 1963, 98; for Oinoanda, see Mitchell 1990, 183-89; for Rhodiapolis, see IGRR III, n. 731; for Balboursa, see IGRR III, n. 473. For the cult of Apollo and other deities in Lycia, see Frei 1990, 1730-864.

<sup>574</sup> TAM III.1, no. 906.

<sup>575</sup> SEG 27, 947.

<sup>576</sup> Larson 2007, 95.

<sup>577</sup> See The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians, Chapter 3.

<sup>578</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 76.

amalgamation of Apollo with this local god and to the formation of Apollo Sidetes. The founding of Side by Apollo was important for the Sidetans, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, as the inscriptions of this period bore the epithets *patroos* and *ktistes*. The god's relationship with the city as its protector is also reinforced by a particular coin image. A coin of Gallienus (253-268 AD) portrays the god between the city gates of Side, holding a laurel staff next to an altar.<sup>579</sup> Thus, Apollo seems to have also functioned as *Theos Propylaios*, the gatekeeper of Side, although no inscription is presently bearing this epithet.<sup>580</sup>

Apollo as a Sidetan god was not only the founder, the ancestor and the protector of the city, but he also had a close relationship with the sea. As said before, the dolphin as his symbol appeared on the coins of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, already accentuating his connection with the sea, and perhaps also his involvement in colonization activities. A festival called *Epibaterion* (embarkment, arrival) was celebrated in the city at the opening of the seafaring season and contests constituted a large part of this festival. A contest called *Themis Andronikiane* started to be organized in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in honor of Athena and only Sidetans were allowed to participate.<sup>581</sup> When this contest was canceled during the Severan period, possibly due to financial reasons, a second contest called *Themis Pamphyliake Touesianos Epibaterios Theon Athenas kai Apolloos* was founded by Aurelius Paioninus Touesionus at his own expenses in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, after 212 AD.<sup>582</sup> This time, the contest was dedicated to both Athena and Apollo, open to all Pamphylians and limited to physical competitions like wrestling and boxing. The addition of Apollo to the contest that started to be celebrated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD is in accordance with the increasing number of inscriptions that honored the god as the city's patron deity in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Therefore, in spite of its presence from the Archaic/Classical period onwards, Apollo's worship in Side seems to have witnessed a boost in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The partnership of Athena and Apollo was not limited to the *Epibaterion* festival but was also visible on coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. These coins usually depicted Athena and Apollo, each holding a spear and staff and holding hands, with an altar between them (Figure 4.49).<sup>583</sup>

---

<sup>579</sup> SNG France 3, no. 904.

<sup>580</sup> Nollé 1993a, 113.

<sup>581</sup> Nollé 1993a, 86; Nollé 2001, 424.

<sup>582</sup> Uzunaslán 2008, 125.

<sup>583</sup> For Elagabalus (218-225 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6390; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, nos. 6386, 6414; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6444.

The togetherness of Athena and Apollo was also manifested in the presence of two temples, built side by side at the southern end of the peninsula, which formed the end point of a colonnaded street.<sup>584</sup> Unfortunately, the temples have not yielded any additional epigraphic or archaeological evidence to determine a certain identification. The temple of Apollo, like the one dedicated to Athena, was also depicted on coins. A coin of Elagabalus (218-224 AD) portrays on its reverse the front view of a hexastyle temple in the Corinthian order with a shield on its pediment (Figure 4.50). The cult statue of Apollo with a *phiale* in his right hand and holding a laurel branch is situated inside.<sup>585</sup> The same iconography appears on the reverse of a coin dated to the period of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD).<sup>586</sup> These two coins apparently depict an accurate image of the temple, which is in line with the archaeological evidence. Apart from this, the temple of Apollo was also depicted on Sidetan coins in the context of the *neokoros*, which the city gained for the first time under Valerianus and Gallienus (253-268 AD). Like other deities venerated at Side, such as Athena, Tyche and Asklepios, Apollo had an important political function. The reverse of a coin of Gallienus shows the emperor and the god clasping hands, accompanied by the legend *Neokoros*.<sup>587</sup> The cult statue of Apollo is again shown in a hexastyle temple at the reverse of a coin minted for Salonina (253-268 AD).<sup>588</sup> A coin of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) shows Apollo Sidetes before a temple with an arched architrave with 5 lateral columns; between the temple and Apollo an altar is depicted.<sup>589</sup> A coin dated to the same period depicts Athena and Apollo clasping hand and a distyle temple between them.<sup>590</sup> Another coin of Valerianus I shows the cult statue of Apollo Sidetes inside a tetrastyle temple.<sup>591</sup> The change in the architecture of the temple on the coins clearly does not represent accurate architectural changes that occurred through time, but rather reflects a desire to accentuate the deity and his political connotations. Furthermore, the presence of Apollo on the neocorate coins of Side has led to discussion. Some scholars have suggested that the emperor (Gallienus) identified himself with Apollo, whereas according to others the treasury of the Apollo temple was used for the

<sup>584</sup> For the architectural characteristics and different opinions concerning the identification of the temples, see *The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.2.

<sup>585</sup> RPC VI, no. 6384, RPC defines the temple as a tetrastyle.

<sup>586</sup> RPC VI, no. 6388, RPC defines the temple as a tetrastyle.

<sup>587</sup> Burrell 2004, 182, no.1, 182. Another coin of Gallienus with the legend of *Neokoron* and Apollo Sidetes can be found in SNG France 3, no. 902.

<sup>588</sup> SNG France 3, no. 934.

<sup>589</sup> SNG France 3, no. 874.

<sup>590</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, 119.

<sup>591</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, 123.

minting of neorate issues and the temple further helped with the costs of the Imperial cult. The coin type with Apollo sacrificing before the arched lintel temple has led to the assumption that the temple was used for both the cult of Apollo and that of the emperor(s).<sup>592</sup> Burrell concluded that the gods of the city played an unusual political role in the *neokoria*, as Apollo Sidetes was given the title of *neokoros* on coins and he might have shared his temple with the emperors.<sup>593</sup> It appears that the god was not only significant in the people's religious beliefs but that he also had an important role in political relations with the emperors.

Apollo's increasing importance in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD can again be seen in yet another festival celebrated in the city. A festival called *Agon Phoibeios* was celebrated for Apollo and founded by Dionysios, son of Pankhares, after completing six periods of four years of priesthood in honor of Apollo.<sup>594</sup> Dionysios wanted to establish this festival according to the rules of the Pythian games of Delphi; therefore, he turned to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi to seek approval. Having a festival equal in prestige to the Pythian Games celebrated at Delphi, *i.e.* a festival of isopythic status, would enhance the standing of Side among other Pamphylian cities. Indeed, the *Agon Phoibeios* of Side was the first isopythic festival celebrated in Pamphylia. The approval of Delphi was given through two oracular inscriptions.<sup>595</sup> The precise date of the foundation and the content of this festival are unknown. Music, acting and dance performed in honor of Apollo seem to have constituted an important part of the festival, as he was also seen as the god of art in Greek thinking. This aspect of Apollo was not unfamiliar to the Sidetans, since he was also depicted on coins with his *lyra* and a laurel branch from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards.<sup>596</sup> The reverse of a coin of Elagabalus (218-223 AD) shows agonistic crowns on a table with two palm branches depicted between Apollo, who is holding a lyre, and Nike, who is holding a palm branch and a wreath.<sup>597</sup> The *Agon Phoibeios* was celebrated in Side until 220-240 AD as evidenced by an inscription found in Karallia on the territory of Side.<sup>598</sup> The name, status and content of this festival drastically changed in the reign of Gordianus III (238-244 AD). The Emperor granted a new *agon* to the city as a gift in 243 AD. This

---

<sup>592</sup> For a discussion on different opinions concerning the neorate status of Apollo, see Burrell 2004, 184.

<sup>593</sup> Burrell 2004, 187.

<sup>594</sup> For the inscription giving information about the foundation of *Agon Phoibeios*, see Nollé 2001, no. 129.

<sup>595</sup> For the festival, see Nollé 1993a, 87; Uzunaslan 2008, 1, 121.

<sup>596</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 5716; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 3961; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 807; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 903.

<sup>597</sup> RPC VI, nos. 6380-6381; Büyükyörük 2018, no. 86.

<sup>598</sup> Nollé 1993a, Tep1.



was essentially the continuation of the *Agon Phoibeios*, which was now called *Agon Hieros Oikoumenikos Apolloeios Gordianuseios Antoneinios Isopythios Ekecheirios Isalastikos*. As is apparent from the title, Gordianus III (238-244 AD) increased the status of an already existing festival by granting new privileges like *hieros*, *oikoumenikos*, *isalastikos* and *ekecheirios*. The sacred (*hieros*) festivals had a great importance in terms of status and privileges, and the status of sacred was bestowed to festivals by Roman Emperors due to political reasons.<sup>599</sup> Furthermore, the status *oikoumenikos* symbolized the universal status of the festival, which meant that now the festival was open to everyone who lived in the Greek World.<sup>600</sup> Moreover, the winners of an *agon isalastikos* were allowed to enter the city from the city gates in a triumphal procession.<sup>601</sup> Finally, the status *ekecheirios* ensured the protection of people who were on the road to participate with a festival, which means that the city that organized a festival with the title *ekecheirios* was responsible for the lives and goods of the contestants.<sup>602</sup> Marcus Aurelius Oribianus Konon from Kasai on the territory of Side first organized this festival in the city.<sup>603</sup> The formal and long name of the festival was only used in inscriptions, whereas the festival was usually referred to as *Pythia* on coins. The first Pythian Games were celebrated under Gordianus III (238-244 AD), the second ones under Philippus I (244-249 AD) and II (247-249 AD) and the third ones under Gallienus and Salonina (253-268 AD).<sup>604</sup> The Pythian Games held every four years at the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi were one of the four Panhellenic festivals of Ancient Greece, going back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. The games focused on artistic contests like playing the *kithara* and reciting poetry but later athletic competitions were also included. The foundation story of the sanctuary at Delphi was closely related to the foundation of the Pythian Games as well. According to the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the god fought with the serpent Pythia for the possession of the land of the sanctuary, oversaw the building of the first sanctuary dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and then established the first games.<sup>605</sup> The fame and importance of these games exceeded the borders of Delphi and started to be celebrated in many cities of the Greek World. Asia Minor was no exception to that. The organization of the festivals in other cities certainly

---

<sup>599</sup> Ziegler 1985, 10-1.

<sup>600</sup> Nollé 2001, 448.

<sup>601</sup> Uzunaslán 2008, 120, footnote 16.

<sup>602</sup> Uzunaslán 2008, 120, footnote 17.

<sup>603</sup> Nollé 1993a, ISide Tep 4.

<sup>604</sup> Nollé 1990, 258-59. For the coins of Philippus I (244-249 AD), see SNG France, 3, 866; for Philippus II Caesar (244-247 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 867; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1142; for Salonina, see Büyükyörük 2018, 180.

<sup>605</sup> The Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 3.300-376, Larson 2007, 94-5; Roux 1976, 147-64.

provided an economic contribution to the towns alongside political privileges and it was also a matter of prestige. Therefore, in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods many cities in Asia Minor established Pythian festivals equal in status to those at Delphi.<sup>606</sup> The Pythian Games celebrated at Side undoubtedly had political, economic, cultural and social aspects alongside their religious purpose and also pointed out a connection between Delphi and Side. The *homonoia* coin of Delphi and Side minted in the reign of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) portrayed on its reverse Apollo Sidetes who received a crown out of the hand of Apollo of Delphi (Figure 4.51).<sup>607</sup> Side also produced coins in the reign of Decius (249-251 AD) with the depiction of the foundation myth of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi. The coin shows Apollo bending a bow to the serpent Python and standing on a rock below a tree, with a tripod represented at the left (Figure 4.52).<sup>608</sup> The great importance of the *Pythia* festival for the Sidetans is also demonstrated by the gilded altar (*bomos*) that Marcus Aurelius Seleukianos Seleukos dedicated to the city and Apollo at the occasion of the third celebration of the Pythian festival.<sup>609</sup> The stone pedestal of the gilded altar, which is now preserved in the Side Museum, was embellished with reliefs, such as prize crowns on which the name of the festival *Pythia* was carved. Among other reliefs are winners of the games who hold palm branches, a trumpeter, a laurel tree, and a chariot race,<sup>610</sup> which all together depict the content of the festival and the various competitions that were held during the *Pythia* (Figures 4.53-4). The bestowment of the *Pythia* to Side by Gordianus III (238-244 AD) clearly had political and strategic reasons. The Parthian wars of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD led the Roman Emperors to maintain a generous attitude to the cities that were located on the passageway of the Roman armies and navies to the Eastern provinces. Side was such a city, which gained, as a result of its loyalty to the emperor, huge privileges.<sup>611</sup> The Sidetans, in return, cherished their festival celebrated in honor of Apollo as it made them distinguishable among their peers.

Despite the close relationship between Side and Delphi, an oracular function for the temple of Apollo was not suggested until recently.<sup>612</sup> However, as mentioned above, a fragment of an *omphalos* found in the 2011 excavations in the Great Baths has led to

---

<sup>606</sup> Perge is another Pamphylian city that celebrated *Pythia*. For a list of cities in Asia Minor that organized *Pythia*, see Uzunaslán 2008, footnote 7.

<sup>607</sup> Nollé 1989, 47.

<sup>608</sup> RPC IX, no. 1141.

<sup>609</sup> Nollé 2001, no. 134, 442-51.

<sup>610</sup> Weiss 1981, 315-49.

<sup>611</sup> See The Historical Framework, Chapter 2.

<sup>612</sup> Nollé 1990, 258-259; Alanyalı 2011, 77.

different opinions. The fragmented ovoid artifact with a preserved height of 0,44 cm and a width of 0,32 cm depicts an *omphalos* under a tripod that has legs in the form of lion claws. A serpent is coiled around the *omphalos*. The stone is also covered with an *agrenon*, a kind of woolen garment (Figure 4.55-6).<sup>613</sup> Such an *omphalos* was not depicted on the city coins, but the tripod did appear on coins. Apollo Sidetes is depicted while extending a laurel branch to a tripod standing next to him on the coins of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD)<sup>614</sup> and Lucius Verus (161-169 AD).<sup>615</sup> The tripod is also present on a coin of Gallienus (253-268 AD).<sup>616</sup> Furthermore, the above-mentioned base of the gilded altar dedicated by Seleukianos Seleukos was inscribed with two oracular responses alongside the dedicatory inscription.<sup>617</sup> Suggesting that the *omphalos* was originally placed in the *adyton* of the temple of Apollo<sup>618</sup> and considering the tripods depicted on the frieze of the temple,<sup>619</sup> Özhanlı proposed an oracular function for Apollo Sidetes.<sup>620</sup> He also suggested that Side, as a female figure who played an important role in the foundation stories of the city, might have been interpreted as a prophetess like the Pythia of Delphi.<sup>621</sup> Apart from the famous oracular centers of Didyma and Klaros, Apollo temples in various cities of Anatolia carried an oracular function.<sup>622</sup> In particular Lycia was a region where Apollo was highly venerated and in many cities his temples operated as oracular centers. Patara, Oinoanda, Sura, Sidyma, Kyaneai, Limyra and Telmessos are examples of such centers.<sup>623</sup> It is not possible to identify the Sidetan temple of Apollo as an oracular center with certainty given the lack of ancient literary sources and more solid archaeological evidence. However, the *omphalos*, the depiction of tripods on the frieze and coins, the representation of crow on coins, the close relation of the city with Delphi, the *Pythia* festival, the oracular verses on the pedestal of the gilded altar, the ancientness

---

<sup>613</sup> Özhanlı 2014, 262.

<sup>614</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, 48.

<sup>615</sup> RPC IV, no. 10450.

<sup>616</sup> SNG France 3, no. 916.

<sup>617</sup> Nollé 2001, 442-51, no. 134.

<sup>618</sup> Although an *adyton* was not found within the temple.

<sup>619</sup> The frieze with tripods belongs to the temple of Athena according to Mansel and to the temple of Apollo according to Alanyalı, see The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.2.

<sup>620</sup> Özhanlı 2014, 266-67.

<sup>621</sup> Özhanlı 2014, 266-67.

<sup>622</sup> For instance, in Caria, the small city of Telmissos near Halikarnassos had an oracular function, see Bean 2000, 118. In the Aiolis Gryneion, see Strab. XIII, 618 and Aigai, see Taşlıklioğlu 1963, 1,2. In the Troad the *Smintheion*, see Çizmeli-Öğün 2004, 27; Parion, see Strab. XIII, I, 13; Zeleia, Strab. XIII, I, 13; in Bithynia, Kalkhedon, see Parke 1985, 179 and in Cilicia Holmoi, see Strab. XIV, 21, 13 all had oracular functions.

<sup>623</sup> For Patara, Sura and Kyaneai, see Koçak 2016, 550-57; For Oinoanda, see Milner 2000, 141; For Limyra, see Bryce 1986, 197; For Telmessos, see Taşlıklioğlu 1963, 115.

of the cult and the presence of a female figure who played a role in the city's foundation stories may all be evaluated as clues for an oracular function of the sanctuary. Furthermore, the epithet of *patroos* used for the deity in Side finds its parallels mainly in Lycia where Apollo had prophetic powers in many cities. Besides, dice/astragal oracle inscriptions, which were concentrated mainly in the regions of Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia, might also be associated with Apollo, although they were mainly dedicated to Hermes.<sup>624</sup>

In Side, the deity was not only depicted on coins dating to the period between the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and his nature, aspects and related festivals were not only documented through inscriptions, but he also played an important role in the visual landscape of the city. The relief on the coffers of the first floor of the *scaenae frons* of the Sidetan theater portrays him in a more Archaizing style (Figure 4.45), whereas he was also depicted on the coffers of the third floor surrounded with the Muses, thus accentuating his role as *Mousagetes*, the patron of art.<sup>625</sup> A torso belonging to Apollo was also found in the theater (Figure 4.57).<sup>626</sup> All these depictions can be dated to the Antonine period (138-161 AD). It is not surprising to encounter the god's representation in a theater, the probable scene of spectacles performed in honor of the god during festivals. Moreover, a statue of Apollo *Kithairodos* dating to the Hadrianic period was found during the excavations of "Building P" between the building and the late antique fountain (Figure 4.58).<sup>627</sup> This statue also accentuated the god's role as the patron of music and poetry. In addition, a statue of Apollo was also part of the statuary program of "Building M", as evidenced by a head of Apollo found there (Figure 4.59).<sup>628</sup> Finally, a head of the god dating to the Antonine period was retrieved from the sea; therefore, it can not be related to any specific building (Figure 4.60).<sup>629</sup> When the coins and statues/reliefs are evaluated together, two different images of Apollo can be seen. The first one represents a local version of the god as on the coins from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, showing Apollo in a short *chiton* and *chlamys*, and making a libation while holding a long laurel staff. In the 1st century AD, long boots, sometimes winged, were added to the iconography. The archaizing representation of Apollo in the theater, which possibly also depicted the cult

---

<sup>624</sup> Işın 2014, 94-5; see The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.8.

<sup>625</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 77.

<sup>626</sup> İnan 1975, 28-9, no. 5.

<sup>627</sup> İnan 1975, 107-09, no. 52.

<sup>628</sup> İnan 1975, 27-8, no. 4.

<sup>629</sup> İnan 1975, 105-06, no. 49.

statue of the god, reflects this image. The city mainly used this image on its coins until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and, thus, seems to have chosen to put forward the native character of its god. The secondary image of Apollo is rather Hellenic; he is represented naked with only a *chlamys* fastened on his shoulder and accompanied by a *lyra*. This depiction can also be seen on the city's coins and in statues/reliefs and was perhaps used to accentuate the god's role in festivals. The twofold representations of Apollo find their parallels in the representations of Artemis Pergaia, a goddess whose native and Greek characters were similarly both emphasized by the city.<sup>630</sup>

The worship of a native Apollo Sidetes was not limited to Side but also widely seen in other cities of Pamphylia, as well as in Eastern Pamphylia/Western Cilicia and southern Pisidia, which allows us to evaluate the dissemination of the cult. The 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD coins of Selinus<sup>631</sup>, the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD coins of Korakesion, Laertes and Syedra<sup>632</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins of Lyrbe (Figure 4.61)<sup>633</sup> show on their reverses Apollo Sidetes with his common iconographic aspects. Furthermore, a relief of Apollo Sidetes was present in the sanctuary of Apollo at Pednelissos in south Pisidia. The sanctuary was enclosed by a *temenos* wall and at the center of the *temenos* area a rock boulder on the façade of which a relief of Apollo inside a niche was carved, was located.<sup>634</sup> The figure, which was dated to the Late Hellenistic/Early Imperial period by Işın, depicts the god with a short *chiton* and thick *chlamys* while holding a *patera* in his right hand and a long laurel staff in the other (Figure 4.62-3).<sup>635</sup> The relief is pierced with many holes on the *akroterion*, around the laurel staff, the belt, the laurel wreath, the ankles and the knees. According to Işın, the holes around the ankles and the knees were pierced to insert the bronze laces of the long boots,<sup>636</sup> but some of them might also have served for the placement of wings, which are visible on the Sidetan coins. Another Apollo

<sup>630</sup> See The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>631</sup> For Antiochos IV (38-72 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.456; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, no. 3185; for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.462; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, Supp.1, no. 89; for Philippus (244-249 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 467; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1303.

<sup>632</sup> Korakesion: Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.394; Laertes: Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, no. 2747; Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, no. 2750; Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Switzerland, Levante-Cilicia, no. 376; Syedra: Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4989.

<sup>633</sup> For Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia, no. 271; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia, Supp. 1, no. 34, SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia, no. 287; for Salonina, SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia, no. 293.

<sup>634</sup> Işın 2014, 89-90.

<sup>635</sup> Işın 2008, 2-3.

<sup>636</sup> Işın 2008, 3.

sanctuary is situated at Melli, further to the north-west in Pisidia, where a relief of Apollo Sidetes, similar to the one at Pednelissos in terms of iconography and dating, was carved on a rock situated north-west of the settlement (Figure 4.64).<sup>637</sup> Another relief of Apollo, which can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and represents him in a *chiton*, *chlamys* and long boots was found on a site that has been identified as Perminus in the village of Kızılkaya-Bucak in Burdur. Apollo is represented as a rider-god; therefore, not his iconography but his attire bears similarities with that of Apollo Sidetes.<sup>638</sup> These reliefs and coin depictions coming from settlements in the neighborhood of Pamphylia not only demonstrate the worship of a local Apollo, but also the influence of the Apollo Sidetes cult outside Pamphylia from the Late Hellenistic period to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Another city that provides invaluable information on the indigenous cult of Apollo in Pamphylia is Sillyon. City coins dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC feature Apollo, on their obverses or reverses. When a standing Apollo wearing a *chlamys* decorates the reverse, Ares is on the obverse.<sup>639</sup> On the other hand, when a laurate bust of Apollo is portrayed on the obverse, Zeus Nikephoros is on the reverse.<sup>640</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC issues of the city also bear the same iconography as the latter: Apollo on the obverse and Zeus on the reverse (Figure 4.65).<sup>641</sup> The presence of Apollo in the city during these periods is also confirmed by a long inscription of 52 lines written in the Pamphylian dialect and dating to ca. 350 BC.<sup>642</sup> The inscription was carved on the door of a structure situated on the Acropolis. Due to its fragmented nature, a full translation is not possible; however, its content provides some insights. The inscription was consecrated after a troubled period of 15 years marked by the rivalry of two groups. The first part mentions the restitution of peace, the second one concerns the building of *andrones* for communal gatherings and the third part is about regulations for religious ceremonies to celebrate the reconciliation of the two parties, which would periodically be organised. The name of Apollo was perhaps stated in the context of the third part, since it is on line 30. Apollo's name is given in the Pamphylian form as  $\epsilon\text{Α}\pi\Upsilon\lambda\omega\nu\alpha$ /Apelona and his epithet is  $\Pi\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\upsilon$  / Pythion.<sup>643</sup> The epithet *Pythion* refers to the cult of Apollo at Delphi and suggests contact between Sillyon and Greece in the Classical period. Although archaeological evidence,

<sup>637</sup> Işın 2008, 3-4; Işın 2014, 90.

<sup>638</sup> Işın 2014, 88-9.

<sup>639</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 951-55.

<sup>640</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 956-58.

<sup>641</sup> SNG Cop, no. 437.

<sup>642</sup> Brixhe 1967a, 167-86, no. 3.

<sup>643</sup> Brixhe 1967a, 185.

particularly ceramics, shows that this contact had already started from the Archaic period onwards,<sup>644</sup> the inscription written in the Pamphylian dialect indicates that a cult, which was originally based at Delphi, came to Pamphylia at the latest in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. As mentioned above, the cult of Apollo *Pythios* started to spread outside Delphi between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and from this period onwards, it was seen in many cities in both Greece and Asia Minor. Davies gave many reasons for the spread of this epithet, such as colonization movements and the acceptance of Apollo of Delphi as a mythic leader, the social need for a particular aspect of a god, which are in this case his oracular powers, the dissemination of a cult by a powerful state or a cult center outside its own limits for political purposes, a divine command given by an oracle to a community to found a specific cult, the foundation of a cult by individuals or the process of developing native deities or heroes as symbols of city-state identity.<sup>645</sup> For the city of Sillyon, the reasons behind this particular epithet are not very clear; however, it can be related to the city's founding myths and its self-identification, since Mopsos, son Apollo from Delphi, was linked with Sillyon's foundation stories as suggested by an inscribed statue base (Figure 3.19).<sup>646</sup> In this manner, the social need of the citizens of Sillyon for a particular aspect of a god and the development of a native deity as a symbol of the city-state identity are also factors that need to be taken into consideration since Apelon/Apollo was also represented on the coins of the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.

The deity maintained his importance in Sillyon during the Roman Imperial period as evidenced by coins issued in the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>647</sup> On these coins, Apollo is not depicted according to a native iconography like at Side, but rather in a more Greek pose while holding his *lyra*,<sup>648</sup> or next to a tripod (Figure 4.66).<sup>649</sup> Another depiction shows Apollo as a bust

---

<sup>644</sup> Çokay-Kepçe 2010, 214-15.

<sup>645</sup> Davies 2007, 62.

<sup>646</sup> See *The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians*, Chapter 3.

<sup>647</sup> For Augustus (30/27 BC-14 AD) or Tiberius (14-37 AD), see SNG, France 3, nos. 966-67; for Vespasianus (69-79 AD), see SNG Cop, 443; for Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, nos. 2707-8; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, nos. 2709-10; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see [https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=267&pid=14377#top\\_display\\_media](https://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=267&pid=14377#top_display_media), Coin ID #14377; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 971; RPC IV, no. 8124; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see SNG Pfalz. 4, no. 922; for Commodus, see SNG France 3, no. 975, RPC IV, no. 11054, RPC IV, no. 5726; for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 985; for Geta (209-211 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 446.

<sup>648</sup> This iconography can be seen on the coins of Augustus or Tiberius, Traianus, Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Septimius Severus and Geta.

<sup>649</sup> For Commodus (Augustus – 184-190 AD), RPC IV.3, 5726.

crowned with a laureate wreath.<sup>650</sup> An inscription used as *spolia* inside the apse of a Late Roman building in the eastern part of the city informs us about the presence of a priest of Apollo.<sup>651</sup> Thus, the evidence gathered from the city indicates that the Apollo worship continued at least 700 years in Sillyon.

According to the epigraphic sources the connection of Phaselis to Apollo may even predate that of Sillyon. An inscription found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and dating to 425-400 BC records the payment of an oracle of Apollo made by the Phaselites.<sup>652</sup> Thus, it is understood that at least in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the Phaselites turned to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi for advice. The cult of Apollo in the city itself, however, can be retraced to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. A 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription found on the Acropolis of the city documents a votive dedicated to Apollo *Iatros* (doctor).<sup>653</sup> The inscription is written on a limestone base in the *stoichedon* form and the top of the base features two negative footprints for a possible image of Apollo made of bronze. The base was found nearly 200 m south of the Zeus *Boulaios* temple.<sup>654</sup> According to the inscription written in the Doric dialect, the statuette was dedicated by Kleombrotos, Kleandos and a person with an unpreserved name, the sons of Kopris. Apollo was naturally connected with healing, since he was the father of Asklepios. In Homer's *Iliad*, he was already seen as the sender of the plague and also as its healer and the songs that were sung to him, the *paians*, were mainly healing songs.<sup>655</sup> Apollo's healing characteristic was especially prominent in the Archaic period. The people of Lindos on Rhodos worshipped Apollo *Loimios*, "Apollo of the plague", in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, possibly due to an epidemic.<sup>656</sup> However, the cult of Apollo *Iatros* was mainly seen at Miletos and in the colonies founded by Miletos, especially in the Black Sea area, such as Apollonia Pontike, Histria, and Olbia in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>657</sup> Apollo *Iatros* became the titular deity of these colonies. Ustinova argued that the cult of Apollo *Iatros* was not a mere reflection of the belief of the mother city in its colonies, but that it was more connected to and combined with the local beliefs of the people living in Thrace and Skythia, who according to the Greeks were

---

<sup>650</sup> This iconography can be seen on the coins of Vespasianus, Traianus, Hadrianus, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Commodus.

<sup>651</sup> This inscription is undated, Lanckoronski 2005, 57, no. 174.

<sup>652</sup> Tüner-Önen 2008, 257-58, Tep.18.

<sup>653</sup> Adak et al. 2005, 4, no. 2.

<sup>654</sup> See *The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.6.

<sup>655</sup> For the healing Apollo see Graf 2009, 65-83.

<sup>656</sup> Graf 2009, 68.

<sup>657</sup> For a full account of the cities and the cult of Apollo *Iatros*, see Bisailon 2007.



successful healers.<sup>658</sup> Apollo's healing features were over time surpassed by those of his own son, Asklepios, due to the rise of Asklepios' cult. However, Apollo was still venerated as a healer god in Rome's Western provinces, where he was associated with indigenous healer deities.<sup>659</sup> The cult of Apollo *Iatros* in Phaselis is interesting, since it appeared mainly in Ionian cities and its colonies. The cult's presence here may be due to the influence of Lindos, where the god was seen as a healer deity, since Phaselis was founded by Rhodians in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>660</sup> The votive offering to Apollo *Iatros* can also be an indicator of a more personal worship. The city became a very busy port city from its foundation in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards and thus participated in the establishment of the *Hellenion* in Naukratis alongside Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Samos, Klazomenai, Miletos, Rhodos, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Aigina and Mytilene in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>661</sup> The city maintained its status as a busy port city into the Late Antique Period as the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* suggests.<sup>662</sup> A city such as Phaselis, which was involved with trade from its foundation onwards must have harbored many people and thus many beliefs. Hence, the dedication of a possible temple of Apollo *Iatros* may illustrate one of the many characteristics of Apollo that were venerated by the numerous people visiting the city in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The location of the Apollo temple has not been identified yet but judging by the abundance of architectural remains and the findspot of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription, the Acropolis of the city has been suggested as a possible candidate. According to Bayburtluoğlu, temples of Artemis and Apollo were built side by side on the Acropolis in an area surrounded by an L-shaped *stoa*, near the *Zeus Boulaios* temple situated ca. 120m southwest of the theater.<sup>663</sup> This suggestion relies on the predominance of the Artemis and Apollo cult in Lycia. New investigations that are currently being conducted in the city will hopefully provide more information on the location of the Apollo temple and its cult. Apart from this, Apollo was also portrayed on the coins of Phaselis. The laureate head of Apollo appeared on the obverse of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC coins of the city.<sup>664</sup>

As far as currently retraceable, at Attaleia, the Apollo worship went back to the Hellenistic period. On the reverses of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC coins of the city the god

---

<sup>658</sup> Ustinova 2009, 245-98.

<sup>659</sup> Graf 2009, 83.

<sup>660</sup> Tüner-Önen 2008, 91-5.

<sup>661</sup> Hdt. II 178.

<sup>662</sup> Schäfer 1981, 39-43.

<sup>663</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 86.

<sup>664</sup> Heipp-Tamer 1993, 80ff, pl. 25-29.

was depicted as standing while holding a bow.<sup>665</sup> On some coins, he held a bow and an arrow.<sup>666</sup> Just like Attaleia, Magydos used Apollo on the obverses of the coins dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.<sup>667</sup> Although no information on the god's epithets, and thus on the nature of his cult, is available for the Hellenistic period for Attaleia, two inscriptions dating to the Roman Imperial period indicate under what title the god was venerated in the city. Calpurnus Diodoros, son of Quadratus, who was the first priest and priest for life of Apollo *Archegetes* (first leader), Dionysos *Theos Megalos*, Artemis *Elaphebolos*, and Ares, and high priest of the Imperial cult was honored by the Council and the People in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>668</sup> Another priest for life of Apollo *Archegetes*, Marcus Petronius Firmus Calpurnius Saeclarius, was honored by the *Gerousia* at their own expenses in the same period.<sup>669</sup> In addition, coin depictions also indicate that the cult of Apollo continued throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, since on the reverse of a coin minted under Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), Apollo is standing while holding a *lyra* and leaning against a pedestal (Figure 4.67).<sup>670</sup> The title *Archegetes* denotes a deity's characteristic as the founder of a city or a family. Many deities who were the titular deity of a particular city received this epithet, such as Apollo at Kyrene and Naxos on Sicily, Herakles at Sparta, Asklepios at Phokis, Athena on Thera and Helios on Rhodos.<sup>671</sup> This epithet has strong connections with Delphi and Apollo of Delphi, as the god was -as discussed above- often considered as the guide and leader of colonists. Hence, he was associated with overseas colonization movements.<sup>672</sup> Apollo carried this epithet in various cities of Asia Minor, such as Halikarnassos and Myndos in Caria<sup>673</sup>, and Hierapolis in Phrygia.<sup>674</sup> Apollo *Archegetes* at Attaleia could be seen as the patron god of the city under whose leadership Attalos II founded Attaleia.<sup>675</sup> If this is the case, the Apollo *Archegetes* cult at Attaleia

---

<sup>665</sup> SNG France 3, no. 228; SNG Cop, no. 283.

<sup>666</sup> Baydur 1975, no. 135.

<sup>667</sup> SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 188.

<sup>668</sup> Ramsay 1883, 263, no. 5.

<sup>669</sup> Ramsay 1883, 265, no. 6.

<sup>670</sup> Baydur 1975, 248.

<sup>671</sup> Liddell and Scott online, [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da\)rxhge%2Fths](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da)rxhge%2Fths)

<sup>672</sup> The epithet *Archegetes*, which was mostly given to Apollo due to overseas colonial enterprises, has often been investigated in the context of creating a communal Greek identity in the colonies; however, Donnellan's work focuses on a rather local role of the cult of Apollo *Archegetes* at Sicilian Naxos, see Donnellan 2012, 173-86.

<sup>673</sup> For the cult at Halikarnassos and Myndos, see Şahin 2017, 179-87.

<sup>674</sup> For the cult at Hierapolis, see Kerschbaum 2014, 15-9.

<sup>675</sup> Ramsay 1883, 264. The cult of Apollo at Pergamon goes back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Agelidis 2014, 380-81.

should be considered in the context of a city foundation instead of in the framework of a colonization sanctioned by Delphi. Either way it connects the deity to the very beginning of the city's existence. Although priests of Apollo *Archegetes* are documented through inscriptions, his temple still remains unidentified.

Perge is another Pamphylian city where, based on the available evidence, the Apollo worship went back to the Hellenistic period. The obverses of coins dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC showed the jugate heads of Artemis and Apollo.<sup>676</sup> Inscriptions found at Perge revealed many epithets of the god; therefore, they testify to many features of Apollo. The earliest inscription that confirms the existence of an Apollo cult dates to the Roman Imperial period and is carved on the architrave of an arch situated at the intersection of the east-west and north-south colonnaded streets (Figure 4.68). The arch was dedicated by the brothers Demetrios and Apollonios to the emperors Divus Vespasianus, Divus Titus, and Domitianus and to Apollo, Artemis and Perge in the reign of Domitianus (81-96 AD) (Figure 4.69).<sup>677</sup> In this inscription, Apollo is venerated as *Soter* (Savior), *Epekoos* (who listens to/hears the prayers) and *Pamphylos* (the Pamphylian).<sup>678</sup> The epithet *Soter* for Apollo has been encountered in Bithynia, Ionia, Mysia, Pisidia and Lydia.<sup>679</sup> Although the epithet *Epekoos* was commonly seen in Asia Minor to refer to deities, it was rarely used for Apollo.<sup>680</sup> Finally, *Pamphylos* is the most interesting epithet, because it is unique to Perge and accentuates not only the local but also the regional importance of the god. Apollo's significance for the region and his ancientness seems to have already been acknowledged from the Early Roman Imperial period onwards, as he became a titular deity for Pamphylia as he was also for Lycia. The evidence for an early cult of Apollo and his native nature is known from Side, Phaselis, Sillyon, Attaleia and Perge; however, the epithet *Pamphylos* used in Perge provides additional evidence for the god's regional importance.

An inscription dating to the Trajanic (98-117 AD)-Hadrianic (117-138 AD) period mentions Titus Flavius Apollonios, son of Artemidoros, who erected a statue of Philotas who served as a priest of Apollo Pythios and was also honored by the *Boule* and the

---

<sup>676</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 340-47; SNG, Cop, no. 304; SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 215-20.

<sup>677</sup> For further information on the arch, see Özdizbay 2012, 27-30.

<sup>678</sup> Şahin 1999a, 72-80, no. 56.

<sup>679</sup> For Bithynia, see IGSK 39, n. 41; for Ionia, see IG XII, 4.2 566; for Pisidia, see Legrand-Chamonard 1893, 258, no. 38; for Lydia, see Malay 2001, 147; for Mysia, see Habicht 1969, 130 cat. no.116, pl. 31.

<sup>680</sup> For Apollo Epekoos in Zeugma, see Görkay 2011, 417- 37; in Diokaisareia, see Dagron-Feissel 1987, no. 15; in Lykaonia, see SEG 17: 544.

*Demos*.<sup>681</sup> As seen above, the epithet of *Pythios* was not unknown in the region, since its native form was used for Apelon/Apollo in Sillyon. As mentioned above, this title of Apollo showed a special relationship between the city and the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Another link might also provide an indication for a similar relationship between Perge and Delphi. One of the *ktistes* inscriptions erected inside the oval courtyard and dated to the reign of Hadrianus inform us that Mopsos from Delphi, son of Apollo, was among the mythological founders of Perge (Figure 3.12). The ancient sources do not directly point out a Delphic origin for Mopsos and do not identify his father as Apollo; however, the Pergaians seem to have chosen such an origin for the hero, perhaps in order to strengthen the ties of their city with Delphi.<sup>682</sup> The date of both the *Pythios* and Mopsos inscriptions are more or less close in time, so one could ask whether the cult of Apollo *Pythios* was established in the same period when the city undertook major endeavors to create a communal identity dominated by the combination of Greek and native heroes. This process could be very diverse for each city. For instance, both Mopsos and Apollo were worshipped in Hierapolis in Phrygia in the context of foundation myths; in particular, Apollo was venerated under the epithet *Archegetes*, which accentuated the god's involvement in the foundation of the city.<sup>683</sup> Both Apollo and Mopsos were also present in the mythological stories of Perge, but, as the evidence suggests, Apollo did not receive this epithet of *Archegetes* but was worshipped as *Pythios*, which might be evaluated in the scope of prophecy in which Apollo, Mopsos and the oracular sanctuary of Delphi were present. It is not easy to answer the question whether the cult of Apollo *Pythios* was founded in the Hadrianic period or already before, but its importance undoubtedly continued throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Just like the city of Side, Perge also organized *Pythia* games during the periods of Valerianus I (253-250 AD), Gallienus (253-268 AD) and Valerianus II (256-258 AD). When Perge gained the privilege and right to organize this festival in the period of Valerianus I, it minted *homonioia* coins with Delphi (Figure 4.70). These depicted Artemis Pergaia with Apollo of Delphi accompanied by the legend *Pythia*.<sup>684</sup> The reasons why Perge acquired the right and money for such a festival might be the same as was the case at Side: the increased importance of both cities during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD crisis. On the other hand, we have

---

<sup>681</sup> Şahin 1999a, 104-105, no. 79.

<sup>682</sup> See The Mythical Past of the Pamphylia, Chapter 3.

<sup>683</sup> Kerschbaum 2014, 15-19.

<sup>684</sup> For the agonistic coin types of the city, see Erol-Özdizbay 2012, 203-21

less evidence for the oracular function of the deity at Perge than at Side. An *astragaloi* inscription found in the territory of Perge and dating to the Late Antonine-Severan period, which put forwards the prophetic feature of the god, bears the epithet *Delphikos*.<sup>685</sup> However, these *astragaloi* inscriptions, which were commonly seen in Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia, were more or less written like templates since they all bore similar expressions and included similar deities. Therefore, they cannot be associated with a special cult in a particular city.<sup>686</sup> Besides their oracular function, these inscriptions might show that the deities enlisted on the stone were familiar to the citizens, but they fail to indicate an official cult or a personal devotion.

Another important epigraphic document about the Apollo worship at Perge is an inscription carved on an altar found in the *frigidarium* of the Southern Baths. The inscription records that Diodoros, son of Eumelos, erected an altar to Apollo at his own expenses.<sup>687</sup> The word referring to the artifact itself is *hieroma*, meaning “a consecrated object, an offering”, which gives it a religious function.<sup>688</sup> Together with the altar, seven statues of the Muses were found inside the pool in the south, which could all be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD based on their stylistic features (Figure 4.71).<sup>689</sup> When the altar and the statues of the Muses are evaluated together, the worship of Apollo *Mousagetes*, Apollo as leader of the nine Muses, could be considered in the room, although this is not stated in the inscription. The same implication might also have been present at Side where Apollo and the nine Muses were all depicted on the ceiling coffers of the *scaenae frons* of the theater.<sup>690</sup> The Muses, the nine spirits of fine arts, were the natural companions of Apollo, who was also seen as the protective god of poetry, music and singing. Another inscription, possibly honoring a priest of Apollo, was also found in the Southern Baths of the city, in a room of the *caldarium*.<sup>691</sup>

---

<sup>685</sup> Şahin, 1999a, 247-59, no. 207.

<sup>686</sup> See The cult of Hermes in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.8 for more information on *astragaloi* inscriptions.

<sup>687</sup> Şahin, 1999a, 195-96, no. 177. He called this altar a statue base and stated that there were footprints on top of the base, on both sides. He also added that a relatively small statue, perhaps similar in size to the Muses statues, stood on the base, due to the dimensions of the “statue base” and “footprints”. According to Şahin, the statue of Apollo was carried to the Antalya Archaeological Museum together with the Mousa statues, but the excavation reports and museum inventory records do not mention a statue of Apollo found with the Mousa statues. Furthermore, the artefact is clearly an altar and not a statue base because of its form and it is not fit to support a statue.

<sup>688</sup>

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=i%28e%2Fwma&la=greek&can=i%28e%2Fwma0#lexicon>

<sup>689</sup> For the Muses statues, see Akçay 2007, 66-70, cat. no.22-27

<sup>690</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 77.

<sup>691</sup> Şahin 1999a, 287-88, no. 263.

An inscription used as *spolia* in a water channel 60m to the north of the Hadrianic Arch in the south of the city mentions two priests of Apollo.<sup>692</sup> One of them, whose name was Glyippos served as a priest of Apollo *Kerykeios*. The word *Kerykeios*, which means “of a herald”, was generally associated with Hermes and his attribute the *kerykeion*, the herald’s staff.<sup>693</sup> The earliest and only other example currently existing to attribute the epithet *Kerykeios* to Apollo is a *phiale* inscribed with a text written in the Boiotian local dialect, which was found at Tanagra, can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> -6<sup>th</sup> century BC and was dedicated to Apollo *Kerykeios* by the Thebans.<sup>694</sup> Apart from this, in Pamphylia, another example of Apollo imagery that carries an attribute of Hermes exists: the native Apollo Sidetes who wears winged boots as depicted on the Roman Imperial coins of Side. When we look to the foundation myths of Side, a Theban connection has been suggested by Nollé, who suggests that there was a mythological link between the family of Kadmos, the founder of Thebes, and Side, since the sons of Kadmos, Kilix, and Phoinix, were eponymous heroes of Cilicia and Phoenicia.<sup>695</sup> Trying to connect the Theban cult of Apollo *Kerykeios* to the one at Perge is, however, difficult. Nevertheless, we can perhaps discover one feature that both Apollo and Hermes might have had in common: the prophecy with *astragaloi* inscriptions. Based on his interpretation of the conflicting natures of Apollo and Hermes narrated in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, Bungard suggested that the *astragaloi* inscriptions could fit the nature of both gods. The voice behind the oracles came from Apollo, as he was the main god of prophecy, whereas Hermes was the mediator who delivered the godly message to the people.<sup>696</sup> Perge was familiar with the imagery of Apollo Sidetes, since the god was depicted in that way on the pediment of the so-called “Fountain F4”, situated west of the square between the Hellenistic and Late Roman Gate and dating to the Severan period (Figure 4.72).<sup>697</sup> The composition consisted of a relief of Artemis of the Versailles type, three Graces, two Erotes (one on each of the corners of the pediment), a priestess of Artemis Pergaia, Dionysos and Apollo Sidetes (Figure 4.73). Apollo is standing next to the priestess of Artemis and he is depicted as offering a libation from his *phiale* to a burnt altar. He is wearing his usual attire, consisting of a short *chiton*, *chlamys* and long boots and holds a

---

<sup>692</sup>Şahin, 1999a, 288, no. 264.

<sup>693</sup> See The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.8.

<sup>694</sup> Stavropoulos 1896, 243.

<sup>695</sup> Nollé 1993a, 41.

<sup>696</sup> Bungard 2012, 443-69.

<sup>697</sup> İnan 1976, 702; 1977, 617-18; Türkmen 2007, 31.

small laurel branch in his left hand. This representation demonstrates that the native Apollo Sidetes was known and venerated by the Pergaians; so they did not only respect their indigenous goddess Artemis Pergaia but also her brother Apollo Sidetes.

Besides the depiction of Apollo Sidetes on the pediment of Fountain F4, several statues of Apollo representing the deity in a more Greek style embellished the other buildings of the city. A statue of Apollo (or Machaon)<sup>698</sup> dating to the period of Hadrian was found in the monumental fountain situated north of Perge on the southern slope of the Acropolis (Figure 3.17). Apollo is standing and apart from his *chlamys* fastened on his left shoulder, he is naked.<sup>699</sup> A group statue consisting of Apollo *Kitharodos*, Marsyas and a sitting Mousa, which can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, has been found in the Southern Baths (Figure 4.74).<sup>700</sup> Moreover, a statue of a man wrapped in a *himation* and holding a branch of laurel or olive tree in his right hand, with a *lyra* beside his left foot has been interpreted either as Apollo, a priest of Apollo or as a possible relative of Plancia Magna, since it was found together with a statue of Plancia Magna in the context of the statues that once embellished the oval courtyard (Figure 4.75).<sup>701</sup>

The cult of Apollo was not only popular at Perge itself, but was also seen at Lyrboton Kome, a rural settlement in the territory of the city. Here, two local epithets for Apollo were used: *Lyrboton* and *Elaibaris*. Both of these ethnica were used in order to accentuate the god's special relationship with the village. A first inscription, dating to the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), was a later addition to the tower at the western end of the settlement, which was built in the reign of Domitianus (81-96 AD) (Figure 4.76).<sup>702</sup> The inscription is dedicated to Hadrianus and Apollo Lyrboton and records the testament of Mouas, son of Stasias, who was the son of Tokondas. According to the inscription, Mouas bequeathed a field at Baris and its 600 olive trees alongside olive tree seedlings planted at the locations of "Three Olives" and "Kallikleis Armaka" to his mother. After his mother's death, these fields would be leased by the *komarchos* to the designated people and the annual revenues would be used for sacrifices to Apollo Lyrboton and for the purchase of bread and wine for the games, which would be organized in the name of Mouas on the third day of the ninth month each year. Mouas also wished that all rich

<sup>698</sup> See The Mythical Past of the Pamphylia, Chapter 2.

<sup>699</sup> Mansel 1973, 143-53.

<sup>700</sup> İnan 1981, 43-8.

<sup>701</sup> Mansel 1970, 131; Özgür 1996, no. 12.

<sup>702</sup> The inscriptions are no longer visible in the tower, but lying on the floor inside the tower. Şahin, 1999a, 102-03, no. 77.

inhabitants of the village would remember his brother, Kotes, as well as his mother on that day. The land that Mouas granted to the village could not be sold or its revenues could not be used for any other purposes; otherwise a penalty of 1000 *denarii* would be given to Artemis Pergaia. The inscription does not provide detailed information on what kind of sacrifices and rituals were performed in honor of Apollo Lyrboton, but it rather describes that the revenues from a local land had to be used for the religious rituals of a local god. A second inscription, which was carved on the same tower, can be dated to the same period and its content is similar to the previous one.<sup>703</sup> The inscription is related to a donation made by Menneas, son of Timotheos. Menneas states that the 1500 denarius he donated should be used for sacrifices to Apollo that would be carried out on the 20th day of the first month each year. The money would also be used to purchase land in the village on behalf of Apollo. In this way Menneas' name would also be commemorated. Although the ethnicon *Lyrboton* is not used for Apollo in the second inscription, considering the similarity of the content and location of the inscription with those of the first one, it seems that the local Apollo *Lyrboton* was also implied as the receiver of sacrifices and land. The Domitianic tower at the western end of the village was a public building in which the donations and testaments of citizens and regulations concerning public, private and religious matters were displayed. These inscriptions are important in terms of providing information on how the money was found and used for communal sacrifices for the deities and how individual citizens, members of the local élites, were involved in this process.

The god's epithet *Elaibaris* is found in an inscription carved on an altar of unknown provenance.<sup>704</sup> According to the inscription dated to the Antonine period, Eumelos from Elaibarios, a certain [...]odoros, son of Eumelos, Mas and Thallos dedicated an altar to Apollo *Elaibaris*. According to Şahin, *Elaibaris* was a large estate that owed its wealth to olive cultivation and olive oil production in Lyrboton Kome.<sup>705</sup> When Apollo was worshipped as *Elaibaris*, he might have been seen as the protector deity of this estate, who ensured the fertility and abundance of the land. If the certain [...]odoros, son of Eumelos, is the same person as Diodoros, son of Eumelos, who dedicated an altar to Apollo located in the Southern Baths of Perge, this might show the changing nature of his worship according to the context. These inscriptions are of great

---

<sup>703</sup> Şahin, 1999a, 103-04, no. 78.

<sup>704</sup> Şahin, 1999a, 196-97, no. 178.

<sup>705</sup> Şahin 1999b, 437-47.



importance as they shed light on lesser-known rural cults and cult practices. All three inscriptions feature local Greek names, which might also indicate the local character of the Apollo *Lyrboton/Elaibaris* cult.

The numismatic evidence from Lyrbe shows that Apollo was also worshipped in this city. The reverses of coins of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) show Apollo *Kitharodos* with a quiver on his back alongside Apollo Sidetes, who is also depicted on the issues of the city.<sup>706</sup>

The last city to be mentioned in the context of the cult of Apollo in Pamphylia is Aspendos. Coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD featured Apollo with various attributes. The god was depicted between a *lyra* and a tripod on which a laurel branch was placed (Figure 4.77)<sup>707</sup>, between a laurel branch and a *lyra*<sup>708</sup>, holding a laurel branch while resting on a tripod<sup>709</sup>, holding a laurel branch and a *lyra* with or without a serpent coiled tripod next to him<sup>710</sup>, holding a crown with a *lyra* next to him (Figure 4.78)<sup>711</sup>, holding a wreath and a *lyra*<sup>712</sup> or leaning on a prize crown on top of a column while holding a branch next to a *lyra*.<sup>713</sup> Therefore, in Aspendos he seems to have mainly been represented as an oracle god and the god of music and art. In addition, a statue of Apollo dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and depicting the nude deity with a *chlamys* fastened on his left shoulder was recently found during the 2015 excavation campaign in the Roman Basilica (Figure 4.79).<sup>714</sup> Although the statue cannot be directly regarded as an indication for a cult, it shows that Apollo, like in Perge and Side, occupied a place in the visual landscape of the city of Aspendos.

Based on the current evidence, the cult of Apollo in Pamphylia goes back to the 490 BC's as evidenced by the coins of Side. From 490 to 479 BC, his symbol of the dolphin was used on coins, possibly to accentuate the god's and, therefore, the city's relation with the sea. It might also hint to the colonizing characteristics of Apollo *Delphinios*; however, the epithet *Delphinios* is not documented in the inscriptions of Side. From 400-380 BC onwards, a local iconography for Apollo was established, identified as

<sup>706</sup> SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia, no. 270-71.

<sup>707</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 5707.

<sup>708</sup> For Antoninus Pius, see RPC IV, no. 10880.

<sup>709</sup> For Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6285; see Decius (249-251 AD), RPC IX, no. 1053.

<sup>710</sup> For Decius, see RPC IX, no. 1057; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, nos. 1064, 1071.

<sup>711</sup> For Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11017.

<sup>712</sup> For Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 190.

<sup>713</sup> For Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 141. Incorrectly described as Eurymedon.

<sup>714</sup> (Online source), <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR-143459/aspodos-antik-kenti-kazilarinda-Apollo-heykeli-bulund-.html>, 02.08. 2019.

Apollo Sidetes by modern scholars. The native Apollo of Side wore a short *chiton* and a *chlamys*. He made a libation from a *phiale* to a lit altar while grasping a long laurel branch. Approximately in the same period, the name of Apollo in the Pamphylian dialect appeared in an inscription from Sillyon in the form of Apelon/Apelona. However, the epithet that the deity received was *Pythios*, which connected him to the Delphic sanctuary. The connection of the Phaselites with Delphi goes at least back to 425-400 BC, since the temple inscriptions of this time record a payment made by the Phaselites to the sanctuary for an oracle. Therefore, the existence of the epithet *Pythios* might suggest a similar relationship between the people of Sillyon and Delphi or it might also be related to the city's wish to connect itself with Delphi. The dialect inscription at Sillyon mentions the reconciliation between two rivals, communal gatherings at *andrones* and the organization of religious ceremonies, but it is not clear whether these were dedicated to Apollo or not. While this period witnessed the establishment of a local iconography for Apollo at Side and a local Apelon/Apelona worship at Sillyon, an inscription written in the Doric dialect found at Phaselis documents the cult of Apollo *Iatros* in the city. The healer Apollo was venerated at Lindos with which Phaselis had close ties, and the cult of Apollo *Iatros* was principally seen in Ionia and in the Ionian colonies in the Black Sea region. The city possibly also had a temple for Apollo together with his sister Artemis. Although the initial construction date of this temple is unknown, the city must have had a sacred space dedicated to Apollo in the Classical period, as an inscribed base for a possible votive statue of Apollo indicates. The evidence concerning the nature of the cult during the Hellenistic period is limited since Apollo appeared on coins from Attaleia, Magydos and Perge, Side and Phaselis, but epigraphic and/or archaeological evidence is missing.

As with every cult in the region, the evidence on Apollo increased during the Roman Imperial period and not only cities, but also villages, such as Lyrboton Kome, yielded evidence concerning the nature of the cult. The deity was continuously depicted on coins from Aspendos, Attaleia, Perge, Side, Sillyon and Lyrbe until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Apollo was venerated as *Archegetes*, which means that the city was founded under his protection and guardianship. The epithets used for the god in Perge are different and include *Soter*, *Epekoos*, *Pamphylos*, *Pythios*, and *Kerykeios*. The epithets *Soter*, *Epekoos* and *Pamphylos*, which go back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, were all used in a single inscription. The title *Epekoos* was rarely seen for Apollo in Asia Minor, whereas the epithets *Pamphylos* and *Kerykeios* (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) were unique to Perge. The epithet *Pamphylos* was a clear indication of the god's importance for the whole region. The epithet

*Kerykeios*, on the other hand, is interesting, since the only similar example known thus far comes from a *phiale* from Tanagra that was dedicated by the Thebans and can be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The title *Kerykeios* might associate Apollo with Hermes, as also Hermes' winged boots were borrowed for the iconography of the native Apollo Sidetes when it was fully established from the Early Roman Imperial onwards. The *astragalo* inscriptions that document a special form of an oracular activity, especially in Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycia, might have combined the oracular natures of both Apollo and Hermes. Another feature of Apollo that is not documented through inscriptions but can rather be understood thanks to a group of statues of the Muses, which can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and were found in the Southern Baths of Perge, is *Mousagetes*, which emphasized the god's patronage of fine arts. The inscriptions dating to the Hadrianic period that were carved on the Domitianic tower of Lyrboton Kome, not only provide information on Apollo's local ethnicon of *Lyrboton* but also yield invaluable information on the finance of sacrifices to the god depending on the revenues from lands donated by individual citizens. The 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries inscriptions of Side venerate the deity under the epithets of *Ktistes* and *Patroos*, which accentuates the god's identification as the founder of the city and the ancestor. Finally, it is important to note that, just like Artemis at Perge, Apollo was at Side depicted according to two main iconographical schemes, one being closer to the Greek Apollo with its *lyra*, tripod, raven and laurel wreath and the second one representing the god in his native form. The cult of Apollo Sidetes must have been so important and influential that it was not only seen in the cities of Pamphylia but also spread to the cities of Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia to Southern Pisidia, as coins depictions and stone reliefs indicate.

The cult of Apollo gained special importance in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, especially in the city of Side where his cult went back to the Archaic period. The god was included in the *Epibatierion* festival, which was initially celebrated for Athena, and the *Phobeios* festival, which was organized for Apollo on a more modest scale and transformed into a universal *Pythia* festival thanks to donations granted to the city by Gordianus III in 238-244 AD. The temple of Apollo at Side possibly also got its neocorate status under Valerianus and Gallienus. The *Pythia* also started in this time to be celebrated at Perge as the numismatic evidence suggests. This increase in the importance of the cult of Apollo, which can also be deduced from the general rise of cults in the cities of Perge and Side, seems to have been due to the strategic role the cities played during the Eastern campaigns of the Roman emperors.

When one compares the characteristics of the cult of Apollo in Pamphylia to other neighbouring regions, both similarities and differences are discernable. The native Apollo designated as *Sidetes*, the Sidetan, with his distinctive iconography, was seen in the liminal cities between Pamphylia and Cilicia, such as Korakesion and Selinous, as well as in cities of Pisidia, such as Pednelissos and Melli. This shows the sphere of influence of this local god, which extended to the east, northeast and north. However, a local predecessor of Apollo as attested in Pisidia, where he appears to have been Sozon, a deity associated with the sun, seems to be lacking in Pamphylia.<sup>715</sup> In Lycia, the god had a very predominant place; he was seen as the patron deity of the region and his cult appeared in nearly every city, such as at Patara, Oinoanda, Soura, Sidyma, Kyaenai, Limyra, Rhodiapolis, Pinara, Antiphellos, Lydai, Telmessos, Tlos, Tyberissos, Araxa, Kadyanda, Aperlai and in sanctuaries like the Letoon.<sup>716</sup> His epithet *Patroos* (the fatherly or ancestral Apollo), which was seen in Side in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, was also used in the cities of Patara, Kadyanda, Oinoanda, Rhodiapolis, Balboura and Kyanis.<sup>717</sup> Furthermore, his sanctuaries in Lycia, such as those at Patara, Oinoanda, Sura, Sidyma, Kyaenai and Limyra, were oracular centers. Although a kind of relation with Delphi is implied by the epithet *Pythios*, used in Sillyon and Perge, a possible oracular function of Apollo can only possibly be suggested for his temple at Side, based on the archaeological evidence. Therefore, compared to Lycia, the oracular character of the deity is much more limited in Pamphylia. However, just like the god received the epithet “Lykios” in Lycia<sup>718</sup>, he received the epithet “Pamphylos” in Pamphylia, which emphasizes his particular significance in the region.

#### 4.4 The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia

Doubtlessly, the cult which most known and documented through source materials in Pamphylia is the Artemis cult, more specifically, the cult of Artemis *Pergaia*, the patron deity of Perge. As the epithet *Pergaia* suggests, the goddess was the most powerful deity of the city, she was the city’s mistress, and the city belonged to her and vice versa. Her cult was extremely influential, not for only Perge or for Pamphylia but it had inter-

---

<sup>715</sup> Talloen 2015, 98.

<sup>716</sup> Gürdal 2007, 129-42.

<sup>717</sup> Gürdal 2007, 134.

<sup>718</sup> Gürdal 2007, 142-43.

regional dominance as it was seen in many areas of Asia Minor and also extended to the west and east outside Asia Minor. Furthermore, Artemis Pergaia is a goddess about whom we have the highest amount of evidence gathered from various source materials ranging from literary to numismatic evidence, and from inscriptions to visual representations, such as statues and reliefs. Additionally, these source materials provide a large variety of information about the nature of her cult, including her epithets, iconography, the festivals celebrated in her honor, priesthoods, temple, and rituals. Through this information, it is also possible to relate her cult not only to the Greek or Roman spheres but also to local Anatolian roots and Near Eastern traditions, which reveals her autochthonic nature. Due to the abundance of materials this chapter is not organized according to the source material but according to special themes to provide a complete understanding of her presence, the development and continuity of her cult in the city, region and in other areas, as well as of her iconography and the organization of the cult. First, the emphasis will specifically be laid on Artemis Pergaia and her cult, and afterwards evidence for the cult of Artemis coming from different cities will be evaluated.

#### 4.4.1 *Wanassa Preiia before Artemis Pergaia*

During the excavation campaign of 1976, an inscription reused in the so-called Monumental Fountain F4, located in the southern part of the city between the Late Roman and Hellenistic city gates, was found (Figure 4.72-3). The inscription, composed of two lines, documents one of the most important attestations for the local pantheon of Perge. It can be translated as “Klewutas, son of Lfarawos from the phyle of Wa or Wasirfotas, or as being Wasirfotas<sup>719</sup> dedicated (this) to Wanassa Preiia upon the command which he received in his dream” (Figure 4.80). The inscription is dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC due to the letterforms.<sup>720</sup> It has been also suggested that because of its dimensions (length: 0,40 m, width: 0,90 m, depth: 0,43m) and form, in its original state, the inscription belonged to a structure rather than being a

---

<sup>719</sup> The inscription was first read and translated by Kaygusuz in Kaygusuz 1980, 249-56. He interprets the word Wa or Wasirfotas as the name of the phyle Klewutas was a member of. The inscription was then published by many other scholars such as Brixhe-Hodot 1998, 222-34; Merkelbach-Şahin 1998, 98, no.1. Şahin 1999a, 2-3, no. 1. on the other hand, agrees with the interpretation of *Wa / Wasirfotas* but he also proposes that the word can mean an office, like that of *demiourgos*, Klewutas held.

<sup>720</sup> Kaygusuz 1980, 250.

votive offering or altar.<sup>721</sup> In any case, it found its way to the Monumental Fountain (F4) that was built nearly 600 years later in the Severan period (193-234 AD).<sup>722</sup>

The text presents valuable information on the Pamphylian dialect, onomastics as well as on the epichoric name of the city and the deity. The term *Wanassa Preiia* is not unique to this inscription but is also encountered on coins minted by the city from the 3rd century BC onwards. Perge minted its Hellenistic coins between the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Different iconographic groups and subgroups have been defined for the Hellenistic coinage of the city on which Artemis is present.<sup>723</sup> The examples include coins with on the obverse the wreathed head of Artemis with a quiver on her shoulder and on the reverse, a standing Artemis wearing a short *chiton* and boots holding a wreath and a scepter with a deer next to her as well as the accompanying legend *Artemidos Pergaias* on the reverse (Figure 4.81). This iconography was applied for both silver and bronze issues; however, while the legend is in the Greek on the silver coins, on the bronze issues the dialect inscription is also present.<sup>724</sup> On the reverse of another coin, the heads of Artemis and Apollo were depicted side by side on the obverse, while a standing Artemis wearing a short *chiton*, who rests on a scepter and holds a wreath, and the inscription *Artemidos Pergaias* are on the reverse (Figure 4.82).<sup>725</sup> The obverse of a third example is similar to the second one, while on the reverse, a standing Artemis wearing a long *chiton* and holding a torch in one hand and a bow and arrow in the other is present with the legend *Artemidos Pergaias*.<sup>726</sup> A fourth example features the head of Artemis on the obverse and Nike holding a wreath and the inscription *Artemidos Pergaias* on the reverse.<sup>727</sup> Another issue has the same obverse type but on the reverse, Artemis is portrayed while holding a torch and bow with the same legend.<sup>728</sup> Some coins depict the wreathed head of Artemis and a quiver on the obverse, while a sphinx with the legend *Artemidos Pergaias* or *Pergaion* appears on the reverse.<sup>729</sup> There are also issues that consist of a seated sphinx with *polos* on its head on the obverse, while on the reverse a standing Artemis wearing a short *chiton* holding a wreath and a scepter is depicted with

---

<sup>721</sup> Kaygusuz 1980, 250.

<sup>722</sup> Türkmen 2007, 31-36.

<sup>723</sup> Colin made a very detailed analysis of the Hellenistic coins of Perge. He identified 9 different iconographic group with several subgroups, see Colin 1996.

<sup>724</sup> Colin 1996, 34-47, nos. 58-66; SNG France 3, nos. 325-39.

<sup>725</sup> SNG France 3, no. 340.

<sup>726</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 341-47.

<sup>727</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 348-49.

<sup>728</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 350-51.

<sup>729</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 352-54.

the legend *Wanassa Preiias* (Figure 4.83).<sup>730</sup> Finally, some coins portray the distyle temple of Artemis Pergaia with the cult statue in it on the obverse and an arrow and quiver with the legend *Artemidos Pergaias* on the reverse (Figure 4.84). Some coins have the same image on their obverses, but their reverses show a standing Artemis with a bow and a torch.<sup>731</sup> The overall date of these coins is between the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1st centuries BC with some variations. SNG places the majority of these coins in the 2nd century BC, whereas, according to Colin, some of them can be dated between 260-90 BC and others between 90 BC and the Imperial period.<sup>732</sup>

By comparing the writings on the coins and the abovementioned inscription, it is possible to securely identify the word *Preiia* as the genitive singular form of the ethnicon *Pergaios/Pergaia*.<sup>733</sup> The title *Wanassa*, on the other hand, identifies Artemis. The word *wanassa/wanassas/anassa* is the feminine form of *wanax* (wa.na.ka). *Wanax* and *wanassa* had a long tradition in the Greek language, since they both appeared in the Linear B tablets. *Wanax* defined the central figure of authority in the Mycenaean society, while the *wanassa* is also mentioned in the Linear B tablets, also in association with the *wanax*.<sup>734</sup> In the tablets, *wanax* denotes the highest authority and leading ruler of the State. Evidence for the functions of the *Wanax* within the Mycenaean society has mainly been gathered from tablets found in Pylos. In the Pylos tablets, the functions of the *Wanax* are multifaceted: he is a ruler whose capacity extends to religious, military and judicial affairs.<sup>735</sup> However, Palaima puts emphasis on his religious authority, such as landowning in religious districts, overseeing religious ceremonies and initiations and making offerings as part of cultic rituals. Thus, he suggested his authority was derived from religious activities, which may have qualified him as a priest-king.<sup>736</sup> However, the appearance of the term *Wanax* in some tablets led to attribute a divine nature to the *Wanax*, since some tablets record the offerings made to him, as his name shows up solely together with deities.<sup>737</sup> The same situation applies to the *Wanassa*, the feminine

---

<sup>730</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 355-71.

<sup>731</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 373-81.

<sup>732</sup> Colin 1996, 34-82.

<sup>733</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 160-61.

<sup>734</sup> For the etymology of these words, see Lejeune 1962, 5-19; Chantraine 1968, 84-85; Hooker 1978, 100-11; Willms 2010, 232-71.

<sup>735</sup> Haskell 2004, 152.

<sup>736</sup> Palaima 1995, 130-32.

<sup>737</sup> The attribution of a divine character to the *Wanax* was suggested by Palmer, then followed by Chadwick and Ruijgh. However, there are also opinions contradictory to this hypothesis. Hooker, for instance, claims that the Mycenaean society did not make a clear distinction between what was secular and what was religious; therefore, the king might have been seen as mediator between the mundane and divine world and

counterpart of *Wanax*. The title can also have defined a queen with a god-like status or the deity herself.<sup>738</sup> The multifaceted usage of these terms can be seen in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* where *Wanax* and *Wanassa* were used in order to define both mortals and immortals. In her detailed analysis of the usage of *wanax* in Homer, Yamagata concludes that these terms were often used to symbolize one's patriarchal power, being a master of the house, and a helper with a protective status during the time of war and in need, and when used in the vocative, it reflected the superior rank of the addressee.<sup>739</sup> Among the mortals who received this title were Odysseus, Telemachos, Agamemnon, Priamos, Achilles, Nestor, Bellerophontes and Nausikaa; immortals were Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, Hades, Hephaistos, Apollo, Hypnos, Athena, and Demeter.<sup>740</sup> Although these titles were thus applied to both mortals and immortals, also the immortals became objects of cult. The thorough study of Hemberg shows that the terms *(w)anax*, *(w)anassa* and *(w)anakti* were used for various deities and heroes from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC into the Roman Imperial period, in both the literary and archaeological sources and that these terms were often used to denote indigenous and ancient cults.<sup>741</sup>

The goddess *Wanassa* combined with the word *Preiia* is the most remarkable feature of this indigenous culture, which provides a glimpse on the religious beliefs and local pantheon. Apart from Perge, there are also dialect inscriptions from Sillyon and Aspendos, in which *Wanassa* is encountered. An inscription from Sillyon was found on the Acropolis, carved on a door jamb opening in a Hellenistic wall, which was later included in a Byzantine chapel.<sup>742</sup> The 36-line inscription dating to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, can not be fully read due to damage on its right side, but the overall content records an attempt to put an end to a long period (fifteen years) of civil dispute that even affected the civil dwellings of the people, and was perhaps marked by the rivalry between two factions, led by Megales and Manes. To end this crisis and bring back the peace,

---

although he was not accepted as a god, he might have been venerated as such. Palmer 1963, 461; Chadwick 1976, 97; Hooker 1979, 111; Ruijgh 1999, 523-25.

<sup>738</sup> Kelder 2016, 581 makes a comparison between *Wanassa* and *Tawananna*, the Hittite queen, who was also the chief priestess of the Hatti.

<sup>739</sup> Yamagata 1997, 1-14.

<sup>740</sup> These titles continued to be used for deities in the Post-Homeric literature, see Hemberg 1955, 9-14.

<sup>741</sup> For instance, some of the clay plaques found in Penteskouphia in Korinth dating to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC are marked with the word *(w)anakti*, which has been interpreted as denoting Poseidon and Amphitirite due to the prominence of the Poseidon cult in the city. On Rhodos, a small altar dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC is inscribed with Dios Kronidos Anaktos below a *labrys* showing the old nature of the cult. On Imbros, Dios Kosmeilos bore the title of *(W)anax* in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The title *(W)anaktos*, on the other hand, was usually attributed to the Dioskouroi or Kabeiroi. Hemberg 1955, 14-47.

<sup>742</sup> For the inscription, see Brixhe 1976a, 167-86, no.3; for the earlier interpretation, see Brixhe's bibliography, 167-68; for a recent interpretation, see Colvin 2007, 176-80.



Manes established a social organization by building an *andron* open to all parties. The last lines of the inscription mention the annual religious ceremonies organized to celebrate this reconciliation. The inscription starts with “the help of Diwia and the Hiaroi and on the 30th line, Apollo Pythios (Ἄπυλων Πίτιυ) and *Wanassa* are present. Diwia and the Hiaroi are interpreted by Meister as Kybele and the Korybantes. Brixhe, on the other hand, suggests that the term Hiaroi denotes a function and may consist of a *collegium* responsible for the sacrifices that were attached to the cult of the goddess.<sup>743</sup> The title *Wanassa* is not accompanied by a toponym like *Preiia*; therefore, it is not possible to understand if the inscription mentions *Wanassa Preiia* or another *Wanassa* who was worshipped and had a cult in Sillyon.

In addition, two inscriptions coming from Aspendos yield evidence for *Wanassa*. The first, dating to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, is composed of 37 lines. The stone is heavily damaged. Therefore, it is not possible to fully comprehend its content; however, the presence of a number of terms points to a lease of land, which is likely to have belonged to the domain of *Wanassa Akrou*, *Wanassa* of the Acropolis of Aspendos.<sup>744</sup> The renting of land belonging to a temple property is also documented in the region for the Roman Imperial Period; therefore, it was a long practice that continued from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC into the Roman Imperial period.<sup>745</sup> The second inscription, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, mentions Horma, player of the *kithara* of *Wanassa Akrou*.<sup>746</sup> Horma is interpreted as a possible member of a group that was responsible for accompanying the festivals organized for the goddess of the Acropolis.

The extent of the evidence from Perge, Sillyon, and Aspendos indicates that the cult of *Wanassa* played an important role in the religious life of these cities. These shine out because of their location in the inland of the region, and the preservation of the dialect both on their coins and in their inscriptions until the Hellenistic period. One of the questions that comes to mind is whether there existed a goddess who was commonly worshipped under the epithet of *Wanassa* in the whole region or each city had different deities whom they called *Wanassa* and who were later identified with another goddess in the Greek pantheon as a result of the increased Greek influence in the region. For Perge, there is evidence that *Wanassa* transformed, or better, got associated with Artemis from

---

<sup>743</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 169-70.

<sup>744</sup> Brixhe-Tekoğlu 2000, 25-53, no. 276.

<sup>745</sup> See The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.6.

<sup>746</sup> Brixhe-Tekoğlu 2000, 19-20, no. 274.

the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards, as numismatic evidence points out. However, the situation is not clear for Sillyon and Aspendos. The general consensus is that *Wanassa* was a local Anatolian goddess related to fertility, like the Mother Goddess-Kybele-Kubaba. The interpretations tend to consider the presence of a Mother goddess, who was later associated with another goddess from the Greek pantheon, in the case of Perge with Artemis. However, as it turns out, *Wanassa* was not the only goddess venerated in these inscriptions. The inscription from Sillyon presents us two goddesses: *Diwia* and *Wanassa*. The Linear B Tablets mention a goddess di-wi-ja as Zeus' counterpart, who shared the same root (diw-) with Zeus. Interestingly, the tablets also record the name of Hera, who received a joint worship in the sanctuary of Zeus, whereas offerings to *Diwia* were made in her own temple.<sup>747</sup> In Sikyon and Phlios, the name *Diwia* referred to Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera.<sup>748</sup> Regardless of the origin of the deity, the inscription proves that another deity different from *Wanassa* was worshipped in the city. If Meister's identification of *Diwia* as Kybele and of the *Hiorai* as the Korybantes is correct, we can wonder what were the nature and character of *Wanassa* in this context. It is not unlikely to find a cult for the Mother Goddess and one for Artemis in a city, since, for instance, Plancia Magna of Perge was a priestess of both Artemis and Meter Theon in the Roman Imperial period. Although this may be true for the cult of Artemis Pergaia and Meter Theon in Perge, the same situation may not be valid to Sillyon. In the light of the existing evidence, it is not possible to clearly identify the nature of *Diwia* or her association with Zeus or Kybele but her presence shows that the Anatolian pantheon of Pamphylia was not limited to *Wanassa*.

The Aspendian inscriptions define another *Wanassa Akrou* as the goddess of the Acropolis. Again, no information is present about the nature of the goddess. If one approaches this goddess as the equivalence of Artemis, the cult of Artemis *Akraia* is documented in Neapolis in the territory of Termessos as the goddess of the mountain Keldağ.<sup>749</sup> An inscription from Keramos in Caria dating to the Hellenistic period mentions the epithet *Akraia* for the name of a goddess that has not been preserved on the stone.<sup>750</sup> Another inscription from Maionia in Lydia dating to the Roman Imperial period refers to Meter *Akraia*.<sup>751</sup> The epithet *Akraia* was also used, especially in Greece, to

<sup>747</sup> Gulizio et al. 2001, 455-61; Miller 2014, 291, no.2.

<sup>748</sup> Strab. 8.6.25.

<sup>749</sup> Çelgin 2003b, 141-71.

<sup>750</sup> IKeramos 10.

<sup>751</sup> TAM V,1, 528.

denote Athena.<sup>752</sup> Although the cult of Athena *Akraia* is not attested in Asia Minor, considering the close relationship of Athena as the city protectress expressed by her epithet *Polias*,<sup>753</sup> a relation between Athena *Akraia* and Athena *Polias* may be suggested. However, neither the cult of Artemis nor that of Athena was predominant in the city of Aspendos. Instead, the cult of Aphrodite Kastnietis whose epithet was derived from Mount Kastnion was very common. It is not clear where Mount Kastnion was located, or whether the Acropolis of Aspendos was located on Mount Kastnion. However, the preponderance of the indigenous cult of Aphrodite Kastnietis in the city makes Aphrodite a likely candidate for *Wanassa Akrou*. If this identification is correct, then the epithet *Wanassa*, which designated Artemis in Perge, may have identified Aphrodite in Aspendos.<sup>754</sup>

A similar identification comes from Cyprus. The indigenous goddess of Palaipaphos and Neapaphos was called *Wanassa* and the monarchs of Paphos identified themselves as priests of *Wanassa*, as an inscription of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC shows. Although this island had contacts with the Greek World from the Minoan and Mycenaean periods (14<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) onwards, it was only from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC that it developed a Greek culture. During the period of the *Diadokhoi*, especially under the Ptolemies, the island became Hellenized. Therefore, on Paphos, the goddess is known as *Wanassa* alongside other names such as Golgia, Thea Golgia and Paphia in Golgoi, Thea in Paphos, Kypria in Amathos, and she turned into the goddess Kypria or Aphrodite with the Hellenization of Cyprus.<sup>755</sup>

There is no certain evidence pointing out when the transformation from *Wanassa* to Artemis in the city of Perge occurred. From the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards coins show both the use of indigenous and Greek elements together. The usage of dialect inscriptions illustrates that indigenous elements remained in use during the Hellenistic period, but from a different point of view, it can perhaps also be said that the Greek influence became apparent from the Hellenistic period onwards. The dialect inscriptions collected on funerary *stelai* from these cities, especially from Aspendos yielded personal names composed of the name of a deity, *i.e* theophoric names, such as Athanadora and Thanadoros derived from Athena;<sup>756</sup> Artemeis, Artemeisia, Artemidora, Artemidoros,

---

<sup>752</sup> For the cult of Athena *Akraia* in Argos, see Billot 1994, 950.

<sup>753</sup> Parker 2016, 73-90.

<sup>754</sup> See The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.5.

<sup>755</sup> Budin 2014, 195-217.

<sup>756</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 134-35.

Artemo, Artimidoris, and Artimina taken from Artemis;<sup>757</sup> Aphordisius, Aphordisis, Phordisis, Phordeiseia, Phordisios, Phordeisos referring to Aphrodite;<sup>758</sup> and Wanaxio and Wanaxionus derived from Wanax.<sup>759</sup> According to Brixhe, the predominance of theophoric names derived from Artemis and Aphrodite on the stelai dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> -2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, shows the importance of the cult of Artemis in Perge and Aphrodite Kastnietis in Aspendos.<sup>760</sup> This also shows that in this period, both the local and the Greek names of these deities were used for personal names as well.

#### 4.4.2 *The Iconography of Artemis Pergaia*

The evidence for the iconography of the goddess is plenty, ranging from coin depictions to reliefs and statues. The material source that provides information for the iconography of the goddess in the Hellenistic period is the numismatic evidence, while during the Roman Imperial period, statues and reliefs appear as iconographic sources as well. On these, Artemis is either depicted in the form of her cult image evoking her local Anatolian origin or as a huntress, which is closer to the Greek tradition. This duality started from the Hellenistic period onwards, and continued to be portrayed during the Roman Imperial Period in the visual representations of the goddess. The iconography of the goddess involved numerous elements either linking her to or differentiating her from other deities. Therefore, a thematic approach is adopted here in order to determine the different aspects of the goddess.

#### *The Aniconic Image of Artemis*

Here, the term “aniconic” represents the non-anthropomorphic depiction of the cult statue of Artemis.<sup>761</sup> The aniconic image of Artemis is portrayed on coins of both the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period with slight differences. The coins of the Hellenistic period show the head of Artemis with a *polos* or *kalathos*, with a veil that falls on her shoulders, on top of a large rectangular body without arms, legs or any distinctive features inside a distyle temple. The head, shoulders, headdress and veil are clear on these coins and the

<sup>757</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 18-21, 39, 100, 107.

<sup>758</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 43-4; 59, 76.

<sup>759</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 140.

<sup>760</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 189, footnotes 4 and 202.

<sup>761</sup> For a discussion about the terminology of the word, see Gaifman 2017.

image stands on a broad base (Figure 4.84).<sup>762</sup> The decoration of the body and of the base is, in some instances, visible but not easy to determine; however, in one instance, a moving figure on the base is discernable.<sup>763</sup> This representation continued to be portrayed on Imperial coins from Tiberius (14-37 AD) to Tacitus (275-276 AD). However, from the period of Traianus onwards (98-117 AD), some changes in the form and the decoration of the aniconic image started to occur. The veil disappeared and the body started to have a more elongated semicircular form, which resulted in the loss of the shoulder line. The head, protruding from the contour of the body on the Hellenistic coins, appeared to be pressed in; therefore, only the top of the rectangular headdress became visible. In some cases, necklaces were also present (Figure 4.85). The broad base on which the image stands was rarely portrayed on the Roman Imperial coins.<sup>764</sup> In this way, more room was created for the body of the goddess, which was divided into two or three friezes by means of horizontal ridges. This image continued to be portrayed until the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, but in the course of time, some different attributes were added around the image or to the temple. For instance, in the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD), sphinxes on top of bases started to be seen on either side of the image (Figure 4.86). With Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), a star and a crescent appeared above the goddess (Figure 4.87), while from Philippus I (244-249 AD) onwards, but especially in Gallienus' period (253-268 AD), torches replaced the sphinxes on either side (Figure 4.88).<sup>765</sup> On a coin minted in the period of Aurelianus (270-275 AD), the cult image was perhaps flanked by two trees.<sup>766</sup> In some instances, coins dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD feature the cult image, having a nearly semicircular form, on the hand of a seated Tyche (Figure 4.89).<sup>767</sup> However, the most detailed iconographic representation of the cult image of Artemis *Pergaia* comes from the theater of Perge. A relief dating to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD decorates the pillars of the scene building and has been described in detail by Onurkan and Fleischer (Figure 4.90).<sup>768</sup> To summarize, based on her depiction, the cult image is essentially formed of two parts

<sup>762</sup> SNG France, 3, nos. 375-78; SNG PFPS, Pamphylien, nos. 223, 228.

<sup>763</sup> SNG, France, 3, nos. 379-81; SNG PFPS, Pamphylien, nos. 221-24, 226, 227, 270, 271; Fleischer 1973, 236.

<sup>764</sup> Fleischer 1973, 236-41; Filges 2008, 482-83.

<sup>765</sup> Filges 2008, 483.

<sup>766</sup> BMC, Lycia, nos. 100-1; Lacroix 1949, 175.

<sup>767</sup> For Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see Lacroix 1949, 175; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6109; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6156; for Gallienus and Salonina (253-268 AD), see Imhoof-Blümer II, 331, no.26.

<sup>768</sup> Onurkan 1969, 307-12; Fleischer 1973, 242-53.

separated from each other by a horizontal ridge. The upper part represents the head and the neck of the goddess with various attributes and the lower part consists of three friezes. The goddess wears a high *kalathos*, on which seven superimposed sphinxes are represented. On each side of the *kalathos*, there are five busts. The right and left sides of the busts are separated from the edge of the relief by a vertical band that bends with right angles and on the outer sides of this band three more busts are depicted, which make a total number of sixteen busts. These busts have been interpreted as the Korybantes by Onurkan; however Fleischer proposed a possible identification as planetary busts or round disc busts, which Kybele priests wore on their robes.<sup>769</sup> On the horizontal ridge that cuts the relief in two parts are two female figures, placed on the left and right side and holding wreaths in their uplifted hands. These figures were interpreted as Nikai by Onurkan; however, pointing out that they are wingless, Fleischer mentioned that these could be companions of the goddess.<sup>770</sup> They stand behind two unlit torches or pillars. The goddess probably wears a necklace composed of acorns or discs.<sup>771</sup> Under the necklace, there is a crescent and beneath the crescent are two round objects, interpreted as *kymbala* by Onurkan and as discs or medallions by Fleischer.<sup>772</sup> Finally, on the lower part, which is arranged in the form of three friezes, there are figures either making music with a *lyra*, a *tympanon*, or *kymbalon* or dancing. The same composition appears on a second but more fragmentary relief found in the theater as well. On the sacrificial frieze, again decorating the *scenae frons* of the theater, the aniconic image is held by Tyche (Figure 4.91). This is a more schematized version of the cult image, due to its smaller size, but the friezes with figures are still visible. Another aniconic image of the goddess was found in Kremna in Pisidia (Figure 4.92). The statue is nearly similar to the one at the theater of Perge with minor differences.<sup>773</sup> The statue is only preserved half. The composition consists of two panels, separated by a ridge. The upper part depicts the head of the goddess and the lower section includes two friezes. Artemis is represented wearing a high *polos* decorated with animals. On each side of the *polos*, six busts are portrayed, either male or female. Next to the busts, on the right and left, there are two charioteers who hold objects in their extended hands, possibly torches. Above the hooves of the horse on the left side, a star is represented. The neck of the goddess is very richly decorated and

---

<sup>769</sup> Fleischer 1973, 248.

<sup>770</sup> Fleischer 1973, 246.

<sup>771</sup> Fleischer 1973, 246.

<sup>772</sup> Onurkan 1969, 308; Fleischer 1973, 245.

<sup>773</sup> Fleischer 1973, 233-35.

consists of four different elements. Uppermost, there is a necklace made of acorns. Under the acorn necklace, she wears a semi-circular band consisting of four busts. Under the busts, there is a crescent on top of a heavy chain necklace. On either side of the neck decoration, two figures are standing behind altars or offering tables. The lower ridge, which is the dress of the goddess, is separated into two friezes, with each frieze consisting of seven figures, making music with an *aulos* or *kithara* or dancing. On the back of the statue a veil is depicted with diagonal strips.

This image has been interpreted by many scholars as a *baitylos* -sacred stone. According to Lacroix, it represents a transitional period between the earliest but undetermined period, when the goddess was venerated in the form of a stone, and later times, when the anthropomorphic image became the object of cult.<sup>774</sup> Pace interprets the *baitylos* of Artemis Pergaia as a cult object that belonged to the distant past of the goddess.<sup>775</sup> Although the meaning of *baitylos* is “a sacred meteoric stone”,<sup>776</sup> the term has been used in modern literature to define a variety of aniconic objects, from pillars to cones, to a degree that all objects without an anthropomorphic form have been called *baitylos* to suggest a primitive worship, like Pace did for Artemis Pergaia.<sup>777</sup> The history of the cult of the aniconic sacred stones in Anatolia goes back to the Neolithic period. Each civilization in every period of time accepted stones as some kind of sacred entity, in which the power of deities, ancestors or deaths were dwelling. This similarity in cultic and ritual traditions has been questioned by Graf, who concluded that the international empires of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC -a Bronze Age *koine*- covering the Mycenaean-Minoan Aegean, Anatolia, and North Syria, created a historical and political unity, which resulted in the transmission of cult, myths, and rituals from one to another, and hence the establishment of similar beliefs.<sup>778</sup> If the cult of sacred stones is considered from this perspective, the similarities immediately catch the eye. The Hittites had their Huwasi stones, in which the power of the deity was hidden, and which were located not only inside temples but also near sacred springs and on mountain peaks like their Mycenaean counterparts.<sup>779</sup> Kybele or Magna Matar was worshipped as a black stone that fell from

---

<sup>774</sup> Lacroix 1949, 179.

<sup>775</sup> Pace 1923, 310.

<sup>776</sup> Liddell and Scott, online Greek-English Dictionary, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Dbai%2Ftulos>

<sup>777</sup> For the use of the word in the ancient sources, its etymology and its wrong usage, see Gaifman 2008, 42-57; Mariantos 2009, 73-81.

<sup>778</sup> Graf 2004, 3-16.

<sup>779</sup> For Huwasi stones, see Carstens 2008, 73-93; for the Mycenaean cults, see Evans 1901, 99-204.

the sky; the stone was preserved in Pessinous and later transferred to Rome in 204 BC.<sup>780</sup> The name of another Phrygian goddess, Agdistis, refers to “she, lady of the rocks”, revealing her connection with mountains and rocks.<sup>781</sup> In Kaunos, a conical stone with a height of 3.50 m was found in the *temenos* of Zeus Kaunios Soter. Votive offerings around it suggest that the cult activities started in the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>782</sup> Furthermore, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, St. Paulus mentioned that Artemis of Ephesos was the guardian of the sacred stone that fell from the sky.<sup>783</sup> Finally, at Kouklia and Paleopaphos on Cyprus, Aphrodite was seen and worshipped in the form of a sacred stone.<sup>784</sup> There is also evidence in Perge for the presence of stone worship. One stone with a base resembling an *omphalos* was erected on the Acropolis in the period between 900-700 BC, before a cult building was constructed in “Area 1” an area that witnessed intensive and continued cultic activity from the Late Bronze Age into the Byzantine period (Figure 4.93).<sup>785</sup> Another pillar in “Area 1” was situated in the rocky area full of caves and freshwater springs on the southern slope of the Acropolis and has been interpreted as belonging to the same period as the one in “Area 1” (Figure 4.94-5).<sup>786</sup> The relation of these stones with Artemis Pergaia has not been identified with certainty, but they can all be considered as evidence of stone cults, which found their parallels in a long period of time and in a vast geography.

On the other hand, Onurkan argued that the aniconic image of Artemis Pergaia resembles more a *xoanon*, a wooden image, than an amorph *baitylos*, a wooden core on which ornaments were put.<sup>787</sup> The term *xoanon* refers to cult statues of deities either male or female, that were carved from any wood and of any desired type.<sup>788</sup> They were not unique to a specific deity and constituted the essential parts of rituals, since they were bathed, clothed, anointed and taken to processions.<sup>789</sup> Unfortunately, the current literary or archaeological evidence is inadequate to determine whether the aniconic image of Artemis Pergaia was in the form of a sacred stone or a *xoanon*; however, the non-anthropomorphic worship of the goddess put her in line with Anatolian deities, such as

---

<sup>780</sup> Roller 1999, 263-65.

<sup>781</sup> Mozel and Morden, 2006, 150.

<sup>782</sup> Diler 2000, 51-79.

<sup>783</sup> Act of the Apostles, 19.35.

<sup>784</sup> Mozel and Morden 2006, 149-55.

<sup>785</sup> Martini 2017, Chapter 1, 3,159.

<sup>786</sup> Martini 2017, 73.

<sup>787</sup> Onurkan 1969, 310.

<sup>788</sup> Bennett compiled the passages of Pausanias in which he mentioned *xoana* and concluded that the term was used for thirty four deities including major Olympian deities, such as Athena, Artemis, and Apollo, and minor deities, like Pan, the Nymphs, and the Moirai, see Bennett 1917, 8-21.

<sup>789</sup> Larson 2007, 8.



Kybele, Agdistis, the Ephesian Artemis and the Carian Zeus, as a deity whose cult was perhaps related with the earth and its fertility.

### *Torches*

The torch was an attribute of Artemis Pergaia that was used from the Hellenistic period onwards, since the coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC portrayed Artemis in long *chiton*, holding a bow or wreath and a torch.<sup>790</sup> Torches were widely depicted on coins of the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and on these coins Artemis is holding a bow and torch in continuation of the Hellenistic iconography, carrying torches or leaning on one (Figure 4.96).<sup>791</sup> On the coins of Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) and of Gallienus and Salonina (253-268 AD), her cult image in a temple is flanked by two torches (Figure 4.97).<sup>792</sup> On the reliefs on the pediment of Fountain F2 (Figures 4.98-100) at Perge and a column located in the south-north colonnaded street, she was also represented with a torch and a bow (Figure 101).

The torch was attributed to many deities, like Hekate, Hestia, Demeter, Artemis, Kybele and Nike; however, the meaning of this attribute could change based on a specific myth, context, or cultic ritual. While torches in the hand of Nikai could symbolize athletic victories, when they were used in the context of marriage with Hestia or Nike, they could symbolize a successful and joyful passage to marriage.<sup>793</sup> The torches Demeter or Hekate carried, on the other hand, had more chthonic and underworld connotations, which were related to their mythology and mystery rituals, especially for Demeter.<sup>794</sup> However, in his

<sup>790</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 341-47, 350-51, 379-81; SNG Pfalzer 4, 1993, nos. 205-9, 210-19, 224-29, 234-35.

<sup>791</sup> Artemis with bow and torch: for Tiberius (14-37 AD), see RPC I, nos. 3369, 3370, SNG France 3, no. 382; for Nero (54-68 AD), see RPC I, no. 3373, SNG France 3, no. 383; for Vespasianus (69-79 AD), see RPC I, no. 1511, SNG France 3, no. 386; for Titus (79-91 AD), see RPC I, no. 1514, SNG France 3, nos. 387-388; for Domitianus (81-96 AD), see RPC I, nos. 1515, 1516, 1519, SNG France 3, nos. 390-392; for Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, no. 2687, SNG Cop, no. 314; SNG France 3, no. 393; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 316, RPC III, no. 2703, SNG France 3, no. 399; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 320; for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 435, SNG Cop no. 325; for Geta (209-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 456; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, nos. 6112, 6115, 6123; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 476; for Iulia Mamaea, see RPC VI, no. 6144, SNG France 3, no. 482; for Maximus (238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6167; for Tranquilina, see SNG France 3, no. 497; for Philippus II (244-249 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 534; for Valerianus (253-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 551; for Salonina, see SNG France 3, no. 595. Artemis holding two torches in both hands: for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 445; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 576. Artemis leaning on a torch: for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 429; for Geta (209-211 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 454-55; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 477-478; for Tranquilina, SNG France 3, no. 500; for Philippus II (244-249 AD), see SNG France 3, 532.

<sup>792</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 543, 568.

<sup>793</sup> Parisinou 2005, 36-38.

<sup>794</sup> Larson 2007, 69-85 and 163-67.

article discussing the origins of Hekate, Berg provides evidence on native Anatolian goddesses depicted with torches, who later became Hellenized and got Greek names. Among them is Hekate of Lagina, who was always portrayed with a torch on the Hellenistic coins of Stratonikeia, a grave-goddess called Edbebe in Pisidia, who was later identified with Mother Leto, and Wanassa Preiia, who was depicted with a torch and bow on the Hellenistic coins and later turned into Artemis.<sup>795</sup> Therefore, torches might have ascribed a chthonic and native character to the Pre-Hellenistic worship of *Wanassa*, who was later associated with the Greek Artemis.

### *Sphinxes*

Among of the earliest archaeological finds that can be related to Artemis Pergaia are two Archaic sphinxes, which were produced in a Parian workshop and discovered in the theater of Perge (Figures 4.102-3). These sphinxes dating to 570-560 BC are interpreted as possible votive offerings made to Artemis Pergaia and placed inside her temple.<sup>796</sup> Sphinxes were also depicted on the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial coinage of Perge. On coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, sphinxes wearing a *polos/kalathos* are shown on both the obverse and the reverse, either alone<sup>797</sup> or with Artemis (Figure 4.83).<sup>798</sup> For instance, the Hadrianic coins also portrayed them in continuation of the Hellenistic iconography, but as a novelty of this period, these creatures also started to appear on both sides of the cult image of Artemis Pergaia inside the distyle temple (Figure 4.86).<sup>799</sup> Also the relief from the theater portrays Artemis with a high *polos*, on which sphinxes were depicted.

The sphinx originated from Egypt and Mesopotamia in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia BC and spread to the West from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC onwards. The earliest examples in Anatolia date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BC, to the Assyrian Colony Period, and appeared under Egyptian/Syrian/Mesopotamian influence.<sup>800</sup> On the seals of Kültepe and Acemhöyük, a goddess was depicted with sphinxes<sup>801</sup> and this iconography can also be seen with the Phrygian mother goddess. For instance, on the Aslankaya relief dating to the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, two antithetical sphinxes are located on the triangular

---

<sup>795</sup> Berg 1974, 135-36.

<sup>796</sup> Recke 2008, 1057-77.

<sup>797</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 353-71; SNG Pfalzer 4, nos. 230-32; 238-59; Head, no. 702; SNG Cop, nos. 309-11; 318.

<sup>798</sup> SNG Pfalzer 4, nos. 210-14; Head, no. 702; BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, 119, nos. 1-3.

<sup>799</sup> SNG Cop, 318; RPC III, no. 2690.

<sup>800</sup> Temür 2014, 124-25.

<sup>801</sup> Taracha 2009, 32.

pediment, under which a door niche is depicted with Kybele inside.<sup>802</sup> Winged sphinxes with a *polos* on their heads also appeared on the Phrygian funerary stelai.<sup>803</sup> Sphinxes were also present on the *polos* of the Ephesian Artemis (Figure 4.104) and they were also among the votive offerings dedicated to her temple at Ephesos in the Archaic period and at Orthia in Sparta in the Geometric and Archaic periods.<sup>804</sup> The relation of a sphinx with goddesses was not limited to Kybele or Artemis, as the Cypriot Aphrodite was also seen as an enthroned goddess with sphinxes on both sides of her throne.<sup>805</sup> Sphinxes were also seen with the Phoenician Astarte and with Atargatis of Heliopolis, who were also associated with Kybele and Artemis.<sup>806</sup> Sphinxes, therefore, were apparently paired up with or they accompanied goddesses who had a strong and powerful mother goddess status. Artemis Pergaia was no exception.

### *Hunting Attributes*

In addition to the goddess' attributes bearing native elements, such as an aniconic image, sphinxes, and torches, the Greek iconography of Artemis Pergaia was also well established from the Hellenistic period onwards. Despite the legend in the Pamphylian dialect on early coins, the goddess was depicted according to her traditional Greek huntress iconography wearing a short *chiton*, holding a bow and arrow, having a quiver on her shoulder and a stag at her feet,<sup>807</sup> or holding a scepter and a wreath<sup>808</sup> The same huntress attire, which symbolized the goddess' association with wild nature and beasts, is also seen in the Roman Imperial coinage.<sup>809</sup>

<sup>802</sup> Roller 1999, 85.

<sup>803</sup> Mitropoulou 1996, 138-48.

<sup>804</sup> Léger 2017, 118-26.

<sup>805</sup> Ulbrich 2010, 187-89.

<sup>806</sup> Leibovici 1993, 73.

<sup>807</sup> SNG France 3, no. 372; BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, 120, no. 8; SNG France 3, no. 383.

<sup>808</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 325-38, 340, 355-71; SNG Pfalzer 4, nos. 238-59; Head 1911, 702; BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, 119, nos. 1-7; SNG Cop, nos. 299-302, 309-11.

<sup>809</sup> For Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, nos. 2695, 2696, 2700, 2701, SNG France 3, nos. 397-98, 400; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, nos. 10135, 4951; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 320, RPC IV, no. 11027; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10662; for Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 323; for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 323; for Geta (209-211 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 332; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6122; for Iulia Maesa, see RPC, VI, 6139; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6119; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6179; for Tranquilina, see RPC, VI, 6184; for Traianus Decius (249-251 AD), see SNG Lycia-Pamphylia, 1982, no. 347; for Herennius Etruscus (251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1108; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1118; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1129; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG Lycia-Pamphylia, 1982, no. 352.

In addition, statues portraying Artemis in her huntress attire have also been found all over the city. A statue of Artemis wearing a long *chiton* with a quiver on her shoulder and probably holding a bow and arrow (which are now missing) was found during the excavations of the Late Roman Gate and can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Figure 4.105).<sup>810</sup> Another Artemis statue, this time in short *chiton*, once decorated the *natatio* of the Southern Baths (Figure 4.106). The goddess is represented while taking an arrow from her quiver on her shoulder and her dog is present at her feet. Her left arm is bent and extended to the front.<sup>811</sup> Another statue was found in the monumental Fountain F3 located north of the city (Figure 4.107). Artemis is portrayed during a hunt in a short *chiton* while running and taking an arrow out of her quiver. The stag and the dog are also present at the goddess' feet.<sup>812</sup> On the pediment of Fountain F4, the huntress Artemis is present alongside Eros, the Charites, a priestess and Apollo (Figure 4.108-9).<sup>813</sup> The iconography of drawing an arrow out of the quiver can also be seen on coins dating from the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>814</sup> As shown by the evidence, the iconography of the huntress Artemis first appeared on Hellenistic coins and was widely used throughout the Roman Imperial period, both on coinage and in statuary representations, alongside the more local guise of the goddess.

### *Celestial Figures*

Celestial figures played an important role in the iconography of the goddess but appeared only in the Roman Imperial period. Coins dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD portray the goddess with a radiate crown and crescent (Figure 4.100-1).<sup>815</sup> On the reliefs of her cult image found in the theater, a crescent is

<sup>810</sup> Mansel 1970, 129-35.

<sup>811</sup> İnan 1981, 4.

<sup>812</sup> İnan 2000, 152.

<sup>813</sup> İnan 1976, 702; 1977, 617-18.

<sup>814</sup> For Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 400; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10135; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11027; for Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 432; for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 438; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 479; for Tranquilina (241-244 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 498; for Philippus II (244-249 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 533; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 561.

<sup>815</sup> For Domitianus (81-96 AD) (crescent), see RPC I, no. 1515-16; for Traianus (98-117 AD) (crescent), see SNG Cop, no. 314, SNG France 3, no. 393; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see RPC III, no. 2701; for Marcus Aurelius, see RPC IV, 4952; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6123; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6148; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), RPC VI, no. 6184; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1099; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1118, 1126; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1129; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 572.

present below her neck (Figure 4.90) and on a relief from Kremna, a star is depicted next to her head (Figure 4.92). Similarly, the ceiling coffers of the Hadrianic arch are decorated with the head of the goddess, behind which a crescent is present.<sup>816</sup> On the pediment of Fountain F2, which was built against the east wall of the Southern Baths and was donated by Aurelia Paulina, a priestess of Artemis, and dedicated to Artemis Pergaia, Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), Caracalla (198-217 AD) and Iulia Domna<sup>817</sup>, she appears with a crescent above her shoulders and a radiate crown on her head (Figure 4.99). Some columns of the eastern gallery of the south-north colonnaded street are decorated with reliefs and Artemis is depicted with a radiate crown on one of them (Figure 4.101).

Perhaps the most interesting find with celestial figures is the zodiac disc dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD that was found on the slopes of the İyilikbelen Hill (Figure 4.112). The disc has a diameter of 0,90 m and due to its findspot it has been interpreted as a votive offering to the goddess. The disc is surrounded by a band on which the twelve signs of the zodiac -Capricorn, Sagittarius, Scorpio, Libra, Virgo, Leo, Cancer, Gemini, Taurus, Aries, Pisces and Aquarius- are shown. In the center of the disc, a bust of Artemis is depicted (from her waist above) with a crescent behind her shoulders and stars next to the two pointy edges of the crescent. Artemis is surrounded by figures related to her myths, such as the killing of Aktaion by her dogs or the slaying of the Niobids together with her brother, Apollo.

Artemis Pergaia was deeply connected with the sky, as the figures of the crescent, star, radiate crown and the zodiac disc show. The crescent or the moon in general was originally an attribute of Selene, the moon goddess, since on vase paintings, reliefs and statues going back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the goddess is portrayed with a crescent moon on her head just like her male counterpart, Helios, the god of the sun was crowned with rays of light.<sup>818</sup> However, the crescent was also used as an attribute for different other goddesses, such as Ishtar, Astarte, Anahita, Isis, Aphrodite Ourania, Kybele and Artemis.<sup>819</sup> Radiate crowns also appeared in representations of the goddess Ma in Cappadocia and those of Artemis Leukophyrene in Magnesia.<sup>820</sup> Atargatis of Syria was another goddess portrayed with rays of light.<sup>821</sup> The motif of the zodiac disc was

---

<sup>816</sup> Onurkan 1969, 320.

<sup>817</sup> Mansel, 1975b, 49; 1975c, 367-69; Şahin, 1999a, 230, no.196.

<sup>818</sup> For the iconography of Helios, see Yalouris 1990, 1005-34.

<sup>819</sup> Campbell 1968, 70-3, footnote 13.

<sup>820</sup> Leibovici 1993, 72.

<sup>821</sup> Luc. Syr. D. 32.

commonly used for Helios and Mithras, but was also seen with the Ephesian Artemis, with Zeus and Kybele.<sup>822</sup> When used in an architectural context, especially on domes or vaults, this motif symbolized the sky; hence, the small dome of the *tholos* temple of Tyche in Side was embellished with zodiac signs.<sup>823</sup> The association of Artemis Pergaia with the sun, moon, stars and zodiac suggests that she was accepted as a celestial goddess, dominating the whole sky, without choosing the sun or the moon. In this way, she ruled as the queen of heavens just like she was the queen of Perge.

### *Trees*

On a coin of Aurelianus (270-275 AD), two vertical objects that are interpreted as trees stand next to the cult image of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>824</sup> The same objects are present in the cult image of the goddess found at Kremna. The tree held a significant place in ancient beliefs and cultic rituals. According to Eliade, the tree, always renewing itself, represented the living kosmos and perpetuated regeneration.<sup>825</sup> The Mycenaean and Minoan saw the tree in the context of maternal life; therefore, they identified it with the Mother goddess and later the tree became an essential element of deities who had a maternal aspect, such as Demeter, Kybele, Artemis and Hera.<sup>826</sup> Each deity held a specific tree, and sacred groves were attributed to them all around the Mediterranean. To give a few examples from Asia Minor, the aniconic images of the Ephesian Artemis were placed on or near her sacred tree and Artemis of Ephesos was also worshipped at the foot of her oak tree.<sup>827</sup> A coin of Gordianus from Myra shows Artemis Eleuthera in a tree, which is attacked by woodcutters with axes, while the tree is guarded by snakes.<sup>828</sup> However, attributes reminiscent of tree worship related to Artemis Pergaia are limited and literary evidence is even entirely lacking. However, if the aniconic image of the goddess represented the deity in the form of a wooden *xoana*, a tree cult and related sacred rituals may have been part of the cult of Artemis Pergaia.

*Wanassa Preiia*, a native goddess who was later identified with Artemis, iconographically presented various attributes, which addressed both the indigenous and

---

<sup>822</sup>For examples of the association of the zodiac with several deities, see Godwin 1981, 40, 88, 103, 105, 113, 114, 158.

<sup>823</sup> Mansel 1956d, 11.

<sup>824</sup> Pace 1923, 310.

<sup>825</sup> Eliade 1963, 271.

<sup>826</sup> For the tree cults in Ancient Greece see, see Smardz 1979.

<sup>827</sup> Strelan 1996, 70.

<sup>828</sup> Smardz 1979, 18.

Greek communities of Pamphylia and perhaps more eastern communities as well. Her aniconic depiction, which was the product of a long Mediterranean tradition related to natural features, connected her with Kybele, Agdistis, and the Cypriot Aphrodite, and her possible identification as a tree possibly finds its parallels in Ephesos and Myra, thus being again related to the worship of a natural feature. The torch, an attribute perhaps enlightening her native character, can also be seen with Hekate, again an indigenous, Carian goddess. Celestial features, a Roman addition to the goddess' iconography, were also present in the iconography of eastern goddesses, such as Kybele, Anahit, Ishtar, and Atargatis, emphasizing Artemis Pergaia status as the queen of heavens, and giving her a universal status. It is clear that the iconography of the goddess and, therefore, the nature of her cult and perhaps its cultic rituals were nourished by various elements during the Hellenistic period throughout the Roman Imperial period, and that this situation made Artemis Pergaia a versatile goddess.

#### 4.4.3. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia*

##### *The Image of the Temple*

Living in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the orator Polemon spoke of a work of physiognomy that has now remained only in Arabic:

*“Imagine that I’m in a city called Perge in Pamphylia. Outside this city, there is a marvelous temple in terms of grandeur, beauty and construction, devoted to Artemis: there come pilgrims from all across the land. The attire of the local women are such that they don gowns of white and lilac and drape themselves in milhafa that cover all but their eyes and the noses. While there, I noticed a woman among others, bearing the mark of a great catastrophe to come. When I mentioned this to those in my company, they were quite surprised. How could I foresee such a disaster only by seeing her eyes and nose? The signs were that her nose and nostrils were dark and quivering; her eyes were inordinately enlarged and tinted green; her head was bobbing violently and her feet almost felt agony as they stepped. No such signs were ever seen in a sane person whose fate was so certainly calamitous. As I looked at her, somebody rushed towards her, wailing, and informed her that her beloved, only daughter had drowned in the well of their house. As she heard this, she let out a cry and ripped out her veil and jewels, beat her chest and disrobing herself, stepped further. Even the Greek-crafted Egyptian smock had fallen off: people flocked to her and covered her with clothes from the temple.”<sup>829</sup>*

---

<sup>829</sup> The Turkish translation of the text is taken from Mansel and Akarca 1949, 35. The English translation is provided by the author.

As apparent from Polemon's account, the Artemision of Perge was impressive in grandeur and beauty. Unfortunately, the only material source that could provide us a glimpse on how the temple looked in Antiquity is coin depictions, since no other evidence is known thus far.<sup>830</sup> The representation of the temple of Artemis Pergaia appeared on coins of the city from the 3<sup>rd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards. Among other types, the Hellenistic coins portrayed a distyle temple on their obverses. There are some examples from which one can understand that their capitals are Ionic. Besides, an eagle with outstretched wings is also shown on some coins.<sup>831</sup> Between the two columns, the cult image of the goddess is always present. The reverses of these coins vary, ranging from a bow and a quiver to Artemis holding a torch and a bow and Nike holding a wreath. The legend of these coin types is *Artemidos Pergaias*. During the Roman Imperial period, the temple started to be depicted on the reverse from the Tiberian period onwards (14-37 AD). From Tiberius to Traianus (98-117 AD), the *Artemision* was depicted in a similar way as on the coins of the Hellenistic period: the cult image is placed inside a distyle temple with Ionic capitals and -when recognizable- there is an eagle on the pediment.<sup>832</sup> However, an issue dating to the reign of Traianus shows the temple again as a distyle building but with Corinthian capitals.<sup>833</sup> From the Hadrianic period onwards (117-138 AD) the issues started to diversify. The temple was depicted in both the Ionic and Corinthian order. It was also shown as a distyle,<sup>834</sup> tetrastyle<sup>835</sup> or hexastyle temple (Figures 4.113-5).<sup>836</sup> The hexastyle temple on the coins stood on an at least four stepped podium. The eagle on the pediment appeared on some of the issues, but the distyle temples were also depicted with sphinxes on pedestals situated on both sides of the cult image of Artemis. The temple is again shown as a tetrastyle temple on a coin of Maximinus (235-238 AD) (Figure 4.116), and then again as a distyle temple in the reign of Tacitus (275-276 AD).<sup>837</sup> From Septimius Severus' period onwards (193-211 AD) another iconographic feature was added to the overall composition: a crescent and star on top of the cult image, and these were depicted

---

<sup>830</sup> The temple representations on coins are thoroughly examined by MacKay 1990, 2067-72.

<sup>831</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 373-81; SNG Pfalzer 4, nos. 221-28, 236, 237; Head no. 702. BMC 1897, 121, nos. 10-14; SNG Cop, nos. 307-8.

<sup>832</sup> For Tiberius (14-37 AD), see RPC I, no. 3371; for Claudius (?) (41-54 AD), see RPC I, no. 3372; for Vespasianus (69-79 AD), see RPC I, no. 1512; for Domitianus (79-81 AD), see RPC I, no. 1517-18; SNG France 3, no. 389; for Traianus (98-118 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 315; RPC III, nos. 2686, 2688.

<sup>833</sup> MacKay 1990, 2068, footnote 76.

<sup>834</sup> RPC III, nos. 2690, 2692-93, 2699.

<sup>835</sup> RPC III, no. 2705A

<sup>836</sup> RPC III, no. 2706.

<sup>837</sup> For Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, 6158; for Tacitus (275-276 AD), see SNG Aulock 2, no. 4759.



on most of the coins from now on.<sup>838</sup> Some coins dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, for instance, to the reign of Gordianus III (238-244 AD), of Tranquilina and Philippus II (247-249 AD), the sphinxes on both sides of the cult image were replaced by torches, while the coins of Maximinus (235-238 AD) or Maximus (238 AD) and Tacitus (275-276 AD) showed a grill before the cult image.<sup>839</sup>

There were clearly some fluctuations in the depiction of the temple over time, but these were not chronologically coherent, since, for instance, the temple could be shown as a distyle building; it became a tetrastyle and hexastyle in Hadrianus' period and then again the distyle model prevailed for a long period of time. The situation is the same with the Ionic and Corinthian order. The question whether these differences indicate a chronological development of the temple was discussed by MacKay, who suggested that the producers of the Hellenistic coins probably knew the temple well; however, the fluctuations that started to appear in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD may have been due to the deliberate choice of the die cutters, the fashion of the period or the presence of a guide for the die-cutter who did not know the city well enough.<sup>840</sup> The coins with the representation of the temple remained similar until the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD). According to Harl, during the period of Hadrian, the restrictive traditions of the past were replaced by a more imaginative form, which resulted in the proliferation of diverse types. Due to the Panhellenic policies of the emperor, many cities in Asia Minor emphasized their antiquity and their Greek ancestry, and, furthermore, invented a Greek past.<sup>841</sup> The city of Perge witnessed extensive urbanistic developments during the Hadrianic period: the courtyard between the Hellenistic round towers was rearranged with the insertion of statues of mythological founders, deities and local *euergetai*, and an arch with three openings decorated with the statues of Traianus (98-117 AD) and Hadrianus (117-138 AD) and their family members, was built at the northern end of the courtyard. Two main streets of the city were decorated with colonnades, and a monumental fountain was added at the northern end of the *cardo decumanus*.<sup>842</sup> The different representations of the *Artemision* on the coins may be due to the emphasis on the importance of the Artemis

---

<sup>838</sup> MacKay 1990, 2068.

<sup>839</sup> MacKay 1990, 2069.

<sup>840</sup> According to MacKay, the only possible element that might be realistically presented on the coins might be the grill separating the cult statue from the entrance, which appears on the Maximinus or Maximus and Tacitus coins, see MacKay 1990, 2069-70.

<sup>841</sup> Harl 1987, 13-14.

<sup>842</sup> For the urbanistic changes occurring in Perge in this period, see Özdizbay 2012, 145-49; for the statuary program of the Hadrianic period buildings see, NG 2016, 225-37.

cult for the city, an autochthonous cult, which was later associated with the Greek Artemis, rather than to the attempt to indicate a chronological development in the architecture of the temple. Furthermore, although the temple held spatial importance, this was because of the object of the cult, *i.e.* the cult statue that was placed inside. As far as the numismatic evidence is concerned, the cult image is always present on the coins and the temple does not appear without it. Drew-Bear stated that technical difficulties did not cause a problem to accurately represent a temple; therefore, iconographic convenience, which means that what the *polis* wanted to emphasize on its coins, was more important.<sup>843</sup> The coins may depict a reduced or exaggerated number of columns. However, a cult statue and its surrounding iconographic elements are more visible and legible on a coin with a distyle temple. For instance, the Pergaian coins dating to the period of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) show a distyle *Artemision* with a lintel, whereas the coins of Pogle from the reign of Antoninus Pius depicting the cult image of Artemis Pergaia portray an arched lintel between two columns.<sup>844</sup> Here, the emphasis probably was put not on the temple, but on the cult statue itself. Eventually, it does not seem logic for the temple of the Artemis Pergaia, which was renowned for its impressiveness, its grandeur, beauty and construction, to be represented as a distyle temple as was the case on the majority of the coins, but it must have been a matter of choice of what the *polis* wanted to highlight, in this case the cult image of Artemis Pergaia and its iconographic features.

### *The Location of the Temple*

The earliest evidence for the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia comes from Pseudo-Skylax, in his work known as *Periplous*, a theoretical geography book mentioning the regions, cities, harbors, rivers, and people of Europe, Asia and Africa, and dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>845</sup> In the *Periplous*, the city of Perge is mentioned in the section about Lycia. If one sailed to the north from the Khelidonian cap, one came to Phaselis. After passing Idyros, the island of Lyrnateia, Olbia, and Magydos, one finally arrived at the Katarraktes river and then at Perge and at the temple of Artemis.<sup>846</sup> The Pamphylian cities described in the

---

<sup>843</sup> Drew-Bear 1974, 30-31.

<sup>844</sup> For Perge, see SNG Cop, no. 319; RPC IV, no. 6282, 10409; for Pogle, see RPC IV, no. 7710

<sup>845</sup> The *Periplous* is ascribed to Skylax from Caria, who lived in the 6th century BC, but the presence of the 4th century BC cities in the book indicates that it was written by someone else. Therefore, the author is called Pseudo-Skylax, see Arslan 2012, 239. The work was probably written near Athens in 338/337 BC, see Shipley 2012, 121.

<sup>846</sup> Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplous*, 100.

book are Aspendos, Sillyon, Side, Kibyra, and Korakesion and the sea voyage from Pamphylia to Perge took half of a day. The author seems to make a difference between Pamphylia and Perge; therefore, it would be interesting to know if the author attributed a liminal character to the temple of Artemis in Perge. The importance of the goddess and her cult to the city was further stated by Kallimachos (310-240 BC) in the Hymn to Artemis, who says “of cities, Perge is your favorite”.<sup>847</sup> The location of the temple is also mentioned by Strabo (64 BC-24 AD). According to his *Geographika*, after Attaleia, one came to the Kestros river and when sailing sixty *stadia* (nearly 11 km) up to the Kestros river, one arrived at Perge. Near the city, on a place raised from the ground, stood the temple of Artemis.<sup>848</sup> Similarly, Polemon, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD Sophist, also describes the temple of Artemis as being located outside the city (see above).<sup>849</sup>

The location of the Artemis temple at Perge has been the subject of several studies and many researchers have formulated different opinions. The ancient writers Pseudo-Skylax and Strabo stated that the temple was near Perge, while Strabo added that it stood on a hill. There are four hills in the vicinity of Perge. The north of the city is limited by the city’s Acropolis, which yielded archaeological evidence of continuous settlement from the Chalcolithic Period to the Byzantine period. To the north of the Acropolis, the Kızılyapı Hill is located, where a cave used as a sanctuary of Mithras is situated on the southern slopes.<sup>850</sup> In the southwest of the city, there is the Kocabelen Hill with the theater leaning against its eastern slopes. Finally, the İyilikbelen Hill is located in the southeastern part of Perge, where numerous archaeological remains, including a church, are present. Two of these hills, the Acropolis, and the İyilikbelen hills have been proposed as the possible location for the temple.

The Acropolis is the first place where early travelers located the temple. In his first visit to Anatolia between 1833-1837, Texier came over to Perge and, basing himself on Strabo’s account, he assumed that the Acropolis once housed the famous temple of Artemis. He thought that the vaulted structure supported with columns, which may have belonged to a church, was built on the place of the temple. He further identified six still standing granite columns as the portico of the sanctuary and capitals in the Ionic orders as more architectural remains of the temple (Figure 4.117).<sup>851</sup> In the work of Texier and

---

<sup>847</sup> Callim. Hymn 3, 183.

<sup>848</sup> Strab. 14.4.2.

<sup>849</sup> Mansel and Akarca 1949, 35.

<sup>850</sup> See *The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia*, Chapter 5.

<sup>851</sup> Texier 1849, 216.

Pullan of 1864, a plan of both the lower and the upper city of Perge was provided, on which the temple of Artemis was marked on the Acropolis, in the center of the rectangular *temenos* situated near the southwestern basilica. It is further written that “(the Acropolis) was surmounted by the temple of Diana the same manner as the Acropolis at Athens in crowned by the Parthenon” (Figure 4.118).<sup>852</sup> In his report of 1874, Hirschfeld, following Strabo’s account and the inscription honoring Claudia Artemisia Paulina, a priestess of Athena and Artemis, that was reused in a church (the structure was originally a cistern but it was interpreted as a church in earlier records) situated on the southern part of the Acropolis, decided that the *Artemision* should be at the Acropolis.<sup>853</sup> During his visit to Perge in 1884-1885, Lanckoronski, after examining the southern hills of the city, located the temple on the Acropolis at the place of the church that yielded a second inscription, and, just like Texier, he suggested that the whole Acropolis might have been dedicated to Artemis, just like the Parthenon in Athens was dedicated to Athena.<sup>854</sup> After their visit to Perge in 1913, Paribeni and Romanelli also concluded that the temple should have been situated on the Acropolis based on Strabo’s account and the inscriptions.<sup>855</sup>

In order to test these opinions suggested by a series of travelers, Mansel and Akarca started to conduct research on the Acropolis of the city in 1950’s. First, they examined the cistern, which was previously identified as a church and situated near the entrance to the Acropolis, and they refound the second inscription written on an inscribed statue base. It was dedicated to a priest of Artemis by his grandchildren.<sup>856</sup> Later, they conducted excavations on two prominent spots, situated roughly in the center of the Acropolis but their research remained inconclusive concerning the location of the Artemis temple. However, judging from the abundance of Late Antique and Byzantine architectural remains, they concluded that the Acropolis witnessed a dense occupation during these periods and that if the *Artemision* once stood here, it doubtlessly must have been completely destroyed.<sup>857</sup> The second large-scale research on the Acropolis was conducted between 1994-2004 by a team led by Martini from the University of Giessen. This aimed to examine the diachronic development of the upper city of Perge.<sup>858</sup> According to Martini, the Acropolis was the best candidate for the location of the

---

<sup>852</sup> Texier and Pullan 1964, 61.

<sup>853</sup> Recke 2006b, 4.

<sup>854</sup> Lanckoronski 2005, 37

<sup>855</sup> Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 48.

<sup>856</sup> For the inscriptions, see Şahin 1999a, 81-84, no.58.

<sup>857</sup> Mansel and Akarca 1949, 39-41.

<sup>858</sup> For the latest results of this project, see Martini, 2017.

*Artemision* due to the fact that the north-south colonnaded street, a street that connected the temple and the city with each other, reached the Acropolis, because of the abundance of various caves, rock formations and cult places concentrated in the southern part of the hill, which might have been related to the sacred landscape, and of the presence of many architectural remains and inscriptions dating to the Roman Imperial period in the area of Basilica III, in the southeastern part of the Acropolis (Figure 4.119-120).<sup>859</sup> The area of Basilica III in the southeastern part is perfectly visible from the southern junctions of the colonnaded street. Furthermore, the Acropolis is also connected to the river harbor of the Kestros on the east (Figure 4.121). Martini painted a fascinating portrait of the interconnection between the upper and lower cities of Perge. Besides, these two spatially different cities were very well connected due to the north-south and east-west main axes and other streets. Moreover, water was a fundamental element to unite them. A water canal existed in the middle of the main *cardo* of the city, which started from the monumental fountain in the north and continued until the outside of the city from the south. Looking from the south to the Acropolis, the most remarkable features are the caves on the rocky surface of the southern slope, which are filled with water due to the carstic nature of the land. According to Martini, these caves and little springs must have given the impression that the water was bestowed to the city by Artemis, who was sitting above these caves in her sanctuary on top of this rocky ground in the southeast. He also added that, when someone would sail upwards the Kestros and approach the city from the east, the first thing s/he would notice would be the impressive *Artemision* located in the southeastern part of the Acropolis. He also mentioned a possible *horos* inscription containing the name of Artemis.<sup>860</sup> All these assumptions seem reasonable, but are not certain due to the lack of excavations in the area.

The second possible spot for the location of the *Artemision* is the İyilikbelen Hill situated southeast of Perge. On the slopes of the hill, the remains of a church are visible. Further south, an aqueduct, which is part of the water system of the city, is present.<sup>861</sup> Between the İyilikbelen Hill and the aqueduct, a course of a Byzantine wall built with *spolia* including inscriptions is preserved. Among these inscriptions is a temple inventory or list of offerings dedicated to the temple of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>862</sup> The above-mentioned

---

<sup>859</sup> Martini 2004, 479-86.

<sup>860</sup> Martini 2016, 624.

<sup>861</sup> For the water system of Perge, see Çağlayan 2009.

<sup>862</sup> For the inscription, see Şahin 1999a, 7-13, no. 10. For the other inscription found inside the same wall, see Şahin 1999a, 14-16, no. 12.

zodiac disc, which may also have been an offering for the temple, was also found on the slope of the İyilikbelen Hill.<sup>863</sup> The first person to propose the Acropolis as not being the place of the *Artemision* was Pace. He thought that neither the inscription of Claudia Paulina Artemisia nor that of the Artemis priest can give a topographical clue concerning the temple since these inscriptions may also have been erected in conjunction with other public structures rather than with the temple. Furthermore, if the Acropolis would truly have been the location of the *Artemision*, then Strabo would not have called it “a place raised from the ground near Perge”, since the Acropolis in Strabo’s time must have been characterized by a dense settlement, surrounded by an intricate defense system that was supported with monumental gates, a road and street system, as well as public and cultic buildings.<sup>864</sup> Pace, therefore, suggested seeking the temple on the İyilikbelen Hill, pointing out that the late builders of the Byzantine wall in the area must not have taken the useless pain of gathering stones from afar but must rather have found materials in the immediate surroundings. Also, the Christian basilica in the proximity may have been transformed from an ancient pagan sanctuary.<sup>865</sup> His opinions found support from Robert, Mansel, and Akarca. Rather than relying on Strabo’s text, Robert underlined Polemon’s account, who stated that the *Artemision* was located outside the city, as most of the indigenous extra-urban sanctuaries were. He thought that the Acropolis cannot be qualified as being situated outside the city.<sup>866</sup> After finding no evidence for the temple on the Acropolis, Mansel and Akarca turned their attention to the İyilikbelen Hill. According to their report, the western and southern parts of the hill were occupied by Byzantine structures and behind the hill, there existed a plain, Karagöl, which became heavily marshy in rainy seasons.<sup>867</sup> This may have constituted a favorable location considering the location of other Artemis sanctuaries in marshy lands, like those of Ephesos and Brauronia in Attica,<sup>868</sup> but this is no adequate evidence to determine the *Artemision*’s place. Mansel and Akarca’s research concentrated on the Christian basilica, which has dimensions of 23x27 m, and although it did not result in the discovery of an older temple, they noticed a striking difference between the apsidal and the main part, the heavy usage

---

<sup>863</sup> Onurkan 1969, 312-17.

<sup>864</sup> Martini 2010, 49-77.

<sup>865</sup> Pace 1923, 313-16.

<sup>866</sup> Robert 1949, 64-69.

<sup>867</sup> Mansel and Akarca 1949, 47.

<sup>868</sup> Sanctuaries of Artemis were often built at liminal places, which means transitional places from the wild to the domesticated or from the land to water; therefore, marshy areas were suitable locations for *Artemisia* as many shared this common point, Budin quoting from A. Schachter in 2016, 58.

of secondary materials taken from older buildings and the construction of an apse in an inelaborate way compared to the rest of the building. Therefore, they concluded that the apse was a later addition to an early public building, which was later converted into a Christian basilica.<sup>869</sup> Other research conducted between 1968-1970 in the east part of the İyilikbelen Hill, however, resulted in the discovery of a Doric temple oriented in east-west direction, measuring 21,50x12,60 m, and standing on a three stepped *krepis* (Figures 4.122-4). The temple comprised of a nearly square *cella* (8,80x10,40 m) and a deep *pronaos* (8,70x10,40 m). The temple was a tetrastyle *prostylos* and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC based on the ceramics found in the excavations and on comparison with Pergamene temples. The area also yielded architectural remains in the Ionic order; therefore, the presence of another Ionic temple was also suggested alongside the Doric one.<sup>870</sup> The researchers admitted that this could not be the famous Artemis Pergaia temple due to its relatively small dimensions. However, they concluded that these temples could have been part of an extra-urban sanctuary, which included small temples and perhaps treasuries. The archaeological evidence found here made Alanyalı to interpret the location of the *Artemision* of Perge on the İyilikbelen Hill.<sup>871</sup> However, no additional evidence is present regarding the deity to whom this temple might have been dedicated. It is also surprising that these two temples and the Byzantine basilica did not appear on later plans of the city of Perge especially since they held an important place in the research of the temple of Artemis Pergaia. Although these temples can not be interpreted as the *Artemision*, they doubtlessly prove the presence of an extra-urban sanctuary dating to at least the Hellenistic period.

Finally, an inscription may provide indirect evidence for the location of the *Artemision*. A large and fragmented inscription was secondarily used in the *cavea* of the theater, possibly during renovation work carried out during the reign of Tacitus (275-276 AD).<sup>872</sup> The original inscription was 3 m wide and 1,50 m high with a depth of 0,25 m. Given these dimensions, it is assumed that the plates served as revetment for a building, which according to Şahin, could have been an archive wall. The inscription records a decree regarding a foundation established by a certain M. Feridius. M. Feridius bequeathed his vineyards that were in Aronda and his arable lands bordering the sanctuary

---

<sup>869</sup> Mansel and Akarca 1949, 42.

<sup>870</sup> Mansel 1969, 95-96; Akkurnaz 2007, 85-88.

<sup>871</sup> Alanyalı 2008, 69-81.

<sup>872</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 66, 94.

of Artemis Pergaia to the Elders, on the condition that he would receive the income from these lands during his lifetime. After his death, a day had to be named after him and he should be honored every year. Moreover, the revenues from his lands had to be spent for wine and bread. The inscription can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>873</sup> The vineyards, which needed a suitable elevation for their proper production, are in conjunction with the location of the temple on top of a hill. According to the inscription, the arable lands were bordered by the temple of Artemis, which may suggest a rural and extra-urban status of the sanctuary, which was perhaps located in a liminal zone between the *polis* and the countryside. This situation may reduce the probability of arable land in a place like the Acropolis, which was densely packed with buildings. Additionally, an altar dedicated by a priest of the Moirai, called Menneas, to Artemis *Asylos* was found together with another altar dedicated to Asklepios on the slopes of the İyilikbelen Hill.<sup>874</sup>

#### *Inside the Temple: The Riches of the Sanctuary*

There exist various sources that provide information about the objects situated inside the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia. The first one is the Hellenistic offering list discovered on the slopes of the İyilikbelen Hill.<sup>875</sup> It documents various offerings made by people coming from different Pamphylian, Lycian, Pisidian and Cilician cities, such as Side, Aspendos, Olympos, Selge and Tarsos. The word used for the objects is *anathema*, which means anything dedicated.<sup>876</sup> The list is also explicit about the value of the dedication; for instance, the goods were listed as “in the value of a gold coin and two obols” (lines 16-17). There are two objects that frequently appear on the list: *aspidiskos* and *helios*.

The word *aspidiskos* means small shield or disc.<sup>877</sup> Lines 29-31, 54-55, 59-60 and 67-68 record a hooked and golden small shield with the face of Artemis on it, aimed to be hanged on somewhere. Miniature shields, either in gold or bronze, were among the

<sup>873</sup> Jones 1999, 8-17; Şahin 1999a, 94-96, no. 66.

<sup>874</sup> Şahin 1999a, no.135, 169.

<sup>875</sup> Şahin 1999a, 7-12, no. 10. The inscription and its content is thoroughly analyzed by Pace 1926, 402-12; Appendix 1.1.

<sup>876</sup> Liddell and Scott, (online), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da%2Fqema>

<sup>877</sup> Liddell and Scott <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da%2Fspion>



dedications offered to Athena at Athens<sup>878</sup> and at Argolis,<sup>879</sup> to Apollo at Bassae,<sup>880</sup> and to Zeus at Heleia (Palaikastro).<sup>881</sup> Pilz describes miniature offerings as “iconic signs” and assumes that they were used in religious rites or associated with social role models. Miniaturizing an object means to detach it from its actual functional properties; therefore, the functional role of the objects decreases whereas its symbolic value and connotative meaning increases.<sup>882</sup> According to Pace, these small shields with the image of Artemis would represent the moon, a celestial figure with whom the goddess was both iconographically and ritually identified in Perge.<sup>883</sup> The *helios* as a votive offering to Artemis is also equipped with a hook and it is *aktinotos*, which means decorated with rays (lines 21-22, 41-43, 51-53, 56-58, 61-63, 63-66).<sup>884</sup> It could also be made of gold (lines 31-35). In one instance, the *helios*, decorated with rays, has the image of Hermes (lines 43-47) and in the other case, the image of Artemis appears (lines 47-50). These offerings were interpreted by Erten as statuettes of Helios, which in some instances bore the image of Artemis or Hermes. Therefore, the dedication of Helios statuettes by worshippers coming from different cities may suggest that Helios played a significant role in the cult of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>885</sup> However, instead of statuettes, the interpretation of these objects as possible solar discs decorated with rays and with the image of Artemis, Hermes or more commonly Helios himself seems to be more reasonable, since, like small shields, these were also equipped with hooks used for hanging and one offering was even made of gold. Pace further interprets the small shields representing the moon and the *helioi* as representing the sun. Therefore, he assumes that the temple of Artemis was furnished with celestial symbols.<sup>886</sup> Among other dedications listed in the inscription are golden and bronze pins (*peronai*), seals (*typoi*), and a composition of a necklace made of acorns and reeds. Necklaces made of acorns could also be found on the cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.<sup>887</sup> This necklace may have hung on a wall or have decorated the cult statue of Artemis Pergaia as well. Pace also completes a word in the inscription as *porpama* and

---

<sup>878</sup> Pilz 2011, 5.

<sup>879</sup> Larson 2009, 10.

<sup>880</sup> Cooper 1996, 73.

<sup>881</sup> Cook 1925, 930.

<sup>882</sup> Pilz 2011, 18.

<sup>883</sup> Pace 1926, 409-10.

<sup>884</sup>

Liddell

and

Scott

[http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da\)ktinwt0%2Fs](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da)ktinwt0%2Fs)

<sup>885</sup> Erten 2007, 309.

<sup>886</sup> Pace 1926, 409-10.

<sup>887</sup> Fleischer 1973, 64-65.

mentions the possibility of a garment fastened with a brooch as a votive offering.<sup>888</sup> Brooches, discs, miniature shields, necklaces, pins, plaques, pins and textiles are also among the votive offerings made to the *Artemision* at Ephesos, as documented during the excavations and by textual evidence.<sup>889</sup> However, due to the lack of further data from the *Artemision* of Perge, it would not be reasonable to make a comparison to detect possible similarities and differences in the offerings and religious rituals in general.

The zodiac disc (Figure 4.112), which was found on the İyilikbelen Hill, can also have been a temple offering, since it has holes on its top, bottom and both sides, possibly to fasten it on a wall. However, no further evidence exists for the possible use of this artifact. Besides, two sphinxes discovered at the theater (Figure 4.102-3) are dated to the Archaic period (570-560 BC) and attributed to a Parian workshop by Recke due to their stylistic features.<sup>890</sup> Evaluating these sphinxes in a broader context of other sphinxes coming from Attica, Korinthos, the Cyclades and Ionia, Recke rules out their possible use as grave markers but concludes that they might have been votive offerings to Artemis Pergaia. This suggestion places back the Artemis sanctuary to the Archaic period, which is a time when the first relations with Athens started. Given that the earliest cult activity discovered in the city goes back to the Late Bronze Age, an Archaic *Artemision* would not be unreasonable. The presence of sphinxes on the coins from the reign of Hadrianus onwards also suggests a relationship between Artemis Pergaia and sphinxes and perhaps the imagery of flanking sphinxes on either sides of the cult image on the coins was taken as a model from the Archaic votive offerings to the temple.

The presence of objects made of metals, namely gold and bronze, in the sanctuary as votive offerings is significant, since they can testify to the sanctuary's wealth. Our second source about the dedications also provides evidence for this richness. In his accusation against Gaius Verres on the charges of his misconduct during Verres' governorship in Sicily between 73-71 AD, Cicero writes:

*"We know that there is a very ancient and sacred shrine of Diana in Perge. I say that it, too, was stripped bare and despoiled by you, that from the cult statue of Diana herself whatever gold it had was removed and carried away. What, on earth, is this outrageous impudence and insanity..."*<sup>891</sup>

This passage also informs us that, apart from the golden discs or small shields, the cult statue itself was ornamented with gold, maybe in the form of jewelry, plaques or

---

<sup>888</sup> Pace 1926, 410.

<sup>889</sup> Léger 2017, 122-24.

<sup>890</sup> Recke 2008, 1057-77.

<sup>891</sup> Cic. Verr. 2, 54.

appliques. Cicero continues by saying that Verres should have displayed all the statues and treasures in a public procession at Rome instead of placing them into his house or the country houses of his friends. In addition, Aspendos and Perge are the two cities from which Verres robbed statues and treasures. Unfortunately, Cicero is not explicit about which statues he took from Perge. However, from the inscriptions found in the city, we are aware that statues of individuals who were deemed worth to receive honors were placed in the sanctuary of Artemis. One such example dating to the Hellenistic period was Stasias, son of Bokios, who served as a *strategos* and *gymnasiarkhos* and was honored by the *Demos* of Perge with a golden crown and a bronze statue, which would be erected at the most remarkable place in the temple of Artemis (*epiphanestaton topon*).<sup>892</sup> The same honor was bestowed to Apollonios, son of Lysimachos, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Due to his successful deeds for the city of Perge -organizing a *conventus* for Germanicus Caesar in the *Forum Augustum* of Perge and going to Rome as an ambassador on his own expense - the *Boule* of Perge ordered to put up his bronze statue at the most remarkable place in the temple and to carve this decree on its base.<sup>893</sup> Furthermore, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD Philostratus mentions in his *Lives of the Sophists* a certain Varus from Perge, whose father was among the most important citizens of the city. Varus' nickname was Stork due to his pointy nose, and his likeness was very well shown in a statue, which was erected at the temple of Artemis at Perge.<sup>894</sup>

Apart from the offerings made to the goddess' temple, there are numerous dedications to Artemis Pergaia scattered all around the city of Perge. A Hellenistic-Early Imperial statue base is found in the western necropolis of the city, recording that statues were dedicated to Artemis according to the testamentary order of Artemis.<sup>895</sup> A dedication made to Traianus and Artemis Pergaia was found in the western part of the city,<sup>896</sup> and a Latin inscription documenting a dedication to Diana Pergea (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) was found on the Acropolis.<sup>897</sup> Moreover, Plancia Magna offered a statue to the goddess situated on the Hadrianic arch in the northern part of the oval courtyard, a building that she also commissioned,<sup>898</sup> a 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD dedication to Artemis Pergaia was

---

<sup>892</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 14, 17-22.

<sup>893</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 23, 37-44.

<sup>894</sup> Philostr. V S. 2,6.

<sup>895</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos 2, 3.

<sup>896</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 75, 100.

<sup>897</sup> Şahin 1999a, no.133,168-69.

<sup>898</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 89, 127.

discovered on the north-south colonnaded street,<sup>899</sup> and another dedicatory inscriptions to Artemis *Asylos Epiphanes* was applied on the Severan fountain.<sup>900</sup>

In some occasions, inscriptions recording the name of Artemis Pergaia could help to identify the territory of the city of Perge and thus the influence of the goddess within this territory. For instance, the people who were responsible for the misuse of the revenues coming from estates located at Lyrboton Kome would pay a thousand *denarii* to the sacred treasury of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>901</sup> These fines were also applied to people who damaged sarcophagi or tombs in the *necropoleis* of the city, which especially dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>902</sup> That doubtlessly contributed to the wealth of the sanctuary. In recent years, two more dedications dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD were discovered during the construction of a highway, probably in the northwestern part of the region and perhaps suggesting a border between the Pamphylian city of Perge and the Pisidian city of Termessos. Unfortunately, the exact findspots of these inscriptions remain unknown.<sup>903</sup>

#### 4.4.4 The Status of the Sanctuary

##### *The Inviolability of Artemis Pergaia: Asyilia*

The idea of inviolability of a temple, a sanctuary or a territory in the Greek thinking was perfectly natural, since sacred spaces were accepted to be under a deity's authority. The term *hiketeia* or *hikesia*, which means "supplication", is the Greek term for someone who is seeking refuge and this term was widely used in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>904</sup> The sacred spaces were naturally immune to violence during periods of war or civil strife, and the violation of these sacred spaces, which was called *hierosyilia*, was considered the most abominable crime alongside murder and treason.<sup>905</sup> Therefore, the inviolability of Greek sacred spaces was already accepted before the Hellenistic period, when the concept of *asyilia* started to become widespread among the different *poleis*. Another Greek term that implied inviolability and immunity is *ekekheira* or *sponde*, which symbolized the

<sup>899</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 238, 274.

<sup>900</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 245, 277.

<sup>901</sup> Şahin 1999a, no.77, 102-3.

<sup>902</sup> Mansel and Akarca 1949, 11, 18, 26, no.8.

<sup>903</sup> Gökalp-Akdoğan Arca 2009, nos. 9-10, 269.

<sup>904</sup> Liddell and Scott, online source, [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Di\(ketei%2Fa](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Di(ketei%2Fa)

<sup>905</sup> Pritchett 1991, 161; footnote 211.

cessation of hostilities, armistice, and truce,<sup>906</sup> and was especially practiced by *poleis* that held Panhellenic festivals. Its main aim was to provide security for people who travelled in order to attend the festivals of various *poleis*, to forbid them to engage into war and to protect the sacred spaces during festivals. For instance, Thucydides (460-404 BC) stated that the Corinthians refused to sail with the Chians in their revolt against the Athenians and wanted to wait until the Isthmian games were finished.<sup>907</sup> From the Classical until the Roman Imperial period, the right of *asylia* could also be bestowed on individuals, citizens who did good deeds to their cities, or on a group of people or ambassadors coming to various cities. In this sense, cities guaranteed the protection of individuals who gained the right of *asylia*.<sup>908</sup>

In the Hellenistic period, however, the meaning of *asylia* as a right began to change and turned into a privilege instead, granted to a *polis* by a higher authority. This privilege, which is stated in inscriptions and on coins of *poleis*, has thoroughly been analyzed by Rigsby, who collected 230 documents about territorial *asylia*, which shows that the practice ranged from 260 BC to 22-23 AD.<sup>909</sup> Rigsby, however, does not emphasize the necessity of seeking this privilege and according to him the granting of *asylia* was merely meant to bestow honors to a city's patron deity. It was the result of the successful diplomacy a city applied towards other cities, with which it was in competition.<sup>910</sup> In her review of Rigsby's study, Meyer suggests to seek the advantages the Greeks obtained from the privilege of *asylia* beside "honors" and also to focus on the need that the Greek cities also sought Roman approval of the *asylia* after the Hellenistic period.<sup>911</sup> There are studies, however, that focused on the necessity of obtaining this privilege. For instance, in 1965, Herrmann touched upon the reasons behind granting *asylia* privileges to cities by Antiochos III (222-187 BC) and investigated that the cities asked for this title in order to acquire some kind of protection against looting and piracy, which were very common during the unstable and chaotic environment of the Hellenistic period after the death of Alexander the Great.<sup>912</sup> In 2003, Ma proposed a new concept for the investigation of the Hellenistic period with the Peer Polity Interaction Theory. This

---

<sup>906</sup> Liddell and Scott, online source, [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3De\)kexeir%2Fa](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3De)kexeir%2Fa)

<sup>907</sup> Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 8.9.1.

<sup>908</sup> For examples of this practice, see Derlien 2003, 121-23.

<sup>909</sup> Rigsby 1996. This number, however, surely has increased with new discoveries.

<sup>910</sup> Rigsby 1996, 22-4.

<sup>911</sup> Meyer 1999, 460-64.

<sup>912</sup> Herrmann 1965, 29-160.

theory pursuits to conceptualize how different *poleis* were in fact similar to each other and also interconnected with each other through a wide network of civic relations and the result of the cultural and diplomatic interconnectedness of the Greek *poleis*.<sup>913</sup> Under the hegemonic powers of the Hellenistic monarchs, the city-states continued to function independently by the usage of networks creating a shared culture. Kirsch took this Peer Polity Theory a step further in her MA Thesis in 2015, and proposed that, since granting the *asylia* privilege and the rise of the Panhellenic festivals were characteristic features of the Hellenistic period, the city states that needed the *asylia* title preferred to benefit from the available network and from the competition between *poleis* to gain further recognition among their peers.<sup>914</sup> Asking and in return granting the privilege of *asylia* was in fact a reciprocal relationship. In one way, the city-states wanted to protect themselves, their citizens, sacred spaces and their territories from the turmoils of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC caused by monarchs who wished to enlarge their dominion. In this way, the *asylia* became a diplomatic policy that *poleis* systematically followed in their foreign affairs. City states usually requested this title when they wanted to organize Panhellenic festivals, which were very advantageous in economic, social and religious terms. Finally, they also wanted their cities and sacred spaces to receive honors and not to fall behind their competitive peers. Hellenistic monarchs, on the other hand, bestowed these titles in order to secure the loyalty of the cities under their rule. Therefore, many cities in the Hellenistic period obtained this title and secured their sacred spaces and their territories.<sup>915</sup>

From the Roman Imperial period onwards, however, the meaning of *asylia* changed again from territorial inviolability to a place where someone could seek refuge from something and, in this way, the title's sense began to get a spatial meaning, referring to temples.<sup>916</sup> Additionally, the Romans considered this privilege as a problem breaking the cities' legal functioning; therefore, Augustus for instance limited the borders of the inviolable *temenos* of the *Artemision* at Ephesos.<sup>917</sup> Around 22/23 BC, Tiberius started an extensive investigation of the *asylia* of the Greek city-states under the pretext of abuse

---

<sup>913</sup> This theory was first put forward by Cherry and Renfrew and later applied by Snodgrass to examine Archaic Greek *poleis* and their relation to each other, see Cherry-Renfrew 1986; Snodgrass 1986; Ma 2003, 9-39.

<sup>914</sup> Kirsch 2015.

<sup>915</sup> For a thorough examination of Ionian and Carian cities, such as Smyrna, Ephesos, Teos, Kolophon, Miletos, Magnesia, Nysa, Amyzon, Alabanda, Tralleis, Stratonikeia, Aphrodisias, Mylasa and Bargylia, some of which received their titles under Julius Caesar, see Sarıkaya 2009.

<sup>916</sup> Rigsby 1996, 28.

<sup>917</sup> Strab. 14. 1. 23

of this privilege. In his *Annales*, Tacitus (56-120 AD) informs us about *poleis* that sent ambassadors to the emperor to reclaim this privilege.<sup>918</sup> As a result, the function and content of the concept of *asylia* narrowed down in the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and fewer cities enjoyed the granting of new privileges. Moreover, the title appearing on coins and inscriptions was merely used as an honor for the city.

Despite its reputation in the Hellenistic period and the spread of its cult outside Perge and even Pamphylia, all the evidence regarding the inviolable status of the *Artemision* of Perge comes from the Roman Imperial period, both from coins and inscriptions. The earliest record belongs to the period of Domitianus (81-96 AD). An inscription found in the southern part of the Acropolis records the honors bestowed by the Council and the People to Tiberius Claudius Apollonios from Elaibaris, son of Apollonios, who -among others- went to Rome three times on his own expenses to confirm the *asylia* status of the *Artemision* of Perge.<sup>919</sup> Therefore, according to Şahin, the *Artemision* gained the privilege of *asylia* during the Domitianic period due to the efforts of Tiberius Claudius Apollonios. On the other hand, Jones proposed another meaning for the verb “*katorthein*” (“recovery”) and referring to Rigsby he argues that the *Artemision* of Perge had this title from the Hellenistic period onwards, that the privilege was reinstated in the period of Tiberius, like in many other cities in Asia Minor, due to the effort of Apollonios, the father of Tiberius Claudius Apollonios who is mentioned in the inscription.<sup>920</sup> Jones also focuses on an expression written in another inscription. The stone on which the inscription was carved, was erected in the street south of the *macellum* in the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD) and recorded the Pergaians who praised their city by enumerating the various honors Perge had received over a long period of time.<sup>921</sup> In the first line, it reads “Hail Perge, you only city with *asylia*”. Since no names of emperors are mentioned in relation with the title *asylia* (for instance in the fifth line, it reads “Hail Perge, *neokoros* from Vespasianus”) and the title actually refers to the city and not to the

---

<sup>918</sup> According to Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.60-63 “...In the Greek cities license and impunity in establishing sanctuaries were on the increase. Temples were thronged with the vilest of the slaves; the same refuge screened the debtor against his creditor, as well as men suspected of capital offences. No authority was strong enough to check the turbulence of a people which protected the crimes of men as much as the worship of the gods” (translated by J. Jackson The Loeb Classical Library). Among the cities who sent delegations to the emperor to reinstate their privileges are Ephesos, Magnesia, Aphrodisias, Stratonikeia, Hierokaisareia, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardeis, and Miletos.

<sup>919</sup> Şahin 1999a, 81-84, no. 58.

<sup>920</sup> For the inscription recording the name of Apollonios, son of Lysimachos, who went to Rome as an ambassador in the Tiberian period, see Şahin 1999a, 37-42, no. 23.

<sup>921</sup> Şahin 2004, 54-58, no. 331.

temple as was usually done in the Hellenistic period, Jones concluded that this privilege was given to the city in the Hellenistic period.

Both views are open to debate due to the lack of firm evidence. The *Artemision* of Perge was indeed very influential in the Hellenistic period and Strabo mentions that a *panegyris* (a national or religious assembly in honor of a local deity) was annually held in Perge.<sup>922</sup> Perge was a well-developed city in the Hellenistic period as were its neighbors in the region, like Sillyon, Side and Aspendos. However, like Perge, the evidence of *asylia* from Sillyon and Side also dates to the Roman Imperial period. It would be surprising if the cities of Pamphylia did not benefit from the wide network of a shared civic culture between each other in the Hellenistic period. In the inscription dating to the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD), the title of *asylos* is stated in the first line before the neocorate title. It is widely accepted that the importance of the title *asylos* was replaced by the title *neokoros* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and that the title *neokoros* was a new honor that individual cities were competing for with each other to get it.<sup>923</sup> Since Perge received the neocorate title during the reign of Vespasianus (69-79 AD), the first acquisition of the *asylia* title in the Domitianic period would be perhaps unlikely. However, the Pamphylian cities were not listed in the *Annales* of Tacitus among the cities that sent delegations to Tiberius to reinstate their *asylia* privileges. Moreover, the inscription from the southern part of the Acropolis makes it clear that Tiberius Claudius Apollonios went to Rome and accomplished something concerning the title of *asylia* since this title proudly appears in the majority of the Domitianic inscriptions, especially in those related to this family.<sup>924</sup> Additionally, Woodward suggested that the *cistaphori* of Nerva and Traianus portraying the *Artemision* with the Latin legend “Diana Pergaea” are an affirmation that the *asylia* title that was newly acquired under Domitianus was continued (Figure 4.125).<sup>925</sup> If the *Artemision* had *asylia* in the Hellenistic period, its status was doubtlessly violated by Verres in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

---

<sup>922</sup> Strab.14.4.2.

<sup>923</sup> Rigsby 1996, 29.

<sup>924</sup> For a complete overview of the family, see Özdizbay 2012, 112-17. The arch situated on the east-west colonnaded street and built in the period of Domitian between 81-84 AD by Demetrios and Apollonios, son of Apollonios, was dedicated, among other deities and emperors, to Artemis Pergaia Soteira Asylos, see Şahin 1999a, 72-80. For another inscription that is considered to refer to designate this family, see Şahin 1999a, 84-86, no. 59. An inscription mentioning the daughter of Demetrios, Arete, who was also a priestess of Demeter, was built in a tower in Lyrboton Kome in this period and was dedicated to the emperor and to Artemis Pergaia Asylos, see Şahin 1999a, 93-94 no. 65.

<sup>925</sup> Woodward 1956, 158-60.



From the Domitianic period (81-96 AD) onwards, the title *asylos* was regularly used in the inscriptions as attested on a votive altar to Artemis Asylos that was dedicated by a priest of Moirai under the reign of Traianus (98-117 AD) or Hadrianus (117-138 AD),<sup>926</sup> and in a dedication to Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) found in the Southern Baths mentioning Artemis Pergaia *Asylos*.<sup>927</sup> The same formula appears in an inscription mentioning Claudia Paulina Artemisia as the priestess of Artemis Asylos and Athena, which can be dated to the Antonine period,<sup>928</sup> on an honorary inscription for Marcus Aurelius Dioscourides, priest of Artemis Pergaias *Asylos*, dating to the same period,<sup>929</sup> and on an honorary inscription of Aurelia Paulina, priestess of Artemis Pergaias *Asylos* dating to the Severan period (193-235 AD).<sup>930</sup> Moreover, the monumental fountain to the south of the Southern Baths, and the *propylaion* of the baths which were built during the Severan period, were both dedicated to Septimius Severus, his family and Artemis Pergaias *Asylos*.<sup>931</sup> Furthermore, from the same monumental fountain also comes a dedication to Artemis *Asylos Epiphanes*,<sup>932</sup> while the theater has also yielded a dedication to Artemis *Asylos* of an uncertain date.<sup>933</sup>

In contrast to the relatively early date of the first appearance of *asylos* in the inscriptions, this title seems to appear on the reverses of coins only from the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Figure 4.126).<sup>934</sup> Additionally, during the period of Valerianus I (253-260 AD), Perge was bestowed the right to organize Panhellenic games, since coins of this period portray a *homonía* between Perge and Delphi after the emperor granted the city the Pythian Games. The reverse illustrates Artemis of Perge and Apollo of Delphi face to face; between them the inscription *Pythia* is written under the encircling legend *Homonoi Pergaion Delphon*.<sup>935</sup> The Pythic Games were shown on several coins during the reigns of Valerianus and Gallienus and these were associated with the *Asylian* Games. The *Asylian* Games were celebrated in honor of Artemis

<sup>926</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 135, 169.

<sup>927</sup> Şahin 1999a, 174-75, no. 141.

<sup>928</sup> Şahin 1999a, 192-93, no. 173.

<sup>929</sup> Şahin 1999a, 194, no. 174.

<sup>930</sup> Şahin 1999a, 229-30, no. 195.

<sup>931</sup> Şahin 1999a, 230-37, no. 196-97.

<sup>932</sup> Şahin 1999a, 277, no. 245.

<sup>933</sup> Şahin 1999a, 277-78, no. 246.

<sup>934</sup> For Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6177; for Philippus (244-249 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 528-534; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1114; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 548; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 561, 572, 576; for Tacitus (275-276 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 622-23.

<sup>935</sup> Erol-Özdizbay 2012, 208; SNG France 3, no. 551.

Pergaias *Asyilia*; however, their relationship with the *Panegyris* mentioned by Strabo remains unknown.<sup>936</sup>

It is not certain when the city of Perge received its inviolability status due to the lack of clear evidence, but the title was frequently used in inscriptions between the reign of Domitianus (81-96 AD) and Tacitus (275-276 AD). On the other hand, the term especially became visible on the city's coinage from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards. This period also witnessed the foundation of the *Asyilia* Games. Since Pamphylia was a strategically important region during the crisis and the hostile environment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the region's cities, especially Perge and Side, gained military importance because of the Eastern expeditions. As a result, the emperors bestowed honors to the cities. Especially Perge and Side were the two Pamphylian cities that enjoyed these honors, such as the rights to organize Panhellenic festivals, and the titles of *neokoros* and *metropolis*. Because of this competitive emulation, the Pergaians probably wanted to display all the honors that their city and sanctuary possessed. Therefore, the peer polity interactions mentioned earlier in the context of the Hellenistic period and the privilege of *asyilia* might have become especially apparent during this period. Additionally, many people might actually have benefited from the inviolability of the *Artemision* of Perge in order to seek shelter from the perils and risks of the civic and foreign unrests of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Therefore, the city of Perge perhaps wanted to propagate and put forward the safe status of its temple.

#### 4.4.5 Cult Personnel and Rituals of Artemis Pergaia

The inscriptions found within the city of Perge document the names of priests and priestesses who served Artemis Pergaia. The temple offering list dating to the Hellenistic period mentions a Sidetan named Menneas who made a dedication on behalf of his wife. It has been suggested that the wife of Menneas could have been a Sidetan priestess of Artemis Pergaia or a priestess of Artemis who served the goddess in Side.<sup>937</sup> Apart from this interpretation, the inscriptions providing information about the temple personnel all date to the Roman Imperial period starting from the period of Vespasianus (69-79 AD) up to the Severan period (193-235 AD). The inscriptions reveal that the position of the priesthood was not exclusive to a particular gender and that both women and men could

---

<sup>936</sup> Mackay 1990, 2054-55.

<sup>937</sup> Şahin 1999a, 7-11, no. 10.

hold this office. They also indicate that being a priest or priestess was a highly desired position among other offices for members of the influential families of the city. The known *euergetai* of Perge, who served their *polis* by accomplishing public duties, and donating sums of money for building activities and the erection of statues and who took part in foreign affairs, like going to Rome as ambassadors, included the mother of Gnaeus Postumius Cornutus,<sup>938</sup> the brothers of Demetrios and Apollonion, son of Apollonios,<sup>939</sup> Plancia Magna, daughter of M. Plancius Varus,<sup>940</sup> Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus,<sup>941</sup> and Aurelia Paulina.<sup>942</sup> However, apart from these people, there were other people who served as a priest/ess of Artemis in the city.<sup>943</sup> In some instances, a person could be a priest or priestess of multiple deities. Plancia Magna was a priestess of Artemis Pergaia and of Meter Thea, Claudia Paulina Artemisia was a priestess of Artemis and of Athena, and Artemidoros was a priest of Artemis and Ares.<sup>944</sup> One example mentions Aurelia Paulina Aeliane, who served as a priestess of Artemis and as high priestess of the Imperial cult in the city of Sillyon.<sup>945</sup> The inscriptions mentioning names of these people are honorific texts; therefore, they are silent about the roles of these priests/esses, the rituals they conducted, the regulations of the cult, or how they got their positions. There were various ways to acquire the position of a priesthood; among these were hereditary priesthoods, elected priesthoods, allotments, and the sale of priesthoods.<sup>946</sup> However, the documents are silent about the ways these acquisitions were obtained. The only information in addition to the names is the length of the services which could in some cases, be for life.<sup>947</sup>

Although we do not have much information about the priests/esses, we can get information about how they looked like from a statue and a relief of the monumental fountain (so-called F2) built against the east wall of the Southern Baths (Figure 4.127).<sup>948</sup>

<sup>938</sup> The inscription dates to the period of Vespasianus, see Şahin 1999a, 88-91, no. 61.

<sup>939</sup> The inscription dates to the period of Domitianus, see Şahin 1999a, 72-84, no. 56, 58.

<sup>940</sup> The inscriptions date to the period of Hadrianus, see Şahin 1999a, 157-59, 161-64, nos. 118-21, 123-25.

<sup>941</sup> The inscription dates to the Late Antonine-Early Severan periods, see Şahin 1999a, 192-93, no.193.

<sup>942</sup> The inscription dates to after 195 AD, see Şahin 1999a, 229-30, no. 195.

<sup>943</sup> For Iulius Rufus Neos (81-96 (?) AD), see Şahin 1999a, 91-2, no. 63; for Marcus Aurelius Dioskourides of the Antonine period, see Şahin 1999a, 194, no. 174; for Tiberius Aurelius Gygetianus Apellas of the Late Antonine-Early Severan period, see Şahin 1999a, 238-39, no. 199; for Sillyeus of the 1st-2nd centuries AD, see Şahin 1999a, 273-74, no. 237; for an unknown person, see Şahin 1999a, 284-84, no. 257.

<sup>944</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125 for Plancia Magna; no. 173 for Claudia Paulina Artemisia, and no. 252 for Artemidoros.

<sup>945</sup> Şahin 1999a, 178-80, no. 149.

<sup>946</sup> Lupu 2005, 44-52.

<sup>947</sup> Plancia Magna, Aurelia Paulina Aeliane, Aurelia Paulina are the priestess of Artemis for life.

<sup>948</sup> Mansel 1975b, 49; 1975c, 367-369; Şahin 1999a, 230, no.196.

The head of the statue, which has been interpreted as depicting a priestess, was found in the pool of the fountain, whereas the body was discovered in the area between the Hellenistic tower and the *propylaion* of the Southern Baths. It depicts a standing woman. Her head is covered by a veil, her both arms are bent, and her right arm is put on her breast, while the left one is extended to the front. She is wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. On her neck, a lavishly decorated necklace, which almost resembles a pectoral, is represented. From top to bottom, the necklace starts with a simple line of pearl or beads. The lower four lines are formed by rectangular and circular medallions, plaques or precious stones. The sixth and final line probably depicts a heavy chain, made of precious metal, in the center of which there is a medallion with animal protomes on either side. From the belt under her breast hangs a big shell like a pendant.<sup>949</sup> A similar figure is present on the pediment of the fountain (Figure 4.128a). She also has her head covered with a veil and wears a shell necklace. In her right-hand, she holds wheat ears, while in her left hand, she has a globular object, interpreted as a possible pomegranate.<sup>950</sup> A third priestess in a similar guise is present on the monument of a second monumental fountain (F4), situated immediately south of F2.<sup>951</sup> This fountain is dated to the Late Severan period.<sup>952</sup> On this pediment, the priestess' attire is depicted in a similar way, standing next to an altar, while making an offering (Figure 4.128b).<sup>953</sup>

The dress of the statue and that on the relief of the two pediments have been interpreted as a characteristic Syrian costume, which links the figures with the women of the Severan family to whom the fountain was dedicated.<sup>954</sup> The common idea concerning the identity of the free-standing statue and the relief on the pediment is that she might be Aurelia Paulina, who was responsible for the construction and decoration of the fountain. She belonged to a Syrian aristocratic family of the priesthood and was also a priestess of Artemis.<sup>955</sup> Some iconographic elements on the priestess' costume, such as the long necklace and the shell pendant, can also be seen on the Artemis relief situated on the upper side of a column in the northern part of the north-south colonnaded street (Figure 4.101). Due to this resemblance, the figures are assumed to identify a priestess of Artemis. However, the shell necklace can also be seen as an attribute of Aphrodite; therefore, a

<sup>949</sup> Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 439-45.

<sup>950</sup> Akçay-Güven, 2014, 243-44 with bibliography.

<sup>951</sup> İnan 1976, 702; 1977, 617-68.

<sup>952</sup> Türkmen 2007, 3133.

<sup>953</sup> Akçay-Güven, 2014, 251.

<sup>954</sup> Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 441.

<sup>955</sup> Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 439-45, Fejfer 2008, 362-67.

priestess of Aphrodite is also considered as a possible identification of the figures.<sup>956</sup> The costumes of the figures, the origin of Aurelia Paulina and the origin of the Imperial family to whom the fountains were dedicated also express an Oriental, particularly Syrian influence.<sup>957</sup>

Many rituals, especially those related to mystery cults, involved a re-enactment of a myth or a scene from the life of the deity. This re-enactment was performed by people, mainly priests and priestesses, in the form of the impersonation of divinities in the cultic context. In her book “Divine Epiphany in the Greek Literature and Culture”, Petridou thoroughly analyzes this phenomenon. The self identification of the priestly personnel with the deity, which aimed to make manifest his/her powers in a public ritual, is attested from the Archaic period onwards, in art, literature and cult.<sup>958</sup> To give a few examples, during the festivals of Apollo at Thebes or those of Hermes at Tanagra, priests dressed as these gods and played the role of these deities. Similarly, during the festival of the Libyan Athena, the priestesses dressed up like the goddess by wearing Corinthian helmets and armors. The same performance was present at Pellene for the rituals of Athena. The priests also wore masks of Demeter during her initiation rites at Phenae, Arcadia. I wonder if this would have been the case for the priestess depictions on the fountains. If this is the case, we cannot only associate the priestesses with Artemis but also associate them with a ritual.

More information about the rituals performed in honor of Artemis comes from a frieze located on the scene building above the *porta regia* of the theater, known as a sacrificial frieze and dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Figure 4.129). The frieze U-shaped, with three blocks arranged in a row for the central part and one block for each lateral side. In the center of the composition of the main frieze, the city of Perge, symbolized by the goddess Tyche is seated on a throne with a mural crown on her head. She holds a *cornucopia* in her left hand and the cult image of Artemis Pergaia, which is depicted as the sacred stone or *xoanon*, on her right hand. Under the cult image of Artemis Pergaia, there is a burning altar (Figure 4.130). Towards the central figure a procession of three men with sacrificial bulls approaches from left and right. On the lateral sides, there are servants preparing the bulls for the sacrifice, putting sacrificial knives on the necks of the

---

<sup>956</sup> İnan 1977, 616-18.

<sup>957</sup> Tulunay 1986, 415-21.

<sup>958</sup> Petridou 2015, 43-49.

victims (Figure 4.131).<sup>959</sup> The figures on the two sides of Tyche are elderly men, while the other four are *ephebes*, who are responsible for conducting the ceremony (Figure 4.132). According to Ateş, this frieze might symbolize a historical event, a sacrifice ritual for the Artemis for the inauguration of the theater, since the heads of the priests show portrait characteristics. She even suggests that these figures might have been depictions of the Plancii, who were very influential in the city of Perge and served the goddess as her priests/esses.<sup>960</sup> However, according to Akçay-Güven this frieze depicts a general ritual for Artemis rather than an actual historical event, since the figures of the priests and servants hardly portray characteristic features and reflect with their costumes and stylized hair generalized portraits of the élites of the city.<sup>961</sup> Whether it is a historical event or not, the relief is important in terms of illustrating a sacred procession for the patron deity of Perge, which consisted of a bull sacrifice, which later would be burned on an altar, probably together with other offerings.

Animal sacrifice was a fundamental element of Greek and Roman religion and ritual, and cattle were among the animals that were highly represented both in art and literature concerning Greek and Roman rituals.<sup>962</sup> Interestingly, a *bothros*, which can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and is located in “Area 1” of the Acropolis, an area where cultic activities continued from the Bronze Age into the Byzantine period, yielded, apart from ceramic sherds and figurines, a cluster of animal bones, among which cattle bones had the highest percentage (50,7%).<sup>963</sup> Besides, bull figurines were also found in this *bothros*. According to Martini, the high percentage of cattle can be related to sacrificial banquets and cult practices, but, unfortunately, no further information is present to whom these sacrifices and banquets may have been dedicated. Another intriguing aspect of this bone assemblage is the presence of deer bones, constituting a percentage of 7,2%. Larson’s study demonstrates that deer bones, found mainly in sanctuaries of Artemis in mainland Greece, can also be interpreted as the display of a trophy, perhaps in gratitude to the goddess for a successful hunt, rather than as a sacrificial practice.<sup>964</sup> If the cattle and especially the deer bones were the remains of rituals performed for Artemis Pergaia,

---

<sup>959</sup> Ateş 2000, 331-36.

<sup>960</sup> Ateş refers to an inscription found in the theater, which dates to the 1st century AD and informs us that Marcus Plancius Rutilius Varus, the father of Plancia Magna, and her brother Plancius Varus supported the construction of the theater, see Şahin 1999a, no. 49.

<sup>961</sup> Akçay-Güven 2014, 273, footnote 278.

<sup>962</sup> Ekroth 2014, 324-54.

<sup>963</sup> Martini 2003b, 23.

<sup>964</sup> Larson 2017, 48-62.

does this suggest a possible location of her sanctuary on the Acropolis? The answer unfortunately remains unknown due to the current lack of archaeological excavations.

An inscription on a pedestal dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and found at the west side of the *macellum* records the name of Claudia Anthisia Magna, who served as a  $\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\oplus$  (*trapezo*), a type of office that was sometimes referred to as *trapezophoros*, which means “table-bearer”.<sup>965</sup> The term may refer to a certain type of cult personnel that was responsible for the offering tables inside temples or sanctuaries, on which simple food offerings and libations were made.<sup>966</sup> Therefore, aside from animal sacrifices, a simple dedication of food or libation can also be mentioned in the context of rituals for Artemis Pergaia.

Another inscription coming from the theater and dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD mentions a certain Antoninus who was *zakaros*, which means an attendant in a temple.<sup>967</sup> The term is an equivalent for *neokoros*, “temple guardian”, which probably denoted someone who was responsible for keeping the sanctuary clean and the sacrificial fire lit.<sup>968</sup> The inscription, however, is not clear about the deity Antoninus was guarding.

The evidence from Perge is abundant but scattered when it comes to the cultic personnel and the rituals they conducted for Artemis Pergaia. However, when we look to places outside Perge, a very interesting inscription coming from Halikarnassos and dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC provides valuable information. The document is a sacred law about the sale of a priesthood of Artemis Pergaia, which explains the duties of the buyer. The text reads as follows:

*“The buyer of the priesthood of Artemis Pergaia shall provide a priestess who is a townswoman, born from parents who are both townspersons going back three generations on both her father’s and mother’s side. The buyer shall serve as priestess for her whole life, and shall make public and private sacrifices and shall receive from the public sacrifices a thigh from each victim and the customary parts in addition to the thigh and one-fourth portion of the innards and the skin in addition to the leg; from private sacrifices, she shall take a leg and the customary one-fourth portion of the skin in addition to the leg; the treasurers shall give thirty good drachmas to the prytaneis for the sacrifice to Artemis; the wives of the prytaneis who serve in the month of Herakleios shall prepare the sacrifice in the month of Herakleios, after having received what is given from the city, but let (the priestess) perform the sacrifice on the twelfth of Herakleios. The priestess shall have a portion of the public sacrifices equal to those of the wives of the prytaneis; and the priestess shall make a prayer on behalf of the city on the first of each month, receiving a drachma from the city. In*

---

<sup>965</sup> Şahin 1999a, 284, no. 259.

<sup>966</sup> Gill 1974, 117-37.

<sup>967</sup> Şahin 2004, 66, no. 347.

<sup>968</sup> Dillon 2002, 90.

*the month in which public sacrifice is performed, let (the priestess) collect three days before the sacrifice, not going to oikia. The collection shall belong to the priestess. The priestess shall adorn the sanctuary, wherever she wishes; and she also shall adorn the treasury for the god, and those who sacrifice shall contribute two obols for the adult (victim), and one obol for young (victim); the exetastai shall open the treasury each year and give (money) to the priestess for her prayer and clothing.*"<sup>969</sup>

The content of the text is very comprehensive concerning the buyers of the priesthood. It is, however, not certain if these laws were also applicable to the rituals conducted in Perge, at least during the Hellenistic period. Perhaps, there were regional and local differences and adjustments, but the overall sacred law might provide a model for the rituals. First, the buyer should appoint a priestess, who would serve the goddess for a lifetime and the priestess should come from a family of Halicarnassians, at least for three generations. If this requirement was also valid for Perge, then the possibility that a Sidetan, the wife of Menneas, was the priestess in the temple at Perge can be questioned. The priestess would serve for her entire lifetime, and this is a situation for which we find parallels at Perge.<sup>970</sup> The inscription is clear concerning making both public and private offerings to the goddess, which included animal sacrifices, an aspect which we also found on the sacrificial frieze of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, and continued with the distribution and divisions of sacrificial animals and sums of money, about which no relevant information is present from Perge. The priestess was responsible to make prayers and offerings on behalf of the city at each new moon. The specific time of the period, *i.e.* at new moon, may highlight the goddess' status as a moon goddess. She collected money three days before the sacrifices without going home. The verb used in the inscription is  $\square\gamma\epsilon\leftrightarrow\rho\omega$  which means "collect, gather together" and also "collect by begging".<sup>971</sup> In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Suidas mentions that Artemis Pergaia, like Kybele, had mendicant priests/esses whose were called *agyrtai* or *planetai*.<sup>972</sup> On the one hand, this is an aspect of the goddess that brings her close to the cult of Kybele; at the other, the Halikarnassos text informs us that this ritual was practiced by the priestess of Artemis Pergaia three days before the ceremonies in order to collect money that was meant to be spent during the festivals and sacrifices.<sup>973</sup> This ritual was probably practiced in the city of Perge as well,

<sup>969</sup> The English translation of the sacred law is taken from Austina 2012, 74. For the ancient Greek text, see Sokolowski 1955, 73; Appendix 1.2.

<sup>970</sup> See The Cult Personnel and Rituals of Artemis Pergaia, Chapter 4.

<sup>971</sup> Liddell and Scott, online, [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da\)gei%2Frw](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da)gei%2Frw)

<sup>972</sup> Suda II. 66.

<sup>973</sup> For the tradition of collecting money by begging, see Austina 2012, 53-55, Budin 2016, 110-12.



where the cult of Artemis Pergaia originated. Finally, the inscription mentions the presence of a temple and a treasury for the priestess who was responsible adorning them.. The presence of both a temple and treasury can also have been the case for the *Artemision* of Perge based on the discovery of at least two temples in the southern part of the city.

A similar document dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC comes from Kos, and is again a sale of a priesthood. It is not certain if this document records a sale of a priesthood for Artemis Pergaia; however, line 8 states that “*the priestess should make a collection each year on the 1<sup>st</sup> of the month Artamitios and she will fulfill all the other tasks concerning the collection as it is written for Artemis Pergaia*”.<sup>974</sup> Although the document might preserve information regarding the cult regulation of another deity, the collection of money before the rituals of Artemis Pergaia is thus also known at Kos as part of the ritual tradition.<sup>975</sup> Therefore, it would be natural and expected to see the same tradition in Perge.

#### 4.4.6 Festivals for Artemis Pergaia

The earliest evidence for gatherings and meetings for Artemis Pergaia comes from Strabo who states that a *panegyris* was annually organized for the goddess.<sup>976</sup> The foundation of *panegyreis* had a religious purpose; they were organized in the *temenos* of the patron deity of the city, and accompanied by rituals, including games, contests, sacrifices, prayers, hymns, and dances.<sup>977</sup> These gatherings attracted people coming to the city from neighboring cities and regions, and perhaps, the cities mentioned in the offering list came to Perge because of a festival of this kind. The Hellenistic coinage of the city with the representation of Artemis Pergaia, her cult image, and temple with the legends *Artemidos Pergaias* or *Wanassa Preiia* is assumed to have been minted for this large meetings rather than being a civic coinage of the city.<sup>978</sup> Perhaps, the legends written in both the Pamphylian dialect and the ancient Greek, as well as the Greek and native representations on these coins were intended to address this large and also mixed crowd. Furthermore, inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period provide information about the *agones*

<sup>974</sup> The English translation is taken from the CGRN (Collection of Greek Rituals Norms) website, CGRN 188, l. x-x, see <http://cgrn.philo.ulg.ac.be/file/188/>, 14.01.2019.

<sup>975</sup> According to the commentators, the inscription documents the regulations of an another cult of Artemis in the city, apart from that of Artemis Pergaia, see <http://cgrn.philo.ulg.ac.be/file/188/>, 14.01.2019.

<sup>976</sup> Strab.14.4.2.

<sup>977</sup> Nilsson 1940, 97-8.

<sup>978</sup> Colin 1992, 85-93; Thonemann 2011, 119.

organized in Perge. The word *agon* refers to games, in which the contestants competed for a prize. Although the original sense of the word is “gathering”, it usually pointed out a crowd gathered together for competitions.<sup>979</sup> These *agones* were organized within the scope of *panegyreis*. During the Roman Imperial period, the interest for Greek games increased and the cities started to organize their festivals within the context of the Imperial cult and because of the need to please the emperors and to pay their respects to them.<sup>980</sup> Because of this reason, when the city of Perge got its first neokorate status in the reign of Vespasianus (69-79 AD) and probably its first *asylia* status in the reign of Domitianus (81-96 AD), the *Artemisia-Vespasianeia agones* were founded.<sup>981</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, another game, the *Asylia*, was founded as a celebration for the *homonoia* between Delphi and Perge, alongside the Pythian Games.

Evidence for the content of these festivals is limited. An inscription was found at the eastern entrance of the so-called *palaestra* of Cornutus, situated at the northern side of the Western Colonnaded Street. The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD inscription is an honorary text dedicated to Dragillianus Tullianus Eleusianus Pulcher by inhabitants or residents of the *hiera plateia*, sacred way.<sup>982</sup> This inscription informs us about the presence of a sacred road. The word *plateia* essentially denoted a broad avenue, a new term introduced to the architectural vocabulary in the Hellenistic period.<sup>983</sup> The appearance of a special term suggests that these wider avenues had an exceptional place in terms of town planning and that they differed from ordinary streets. There are different opinions about the location of this sacred road in Perge. Şahin suggests that the main street running from the south of Perge and leading to the *Artemision* can be qualified as the sacred road.<sup>984</sup> According to Bru, on the other hand, the eastern-western colonnaded street had a sacred status and was used for religious processions between the so-called *Palaestra* of Cornutus in the west and some temples in the east, based on the findspot of the inscription.<sup>985</sup> Martini suggests a different identification: the Acropolis Gate, situated behind the monumental fountain at the northern end of the south-north main street that led to a large eastern-western oriented avenue. This avenue, with a width of 22 m and paved with limestone slabs, extends over

---

<sup>979</sup> Miller 2004, 13.

<sup>980</sup> van Nijf 1999, 177-80.

<sup>981</sup> For the inscriptions that mention the Artemisia-Vespasianeia agon, see Şahin 1999a, nos. 60-61-63.

<sup>982</sup> Şahin 1999a, 43-4, no. 32; Bru et.al 2016, 81-2.

<sup>983</sup> This term was also used to designate the colonnaded streets of the later Roman Imperial period, see Coulton 1976, 178.

<sup>984</sup> Şahin 1999a, 43-44, no. 322.

<sup>985</sup> Bru et al. 2016, 81-82.

nearly 500 m and is connected to the Eastern gate of the Acropolis, which led to the river harbor of the Kestros. This large street was called *plateia* by Martini and was probably also used as a procession road linking the *Artemision* to the harbor in the east.<sup>986</sup> This suggestion seems reasonable considering the presence of small temples, structures and a herm alongside the road going to the harbor.<sup>987</sup> Martini also acknowledges the importance of the large theatre and stadion in the south of the city, which undoubtedly played an important role during the festivals organized in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Therefore, the Acropolis and the southern part of the city were also connected via a large north-south oriented street (Figure 3.2).<sup>988</sup> Similarly, Alanyalı also stresses the importance of the southern city for the processions organized for Artemis. According to him, the courtyard between the round Hellenistic towers, which was used as the southern entrance to the city, played an important role during religious processions. After reaching the courtyard, the procession passed through the Hellenistic Gate to a large square, which was redesigned during the Severan period with the addition of the monumental fountains (F2-F4) mentioned above. After passing this square, the procession then got out of the city via the Late Roman gate and continued to the theatre, where sporting and musical festivities were staged. Later, the cortege passed the slope of the Iyilikbelen Hill and ended probably in the temple situated on the hill.<sup>989</sup>

Sacred roads, which connected the city to its extra-urban sanctuary and which acted as stages for religious processions, are documented in many areas of the Greek world. According to de Polignac, these religious processions were used to reaffirm the control of a *polis* over its territory, while Greaves is more inclined to see these roads as a

---

<sup>986</sup> Martini 2003c, 183.

<sup>987</sup> Martini 2008, 163–79.

<sup>988</sup> Martini 2008b, 791.

<sup>989</sup> Alanyalı supports his hypothetical procession course by providing statuary evidence related to the Artemis cult. However, his interpretation poses some problems, since the date of this hypothetical course remains elusive. In the Hellenistic period, the courtyard had a more pear-shaped plan and a military function. During the period of Hadrianus, it was transformed into a representative court by the endeavours of Plancia Magna with the insertion of arches at the northern and southern ends and statues inside. If the procession started from the Acropolis and then led to the courtyard in the south in the Hadrianic period, when the complex got its representative function, it was not possible for the cortege to enter the courtyard from the North, since the northern entrance was closed to pedestrian traffic with metal balustrades placed on the eastern, western and northern sides of the arch. Because of this arrangement, in the Hadrianic period, the courtyard had only one entrance and it was accessed from the south. Therefore, if the cortege wanted to stop inside the courtyard, it had to pass the courtyard near the *macellum* in the east and then turn around to enter the courtyard from the south, which would be very unlikely. Additionally, the large plaza behind the courtyard was redesigned in the Severan period; therefore, all the pediments and statuary depicting Artemis, a priestess and other deities were placed here during this period. Consequently, Septimius Severus must be a *terminus ante quem* for seeing these statues and monument. Furthermore, if the cortege wanted to go out of the city, passing through the Late Roman Gate, then this should have been at the end of the 3rd century and beginning of the 4th century AD when this gate was built, see Alanyalı 2008, 69-81.

connection between a *polis* and a sanctuary, two places different from each other but each with its own cultic importance.<sup>990</sup> Since each city's urban layout and development throughout the centuries, its political, social and religious aspects, its perception of what was considered sacred, its specific topographic and geographic features and sacred landscape were different from those of other cities, providing a common course for these processions seems not to be always reasonable. To give a few examples, the sacred road between Miletos and the Apollo temple in Didyma started from the temple of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos and was nearly 16 km. long. It included the harbor of Panormos with its many sacred shrines and places that had religious, social, and political significance.<sup>991</sup> On the other hand, the cortege at Ephesos started from the Magnesian Gate and proceeded 2 km to the *Artemision* that was situated in marshy land.<sup>992</sup> The oracular sanctuary at Klaros was connected with two cities, Kolophon and Notion, and with a harbor via a sacred road of nearly 13 km long.<sup>993</sup> The sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in Caria was located between two *poleis*, Mylasa and Alinda, and linked to both of them with a sacred road.<sup>994</sup> The river harbor of the Kestros may have acted as an important point on the way to the *Artemision* of Perge for people who arrived by sea from various places, while the road in the east -the road connecting the harbor to the Eastern gate of the Acropolis and later the main Eastern city gate- could also have been used by worshippers from the eastern cities, such as Sillyon, and Aspendos. The Acropolis, which included the city's earliest cult places from the Late Bronze age into Late Antiquity with the sacred landscape on its southern slopes that contained several grottoes, freshwater springs and rocks with carved reliefs, may have been visited during these processions, maybe as places of communal memory.<sup>995</sup> Therefore, the eastern-western axis seems to have been significant as a possible route. Additionally, the presence of the theatre, stadion, and cult buildings in the south is also important and their connection to the Acropolis via a *cardo maximus* cannot be overlooked. The reference to inhabitants of the *hiera plateia* in the above-mentioned inscription of Perge can perhaps be interpreted as people who owned stores along the colonnaded streets, since the so far excavated residences of the Pergaians were located close to the eastern fortifications away from the

---

<sup>990</sup> De Polignac 1995, 39-40; Greaves 2010, 184-85.

<sup>991</sup> Slawisch-Wilkinson 2018, 101-43.

<sup>992</sup> Greaves 2010, 183.

<sup>993</sup> Günata 2018, 201-10.

<sup>994</sup> Baran 2010, 121-37.

<sup>995</sup> See The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

streets, however, the entire urban area of Perge might have been full of houses, also the areas behind the main axes, therefore the excavated ones cannot provide a complete picture. For a detailed reconstruction of the *hiera plateia* of the city of Perge, a diachronic analysis of the urban layout, its possible arteries, significant political, religious and social stopping places, and material finds related to these should be reevaluated in the light of new excavations and research.

Dancing, playing music, and reciting hymns and prayers must alongside sacrifices and competitions have been integral parts of these festivals. In the cult of Artemis, dancing and music were the essential elements especially in rites of passage, as documented by various literary sources.<sup>996</sup> The importance of music and dance are also emphasized in depictions of the cult image of Artemis Pergaia (Figure 4.90). The depictions of cult images found in the theatre of Perge have friezes under a ridge separating the head of Artemis and the lower part of her body. On these friezes, dancing and music making figures with *lyrai*, tympanums, and cymbals are depicted side by side, in a movement as if they were a part of a procession. Furthermore, cymbals are also present, below the two pointing edges of a crescent located below the head of the goddess. Philostratos, the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD Greek Sophist, further informs us that Demophile of Pamphylia, a pupil of Sappho, composed love poems for young girls and hymns to Artemis Pergaia, which might have been sung during the religious ceremonies.<sup>997</sup> Again, the animal sacrifices depicted on the theatre frieze, can be qualified as part of the rituals during these festivals.

#### 4.4.7 Artemis Pergaia outside Perge

The lady of Perge, Artemis Pergaia was a highly respected goddess and her cult was not only limited to the confines of the city of Perge. First and foremost, the temple offering list found on the İyilikbelen Hill and dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC testifies to a number of people coming from various cities both in and outside Pamphylia, such as Side, Aspendos, Selge, Tarsos, and Olympos.<sup>998</sup> An inscription dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and discovered in the theater records the dedication of Chimaros from Magnesia on the Maeander to Artemis Pergaia.<sup>999</sup> These examples illustrate how the influence of the

<sup>996</sup> Hom. Hymn to Artemis, 11–20; Callim. 3.170–182; Budin 2016, 82; Léger 2017, 16–18.

<sup>997</sup> Calame 1999, 116.

<sup>998</sup> Şahin 1999a, 7–12, no.10.

<sup>999</sup> Şahin 1999a, 5, no. 5.

goddess was spread during the Hellenistic period and how she was highly venerated by people from various places in Asia Minor, but unfortunately, they do not show that a cult was established in these cities. An inscription from Oinoanda, which dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and contains a temple decree securing the property of a goddess (presumably Leto) from illegal seizure, records the names of deities one would be answerable to under these circumstances. These included Leto, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Pergaia, Apollo, and Poseidon.<sup>1000</sup> Here, the mention of two Artemides is interesting and their cults from Ephesos and Perge seem to have been very influential in Oinoanda. In 1978, Robert already discussed the possibility of invoking the same deity more than once with different epithets. This would be due to different functional or local aspects and to various manifestations of one deity.<sup>1001</sup> In the case of Oinoanda, no further evidence is present about the possible differences between what the epithet of *Ephesia* and that of *Pergaia* evoked. They were both powerful goddesses of Anatolia and since the inscriptions came from a sanctuary of Leto, Artemis' mother, their protective powers might have been needed in matters related to her sanctuary.

The presence of a priestess of Artemis Pergaia in various cities other than Perge in the Hellenistic period indicates that her cult was spread throughout these cities in an official way in the form of priesthoods responsible for regulating rituals to Artemis Pergaia and operating her temple or a sanctuary dedicated to another deity. Apart from the priesthoods documented in Halikarnassos and Kos mentioned above, a family dedication in the form of a statue for Hageso, who was a priestess of Artemis Pergaia, was set up at the sanctuary of Artemis on Rhodos during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>1002</sup> Since a 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC inscription from Rhodos documents an offering to Artemis Pergaia, the establishment of a cult can be dated before the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>1003</sup> Furthermore, an inscription from Lindos dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC records the honors bestowed to a priestess of Athena Lindia by several cities, magistrates, officials and religious associations and among these associations. Among these are *Pergaistai* who must have been devotees of Artemis Pergaia,<sup>1004</sup> since other inscriptions from the city record a dedication to Artemis Pergaia (*Artamiti Pergaiai*)<sup>1005</sup> and a priestess of Athena Lindia

---

<sup>1000</sup> Hall 1977, 194.

<sup>1001</sup> Robert 1978, 541.

<sup>1002</sup> For the inscription, see IG XII.1.66; Mylonopoulos 2013, 130.

<sup>1003</sup> ASAA 22, 1916, 137, 4.

<sup>1004</sup> ILindos, 392- 393.

<sup>1005</sup> IG XII,1, 784.

and Artemis Pergaia.<sup>1006</sup> Based on the evidence found in Halikarnassos, on Kos, Rhodos, and Lindos, the cult of Artemis Pergaia seems to have been well established in the Rhodian Peraia with a sanctuary, cult officials and devotees between the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries AD. The involvement of Pergaians living in this area in the Hellenistic period could be the reason of the foundation of the Artemis Pergaia cult, as they may have continued to worship their own patron deity in a foreign land.<sup>1007</sup>

A 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC stele, found in Arta, Ambrakia in Epiros and dedicated to Artemis Pergaia, documents that the influence of the cult reached northern Greece in the Hellenistic period.<sup>1008</sup> Unfortunately, no further evidence is present about the nature of the cult, the cult personal or a possible temple.

Perhaps, the most interesting example of someone who continued to worship his own city's patron deity is Artemidoros, son of Apollonios, from Perge.<sup>1009</sup> Artemidoros was a Pergaian citizen who moved to Thera some time after 246 BC and built himself a shrine in which he served as a priest. He received the order to build a shrine by Artemis Pergaia in a dream. His shrine was equipped with niches used for statuettes, *stelai*, and altars, while there were also rock-cut altars, statue bases and reliefs (Figure 4.133). Artemidoros dedicated his shrine to Ptolemaios I (305/4-282 BC) and Ptolemaios II (285-246 BC) and among the deities venerated here were Hekate, Priapos, the Dioskouroi, Homonoia, the Great Gods of Samothrake and Tyche. He brought Artemis from Perge and founded the office of a priestess for her.<sup>1010</sup> A relief carved on a rocky surface depicting a laureate female head has been identified as the image of Artemis Pergaia based on coin depictions from Perge in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Figure 4.134). He further dedicated a rock altar to Artemis Pergaias Soteiras.<sup>1011</sup> Artemidoros was heroized after his death by the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi, and this was written on a rock surface near his altar for Artemis Pergaia. This inscription also records that Artemis Pergaia granted Artemidoros a life of nine decades and that three more years were added by Pronoia.<sup>1012</sup> In an inscription mentioning Hekate and Priapos, Artemidoros says that he erected a black stone for the goddess, a cult practice through which he perhaps imitated the cult image of Artemis Pergaia that was often depicted on Pergaian coins of the Hellenistic and Roman

---

<sup>1006</sup> Lindos II, 384e.

<sup>1007</sup> For the Pergaians on Rhodos, see IG XII, 1, 35 and 454.

<sup>1008</sup> SEG 25: 693.

<sup>1009</sup> Palagia 1992, 171-77.

<sup>1010</sup> IG XII 3, 494.

<sup>1011</sup> IG XII 3, 1349.

<sup>1012</sup> IG XII 3, 1350.

Imperial periods.<sup>1013</sup> Artemidoros is a good example of personal devotion which created an elaborate sanctuary, not only for himself but for the citizens of Thera as well.<sup>1014</sup>

Evidence documenting the Artemis worship outside Perge is not limited to the West. An inscription from Naukratis dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC records a dedication made to Artemis Pergaia.<sup>1015</sup> The Pamphylia also made a dedication to Artemis Pergaia in the Fayoum in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>1016</sup> These are, however, not attempts to establish a cult in those places, but simply manifestations of personal devotion of Pamphylia visiting Egypt due to the intense relationship between Pamphylia and Egypt during the Hellenistic period.<sup>1017</sup>

Based on the extant evidence, in the Hellenistic period, an institutionalized cult of Artemis Pergaia seems to have been documented at Halikarnassos, on Kos, Rhodos, and Lindos, all with a sanctuary and cult personnel. Although the shrine on Thera was the result of a personal endeavor, it was most probably visited and venerated by the people of Thera. The inscriptions from Egypt were engraved by Pamphylia who wished to venerate their hometown goddess. Besides, Artemis Pergaia was among the deities invoked at the sanctuary of Leto at Oinoanda. However, none of these examples evidences the cultic continuity of Artemis Pergaia in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>1018</sup>

Nevertheless, during the Roman Imperial period, some Pisidian and Pamphylia cities used the image of the cult statue of Artemis Pergaia inside a distyle temple on the reverse of their coins. These cities are Olbasa, Pogla (Figure 4.135),<sup>1019</sup> Andeda (Figure 4.136),<sup>1020</sup> Pednelissos (Figure 4.137),<sup>1021</sup> Adada,<sup>1022</sup> Ariassos, Selge (Figure 4.138),<sup>1023</sup> and Attaleia<sup>1024</sup>. The presence of the Pergaia cult image on the obverse of these civic coins has been seen as result of the spread of the Artemis Pergaia cult in these areas due

---

<sup>1013</sup> Palagia 1992, 173.

<sup>1014</sup> Cole 1984, 64.

<sup>1015</sup> The provenance of the inscription is unknown but it has been suggested that it belonged to Naukratis, see Bernand 1970, no. 746, 8.

<sup>1016</sup> Bernand 1981, no.199, 122-23.

<sup>1017</sup> See *The Egyptian Deities in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.

<sup>1018</sup> MacKay 1990, 2060.

<sup>1019</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV.3, no. 7710.

<sup>1020</sup> For Faustina the Younger, see RPC IV.3, 7291; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no.5966,67,71; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC IV, no.5972.

<sup>1021</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV.3, 7706.

<sup>1022</sup> For Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no.5897; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no.5898.

<sup>1023</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV.3, no.5715; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no.6346, 6369; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no.6374; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no.1025, 1031.

<sup>1024</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV.3, no.11020; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no.1080,82,85,87.



to the increased social, political, and economic relations that these two regions had in the Roman Imperial Period. Especially one family, the family of the Plancii and their freedmen, can be held responsible for the spread of the cult.<sup>1025</sup> Talloen also accepts that the images on the Pisidian coins refer to the cult of Artemis Pergaia rather than to a local Artemis.<sup>1026</sup> MacKay brings up Kraft's thesis about the Pisidian cities sharing the same coin workshops but eventually agrees with the role that the Plancii family played in the region regarding the import of the cult of Artemis Pergaia into the Pisidian cities.<sup>1027</sup> Filges, on the other hand, proposes a different opinion. After determining the iconographical differences -rather than similarities- between these coins and those of Perge, he concludes that each city deliberately created differences in the image. For instance, Selge used an arched pediment; Olbasa, Attaleia and Pogla put a shield on the pediment rather than an eagle; the motif of the crescent and star first appeared on the coins of Andeda and were later adopted by Perge; and Selge put palm branches inside the *naiskos*. Each different iconographic feature was a deliberate act of decision and the diverging elements indicated the identity of a specific city to the viewer.<sup>1028</sup> These cities used the image of the local Artemis in the form of a sacred stone, not because the urban cult of Artemis Pergaia existed in their cities but to propagate their own local cults of Artemis. Therefore, they borrowed the Pergaia cult image and were inspired by it, since coins were not just used as payment means but also perceived as an opportunity to illustrate urban themes and a city's identity.<sup>1029</sup> Therefore, according to Filges, the only place where a cult of Artemis Pergaia existed was Perge.

Another Pisidian city that yielded an artifact related to Artemis Pergaia is Kremna (Figure 4.92). Here a statue of the cult image of the goddess dating to the Roman Imperial period was discovered in 1970. The original place of this statue is unknown; therefore, its context, whether sacred or public, remains elusive. The image of the Pergaia Artemis might have been borrowed for the creation of Artemis worshipped in Kremna as Filges suggests for coin depictions. Nevertheless, the coin depictions in several cities and the statue in Kremna show Artemis Pergaia's significance for the cities of Pisidia.

---

<sup>1025</sup> Mitchell 1974, 33-4; Weiss 1992, 143-65. Nollé 1992, 61-141.

<sup>1026</sup> Talloen 2015, 181.

<sup>1027</sup> MacKay 1990, 2060-61.

<sup>1028</sup> Filges 2008, 479-505.

<sup>1029</sup> Filges further suggests that due to the lack of archaeological and epigraphic evidence, a cult of Artemis cannot be proposed for Adada, Ariassos, Olbasa and Pednelissos. The cult of Artemis (not of Artemis Pergaia) can have existed in Andeda, Pogla, and Selge. Filges 2008, 490-492.

#### 4.4.8 Artemis in Other Pamphylian Cities

The Artemis cult in Perge was so powerful that her worship in the other Pamphylian cities was overshadowed by it. However, there exists some evidence about her cult. For instance, an inscription found in Aspendos and dating to 310-298 BC records that the Pamphylian, Lycian, Cretan, Pisidian and Greek mercenaries who came to the aid of the Aspendians were awarded with the citizenship of Aspendos and that this decree was to be placed in the sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>1030</sup>

Artemis was also venerated in the city of Side, as she was the sister of the city's patron god, Apollo. The head of the goddess was portrayed on the Imperial coins of the city.<sup>1031</sup> The head of Artemis also decorated the ceiling coffers of the theater of Side together with other deities, such as Athena, Apollo, Demeter, Kybele, and Dionysos, who all held an important place in the city's pantheon.<sup>1032</sup> The presence of a temple of the goddess was also reported by Alanyalı, based on recent examinations conducted on coins.<sup>1033</sup> According to *the Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, there existed an Artemis temple 9 nine stadia east of the River Melas.<sup>1034</sup> The temple stood on the coast and was seen from the sea as a prominent landmark. Bean and Mitford carried out some research in Kızılağaç and Kızılot but could not locate the temple, since, due to a possible change in the river's course since ancient times, the temple may have been buried or washed away.<sup>1035</sup>

An inscription from Attaleia dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD records an honorific decree made by the Council and the People of Attaleia to Calpurnius Diodoros, who was the first priest of Apollo, Dionysos, Ares, and Artemis *Elaphebolos* and priest for life of Leto, the goddess of Perge.<sup>1036</sup> The inscription reveals two interesting points. First, the presence of the Artemis *Elaphebolos* cult in the city. The epithet *Elaphebolos*, which means "shooter of stags", was given to Artemis at Athens and Phokis and emphasized the goddess' ability in hunting. In Phokis, a festival called the *Elaphebolia* was celebrated at the sanctuary of Artemis near Hyampolis commemorating the Phokian victory over the Thessalians in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The festival involved a large pyre of fire, to which votive offerings were dedicated. Excavations conducted in Hyampolis also revealed the

---

<sup>1030</sup> SEG 17:639.

<sup>1031</sup> Nollé 1990, 254.

<sup>1032</sup> Nollé 1993a, 117-88; Alanyalı 2011, 80.

<sup>1033</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 80.

<sup>1034</sup> Nollé 1993a, 16.

<sup>1035</sup> Bean 1965, 7.

<sup>1036</sup> Gökcalp 2008, 108-10, no.4.1.3.11.

remains of sacrificial stags in the Mycenaean levels, which is also consistent with the epithet of the goddess.<sup>1037</sup> *Elaphebolion* was also the name of a month, as an inscription found in Iasos at Caria indicates.<sup>1038</sup> However, thus far, no other evidence is present for the cult of Artemis *Elaphebolos* in Asia Minor than the attestation from Attaleia. Gökalp assumes that this cult might have been founded by Attalos II at the foundation of the city.<sup>1039</sup> Some cults in Attaleia, such as those of Zeus and Athena, might have been brought from Pergamon as suggested by the resemblance of epithets and coin types, but no evidence exists at Pergamon for the cult of Artemis *Elaphabolos*.<sup>1040</sup> However, a round altar dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC, which was found north of the Acropolis of Pergamon, is decorated with garlands on top of which deer antlers are shown. This altar has been interpreted as associated with the cult of the goddess in Pergamon.<sup>1041</sup> The specific emphasis on the antler may evoke the epithet *Elaphebolos*; hence, the origin of the cult in Attaleia. However, the evidence is very limited. Secondly, the inscription designates Leto as the goddess of the city of Perge, suggesting that Leto had an important place in the city's pantheon alongside her daughter Artemis. An inscription of unknown provenance but now in the Antalya Archaeological Museum records a dedication made to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.<sup>1042</sup> Considering the identification of Leto as the goddess of Perge, the dominance of the Artemis cult in the city and the presence of Apollo in the city's pantheon, the inscription may belong to the territory of Perge.

The city of Lyrbé also used Artemis on its coinage in the period of Gordianus III (238-244 AD). On these coins, Artemis is in her huntress attire and depicted drawing an arrow out of the quiver on her shoulder like on the coins of Perge.<sup>1043</sup> On another type, she is riding a *biga* of deers with a bow in her hand.<sup>1044</sup> However, no further evidence is present for the cult of Artemis in the city. Among the cities of Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia, Syedra used the huntress Artemis on its coins in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1045</sup> In her study on the cults of Rough Cilicia, Küçükoğlu concludes that Artemis, together with Apollo, was worshipped mostly in the Western part of the region, such as

---

<sup>1037</sup> Larson 2007, 104.

<sup>1038</sup> McCabe 1985, 3.

<sup>1039</sup> Gökalp 2008, 109.

<sup>1040</sup> The cult of Artemis was not very dominant in Pergamon. For the cults of the city, see Agelidis 2014, 380-404.

<sup>1041</sup> Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World 2016, no. 66, 159.

<sup>1042</sup> Gökalp 2008, 170, no. 4.8.2.

<sup>1043</sup> SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, Supp.1, no. 333.

<sup>1044</sup> SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 267.

<sup>1045</sup> SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no: 407, SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no: 414, SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no: 422.

Lyrbe, Syedra, and Kotenna, and that these cities were strongly influenced by the Artemis cult in Pamphylia.<sup>1046</sup>

#### 4.5 The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia

The cult of Aphrodite is especially pronounced in Aspendos, where the goddess was worshipped under the epithet *Kastnietis/Kastnietides*. The literary evidence, inscriptions, and coinage of the city provide information on the cult, rituals and the iconography of the goddess from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The earliest evidence about the goddess comes from the literary sources and coinage dating to the Classical period and it gives information about the rituals performed in her honor. Later, from the Early Imperial period onwards, two side by side goddesses started to be depicted on the coinage of Aspendos, while an inscription also provided information about her cult alongside Zeus and Hera. Her cult was strongly connected to the city's foundation myths. The 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC coins depict a man who rides a galloping horse with a spear in his raised hand on the obverse and on the reverse a boar is accompanied by the ethnicon of Aspendos given in the local dialect (Figure 3.22).<sup>1047</sup> The rider on the obverse is Mopsos and the narrative these coins conveys an act carried out by Mopsos for Aphrodite as Kallimachos mentions in his *Iambi* 10 (310-240 BC): “*In Aspendos of Pamphylia a boar is sacrificed to Aphrodite Kastnietis for the following reason: Mopsos, the leader of the Pamphylians, on his way out to hunt vowed that he would make an offering to Aphrodite if he were lucky. He fulfilled his vow when he had slain a boar. And ever since that time the Pamphylians do the same. Mopsos would not have hunted boar if the goddess were not pleased with that*”.<sup>1048</sup> Kallimachos' story implies that the cult of Aphrodite was so ancient that it went back to the foundation of the city by Mopsos and his followers and that the rites of sacrificing her a boar was also established by Mopsos upon the wish of the goddess herself. Like already discussed in Chapter 3, the motif of killing a boar may also have had a double meaning, which symbolized the taming of the wilderness and opening it to agriculture, a notion which praised and justified the colonization movements. However, an alternative foundation story exists. In the 1<sup>st</sup>

<sup>1046</sup> Küçükoğlu 2015, 272.

<sup>1047</sup> For the coins, see BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, 94, no. 10-13; SNG France 3, no.15-25. The figure was identified as Mopsos by Robert in 1969, 177-78.

<sup>1048</sup> The English translation is taken from *The Poems of Callimachus*, translated by F. Nisetich, Oxford University Press, 2001, 113-14.

century AD, Strabo and Pomponius Mela stated that Aspendos was an Argive colony.<sup>1049</sup> An inscription found in the Zeus sanctuary at Nemea on the territory of Argos and dating to 310-300 BC, confirms the strong relationship between the Aspendians and Argives. It lists the cities that had kinship with Argos and the privileges given to them by the Argives. The Aspendians were called kinsmen and colony or friends.<sup>1050</sup> They were granted citizenship, the right to address the Argive assembly, an invitation to contests and the privilege to participate in processions and sacrifices for the Nemean Zeus and Argive Hera. The account of Kallimachos and the inscription both belong to the same period. According to Lane Fox, in the Classical period, the Aspendians accepted that Mopsos was their founder, but in the Hellenistic period, they changed their narrative to the Argives in order to benefit from the favors of Alexander the Great and his successors, who also claimed an Argive descent for themselves.<sup>1051</sup>

Like Kallimachos gave information about the pig sacrifice to Aphrodite *Kastnietis*, Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) later paraphrased Kallimachos adding that “*of all the Aphrodites, Aphrodite Kastnietis surpasses all in wisdom since she alone accepts the sacrifice of a swine*”.<sup>1052</sup> Dionysios Periegetes (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) also mentions that sacrificing pigs to Aphrodite was common in Aspendos.<sup>1053</sup> The pig sacrifice to Aphrodite was also well-known in Argos, from where the Aspendians claimed to descend. In his *Deipnosophistai* Athenaios (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) states that the Argives sacrificed a pig to Aphrodite and that they celebrated a festival, called the *Hysteria*, which meant the “festival of the swine”.<sup>1054</sup> During this festival, piglets were thrown into a pit in the earth by women dressed as men and by men dressed up as women wearing a veil.<sup>1055</sup> The sacrifice of a pig to Aphrodite was also a custom on Cyprus as Athenaios mentions.<sup>1056</sup> Pigs were not among the most popular sacrificial animals in the Greek world and Anatolia; few deities were linked with the pig. In the Greek pantheon, apart from Aphrodite in Argos, on Cyprus, at Metropolis in Thessalia<sup>1057</sup> and at Aspendos, Hestia, Demeter, and Kore at Eleusis were the recipients of pigs. Due to their cheapness piglets

---

<sup>1049</sup> Strab. 14.4.2; Mela I. 78.

<sup>1050</sup> Stroud completes the inscription as *apoikoi* and Habicht completes it as *oikeioi*; Stroud 1984, 193-216; Habicht 2006, 266.

<sup>1051</sup> Lane Fox 2009, 232

<sup>1052</sup> Strab. 9.5.17, 5

<sup>1053</sup> Bernhardt 1828, 393, 10-15.

<sup>1054</sup> Ath. 3, 98, 1

<sup>1055</sup> Micklem 2016, 37.

<sup>1056</sup> Ath. 3, 96, 1

<sup>1057</sup> Strab. 9.5.17,

were also used in purification rituals on Sicily and in the Peloponnese.<sup>1058</sup> They were also sacrificed by being burnt as a whole, especially for Zeus on Kos and at Thorikos.<sup>1059</sup>

The exceptional status of the pig can also be seen in the Hittite culture. Since pigs were seen as unclean by the Hittites, in the Near East, and in Egypt, their cultic use was rare.<sup>1060</sup> Pigs were used as sacrificial animals in cultic rituals, especially carried out by Hittite queens for deities related with the earth, childbirth, motherhood, fertility, and the underworld. The Hittite queens also celebrated the festival of pigs, known as *nuntarriyasha*, the autumn festival.<sup>1061</sup> In the Hittite society, women and pigs were closely connected, especially in cultic rituals, such as depositing pig remains into pits. Such a connection was also present in the later Greek *Thesmophoria* festivals celebrated in honor of Demeter and Kore. Like during the *Hysteria* of Argos during the *Thesmophoria*, which celebrated feminine fecundity, pigs were thrown into pits called *megara*.<sup>1062</sup> This ritual was also practiced in Knidos, Priene, and at the *Artemision* of Ephesos; therefore, it has been suggested that this practice was brought to Greece from Anatolia because of the Hittite connection.<sup>1063</sup> Unfortunately, no further evidence exists about the ritual of sacrificing pigs to Aphrodite at Aspendos, but like its Hittite and Greek counterparts, it can be related to fertility, motherhood and child-bearing. Therefore, it may emphasize the native nature of the cult of Aphrodite at Aspendos.

Another aspect which sheds light on the native character of the goddess in Aspendos is her epithet *Kastnietis*. Apart from the ancient sources, this name appears on an altar dating to the Early Imperial period and referring to the double goddess “Aphroditai *Kastnietides*” alongside Zeus and Hera.<sup>1064</sup> According to Stephanos Byzantinos (6<sup>th</sup> century AD), the Kastnion was a mountain in Aspendos and *Kastnios*, *Kastnion* and *Kastnietes* are the ethnica.<sup>1065</sup> Associating deities with natural features was a very common phenomenon, which was also seen in the region of Pamphylia and may reflect the indigenous character of the cults.<sup>1066</sup>

The image of Aphrodite did not appear on the coinage of the city until the period of Augustus thus far. The 4<sup>th</sup> century BC writer Kallimachos calls the city Aspendos and

---

<sup>1058</sup> Bremmer 2007, 133-34.

<sup>1059</sup> Ekroth 2002, 257-60.

<sup>1060</sup> Van Wyk 2014, 111-34.

<sup>1061</sup> Collins 2006, 161-64.

<sup>1062</sup> Chlup 2007, 69-95.

<sup>1063</sup> Collins 2002, 224-43.

<sup>1064</sup> Hereward 1958, 64, no. 10, Fig. 11; Robert 1960, 177.

<sup>1065</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 2, 8, 613.

<sup>1066</sup> See *The Sacred Landscape of Pamphylia*, Chapter 5.

mentions the goddess Aphrodite of Aspendos, but some of the coins of the same period feature the city's ethnicon in the local dialect. Therefore, the Aspendians might have had a different name for their goddess, just like they may have had a different name for their city. But we can wonder what this name would have been. Inscriptions found nearby the city and written in the Pamphylian dialect constitute the most important evidence for the worship of a local goddess in Aspendos. One of these inscriptions was found north of the Acropolis, 100-150 m east of the aquaduct. It has 37 lines and dates to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The stone is heavily damaged; therefore, it is not possible to fully comprehend its content. However, several terms refer to a lease of land, which is likely to have belonged to the domain of *Wanassa Akrou* (Wanassa of the Acropolis of Aspendos)<sup>1067</sup>. The renting of land belonging to temple property is also documented in the region for the Roman Imperial Period; therefore, it must have been a long practice that continued from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC into the Roman Imperial period.<sup>1068</sup> Another inscription was found at Belkis, Camiliköy, and dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. It records a dedication made by Horma, a *kithara* player of the *Wanassa Akrou*.<sup>1069</sup> Horma has been interpreted as a possible member of a group that was responsible for accompanying the festivals organized for the goddess of the Acropolis. This might indicate that music and dance played an important role during these festivals.<sup>1070</sup>

We do not have certain linguistic or archaeological evidence that this *Wanassa Akrou* was later identified with Aphrodite under Greek influence. Brixhe links the widespread usage of names derived from Aphrodite, such as Aphordisius, Aphordisis, Phordisis, Phordeiseia, Phordisios, Phordeisos, which are especially seen on funerary *stelai* dating to the Hellenistic period and written in the Pamphylian dialect, with the cult of Aphrodite in Aspendos.<sup>1071</sup> If this is correct, then the Aspendians worshipped a deity called Aphrodite in the same period when they made dedications to *Wanassa Akrou*. Although the transformation of Wanassa into Aphrodite cannot be proven at this point, there are some elements that need further attention. First, the epithet *Akrou*, translated as “Wanassa of the Acropolis”, denotes that the goddess was worshipped on a hill or

<sup>1067</sup> Brixhe-Tekoğlu 2000, 25-53, no. 276.

<sup>1068</sup> See The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.6.

<sup>1069</sup> Brixhe-Tekoğlu 2000, 19-29, no. 274.

<sup>1070</sup> In his “Against Verres”, Cicero mentions that Verres took every statue in Aspendos, those in shrines as well as those in public places. He loaded them on wagons and carried them to his house. Among the statues was the famous lyre-player of Aspendos. However, it is not possible to make a direct connection between the dedication of the *kithara* player of the 2nd century BC and this statue of a lyre-player of Aspendos, see Cicero, Against Verres, 2.1.53.

<sup>1071</sup> Brixhe 1976a, 43-4; 59, nos. 76-78.

mountain and that she was identified with this place, just like Aphrodite *Kastnietis* (presumably) got her name from Mount Kastnion located nearby the city. The findspot of the first inscription in which the name of Wanassa was mentioned, is situated north of the Acropolis. Additionally, during surveys conducted in and nearby Aspendos, the foundations of a Doric temple were discovered on a small hill located east of the Acropolis. The material found in the area included ceramics dated to the Classical Period and coins of the Hellenistic period, which might indicate that the ritual activity conducted in this area possibly went back to the Classical period.<sup>1072</sup> No certain evidence exists for the identification of this temple; however, judging solely by the natural features, it is possible to make a link between the temple on a hill, the local cult of *Wanassa Akrou* and the Hellenized Aphrodite *Kastnietis* whose name was derived from a mountain.

The first representation of the goddess as two Aphroditai standing side by side appeared on the city's Roman Imperial coinage in the Augustan period and continued into the reign of Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Figures 4.139-140). The goddesses sometimes appear in a temple or inside two *naiskoi* or niches.<sup>1073</sup> They were also depicted on the hand of Tyche or of the river god Eurymedon (Figure 4.141).<sup>1074</sup> The general iconographical scheme on these coins is as follows: two goddesses stand frontally side by side, either inside a *naiskos* or not. They each wear a high *polos* and a long veil extending to their feet. The goddesses have rectangular or conical bodies. On some coins, the so-called 'numerous breasts' are depicted. Besides, in some examples, the bodies are separated into several friezes.<sup>1075</sup> The reason why these twin goddesses have been each defined as Aphrodite *Kastnietis* is an altar dating to the Early Imperial period, on which the epithet *Kastnietis* is given in its plural form "*Kastnietides*". Therefore, these depictions on the coins have been reasonably interpreted as the depiction of Aphrodite *Kastnietides*. In terms of her general iconographic features, the goddesses resemble the local goddesses of Asia Minor that were later identified with other deities, such as Artemis Pergaia, Artemis of Ephesos, Artemis of Magnesia and Aphrodite of Aphrodisias. Their *polos* bears resemblance with the ones on the head of the Ephesian, Pergaian, and Magnesian Artemis and with that of the Aphrodisian Aphrodite.<sup>1076</sup> Besides the Anatolian counterparts, Aphrodite depictions with *polos* can be found in Corinth, Kythera, on

---

<sup>1072</sup> Özgür 1993, 251-63.

<sup>1073</sup> Tekin 1991, 97.

<sup>1074</sup> Tekin 1991, 97.

<sup>1075</sup> Şahin 2018, 86-7.

<sup>1076</sup> Şahin 2018, 80-90.



Rhodos and on Cyprus and all date to the 6<sup>th</sup>- 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>1077</sup> Their mantles and veils are similar to those of the Pergaian and Magnesian Artemis and those of the Aphrodisian Aphrodite, whereas some of the decorations on her body, for instance, the so-called breasts resemble the Ephesian Artemis and several friezes recall the Pergaian Artemis.<sup>1078</sup> Certain iconographic developments appeared in the course of time, but, according to Şahin, these did not include major changes but were mostly dependent on the use of existing dies over a long period of time and/or the simultaneous use of old and new coin dies.<sup>1079</sup> The Julio-Claudian period, especially the reign of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD), witnessed the most differentiated types and during this period only coins with Aphrodite were minted. This is explained by the notion that the family of the Iulii-Claudii highly venerated Venus as their ancestor and that the Aspendians who knew this wanted to show their respect for the imperial family members. The twin Aphroditai were first shown inside the architectural frame of a *naiskos* during the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (Figure 4.142) and the coins continued in this manner until the period of Gallienus (253-268 AD). This situation finds its parallels in coins of Perge depicting Artemis Pergaia. During the Hadrianic period, the coins of Perge showed, at the same time, a distyle, tetrastyle or hexastyle temple, in which the cult image of Artemis Pergaia was placed.<sup>1080</sup> Although these were common elements, the cult image of Aphrodite *Kastnietides* at Aspendos differentiated from that of other local goddesses in one aspect: the twin or double representation of Aphrodite. The double representation of gods and goddesses was a common phenomenon seen in Greek and Roman religious iconography. Price resumes the possible reasons for this multiplication under six categories: (1) representations of mothers-daughters, like Demeter and Persephone, (2) a functional duplication, like the triple Hekate who was located on crossroads and watched over each direction, or the double Eileithyia protecting women in labour on each side of their beds, (3) a reinforcement of the quality and power of the given deity, (4) deities who always appeared in plural, like the Nymphs, *Horai*, *Moirai* and *Charites*, (5) an iconographic multiplication representing the different nature or cult of deities, and (6) decorative purposes.<sup>1081</sup> The third and fifth categories in this list seem the most reasonable in the case of the Aphrodite *Kastnietis* cult in Aspendos. According to Price, the duplication of

<sup>1077</sup> Delivorrias et al.1984. no. 61 (Kythera), no. 66 (Korinth), no.75 (Rhodos), nos. 108 and 110 (Cyprus).

<sup>1078</sup> Şahin 2018, 53, 76.

<sup>1079</sup> Şahin 2018, 108.

<sup>1080</sup> See The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>1081</sup> Price 1971, 50-54.

goddesses went back as far as the Neolithic cultures of Çatalhöyük in Anatolia.<sup>1082</sup> In the Hittite period, seals existed on which twin goddesses were depicted with lions.<sup>1083</sup> Kybele was also frequently depicted as a pair.<sup>1084</sup> Apart from Anatolia, paired images were also encountered in Syria and also in the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations.<sup>1085</sup> Therefore, double cultic representations of goddesses had a long tradition in Asia Minor and the broader region, which might have been reflected in the imagery of Aphrodite *Kastnietis*.

The closest parallel of the double Aphroditai *Kastnietides* were the twin Nemeseis of Smyrna, who were worshipped together. Various explanations have been given for the symbolism of these twin goddesses. Ramsey assumes that the two goddesses signified the two mountain peaks of Smyrna, thus emphasizing the connection of these deities with natural features.<sup>1086</sup> Others have pointed out that the goddesses symbolized two different aspects of Nemesis: Nemesis as a punitive and as a stabilizing goddess.<sup>1087</sup> Farnell suggests that the two Nemeseis indicated the union between Old Smyrna and the new city founded by Alexander the Great.<sup>1088</sup> According to Hornum, one Nemesis represented the “Hellenized” goddess, whereas the other one represented the indigenous Aeolian goddess of Adrasteia, which was mainly worshipped in Mysia and Aeolia.<sup>1089</sup> Finally, Price interprets the duality of these Nemeseis as a practice that aimed to reinforce the quality of her divine status.<sup>1090</sup>

What was the reason behind the duplication of Aphrodite in Aspendos? The question is not easy to answer due to the lack of linguistic, literary or archaeological evidence. However, if one tries to find a duality in Aspendos related to the representations of the twin goddesses, some elements can be pointed out. Like the mountain at Smyrna, the Acropolis of Aspendos was composed of two hills, an eastern and a western one.<sup>1091</sup> Therefore, Aphrodite *Kastnietides* may perhaps have represented the twin peaks of the Aspendian Acropolis. The two Aphroditai may also have symbolized the indigenous goddess -perhaps *Wanassa Akrou-* and the more “Hellenized” one who got the name, Aphrodite. As Price points out, the twin image may also have been used to enhance the

---

<sup>1082</sup> Price 1971, 50.

<sup>1083</sup> Price 1971, 53-54.

<sup>1084</sup> Lynn Roller 1999, 78, 126, 217 footnote 122.

<sup>1085</sup> Price 1971, 54.

<sup>1086</sup> Ramsay 1927, 50.

<sup>1087</sup> Hornum 1993, 11.

<sup>1088</sup> Farnell 1986, 494.

<sup>1089</sup> Strab. 13.1.4.

<sup>1090</sup> Price 1971, 68-69.

<sup>1091</sup> Lanckoronki 2005, 89.

divine status and quality of the goddess. One important point to emphasize is that this duality seems to have appeared in the Roman Imperial Period from the Augustan period onwards. The earlier accounts of Kallimachos and Strabo always mentioned the goddess as a single entity. Therefore, this duality seems either to have been a Roman Imperial novelty or it only became visible in this period. Şahin suggests that in order to have good relations with Augustus the Aspendians benefited from already existing twin deities in the Roman pantheon, like the Dioskouroi, Remus and Romulus.<sup>1092</sup> Alternatively, there were perhaps originally two cult statues, which found their place on the coinage.

Two examples, one coming from Asia Minor and the other one from Cyprus, can be mentioned in order to make a comparison concerning the transformation of an indigenous goddess into Aphrodite under Greek influence. Cult activity related to Aphrodite in Aphrodisias started in the Archaic period, as evidenced by votive offerings comprising terracotta lamps and figurines of seated women. This activity continued into the Classical Period. During these periods, the goddess had an indigenous Carian name and this name was later equalized with Aphrodite, due to the increasing popularity of her cult in the Hellenistic period, a period which also witnessed the construction of a temple for Aphrodite. During the Roman Imperial period, the cult of Aphrodite reached its utmost popularity, as evidenced by monumental architectural activities that continued until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1093</sup> The local cult of the goddess was also accompanied by a local cult for Zeus in the city. The same phenomenon occurred at Aspendos since the Early Imperial Period inscription mentioned above records a dedication made to Zeus, Hera and Aphrodite *Kastnietides*. Among the reasons for the establishment of a local goddess cult in Aphrodisias are the presence of a salt-water well and a grove of sacred trees. The native goddess was also associated with a flock of doves, with lions and with warfare.<sup>1094</sup> However, this sort of evidence escapes us in Aspendos and the only ritualistic information is that the goddess accepted a pig as offering, a ritual which, as discussed above, was also seen in the Anatolian religion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.

A similar phenomenon can also be encountered on Cyprus, where a native goddess was called with a variety of different names in Syllabo-Cypriot inscriptions of the Iron Age. These included Wanassa/Anassa in Paphos, Paphia in Nea Paphos, Golia in Golgoi,

---

<sup>1092</sup> Şahin 2018, 137-39.

<sup>1093</sup> Brody 2001, 94-98.

<sup>1094</sup> Brod 2001, 98-103.

and Thea and Kypria in Khytroi.<sup>1095</sup> These different epithets eventually all turned into one common name to designate a common patron goddess by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC: Aphrodite.

The ancient authors frequently favored an oriental origin for Aphrodite. According to both Homer and Hesiodos, the home of the goddess was on Cyprus, especially in Paphos.<sup>1096</sup> Herodotos was the first to connect the origin of Aphrodite, particularly Aphrodite *Ourania*, “Heavenly Aphrodite”, with Phoenicia and stated that her sanctuary in Paphos was first dominated by a goddess from Ashkelon, which was brought to Cyprus by the Phoenicians.<sup>1097</sup> Pausanias provided a more detailed account of how the cult of Aphrodite Ourania was spread. According to this author, the cult of the goddess was first seen among the Assyrians, who passed the rites of Aphrodite to the Phoenicians in Ashkelon. Later, the Cypriots of Paphos learned these rites and contributed to the spread of the cult throughout Greece.<sup>1098</sup> Aside from these “western” authors, Philo of Byblos, who lived in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, stated that the Phoenicians called Aphrodite Astarte.<sup>1099</sup> For the origin of the goddess, various interpretations have also been suggested by modern scholars. Some scholars have pointed out oriental, Cypriot, indigenous Greek or Indo-Europeans roots for Aphrodite, but an Oriental and/or Cypriot origin have mainly been favored.<sup>1100</sup> According to Budin, the cult and the iconography of Aphrodite was an amalgamation of Levantine, Cypriot, Cretan and Greek elements, which were all connected to each other and interacted over a long period of time due to the reciprocal relationships between the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus and Greece that started in the Middle Bronze Age and continued into the Archaic period.<sup>1101</sup> In accordance with the widespread status of her cult, the goddess represented several different aspects, like

---

<sup>1095</sup> Budin 2014, 208-9.

<sup>1096</sup> Hom. Od. VIII, 360-364; Hes. Theog. II. 188-202.

<sup>1097</sup> Hdt. 7. 105, 2-3.

<sup>1098</sup> Paus. I. XIV. 7.

<sup>1099</sup> Smith 2014, 78, footnote 194.

<sup>1100</sup> For the various interpretations concerning the origin of the goddess, see Budin 2000, 4-12.

<sup>1101</sup> According to Budin, several Levantine deities started to appear in the Cypriot pantheon, when the commercial activities between the Levant and Cyprus increased during the Middle and Late Bronze periods. Therefore, goddesses like Ishara and Ishtar were adopted as the predecessors of Aphrodite by the Cypriots from these periods onwards. The end of the Bronze Age witnessed the colonization of the island by the Minoans and the Mycenaeans, who brought their own goddesses with them. The Cypriots adapted the iconographic elements of these goddesses and the Minoans and Mycenaeans did the same. As a result, a goddess was created that was familiar for both parties. In the 10th-9th centuries BC, the Phoenicians started to be influential in the Mediterranean, settled on Cyprus and brought Astarte with them, which led to a newly created iconography for the goddess Aphrodite. Later in the Archaic period, the goddess was spread to the Greek World, see Budin 2000, 407- 13.

female sexuality, love, fertility, vegetation, and maternal power.<sup>1102</sup> She was also the goddess of heavens and war.<sup>1103</sup> Besides, she also had a protective status, as she was worshipped as the patron deity of magistrates and sea-farers.<sup>1104</sup> In mainland Greece, in cities like Athens and Korinthos, or at Naukratis in Egypt, she was venerated as a city goddess.<sup>1105</sup> Undoubtedly, her cult varied according to the place. In Asia Minor, the Aphrodisian Aphrodite shone out especially because of her warrior character apart from her relationship with water and vegetation.<sup>1106</sup> The Archaic Aphrodite at Miletos, Didyma and the Milesian colonies of the Black Sea was particularly related to the sea and safe travels, which emphasized the relations between the mother city and its colonies.<sup>1107</sup> The Great Goddess in Asia Minor was often identified with the Greek Aphrodite. For instance, Charon of Lampsakos (6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) states that Aphrodite was named Kybebe/Kybele by the Lydians and Phrygians.<sup>1108</sup> Both Kybele and Aphrodite had a similar unfortunate love affair, respectively with Attis and Adonis, which mythologically connected the two goddesses. The killing of Adonis by a wild boar and Mopsos' legendary boar hunt depicted on the Aspendian coins and its offering to Aphrodite *Kastnietis* may be a mythological link that connected Kybele to the Aspendian goddess. Besides this, no evidence is present for the character of Aphrodite of Aspendos. However, one must be cautious while interpreting the possible aspects of a goddess who has so many faces and one should not connect her directly to the fertility aspect that usually characterized the Great Mother Goddess of Anatolia.

The earliest evidence for Aphrodite in Perge comes from the Acropolis, as a result of the excavations conducted in "Area 1" (Figure 4.143). Based on the ceramics, this area witnessed a continuous settlement from the Late Bronze Age into the Roman period. The remains have been interpreted as a small sanctuary.<sup>1109</sup> The lack of epigraphic data prevents us to identify to whom this area was dedicated but according to Recke, the

---

<sup>1102</sup> For the different aspects of the Mesopotamian goddess who influenced Aphrodite's character, see Budin 2000, 306-27.

<sup>1103</sup> for Aphrodite *Ourania* as a primordial goddess who dominated the sky, see Rosenzweig 2004, 59-81; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 15-25 (for Athens and Attika in general), 165-67 (Argos), 233-36 (Elis); Ustinova 1999, 35-40 with bibliography. For the martial character of Aphrodite, see Budin 2010, 79-113.

<sup>1104</sup> for Aphrodite as the protectress of magistrates, see Sokolowski 1964, 1-8; Wallensten 2003. For Aphrodite as the goddess of the sea, see Pirenne-Delforge 1999, 433-39; Papadopoulou 2010, 217-35.

<sup>1105</sup> For the city goddess of Athens, see Pala 2010, 195-217; of Korinthos, see Williams 1986, 13-24; for Naukratis, see Möller 2000, 168-69.

<sup>1106</sup> Brody 2001, 101-2.

<sup>1107</sup> Greaves 2004, 27-33.

<sup>1108</sup> Alley 2017, 3.

<sup>1109</sup> For the chronological development of the settlement in 'Area 1', see Martini, 2017, 1-246.

terracotta figurines found in a *bothros* may provide some insights.<sup>1110</sup> Among the seven fragments that he examined are a torso of a naked woman, a woman's head, a seated doll, a dolphin, two bull's heads, a hand holding a *tympanon*, and a "temple boy", which all date between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC (Figure 4.144). The torso has been compared with figurines from Myrina and Tarsos of the Hellenistic period and have been ascribed to Aphrodite. The flat and smooth backside of the figurine has also been compared to the "Astarte Plaques" from the Near East and Cyprus dating to the Archaic and Classical Periods, which suggests a possible Near Eastern influence for the figurine.<sup>1111</sup> The hairstyle, facial features and the posture of the head fragment have been assigned to Aphrodite, Nike or Psyche.<sup>1112</sup> The seated female figurine again finds its parallels in the context of Aphrodite and has been interpreted not as the goddess herself but as a possible depiction of a bride, temple servant (*hierodule*) or doll.<sup>1113</sup> The dolphin, which was one of the attributes of Aphrodite, has a perforation on its back, which perhaps served for the application of another figure, possibly Eros.<sup>1114</sup> The figurine of the "temple boy" is depicted in a squatting pose with one hand on his bent knee; next to him, there is a turtle.<sup>1115</sup> A figure of a seated female with a boy in her arms (*kourotrophos*) has also been considered a related fragment to the "temple boy" figurine.<sup>1116</sup> Recke identifies in each fragment some elements related to Aphrodite and connects them to a possible cult for Aphrodite. To assume the presence of an Aphrodite cult on the Acropolis, Recke takes into consideration the resemblance of these figurines and their iconography to examples found on Cyprus as well as the later Roman Imperial evidence for the cult of Aphrodite at Perge, but he does not rule out the possibility of a domestic use for these figurines as evidenced by examples from Priene. Another possible candidate for the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Acropolis is "Area 2", situated on the western hill (Figure 4.145). The earliest cult activity in this area can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The first phase consists of a building with four elongated rooms and an open courtyard, which included a water well. After the drying of the water well, the open space was transformed into a cistern. According to Martini, the closest parallels of this type of structure comes from the Late

---

<sup>1110</sup> Recke 2017, 547-53.

<sup>1111</sup> Wamser-Krasznai 2017, 433, no. 8.

<sup>1112</sup> Recke 2017, cat. no. 3, 548; Wamser-Krasznai 2017, 437-39, no.13.

<sup>1113</sup> Recke 2017, 548, cat. no.2; Wamser-Krasznai 2017, 427-28, no.2.

<sup>1114</sup> Recke 2017, 548, cat. no. 4; Wamser-Krasznai 2017, 432, no.7.

<sup>1115</sup> Recke 2017, 548-49, cat. no. 5; Wamser-Krasznai 2017, 437-39, no. 12.

<sup>1116</sup> Figurines of "temple boys" dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD have also been found in the necropolis of Perge inside the wall niches of a tomb and, therefore, they were apparently also used in funerary contexts during the Roman Imperial period, see Çokay-Kepçe 2017, 57-59.

Bronze Age, from Kition on Cyprus, known as “Temenos A”.<sup>1117</sup> This area in Perge started to undergo changes in the Hellenistic period due to the construction of more Greek-style buildings, such as the addition of colonnades and the renovation of the cult building. In the Early Hellenistic period, the cult building was replaced by an *antis* temple, which was renovated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Figure 4.146). In the Roman Imperial period, the cult activity continued in this area, as evidenced by the various votive offerings. Moreover, the temple was also rebuilt after demolition caused by an earthquake in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1118</sup> Therefore, a cultic continuity of nearly 800 years is present in the area. As is the case with “Area 1” on the Acropolis, no information is currently available to identify the deity who was worshipped here, but an interesting votive offering may provide some insights. The figurine is made of lead and it depicts a *naiskos* between two Corinthian columns, in which Aphrodite is represented (Figure 4.147). It can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1119</sup> Examples similar to these lead figurines have mainly been found in the Western provinces, such as Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Albania, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia; however, examples from Syria are also known. These figurines may depict a variety of deities, such as Aphrodite, Artemis, and Hermes.<sup>1120</sup> The material is cheap, not difficult to access, and easy to shape. Therefore, these objects are seen as sophisticated but inexpensive offerings dedicated to deities. Surely, one object does not suffice to conclude about the presence of an Aphrodite sanctuary on the Acropolis, but the material evidence from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD may indicate that the offerings are in line with Aphrodite’s iconography.

Despite the possible Hellenistic worship of Aphrodite on the Acropolis of Perge, the city only put the goddess on its coinage in the Roman Imperial period. Coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD show the standing goddess as naked above the waist and draped with a mantle below the waist.<sup>1121</sup> Aphrodite is looking to the right and holding her hair in her right hand and her mantle in her left one. In some instances, at the foot of the goddess Eros riding a dolphin is depicted, while on other coins only a dolphin is present. This motif recalls the *Anadyomene* type (raising from the sea), due to the move she makes

---

<sup>1117</sup> Martini 2017, 552; Webb 1999, 71-73.

<sup>1118</sup> For detailed information on the chronology of “Area 2”, see Martini 2017, 247-310.

<sup>1119</sup> Martini 2017, 292.

<sup>1120</sup> For further information on the lead figurines of the Mediterranean, see Baratta, 2013, 283-91; Pop-Lazic 2012, 151-64.

<sup>1121</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10661; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4953; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10410; for Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 419; for Maximus (236-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6166.

to remove her hair. The mythological background of the motif is thus provided by Aphrodite's birth from the sea, which dates back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>1122</sup>

The cult of Aphrodite is further documented by an inscription. The inscription is carved on a polygonal altar, which is very fragmented; only a small written part is preserved. From the remaining parts, it is possible to conclude that it was dedicated to Aphrodite *Epekoos*, "the one who hears the prayers".<sup>1123</sup> The epithet *Epekoos* was also used for Aphrodite in Asia Minor at Prusias ad Hypium,<sup>1124</sup> Pergamon,<sup>1125</sup> Ephesos,<sup>1126</sup> Panamara,<sup>1127</sup> Xanthos,<sup>1128</sup> and Anazarbos.<sup>1129</sup> The inscription dates to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD and was discovered in "Room 8" of the Southern Baths.

Statuary of Aphrodite occupied a major place in the visual landscape of the city. From the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards but especially in 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the goddess was depicted in a variety of types all around Perge, either in the shape of statues or as reliefs. Four statues, representing the goddess according to the Syracusai, Capitoline Capua, and Pontia-Euploia types, have been found in the Southern Baths of the city. The Syracusai and Capitoline types have been found in "Room 8" of the Southern Baths, where also the inscription was found.

The Syracusai type dates to the Antonine period and features Aphrodite as standing and naked above the waist (Figure 4.148). Her both arms are extending forward and she holds a large shell with her two hands.<sup>1130</sup> This type, representing Aphrodite while holding a large shell, was also used for statues of Nymphs in the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>1131</sup> The shell was a symbol of the goddess' relation with the sea and especially of her birth inside a seashell.<sup>1132</sup>

The Aphrodite of the Capitoline type, which was found in the same room "Room 8", dates to the Roman Imperial period (Figure 4.149).<sup>1133</sup> Only the naked torso of the

---

<sup>1122</sup> For the motif of Aphrodite *Anadyomene*, see Delivorrias 1984, 256-63, nos.423-55. For the half-draped version of the *Anadyomene* type similar to the Pergaian coins, see Havelock 2007, 88-89.

<sup>1123</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 243, 276.

<sup>1124</sup> IKPrusias ad Hypium, no. 68

<sup>1125</sup> CIG 3542

<sup>1126</sup> JÖAI53, 1981-1982, no. 164, 147.

<sup>1127</sup> IStr, no. 129.

<sup>1128</sup> TAM II, no. 269

<sup>1129</sup> IKAnazarbos, nos. 29, 30, 32, 33.

<sup>1130</sup> İnan 1984, 204. For various examples of the Aphrodite Syracusai type, see Delivorrias 1984, 83-84, nos. 743-47.

<sup>1131</sup> Halm Tisserant-Siebert 1997, 893, nos. 13-17.

<sup>1132</sup> For the iconographic representations of Aphrodite's birth inside a seashell, see Delivorrias 1984, 116-17, nos. 1183-88.

<sup>1133</sup> İnan 1983, 8.



goddess is preserved, with a band below her left elbow. Among the fragments that belong to this statue are Eros and a dolphin. This type depicts the goddess completely naked with one arm/hand covering her breasts and the other covering her genitalia. The head is slightly turned to the left.<sup>1134</sup> Either a *hydria* on which the mantle of the goddess was lying or Eros riding a dolphin accompanied the goddess. This type depicts the goddess just before taking a bath, again emphasizing her connection with water. One of the figurines found on the Acropolis, namely the torso of a woman with a band above the elbow, is similar to this type.

The Capua type, found in “Room 7” of the Southern Baths, which is also known as the “Gallery of Claudius Piso”, one of the largest spaces of the baths, dates to the Antonine period and features a standing figure that is naked above the hips and steps on a rocky surface (Figure 4.150). In her two hands, she holds the shield of Ares, which she uses as a mirror.<sup>1135</sup> The story of how Aphrodite used her lover’s shield to see her own reflection is mentioned by Kallimachos (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC).<sup>1136</sup> The love affair between Aphrodite and Ares is mentioned by many ancient authors and the couple was also often depicted together in Greek and Roman art.<sup>1137</sup> Additionally, at some places, like Argos<sup>1138</sup>, Sparta<sup>1139</sup>, and Olous on Crete<sup>1140</sup>, a joint cult for Aphrodite and Ares existed. Although Aphrodite had a martial aspect in the Greek and Roman beliefs,<sup>1141</sup> the joint cults of Aphrodite and Ares have often been interpreted as representing these two deities as contradictory yet complementary forces, war and love, which is mythologically manifested in their physical relation.<sup>1142</sup> The statue found in the Southern Baths of Perge is the visual reminder of this connection between Aphrodite and Ares.

The last statue found in the Southern Baths is of the Pontia-Euploia type (Figure 4.151). It dates to the Roman Imperial period and depicts the goddess as standing and naked above the waist; her two arms are missing and her head is slightly turned to the left. Among the fragments belonging to this statue that were found in “Room 7” of the Southern Baths, is a dolphin with Eros on its back.<sup>1143</sup> This statue again evokes the

<sup>1134</sup> Delivorrias 1984, 52-53, nos. 409-17.

<sup>1135</sup> İnan 1983, 9.

<sup>1136</sup> Zanker 2004, 59.

<sup>1137</sup> Pironti 2005, 167-84.

<sup>1138</sup> Fusco 2015-2016, 97-124.

<sup>1139</sup> Cyrino 2010, 51.

<sup>1140</sup> Budin 2000, 114.

<sup>1141</sup> For the origin and the later transformation of the armed representations of the goddess, see Budin 2010, 79-113; Pironti 2005, 167-84; Flemberg 1995, 109-22.

<sup>1142</sup> Pirenne-Delforge, 1994.

<sup>1143</sup> İnan 1983, 12.

goddess' connection with the sea and marine life. As a goddess who was born from the sea as a foam (*aphros*),<sup>1144</sup> her nature related to water was often emphasized by the ancient authors. Moreover, she was depicted with marine creatures in art and her cult epithets, including *Pontia*, “of the sea”, *Euploia*, “smooth-sailing”, and *Limenia* or *Epilimena*, “off the harbor”, show not only that she was seen as related with the sea but also that she was worshipped as such.<sup>1145</sup> Although no evidence has been found in Perge that provides information about the cultic connection of Aphrodite and the sea, this statue possibly directly reminded the viewer of the relation of the goddess with the sea.

Four statues of Aphrodite were thus found in the Southern Baths and two of these were discovered in the same room as the inscription, namely “Room 8”. The excavations conducted in this room of the Southern Baths were limited; therefore, the real function of this room is not sure. The Southern Baths of the city are largely situated outside the Hellenistic city walls and composed of several rooms organized according to the ring-type. However, “Rooms 8 and 9” and a part of “Room 7” are located inside the walls. According to Abbasoğlu, ‘Rooms 8 and 9’ were initially not included in the Southern Bath complex and became only later part of it, after the enlargement of the complex.<sup>1146</sup> “Room 8” was part of the Southern Baths in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, as evidenced by other statues depicting deities such Apollo, Asklepios, Athena, the Muses and the three Graces, which can all be dated to the Antonine period due to their stylistic features.<sup>1147</sup> The findspot of the fragmented inscription is not mentioned in the excavation reports; therefore, identifying its relation with a space and determining whether this room had a cultic function reserved for Aphrodite or not is difficult. However, there is evidence that some rooms of the Southern Baths possessed a cultic function. For instance, ‘Room 3’, the *frigidarium*, was furnished with a semi-circular pool and seven statues of Muses, which were found inside the pool alongside an inscription. The inscription is carved on an altar that was dedicated to Apollo *Mousagetes*, “leader of the Muses”, by Diodoros in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, a date which is also in accordance with the stylistic features of the statues of the Muses (Figure 4.71).<sup>1148</sup> The altar was a *hieroma*, a consecrated object that was dedicated to Apollo. Thus, Apollo was worshipped in this room with the epithet *Mousagetes*, which is also in accordance with the statues of the Muses. The Nemesis

<sup>1144</sup> Hesiod. Theog. 11. 187-206.

<sup>1145</sup> For the connection between Aphrodite and the sea, Demetriou 2010, 67-89.

<sup>1146</sup> Abbasoğlu 1992, 3, 107.

<sup>1147</sup> Akçay 2007, 91-93.

<sup>1148</sup> Şahin 1999a, 195-96; Abbasoğlu 1992, 100; Akçay 2007, 69; Özdizbay 2012, 35-36.

statue found in the *nataio*, is also a religious consecration.<sup>1149</sup> Therefore, some rooms in the Southern Baths seem to have had a ritualistic purpose alongside their functional purposes. The same situation might also be proposed for Aphrodite and ‘Room 8’.

Other statuary from Perge includes a statue of Aphrodite depicting the goddess according to the Capitoline type and dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which was discovered in 1956 during the excavations conducted at the southern-northern colonnaded street of the city.<sup>1150</sup> The statue depicts a standing naked woman with Eros riding a dolphin at her side. Besides, a head of the goddess dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD was also recovered from the north-south colonnaded street<sup>1151</sup>, while two more statues dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, one depicting the naked goddess with Eros riding a dolphin and the other, again naked with her cloth hanging from the *hydria* at her side, were found in the east-west colonnaded street of the city.<sup>1152</sup> Statues of Aphrodite also decorated the *palaestra/gymnasion* situated in the north part of the city, the so-called Caracalla fountain at the southern side of the western colonnaded street, the courtyard between the Hellenistic towers, and the Late Roman Gate. The statue from the northern *palaestra* is of the Venus Genetrix type and can be dated to the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (Figure 4.153). It depicts the goddess wearing a sheer *chiton* as if it is wet, which symbolized her birth from the sea.<sup>1153</sup> The statue from the monumental Fountain F5 is of the Capua type and depicts the goddess as getting ready to take a bath.<sup>1154</sup> The statue from the courtyard dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and portrays the goddess leaning against a herm while stepping on a small over-turned *hydria*.<sup>1155</sup> Finally, the last statue, found before the Late Roman Gate, dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and is again of the Venus Genetrix type.<sup>1156</sup>

Apart from statues, Aphrodite is also often represented on reliefs accompanied by Eros at her side. The pediments of the two Severan fountains located west of the square between the Hellenistic and the Late Roman Gates were embellished with reliefs of many deities. The Severan Fountain F2 was composed of a two-story façade with a large pool in the front. The building can be securely dated on the basis of the inscriptions mentioning that it was dedicated to Artemis Pergaia, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Iulia Domna

<sup>1149</sup> See The Cult of Nemesis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.18.

<sup>1150</sup> Özgür et al. 1996, no. 16.

<sup>1151</sup> Turak 2013, 85-93.

<sup>1152</sup> Kara-Demirel, 2015, 22-3; 2016, 350.

<sup>1153</sup> Orhan 2017, 13-22.

<sup>1154</sup> Kara 2015, 22-3.

<sup>1155</sup> Mansel 1956b, 106, 57; for examples of this type see, Delivorrias 1984, 67-68, nos. 569-94.

<sup>1156</sup> Mansel 1969, 95.

by Aurelia Paulina, priestess of Artemis Pergaia. Thus, a date between 195 and 204 AD seems appropriate for the building.<sup>1157</sup> Its counterpart, a similar fountain, F4 is situated directly to the south and was also built in the Severan period.<sup>1158</sup> Among a large number of architectural pieces retrieved during the excavation, a broken pediment is especially important due to its sculptural decoration (Figure 4.98). It has depictions of tritons on both corners and relief-busts of Helios and Selene on each lateral side. Artemis Pergaia stands in the center of the *tympanon*, holding arrows and a bow in one hand and a torch in the other. She is flanked by the three Graces and a priestess wearing a long robe and a veil. To the left, a partially naked Aphrodite is crowned by an Eros (Figure 4.100). The *hydria* next to her indicates that she was about to take a bath. The broken pediment of Fountain F4 also is provided with mythological figures, including two Erotes on the left and right ends. The one to the left facing the Graces has an inverted torch in his right hand. The Eros on the right end holds a mirror for Aphrodite, who is standing right next to him (Figure 4.73). The torch is also present in the composition on the top right.

The image of Aphrodite also appeared on objects of daily use, such as the distaff made of bone that eventually found its way to the necropolis of the city, since it was dedicated as a funerary object. The distaff can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century AD based on the context of the sarcophagus. It depicts Aphrodite according to the *pudicitia* type with one hand on her breasts and with the second hand holding her mantle, which is wrapped around her waist.<sup>1159</sup> The gender of the deceased in this sarcophagus is unknown, however, this object may underline the significance of the goddess for women as the patron deity of maternity, marriage, and love. These kinds of distaffs were also given as wedding gifts; therefore, they can have had a symbolical value rather than being functional objects.<sup>1160</sup>

The variety of different iconographic schemes used for Aphrodite highlights her different aspects and the different myths that were related to her, but the strongest emphasis was on her connection with the sea and water. In these representations, she is often not alone but accompanied by figures such as Eros and the Graces. In many parts of the Greek world, starting from the Hellenistic period onwards, Aphrodite began to be

---

<sup>1157</sup> For the inscription, see Şahin 1999a, 233-35 no. 195.

<sup>1158</sup> "Fountain F4" was unearthed during the excavation campaigns of 1975-1976, İnan 1976, 702; 1977, 617-18. For detailed information about the architectural decoration and the dating of "Fountains F2 and F4", see Türkmen 2007, 11-33.

<sup>1159</sup> Çokay-Kepece 2017, 111-12.

<sup>1160</sup> Trinkl 2004, 281-303.

seen as the protectress of magistrates and this function continued throughout the Roman Imperial period.<sup>1161</sup> In Perge, this aspect of the goddess was perhaps expressed by a group of dedications by *agoranomoi*. These inscriptions date to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and each record a dedication of a statue of Eros to the fatherland, Perge.<sup>1162</sup> One of the statues of the Erotes was dedicated to the goddess (*thea*); however, her identification is not clear since no name specifies the word besides *thea*.<sup>1163</sup> Şahin interprets this goddess as Artemis, possibly because of the important place Artemis occupied in the city's pantheon, but without giving any explanation on the matter. Considering the close relationship between Aphrodite and Eros, the goddess' status as the protector of the magistrates and the evidence documenting dedications of statues of Aphrodite and Eros by magistrates of cities in Asia Minor, such as Sardeis, Sagalassos, Ephesos, Laodikeia, Thyateira and Termessos,<sup>1164</sup> the goddess in the inscription could also be interpreted as Aphrodite instead of Artemis.

For the city of Side, there is epigraphic and statuary evidence for the Aphrodite cult. A late Hellenistic epigramme records that a former *epistates* (superintendent of administrative, fiscal, military or judicial offices), Dionysios Maleis, dedicated a statue of Eros to Aphrodite.<sup>1165</sup> Through the examination of dedicatory inscriptions made by officials to Aphrodite and mainly dating to the Late Hellenistic period, Wallensten determined a connection between the administrative civic life of the Greek *poleis* and Aphrodite.<sup>1166</sup> According to her study, the worship of the goddess by civic officials on a Pan-Hellenic level started from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. Instead of linking this phenomenon to the goddess' internal aspects, such as her being the deity of harmony, Wallensten emphasized that the aspect of Aphrodite as the protectress of officials was mostly related to external historical and cultic contexts, since most of the inscriptions she analyzed came from a world politically governed by the Romans. The popularity of Aphrodite as the ancestress of the Romans might have triggered officials from Greece and Asia Minor to accept Aphrodite as their patron goddess to make up to the Romans. Greek officials showing devotion to Aphrodite might have been perceived as showing

---

<sup>1161</sup> Sokolowski 1964, 1-8; Wallensten 2003.

<sup>1162</sup> For the inscriptions, see Şahin 2004, nos. 299, 303, 305, 306, 308.

<sup>1163</sup> Şahin 2004, no.299.

<sup>1164</sup> For Sardeis, see Buckler and Robinson 1932, 100, no. 99; for Sagalassos, see Contoléon 1887, 221, no. 16; for Ephesos, see Markelbach and Nollé 1980, no. 3015; for Laodikeia, see Robert 1969b, 254; for Thyateira, see Robert 1969b, 255; for Termessos, see Robert, 1969b, 258.

<sup>1165</sup> Nollé 1993a, 259-62, no.3.

<sup>1166</sup> Wallensten 2003, 62-70.

devotion to Rome in the Late Hellenistic Period. The continuation of this tradition in the Roman Imperial Period shows its fairly good implementation in the Hellenistic Period. However, in Pamphylia, no inscriptions survive to conclude either upon such as a relation with Rome nor upon this aspect of Aphrodite in the Late Hellenistic period. A late Hellenistic former *epistates* dedicated an Eros statue to Aphrodite in Side and *agoranomoi*, apparently forming a distinct group, dedicated statues of Eros to their fatherland and possibly to Aphrodite in Perge in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. However, there is also evidence that civic officials chose to make dedications to a variety of deities. For instance, in Hellenistic Perge, the names of *agoranomoi* who set an example for their successors, were written on a stele that was to be erected in the sanctuary of the Horai.<sup>1167</sup> Besides, the city of Perge set up statues of honorable officials inside the sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>1168</sup> Furthermore, *demiourgoi* and *khreophylakes* made dedications to Apollo *Elaibaris* in the Antonine Period<sup>1169</sup> and *paraphylakes* to Ares in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1170</sup> In Side, an *agonothetes* made a dedication to Themis, Athena, and Boulaia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1171</sup> Moreover, several officials including a *demiourgos* and an *agonothetes* built a gilded altar and offered it to Apollo *Patrios Ktistes* after 244 AD.<sup>1172</sup> In contrast with the later periods, the Hellenistic evidence is too scarce to form a link between officials and Aphrodite. Based on the existing evidence it seems that, besides patron deities of the cities, such as Artemis, Athena or Apollo, deities related to the civic order were chosen by officials. The epigraphic evidence indicates that, Aphrodite apparently did not hold a prominent position for the civic officials in Pamphylia apart from *agoranomoi* and one *epistates*.

Another inscription, which can be dated to the High Imperial period, is written on a statue base found between the theater and the colonnaded street of Side.<sup>1173</sup> The inscription informs us that a certain Platon erected a statue of his wife, who was a priestess of Aphrodite. No evidence, however, exists about the sacred space where this priestess was responsible to conduct rituals for Aphrodite.

Similar to Perge, the statuary representations of the goddess played an important role in the visual landscape of Side and its territory. A torso found by villagers in the

---

<sup>1167</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 11.

<sup>1168</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 14.

<sup>1169</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 178.

<sup>1170</sup> Şahin 1999a, nos. 234-35.

<sup>1171</sup> Nollé 1993a, no. 120.

<sup>1172</sup> Nollé 1993a, no. 134.

<sup>1173</sup> Nollé 1993a, no. 98.

north of the city depicts the goddess while untying her sandal.<sup>1174</sup> Besides, a figurine of Aphrodite found in a village to the north of the city depicts the goddess in a Venus Genetrix pose, with a sheer *chiton* fastened on one of her shoulders and exposing her breast. Eros is standing next to the goddess with his both arms bent and he must either have been playing a musical instrument or holding an unidentified object. It is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>1175</sup> Another fragment of an Aphrodite figurine, which is preserved only below her waist, was also found by villagers in the north. It depicts the goddess leaning on a pillar.<sup>1176</sup> Furthermore, a statuette of Aphrodite was found in a village near Manavgat. It depicts the goddess in the same way as on the Pergaian coins: standing, naked above the waist and holding her tress of hair with one hand and her mantle wrapped below her waist with the other. A sleeping Eros on a rock is represented beside her. The statuette can be dated to the Severan period.<sup>1177</sup> Another fragment of a statuette preserved below the waist is similar to the previous one.<sup>1178</sup> Finally, the last fragment of a statuette depicts the goddess in the type of the *Pudica* of Chantilly.<sup>1179</sup> Since all these statuettes were discovered by villagers and thus come from unidentified contexts, their functions, funerary, cultic or domestic, cannot be identified. Besides these examples, many other fragments belonging to statues and statuettes of Aphrodite have been discovered.<sup>1180</sup> Moreover, apart from the statuettes and fragments representing Aphrodite herself, several fragments belonging to Eros or to dolphins have been found in and around the city.<sup>1181</sup> A monumental fountain located outside the city gates, and dating to the Antonine period (140-180 AD), has a large rectangular pool in the front bordered by parapets.<sup>1182</sup> These parapets consisted of several panels decorated with reliefs of deities. On the first one, Amymone followed by Poseidon is represented, on the second one, Ares, Aphrodite, and Eros are depicted, on the third one Athena making a libation in the festival of the

---

<sup>1174</sup> İnan 1975, 144, no.85.

<sup>1175</sup> İnan 1975, 38-40, no. 8.

<sup>1176</sup> İnan 1975, 135-36, no.76.

<sup>1177</sup> İnan 1975, 140-41, no. 80.

<sup>1178</sup> İnan 1975, 141-42, no.81.

<sup>1179</sup> İnan 1975, 143-44, no. 83.

<sup>1180</sup> İnan 1975, 165-66, no. 122-24; 166, no. 125; 183, no. 214.

<sup>1181</sup> İnan 1975, 143-44, no.83; 148-49, no. 86; 149, no. 87; 149-50, no. 88; 150-51, no. 89; 151, no. 90; 158, no. 97-8; 158-59, no. 99.

<sup>1182</sup> Mansel 1978, 105.

*Epibaterion* occurs<sup>1183</sup> and on the fourth one, the punishment of Iksion is depicted.<sup>1184</sup> These panels represent mythological scenes familiar to the Sidetans and their visitors. However, the scene with Ares, Aphrodite, and Eros reminds us of the statue of Aphrodite holding a shield in Perge. Both date to the same period, suggesting that similar themes were used by both Sidetans and Pergaians.

The only evidence for Aphrodite at Magydos comes from the Roman Imperial coinage of the city. The reverses of coins of Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), Macrinus (217-218 AD), Iulia Paula (219-229 AD), Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) and possibly Maximus Caesar (236-238 AD) show Aphrodite (Figure 4.154).<sup>1185</sup> Syedra and Carallia, which are among the Eastern Pamphylian and Western Cilician cities, minted coins in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD with the depiction of Aphrodite on their reverses<sup>1186</sup>

The evidence for Aphrodite from the cities of Pamphylia shows that the earliest worship of Aphrodite comes from Aspendos and can be traced back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The goddess who was worshipped in the city was originally an indigenous deity, which was later identified with Aphrodite due to the increasing Greek influence in the Hellenistic period. One possible suggestion for the name of this indigenous goddess would be Wanassa. The name Wanassa appears in two inscriptions from Aspendos, where she was described as *Wanassa Akrou*, the “Queen or Lady of the Acropolis”. As discussed above, this name is not unfamiliar to us, since other deities bearing the same name Wanassa appeared in inscriptions and on coins of Perge and Sillyon as well. Just like the native Wanassa of Perge was later associated with a Greek goddess, Artemis, the Wanassa of Aspendos might have been associated with Aphrodite. However, the reasons behind this possible identification escape us due to the lack of further evidence. When the native goddess of Aspendos was associated with Aphrodite, she took the epithet *Kastnietis* as well, which was used in the plural form in the above-mentioned inscription and she was depicted as a twin goddess on the Roman Imperial coinage of the city. The depictions feature a double deity dressed according to the Anatolian mother goddess iconography, which finds its parallels in Ephesos, Magnesia, and Aphrodisias. As mentioned above,

---

<sup>1183</sup> For the relation of Athena to the *Epibaterion* festival, see *The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.2.

<sup>1184</sup> There are other panels which are lost now but were described by early researchers. These include the rape of Persephone by Hades, Aphrodite with her entourage, the moon goddess Selene and Endymion, see Mansel 1978, 105-6.

<sup>1185</sup> Ünal 2018, 289-92; for Severus Alexander, see RPC VI, no.6095.

<sup>1186</sup> Syedra: for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV.3, nos. 9338, 9360, 9361, 9549, 9550; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6954; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6975. Carallia: for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC VI.3, no. 9849.



the epithet *Kastnietis* is said to have been derived from a mount near Aspendos in the literary sources, which shows the goddess' connection with natural features of Aspendos, a tradition commonly practiced in Pamphylia. A goddess who found her roots in the native tradition might have been worshipped as a fertility goddess. The cult of Aphrodite in Aspendos lasted nearly six hundred years, and she became one of the most important deities of the city. At Perge, her cult possibly started in the Hellenistic period on the Acropolis, as evidenced by various figurines found in the two different areas of the hill. In the Roman Imperial period, the cult became more visible through epigraphic and numismatic sources. In addition, both in Perge and in Side the goddess might have been worshipped as the protectress of magistrates, as statues of Eros dedicated to her by magistrates suggest. Her presence in Magydos is only documented through the city's coinage, thus indicating that the goddess had at least gained a place in the city's pantheon at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Just like in Aspendos in Pamphylia, the Aphrodite worship in Lycia and Cilicia goes back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Unlike Pamphylia, the indigenous Lycian name of the goddess is known as Pedrita and this name appeared on the abovementioned vase with the scene of the Judgement of Paris alongside Athena/Maliya and on the bilingual pillar of Xanthos dating to circa 400 BC.<sup>1187</sup> Although the indigenous name of the deity is known, evidence for her cult from Lycia is limited.<sup>1188</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Nagidos, Tarsos and Mallos in Cilicia feature Aphrodite<sup>1189</sup> and an inscription dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC mentions a sanctuary of Aphrodite in Nagidos and Arsinoe.<sup>1190</sup> The city of Perge possibly housed a cultic space for Aphrodite on its Acropolis judging by figurines dating to the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, while a Late Hellenistic epigram testifies her relatively early presence in Side. Despite the early presence of the goddess on the southern coast, in Pisidia her cult is documented only from the Early Roman Imperial period onwards.<sup>1191</sup>

#### 4.6 The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia

The evidence for the cult of Zeus in Pamphylia is abundant as testified by the numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. It dates back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and continues

---

<sup>1187</sup> Keen 1998, 204.

<sup>1188</sup> For the cult of Pedrita/Aphrodite in Lycia, see Borchhardt-Bleibtreu 2013, 70-72.

<sup>1189</sup> Erhan 2014, 264-65.

<sup>1190</sup> SEG 39, no. 1426.

<sup>1191</sup> Talloen 2015, 186-87.

nearly to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Thus, Zeus is one of the deities who played an important role in the cults of the Hellenistic period of the region and he preserved his importance in the Roman Imperial period. He is always depicted in a similar iconography on coins; however, his various epithets, some of them local, unfold his many functions.

The sources for Zeus in Phaselis date back to the Classical Period. The name of the deity is first attested alongside Helios and Gaia in an agreement between the citizens of Phaselis and Mausollos dating to 367-353 BC.<sup>1192</sup> In this inscription,<sup>1193</sup> both Mausollos and the Phaselites swore an oath to remain faithful to each other and the agreement they made concerning Zeus, Helios, and Gaia. In Greek mythological or in the real world, oaths could be taken by both immortals and mortals. Torrance, who examined oaths taken by divinities mentioned in Greek literature, identified several deities that were seen as guarantors of oaths by other gods and goddesses.<sup>1194</sup> Among these are the river Styx, the trio of Gaia, Ouranos, and the Styx, the head of Zeus, and Hermes and Hera. However, the guarantor of the oaths taken by mortals could be different. Either taken at the personal or interstate level, oaths were essential to all important treaties and agreements in the Greek world. Bayliss, who thoroughly investigated the phenomenon of oaths in a civic, public and social contexts concludes that oaths were generally followed by sacrifices and libations to deities.<sup>1195</sup> He also lists deities invoked in the context of oaths based on literary and epigraphic evidence. Zeus was mainly invoked as Zeus *Horkios*, “Zeus of the oaths”, and Helios (sun), Gaia (earth), Poseidon, Athena, Ares, as well as various rivers usually accompanied him. The invocation of Helios as an all-seeing and -hearing deity and Gaia, representing the earth on which the oath-takers were standing, is a widely attested formula seen from the Homeric periods onwards.<sup>1196</sup> The selection of these deities has been interpreted as symbolizing the *kosmos* (sky, earth, underworld) and this formula invoking the *kosmos* appeared in many inscriptions, including the one between Mausollos and the Phaselites. Besides this general formula, the *poleis* might have had local and customary deities whom they called upon when swearing. Although the example of Phaselis mainly fits the formula of the invocation of

---

<sup>1192</sup> This treaty was possibly made after the Satrapy’s Revolt that happened in 367-360 BC. During this revolt, Phaselis stood by the Persians as opposed to other Lycian cities and after the revolt, the city of Phaselis preserved its autonomy due to its position during the revolt, although Lycia was given to the control of Mausollos by the Persian Empire. The formula of the inscription considers Phaselis as equal to Mausollos and the city maintained its friendship relations with Mausollos, Tüner-Önen 2008, 105ff.

<sup>1193</sup> For the inscription, see Tüner-Önen 2008, 303-4, 3.3.1, n.1 with further references.

<sup>1194</sup> Torrance 2014, 195-213.

<sup>1195</sup> Bayliss 2013, 147-75.

<sup>1196</sup> Bayliss 2013, 160-63.

*kosmos*, there are some instances in which these deities had an important place in the religious beliefs of both sides. The importance of Zeus for Mausollos and the Hecatomnid family is indisputable as evidenced in Labraunda.<sup>1197</sup> In Phaselis, a votive inscription to Helios, dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, was found, which shows the importance of Helios for Phaselis in the Hellenistic period.<sup>1198</sup> Therefore, although this triad of deities was routinely called upon in oaths, it seems that Zeus and Helios also had local importance both for the Phaselites and Mausollos. Another inscription that bears the name of Zeus was written on a round altar, which was found at the northwestern side of the theater situated on the northern slope of the Acropolis.<sup>1199</sup> The altar was decorated with a *boukranion* and can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. The inscription, which records the name of Zeus *Boulaios* in the genitive form, can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In the area where this altar was found, remains of a quadrangular structure exist, alongside column shafts. As a result, researchers have interpreted that this might have been a temple with an *in antis* or *prostylos* plan belonging to the Zeus *Boulaios* cult.<sup>1200</sup> The genitive form of the inscription (*Dios Boulaiou*) also suggests that this might have been a boundary stone (*horos* inscription), which established the boundaries of the sanctuary of Zeus *Boulaios*.<sup>1201</sup> However, the epithet *Boulaios*, which emphasizes the deity's function as the protector of the *Bouleuterion/Boule*, may also suggest that the building related to the inscription can have been a *bouleuterion*.<sup>1202</sup> In many cities, Zeus was venerated, alone or with Hestia *Boulaia*, as the protector deity of the city council.<sup>1203</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC coins of Sillyon portray Zeus on their reverses. The 4<sup>th</sup> century BC issues feature Apollo on their obverses and Zeus on their reverses as Zeus *Aetophoros*, the seated Zeus resting on a spear and holding an eagle on his right hand (Figure 4.155). The 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC issues show Ares on their obverse, as well as Zeus, who is either standing while holding a thunderbolt or sitting on a throne and resting on a spear while carrying a *patera*.<sup>1204</sup> A coin struck in the reign of Commodus (180-193 AD) shows three figures on the reverse (Figure 4.156). The figure in the middle is a seated Zeus facing right and holding a scepter. The figure on the right is Hera, who wears a long

<sup>1197</sup> for the cult of Zeus in Labraunda and its importance, see Hellstrom 2007; Williamson 2012, 99-146.

<sup>1198</sup> Adak et al. 2005, 3 no. 1.

<sup>1199</sup> Tüner-Önen 2008, 361, 3.3.8, no. 51.

<sup>1200</sup> Schäfer 1971-1972, 123; Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 84.

<sup>1201</sup> For *horos* inscriptions, see Arca-Akdoğan 2005, 47-58.

<sup>1202</sup> Tüner-Önen 2008, 16.

<sup>1203</sup> See The Cult of Hestia in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.7.

<sup>1204</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 959-65.

*chiton* and a veil. Finally, the figure on the left is Athena, who is depicted with a helmet and an unknown long object in her left hand. This composition together presents the Capitoline Triad.<sup>1205</sup> The Capitoline triad had a long and important history in the city of Rome and its origin went back to the time of the Etruscan kings, when the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus -a standard Etruscan-Italic temple built on a high podium with tripartite *cella* devoted to the triad- was first built.<sup>1206</sup> The temple and its cult had a very significant role in the political, civic and religious ideology of the Romans. After the banishment of the kings, the temple stayed in use. In the Republican period, it was the last stop of victorious generals, where they offered sacrifices during the ceremonies in triumphal processions. When the temple was destroyed by fire in 83 BC, it was reconstructed by Sulla, and in the Imperial period, it was rebuilt by Vespasian in 69 AD and Titus in 80 AD on the same plan.<sup>1207</sup> Alongside the Capitoline triad cult, the *Capitolium* (Capitoline temple) was seen as a standard characteristic of Roman urbanism in the Western part of the Empire and in some of the Eastern colonies.<sup>1208</sup> However, the cult was rarely seen in Asia Minor. Among the cities that used the Capitoline triad on their coinage is Laodikeia *ad Lycum* in Phrygia (minted under Domitianus (81-96 AD), Faustina Minor, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) and Sabina), the *koinon* of Bithynia (Hadrianus, Sabina), Apolloia Salbake, Thyateira (Commodus (177-192 AD)) and Kadoi in Phrygia (Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD)).<sup>1209</sup> In the epigraphic evidence, however, the cult of Zeus *Kapitolios* alone is better attested than that of the triad. Zeus *Kapitolios* is mentioned in Alexandria Troas, Smyrna, Nysa, Stratonikeia, and Panamara.<sup>1210</sup> The presence of priests at Smyrna, Nysa, and Panamara and a dedication in Teos may suggest an organized public cult, but none of them has been considered as evidence for the cult of the Capitoline triad or of a *Capitolium* built in the Roman fashion in Asia Minor.<sup>1211</sup> An inscription from Anemurion mentions a priestess for lifetime of Zeus, Hera and Athena, which is also reminiscent of the Capitoline triad.<sup>1212</sup> The establishment of the triad cult has been connected with the level of Roman influence in the area. For instance, the cult of Zeus

---

<sup>1205</sup> RPC, IV, no. 10217.

<sup>1206</sup> Boethius 1978; Stamper 2005.

<sup>1207</sup> Stamper 2005, 13-15.

<sup>1208</sup> For a detailed summary of the research on Capitoline temples and their distribution in the Eastern and Western provinces, see Crawley and Wilson 2013, 117-73.

<sup>1209</sup> See RPC III, nos. 985-88 (Koinon of Bithynia); III, nos. 2330, 2335 (Laodikeia), IV, no. 852 (Apolloia Salbake); IX, no. 681 (Cadai); www.asiaminorcoins.com, coinid:9575 (Thyateira).

<sup>1210</sup> Şahin 2001, 67.

<sup>1211</sup> For the priesthoods and dedications, Crawley-Quinn and Wilson 2013, 148-49.

<sup>1212</sup> Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 157, no: 264.

*Kapitolios* and Hera *Kapitolia* alongside the celebration of a *Kapitolia* festival in the city of Olbasa in Pisidia have been seen as a result of the Roman settlers.<sup>1213</sup> The worship of Zeus *Kapitolios* was also present at Kremna, associated with activities of Roman settlers.<sup>1214</sup> The degree of Roman influence in Asia Minor contrasts with the rarity of the triad cult. The reasons of this phenomenon have been explained by the dominance of the Imperial cult and the cult of Augustus and Roma over the Capitoline triad and by the continuation of Hellenistic culture, language, institutions and religion despite the rule of Rome.<sup>1215</sup> Armstrong has interpreted the depiction of the Capitoline triad on the Laodikeia coins as a way to show loyalty to Roman institutions and emperors.<sup>1216</sup> The same purpose may also have been valid for Sillyon. The coins, archaeological evidence, such as the fortifications, and the dialectical inscriptions found in Sillyon suggest a well-developed pre-Roman town. During the Roman Imperial period, Italic families holding large estates settled in Sillyon and since they belonged to the upper class, they held prominent positions in the city government. They also married within the local community and, therefore, they became permanent residents. Several inscriptions honoring Roman citizens in the senatorial rank were found in the city.<sup>1217</sup> This situation must have played an important role in the Roman influence seen in Sillyon. Armstrong identifies the Zeus figure on the coins of Laodikeia not as Jupiter *Capitolinus* but as Zeus *Laodikaios*, the civic patron deity of the city. By showing Zeus *Laodikaios*, the city may have developed a connection between itself, its principal deity and the city of Roma while preserving its own identity.<sup>1218</sup> However, it is not possible to determine such an amalgamation in Sillyon due to the lack of further evidence on the cult of Zeus.

An inscription found in Sillyon records the name of Zeus *Soter* in the genitive form.<sup>1219</sup> Judging from the usage of the genitive case in boundary inscriptions, this inscription can be interpreted as showing the presence of a Zeus *Soter* sanctuary in the city. The cult of Zeus *Soter*, which was also seen in Perge (see below), was one of the

---

<sup>1213</sup> The name of the festival is *Severios Augusteios Kapetoleios*, which was founded during the Severan dynasty (193-235 AD), Talloen 2015, 152.

<sup>1214</sup> Talloen 2015, 152.

<sup>1215</sup> Armstrong 1998, 172-74.

<sup>1216</sup> Armstrong 1998, 175-80.

<sup>1217</sup> Tüner-Önen 2008, 67-72 suggests a patron-client relationship between these aristocrats and the city of Sillyon.

<sup>1218</sup> Armstrong 1998, 177-78.

<sup>1219</sup> Pace 1921, 31, no. 17.

most common cults of the deity that is seen in western, southern and inner Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.<sup>1220</sup>

Attaleia produced coins with the depiction of Zeus from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. On the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC coins, Zeus is portrayed on the reverse while Athena is on the obverse. Zeus is depicted as *Zeus Nikephoros* while sitting on a throne, resting on a spear and holding a Nike on his hand (Figure 4.157).<sup>1221</sup> Roman Imperial coins with Zeus started to be minted at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD up to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. All these coins seem to follow the iconography of the Hellenistic period, since they show Zeus resting on a scepter and holding either Nike (*Nikephoros*) or an eagle (*Aetophoros*) (Figure 4.158).<sup>1222</sup> In addition, some inscriptions provide evidence for the cult of Zeus during the Roman Imperial period. An inscription written on the three sides of a column was found in the southeastern part of the city's fortifications and brought to the Antalya Archaeological Museum. It records the name of Gaius Licinius Flamma who served, among other duties, as a priest for life of Zeus *Tropaiouchos*, "Zeus to whom the trophies were offered".<sup>1223</sup> The cult of Zeus *Tropaiouchos* is also documented in Rough Cilicia, in the amphiprostyle temple above the cave of Korykos.<sup>1224</sup> In Pergamon, a similar cult existed in the Hellenistic period. Here an inscription records a festival calendar commemorating the epiphany of Zeus *Tropaios*. The first part of the Pergamene inscription mentions a war led by Attalos II (220-138 BC) and the second part gives information on the Zeus *Tropaios* cult. According to the inscription, the apparition of Zeus on the battlefield resulted in the escape of the enemies of Pergamon and thus, Attalos II won the war. Hence, a festival was celebrated due to this epiphany of Zeus.<sup>1225</sup> The same god appears in an inscription found in Vizye in Thrace and dating after 189 BC. Robert links these two inscriptions with the campaign of Attalos II in Thrace.<sup>1226</sup> The predominance of the Zeus *Tropaios* cult in Pergamon might be the reason of a similar cult for Zeus *Tropaiouchos* in Attaleia.

<sup>1220</sup> Şahin 2001, 172-73.

<sup>1221</sup> For the coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, see Baydur 1975, nos. 44, 93-94,96; Mionnet 1808, nos. 21, 24.

<sup>1222</sup> Baydur 1975, nos. 91, 243-44, Mionnet 1808, no. 33.

<sup>1223</sup> Liddell and Scott, (online source), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3DTropai%2Fouxos>

<sup>1224</sup> This epithet derives from the mythical struggle between Zeus and Typhon that took place in the cave of Korkyos and resulted in the victory of Zeus, see Şahin 2012, 67-79.

<sup>1225</sup> Üreten 2004, 192-93.

<sup>1226</sup> SEG 37: 603; Robert OMS I, 121-22.

The earliest evidence of the Zeus cult in Perge is a votive inscription of the Hellenistic Period written in the local Pamphylian dialect on an altar and dedicated to Zeus and Hestia.<sup>1227</sup> Zeus and Hestia shared many joint cults. As Hestia was the goddess of the “hearth” and protector of the household<sup>1228</sup>, Zeus was also venerated with the same purposes. Zeus and Hestia occurred together in Homer’s *Odyssey*, where Zeus was invoked to his (Odysseus) hospitable table.<sup>1229</sup> Since Zeus was the head of the Olympian deities, it is not surprising that he also symbolized patriarchal power as the head of the household in the Greek family.<sup>1230</sup> Among the epithets that symbolized Zeus’ domestic cult were *Herkeios* and *Ktesios*. Zeus *Herkeios*, “Zeus of the frontcourt”, had an altar in the courtyard of Odysseus’ house.<sup>1231</sup> This altar in the courtyard was where the whole family gathered and made their offerings for the protection of their house. In Petersen’s hypothetical plan of rooms and altars in a Greek house, the altar of Zeus *Herkeios* is placed in the middle of the courtyard.<sup>1232</sup> However, Morgan points out that the textual evidence regarding the cult of Zeus *Herkeios* indicates that he was mainly venerated in the palaces of monarchs. This can be concluded since according to the textual evidence altars were not placed inside but on the courtyard and no altars to Zeus *Herkeios* have archaeologically been preserved on the courtyards of Classical houses. Besides, because Zeus presided over local groups, such as the phratry, Morgan suggests that the god had importance in wider communities.<sup>1233</sup> The relationship of Zeus *Ktesios*, “Zeus belonging to the property”, with the house and the family is much clearer. He was believed to live in the storage room of the houses, thus presiding over the abundance and wealth of the house and protecting it from thieves.<sup>1234</sup> He was either portrayed as an aniconic terracotta jar filled with fruits and seeds, which was placed in the storage rooms as a charm having an apotropaic function, or as a snake.<sup>1235</sup> Rituals for Zeus *Ktesios* included the offering of cakes or libations, which were made by the head of the family.<sup>1236</sup> One of the most remarkable attestations that emphasize the joint domestic cult of Zeus and Hestia comes from Philadelphia in Lydia and dates to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The inscription

---

<sup>1227</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 3.

<sup>1228</sup> See The Cult of Hestia in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.7.

<sup>1229</sup> Hom. *Od.* 14, 159; 17,156; 19,304; 20,231.

<sup>1230</sup> Larson 2017, 20-21; Dowden 2006, 80-81.

<sup>1231</sup> Hom. *Od.* 22. 333-36.

<sup>1232</sup> For the plan, see Morgan 2011, 448, Fig. 27.1.

<sup>1233</sup> Morgan 2011, 451-52.

<sup>1234</sup> Faraone 2008, 216.

<sup>1235</sup> For the similarity between the snake cult in houses and the Athena temple on the Acropolis of Athens, see Faraone 2008, 215-17.

<sup>1236</sup> For the rituals for Zeus *Ktesios*, see Larson, 2007, 21; Morgan 2011, 452-53.

mentions the establishment of a cult by Dionysios who received directions from Zeus while he was sleeping. Zeus instructed him to open his house to welcome men and women, both slaves and free people, to make sacrifices to different deities on the altars set up for Zeus Eumenes and Hestia.<sup>1237</sup> Apart from the *oikos* with its private cult, the other areas where Zeus and Hestia were commonly worshipped were the buildings of the City Council and the *Prytaneis*, the *bouleuteria* and *prytaneia*, where they both received the epithets *Boulaios* and *Boulaia*.<sup>1238</sup> However, due to the lack of further evidence, it is not possible to identify the cult for the two deities as public or private in the case of Perge. Nevertheless, in the case of Zeus *Poliouchos*, “the city protector” cult in the city, which is evidenced by an inscription dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Tychius to the god and dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, it is possible to ascribe a public cult to the deity.<sup>1239</sup> This epithet, which is also attested for Athena and Poseidon,<sup>1240</sup> symbolized the god’s protection over the *polis*. Zeus *Poliouchos* was the city guardian of Perge, Kaisareia in Cappadocia and Antioch at the Orontes; he was also worshipped under this epithet with Hera and Ares in Anazarbos.<sup>1241</sup> The Zeus *Poliouchos* inscription of Perge was found together with another inscription, which records that the *Gerousia* honored the *Boule* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1242</sup> The findspot of both inscriptions is the southwestern corner of the intersection of the two colonnaded streets, an area where a lot of architectural fragments accumulated, near buildings such as the monumental arch of the *palaestra*, which can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Şahin associates these two inscriptions with a public building, possibly a *bouleuterion*, and suggests that the Zeus *Poliouchos* inscription once stood in the building.<sup>1243</sup> Normally it was the epithet *Boulaios*, not *Poliouchos*, that was used to emphasize the god’s protective status over city councils. Considering the epithet’s relation with the city as the guardian of the *polis*, the inscription most probably stood in a public building, either in a *bouleuterion* or in another construction. More evidence of the Zeus cult in the city can be obtained from the inscribed statue base of Machaon, one of the *ktistai* of Perge, which was placed in the oval courtyard between the Hellenistic towers that was arranged as a courtyard of honor in the Hadrianic period (Figure 3.11). According to the inscription, the temple of Zeus *Machaonios* was located on the

---

<sup>1237</sup> Stowers 1998, 287-301.

<sup>1238</sup> See The Cult of Hestia in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.7.

<sup>1239</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 232.

<sup>1240</sup> Larson 2007, 50, 53, 55, 63, 66, 67.

<sup>1241</sup> Şahin 2001, 157.

<sup>1242</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 138.

<sup>1243</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 138 and no. 232.



Acropolis, where the earliest settlement of the city was constructed and it took its name from the son of Asklepios, Machaon of Thessaly. According to Martini, the Southeastern Sacred Area at the northeast of the Acropolis Gate can have been a sanctuary associated with Artemis, Ares or Zeus *Machaonios* based on the inscriptions found both in the upper and lower cities.<sup>1244</sup> In terms of foundation legends, it is understood that Machaon not only founded the city of Perge but also brought the Zeus cult to the city. However, it should be kept in mind that foundation stories were part of history writing and should not always be considered as factual.<sup>1245</sup> The cult of Zeus is one of the earliest cults documented in Perge as evidenced by the inscription belonging to the Hellenistic period, but no further information, neither material nor literary, on the Zeus *Machaonios* cult or its rituals on the Acropolis exists. Recent excavations conducted in Perge revealed new information about the cult of Zeus in the city. An inscription, which was carved on a column and dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, was found in the western colonnaded street, on the south, and near to the “Fountain of Caracalla” (F5) (Figure 4.159).<sup>1246</sup> It informs us that a certain priest named Apollonios erected the column, together with its base and capital, in dedication to Zeus Soter.<sup>1247</sup> On an *astragaloï* inscription found in the city, Zeus appears with two epithets, *Keraunios*, “thunderer” and *Katachthonios*, “Zeus of the underworld”, but these do not necessarily imply the presence of a cult given the standardized nature of this kind of inscriptions.<sup>1248</sup> Finally, a small altar with unknown findspot records the name of the deity as Dios – Zeus.<sup>1249</sup>

The god was also portrayed on Pergaean coins. He was shown on the coins of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) as *Nikephoros*.<sup>1250</sup> On the coins of Gallienus and Salonina (253-268 AD), he appears as enthroned while holding a scepter and a *phiale*.<sup>1251</sup> The situation is similar when it comes to the statuary program of the city. Apart from a frieze depicting the life cycle of Dionysos and a *Gigantomachia* frieze in the theater,<sup>1252</sup> a statue of Zeus dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD was found in the northern monumental fountain

---

<sup>1244</sup> Martini 2003b, 183.

<sup>1245</sup> See *The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians*, Chapter 2.

<sup>1246</sup> The fountain was called as such due to the statue of Caracalla found in the excavations, see Karademirel 2015, 7-24.

<sup>1247</sup> Kileci 2019, 558.

<sup>1248</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 207.

<sup>1249</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 233.

<sup>1250</sup> SNG France 3, no.409.

<sup>1251</sup> SNG von Aulock, no. 4744; SNG Cop, no. 364.

<sup>1252</sup> The god is not fully preserved on the *Gigantomachia* frieze. Alanyalı associates the remains of three horse heads with the god's chariot, see Alanyalı 2007, 88.

during the excavations of 1970 (Figure 4.160).<sup>1253</sup> Zeus is depicted with the iconographical characteristics that are commonly seen on coins. The standing god wears a *himation*, which extends to his ankles, over his left shoulder. The scepter he held in his left hand is missing. His sacred animal, the eagle, is present at his right feet. Among the statues found in the fountain are two representations of Hadrian, one with a cuirass and the other one in heroic nudity, two women, Artemis, the river god Kestros and a youth that has been identified as Apollo.<sup>1254</sup> Chi identifies the statue of Apollo as Machaon based on its relief iconography.<sup>1255</sup> By making a connection with the Zeus statue she suggests that these together are the visual reminders of the *Zeus Machaonios* cult and that the fountain did not only serve as a monumental access to the Acropolis but also to the *Zeus Machaonios* temple.<sup>1256</sup>

Epigraphic evidence provides information about the cult of Zeus in Aspendos in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. A dialect inscription written on a rectangular stele with a triangular pediment on the top, which was found in Belkis on a private field, records the names Theodoros and Na, who were the children of Aristopolis, who served as a priest of Dios Megalos, the Great Zeus.<sup>1257</sup> Another inscription dating to the Roman Imperial period documents a votive offering to Zeus, Hera and Aphrodite *Kastnietis*.<sup>1258</sup> The Roman coinage of the city also portrays Zeus and Hera from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards. On a coin dating to the reign of Vespasianus (69-79 AD), the heads of Zeus and Hera appear side by side (Figure 4.161).<sup>1259</sup> According to RPC, on a coin of Traianus, Zeus presents Hera the cult statues of Aphrodite *Kastnietes* while Hera holds a *patera* in her extended right hand.<sup>1260</sup> This is the only example where the three deities mentioned in the inscription are portrayed together. Apart from this coin, the scheme of antithetically seated deities continued but between them an eagle was present (Figure 4.162).<sup>1261</sup> On a coin of Maximus (238 AD), Zeus is portrayed seated on a throne and holding an eagle and a scepter, while Hera is standing before him holding a long scepter.<sup>1262</sup> Based on Zeus

<sup>1253</sup> Mansel 1971, 171-72.

<sup>1254</sup> Mansel 1973, 145; 1975c, 370; 1975b, 91-92; İnan 1974, 643-45, 649-50; 1974, 650-51; 1974, 651-53.

<sup>1255</sup> See *The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians*, Chapter 3.

<sup>1256</sup> Chi 2002, 69-70.

<sup>1257</sup> Brixhe 1996, no. 246, 75-76.

<sup>1258</sup> Hereward 1958, 64-6, no. 10.

<sup>1259</sup> RPC II, no.1520B.

<sup>1260</sup> RPC III, no. 2714.

<sup>1261</sup> for Iulia Mammea (222-235AD), see RPC VI, no. 6291; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6312; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1054; for Etruscilla (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1058.

<sup>1262</sup> RPC VI, no. 6319.

and Hera on the coinage of Aspendos in the Roman Imperial period, Robert acknowledged a cult of Zeus and Hera in the city.<sup>1263</sup> Although the cult of Zeus was very widespread in Asia Minor, evidence regarding an individual cult for Hera is limited. A cult and a temple of Hera existed in Byzantion in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC on the place called *Heraia Akraia*. According to Dionysios of Byzantion (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), the cult of Hera and her temple were established by colonists from Megara and Korinthos, where Hera had a very important place.<sup>1264</sup> A cult of Hera also existed in Pergamon in the Hellenistic period and her temple was dedicated by Attalos II (159-138 BC).<sup>1265</sup> According to Plutarch (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), the deity also had a temple in Sardeis.<sup>1266</sup> Apart from these examples, the cult of Hera, either individual or paired up with Zeus, was prominent in Caria.<sup>1267</sup> For instance, a cult of Zeus and Hera existed in the Carian city of Panamara near Stratonikeia, where two temples dedicated to Zeus and Hera were located in a sacred precinct. Furthermore, two separate festivals were celebrated in honour of these deities: the *Heraia* for Hera and the *Komyria* for Zeus. There are two different opinions about the establishment of the Zeus and Hera cult in the city. According to Hanslik-Andrée and Kern, the Hera cult was brought here by settlers from Samos and the goddess was associated with a local Carian goddess. In contrast, Oppermann suggests that the origin of the cult of Zeus and Hera in Panamara was derived from the Anatolian worship of Kybele and Attis. Therefore, the joint cult of Kybele and Attis was transformed into that of Zeus and Hera after the Hellenization of the region.<sup>1268</sup> The joint cult of Zeus *Kapitolios* and Hera *Kapitolia* at Olbasa in Pisida was brought to the city by Roman settlers alongside the games of the *Capitolina*.<sup>1269</sup> As the evidence from Asia Minor illustrates, the cult of Hera has usually been seen as brought by Greek settlers; however, her combination with Zeus may be a Hellenized form of a local cult. Moreover, their joint cult may also have led to the establishment of the Capitoline cult, brought by the Romans. In the context of Aspendos, it is not possible to determine whether these two deities were local or were established as a result of Greek settlers. Considering the claims of the Aspendians that they were from Argive descent, the presence of the Argive decree dated

---

<sup>1263</sup> Robert 1969a, 188.

<sup>1264</sup> Arslan 2010, 457, footnote 1894.

<sup>1265</sup> Üreten 2004, 193-94.

<sup>1266</sup> Plut. Sol. 27. 5.

<sup>1267</sup> For Zeus and Hera in Caria, see Laumonier 1958, 41; for the worship of Zeus Stratios and Hera, see 281; for the worship of Zeus Kannokos and Hera, see 351, for Lagina, see 487.

<sup>1268</sup> Mutlu 2016b, 79-95.

<sup>1269</sup> Talloen 2015, 152.

to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC granting them citizenship and the erection of this decree in the *Heraion* of Argos as well as in the Zeus temple of Nemea suggests that at least the establishment of the cult of Hera may have been related to Argive colonists.<sup>1270</sup> On a coin dated to the reign of Maximinus (235-238 AD), Zeus is depicted with Athena. They are standing face to face as the god holds a long scepter and the goddess, wearing a helmet and holding a spear, receives a *quinquireme* from the god.<sup>1271</sup>

Numismatic and epigraphic data give information about the presence of the Zeus cult in Side too. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, Zeus was depicted on the coins with his usual iconography and attributes. His depictions can be divided in two main iconographical groups: he is either sitting on a throne, holding a Nike on his extended right hand while resting on a spear,<sup>1272</sup> or he is standing while holding a scepter and a thunderbolt.<sup>1273</sup> The coins issued in the reign of Maximinus Thrax (235-238 AD) portray a tetrastyle temple in front view, in which a statue of Zeus seated on a throne and holding a Nike and a scepter is represented.<sup>1274</sup> Another coin of Maximinus Thrax depicts a mythological scene (Figure 4.163).<sup>1275</sup> In the center of the scene, the Nymph Adrasteia stands with the infant Zeus on her lap while stepping on a globe. Three *Korybantes* surround Adrasteia; they make noise by hitting their daggers to their shields in order to hide Zeus from his father Kronos. At the feet of Adrasteia on the left, there is Amalthea, the goat-nurse of the god. Furthermore, there are two reclining figures, maybe river deities.<sup>1276</sup> The neokorate coins issued under the reign of Gallienus (253-268 AD) have different iconographic depictions: a first type features Zeus as a standing naked god resting on a spear and with a thunderbolt in his hand. The other one portrays the god seated on a throne while holding a scepter and a *phiale* in his hands and with an eagle at his feet.<sup>1277</sup>

---

<sup>1270</sup> Stroud 1984, 193-216.

<sup>1271</sup> RPC VI, no. 6315.

<sup>1272</sup> RPC, IV, no. 4029 (Lucius Verus (161-169 AD)).

<sup>1273</sup> For the coin of Alexander Severus (222-235 AD) see RPC IV, no. 6411.

<sup>1274</sup> SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen 4, no. 741.

<sup>1275</sup> RPC VI, no. 6440.

<sup>1276</sup> According to Apollonius Rhodius' *Bibliothēke*, Rhea gave the infant Zeus to the *Kuretes*, the nymphs Adrasteia and Ida to nurse him, 1.1.6. The nymphs fed Zeus with the milk of the goat Amaltheia and the *Korybantes* guarded Zeus, 1.1.7. Adrasteia gave the infant Zeus a globe, a ball to play with (*Argonautica*, III, 132). All these figures mentioned by Apollonios Rhodios are present in the scene on the Sidetan coins. These types of coins depicting this myth were also found in Tralles (RPC IV, no.1590), Magnesia (RPC IV, no. 1016, 1038; VI, no. 5118; VII.1, no. 511.1, 511.2 Akmoneia (RPC VII. 1, no. 679; IX, no.843), Dokimeion, (RPC VII.1, no.752, 753), Synnada (RPC VII.1, no.790, 794) and Apameia (RPC IX, no. 810).

<sup>1277</sup> For the coins of Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, 898-900.

The epigraphic evidence regarding Zeus provides valuable information about his various epithets, and thus of the nature of his cult, both in the Hellenistic and in the Roman periods. A Hellenistic inscription found near the entrance of the city and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC records the names of several persons who honored Kidramyas, son of Derkylos, who was a priest of Zeus *Nikator*.<sup>1278</sup> The cult of Zeus *Nikator* is connected to Seleukos I Nikator (359-281 BC) and his divinity is a form of the Hellenistic ruler cult. The Hellenistic ruler cult is mainly based on granting the monarchs *isotheoi timai*, honors equal to gods, for the protection, help, and benefactions that the kings offered to the people in times of need.<sup>1279</sup> The implementation of a ruler cult was also a powerful political strategy that could reinforce the monarch's legitimacy and it was used both for eastern and western subjects.<sup>1280</sup> Beginning from Alexander the Great each monarch had a different way to use religion and sacred imagery to fit their political and social agendas. Seleukos I Nikator, for instance, followed Alexander the Great's usage of Zeus for his own coins and used the imagery of Zeus and Alexander on his coins with little alterations (replacing Zeus *Aetophoros* with Zeus *Nikephoros* on the reverse). This deliberate choice was made in order to reinforce the connection with Alexander the Great as his legitimate successor and with Zeus.<sup>1281</sup> Seleukos also used the literary tradition to trace his lineage back to Alexander the Great and Zeus.<sup>1282</sup> Pausanias mentions that Zeus favored Seleukos; when he went to sacrifice to Zeus at Pella before his march with Alexander the Great, the wood on the altar flared up by itself.<sup>1283</sup> After the death of Seleukos I Nikator, his son and successor Antiochos I declared that his father should be worshiped as Zeus *Nikator*.<sup>1284</sup> The cult of Zeus *Nikator* was firmly established at Seleukeia Pieria, a colony founded by Seleukos Nikator and it is also seen elsewhere in Asia Minor, such as at Arykanda, Tymandos, and Konana (Pisidia), as well as at Orokenda near Side as the

---

<sup>1278</sup> Nollé 2001, 379-82, no.90; Bean 1965, no. 100.

<sup>1279</sup> Chaniotis 2003, 431-45.

<sup>1280</sup> The notion of worshipping mortal monarchs was different for the East and West. For instance, in Egypt and in Syria where rulers were also worshipped as deities, the Hellenistic monarchs could claim the royal symbols and continued their legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects. Although the Greeks bestowed divine honours, such as heroization, to mortals who showed extraordinary achievements, they did not consider their *poleis* the personal property of the monarchs, see Koester 1995, 34-36.

<sup>1281</sup> Erickson 2013, 109-19.

<sup>1282</sup> Libanios' oration in praise of Antioch shows Seleukos as the accomplisher of Alexander the Great's intentions and connects him to Zeus, "... *Alexander's desire for a settlement (Antioch) and the beginning of the task moved towards its end and the chief of the gods was our founder due to his prophetic sign.*" Libanios, *Orationes* 11.86-88.

<sup>1283</sup> Paus. 1.16.1

<sup>1284</sup> Koester 1995, 38.

epigraphic evidence testifies.<sup>1285</sup> Furthermore, besides an inscription mentioning a priest of Zeus *Nikator*, in the city of Orokenda, nearly 20 km north of Side, the remains of a structure have been identified as a possible Zeus temple.<sup>1286</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC the city of Side and its environs had close relations with the Seleucids;<sup>1287</sup> therefore, the establishment of an organized Zeus *Nikator* cult with its priests is not surprising.

More Hellenistic-Early Roman evidence is an epigram dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD and carved on a statue base that once carried a statue of Eros, which was dedicated to Aphrodite by Dionysios. Maleis mentions a loud-thundering Zeus (Ζηνε ΒαρυβρεμΥται), who was the lord of all gods (□νακτι ψερον) and whose thunderbolt was forged by the Kyklops. The word *Wanax*, which means “lord” or “ruler” appeared in Homer’s *Iliad*, and denoted the meaning of a one-man rule, both in the world of the mortals and that of the immortals. In the *Iliad*, this epithet was used for Zeus among other deities and kings and it continued to be used by Hesiod, in the Homeric Hymns, as well as in tragedies and comedies of the Classical period.<sup>1288</sup>

An Early Imperial inscription reveals a peculiar epithet for Zeus. According to Nollé, the stone records “*Diou Aspidiou*”. The name Zeus *Aspidios* is attested nowhere but at Side and could have been derived from the toponym Aspis from Argos or the word *aspis*, which means “shield”.<sup>1289</sup> The city Aspis at Argos appeared in inscriptions from Asia Minor in the context of sportive festivals, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1290</sup> The word *aspis* (shield), on the other hand, can be related to the myth of Zeus’ birth and the involvement of the *Kuretes* making noise with their shields. Considering coins with the depiction of the same scene, we may deal here with a local cult being worshipped under a previously unknown epithet. Due to the lack of further comparative data, the nature of the cult remains unknown.

A small rectangular altar, broken at its upper half, which was found during the excavations conducted behind the bath that was turned into the archaeological museum, features inscriptions on its three sides.<sup>1291</sup> On the front side of the altar, there is a depiction of a headless bust and on the profile of the bottom, an inscription reads Zeus *Halonites*.

<sup>1285</sup> Nollé 2001, 380-81.

<sup>1286</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2008, 768.

<sup>1287</sup> Nollé 2001, 379-82, no.90.

<sup>1288</sup> For the word *wanax* see, Beekes 2016, 98-9; For the word’s usage in Homer Chantraine 1952, 47-94; Carlier 2006, 101-10; for a general introduction to Anax, Anassa and Anakes, see Hemberg 1955, 8-11.

<sup>1289</sup> Nollé 2001, 18a.

<sup>1290</sup> Remijsen 2011, 97-109. The examples from Asia Minor include Aphrodisias, see CIG 810; for Miletos, see Robert 1928, 419-20; for Ephesos, see I Eph 2072.

<sup>1291</sup> Nollé 2001, 274-75, no. 17; Bean, 1958, 41-2, no. 141.

A part of the inscription on the right side is no longer visible but the word *kleidophoros*, “key bearer” can be read. The inscription on the left side has been completed as *Isidos kai Sarapidos*, which suggests that a certain key bearer/temple warden of Isis and Sarapis dedicated this altar to Zeus *Halonites*. The date of the inscription is the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, a period which corresponds to other evidence related to the cult of the Egyptian deities.<sup>1292</sup> The word *halonia* means “threshing-floor”<sup>1293</sup> and Zeus Halonites appears here as the protective deity of threshing-floors. The same epithet was used for Zeus in an inscription found in Lydia, in Saittai.<sup>1294</sup> Zeus as the god of the sky also controlled the seasons and the rains, which had a direct impact on the soil’s fertility.<sup>1295</sup> In his *Works and Days* Hesiod advised “to pray to Zeus of the earth and Demeter when you first begin plowing.”<sup>1296</sup> As a god who ensured the fertility of the earth and who was connected with the products that men got through agriculture and animal herding, Zeus received many epithets related to this capacity, such as *Epikarpios/Eukarpos* and *Karpodetes*, “guardian of fruits”, *Ampelikos* or *Ampeleitos*, “protector of vineyards”, *Phatnios*, “of the stable”, and *Thallos*, “guardian of young branches”. The epithet of *Halonites* can be ascribed to this function and indicates that he was venerated among the Sidetans as a guardian of crops and of the abundance of harvests.

An altar from Side, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, records the name of two deities, Zeus *Norites* and Klea.<sup>1297</sup> The epithet *Norites* is otherwise unattested for Zeus and according to Nollé it probably refers to a toponym. Klea, on the other hand, was presumably a local goddess whose cult remains obscure. A cult of Meter Kikleia was present in a small town near Aizanoi, Phrygia, in connection with the worship of the Mother Goddess, who may also have taken her name from a toponym.<sup>1298</sup> However, the connection of the goddess Klea with the epithet Kikleia remains unidentified. Due to the fact that the front side of the altar records the name of Zeus *Norites* and its right side Klea, the stone has been interpreted as a *horos* inscription that marked the boundary of two

---

<sup>1292</sup> See The Cult of Egyptian Deities in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.9.

<sup>1293</sup> Liddell and Scott, (online source), [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da\(lwni%2Fa](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Da(lwni%2Fa)

<sup>1294</sup> TAM V,1, 166a.

<sup>1295</sup> For the cult of Zeus as the protector of rain, see Cook 1940, 314-38; Larson 2007, 15-16.

<sup>1296</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 465-67.

<sup>1297</sup> Nollé 1999a, no. 18.

<sup>1298</sup> Roller 1999, 328.

sanctuaries; the land on the right side was owned by Klea and that on the front belonged to Zeus.<sup>1299</sup>

According to inscriptions dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, a large altar of Zeus was situated in Side. The name of the neighborhood where this altar of Zeus was located was called Βομηΐται (*Bomeitai*). This inscription was found built into a wall opposite the theater. It is a statue base, which records honours bestowed to Bryonianus Lollianus. According to Bean, there are two possible interpretations. The stone either records honours given to Bryonianus Lollianus by the people who inhabited the quarter of the Zeus altar, or the statue of Bryoninaus Lollianus was erected near the Zeus altar. Either way, it is possible to deduct from the inscription that a large Zeus altar was present in the city, and that the altar must have been so prominent that it was also used in official inscriptions to define a place or a neighbourhood<sup>1300</sup> Besides, Zeus was also depicted in the statuary program of the city. The mythic life cycle of the god Dionysos was represented on the frieze of the scene building of the theatre and dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1301</sup> Although some parts of this frieze are heavily damaged, others are well preserved. The first preserved relief plates represent scenes from the birth of the god, on which Dionysos is born from the leg of his father Zeus. According to Alanyalı, the relief plates, which were once placed before the scenes of Dionysos' birth, may have included particular scenes enclosing Zeus and Semele.<sup>1302</sup> In this way, the visual presence of Zeus in the theatre became reinforced. Furthermore, a statuette of the deity was found by villagers in the north of the ancient city. It was found while villagers took stones from ancient structures and according to İnan, the structure that yielded this statuette may have been a tomb.<sup>1303</sup> The marble statuette is completely preserved. Zeus is portrayed sitting on a throne and wearing a *himation*. He is holding a *patera* in his right hand and a scepter in his left one. An eagle is present on the front of the throne. The statuette can be dated to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. From the extant evidence, it is possible to conclude that Zeus was worshiped in Side under many epithets from the Hellenistic period to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, that many different functions were ascribed to him and that he was associated with Helios Sarapis and the Hellenistic ruler cult connected with Seleukos I Nikator.

---

<sup>1299</sup> Akdoğan-Arca 2005, 57.

<sup>1300</sup> see Bean 1956, 28-29, no.119; Nollé 2001, 410-11, no. 107.

<sup>1301</sup> Mansel 1963, 137-38, figs. 116-17.

<sup>1302</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 79.

<sup>1303</sup> İnan 1975, 156-57, no. 98.



The only source material that provides evidence for the presence of Zeus in the city of Magydos are coins dating to the Roman Imperial period. Representations of Zeus appeared from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) onwards. On his coins, Zeus is portrayed seated and holding a scepter. The god is portrayed in the same manner on the coins of Lucius Verus (161-165 AD). In contrast, on the coins of Caracalla (198-217 AD), the seated god holds a scepter and a thunderbolt. On the reverse of Philip II's (247-249 AD) issues, the enthroned Zeus holds a scepter and *phiale* and on Valerian's coinage (256-258 AD) he is depicted as a *Nikephoros*.<sup>1304</sup>

Similarly, thus far, the city of Lyrbe has only yielded numismatic evidence for the deity. Coins of Decius (249-251 AD), Salonina and Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) portray a seated Zeus holding a thunderbolt and scepter, with an eagle on his feet.<sup>1305</sup>

The village of Lyrboton Kome, situated 9 km northwest of Perge, provides an interesting and unique epithet for Zeus. The inscription in which the epithet occurs, has been thoroughly analyzed by Oktan.<sup>1306</sup> The inscription, which can be dated after 212 AD based on the *nomen gentilicium* of Aurelius, was found in front of a monumental structure near a cistern in the center of the village. It reads that Aurelius Demetrios, who served as a *cornicularius* (officer's aide), dedicated a lance to [...] Drymon. The lacuna before the epithet Drymon has been completed with Zeus' name because of the connection of the word *drymon/drymos*, which means "oak thicket", with the word *drys*, "oak tree", "oak forest". The oak was the sacred tree of the god and it played a significant role in his cult. In the oracular shrine of Dodona, prophecies were given by means of a sacred oak that grew in a sacred grove.<sup>1307</sup> Another connection has been made based on the commentary of Ionnes Tzetzes (a 12<sup>th</sup>-century poet and grammarian) on the *Alexandra* by the Hellenistic poet Lycophron. Lycophron mentioned a god called *Drymnios* and Tzetzes comments that Zeus was called *Drymnios* in Pamphylia.<sup>1308</sup> The epithets associated with the word were also used for Artemis and Apollo, but given the connections above, a dedication for Zeus seems more likely as Oktan pointed out in his research. This inscription is important for two reasons. First, it records a previously unattested epithet for Zeus and secondly, it gives information about a cultic ritual, the dedication of a lance

---

<sup>1304</sup> Ünal 2018, 277-305.

<sup>1305</sup> For Decius (249-251 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 284; for Salonina (253-268 AD) no. 292; for Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1176.

<sup>1306</sup> Oktan, 2017, 154-61.

<sup>1307</sup> Cook 1903, 174-86.

<sup>1308</sup> Lycop. Alex. 57, note 533.

to the deity. Dedications of arms and armors to deities were a very ancient custom that long predated the Roman Imperial period and went back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC in the Greek world. In his dissertation, which focused on the warfare of the Greeks, Brouwers determined that among the deities who received arms as a form of offerings were Athena, Artemis, Apollo, Zeus, and Hera between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>1309</sup> On the other hand, in her research that aimed to quantify dedicatory weapons in various sanctuaries (146 sites) dating between the 8<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, Larson concluded that Athena received the majority of these dedications (21%), whereas Zeus is represented with a relatively low percentage (6,8%).<sup>1310</sup> She also notes that Zeus mainly received this kind of dedications on the battlefield, rather than in sanctuaries. Nevertheless, the dedication of weapons is attested in both large Panhellenic sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia, and other regional sanctuaries, including Dodona, Aphaia, and Perachora. The dedicated weapons were either spoils of war taken from enemies or could be more personal objects. The motive behind this tradition has been interpreted as a display of military and, therefore, political and civic excellence as well as the display of wealth of a specific *polis* or community.<sup>1311</sup> The same practice is encountered in the temple chronicles of Athena Lindia in Lindos, which date to 99 BC. Here the Phaselites dedicated the spears and sickles that they took from the Solymeans, to the goddess Athena.<sup>1312</sup> The high percentage of metal finds, especially iron, that was found in the Zeus Labraundos sanctuary in Labraunda can also be the indicator of this practice in relation to Zeus.<sup>1313</sup> This practice can be seen in the Roman period. The *spolia opima*, which referred to armor that was obtained from the leader of the enemy personally, was attached to an oak trunk to form a *tropaion* and was brought to the city to dedicate them to the Jupiter Fratrius temple on the Capitoline hill. This was a very ancient Roman tradition that was first practiced by Romulus himself.<sup>1314</sup> The display and deposition of weaponry in religious, civic and even private spaces continued in the Roman Imperial period. For instance, an inscription dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD from a site probably in Israel records that a veteran dedicated a silver spear to Zeus Olybris.<sup>1315</sup> In Lyrboton Kome, the monumental

---

<sup>1309</sup> Brouwers 2016, “chapter 4”, 57-67.

<sup>1310</sup> Larson 2009, 123-33.

<sup>1311</sup> Brouwers 2016, 57-67.

<sup>1312</sup> Blinkenberg 1941, 169-71, see also The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.

<sup>1313</sup> Personal conversation with Olivier Can Henry and Elisabeth Goussard from the Labraunda Excavation team.

<sup>1314</sup> Flower 2000, 34-64.

<sup>1315</sup> Isaac 1997, 126-28.

structure behind this inscription has been interpreted as a possible temple to Zeus *Drymon*, a local cult that received weaponry as offerings as part of a cultic ritual. Future investigations on the site will hopefully provide further information about this cult.

The cult of Zeus was also very prominent in the cities situated at the border between Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia. Zeus was depicted on city coins dating to the Roman Imperial period from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and he is widely attested in the epigraphic evidence. These cities are Iotape, Kasai, Kolybrassos, Korakesion, Laertes, Selinos and Syedra. As is the case with the coins of the western cities, the coins of Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia feature Zeus according to two main iconographic groups: he is either standing naked or clothed in a *himation*, holding a spear in one hand and Nike, a *patera* or a thunderbolt in his other, sometimes with an eagle on his feet,<sup>1316</sup> or he is sitting on a throne, resting on a spear while holding a *patera* or a thunderbolt, sometimes with an eagle at the feet of the throne.<sup>1317</sup> Two different coin types stand out. On a coin from Kolybrassos dating to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), Zeus Nikephoros is portrayed standing on a pedestal while holding a scepter. This image seems to be a depiction of a cult statue. The issue dating to Valerian II (256-258 AD) features a *tetrastylos* temple, in which a cult statue of Zeus stands which is holding a scepter and a thunderbolt. The city of Selinos put a *tetrastylos* on the reverse of its coins under the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) and Severus Alexander (222-235 AD). Inside the temple, a statue of Zeus is shown seated on a throne with a scepter in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other. Among the epigraphic evidence is an honorary inscription dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which was

---

<sup>1316</sup> On these coins, Zeus is always depicted with a spear in one hand, while the attribute in his other hand can vary, such as a *patera*, Nike or a thunderbolt. Iotape: for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG Levante Cilicia, no. 449; Kasai: for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, Supp. I, no. 39; Kolybrassos: for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 41; Korakesion: for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC IV, no.6943; Laertes: for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 64; Syedra: for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 416; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 426.

<sup>1317</sup> On these coins, Zeus is always depicted resting on a spear, whereas the other attributes can change, such as a *patera* and a thunderbolt. Kasai: for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 35, for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 304; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 308; Kolybrassos: for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no.320; for Caracalla (197-217 AD), see no. 322; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see no. 327; for Traianus Decius (249-251 AD), see no. 340; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see no. 341; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see no. 350, SNG France 3, no. 563 Korakesion: for Traianus (98-117 AD), see RPC III, no. 2740; Laertes: for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 62; for Traianus Decius (241-243 AD), see no. 284; for Salonina (253-268 AD), see no. 292; Selinus: for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 416; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see no. 426; Syedra: for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 426.

found in modern Gavurbeleni, in the territory of ancient Kibyra Minor.<sup>1318</sup> The inscription records the dedication of a statue of a priest of Zeus *Pisarissos* by his family members. The epithet *Pisarissos* has been interpreted as a toponym and, therefore, the ancient village which yielded this inscription has been identified as *Pisarissos* in the territory of Kibyra Minor.<sup>1319</sup> In Laertes, situated between Korakesion and Syedra and lying on the western slopes of the Cebelireş/Cebeli Reis Mountain, a temple of Zeus and inscriptions commemorating his cult are present. Among the three temples in the city, one is identified as belonging to Zeus based on an inscription. The temple is situated nearly in the center of the city, south of the *bouleuterion*. Only its foundations are preserved today and it is a large building, partly cut into the bedrock and partly built with ashlar blocks. The inscription inside a *tabula ansata* was carved on the rock surface that constitutes the basement of the temple.<sup>1320</sup> The inscription dates to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and reads that Hypamis, son of Potios, dedicated an altar and a fence to Zeus *Megistos* from his own resources.<sup>1321</sup> Apart from Eastern Pamphylia/Western Cilicia, the cult of Zeus *Megistos*, “the Greatest Zeus”, was also seen in Magnesia, Iasos, Kyzikos, Pergamon, Sardeis, Kollyda in Lydia, Galatia, Amorion, Laodikeia and Hierapolis in Phrygia, Ariassos, Adada, Termessos in Pisidia, and Tyrianon and Ikonion in Lykaonia.<sup>1322</sup> Due to the predominance of the epithet of *Megistos* applied to Zeus in Asia Minor, Parker assumes that this epithet originated in Asia Minor, not in Greece.<sup>1323</sup> This epithet is sometimes combined with others, such as Zeus *Megistos Sarapis* (Zeus *Megas Sarapis*) as in Side and Zeus *Megistos Soter* as in Laodikeia.<sup>1324</sup> There are two temples in the city of Kolybrassos between Kasai and Karallia and these have been identified by Bean-Mitford as temples of Herakles and Zeus based on coins portraying a cult statue of the deity, either on a pedestal or within a tetrastyle temple.<sup>1325</sup> The temple identified as a Zeus temple with *naos* and *pronaos* rose on a podium and was built in ashlar masonry. According to Giobbe, the temple may have been a *distylos* rather

---

<sup>1318</sup> Mitford 1990, 2141.

<sup>1319</sup> Şahin 2001, 153.

<sup>1320</sup> Giobbe 2013, 135.

<sup>1321</sup> The word used for “fence” is *pararabdos* in the inscription. Bean-Mitford indicates that this is a new word, which may have been derived from *rabdos*, which means “the flutes of a column”, see Bean and Mitford 1962, 198-99, no. 15.

<sup>1322</sup> For the Zeus *Megistos* cult, see Şahin 2001, 100-1.

<sup>1323</sup> Parker 2017, 143.

<sup>1324</sup> Şahin 2001, 101.

<sup>1325</sup> Mitford 1990, 2143-44.

than a *prostylos*. Moreover, she pointed out the unreliability of the numismatic evidence for a precise interpretation of the presence of a temple.<sup>1326</sup>

Finally, another inscribed document provides unique evidence about the Zeus cult in the region. The inscription is written on a bronze *tabula ansata* and documents an orchard transferred to a priest of Zeus, *i.e.* to the local Zeus sanctuary (Figure 4.164). According to the document, Toues bought an orchard situated next to his land from Zenon for a price of 210 *denarii* and then donated the orchard to the priests of Zeus in order to square the account.<sup>1327</sup> The bronze plaque also records the eponymous magistrate in charge with the registration, who fell under the demicourg of Zopyros and among the registrations of Rhodon. This artifact comes from a private collection and occurred in an auctioneers' catalog in Basel; therefore, its provenance remains unidentified. However, Tybout attributes the document to Pamphylia because of its onomastics, the presence of the office of *demiourgos*, which is particularly seen in Southern Asia Minor, and that of a term derived from the Pamphylian dialect. He dates the inscription to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, while Arnaoutoglu adds 212 AD as a *terminus ante quem* due to the absence of an Aurelius *gentilicium*.<sup>1328</sup> The content of the document has been interpreted in different ways. Tybout suggests that the inscription records a sale of an orchard and the subsequent donation to the local Zeus sanctuary. Toues may have been indebted to the sanctuary, which acted as a bank and lent him a sum of money, and in return Toues fulfilled his debt by donating the orchard that he purchased for 210 *denarii*. Naturally, the following question arises: why did he not just offer the money but chose to donate the land? Tybout's answer to this question is the possibility of a promise made by Toues to offer land to the sanctuary, exemplified by lands donated to sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period. Finally, he suggests that the tablet was aimed for public display. Either Toues wanted to show his generosity or the priests wished to inform the community that they were the new owners of the orchard. On the other hand, according to Arnaoutoglu, Tybout's interpretation suggests that the transaction between Toues and the priests was accomplished in a short period of time and that the donation of the land followed its purchase, although the inscription is uninformative about the period between the purchase of the land and its transfer to the sanctuary.<sup>1329</sup> He accepts that Toues was indebted to the

---

<sup>1326</sup> Giobbe 2013, 136.

<sup>1327</sup> Tybout 2013, 161-62.

<sup>1328</sup> Arnaoutoglu 2014, 185.

<sup>1329</sup> Tybout 2013, 165-69.

sanctuary and paid his debt by donating the land, but this transfer might have happened few or more years later than the purchase of the land. Therefore, he interprets this document not as a deed of sale or archive file but rather as a summary account of the temple's ownership over the garden/land, which was legally acquired.<sup>1330</sup> Whether it was a deed of sale or a summary record of the lands owned by the sanctuary, the document evidences that the sanctuary of Zeus, most probably located in Pamphylia, acted as a bank, like many sanctuaries in the Greek world, and that it lend money to the people. Therefore, it sheds light on the economic and social role of sanctuaries apart from their religious significance. Temples in the Greek and Roman acted as banks engaged in monetary operations, since they were extremely wealthy due to the accumulation of votive offerings. Temples guarded these votive offerings as deposits, provided loans and credits to citizens, minted coins and were sometimes responsible of currencies. Some temples granted long-term loans and credits with interest to people who could give real estate or land as security. On the other hand, people often borrowed money from their deities.<sup>1331</sup> Apart from well-known examples, such as the Athena temple in Athens and the Apollo temple on Delos, which provided money, loan, and credit to the *polis* or individual citizens, examples from Asia Minor include the temple of Artemis in Ephesos, the Athena temple in Ilion and the Artemis temple in Sardeis.<sup>1332</sup> This inscription, which presumably originates from Pamphylia, is another example of economic contributions of temples and sanctuaries to *poleis* or individual citizens. It also implies that the sanctuary of Zeus in the unidentified *polis* was wealthy in terms of money, votive offerings, and/or land, since it was able to grant debts to individuals. Therefore, its cult must have played an important role for the city or the region.

The evidence from Pamphylia illustrates that Zeus was worshipped under many epithets, which emphasizes his diverse nature and various areas of dominance. Based on the epigraphic and numismatic evidence collected from the region, his cult dated back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and continued until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Almost every Pamphylian city used Zeus on its coins, dating to the Hellenistic or Roman Imperial period or to both. The iconography on the coins was more or less the same: Zeus was either seated or standing while holding a scepter, a spear, Nike, a thunderbolt, and an eagle, while an eagle may also have been present at his feet. There were other deities that appeared alongside him,

---

<sup>1330</sup> Arnaoutoglu 2014, 186-87.

<sup>1331</sup> Bogaert 1968, 39; Dignas 2002, 13-25.

<sup>1332</sup> Magie 1950, 142. For examples from Caria see, Dignas 2000, 117-26.

such as Athena, Hera, or both. The coins on which the Capitoline triad is portrayed, however, can be related to Roman influence rather than to an actual cult. Some coins, on which a mythological scene occurred, such as the Sidetan coins showing a depiction with Adrasteia, might have had a local importance for the city.

The epigraphic data constitute the main evidence for the diverse cults. Zeus was in almost each city venerated with a different epithet; therefore, each city seems to have worshipped and venerated him because of a different aspect. In the Hellenistic period, he was among the oath guarantor deities alongside Helios and Gaia in Phaselis. The cult of Zeus Nikator in Side and Orekanda marks a clear attestation of the god's role in the Hellenistic ruler cult. His companionship with Hestia in Perge may emphasize his role in the domestic and private context. He was presented as *Anax theon* in an epigram from Side, where his connection with the sky as the loud-thundering Zeus was made.

More epigraphic documents survive from the Roman Imperial period. He was worshipped as *Zeus Boulaios* in Phaselis, being the protector of the City Council, and as *Zeus Poliouchos* in Perge in his role as the city protector, which shows that he was also seen as the guardian of the *polis* and its institutions. In Perge, he was also *Machaonios*, closely related with the legendary city founder Machaon, which illustrates his close connection with the foundation of the city itself. In Sillyon his epithet was *Soter*, "saviour", and in Attaleia he was *Tropaiouchos*, "bringer of trophies", which may hint to his protective status in military affairs. In addition to his predominance in the civic, political and perhaps military domains, he was also responsible for the abundance of crops and the fertility of the earth as his epithet *Halonites* in Side shows. In the region, he was also worshipped with local epithets, which may denote a toponym, such as *Pisarissos* in Kibyra Minor, and perhaps *Norites* and *Aspidios* in Side and *Drymon* in Lyrboton Kome. However, the epithet *Aspidios*, which may have derived from the word *aspis*, can be related to a local and important myth considering the coin depiction with Adrasteia and the Korybantēs. The epithet *Drymon*, on the other hand, may be related to the oak-tree/oak-forest, which illustrates the god's connection with a natural feature around which his cult may have been developed. Finally, the overall abundance of the epithet *Megistos* in Asia Minor, but in our case used in Eastern Pamphylia, points out the deity's Anatolian nature. Based on this survey of epithets, it can be said that some cults of the god were local to the region, some were Greek and some were brought to Pamphylia from elsewhere (such as *Tropaiouchos* in Attaleia). indigenous Zeus cults in Southern Asia Minor, especially in Caria, are often seen like manifestations of the Luwian god,

Tarhunt.<sup>1333</sup> Tarhunt, the storm god and the head of the local Luwian pantheon whose name survived in the onomastics of the southern regions until the Hellenistic period, was fundamentally a god of rainmaking, vegetation, agriculture, and vineyards.<sup>1334</sup> With the expansion of the Luwian speaking population of Southern Asia Minor, including Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, and Isauria, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, the cult of Tarhunt also spread to these areas. In addition, Tarhuntassa -the land of Tarhunt- covered Pamphylia and Rough Cilicia. The local influence persisted in the regions and can be seen in the language too, since the Pamphylian dialect and the Sidetan language continued to be used in the Hellenistic and even in the Early Roman Imperial period.<sup>1335</sup> Therefore, the local Zeus cults in the region could be related to the preponderance of the Luwian Tarhunt worship.

In contrast to the abundance of the epithets, inscriptions informing us about cult personnel are limited. Priests are documented for *Zeus Tropaiouchos*, *Zeus Nikator*, *Zeus Pissarissos* and the unidentified sanctuary on the bronze plaque of unknown origin. Some inscriptions have been interpreted as boundary stones that marked the sacred *temenos* of the god in Sillyon, Phaselis, and Side. A temple for *Zeus Machaonios* presumably stood on the Acropolis of Perge. Architectural remains at Orokenda and Lyrboton Kome have been identified as a temple of Zeus. In Laertes, a temple can be located based on an inscription carved on the bedrock, whereas in Kolybrassos one of the two temples is considered to have belonged to Zeus. Finally, a bronze plaque documents the banking operations that were conducted by the cult personnel of the god.

#### 4.7 The Cult of Hestia in Pamphylia

In Greek thinking, Hestia was at the same time a goddess who was associated with the sacred hearths in houses or in public buildings and with the representation of the hearthplace itself. The hearth had cultic and symbolic meanings in Greek society. It was the symbol of the house, safety, warmth, and family.<sup>1336</sup> The hearth was the center of every household that designated the domestic sacred space; therefore, Hestia was present in every house.<sup>1337</sup> In ancient Greece, the attention given to the hearth and fire meant the

---

<sup>1333</sup> Adiego, 2007, 286.

<sup>1334</sup> Taracha 2009, 107-8.

<sup>1335</sup> Bryce 2003, 31-42; Alanyalı 2001, 80.

<sup>1336</sup> Matthews 1993, 97.

<sup>1337</sup> Burkert 1985, 255.



safeguarding of the house and “*without the rituals of the hearth-keeper neither house nor the polis could be safe.*”<sup>1338</sup> The fire burning in hearths in the *oikoi* and public buildings, such as *bouleuteria* and *prytaneia*, symbolized the well-being of the family and the community together.

Hestia was among the twelve Olympian deities but in mythology and iconography she held a lesser place. She first appeared in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (700 BC) as the daughter of Rhea and Kronos.<sup>1339</sup> The Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (7<sup>th</sup> century BC) gives information on why Hestia was associated with the hearth.<sup>1340</sup> According to the myth, when Hestia was born, both Apollo and Poseidon wanted to marry her, but she swore to remain a virgin. Zeus accepted her wish and assigned her the role as sitting in the middle of the *oikos* and receiving the fattest part of the sacrifices, so she could keep the fire burning in every house and temple. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Hestia* (7<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC), she was accompanied by Hermes and got the highest honors from both mortals and immortals.<sup>1341</sup> She was the first one to receive libations in banquets. In Homer’s *Odyssey*, Hestia was not identified as a goddess but as the hearth itself. In oaths taken in the *Odyssey*, she was mentioned in four different passages and invoked alongside Zeus, in the following way “*...be my witness Zeus above all gods, and this hospitable table and the hearth of noble Odysseus (ἱστίη τ’ Ὀδυσῆος).*”<sup>1342</sup> Since Hestia represented stability and immobility within the house as opposed to Hermes, her counterpart, according to Plato, she always remained in the house when other deities and leaders were assigned to armies.<sup>1343</sup>

The iconographical evidence concerning Hestia is not abundant and the goddess is difficult to recognize due to a lack of accompanying inscriptions. Despite her important role in domestic and civic life, she remained one of the least anthropomorphic deities of the Greek pantheon.<sup>1344</sup> On painted pottery, she was sometimes depicted standing, wearing a richly decorated *peplos* like the other deities of the Olympos and sometimes she was sitting on a throne, on an altar or an *omphalos*. She was usually portrayed wearing

---

<sup>1338</sup> Thompson 1994, 46.

<sup>1339</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 453.

<sup>1340</sup> Homeric hymn to Aphrodite, 5. 22-33.

<sup>1341</sup> Homeric hymn to Hestia, 29,1.

<sup>1342</sup> Hom. *Od.* 14, 159; 17, 156; 19, 304; 20, 231.

<sup>1343</sup> Pl. *Phdr.* 247a.

<sup>1344</sup> Larson 2007, 161.

a veil on her head combined with a laureate crown and holding flowers, fruits or a *phiale* in her hands. The sceptre and torch can be characterized as her attributes.<sup>1345</sup>

In the *oikos*, the father who as the head of the family acted as a priest, made offerings and libations at the hearth before each meal.<sup>1346</sup> The hearth inside houses and the rituals associated with it played a significant role in the lives of people. For instance, a newborn child was taken to the hearth and put on the ground to point out his/her acceptance into the family.<sup>1347</sup> During marriage ceremonies, the bride took fire from her father's hearth and carried it to her husband's house. Already earlier, in the Bronze and Iron Ages, the sacred power of the domestic hearth was spread to the king's or chieftain's hearth as a symbol of religious and political authority.<sup>1348</sup> The *megaron* in the Mycenaean palaces of e.g. Tiryns, Pylos, and Mycenae, which formed the architectural origin of the Greek house and temple, featured a large circular hearth located in the middle of the main room. This main room with monumental hearth and throne symbolized the definitive and religious power.<sup>1349</sup> The room with central hearth was also a reception room used for banquets and the entertainment of guests during feasts. Therefore, the room did not only carry a religious or authoritative meaning but also held an important place in the social life of the upper class.<sup>1350</sup>

The presence of hearths in houses or cult buildings has been documented on the Acropolis of Perge. For instance, "Area 3" (Figure 4.165), which is located south of "Area 1", almost at the center of the Acropolis, presents several structures, namely a large circular hearth with surrounding libation pits dating to the Late Bronze Age (Figure 4.166). Although the building to which the hearth belonged remains unknown, Martini assigned a cultic function to the hearth. In Mycenaean religion the cult was symbolized by the hearth. The hearth and the throne were located in the same room; the latter was centred on the former. At Pylos, several miniatures, which were found around the central hearth, have been interpreted as libation vessels, a notion that is also seen in Perge in the form of libation pits surrounding a hearth. Although hearths and libation pits occurred in the cultic rituals of both Mycenaean and Hittites, Martini favored an Anatolian influence rather than a Mycenaean one due to the lack of adequate evidence for a connection

---

<sup>1345</sup> For further information on the iconography of Hestia, see Sarian 1990, 407-12.

<sup>1346</sup> Burkert 1985, 255.

<sup>1347</sup> Larson 2007, 161.

<sup>1348</sup> Larson 2007, 161.

<sup>1349</sup> Wright 1994, 56.

<sup>1350</sup> Rethemiotakis 1999, 724.

between Perge and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>1351</sup> The usage of hearths increased in the Geometric period, when a new podium and a hearth were placed at the entrance in the south of “Area 1”.<sup>1352</sup> “Area 1” already had a religious function during the Bronze Age and this function was further enhanced with the addition of a hearth and podium in the Geometric period. *Anta* buildings with a hearth and houses with a niche and central hearths started to be built and enclosed the karst hole filled with spring water, which can be seen as a center of cultic activity.<sup>1353</sup> With the reorientation of the *anta* building to the north and the placement of houses with their entrances oriented to the south, an open-air area was created, in which an aniconic cult statue was erected. In the Archaic period (700-500 BC), all houses situated in “Area 1” possessed circular hearths of almost 60 cm diameter and 20-25 cm height, while houses with larger hearths, which may have held at least 8 cooking pots, have been identified as *hestiatorion* or *leskhe* buildings.<sup>1354</sup> The abundance of ceramic sherds and animal bones found within these buildings reinforce the hypothesis that they were used as banquet houses.<sup>1355</sup> Some of these banqueting houses were modified in the Classical period (last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) and transformed into two banqueting rooms situated on either side of a central room. The banqueting rooms were organized in order to accommodate *klinai* (Figure 4.167).<sup>1356</sup>

Although it is not possible to reconstruct the rituals that took place around the hearths or their possible connection with the goddess Hestia, we can say that from the Bronze Age onwards, hearths played a central role in the organization of the cult place and the houses situated in “Area 1”. All the houses had a central hearth that functioned over a long period of time until the end of the Archaic and the beginning of the Classical period and from this time onwards, some houses were modified into banqueting halls in accordance with the Greek *symposion* tradition.<sup>1357</sup>

With the development of the polis, the function of the hearths in *megara* was transferred to a communal hearth located in the *prytaneion*.<sup>1358</sup> The state cult of Hestia

---

<sup>1351</sup> Martini 2017, 536. For the spatial organization of hearths and thrones in the Mycenaean palaces, see Wright, 1994, 37-78; for the use of hearths in Hittite ceremonies, see Collins 2001, 81-87.

<sup>1352</sup> Martini 2017, 166-69.

<sup>1353</sup> For a detailed overview of the houses, see Martini, 2017, 5-63.

<sup>1354</sup> Martini, 2017, 469-71.

<sup>1355</sup> Fabis 2017, 372-80.

<sup>1356</sup> Martini 2017, 491-94.

<sup>1357</sup> For the tradition of the *symposion*, see Wecowski 2014.

<sup>1358</sup> For scholars who see the sacred fire in *prytaneia* as the successor of the *megaron*'s central hearth, see McDonald 1943; Glotz 1996; Parker 1996.

was generally worshipped in these buildings, rather than in separate sanctuaries or temples. *Prytaneia* often functioned as dining rooms. The civic hearth was similar to the house hearth; therefore, it was in the *prytaneion* that important guests were hosted to show the city's hospitality. Hestia's association with *prytaneia* and her influence in the state's political sphere is visible in both the literary, iconographic and epigraphic evidence.<sup>1359</sup> Pindar (ca. 518-438 BC) invokes Hestia as the goddess of the city council to welcome new members to their duties.<sup>1360</sup> According to Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), an image of the goddess was present in the *prytaneion* of Athens.<sup>1361</sup> Two inscriptions from Delos dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC mention a bronze statue of the goddess in the *prytaneion* of the city.<sup>1362</sup> Coins of Nikopolis in Epiros dating to the reign of Volusianus (251-253 AD) and Valerianus I (253-260 AD) portrayed Hestia with the legend of *Hestia Boules*.<sup>1363</sup> Moreover, inscriptions found in many cities refer to *koine Hestia* which means that the public hearth, generally situated in the *prytaneia*, also functioned as an altar of Hestia.<sup>1364</sup>

The evidence for the cult of Hestia in Pamphylia is scarce but rather important, since it points out a pre-Roman cult of the goddess in the region. Two inscriptions coming from Phaselis and Perge, both dating to the Hellenistic period, show Hestia's worship in these cities and also the other deities the goddess had a close relationship with. In the Doric inscription of Phaselis dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>1365</sup> she was worshipped together with Hermes, as two deities of contradicting nature. In this union, Hermes symbolized the movement and the presence outside the house, whereas Hestia was the hearth in the house; she represented the house, the indoor domestic aspect, hence, the purity of this feminine space and its immobility.<sup>1366</sup> This inscription, therefore, may be evidence of a joint Hermes-Hestia shrine for deities presiding domestic contexts, although -as mentioned above- the sacred spaces of Hestia were usually found in public buildings, such as *bouleuteria* and *prytaneia*. However, the later *Zeus Boulaios* inscription<sup>1367</sup> dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the architectural remains of a religious or public building found in the vicinity of the theatre located in the northwestern outskirts

<sup>1359</sup> For her cult in the *prytaneion*, see Miller 1978; Merkelbach 1980, 77-92.

<sup>1360</sup> Pind. Nem. 9. 1-3.

<sup>1361</sup> Pausan. 1.18.3; 5.26.2

<sup>1362</sup> ID 1416A, I, 83-8; ID 1417B, I, 89-90.

<sup>1363</sup> Sarianm 1990, 411.

<sup>1364</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 12.

<sup>1365</sup> TAM II 1185; Tüner-Önen 2008, 306.

<sup>1366</sup> Vernant 1974, 155-201.

<sup>1367</sup> Tüner- Önen 2008, 361-63.

of the Acropolis may also ascribe a civic meaning to the cult of Hermes-Hestia in the city. Further investigations in Phaselis will possibly shed light on the nature of these cults.

Another city that yielded a Hellenistic inscription bearing the name of the goddess is Perge. In 1988 a limestone altar was found on the way to the village of Toparlar situated outside the eastern main city gate.<sup>1368</sup> The upper part of the altar has a hole, which has been interpreted as a hole for libation. The inscription is written in the Pamphylian dialect; therefore, the names of the deities are given as ΔιΩι and ΞΙστ↔αι. Zeus and Hestia also occurred together in Homer's *Odyssey*, where the god was invoked for his hospitable table. Among all other epithets, Zeus was worshipped with the epithet *Ktesios* (protector of the house and property) highlighting his protection over the house alongside Hestia.<sup>1369</sup> Apart from this domestic context, in various cities in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, the two deities were also venerated together with the epithets *Boulaios* and *Boulaia* as the protector divinities of the council hall.<sup>1370</sup> Together, they were considered protectors of houses and the *polis* at the same time. It is not possible to determine which function was more important in the inscription of Perge, since the names of the deities are given without epithets and the find spot of the inscription does not point towards a specific building. Inscriptions found in Perge inform us about the presence of a *bouleuterion* before the Flavian period, since a Flavian inscription records repairs made on the building.<sup>1371</sup> However, judging from the monumental fortifications surrounding the city and the southern gate with round towers, it can be understood that the city was prosperous in the Hellenistic period and that the *bouleuterion* can have been located either on the Acropolis or in the lower city.<sup>1372</sup> The only residential area of the city, investigated thus far, on the other hand, was situated in the northeastern part of the city, to the south of the eastern colonnaded street, and it witnessed three urbanistic phases dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, and 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD respectively.<sup>1373</sup> Remains

<sup>1368</sup> Şahin 1999a, 3-4, no.3.

<sup>1369</sup> See The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.6

<sup>1370</sup> For a dedication of Zeus *Boulaios* and Hestia *Boulaia* in the *prytaneion* of Athens dating to 55/54 BC, see Raubitschek 1943, 62-63; SEG 33 1983, no. 198; In Pergamon, sacrifices were made on the altar of Zeus *Boulaios* and Hestia *Boulaia* upon the victorious arrival of Attalos III, see Die Inschriften von Pergamon 153-59, no. 246. A joint cult of Zeus *Boulaios* and Hestia *Boulaia* is recorded in an inscription dating to the 1st century BC that was found in a square building, which has been interpreted as a council building in Aigai in Aiolis, see Miller 1978, 223-26. The cult of these deities were attested in Kos in the Hellenistic Period, see Hamon 2006, 151-58. Zeus *Boulaios* and Hestia *Boulaia* were also worshipped together in Thasos in the 3rd century BC, see Salviat-Bernard 1962, 588-90, no. 10. In Sparta, an inscription dating to the reign of Hadrianus also venerated Zeus *Boulaios* and Hestia *Boulaia*, see IG V I, no. 62.

<sup>1371</sup> For the inscription, see Şahin 1999a, 81-84, no. 58.

<sup>1372</sup> For the Hellenistic period and its urbanization, see Özdizbay 2012, 9-16.

<sup>1373</sup> Abbasoğlu 2001, 173-88; Zeyrek 2002, 91-112.

belonging to the Hellenistic period or evidence for the domestic cult in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods are missing in the archaeological context. Therefore, at the moment it is not possible to assign the Zeus-Hestia inscription to a private or public context in Perge. However, the cult of Hestia continued in Perge throughout the Roman Imperial period, into the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and it got a more institutionalized form, since an inscription, which was found near Fountain F4 in the south of the city records a priest of Hestia and the Nymphs.<sup>1374</sup> This inscription is the second evidence about a joint cult of Hestia with another deity. Priestesses of the Nymphs are attested in Patara and Antiphellos in Lycia<sup>1375</sup> and in Bargylia in Caria,<sup>1376</sup> whereas the joint priesthood of Hestia and the Nymphs is so far unique to Perge.

Another interesting inscription comes from Side. It includes the word *hestia* in its first sense, referring to a “fire-altar”, “hearth”. The inscription dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD records that Sozon, son of Eirenaios, dedicated a fire-altar (*hestia*) to Zeus Helios, the great Sarapis and other deities who shared his temple.<sup>1377</sup> Although this inscription cannot be perceived as evidence for the cult of Hestia, it emphasizes the importance of hearths in temples and the role that they had in related rituals. A similar inscription comes from Lykaonia, Misthia, where a hearth was dedicated to Meter Thea.<sup>1378</sup>

#### 4.8 The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia

According to mythology, Hermes, the messenger of the deities, had many different roles; he was the protector of merchants, traders, travelers, and musicians and he was responsible for taking the dead to the Underworld. Moreover, he was the companion of many deities; as the patron of pastoral life, shepherds and cattle he was linked with Pan and the Nymphs, while he was also connected with Herakles, since he was associated with sportive activities conducted in *gymnasia/palaestrae* and he was the protector of *epheboi*. Finally, he was also a god of divinatory practices.<sup>1379</sup> Hermes' Greek name was associated with *herma*, which means a “pillar-like support that marks a boundary, a road

<sup>1374</sup> Tüner-Önen-Arslan 330-31.

<sup>1375</sup> For Patara, see Diamantaras 1894, 18, no.22; for Antiphellos, see no.1.

<sup>1376</sup> For Bargylia, see Cousin and Diehl 1889, 38-40, no. 6.

<sup>1377</sup> Bean 1956, 85-6, no. 52; Mansel 1978, 146; Nollé 1993a, 272-74, no. 16.

<sup>1378</sup> Hall 1968, 67, no. 7.

<sup>1379</sup> General information on the nature and role of Hermes in mythology can be found in Larson 2007, 144-52; Siebert 1990, 373-87.

or a crossroad”.<sup>1380</sup> A herm was a stone statue of Hermes in which only his head and his genitalia were depicted, whereas his torso remained a square pillar. Herms were used in Athens as road markers like milestones and at the entrance of public and domestic buildings, where they had an apotropaic function.<sup>1381</sup> On the other hand, the term *mercator* in Latin, which means “trade and commerce”, was derived from his Latin equivalent, *Mercurius*. Hermes was usually depicted with attributes such as a *kerykeion*, “the herald’s staff” (Lat. *caduceus*), a purse, a *petasos* (a hat usually worn by travelers), and winged sandals. According to the Homeric hymn to Hermes, the *kerykeion* was handed to Hermes by Apollo. It symbolized the god’s role as the herald of the deities<sup>1382</sup>; he used this golden wand to make people sleep, to wake them up and to guide the dead to the Underworld.<sup>1383</sup> Hermes also herded his cattle with the *kerykeion*.<sup>1384</sup> His association with trade and merchants was symbolized by the money purse; his protector’s status over travelers was expressed by his *petasos* and his winged sandals evoked his quality of speed.<sup>1385</sup> However, despite these many roles, not every aspect of Hermes’ characteristics was represented in Pamphylia. He was in the region mainly known from coin depictions and statues. Although his cult and ritual practices remain difficult to be understood due to the lack of evidence, inscriptions found in both the Pamphylian cities and neighboring regions shed light on his divinatory power.

The earliest evidence for the cult of Hermes in Pamphylia comes from a dedicatory inscription dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, which was found on the agora of Phaselis. The inscription written in the Doric dialect records the names Aristokrateia and Nikares, who made a dedication to Hermes and Hestia in honor of their father Athanion, who served as a *demiourgos*.<sup>1386</sup> The joint cult of Hermes and Hestia has not been attested so far in Asia Minor, but on the base of the colossal statue of Zeus *Olympios* made by Pheidias<sup>1387</sup> (ca. 430 BC) and on the altar of Amphiarios at Oropos in Attica (early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC),<sup>1388</sup> they were depicted together as a pair. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hestia*, the two deities were presented as friends, who lived in the same house and protected it

---

<sup>1380</sup> Larson 2007, 144.

<sup>1381</sup> Larson 2007, 146-47.

<sup>1382</sup> Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 4, 528.

<sup>1383</sup> Hom. Od. 24. 1-6.

<sup>1384</sup> Apollod. Bibl. 3. 115.

<sup>1385</sup> The Oxford Companion of Classical Civilization 1998, 370-71.

<sup>1386</sup> TAM II 1185, Tüner-Önen 2008, 306.

<sup>1387</sup> Paus. 5.11.8.

<sup>1388</sup> Paus. 1.34.3.

together.<sup>1389</sup> Their special relationship was thoroughly examined by Vernant,<sup>1390</sup> who suggested that there existed a harmony in their contradictory characters. Hestia personalised the hearth in the house, she represented the house, the indoor feminine space, and she created a fixed and still point on which anything else could be oriented. Hermes' place, on the other hand, was at the threshold of the house and outside, where, due to his swiftness and fastness, he could be anywhere as long as he could interact with human beings. Unlike Hestia, he was always in motion and that is the reason why they were both perceived in the domestic cultic context as the gendered personifications of space -Hestia- and movement -Hermes. They symbolized the inside and outside of the house, which means the whole environment where women and men lived their lives together. The familial connotation in the Phaselis inscription is clear, since it was dedicated by two siblings in honor of their father; therefore, there was a domestic context in the inscription. The inscription may evidence a joint Hermes-Hestia cult in the city; however, it might have been placed in a temple that was perhaps dedicated to another deity too. Further investigation can hopefully provide more information about the presence of the goddess in Phaselis. The Hellenistic coins of Phaselis also feature symbols in relation to Hermes, such as a herm and a *kerykeion*; therefore, they reinforce the worship of Hermes in the city from the Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>1391</sup>

Other Hellenistic coins depicting Hermes come from Attaleia and Magydos. The coins of Attaleia date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and portray Poseidon on their obverses, while on their reverses they feature a naked Hermes sitting on a rock, holding a purse in his right hand and a *kerykeion* in his left one.<sup>1392</sup> The coins of Magydos date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and show a similar scene but this time Hermes is depicted standing (Figure 4.168).<sup>1393</sup> The usage of the same coin type by both Attaleia and Magydos in the Hellenistic period is not surprising, since both cities developed a close relationship from the foundation of Attaleia onwards and the choice of the same coin type -as was the case with the Athena heads on the coins-<sup>1394</sup> was possibly due to a political programme and unity. In addition, Baydur pointed out that the Hermes types of Attaleia showed no similarity with the coins of Pergamon, the founding city of Attaleia.<sup>1395</sup> Thus, Hermes

---

<sup>1389</sup> Homeric Hymn to Hestia, 29.1.

<sup>1390</sup> Vernant 1974, 155-201.

<sup>1391</sup> Heipp-Tamer 1993, 60, nos. 88-91.

<sup>1392</sup> Baydur 1976, 59, no.143; Demirtaş 2014, 237.

<sup>1393</sup> Demirtaş 2014, 235.

<sup>1394</sup> See The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.2.

<sup>1395</sup> Baydur 1976, 67-68.



may have been worshipped locally amongst the people of Attaleia and Magydos and he might have symbolized the economic importance of these port cities in trade and commerce.

The same iconography can be seen on coins of other Pamphylian cities during the Roman Imperial period, in particular between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. For instance, the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins of Aspendos (Figure 4.169) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins of Lyrbe and Sillyon portray Hermes seated on a rock with a purse and a *kerykeion* in his hands, whereas the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins of Aspendos, Attaleia, Magydos, and Perge show him standing with his attributes.<sup>1396</sup> A different coin type appears in Perge and was minted under Gallienus and Salonina (260-286 AD). On this coin Hermes was accompanied by Herakles and depicted with a *petasos* and winged sandals (Figure 4.170).<sup>1397</sup> However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD coins of Syedra depict an interesting and different scene that is mentioned in an inscription dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and was reused in the wall of a church. The inscription is an oracular response that advised the Syedreans to set up a statue of Ares flanked by Hermes, who bound the god with iron chains, and Dike, who gave justice upon him, in order to get rid of the harassment by pirates.<sup>1398</sup> It is unclear whether the statue was ever set up on the Acropolis, but the scene or the statue group is present on the city's coins (Figure 4.171).<sup>1399</sup> These coins thus seem to be visual representations of the oracle's advice and of an existing statue and they clearly played a significant role in the city's collective memory, in which Hermes -although he had a secondary role- took also part.<sup>1400</sup> The visualization of the Hellenistic oracle's answer in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD shows the continuation or revival of an early tradition related to the salvation of the city into the High Imperial period.

The visual representations of Hermes are not limited to coin depictions. The god was also very well represented in the statuary program of Perge and Side. In Perge, Hermes statues were found both inside and outside the city. A naked Hermes with his *chlamys* tied on the left shoulder and hanging down along his left leg upto his lyre and

<sup>1396</sup> Demirtaş 2014, 233-45.

<sup>1397</sup> Demirtaş 2014, 236-37.

<sup>1398</sup> Bean and Mitford 1965, pp. 21-3, no. 26; Robert 1966, 91-100; Sokolowski 1968, 519-22; de Souza 1997, 477; Gonzales 2004, 279-80.

<sup>1399</sup> For Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see SNG France 2, Cilicie, no. 641; for Gordianus (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.425; for Decius (251 AD), see RPC IX, 1205, 1208; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no.1213; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 432; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.434.

<sup>1400</sup> See The Cult of Ares in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.10.

wearing winged sandals was among the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD statues that decorated the Hellenistic oval court (Figure 4.172).<sup>1401</sup> As the main entrance to the city, the oval courtyard was the first building that greeted visitors, thus giving them a first impression of the most venerated deities of the city.

Moreover, the Southern Baths of Perge have yielded two Hermes statues, a sandal-tying Hermes, and a Hermes of the Centocelle type dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1402</sup> A statue of a naked youth could be identified either as Apollo or as Hermes (Figure 4.173).<sup>1403</sup> In the statue of the Centocelle type, the god is standing and has his *chlamys* fastened around his shoulders. Instead of winged sandals, the wings are here attached to his feet. His hands are not preserved but based on their presumable positions, it has been suggested that he was holding a money purse in his right hand and a *kerykeion* in his left one. This type of statue strongly resembles the Hermes depictions on the coins. The sandal-tying Hermes was portrayed stepping on a turtle -his sacred animal from which he invented the first *lyra*- and he has a *kerkykeion* in his hand (Figure 4.174). He is wearing winged sandals and has also wings on his head. Apart from the usual changing and bathing rooms, the Southern Baths included a *palaestra* to the north of the complex and a long rectangular room identified as *basilica thermarum* or *mouseion* but known as the ‘Gallery of Claudius Piso’ based on a large number of statues dedicated by Claudius Piso in the Antonine Period (138-180 AD).<sup>1404</sup> The sandal-tying Hermes was found in the *palaestra* and the Centocelle type in the “Gallery of Claudius Piso”. Considering that Hermes was worshipped as a prime deity of *gymnasia* and as a protector of *epheboi*, finding his statues inside this bath-gymnasium/*palaestra* complex as a visual reminder of this particular function is not surprising.

The last building in Perge in which Hermes statues were placed is the theater. Here, a colossal Hermes was portrayed with his usual attributes, such as the *kerykeion*, wings on his head and a ram on his right side (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) (Figure 4.175).<sup>1405</sup> This might underscore his status as the protector deity of flocks and pastoral life. Besides, Hermes was also depicted in the relief plates dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and decorating the first floor of the *scaenae frons*.<sup>1406</sup> These reliefs, extending in a north-south direction,

---

<sup>1401</sup> Bulgurlu 1999, 110-14.

<sup>1402</sup> For the sandal-tying Hermes, see İnan 1979b, 397-413; 1978, 532; 1979a, 877. For the Centocelle type, see 1981, 367; 2003, 31-42.

<sup>1403</sup> İnan 1980, 608.

<sup>1404</sup> For Claudius Piso and his gallery in the Southern Baths of Perge, see Özdizbay 2012, 51-52, 128-30.

<sup>1405</sup> İnan 2000, 322-31.

<sup>1406</sup> İnan 2000, 322-31.

were narrating the life cycle of Dionysos. On the third plate from the north and from the south, the scene of handing over the child Dionysos to a nymph by Hermes was portrayed. Hermes was involved in most stories about the child Dionysos after Dionysos' birth Zeus entrusted him to Hermes and later, he took Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa<sup>1407</sup> and he was represented in statues or reliefs mainly with the infant god. Finally, the parapets separating the *cavea* from the *orchestra* was decorated with herms.<sup>1408</sup>

There have been found other herms both inside and outside the city. The damaged head of a herm, made of reddish limestone, was found in the northern part of the intersection of the north-south and east-west colonnaded streets (Figure 4.176). This herm, which was reused in a Late Antique wall, has been dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. Its original place is unknown but, based on its finding spot, it has been suggested that it might have been placed at the intersection of the north-south and east-west colonnaded streets or in the *Palaestra* of Cornutus, the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD *palaestra* built in the southwestern part of the city.<sup>1409</sup>

Both suggestions seem probable since herms could be placed at crossroads, where a person had to choose between possible roads<sup>1410</sup> or in *palaestrae* where Hermes was perceived as a patron deity. The protector gods of *palaestrae* were Hermes and Herakles and both were depicted on the reverse of a coin dating to the period of Salonina (254-268 AD).<sup>1411</sup> Another herm was found outside the city, on the way leading to the possible river port of Kestros, to the east, near the village of Solak.<sup>1412</sup> This herm, again made of reddish limestone, was spotted in a large area with lots of small stones, roof tiles, marble slabs and architectural fragments dating to the Roman Imperial period. The herm has been interpreted as a possible indicator of a small sanctuary nearby, located outside the city on the way to the harbor.<sup>1413</sup> It might have been erected at the entrance of a small temple having an apotropaic function and a liminal characteristic but it might also have been a marker, placed on the route to the harbor. Determining its real function is not possible since it is not longer *in situ*.

The parapet wall in the theater separating the *cavea* and *orchestra* is embellished with herms (Figure 4.177). This wall and its decoration is thought to be related with the

---

<sup>1407</sup> Apollod. Bibl. 3. 29-30.

<sup>1408</sup> İnan 1997b, 73.

<sup>1409</sup> Delemen 2013, 103-10.

<sup>1410</sup> Allan 2018, 55.

<sup>1411</sup> www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #4147.

<sup>1412</sup> Martini 2008a, 174.

<sup>1413</sup> Martini 2008a, 174.

period of Tacitus (275-276 AD) and with the *Agon Takitios Metropolitios*, which started during this period and might have included gladiatorial games and staged naval battles.<sup>1414</sup>

In his book *The Peloponnesian War* (431 BC), Thucydides stated that the herms in Athens were quadrangular stone figures that commonly stood in the doorways of houses and sanctuaries.<sup>1415</sup> In the *Description of Greece*, Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) also told that the Athenians were the first ones to erect limbless herms.<sup>1416</sup> Herms were undoubtedly related with the god Hermes as the god's name was derived from *herma*, which means a pile of stones created near a road by every traveler who individually added a stone as she/he passed nearby so that this pile of stones functioned as a landmark.<sup>1417</sup> In Athens, Hipparchos (528-514 BC), one of Peisistratos' sons, was seen as the first one who systematically erected stone herms as distance and direction markers in the countryside of Athens.<sup>1418</sup> However, the recent discovery of an inscribed herm in Rhamnous, which was dedicated by Laches to protect the herds, predates Hipparchos' reign; thus, it indicates that the placement of stone herms began before 528-514 BC.<sup>1419</sup> The Rhamnous herm also reveals the early perception of Hermes as the guardian of cattle and herds. In Kerameikos a herm with three faces was set up at a crossroad.<sup>1420</sup> This had the function of road marker as a milestone as well as an apotropaic function and continued in the time of Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), since he started to describe the city of Skotitas in Lakonia by saying "on the way from the Hermae the whole of the region is full of oak-trees".<sup>1421</sup> He further stated that a herm was used to set the boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis<sup>1422</sup> and Phalaisia (a city in Arkadia) was twenty stadia away from the herm that stood in Belmina.<sup>1423</sup> Returning to the other functions of herms, apart from that a road marker, Athens is especially rich in evidence confirming Thucydides' account. The function of herms as divine gate-keepers is best illustrated by Alkamene's herm of Hermes *Propylaios* dating to the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, which stood at the entrance of the Acropolis.<sup>1424</sup> The sanctuaries and buildings on the Athenian Agora and in its vicinity

---

<sup>1414</sup> Özdizbay 2008, 130-31.

<sup>1415</sup> Thucydides, *Historiai*. The Peloponnesian War, 6.27.1.

<sup>1416</sup> Pausan. 1.24.3.

<sup>1417</sup> Furley 1996, 18-19.

<sup>1418</sup> Furley 1996, 17-18.

<sup>1419</sup> Faraone 2018, 135.

<sup>1420</sup> Furley 1996, 16.

<sup>1421</sup> Pausan.3.10.6.

<sup>1422</sup> Pausan.8.34.6; 8.35.2

<sup>1423</sup> Pausan. 8.35.3.

<sup>1424</sup> Willers 1967, 37-109.

have produced archaeological evidence for the placement of herms in their doorways.<sup>1425</sup> A herm was also present at the gates of the Piraeios wall dating to 395 BC.<sup>1426</sup> The herms maintained their sacred functions, even though the shape was largely used for private portraiture in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>1427</sup> An inscribed herm found in the *gymnasium* of Corinth lists the names of the officials and winners in the imperial games organized in honor of Nero (54-68 AD).<sup>1428</sup> There have also been found two Roman herms in Pergamon and Ephesos, which are both copies of Alkamenes' Hermes *Propylaios* statue that stood at the gate of the Acropolis. The Pergamene herm is a copy dating to the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD) and was found during the 1903 excavations near the "Attalos house".<sup>1429</sup> According to Radt, Attalos Paterklianos, who was the later owner of this originally Hellenistic house, refurbished it in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD with newly added works of art, particularly with inscribed herms, such as the Alkamenes' herm, now preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.<sup>1430</sup> The herm from Ephesos was discovered in the 1928 excavations at the entrance of the *gymnasium* of Vedius.<sup>1431</sup> It is not possible to certainly ascribe a sacred function to both of these herms. Were they just mere decorative elements or did they have also an intended sacred connotation? The situation is similar when it comes to the herms of Perge: they may have been used as road markers, erected at intersections, placed at the gates of a sanctuary and/or a *gymnasium* or just have been used for decorative purposes, like the ones in the theater. However, it is impossible to determine their exact function due to the lack of contextual evidence.

Side is very rich as far as statues and reliefs of Hermes are concerned. Three Hermes torsos, including a sandal-tying type, were found in the so-called "Building M" (Figure 4.178). "Building M" is situated south of the theater- agora complex and is connected with it via a colonnaded street. In addition, there exists another street coming from the east and reaching the building.<sup>1432</sup> Therefore, "Building M" is located on a prominent position in the city, where cultural, commercial and religious buildings were constructed. The building consisted of a peristyle with three aligned rooms behind the peristyle in the eastern section. In the light of new research conducted in the area, it has

---

<sup>1425</sup> Furley 1996, 13-17.

<sup>1426</sup> Furley 1996, 16.

<sup>1427</sup> For the use of herm shafts for private portraiture, see Fejfer 2008, 228-33.

<sup>1428</sup> Wiseman 2015, 193-246.

<sup>1429</sup> Winter 1904, 208-11; Radt 2002, 97.

<sup>1430</sup> Radt 2002, 97.

<sup>1431</sup> Schuchhardt 1977, 31.

<sup>1432</sup> Mansel 1978, 169-86.

been identified as a bath-*gymnasium* complex and its first construction phase has been dated to the Late Hadrianic period.<sup>1433</sup> Apart from Hermes statues, statues of other deities, like Ares, Herakles, Nike, Hygeia, Nemesis, and Asklepios, as well as of athletes and emperors were found during the excavations and these can be dated to the Antonine period.<sup>1434</sup> If this building was a *gymnasium* as it has been suggested, then the statues of Hermes may have been placed here in order to accentuate the deity's status as the patron god of the *epheboi* and *gymnasia*.

Another finding spot of Hermes statues in Side is the fountain with three pools located immediately north of the theater-agera complex whose façade opens to the colonnaded street. One statue depicts Hermes standing with a *chlamys* fastened around his shoulders, holding a money purse in his right hand, a *kerkyeion* in his left one and wings on his head (Figure 4.179).<sup>1435</sup> The support of the statue at its left side is a pillar, on which only an archaizing head with long beard and genitalia are shown. Besides, of a second statue only the head is preserved<sup>1436</sup>; therefore, no indications about his attributes are present (Figure 4.180). The architecture and the ornaments of the fountain date the building to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, but since all the statues can be dated to the Antonine Period (138-180 AD), researchers have assumed that all the statues were brought here from various different buildings with the main purpose of decorating the newly constructed building.<sup>1437</sup> Finally, a Hermes head was found during the cleaning work conducted in the "N1-N2 temple area" in the west of the peninsula (Figure 4.181).<sup>1438</sup> The relation between this head to the temples remains unclear.

In some cases, not the god himself but only one of his attributes was used to represent the deity. An example can be seen on one of the reused door lintels of a room related to a Christian chapel of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>1439</sup> An altar and a *kerkyeion* are depicted on the lintel. In its original usage, the door possibly gave access to a space related to the Hermes cult. Alternatively, these symbols may also have been chosen because the god's place was on thresholds and at entrances of houses -as opposed to Hestia- since he

---

<sup>1433</sup> Yurtsever 2018, 889-907.

<sup>1434</sup> Mansel 1978, 177-83.

<sup>1435</sup> İnan 1975, 59-66, no.19.

<sup>1436</sup> İnan 1975, 29-36, no.6.

<sup>1437</sup> The statuary repertoire of the fountain consists of two statues of Hermes, and a statue of Athena and also a statue of Aphrodite. However, judging from the traces on the head fragment of Hermes, İnan argued that this statue, originally a Hermes statue, was transformed into an Apollo statue by removing the *petasos* or wings on its head; so the second important deity worshipped in Side after Athena could have taken place in the fountain, İnan 1975, 31.

<sup>1438</sup> İnan 1975, 89-90, no.35.

<sup>1439</sup> Mansel 1978, 277.

was responsible for protecting the house from dangers coming from outside. However, this remains hypothetical given the lack of further epigraphic and/or architectural evidence.<sup>1440</sup>

Apart from the Hermes statues found in the newly identified bath-*gymnasium* complex, it is not possible to make exact conclusions about the possible meanings of the Hermes statues in Side. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence is surprisingly silent about a possible cult, ritual, temple personnel and/or festivals. The sole presence of statues, none of which is referred to as cult statue, cannot be considered as evidence for the presence of a Hermes cult in Side.

Finally, we should also lay emphasis on a different aspect of Hermes that was important for the Pamphylian cities. In the context of Hermes and divination, we need to take into consideration a special group of inscriptions known as *astragaloi* inscriptions (dice oracle inscriptions). Divination by means of *astragaloi* -knuckle bones of sheep- (astragalomancy) was a special kind of divination, which relied on casting the number carved on *astragaloi* like on dices -rolling five different bones at once or one bone five times- and interpreting the result of a throw according to the sum of the numbers on the bones, either by using an oracle or with the help of a set of inscriptions in verses written on rectangular pillars. The lowest number was one and the highest was fifty-six. For instance, the lower number, which is five, invokes Zeus Olympios who said:

*“If you see only Chians: Zeus will give good thinking to  
Your mind stranger; he will grant happiness to your work,  
For which you will give thanks. But appease Aphrodite and  
The son of Maia”*<sup>1441</sup>

If one casted eight, the Moirai advised:

*“If one four and four Chians in a row are cast: Don’t do  
the business you are engaged in; it will not turn out  
well. It would be difficult and impossible around someone*

---

<sup>1440</sup> There are reliefs, such as Zeus’ lightning bolt, Herakles’ club, phallos, shield and *kerykeion* on the door lintels of many towers, workshops and buildings in the area between the Göksu and Limonlu Rivers in Rough Cilicia. Since some of these reliefs, known as *olba* symbols, were also found on Macedonian coins, they are thought to have been brought to the region by the Seleucids. One opinion interprets these symbols as indicators of the territory of the Olba temple state. The meaning of these symbols and their function should be examined in more detail by comparing them with examples in other regions, see Şahin 2007, 136.

<sup>1441</sup> Graf 2005, 84.

*who tires himself out. But if you abroad for some time,  
no harm will come from it*<sup>1442</sup>

It was a different practice than consulting an oracle, such as at Delphi or Didyma, and could be practiced anywhere on the condition that one had an *astragaloï* inscription. Therefore, Larson called this practice an oracle for poor men, who could not afford to travel elsewhere to address oracles.<sup>1443</sup> *Astragaloï* inscriptions were mainly written in hexametric verses; the structure of the inscriptions were all the same with minor differences depending on the city. The prophecy that was read on the stone was directly connected to the thrower's luck since the outcome was determined by the hand of a god.<sup>1444</sup> In the texts, generally, the names of many deities were present, but some inscriptions were dedicated to a specific deity. In the Classical tradition, Hermes was usually seen as a lucky/luck-bringing god. His association with divination was already mentioned earlier in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (late 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) as Hermes wanted to possess a famous oracular sanctuary like his brother Apollo did at Delphi, but he had to settle for a minor form of divination, which included giving oracles by interpreting the flight of bees.<sup>1445</sup> In his *Bibliothèque*, Apollodoros (1st-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) stated that Hermes received divination with lots.<sup>1446</sup> One of Hermes' epithets was *Kledonios*, which means "responsible for chance announcements".<sup>1447</sup> Furthermore, Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) mentioned an interesting story of how someone received oracles from Hermes *Agoraios* at Pharae, a town in Achaia in Southern Greece. In order to consult the god, one should enter the agora, light an incense, place a coin on the altar and whisper his/her question in the god's ear. After the question, the person should cover his/her ears to stop all sounds and after leaving the agora, the first phrase he/she heard was the answer to the question.<sup>1448</sup> Some of the inscriptions in southwestern Asia Minor include indications that they were closely related to Hermes.

The practice of divination by casting animal bones is an ancient tradition, especially in the southern parts of Asia Minor, which went back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as the *astragaloï* on coins of Selge indicate.<sup>1449</sup> The special group of inscriptions known as

---

<sup>1442</sup> Graf 2005, 85.

<sup>1443</sup> Larson 2007b, 143.

<sup>1444</sup> Graf 2005, 61.

<sup>1445</sup> Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 4, 550-68.

<sup>1446</sup> Apollod. 3.115.

<sup>1447</sup> Graf 2005, 74-5.

<sup>1448</sup> Pausan. 7.22.2-3, Larson 2007b, 146.

<sup>1449</sup> Talloen 2015, 58, footnote 55.



*astragaloi* inscriptions got spread over a geographically limited area in southwestern Anatolia and reached Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Pisidia. They mainly date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1450</sup> A total of 21 *astragaloi* inscriptions was found in southwestern Anatolia. The cities where these inscriptions were found are Laodikeia, Anabura, Ormeleis (Tefenni), Takina (near Burdur), Tyrianon (territory of Balboura), Prostanna, Sagalassos and its territory, Adada, Kremna, Termessos and its territory, Selge, Attaleia, Perge and its territory, Hamaxia and Antiocheia ad Cragum.<sup>1451</sup> However, only 10 of them can be related to a building. Among these buildings are temples and their *temenoi* (Tyrianon, Kitanaura/Marmareis<sup>1452</sup>, Selge, Hamaxia, and Antiocheia *ad Cragum*), agoras (Kremna and Termessos), gates (Termessos), a theater wall (Perge) and colonnaded streets (Perge).<sup>1453</sup>

Perge and Attalaia are two cities in Pamphylia that provide inscriptions with oracular texts. One badly preserved *astragaloi* inscription found in the north-south colonnaded street of Perge was dedicated by a freedman named Titus Flavius to the Theos Sebastos, Artemis Pergaia, Hermes and the People.<sup>1454</sup> In the first line, it reads that (the stone) belongs to Hermes *Astragalomanteia*, “Hermes of the dice oracles”, accentuating the god’s special role as an overseer of this practice. In Perge, a votive inscription was dedicated by Titus Flavius to Hermes; it most probably concerns the same person as the one who erected the *astragaloi* inscription.<sup>1455</sup> Another, less well-preserved *astragaloi* inscription was written on marble slabs that probably covered the outer façade of the theater or stood next to the theater fountain, which was integrated into the outer façade of the stage building.<sup>1456</sup> This inscription, however, bears no dedication for Hermes. It is clear that both inscriptions were placed in areas where traffic was busy. Especially the one erected at the theater, outside the southern city gate of the city, was probably intended not only for the citizens but also for travelers coming to the city from the south. The other inscription comes from the village of İncik (Morka Kome) situated north of Perge, but still in its territory.<sup>1457</sup> It is a nearly complete inscription with 53 verses, but the dedication on the top is missing (the complete inscription must have consisted of 56 verses). Each

---

<sup>1450</sup> Graff 2005, 54.

<sup>1451</sup> Nollé 2007, 1-24.

<sup>1452</sup> The location is indicated by Graff as Marmareis in Eastern Lycia, whereas Nollé describes Marmareis in Pisidia/Lycia, in the territory of Termessos and Kitanaura.

<sup>1453</sup> Nollé 2007, 24.

<sup>1454</sup> Şahin 1999a, 243-45, no. 205.

<sup>1455</sup> Şahin 1999a, 275, no. 240.

<sup>1456</sup> Şahin 1999a, 245-46, no.206.

<sup>1457</sup> Ormerod 1912, 270-76; Şahin 1999a, 247-59, no. 207; Nollé 2007, 95-101.

verse starts with the name of the deity who gives the oracular response<sup>1458</sup> and Hermes appears twice, once as *Hermes Soter*, “savior” and a second time as *Hermes Kerdeporos*, “who brings gain in the trade”. Another *astragaloi* inscriptions coming from Pamphylia was found in Attaleia and is reused in a house. The top of the stone is not preserved, so the dedication line is lost and only the verses between lines 44 and 53 have been preserved.<sup>1459</sup> Some *astragaloi* inscriptions found in other regions were also associated with Hermes. The dedication part of an inscription found in Sagalassos was completed by Nollé in such a way that it was dedicated to *Hermes Astragalomanteia*, just like the inscription coming from Perge.<sup>1460</sup> The Latin prologue in an inscription found in Kremna states that L. Fabricius Longius, his wife Vibia Tatia and his heir Fabricia Lucilla erected an *astragaloi* inscription on which can be read *Mercurium dedicaverunt*, which means that they identified the stone as a Hermes.<sup>1461</sup> The same formula, *i.e.* “dedicating a Hermes”, appears on another example from Kitanaura/Marmareis, which records that Hermaios dedicated the “Hermes” and what was around it to at his own expense.<sup>1462</sup> Graf and Nollé rightfully pointed out that either the *astragaloi* inscription was identified with Hermes because of the god’s connection with astragalomancy, or they dedicated an image of Hermes -aniconic or iconic- that probably stood on top of the inscription, or both.<sup>1463</sup> The line “what is around it” in the inscription was interpreted by Graf as a table with a flat surface where the *astragaloi* could be thrown on, a container for the bones or maybe other equipment related to it, so that the whole divination process could take place under the eyes of Hermes.<sup>1464</sup>

The city of Hamaxia (Sinekkalesi) at the border between East Pamphylia and West Cilicia is very rich in inscriptions informing us about the presence of a Hermes cult in the city. The wall surrounding the possible -now destroyed- temple of Hermes features name lists of priests of Hermes dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. 67 names of Hermes priests, each with a patronymic are recorded. No priest occurs more than once in the inscription. According to Bean and Mitford, the fact that Roman names are rare shows

---

<sup>1458</sup> Among the deities are Zeus Olympios, Athena Areia, Moirai, Zeus’ eagle, Daimon Megistos, Tyche, Nike, Asklepios, Aphrodite, Zeus and Athena, the Horai, Poseidon, Zeus Soter, Zeus Ammon, Zeus Ksenios, Herakles, Ares, Kronos, Apollo Delphios, Isis Soter, Sarapis, Nemesis, Adrasteia, the Moirai, Selene, the Dioskouroi, Hephaistos, Demeter, Helios, Kronos, Men, and Kybele, see Şahin 1999a, 247-59, no. 207.

<sup>1459</sup> Nollé 2007, 91-4.

<sup>1460</sup> Nollé 2007, 55.

<sup>1461</sup> Nollé 2007, 70.

<sup>1462</sup> Graf 2005, 73; Nollé 2007, 86;

<sup>1463</sup> Graf 2005, 73-74.

<sup>1464</sup> Graf 2005, 74.

that the priesthood office was mainly held by locals. The lack of an Aurelius *gentilicium* points to a date before 212 AD.<sup>1465</sup> Moreover, a dedicatory inscription made by the wife of a certain Kallikrates dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD informs us about the objects that she dedicated to Hermes: a shrine (*naos*), a base for Hermes (*basis*), a Hermes -statue- (*Hermes*), altars (*bomoi*), a table (*trapezos*) and a precinct wall (*kagkelos*).<sup>1466</sup> Besides, a poorly preserved *astragaloi* oracle inscription written on stone slabs was also found in the same city. Judging by the large size of the letters, Bean and Mitford assumed that the original document covered a temple wall. If this suggestion is correct, then the objects dedicated by the wife of Kallikrates, such as the table, may have been in connection with the oracular activity that was conducted in the shrine. If this is true, the city of Hamaxia provides us with an example of an oracular shrine dedicated to Hermes. Finally, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD inscribed votive stele with a depiction of Hermes holding a *kerykeion* and dedicated to Hermes by Mousaios Hermogenes further reinforces the cult of Hermes in the city.<sup>1467</sup>

In Rough Cilicia an institutionalized cult of Hermes with temples and personnel is attested. In the settlement of Çatiören, located in the territory of Korykos, a well-preserved Doric temple of Hermes with an *in antis* plan and -based on its masonry technique- dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, is present.<sup>1468</sup> On the outer walls of the *naos*, two reliefs of a *kerykeion* were carved (Figure 4.182). An inscription dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD found in the *cella* states that Pomponius Niger, a priest of Hermes, built the seats, the stairs, and the kitchen at his own expense.<sup>1469</sup> Another temple in Korokykion Antron, again in the territory of Korokykos and dating to the Hellenistic period, has long been interpreted as a temple of Zeus Korykios. The name list carved on the temple's outer wall façade contains priests of Zeus Korykios. However, based on the deity's strong presence in other areas of Rough Cilicia, Şahin recently suggested the possibility that the temple might have been dedicated to Hermes.<sup>1470</sup> In contrast, in a recent publication, Durukan argued that Pan might have been among the deities venerated here alongside Zeus and Hermes. His argument is based on the presence of a cave and a temple that stood close to each other and on the analogies that he made with various sanctuaries of

---

<sup>1465</sup> Bean and Mitford 1970, 80-84, nos. 54a, b, c.

<sup>1466</sup> Mitford 1990, 2142.

<sup>1467</sup> Mitford 1990, 2142.

<sup>1468</sup> For detailed information on the settlement of Çatiören and its temple, see Morel 2017, 381-420.

<sup>1469</sup> Hicks 1891, no. 13.

<sup>1470</sup> Şahin 2012, 65-79.

Pan, for instance in Delphi and in Caesarea Philippi/Banias.<sup>1471</sup> However, no evidence is present concerning oracular activities established on these sites. A case similar to that of Hamaxia may be present in Termessos, where an *astragaloï* inscription is recorded on a statue base of Hermes, who had a priest in the city.<sup>1472</sup> Another city that produced an *astragaloï* inscription is Ormaleis (in Tefenni) and inscriptions recording the rituals of the Zeus cult feature the names of the priests of Hermes and Dionysos.<sup>1473</sup> Epigraphic testimony reveals that some cities with *astragaloï* inscriptions, such as Hamaxia, Ormeleis, and Termessos, also had Hermes priests. However, it is not clear whether these priests took active roles in the process of the prophecy. According to Larson, astragalomancy was a process devoid of priestly service, which would give this oracular activity both its popularity and its inferior status.<sup>1474</sup> Although priests were not performing this practice, they may nevertheless still have been present. Our best and clearest evidence for the diviners of Hermes comes from Olbia Pontika in modern Ukraine. Here, in a joint sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite two inscribed magical *ostraka* dating to 400 BC were found. The inscriptions on the *ostraka* that were used for magical purposes state that Pharnabazos and Aristoteles, the diviners of Hermes, were cursed to death. According to Lebedev, these were itinerant diviners working at the agora of Olbia and due to personal rivalry, they casted a spell on each other. Itinerant oracles of the Roman Period are also known in Asia Minor,<sup>1475</sup> but their relation with Hermes and astragalomancy is not clear.

In conclusion, it can be said that in Pamphylia various aspects of Hermes were present. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, he was venerated together with Hestia as the *theoi philoi* and he had a domestic function as the protector of thresholds and dangers coming from outside. His statues mainly date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and decorated many buildings in Side and Perge. Statues in bath-*gymnasium* complexes corroborated his role as the deity of ephebes and sportive activities conducted in *gymnasia*. Furthermore, in Perge a *phyle* was named after Hermes.<sup>1476</sup> The *phylai* in cities could use divine names reflecting the city's dominant deities or the protective deity of the *phyle*. The deity thus acted as a tutelary deity for the *phyle*. Hermes also had divinatory powers, as he was

---

<sup>1471</sup> Durukan 2019, 25-28, 48-56, 65-67.

<sup>1472</sup> İplikçioğlu 2007, 297, no. 205.

<sup>1473</sup> Ramsay 1895, 310, no. 127.

<sup>1474</sup> Larson 2011, 350.

<sup>1475</sup> Lebedev 1996, 268-78.

<sup>1476</sup> Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, no. 8.

connected with dice oracle inscriptions in Pamphylia and neighboring regions. Moreover, he was widely represented on the coins of various cities from the Hellenistic period onwards into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD with attributes referring to his role as the patron deity of merchants and the messenger of the gods. His priests are only attested at Hamaxia, where he had a temple. His only known epithet from the region is *astragalomanteia*. It is, however, surprising that he is not venerated as *Hermes Agoraios*, “Hermes of the Agora”, in cities where trade, both maritime and overland, held an important place in the urban development. This may be due to the lack of information or another deity may have taken this role in the Pamphylian cities.

#### 4.9 The Cult of Egyptian Deities in Pamphylia

One of the most distinctive aspects of the religious life in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods was the introduction of new deities from both West and East. These deities, who entered the religious life of Asia Minor, may have been worshipped without losing their original features or they may have undergone some changes, such as getting new epithets and undergoing syncretism with existing deities. This chapter deals with the worship of Egyptian deities in Pamphylia, a region that maintained relations with Egypt from the Archaic period onwards.

In the earlier periods, the relation between Pamphylia and Egypt was mainly on an economic and military basis. Phaselis was among the twelve cities that participated in the foundation of the *Hellenion* in Naukratis (6<sup>th</sup> century BC) which was the most important trading post in Egypt before the foundation of Alexandria (331 BC).<sup>1477</sup> Coin hoards found in Egypt dating to the Archaic Period also contains coins from Phaselis,<sup>1478</sup> representing the commercial relations between Phaselis and Egypt during that period.

According to the evidence, during the Hellenistic period, the relation between Pamphylia and Egypt intensified, especially after the foundation of Alexandria. A neighborhood called *Aspendia* was known in the city,<sup>1479</sup> and in Hadra, the city's

---

<sup>1477</sup> According to Herodotos, the sanctuary of the *Hellenion* was the largest, the best known and most visited sanctuary in Naukratis, see Hdt. 2. 178-79. For the cults worshipped in the *Hellenion*, see Hockmann-Möller 2006, 11-23.

<sup>1478</sup> A burial from Damanhur dating to 500 BC contains coins of Phaselis and Selge, IGCH, no.1637; from Sakha a coin of Phaselis dating to the 5th century BC IGCH no.1639; a coin of Phaselis from Benha el Asl dating to 485 BC, IGCH, no. 1640; from Asyat a coin of Phaselis dating to 475 BC IGCH, no. 1644; From Zagazig a coin of Phaselis dating to 470 BC, IGCH no.1655.

<sup>1479</sup> Athenaios, IV 75.

necropolis, some *hydriai*, which were used as urns, provided names from Aspendos and Arsinoe.<sup>1480</sup> The economic dimension of this relation was also manifested through the frequency of Sidetan coins found in coin hoards of Egypt.<sup>1481</sup> Egypt also received many people from Pamphylia who left their marks in the epigraphic record. Some of these come from a religious context; they were carved on the walls of sanctuaries.

An inscription from Naukratis dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC records a dedication made to Artemis Pergaia.<sup>1482</sup> Besides, the Pamphylians also made a dedication to Artemis Pergaia in the Fayoum in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>1483</sup> Moreover, the name of an Aspendian was carved on the west wall of the temple of Arensnuphis in Philai in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>1484</sup> Besides, the sanctuary of Pan in Res el Kanais provides dedicatory inscriptions of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC carved on the walls of the sanctuary or its environs by Pamphylians. For instance, the name of Didymarchos, son of Eumelos, from Perge appears in three inscriptions dedicated to Pan Soter.<sup>1485</sup> Molesis from Perge and Erymnesis from Aspendos offered an ex-voto to Pan in return of being saved thanks to the god.<sup>1486</sup> Melanias from Perge dedicated a votive offering to Pan *Euodos Soter*, “Pan of fair paths and saviour”, since he safely returned from Troglodytes.<sup>1487</sup> The names of three people from Sillyon, Dionysios, Menneas and Theodoros,<sup>1488</sup> and one person whose name is not preserved,<sup>1489</sup> were also recorded in the sanctuary. Finally, a certain Dionysios from Aspendos also dedicated an ex-voto to Pan.<sup>1490</sup> The sanctuary, which was originally built by Seti I in 1290-1279 BC, was an important way-station between the Nile valley and the Red Sea and these inscriptions illustrate the records of repeated visits and the dedications made as thank-offerings to Pan for safe travel in the desert. The graffiti featuring the names of the Pamphylians, such as Eumelos from Perge,<sup>1491</sup> Korragos from Aspendos<sup>1492</sup>, and Neon from Phaselis,<sup>1493</sup> were carved on the temple

---

<sup>1480</sup> Launey 1987, 1221-22.

<sup>1481</sup> For Sidetan coins in the Egyptian coin hoards, see IGCH nos. 1664, 1667-70.

<sup>1482</sup> The provenance of the inscription is unknown but it has been suggested that it belonged to Naukratis, see Bernand 1970, no.746, 8.

<sup>1483</sup> Bernand 1981, 122-23, no.199.

<sup>1484</sup> Bernand 1989, no. 313.

<sup>1485</sup> Bernand 1972, 86-87, no.25, 101-2, no. 39, 102-3, no. 40.

<sup>1486</sup> Bernand 1972, 103, no.41.

<sup>1487</sup> Bernand 1972, 109-12, no. 43. The Troglodytes were local peoples of the Eastern desert hills.

<sup>1488</sup> Bernand 1972, 119, no. 48-49.

<sup>1489</sup> Bernand 1972, 157-58, no. 89.

<sup>1490</sup> Bernand 1972, 153-54, no. 84.

<sup>1491</sup> Perdrizet-Lefebvre 1919, no. 128.

<sup>1492</sup> Perdrizet-Lefebvre 1919, no. 214.

<sup>1493</sup> SEG 26:1711

walls of Seti I in Abydos. Some Phaselites also visited the Valley of the Kings in Thebes, as evidenced by their names on the walls of tombs.<sup>1494</sup> Although some of these visits may have had a religious purpose, some of them seem to have been made solely for touristic interests. For instance, a Sidetan named Athenaios, visited the Valley of the Kings in Thebes in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and carved his name in the tomb of Memnon.<sup>1495</sup>

Another reason for the extensive relation between Pamphylia and Egypt was based on military purposes. Launey, who studied the Hellenistic armies, provided a list of Pamphylians who served at different positions in the Ptolemaic armies or in the cities.<sup>1496</sup> Three Aspendians are in this list: Athenaios served as a *cleruch* in Pathyris (Gebelein), Andromachos was a *strategos* of Ptolemaios IV (221-204 BC) and Hermogenes was a *strategos* of Antiochos (281-261 BC). The Pamphylians were no stranger to the Egyptian culture from the Archaic period onwards but, judging from the existing evidence, the introduction of Egyptian deities into the pantheon of Pamphylia happened in the Hellenistic period. It is important to note that the term “Egyptian deities” denotes an immense amount of deities worshipped in Egypt. On the other hand, the spread of Egyptian deities in Asia Minor was mainly confined to Isis, Sarapis, and Harpokrates.

Isis was an ancient Egyptian goddess, who was worshipped as a protectress of agriculture, and whose cult was spread throughout Egypt before the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC and thus became the great goddess of nature. She was the consort of Osiris as the queen of heavens and after his dismemberment she was also worshipped as the goddess of the Underworld.<sup>1497</sup> An inscription of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD found in the sanctuary of Isis in Kyme illustrates for which reasons she was worshipped. This inscription of aretology nature follows as “*I am Isis the tyrant of the whole land, I established laws for humans, and created legislation which no one has the power to change, I am she who invented crops for humans, I invented fishing and seafaring, I arranged that women should bring babies to the light after nine months, I, with my brother Osiris, ended cannibalism, I showed initiations to humans, I am mistress of rivers, winds, and sea, I am mistress of seamanship.*”<sup>1498</sup> In the Greek pantheon, she was associated with Demeter, since they were both responsible for the harvest, abundance, and fertility. She was generally depicted with cow's horns, her sacred animal, in her headdress. These horns were mistakenly identified as a crescent, and a result she was also

---

<sup>1494</sup> Baillet 1926, nos. 265, 276, 615, 1214.

<sup>1495</sup> Baillet 1926, nos. 1175, 1962.

<sup>1496</sup> Launey 1987, 1221-22.

<sup>1497</sup> Magie 1953, 166.

<sup>1498</sup> For the complete translation of the text, see Martzavou 2012, 267-91.

identified as Selene. She was depicted in Hellenic attire with an Isis knot between her breasts, holding a *sistrum* and a *situla* and sometimes a *basileion* (crown of Isis) on her head. She often held baby Horus in her arms representing her status of mother goddess.<sup>1499</sup>

The cult of Sarapis was founded in Alexandria by Ptolemaios I (305/4-282 BC) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and developed from the worship of a chthonic deity at Memphis called Osiris- Apis/Oserapis. According to the tradition,<sup>1500</sup> upon a dream Ptolemaios brought the colossal Jupiter Dis (Pluto) statue from Sinope to Alexandria, where it was renamed as Sarapis, who eventually became the chief deity of the Ptolemaic kingdom. As a successor of Osiris, he was the partner of Isis and responsible for the abundance of the earth, as the *kalathos* on his head implied, and he was the king of the Underworld. Iconographically,<sup>1501</sup> he was clearly identified with Pluto/Hades, since he was generally depicted seated on a throne, holding a scepter in his hand with a Kerberos near his feet. He was also represented as standing, holding a *phiale* and a scepter. Apart from Pluto/Hades, he was also associated with Zeus, Asklepios, and Helios.<sup>1502</sup>

Harpokrates, which means “Horus the child” in Greek, was the child of Isis and Osiris. He represented the ideal child and protector of infancy. He was depicted as a young boy with his finger on his lips, a characteristic Egyptian gesture which made him distinctive. A solar or moon disc could also be shown on his head.<sup>1503</sup>

The spread of the cult of the Egyptian triad of Sarapis, Isis, and Harpokrates was mainly due to the power and influence of Ptolemaic Egypt from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards. The similarities between Isis and Demeter and the Mother Goddess and the deliberately Hellenized appearance of Sarapis undoubtedly paved the way for the adoption and spread of these deities into the pantheon of Asia Minor. The worship of these deities was used by the Ptolemaic monarchs to ensure the loyalty of their Hellenic subjects and to strengthen the ties between the Egyptian and Greek communities. The political agenda of the monarchs, the economic activities of traders and travelers and the presence of priests contributed to the expansion of these deities and their worship into Asia Minor from the Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>1504</sup>

---

<sup>1499</sup> For Isis iconography, Tran Tam Tinh 1990, 761-96.

<sup>1500</sup> Tacitus, 4.83-84

<sup>1501</sup> For the iconography of Sarapis, see Clerc-Leclant 1994, 666-92.

<sup>1502</sup> Magie 1953, 167-69.

<sup>1503</sup> Talloen 2001, 291. For the iconography of Harpokrates, see 1988, 4; Tran Tam Tinh et al. 1988, 415-45.

<sup>1504</sup> Magie 1953.



Caria and the islands Rhodos and Kos, as well as Lycia, including Xanthos and Phaselis, were among the places where the worship of the Egyptian deities was first seen due to control exercised upon these places by Ptolemaios I Soter in 309 BC. The 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC coins of Phaselis feature a lyre, a torch and the crown of Isis on their reverse (Figure 4.183).<sup>1505</sup> It is also important to note that the cult of Sarapis and Isis was also present at Lindos, the mother city of Phaselis.<sup>1506</sup> In addition, an inscription found in Egypt dating to 116 BC records a dedication made by Nestor, a Phaselite who had served military offices, to Ptolemaios VIII, his wife Cleopatra, their children and Isis, Sarapis, and Horus.<sup>1507</sup> Considering the fact that the Phaselites were very active in Egypt from the Archaic period onwards, and taking into account their status under Ptolemaic rule, similar to that of their mother city Lindos, as well as the presence of a harbor where maritime traffic was very active, the existence of Egyptian cults in the city is not surprising. What is interesting though is the lack of Egyptian cults in the Roman Imperial period. This absence may be explained by the lack of evidence due to the limited research conducted in the city or by the fact that the disappearance of the Ptolemaic rule led to the decrease of the Isis/Sarapis cult in the city. An inscription of Hellenistic date found in Korakesion records that Attias, son of Kleandros, dedicated an offering to Sarapis upon a dream, a common feature of the cult of Sarapis.<sup>1508</sup> This suggests that Sarapis was also worshipped in the eastern part of the region.

A text that provides information on the worship of Sarapis by an Aspendian in Egypt can be found in the letter written by Zoilos to Apollonios on a papyrus dated to 257 BC. In his letter, Zoilos attempted to convince Apollonios to establish a new sanctuary for Sarapis, possibly in Memphis. Zoilos also declared that this request came directly from the god himself whom he repeatedly saw in his dreams. The city where Zoilos sent this letter to is thought to be Saqqara. There already existed a *Sarapeion* where the Greeks paid their respects to the god but it either did not fit the demand or the Greeks were not happy how the Egyptian priests treated them. The text is important since it shows how the Sarapis cult became quickly popular and was adopted by the Greeks living in Egypt after its foundation by Ptolemaios I right before his death in 282 BC. Thus, it indicates

---

<sup>1505</sup> BMC no. 16, SNG Aulock no. 4437.

<sup>1506</sup> Koester 1998, 113-16.

<sup>1507</sup> Bingen 1979, 304-9.

<sup>1508</sup> Nollé et al. 2001b. 127, no. 4.

the process of the foundation of a new sanctuary in which dreaming about the god played a significant role.<sup>1509</sup>

The evidence about these cults increased during the Roman Imperial period. However, the presence of Egyptian deities in Pamphylia was largely confined to local coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The coins of Attaleia mainly portrayed the bust of Sarapis wearing a *kalathos* (Figure 4.184), a standing Sarapis before an altar holding a scepter and a nude Harpokrates carrying a *cornucopia*.<sup>1510</sup> The depictions of Harpokrates are started to be seen from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards.<sup>1511</sup> On the coins of Korakesion, Sarapis is either seated on a throne holding a *patera* and a long scepter with Kerberos at his feet, or standing with a raised hand while holding a scepter.<sup>1512</sup> The iconography of the Aspendian coins is various. Isis and Sarapis are both depicted separately and together. Some of the coins with Sarapis' representation are similar to those in other cities: he is either seated on a throne with Kerberos, standing over a lighted altar or sitting with a shield on his knee.<sup>1513</sup> A depiction of Sarapis, which was not seen in the other Pamphylian cities, portrays the gods as driving a *quadriga* under the legend *Aspendion*, while holding a scepter and raising a hand. Below the *quadriga*, there is a river god, Eurymedon, with spreaded arms (Figure 4.185).<sup>1514</sup> On an Alexander Severus coin (222-235 AD), the god is also portrayed seated on a throne holding a scepter and with Kerberos at his feet, inside a hexastyle temple with a globe on its pediment (Figure 4.186).<sup>1515</sup> Isis, on the other hand, is portrayed on the coins as Isis *Pharia*, the protectress of winds, sails, and sea standing on a prow, holding a *sistrum* and an inflated sail.<sup>1516</sup> Another distinctive type of coins features a group of figures including

<sup>1509</sup> Renberg-Bubelis 2011, 169-200.

<sup>1510</sup> Coins with the bust of Serapis: for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4051, Baydur 1975, nos. 213-19; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4058, Baydur 1975, nos. 230-36; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no.4073, Baydur 1975, nos. 257-63; for Caracalla (197-217 AD): with standing Sarapis, <http://www.asiaminorcoins.com>, Coin ID #8057; with Harpokrates, Baydur 1975, 266.

<sup>1511</sup> Baydur 1963, 37.

<sup>1512</sup> Coins with sitting Sarapis: for Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 6014; with standing Sarapis: for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no.6939. A coin dating to the Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD) portrays a god seated in a similar pose and Kerberos on his feet is identified as Hades. If this coin depicts Sarapis, it would be the earliest coin in the region with the depiction of Sarapis, RPC III, no. 2743.

<sup>1513</sup> Coins with a seated Sarapis on a throne: for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6302; for Traianus Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1050; standing Sarapis, for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6325; for Traianus Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1055; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1073A; Sarapis seated with a shield: for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 178.

<sup>1514</sup> For Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6283.

<sup>1515</sup> [www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID #4908.

<sup>1516</sup> For Maximinus (235-238 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 178.

Sarapis who is sitting on a throne, holding a scepter and extending his hand over Kerberos, Isis who is standing before him, face to face with the god, holding a *sistrum* and behind Sarapis, a goddess, identified as Demeter who is standing while carrying a torch (Figure 4.187).<sup>1517</sup> Stone reliefs and lamps from Alexandria dating to the Roman Imperial period show a similar three-figured composition,<sup>1518</sup> indicating that this depiction was widely used in Alexandria (Figure 4.188). Finally, Harpokrates also occurred on the city's coins.<sup>1519</sup>

The city of Lyrbe also produced coins portraying Sarapis sitting on a throne.<sup>1520</sup> The cities of Magydos and Perge issued their own coins featuring a standing Sarapis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>1521</sup> and one coin from Perge depicts Sarapis standing between two military diplomas.<sup>1522</sup> Harpokrates was also depicted on the coins of this period in Perge.<sup>1523</sup> Coins with a standing Harpokrates wearing a *kalathos* and holding a branch were also struck in Side in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1524</sup>

The epigraphic evidence is scarce compared to the coin depictions. A marble altar, dating to the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD) was found on the west side of the peninsula of Side. The inscribed stone records that Sozon dedicated an altar to Zeus Helios Megalos Sarapis and the *synnoi theoi*, “the gods he shares the temple with.”<sup>1525</sup> The *synnoi theoi* were identified by Bean as Isis-Anubis or Harpokrates-Apollo but given the presence of Sarapis, Isis, and Harpokrates in the region, such an identification seems more reasonable, as Nollé already pointed out. The inscription also evidences the syncretism of Sarapis with Zeus and Helios, a phenomenon that can be seen elsewhere in Asia Minor too. For instance, inscriptions found in the temple of Zeus Panamaros in Stratonikeia, identify Sarapis as Helios Zeus Sarapis, as do an altar in Sidyma and various inscriptions in Sinope.<sup>1526</sup> The close relationship between Zeus and Sarapis in Side was recorded in another inscription dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and found near the Museum

<sup>1517</sup> For Iulia Maesa (218-220 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6265, SNG France 3, no. 171.

<sup>1518</sup> Hornbostel 1973, 373, figs. 319-20.

<sup>1519</sup> For Macrinus (217-218 AD), see BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, no. 86.

<sup>1520</sup> For Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Levante- Cilicia, no. 274.

<sup>1521</sup> For Magydos, see SNG France 3, no. 319; for Perge, see SNG France 3, no. 580.

<sup>1522</sup> SNG France 3, no. 580.

<sup>1523</sup> SNG France 3, no. 593.

<sup>1524</sup> For Severus Alexander (222- 235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6431; for Macrinus (217-218 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 825.

<sup>1525</sup> Bean 1965, 85-86, no. 52; Nollé 1993a, 273-73, no.16.

<sup>1526</sup> Magie 1953, 172, Robinson 1905, 315-23. The inscriptions from Sinope are important, since Sinope was the city from where the Zeus Dis statue was transferred to Egypt to create a Hellenized Sarapis cult. Sarapis was also only identified with Helios as shown by an inscription of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD from Didyma, see Magie 1953, 174, and a metrical inscription dedicated to Heliosarapis in Sinope, see Magie 1953, 180.

Baths.<sup>1527</sup> The altar was inscribed on three sides and recorded a dedication made by a temple warden of Sarapis and presumably Isis, to Zeus *Halonites*, “Zeus of the thresholds”. Finally, another inscription mentions a priest of Isis and Sarapis.<sup>1528</sup> Therefore, it is clear from the epigraphic sources that a temple dedicated to Zeus Helios Sarapis and other Egyptian deities stood in the city at least in the Hadrianic period. The inscription, however, does not provide information about when this temple was built, since the cult of Sarapis might have been added to an already existing Zeus temple given the ancientness of the Zeus cult in the city in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD when the Egyptian deities gained a large audience. This suggestion, however, remains speculative due to the lack of further evidence.

An *astragalo* inscription found in *Morka Kome* (İncik Köyü) in the territory of Perge mentions Isis *Soteira* and Sarapis.<sup>1529</sup> In addition, statues of Isis, Sarapis, and Harpokrates were found in various parts of the city, demonstrating that the triad possessed a significant place in the cityscape. Two Isis statues, one sitting on a throne with baby Horus on her lap (Figure 4.189) and the other standing and wearing a *peplos* with Isiac knot between her breasts, have been found in the south-north colonnaded street of the city (Figure 4.190). The seated statue was dated to the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD) by İnan,<sup>1530</sup> while the standing one was dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD-beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD by Delemen.<sup>1531</sup> Alongside Hecate, the goddess also appeared on the Gigantomachy frieze dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and situated at the third floor of the scene building of the theater.<sup>1532</sup> A statue of Sarapis depicted as seated on a throne with a *kalathos* on his head and dating to the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD) was also found in the north-south colonnaded street (Figure 4.191).<sup>1533</sup> Finally, a statue of Harpokrates, dating to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, was placed in the *natatio* of the Southern Baths (Figure 4.192). On the plinth of the statue, an inscription states that the statue was dedicated by the children of Kanopos to the great god Sarapis in honor of the victory of the emperors.<sup>1534</sup> Kanopos was an Egyptian coastal city situated in the Nile

<sup>1527</sup> Bean 1965, no. 141, 40; Nollé 1993a, 274-75, no. 17.

<sup>1528</sup> Bean 1958, 36, no. 128.

<sup>1529</sup> Şahin 1999a, 247-59, no. 207.

<sup>1530</sup> İnan 1987b, 1-9.

<sup>1531</sup> The head of this statue was found during the 2010 excavations in Perge at the intersection of the east-west and north-south colonnaded streets, see Delemen 2013b, 175-85.

<sup>1532</sup> Alanyalı 2007, 85-90.

<sup>1533</sup> Mansel 1958b, 4. No information is present in the research reports about the possibility that the enthroned Isis, Harpokrates, and Sarapis statues formed a family group.

<sup>1534</sup> The emperors mentioned in the inscription were Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius and the mentioned victory was that against the Parths, see Şahin 1999a, 191-92, no. 171.

Delta to the east of Alexandria. The city harbored a *Serapeion* dedicated to Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis, one of the most important sanctuaries of the Ptolemaic kingdom, where the worshippers who slept in the sanctuary experienced miraculous healing.<sup>1535</sup> Kanopos was also a name, frequently seen on Delos, Rhodos, and in Egypt. A papyrus (PColon 6211) written in Side records a sale contract of a slave girl of Galatian descent, Abaskantis, between an Alexandrian named Pamphilos, who is also known as Kanopos and Artemidoros, for the sum of 280 *denarii*.<sup>1536</sup> According to Nollé, the Kanopos, mentioned in this papyrus, was the same person as the one mentioned on the statue of Harpokrates found in Perge.<sup>1537</sup> Considering the date of the papyrus (142 AD) and the date of the statue (after 166 AD), the suggestion is reasonable; therefore, the statue, its inscription and the papyrus may document the economic, social and religious exchanges between Pamphylia and Egypt. Besides, an inscription of unknown date informs us about a *Sarapeion* with a pronaos in the city of Hamaxia.<sup>1538</sup>

The evidence for the Egyptian cults found in different cities of Pamphylia and in Egypt sheds light on the reciprocal interactions that involved not only the exchange of commercial goods and religious ideas but also the exchange of people that these regions developed over a long course of time. However, the evidence coming from Pamphylia does not give much information about the rituals, and mysteries that might have been present in these cults, the location of temples, the organization of the cult or the targeted audience (Egyptians or Pamphylians). Nevertheless, as understood from the various types of sources, during the Hellenistic period the Pamphylians played an active role in Egypt, in economic, military, social and cultural terms. They engaged in commercial activities so much that a neighborhood was founded in Alexandria named after them, they served at military positions in armies and in cities, they traveled through the desert and made dedications to gods for their safety, visited famous monuments and carved their names in fascination for the structures in order to leave a mark. They continued to worship their own gods and goddesses and to pay their respects to the Greek deities but at the same time, they also started to make dedications to Egyptian deities. After the Ptolemaic control over the southern regions of Asia Minor started, the cult of the Egyptian deities began to spread to various parts of the country, starting from Caria and Lycia. Moreover, the

---

<sup>1535</sup> Haas 1997, 146.

<sup>1536</sup> Llewelyn 1998, 48-52, no. 6.

<sup>1537</sup> Nollé 2001, 613-17, P1.

<sup>1538</sup> Magie 1953, 157.

evidence for these cults even increased in the Roman Imperial period because of economic reasons. The Pamphylian harbors played a significant role not just because of being located on favorable positions for Eastern Mediterranean maritime trade, which was largely dependent on coastal seafaring, but also because of the location of the region itself, being a bridge between the sea and the inland regions. These rivers and river ports were also responsible for carrying foreign goods and ideas to the inland regions such as Pisidia.<sup>1539</sup> Among the products that were shipped to Egypt from Pamphylia were wheat, olive oil, wine, timber, and cotton.<sup>1540</sup> Slave trade was also an important means of living, especially for Side. Moreover, military reasons should also be taken into consideration. The harbor of Side became an important station way during the eastern campaigns of the Roman army in the time of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis under Valerianus's and Gallienus' reigns.<sup>1541</sup> A *homonoia* coin dating to Valerianus' reign (253-260 AD) between Side and Alexandria, which portrays Athena and Isis, indicates the close ties that these two cities maintained in this period of crisis.<sup>1542</sup> Both in Pamphylia and in Egypt, all these economic and military relations must also have resulted in the exchange of people, who had been familiar with each other's religious beliefs for a long time. The efforts of the Ptolemaic monarchs to create a Hellenized Egyptian cult in order to build a bridge between their Greek and Egyptian subjects, the wide acceptance of these cults due to these deities' characteristics and appearances similar to those of their existing deities, the intense economic and military interactions developed due to the strategic position of the region, which resulted in the exchange of goods, ideas and people, highly contributed to the spread and continuation of these Egyptian cults in Pamphylia.

#### *4.10 The Cult of Ares in Pamphylia*

Ares was portrayed and worshipped essentially as a god of war in Greek and Roman thinking. The name of Ares is attested in Linear B tablets found in Knossos, Thebes, and Pylos dating to ca. 1400 BC; thus, Ares was an ancient god worshipped on the Greek mainland and Knossos on Crete.<sup>1543</sup> The physical appearance of Ares was described in the *Iliad* as a god with a warlike attire, holding a gigantic bronze spear and shield, wearing

---

<sup>1539</sup> Talloen 2001, 289-327.

<sup>1540</sup> Arca et al. 2011, 8-13.

<sup>1541</sup> Arca et al. 2011, 11.

<sup>1542</sup> Frank- Nollé 1997, 166, no.1639A.

<sup>1543</sup> Guilizio 2001, 32-38.

a helmet and golden clothes and riding a chariot.<sup>1544</sup> In Hesiod's *Shield of Herakles* (8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century BC), he was again portrayed in his armor and standing near his chariot.<sup>1545</sup> Besides his appearance, his nature and place among other immortals is described in *Iliad* 5.890 when Zeus tells him "you renegade, are most hateful to me of all gods that hold Olympos, for you are my offspring but were you born of any other god, you have been lower than the sons of heaven." His brother Apollo also called Ares the bane of mortals, bloodstained, and destroyer of walls.<sup>1546</sup> Ares was often portrayed in Greek epic as a battle-lust and beastly deity who was defeated by heroes or Athena several times. The victories of Athena over Ares have been interpreted as a reflection of disgust to thoughtless slaughter and preference for intelligence in the battlefield.<sup>1547</sup> Despite his beastly character in the Greek tradition, Gonzales lays emphasis on his dual nature as "a patron of the successful warrior and protector of cities", based on some passages from the *Iliad* explaining how armies of the besieged cities led by Athena and Ares fought against their enemies to drive them out of their country.<sup>1548</sup> The strength and courage of Ares in battles can also be found in the *Odyssey*<sup>1549</sup> and the *Homeric Hymn to Ares*.<sup>1550</sup> Apart from his dual nature, his provenance is also a subject of discussion among scholars based on the question whether he was a Greek god or came from Thrace. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, several passages reveal his connection with Thrace<sup>1551</sup> and Herodotos stated that the Thracians venerated only three deities: Artemis, Dionysos, and Ares.<sup>1552</sup> Some scholars have attempted to find the origin of Ares in Thrace by relying on these literary accounts and concluded that Ares, due to his foreignness, was a god who was not completely adapted to the Greek pantheon.<sup>1553</sup> According to some, the Thracian origin of Ares can be explained by an Indo-European influence, which means that during the transition from an earlier Indo-European phase to the Greek culture the god underwent a transformation during which both his "brave" and "barbaric" characteristics were preserved. Thus, his bravery and his status as a leader on the battlefield were quickly adopted by the Greeks. Thrace, a

<sup>1544</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5. 29-34; 355-63; 592-98; 15 115-142.

<sup>1545</sup> Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles*, 18.

<sup>1546</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.455.

<sup>1547</sup> For detailed information on this aspect, see Wathélet 1992, 126-27.

<sup>1548</sup> Gonzales 2004, 17.

<sup>1549</sup> Hom. *Od.* XIV. 215.

<sup>1550</sup> The Homeric Hymns and Homerica 8. The *Homeric Hymn to Ares* has been ascribed to a later period, from the Hellenistic to the Late Antique Period. However, according to Gonzales, certain aspects of the god might predate the work. Gonzales 2004, 19-20.

<sup>1551</sup> Hom. *Il.* XIII, 301; Hom. *Od.* VIII, 361.

<sup>1552</sup> Hdt. *Hist.* V, 7.

<sup>1553</sup> Séchan and Lévêque 1996, 248.

barbarous and mysterious country for the Greeks, was used to explain his barbaric nature.<sup>1554</sup> In addition, a well known myth discusses Ares' relationship with Aphrodite while she was married to Hephaistos, a tale which ended up by binding Ares and Aphrodite in invisible chains made by Hephaistos.<sup>1555</sup> Ares is often portrayed in a compromising position. For instance, he fled in panic when Typhon attacked the Olympos,<sup>1556</sup> he was captured by Ephialtes and Otos and held captive in a bronze cauldron,<sup>1557</sup> he was defeated by Apollo at the first Olympics<sup>1558</sup>, and he was wounded by Herakles in the war of Pylos.<sup>1559</sup>

Iconographically, he was depicted as a warrior or as a hoplite holding a spear, lance, and shield. He was often portrayed as helmeted and riding a chariot. He could be portrayed naked or wearing an armor, with or without a beard. This depiction could be confusing when there is no accompanying inscription, since the figure in question could be a warrior, a hero or a mythological founder as well. In addition to the inscriptions, other figures beside him, such as Kyknos, Herakles, Aphrodite, or Athena, can be used for his identification.<sup>1560</sup>

The cult and worship of Ares was long considered limited to the Peloponnese and central Greece due to his unpopularity in Greek tradition but a recent survey made in 2004 by Gonzales revealed that his cult was very well attested in mainland Greece, on the islands, such as Rhodos, Crete, and the Cyclades, Macedonia, Thrace, the Greek West, and Asia Minor.<sup>1561</sup>

The information on Ares in the cities of Pamphylia mainly comes from numismatic and epigraphic evidence. The deity was depicted on coins; his epithets, cult personnel and some rituals are attested in the epigraphic testimony, and he was also among the ancestors of the mythical founders. Although the majority of the evidence belongs to the Roman Imperial period, earlier attestations shed light on his early presence in the pantheon of the region. Some of the cities provide only numismatic evidence, whereas some combine the numismatic and epigraphic data together. The numismatic evidence associated with Ares comes from Sillyon, Syedra, Side, Lyrbe, and Aspendos.

---

<sup>1554</sup> Strutynski 1980, 226.

<sup>1555</sup> Hom. *Od.* 8. 267.

<sup>1556</sup> Ant. Lib. *Met.* 28.

<sup>1557</sup> Hom. *Il.* V. 385

<sup>1558</sup> Hdt. *Hist.* 5. 7. 10

<sup>1559</sup> Hesiod, *The Shield of Herakles*, 357.

<sup>1560</sup> Bruneau 1984, 487-89.

<sup>1561</sup> Gonzales 2004.



As said above, it is difficult to determine Ares with certitude without inscriptions or accompanying figures. Therefore, some of the identifications on the coins remain hypothetical. On its 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC coins, the city of Sillyon portrayed a warrior who has been interpreted as Ares. Coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC showed a helmeted and bearded head of the god on the obverse.<sup>1562</sup> While some coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC bear the same iconography (Figure 4.193), others have a standing helmeted warrior advancing to the right and holding a spear and a shield on the reverse, which has been interpreted as Ares by Nollé.<sup>1563</sup> A helmeted warrior holding a spear and shield either in his hand or between his feet appears on coins dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1564</sup> The depiction of Ares on the Sillyon coins may be related to the presence of a garrison in the city that was occupied by Greek and native Pisidian mercenaries before the arrival of Alexander the Great.<sup>1565</sup> Apart from the Sillyon examples, Ares was represented in the same manner on the Roman Imperial coins of Lyrbe and Syedra dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. He wears a crested helmet and holds a spear and shield or is resting on it.<sup>1566</sup>

The 5<sup>th</sup> century BC issues of Aspendos show on their obverse a naked, helmeted warrior holding a round shield in his left hand and a sword, a dagger or a spear in his right hand. A hoplite or a local hero has been suggested as identification of this figure (Figure 4.194).<sup>1567</sup> By comparing these issues to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC coins of Sillyon, Gonzales mentions the possibility that Ares was represented at Aspendos, but he adds the difficulty of interpreting these images due to a lack of epigraphic data.<sup>1568</sup> Whether the figure on the Archaic coins of the city depicts Ares or not, inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period demonstrate the god's cult in the city with certainty at a later time. One of these inscriptions is carved on a column shaft with dowel holes at the top and the bottom for a base and possibly a statue on top.<sup>1569</sup> The inscription reads "Nanes, for her husband

<sup>1562</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 951-55.

<sup>1563</sup> SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen 4, nos. 917-19.

<sup>1564</sup> For the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, see SNG France 3, nos. 911-55, 959, 964; BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, no. 165. For the Roman Imperial period coins, see RPC IV, no. 5722, VI, no. 6201 and no. 6212.

<sup>1565</sup> Grainger 2009, 72.

<sup>1566</sup> For Laertes: RPC IV, no. 11037, Etruscilla (249-251 AD), Volume IX no. 1200; for Lyrbe: Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), RPC IV, no. 9332, Gordianus III (238-244 AD), BMC Cilicia, no. 4; For Syedra: Salonina (253-268 AD), SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.445.

<sup>1567</sup> For the 5th century BC issues of Aspendos and the identification of their reverse side figures see Tekin 1991, 13-20; SNG France 3, nos. 1-24.

<sup>1568</sup> Gonzales 2004, 374.

<sup>1569</sup> Hereward 1958, 66, no. 12.

Kyaios, priest of Ares, son of Antimachos".<sup>1570</sup> This is evidence for a priest of Ares whose wife possibly honored him with the dedication of a statue.

Furthermore, the city of Syedra provides us with an interesting inscription bearing an oracular response (Figure 4.195)<sup>1571</sup>:

*"The Pamphylans of Syedra who inhabit a fertile land of mixed peoples, set up an image of Ares the bloodstained, man-slayer held in the iron bonds of Hermes in the middle of the city and beside him offer sacrifices. On his other side let Justice (Dike) administer the law, give judgment upon him. And let him resemble like one who begs. For, in this way, he will become peaceful to you, driving the hostile horde far from your country and he will give the prosperity you have much prayed for. And you, at the same time, take up the fierce battle, either chasing them or binding them in unbreakable chains, and do not, out of the fear of the pirates, pay a terrible penalty. In this way, you will escape from all punishment."*<sup>1572</sup>

The inscription, dating to the Early Imperial period but interpreted as a copy of an earlier document due to its content,<sup>1573</sup> is a response to a question asked by the people of Syedra; "how can we fight the pirates?" The oracle, in return, described a ritualistic ceremony, which included binding an Ares statue with iron chains (Hermes' chains), while Dike passed a judgment upon him, to erect this statue in the middle of the *polis* and to bring sacrifices. This scene is represented on city's coins dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. These coins thus seem to be visual representations of the oracle's advice and show that this clearly played a significant role in the city's collective memory.<sup>1574</sup> According to Faraone who compiled all the data available for the phenomenon of binding Ares, this ritual forms a scenario in which both the designated victims in question (pirates in real life and Ares as their symbolic figure associated with the 'bad ones') and the performers of the rituals (the Syedrans in real life and Dike as a replacement) take place to ward off evil spirits -in this case the pirates- from their land.<sup>1575</sup> A similar oracle inscription was found in Ikonion advising the same practice as in Syedra: "*who are the protectors and destructors of cities, honoring Hermes, the slayer of Argos, and Themis (ordinance) whose*

<sup>1570</sup> In the inscription, the father's name is given as Antikhamos but Hereward states that is probably a simple error for Antimakhos.

<sup>1571</sup> Bean-Mitford 1965, 21-23, no. 26; Robert 1966, 91-100; Gonzales 2004, 279-80; de Souza 1997, 477; Sokolowski 1968, 519-22.

<sup>1572</sup> The translation is taken from Gonzales 2005, 280.

<sup>1573</sup> De Souza 1997, 478.

<sup>1574</sup> For Lucius Verus (161-168 AD), see SNG France 2, no. 641; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no.425; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 432; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1, Levante-Cilicia, no. 434.

<sup>1575</sup> Faraone 1991, 169.

*statues I direct you to prepare and place on either side of the statue of Ares.*"<sup>1576</sup> In this case, Ares stands for the Pisidian and Isaurian robbers the Iconians wanted to get rid off.<sup>1577</sup>

The binding of Ares in iron chains found its place in both mythological and cultic contexts. Apart from the tales with Aphrodite, Ephialtes, and Otos, Pausanias (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) described a statue of the war god Enyalios (Ares) at Sparta, who was bound to assure that their victories in wars would never abandon them.<sup>1578</sup> An epigram in the Palatine Anthology informs us about a buried image of Ares in Thrace, intended to make sure that the Goths would never set foot in their land.<sup>1579</sup> Furthermore, in his *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblios*, Photius (9<sup>th</sup> century AD) tells a story about silver statues that were buried according to ancient rites to receive protection against barbaric nations and to keep them away.<sup>1580</sup> A certain governor of Thrace, Valerius, who lived in the reign of Constantius Chlorus (293-306 AD), found these buried silver statues in barbaric cloths with their hands tied behind their backs and a few days after he removed them, Goths, Huns, and Sarmatians invaded Thrace and Illyricum. From these examples, it is clear that binding images in iron chains, especially images of Ares, were a form of ritual practiced in order to keep off foreign enemies and to ensure protection, as was the case in Syedra, Ikonion, and Thrace, and to make sure never to lose excellence in war as we saw in Sparta. Choosing Ares can also have been related to the god's foreign nature, as he was often portrayed as an outsider, a Thracian, in Greek mythology. Moreover, binding statues or statuettes and burying them was not exclusive to the Greek tradition, but binding spells was also performed in Egypt and the Near East.<sup>1581</sup>

The statue in Syedra had to be set up in the middle of the *polis* and although the inscription is not clear about whether it was housed in a temple or not, it was probably displayed in an open space where sacrifices were offered to the god next to the statue. It is not mentioned in the inscription whether these sacrifices were to be performed once or continuously; however, based on the literary sources, Faraone suggested that bound statues erected in *poleis* in periods of crisis can be seen as cult statues with sacrifices offered to them.<sup>1582</sup> According to the inscription, once the Syedrans had bound Ares, he

<sup>1576</sup> Heberday-Wilhelm 1896, 161, no. 267; Robert 1966, 96-97.

<sup>1577</sup> Merkelbach-Stauber 1996, 31.

<sup>1578</sup> Pausan. 3.15.7 mentions that the belief of the Spartans was similar to that of the Athenians who set up a wingless statue of Nike, which would always remain in the same place, since she had no wings to fly away.

<sup>1579</sup> Faraone 1991, 169.

<sup>1580</sup> Phot. Bibl. cod. 80.

<sup>1581</sup> Faraone 1991, 172-80.

<sup>1582</sup> Faraone 1991, 172.

would become peaceful and after warding off the enemy, he would also provide the citizens with the prosperity and peace they were longing for. These lines underlie the notion that once Ares was taken under control, he would give wealth to the citizens, which undoubtedly meant that once the danger of the pirates would have been avoided, the city would regain its prosperity, which was a different characteristic of Ares, as the bestower of abundance. Perhaps the Syedrans also treated this image as a cult statue and continuously offered sacrifices to him for peace and abundance. The worship of Ares under the epithet *Kiddeudas* in the territory of Sagalassos in Pisidia as the bestower of fruits<sup>1583</sup> may similarly highlight his relation with prosperity, in another sense, a notion that is thus visible in the Syedran inscription as well.

In Perge, Ares was among the ancestral founders of the city, since the above-mentioned *ktistes* statue base introduced the Orchomenian Minyas as the grandson of Ares (Figure 3.10).<sup>1584</sup> Therefore, the god played an important role in the etiological myths of the foundation of the city of Perge. Besides, the Acropolis has yielded two inscriptions dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, which were reused in a wall and record thank offerings made to Ares. The first one reads “In the second year of Eumelianos, Demetrios, the son of Demetrios Keramas, having watched over the Acropolis without incident for the first three-month period (dedicated it) to Ares *Epekoos* (who hears the prayers)”.<sup>1585</sup> The second one follows the same formula and also states the names of the guards who made a dedication to Ares and the fatherland according to their vow.<sup>1586</sup> These *paraphylakes* (guards) clearly showed their gratitude towards Ares for keeping them safe from the possible dangers that could come due to the nature of the service they provided their city. By keeping them safe, Ares also protected their city. Here, the deity’s nature was not that of the bloodthirsty god but, similar to at Syedra, he was rather responsible for the security of the Acropolis as a protective deity of Perge. In the territory of Olbasa near Burdur, a similar dedication dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD was made to Athena and Ares by the *orophylakes* (mountain guards) for the divine protection of these two deities in the countryside.<sup>1587</sup> The protective power of Ares was, therefore, needed both in the city and in the countryside. Perge also had a citizen called Artemidoros who served as a priest of Artemis, *demiourgos*, and a priest of Ares and whose statue with a golden crown

---

<sup>1583</sup> Talloen 2015, 61.

<sup>1584</sup> See The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians, Chapter 2.

<sup>1585</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 234.

<sup>1586</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 235.

<sup>1587</sup> Milner 1998, 37, no. 92.

was set up by the Elders.<sup>1588</sup> It is thus clear that the city had an institutionalized cult of Ares with priests worthy of great honors. Although the location of the temple remains undiscovered, the Acropolis seems to be a possible candidate as the *paraphylakes* inscriptions suggest. Finally, Ares is depicted on the Gigantomachy frieze dating to the reign of Gallienus (253-268 AD) that once decorated the third floor of the stage building of the theater.<sup>1589</sup> Here, Ares is depicted in a chariot alongside other deities, such as Athena, Aphrodite, Helios, and Eos. A statue of Aphrodite of the Capua type dating to the Antonine period that was found in the Southern Baths carries the shield of Ares and uses it as a mirror to see her own reflection (Figure 4.150).<sup>1590</sup> The Pergaians who were familiar with the heroes of the *epos* of the *Argonautica* and used them in their foundation myths set up a statue that evoked Ares with one of his attributes, his shield.

From Attaleia comes an honorary inscription dedicated by the Council and the People to Calpurnius Diodoros, who served as a priest for life of Apollo, Dionysos, Ares, Artemis Elaphebolos, and Leto.<sup>1591</sup> The inscription mentions that Calpurnius Diodoros was the first priest of Artemis Elaphebolos and Leto, who was described as a Pergaian goddess; therefore, these cults were indigenous to the region. However, the cults of Apollo and Dionysos were also widely attested in Pergamon from the Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>1592</sup> The name of Ares is attested in an important inscription that records an agreement between Eumenes I and his mercenaries and dates to 264-241 BC. The oath taken by his mercenaries was sworn upon Zeus, Gaia, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, and Athena Areia.<sup>1593</sup> Among other places, a copy of this inscription was set up in the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon.<sup>1594</sup> The cult of Ares in Attaleia, like those of Athena and Apollo, might thus provide an example for the cultic connections between Attaleia and its founding city, Pergamon.

Finally, our last information about Ares and his worship comes from Side. On a coin minted in the reign of Caracalla (198-217 AD), Ares stands with a spear in his hand looking to an oversized cuirassed bust of Caracalla above an altar or a statue base (Figure

<sup>1588</sup> The inscription dating to the 1st-2nd century AD was reused in a wall situated 30 meters north of the eastern city gate, Şahin 1999a, no. 252.

<sup>1589</sup> Alanyalı 2007, 85-90.

<sup>1590</sup> Aphrodite using Ares' shield to see her own image was attested in the 3rd century BC *Argonautica* of Apollonios, I,743.

<sup>1591</sup> IGR III, 780; Bean 1958, 33 no. 21.

<sup>1592</sup> Üreten 2010, 82-86 and 92-99.

<sup>1593</sup> IvP I, no. 13.

<sup>1594</sup> For detailed information on the inscription's content, see Spence 2016, 612-14.

4.196).<sup>1595</sup> The Pisidian city of Amblada issued coins honoring both Caracalla and Geta as the “new Ares” (*neos Ares*) with emperors portraits on the obverse and the armed deity on the reverse. These coins have been interpreted as a victory issue after the Severan campaign to Parthia.<sup>1596</sup> Sidetan coins of the Severan period bear imagery of victories, such as Athena putting her hand on a *tropaeum* (military monument commemorating a victory) and Nike holding a wreath beside a *quadriga*;<sup>1597</sup> therefore, the coin of Caracalla may also have had the same purpose. Similarly, coins of Decius (249-251 AD) also portray a standing Ares with spear and shield. Moreover, the deity with his arms does not only appear on coins but also in statues and statuettes. A statue of the Ares Borghese type dating to the Antonine period was found in “Building M”. The god is depicted naked and is supported on his left side by a tree trunk, armor, and a sword.<sup>1598</sup> Furthermore, a marble statuette of the god dating to the Roman Imperial period, wearing a helmet and armor and holding a spear and shield (an iconography reminiscent of this on the coins) was found in a grave in Çavuşköy, northeast of Side.<sup>1599</sup> This statuette, found alongside statuettes of Aphrodite and Zeus, may indicate the god’s role in the beliefs in the Afterlife of the Sidetans and their funerary rites. Not only the god himself, but sometimes his attributes could be depicted on stone. A lintel, now housed in the archaeological museum of Side, depicts the attributes of the most venerated deities of the city and among these are the *piloi* of the Dioskouroi, the *kerykeion* of Hermes, the club of Herakles, the spear of Athena, the thunderbolt of Zeus, the rudder of Tyche, the helmet of Ares, and the sickle generally associated with Demeter.<sup>1600</sup> So far, it is clear that the depictions of Ares on coins and in the statuary of Side were not different than those in the other Pamphylian cities, since everywhere the deity’s warrior status was emphasized. However, two inscriptions coming from the *chora* of Side give a totally different picture of the deity’s nature.

An inscription from Sarnıçbeleni,<sup>1601</sup> about 25 km east of Manavgat, records that “*Having received an instruction from the god, Memnon, the son of Trebemis, dedicated at his own expense the bronze cult statue to the god Ares on behalf of Trebemis, the son of Nesba. He fulfilled his oath after*

<sup>1595</sup> Vermeule 1968, picture from frontspiece with XVII; <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/coin-of-side-with-bust-of-caracalla-261890>.

<sup>1596</sup> Talloen 2015, 171.

<sup>1597</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 813-16.

<sup>1598</sup> İnan 1975, 43-46.

<sup>1599</sup> İnan 1975, 67-68.

<sup>1600</sup> Nollé 1993a, 201-2, no. 24. For similar examples on the attributes depicted as high reliefs on lintels, see *The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.8.

<sup>1601</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 832.

the god had shown him mercy”<sup>1602</sup> Another similar but more incomplete inscription comes from Gebece, in the village of Çakıl, about 29 km east of Manavgat.<sup>1603</sup> It has been translated as “*Kaikoni[...the son of...]agos, according to the [oath of... the son/daughter] of Woxes, [having received an instruction] from the [most manifest] god Ares, dedicated] at his own expense the statue (agalma) and the icon (eikonion) along with the base, to the god Ares.*”<sup>1604</sup>

Evaluated together, these two inscriptions, which both date to the Late Roman period, reveal interesting aspects of the worship of Ares in the region. First of all, these dedications were made after having received an instruction from the god. The word *chrematisteis* sometimes implies to receive an oracle, a divine warning or a revelation. According to Robert, the word signifies “getting an oracle” but not necessarily from an oracular sanctuary; the prophecy might have been given to the person through his/her dreams.<sup>1605</sup> The epithet *epiphanestatos*, which mean “the god with the most visible power” mentioned in the second inscription, was given to Zeus in Panamara<sup>1606</sup>, as well as to Asklepios<sup>1607</sup> and even to Hadrian in Pergamon<sup>1608</sup>, possibly denoting his visit to the city. The term *epiphanestatos topos* signifies “the most visible place” in a city.<sup>1609</sup> Hence, Ares who was responsible for giving oracles or warnings was perceived as the most manifest deity for the people living in the territory of Side. Both inscriptions record that people dedicated *agalmata* of Ares and in the second inscription, the dedication of both an *agalma* and an *eikonion* is present. The Greek words used to define statues, such as *agalma*, *eikon*, *eikonion*, *ksoanon*, *andrias* are based on their functions, contexts and sometimes locations.<sup>1610</sup> Although they can all be translated as “an image”, an *agalma* was actually an image that belonged to a religious context. Apart from the statues of divinities, the statues of Hellenistic kings, Roman emperors or civic benefactors might have been called *agalmata* too, if they primarily functioned in a religious context, for instance, if they were placed in temples as cult statues. On the other hand, *eikon* or its diminutive form *eikonion* whose meaning is “likeness”, usually denoted honorary portrait

<sup>1602</sup> The inscription was first seen by Mitford and read by Tomaschitz (Tomaschitz 1998, 16, no: 7); The last line was read “*hygeios genomenou theou apedoken eukhen*” and translated as ‘he fulfilled his oath for the god has granted him his health’. Therefore, this translation led to the interpretation that Ares was worshipped as a healing god in the region, see Küçükoğlu 2015, 76, no. 2.3.1. However, according to Nollé’s translation, “*hyleos genomenou...*” means “for the god was gracious”, see Nollé 2001, no. 378.

<sup>1603</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 8, 542; Nollé 1984, 143.

<sup>1604</sup> The translation is taken from Nollé 2001, no. 377.

<sup>1605</sup> Robert 1963, 381.

<sup>1606</sup> Hatzfeld 1927, 63, no.6

<sup>1607</sup> IvP II. no. 365.

<sup>1608</sup> van der Ploeg 2018, 115-16.

<sup>1609</sup> Platt 2011, 140-44.

<sup>1610</sup> Keesling 2017, 837-61.

statues, but could actually refer to anything, from statues and statuettes to tondos and painted images. For instance, Herodotos used the word *eikon* for the statues of heroes, animals, stone and wooden images of men and women, and painted portraits.<sup>1611</sup> According to Price, both *agalmata* and *eikones* could be recipients of a cult and have a religious function but the main distinction between them was the location where they were placed.<sup>1612</sup> However, Pirenne-Delforge thinks that the terms *eikon* and *andrias* were unsuitable to describe the statue of a god, because their meaning conveyed the idea of portraiture.<sup>1613</sup> The *agalmata* of Ares mentioned in the Sidetan inscriptions may denote statues with a religious purpose, used as cult statues of deities placed in temples or shrines. The *eikonion* in the second inscription may also have had a religious function, since Gonzales interprets the term as a votive plaque or medallion bearing the image of the god, which could be used to decorate a cult statue or its base.<sup>1614</sup>

Where were these statues placed? The epigraphic and archaeological evidence is insufficient to determine the location of a possible shrine. The two settlements that provided the inscriptions are located more or less 7 km from each other and both have the characteristics of a rural settlement, such as a fortified small hilltop, houses, and cisterns.<sup>1615</sup> It does not seem reasonable to assume that each of these villages possessed a sanctuary of Ares where *agalmata* could be displayed. Maybe, in this case, one can talk about the presence of a rural sanctuary, which received people from neighboring villages. The sanctuary of Ares *Kiddeudas* in the territory of Sagalassos and the sanctuary of the war god in the *chora* of Boubon are examples of such rural shrines located at territorial borders.<sup>1616</sup> Finally, the names of the dedicants, such as Nesba, Woxes, and Trebemes, are local Anatolian names,<sup>1617</sup> which might suggest that the worship of the “oracular” Ares was favored within the indigenous community even during the Roman Imperial period. Based on the widespread cult of the deity, especially in the Southwestern Anatolia, apart from Gonzales, Robert also proposed already earlier the worship of an indigenous deity who later took the names of Ares after the Greek influence in the region started.<sup>1618</sup> The god also found its place on Anatolian rider god reliefs alongside Kakasbos, Herakles,

---

<sup>1611</sup> Keesling 2017, 842.

<sup>1612</sup> Price 1985, 178.

<sup>1613</sup> Pirenne-Delforge 2004, 811–25.

<sup>1614</sup> The votive plaques that were found in Oinoanda and bear the image of Ares and Zeus with the inscribed names of priests have been considered as *eikonion* by Gonzales, see Gonzales 2004, 454.

<sup>1615</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 542, 832.

<sup>1616</sup> Talloen 2015, 230, footnote 496.

<sup>1617</sup> Nollé 2001, 603, 605, with references.

<sup>1618</sup> Robert 1966, 91–100; 1983, 578–83.



Sozon, Men and other gods who were widely distributed in southern Asia Minor and the inland regions comprising Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lykaonia, and Phrygia. On these reliefs, Ares was depicted on horseback with a high-crested helmet and holding a dagger or spear.<sup>1619</sup> The god also had (at least) two rock sanctuaries. One of these was located in Ekizce on the border between Termessos and Phaselis and included altars and votive inscriptions describing Ares as *epekoos*, “the one who hears the prayers”, and dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1620</sup> A second sanctuary, dating to the same period as the first one, was possibly situated in the territory of Amblada in the village of Taşlıpınar. Here Ares was depicted as rider-god.<sup>1621</sup> The epichoric epithet of *Kiddeudas*, probably related to a toponym, in the territory of Sagalassos is another indication of the deity’s indigenous character. Furthermore, while describing the Greek armies assembling against Xerxes, Herodotos mentioned an oracle of Ares. In book 7.76, after having discussed the Bithynian Thracians, he continued with another Asian people that went to the battle with bronze spears and crested helmets and among them, there was an oracle of Ares. The name of the people is unknown since there is a lacuna in the text. The lacuna has been filled with “the Pisidians”. However, Gonzales further specifies this interpretation by adding “the Solymeans” and attempts to find an oracular seat of Ares in Termessos, where the oracle inscriptions of Syedra and Ikonion might have come from.<sup>1622</sup> Whether Termessos held an oracular seat of Ares or not, it is quite clear that Side maintained the local cult of the oracular deity Ares even in the Late Roman Period. It is not possible to determine which deity was transformed into Ares and received its Greek name under Greek influence but it seems that some aspects inherited in his nature, such as war and prophecy, were maintained.<sup>1623</sup> Furthermore, a deity with divinatory powers depicted on horseback who gives oracles but also goes to battles like heroes may also have been a model to the seer/hero motif that played an important role in the foundation stories of the cities of Pamphylia. Besides his oracular function in Pamphylia, Ares was also invoked as the protector of the cities as the inscriptions from Perge record. His priesthood was

---

<sup>1619</sup> Delemen 1999, 69-70.

<sup>1620</sup> İplikçioğlu 2003, 73.

<sup>1621</sup> Delemen 1999, nos. 375-80.

<sup>1622</sup> Hdt, *Histories*, 7.76; Gonzales 2005, 261-68. The inscriptions of Syedra and Ikonion are generally ascribed to the Clarian oracle, see Heberday 1896, 161, no. 267; Robert 1966, 96-97; Sokolowski 1968, 519-22; Parke 1985, 150-58; Merkelbach-Stauber, 1996, 1-54, nos. 15-16.

<sup>1623</sup> For instance, the Hurrian sun god Shimige was depicted riding a chariot while the Fears and the Terrors were standing on his left and right side. Shimige was a celestial god but also a god of divinity and oracle. He was later transformed into the sun-god Istanu who played a prominent role in the Hittite pantheon in the 2nd millennium BC, see Taracha 2009, 127.

also paired up with that of Artemis in Perge, another local deity famous for her regional sanctuary in the city.<sup>1624</sup> Although Ares preserved his local aspects, he was also represented in statues and reliefs as a war god in his usual Greek attire. Therefore, he seems to have continued his indigenous and Hellenized aspects over a long period of time, from the Archaic to the Late Imperial period.

#### 4.11 *The Cult of Dionysos in Pamphylia*

Dionysos was represented on the coinage of various Pamphylian cities, mainly in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. One city, however, Attaleia, is an exception since on the coins of this city the deity appeared already in the Hellenistic period. Apart from the numismatic sources, inscriptions revealed the epithet of the deity, his cult personnel, rituals and the places where these rituals were performed. In addition, sculptures, free-standing statuary and reliefs, especially from Perge and Side, exhibited the deity's importance in the visual landscape of the Pamphylian cities.

Hellenistic coins of the city of Attaleia dating to 100-30 BC show on their reverses a standing Dionysos leaning on his *thyrsos* and holding a *kantharos*.<sup>1625</sup> According to Baydur, Dionysos was one of the most important deities of Attaleia, since the image of Dionysos appeared earlier on the coinage of Attaleia than on that of Pergamon.<sup>1626</sup> The cult of Dionysos at Pergamon went back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>1627</sup> Therefore, the cult in Attaleia might have been a reflection of the cult of Dionysos at Pergamon. After the deity's representation on the Hellenistic coinage, we do not have evidence for a long time until he emerged again in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. On coins dating to the first of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, Dionysos was represented. The god is standing while leaning on a *thyrsos* and holding a *kantharos* with a panther next to him. This iconography was the same in all Pamphylian cities on whose Roman Imperial coins Dionysos was seen. The god was also represented with his companion Ariadne, standing in a *biga* drawn by two panthers (Figure 4.197). Pan was also in the *biga* while playing his flute. To the right of the *biga*, a *satyros* who is resting on a stick is depicted.<sup>1628</sup>

<sup>1624</sup> See *The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>1625</sup> Baydur 1975, no. 62.

<sup>1626</sup> Baydur 1975, no. 60.

<sup>1627</sup> Agelidis 2014, 402. Üreten 2004, 202-4.

<sup>1628</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10437; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4061, Baydur 1975, no. 242. Baydur identifies four different types based on the position of the deity and the attributes that accompanied him, see Baydur 1975, 60-61.

Besides the numismatic evidence, inscriptions also provide information on the cult of Dionysos during the Roman Imperial Period. An inscription reused in a wall of a modern house records the honors given by the People to Lucius Calpurnius Diodoros, who was a priest for life of Apollo *Archegetes*, the great god Dionysos (*Theos Megas Dionysos*), Ares, Artemis *Elaphebolos*, and the Pergaian goddess Leto.<sup>1629</sup> Lucius Calpurnius Diodoros, who was an Attaleian citizen, held the priesthoods of several Attaleian deities, such as Apollo, Dionysos, Ares, and Artemis, and he also served as high-priest of the Imperial cult for four years. He was also the *agonothetes* of the pentaeteric festivals organized in the city and was responsible for gladiatorial games and animal fights showing the possibility of accumulating different offices.<sup>1630</sup>

Hellenistic coins of Magydos also showed the bust of Dionysos with his *thyrsos* next to him on their obverses.<sup>1631</sup> The depiction may be due to the close relationship of the city with Attaleia. Dionysos later reappeared on a coin of Philippus II (247-249), while holding a *thyrsos* and a *kantharos* and with a panther at his feet.<sup>1632</sup>

The god also held an important position in the pantheon of Side, as suggested by epigraphic, numismatic, sculptural and perhaps architectural evidence. The earliest evidence for Dionysos comes from a statue base set up for Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD) by the Sidetan branch of the holy guild of the “Artists of Dionysos”.<sup>1633</sup> Theatrical performances played a crucial role in the rituals performed in honor of Dionysos. The performers who called themselves “Artists of Dionysos” went back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Their number gradually increased with the proliferation of theater buildings and related cult activities all around Greece; hence it became mandatory for them to unite and create an association. These types of associations or guilds included poets, dancers, musicians, actors and also individuals who were responsible for staging drama and musical performances, in general during festivals, contests or celebrations. The establishment of guilds also correlated with the increase of festivals during the Hellenistic period, which formed one of the most important aspects of the religious, political, social, and cultural

---

<sup>1629</sup> Ramsay 1883, 263; Bean, *Inscriptions* 1958, 33 no. 21.

<sup>1630</sup> The penteteric festivals were celebrated within the context of the Imperial cult under the supervision of high priests. These were also celebrated in the cities of Perge, Side, and Aspendos, see *The Divinity of the Rulers and the city of Rome at Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.19.

<sup>1631</sup> Ünal 2018, no. 1; SNG France 3, nos. 294-96.

<sup>1632</sup> Ünal 2018, no. 65.

<sup>1633</sup> Bean 1965, no.97. This statue base originally carried the statue of Apollonios in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC according to one of the oldest Sidetic inscriptions carved on the base. The statue of Apollonios was made by Mnaseas and dedicated to the *theoi pantes*, all the gods. The base was later reused for a statue of emperor Claudius and this contributed to the preservation of the Hellenistic inscription, see Bean, 1965, no. 81.

life of that time.<sup>1634</sup> The earliest guild is known as “the guild of the Artists of Dionysos at Athens” and was founded around the 279-277 BC.<sup>1635</sup> In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, a branch of this guild was formed in Asia Minor, at Teos, a city that venerated Dionysos as its patron deity from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards.<sup>1636</sup> This guild received many honors and privileges from the city, such as the bestowing of land and being free of taxes, inviolability, and security. During the Roman Imperial period, the guilds became widespread, since they began to operate all around the Roman world, such as in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Egypt, and Gaul.<sup>1637</sup> Epigraphic evidence regarding the guilds of the “Artists of Dionysos” and the activities their members performed comes from Ankyra, Pessinous, Ephesos, Miletos, Smyrna, Teos, Aphrodisias, Sardeis, Laodikeia, and Alexandria Troas in Asia Minor apart from Side.<sup>1638</sup> In Side, except for the statue for Claudius, another inscription dating to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD records that the guild and the city together organized the *Agones Stephanitai* (a contest during which the winner was crowned with a wreath). The inscription also seems to confirm the many privileges given to the guild by the Council and the People, since it consists of a request made by the guild for the restoration of the confirmation of these privileges.<sup>1639</sup> These privileges mainly consisted of inviolability, security, exemption from taxes and public service, and the right to sit at the front in theaters and public meetings. In some cases, these privileges might have been taken away. For instance, the association of artists at Teos became very popular in time and due to their increased number and their arrogance because of their privileges, a conflict arose between them and the citizens, which led to sedition. As a result, the guild fled from Teos and after wandering around in different cities, it finally settled at Lebedos.<sup>1640</sup> The guild at Side operated at least until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, as suggested by an inscription coming from Balboura, Lycia. Aurelius Thoantianos, who was a citizen of Balboura and Attaleia, a priest of Dea Roma of the Lycian League, of Dionysos of Balboura and the divine Muses of Attaleia, as well as an *agonothetes* who staged musical and dramatic performances, was honored by the Sidetan branch of the sacred guild of the “Artists of Dionysos”.<sup>1641</sup>

---

<sup>1634</sup> See for instance the *panegyris* organized in honor of Artemis Pergaia at Perge, see The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>1635</sup> Aneziri 2009, 219.

<sup>1636</sup> Öztürk 2010, 51-52.

<sup>1637</sup> Aneziri 2009, 227.

<sup>1638</sup> Öztürk 2010, 165-67.

<sup>1639</sup> For the inscription, see Bean, 1965, no.148; Nollé 1993a, no. 137.

<sup>1640</sup> Aneziri 2009, 230; Strab. 14.1.29.

<sup>1641</sup> For the inscription see, Milner 1991 57-60, no. 20.

The inscription not only shows the close relations between the guild and a priest of the cult of Dionysos but also illustrates the sphere of influence of the Sidetan branch of the guild and the interaction between citizens of different *poleis* and a branch of an association based in Side. The inscription also suggests that the guild operated at least from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, thus at least during two centuries.

For such a guild to operate within a city, there had to be some key factors, such as opportunities for the actors to stage their performances, including festivals and contests that were organized in honor of deities or emperors, and the existence of spaces like theaters and stadia for these spectacles. In Side, there is evidence for both. The city was rich in *agones* organized either on the universal (*oikoumenikoi*) or more local scale.<sup>1642</sup> The *Agon Mystikos*, one of the festivals on the universal scale, was first celebrated during the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD). According to Nollé, the festival was granted to the city because of the efforts of P. Aelius Pompeianus Paion, a Sidetan poet and close friend of Hadrianus.<sup>1643</sup> The festival was most probably organized in honor of Demeter and Dionysos. Although certain evidence confirming this is lacking, legends and depictions on coins minted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD reinforce this hypothesis. For instance, coins dating to the reign of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) show on their reverses an agonistic prize crown containing two palm branches set on an agonistic table. The prize crown is flanked by a torch, the symbol of Demeter, on the right and by a *thrysos*, the symbol of Dionysos, on the left. This depiction is accompanied by the legend *Sideton Neokoron* below and *Hieros Mystikos* above the table.<sup>1644</sup> A festival with the same name was also organized at Ankyra during the reign of Hadrianus and the Ankyran branch of the “Association of the Artists of Dionysos” honored its founder Ulpus Aelius Pompeianus.<sup>1645</sup> A similar relation between the Sidetan branch of the guild and the *Agon Mystikos* can be assumed for Side as well. Furthermore, a structure called “Temple P”, was first interpreted as a temple of Men but has now been attributed to mystery cults involving Demeter, Persephone, Hades, and Dionysos.<sup>1646</sup> Furthermore, during excavations carried out between 1944-1967 in the area between “Temple P” and the Byzantine fountain, a head of a Dionysiac herm was found together with a statue of

<sup>1642</sup> For a general overview of the Sidetan *agones*, see Nollé 1993a, 84-87; Uzunaslan 2008, 117-28,

<sup>1643</sup> Nollé 1993a, 85.

<sup>1644</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, no. 122.

<sup>1645</sup> Mitchell 2014, 2.

<sup>1646</sup> See The Cult of Demeter and Men in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.12 and 16.

Apollo (Figure 4.198). Due to the secondary contexts they belonged to, they could not be associated with the temple.<sup>1647</sup> Nevertheless, the god wears a *mitra* on his head, a special headdress often attributed to women but also worn by Dionysos. Cross-dressing was generally attested for the private and public cult rituals of Dionysos<sup>1648</sup> and in this case, based on its findspot the herm-like head of Dionysos might be reminiscent of such rituals. In addition, İnan dated the statue to the period of Hadrianus, the patron of the *Agon Mystikos* celebrated at Side.<sup>1649</sup>

Besides the mystic rituals that may have been part of this festival, musical and theatrical performances were also important, especially for a festival that was possibly celebrated in honor of Dionysos. The theater of Side is the most convenient space for staging such performances. The theater is located on the narrowest point of the Sidetan peninsula in the center of the city and forms a complex with the agora and the temple next to it (Figure 4.199-200). The structure mainly dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and was part of the huge construction activities that occurred in Side during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD; however, a Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial predecessor on a much humbler scale has been suggested for the theater.<sup>1650</sup> This early predecessor coincided with the Early Imperial presence of the “Association of the Artists of Dionysos” whose member must have needed a place to stage their performances. The 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD theater was decorated with statues and reliefs of many deities among whom Dionysos occupied a prominent place. The coffers of the *scaenae frons* represented deities whose cults were highly esteemed by the Sidetans. A bust of Dionysos was framed by a wreath made of ivy leaves and crowned with a wreath of grapes (Figure 4.201). Dionysos was surrounded with attributes related to his religious sphere, such as pine cones, grapes, a *labrys*, *syrinxes*, and a *lagobolon* (shepherd's staff).<sup>1651</sup> Dionysos again appeared on a frieze decorating the first level of the *scaenae frons*. This frieze is similar to the one in Perge that equally depicts scenes from the life cycle of the god but is heavily deteriorated. The first two scenes involve the birth of Dionysos from the leg of Zeus in presence of certain figures, such as Eileithyia and two women; the third one depicts the bathing of the god by three nymphs, the fourth one represents the *thiasos* of Dionysos and the fifth one

---

<sup>1647</sup> Mansel 1978, 140.

<sup>1648</sup> For the use of women's cloths and cross-dressing in the context of Dionysiac rituals, see Crespo 1997, 261-65.

<sup>1649</sup> İnan 1975, no. 48, 103-5.

<sup>1650</sup> Mansel 1963, 94, Bernardi 1970, 141; Nollé 1993a, 72; Nollé 2001, 362, no. 73.

<sup>1651</sup> Alanyalı 2010, 85.

consists of the discovery of Ariadne by the god on the island of Naxos. Alanyalı interprets the winged figure behind Ariadne who is standing next to an altar as related to the mystery cult of Dionysos. The next scene represents the advent of Hephaistos to the Olympos accompanied by the *thiasos* of Dionysos. The final panels show scenes of fighting and killing among men and women, which might be related to the frenzy of the *Bacchai* and Dionysiac rituals.<sup>1652</sup> Therefore, the theater of Side did not only constitute a convenient setting for performances staged in honor of Dionysos but also acted as a visual reminder of the deity and the myths surrounding his life for the audience.

In addition to the inscriptions related to the guild of the “Artists of Dionysos”, other epigraphic evidence is present regarding the cult personnel of the deity and cult places dedicated to his cult. A 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD inscription informs us that the *Gerousia*<sup>1653</sup>, the council of Elders, served as *neokoros*, the temple custodian, for the temples of Athena and Dionysos.<sup>1654</sup> The *Gerousia* acting like a temple warden was not unique for Side, since the *Demos* at Ephesos, the *Boule* at Hierapolis and the guild of the “Artists of Dionysos” at Herakleia all served as *neokoroi*.<sup>1655</sup> This religious function of the *Gerousia* of Side is further emphasized by another inscription on a lintel revealing the sacred *deipnisterion*, the banquet hall, of the *Gerousia*, which was reserved for the cultic activities of Dionysos and emperors. This inscription was reused, again as a lintel, in the Late Antique city gate near the theater.<sup>1656</sup> The inscription, which can be dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD-beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, before 212 AD, mentions the restoration of the sacred *deipnisterion* by various entities, such as the *Gerousia* of Side, an individual named Proklos, who was responsible for the legal matters related to the *Gerousia*, and the provincial governor, who is described as the patron of the city. According to the inscription, the *deipnisterion* was restored to make it again adequate for banquets. The religious activities that the *Gerousia* of Side was involved in, such as serving as *neokoros* for the temple of Dionysos, building a sacred *deipnisterion* for the deity and organizing banquets, continued at least throughout the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD). A written statue base found in the colonnaded street opposite the theater informs us that the *Boule*, *Demos*, and *Gerousia* -the *neokoros* of the temples of Athena and Dionysos- honored the temple of Athena and the *deipnisterion* of Dionysos with divine

---

<sup>1652</sup> Alanyalı 2010, 87-89.

<sup>1653</sup> For the *Gerousia* of Side and its functions, see Bauer 2012, 244-59.

<sup>1654</sup> Bean 1956, 11-12, no. 97.

<sup>1655</sup> Burrell 2004, 6.

<sup>1656</sup> Bean 1956, no. 51; Nollé 1993a, no. 153.

gifts consisting of statues of the emperor.<sup>1657</sup> Recent archaeological and epigraphic work conducted in the city has pointed out that this *deipnisterion* was situated in the southern *stoa* of “Building M”, which also contained a statue of the *archon* Sophron, who can be identified with the Proklos mentioned above, who was the head of the *Gerousia*, and responsible for the restoration of the building (Figure 4.202-3).<sup>1658</sup>

*Deipnisteria*, banquet halls, could be part of sanctuaries dedicated to other deities beside Dionysos. For instance, the Zindan cave on the territory of Tymbriada was a sanctuary dedicated to the River god Eurymedon, Meter Theon, and Marcus Aurelius and it was furnished with a *deipnisterion* and a *triclinium*.<sup>1659</sup> The sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias also possessed subsidiary buildings alongside a *deipnisterion*, which housed the divine image of the goddess.<sup>1660</sup> Communal dining, drinking, musical and theatrical performances were the most important components of festivals or rituals celebrated in honor of gods. Therefore, alongside temples and theaters, different types of meeting places were built for these purposes. In addition to the *deipnisterion* at Side, the cult members of Dionysos *Kathegemon* at Akmonia constructed an *exedra* and an adjacent building for meeting and dining.<sup>1661</sup> In addition to the *deipnisterion* located in the southern *stoa* of “Building M”, another structure was associated with the temple of Dionysos for a long time, as a result of the research carried out at Side by Mansel.<sup>1662</sup> The building is located in the center of the city where the most important buildings, such as the theater and the agora, are clustered and it was reached via a colonnaded street. The north-south oriented pseudoperipteral tetrastyle temple stood on a high podium and was dated to the Early Imperial period by Mansel (Figures 4.204-5).<sup>1663</sup> Recent research conducted in the temple between 2009-2012 enabled to identify five phases for the structure (Figure 4.206).<sup>1664</sup> The first phase dating to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC is the first construction phase of the building, which was characterized by an entrance from the south via stairs. This phase perhaps also corresponds with the first Late Hellenistic-Early Imperial phase of the theater. The second phase dates to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and was related to the rebuilding of a large Roman theater in the area.

<sup>1657</sup> For the inscription and the detailed bibliography, see Nollé 1993a, no. 26; Mansel et al. 1951, no. 18.

<sup>1658</sup> Soykal Alanyalı 2018, 4.

<sup>1659</sup> Takmer-Gökalp 2005, 103-13.

<sup>1660</sup> Brody 2001, 93-109.

<sup>1661</sup> Öztürk 2010, 174.

<sup>1662</sup> For a general overview of the research history of the building, see Soykal Alanyalı 2016, 420-24.

<sup>1663</sup> Mansel 1963, 90-4; 1978, 142-46.

<sup>1664</sup> Piesker 2015, 151-83; Soykal Alanyalı 2016, 419-50.



This construction was in line with other large scale building activities carried out in this period at Side, such as the construction of the temples of Athena and Apollo, the so-called “Building M”, “Temple P”, the *bouleuterion* near the theater, the agora and the Tyche temple. The (re)building of the theater caused damage to the southern entrance to the temple; therefore, the access to the temple was diverted to the north. However, the southern stairs were not removed but rather left beneath the walls of the theater. The first and second phases were both related to the religious function of the building, whereas during the third, fourth and fifth phases, which are dated to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD and the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD respectively, the temple ceased to be a sacred place and the building and its vicinity gained more of an industrial function focusing on glass production.<sup>1665</sup>

This recent research has not only helped to clarify the occupation history of the temple but has also led to a discussion of the deity to whom the building was dedicated. Mansel identified the building as a temple of Dionysos due to its proximity to the theatre.<sup>1666</sup> Nollé, on the other hand, suggested that the building might have been dedicated to Nemesis because of the large number of Nemesis votives found around the theater, and, therefore, in the temple area.<sup>1667</sup> Another opinion favors the worship of Dea Roma. A portrait of Augustus was secondarily used in a late wall in the theater. The portrait is thought to have belonged to the temple, since its date and location are in accordance with the original phase of the temple. The cult of Dea Roma existed in the city from 188/187 BC onwards and was founded after the battle of Magnesia.<sup>1668</sup> The cult maintained its importance into the 3rd century AD.<sup>1669</sup> Considering the presence of the portrait of Augustus in the vicinity, the early date of the temple (1<sup>st</sup> century BC), and the Dea Roma worship starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the hypothesis has been proposed that the temple, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards, might have served the joint worships of Augustus and Dea Roma as was the case at Pergamon and Ankyra.<sup>1670</sup>

On the other hand, two additional inscriptions found in the city provide information on the priesthood of Dionysos. An inscription from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD mentions a certain Decimus Iunius Zenodotos who served as *demiourgos*, *emporiarches*,

---

<sup>1665</sup> Soykal Alanyalı 2016, 429.

<sup>1666</sup> Mansel 1963, 94; 1978, 145.

<sup>1667</sup> Nollé 1993a, 117, 121.

<sup>1668</sup> Nollé 1993a, no. 64; see The Divinity of Rulers in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.19

<sup>1669</sup> For the inscriptions found at Side mentioning the priests of Dea Roma, see Nollé 2002, 613-17; 617-22, no. 75, no.111, no. 70, no. 72, no. 77, no. 82; no. 189, no. 127-28, no. 157, no. 375.

<sup>1670</sup> Soykal Alanyalı 2016, 424.

as well as a priest of Dea Roma and priest for life of Dionysos.<sup>1671</sup> Another text mentions Celsianus, priest of Dea Roma and Dionysos, who served as *demiourgos*.<sup>1672</sup> He was honored because of the abundance of crops during his priesthood. It may be tempting to define the temple near the theater as a building dedicated both to the worship of Dea Roma and Dionysos, because of the two joint priesthoods mentioned in the inscriptions, but, on the other hand, there is also evidence in Side for a priest of Dea Roma who served at the same time as a priest of Apollo and Poseidon.<sup>1673</sup>

Lyrbe is another Pamphylian city that might have housed a cult building for Dionysos. The building is located on the agora of Lyrbe, in the southern part of the row of shops in the east (Figure 4.207).<sup>1674</sup> The semi-circular building, which can be dated to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, is built against a slope. No seats were found inside the building; however, a wooden seating areas may have been present and, therefore, the building has been identified as some kind of meeting place.<sup>1675</sup> There are four entrances to the building and a large niche between the two larger doors in the middle (Figure 4.208). An inscription written on the lintel of one of the large southern entrances defines the building as a *nektareion*. This previously unattested building name has been interpreted by Yıldırım as a space dedicated to the cultic rituals of Dionysos involving feasting and wine drinking.<sup>1676</sup> The presence of a banquet hall in Side used for communal dining and honoring Dionysos has been taken as a factor to evaluate this building as a special place for religious activities conducted in Lyrbe. The god also appeared on the city's coinage dating to the period of Gordianus III (238-244 AD). He is depicted leaning on a *thyrsos* and holding a *kantharos* while next to him, at his feet, a panther is present on the reverses.<sup>1677</sup>

Coin depictions and statuary are the available source categories for the presence of Dionysos in Perge. Coins dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD show on their reverses Dionysos while holding a *thyrsos* and a *kantharos*

---

<sup>1671</sup> Bean 1965, no. 127, Nollé 2002, no. 76.

<sup>1672</sup> Bean 1965, no. 175, Nollé 2002, no. 79.

<sup>1673</sup> Bean, 1965, no.111, Nollé 2002, no. 71.

<sup>1674</sup> İnan 1998, 27-34.

<sup>1675</sup> For different opinions on the function of the building, İnan 1998, 33-34.

<sup>1676</sup> Yıldırım 2016, 281-91.

<sup>1677</sup> For Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG, France, 3, no. 425; For Caracalla (198-217 AD), see Naumann 37, 552; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC, VI, 6127; for Iulia Mammaea (222-235 AD), see RPC, VI, 6145; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC, VI, 6146; for Philippus I, see Tekin, 2011, 14; for Philippus II, see SNG, France, 3, no. 504.

and having a panther at his feet.<sup>1678</sup> Just like in the theater of Side, the first floor of the *scaenae frons* of the theater of Perge had a frieze with scenes from the god's life cycle.<sup>1679</sup> The frieze is relatively well preserved compared to the one at Side and can be dated to the Late Antonine-Early Severan period (Figure 4.209). Separate panels chronologically depict the life of Dionysos, such as his birth (Figure 4.210), childhood (Figures 4.211-2), preparation of the *thiasos*, the *thiasos* itself (Figure 4. 213), his sailing, and the discovery of Ariadne (Figure 4.214). In addition to these scenes, there are also other mythological themes related to Dionysos, such as the murder of king Pentheus from Thebes. The almost mirrored repetition of the scenes on the northern and southern halves of the frieze was probably intended to make it easier for spectators in the theater to follow the entire sequence of the Dionysiac scenes from their places.<sup>1680</sup> Also a colossal statue of Dionysos dating to the Antonine-Early Severan period was among the statuary repertoire of the building (Figure 4.215).<sup>1681</sup> Although no additional epigraphic or archaeological evidence is present for the cult, cult personnel and cultic rituals of Dionysos at Perge so far, this frieze certainly acted as a visual reminder of the god to a huge crowd filling the theater during festivals, contests, and dramatic or musical performances.

The cities of Sillyon and Aspendos and other cities situated in Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia, such as Iotape, Laertes, Syedra and Kolybrassos, put Dionysos on their coinage. The iconographic depiction was the same as in the other cities: Dionysos is standing while holding a *thyrsos* and a *kantharos*. A panther is frequently depicted at his feet.<sup>1682</sup>

In Pamphylia, Attaleia and Magydos put the imagery of Dionysos on their coins from the Hellenistic period onwards, possibly under the influence of the Pergamene kingdom. However, the cult maintained its importance in later times and Dionysos was

<sup>1678</sup> For Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 425; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6127; for Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6145; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6146; for Philippos II (247-249 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 504.

<sup>1679</sup> İnan 2000, 332-30.

<sup>1680</sup> İnan 2000, 330.

<sup>1681</sup> Akçay Güven 2014, 275.

<sup>1682</sup> Sillyon: for Septimius Severus (193-211), see SNG France 3, nos. 981-82; for Geta (197-209), see SNG France 3, no. 988; for Caracalla (198- 217), see SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 938; for Iulia Paula (219-220), see SNG France 3, 992, RPC VI, no. 6197; for Elagabalus (218-222), see RPC VI, no. 6199; for Maximus Caesar (235-238), see RPC VI, no. 6210; Aspendos: for Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6292, BMC Lycia, no. 90; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 129; Laertes: for Marcus Aurelius (161-180), see RPC IV, no. 8075; Syedra: for Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6962; for Maximus Caesar (235-238), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 424; RPC VI, no. 6981; Kolybrassos: for Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6238; Iotape: for Maximinus (235-238), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 452.

venerated in Attaleia with the epithet of *Theos Megas* in the Roman Imperial period as suggested by the epigraphic and numismatic data. Especially Side is a city where abundant information is present for the cult of the deity. There was a Sidetan branch of the guild of the “Artists of Dionysos”, which was active in the city at least from the Early Imperial period onwards and influential enough to dedicate a statue of the emperor Claudius. There were priests of Dionysos who also served as priests of Dea Roma and one of them was praised due to the abundance of crops during his priesthood, which suggests a function related to the abundance and fertility ascribed to the deity. The city also celebrated the *Agon Mystikos*, a Mystery Festival, for Demeter and Dionysos, in which the so-called “Temple P” may have played a role. The temple situated near the theater was interpreted as the “Temple of Dionysos” for many years due to its close relationship with the theater -a building that housed sculptures of the deity in the form of reliefs decorating the *scaenae frons*- and although this opinion has recently begun to be questioned, no certain evidence has been provided (yet) to identify with certainty to whom the building was dedicated. However, recent excavations have allowed to identify another structure, a *deipnisterion*, a sacred dining hall for Dionysos, which was frequently mentioned in inscriptions. This *deipnisterion* was constructed by the *Gerousia* of the city located in the southern stoa of “Building M” and used for rituals related to Dionysos and the Imperial cult. Another sacred building, possibly devoted to the rituals of Dionysos, was present in the city of Lyrbe. This semicircular building was located on the agora of the city and called a *nektareion*. This building type was previously unattested in Asia Minor as well as in any other part of the Roman Empire. Therefore, its relation to Dionysos is not certain. However, considering the existence of a dining hall reserved for Dionysos in Side, the building in Lyrbe might have been used for rituals involving drinking and feasting in the name of the deity. On coins, the god is mainly depicted with his common attributes such as the *thyrsos*, *kantharos*, and panther.

The source materials indicate that in Pamphylia, Dionysos has a close relationship with theatrical performances, as he was the patron deity of the theater. In Attaleia, Lucius Calpurnius Diodoros, a priest of Dionysos as well as of other deities, was responsible for organizing pentaeteric festivals, gladiatorial games and animal fights. In Side, the branch of the holy guild of the “Artists of Dionysos” dedicated a statue to Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD). The deity’s statues embellished the visual landscape of the cities of Perge and Side, especially the theaters. However, the god’s association with theatrical performances was not unique to Pamphylia, since this aspect of the god was emphasized in nearly every

city where his cult was present.<sup>1683</sup> However, a recurrent and distinctive pattern for the cities of Asia Minor is that Dionysos was associated with powerful statemen or emperors. The citizens of Ephesos greeted Marcus Antonius as the “New Dionysos” during his visit and this tradition continued at Ephesos but also with the people of Anazarbos, Ankyra, Teos, Sardeis and Aphrodisias, since they honored Hadrianus, Commodus and Caracalla under the epithet *Neos Dionysos*.<sup>1684</sup> In the cities of Lycia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia, such as Balboura, Termessos and Side, the close relationship between Dionysos and the Roman State was expressed through the joint cult of Dea Roma and Dionysos.<sup>1685</sup> This might indicate a similar practice with political implications among the neighbouring communities. The festival of the *Agon Mystikos* celebrated in Side for Dionysos and Demeter shows that these deities were also respected for presiding mysteries. Similar types of festivals that accentuated this distinctive character of the deity were also celebrated in Kyme, Ephesos, and Stratonikeia.<sup>1686</sup> Finally, the god might also have received worship as the protector of grain, since a Dionysos priest from Side was honored by the city due to his ability to procure abundant grain during his service. This aspect of Dionysos was especially visible in the neighboring region of Cilicia in the cities of Aigai, Anazarbos, Diokaisareia and Mopsouhestia.<sup>1687</sup>

#### 4.12 *The Cult of Demeter in Pamphylia*

The cult of Demeter, the Greek goddess of agriculture,<sup>1688</sup> is attested in nearly every Pamphylian city. The main source category that provides information on her presence is the coins; however, epigraphic data also reveal the deity’s epithets, and thus the nature of her cult, and her cult officials.

Magydos is one of the cities that frequently used the imagery of Demeter on its coins at least from the period of Nero (54-68 AD) onwards. On these coins, Demeter is depicted with various iconographic features. A coin of Nero<sup>1689</sup> and the ones dating to the reign of Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (Figure 4.216)<sup>1690</sup> represent on their obverses the

---

<sup>1683</sup> Öztürk 2010, 41-61.

<sup>1684</sup> Öztürk 2010, 183.

<sup>1685</sup> Öztürk 2010, 183.

<sup>1686</sup> Öztürk 2010, 72, 85, 110.

<sup>1687</sup> Öztürk 2010, 210.

<sup>1688</sup> For information about the cult and iconography of Demeter, see Beschi 1988, 844-92.

<sup>1689</sup> SNG France 3, no. 297.

<sup>1690</sup> RPC VI, no. 6084-6.

abduction of Persephone by Hades, while the two are in a *quadriga*. Although Demeter is missing, the scene clearly narrates the most known myth of the goddess: the abduction of her daughter by the god of the Underworld, a tale that constitutes the main subject of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The *Hymn*, which was later, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, summarized by Apollodoros in his *Bibliothēke*, tells the abduction of Persephone/Kore, Demeter's search for her daughter with torches, the foundation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the verdict of Zeus, which left Persephone/Kore for a third of each year in the Underworld and among the immortals for the rest of the year.<sup>1691</sup> The happy reunion of Demeter and Persephone was yearly celebrated with the abundance of crops and the harvest, thus creating spring and summer, whereas their separation caused the coming of winter. Coins of Magydos dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD represent a turreted and veiled Demeter seated on a throne and holding an ear of corns or poppies in one hand and a torch in the other, while she has a *kalathos* (basket) at her feet (Figure 4.217).<sup>1692</sup> The *kalathos* bears a special significance in the mythology and cult of Demeter, since Persephone, before getting abducted, carried a *kalathos* full of flowers, and women, in return, often carried *kalathoi* in processions organized in honor of Demeter and Persephone. Miniature terracotta *kalathoi* were also among the offerings dedicated to Demeter and were found in great numbers, for instance in the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Korinthos (Figures 4.218).<sup>1693</sup> Coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD depict a standing Demeter. A coin of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) portrays the goddess with torches in both hands before an altar and with a *cista* with a snake next to her (Figure 4.219).<sup>1694</sup> On several other coins, she holds both a torch and corn ears, while a *cista* and an altar are often represented next to her.<sup>1695</sup> Sometimes a snake coils around a torch against which the goddess is resting.<sup>1696</sup> No additional information for the cult of Demeter is present in Magydos apart from the numismatic sources. However, the portrayal of Demeter on the city's coinage from at least the Early Imperial period to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD might show the important place the goddess occupied in the pantheon of Magydos.

<sup>1691</sup> Apollod. 1.29-33, Parker 1991, 1-17.

<sup>1692</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 3944; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 296, RPC IV, nos. 10134, 3561; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11023; for Crispina (180-182 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10147; for Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), see Ünal 2018, no. 34.

<sup>1693</sup> Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 28-29; For the importance of the *kalathos* in myth and cult, see Burkert 1983, 270, footnote 20.

<sup>1694</sup> RPC VI, no. 6094; Ünal 2018, 57.

<sup>1695</sup> For Maximus (236-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6099; for Philippus II (247-249 AD), see Ünal 2018, no. 64; for Gallienus and Salonina, see Ünal 2018, no. 71; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 324.

<sup>1696</sup> For Volusianus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 317; RPC IX, nos. 1095, 1096.

The situation is similar when it comes to the city of Attaleia, where coins indicate a possible cult of Demeter. A coin minted in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) shows the goddess in a chariot drawn by two dragons, while she is holding torches in each hand.<sup>1697</sup> The *Orphic Hymn to Demeter* (late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC) tells of the chariot of Demeter drawn by two dragons.<sup>1698</sup> Triptolemos, the inventor of agriculture and sowing and the protector of the Eleusinian Mysteries, is also frequently depicted while riding a chariot guided by dragons.<sup>1699</sup> Judging from a relief panel in the theater of Side, which bears the same scene -Demeter riding in a cart drawn by two dragons- and dating to the Antonine period, Baydur suggests that the relief in Side served as a model for the die cutter.<sup>1700</sup> A coin of Faustina II (147- 176 AD) possibly portrays Demeter -a female figure who places her right hand on a chest and her right foot on an overturned *kalathos*.<sup>1701</sup> Finally, a coin dating to the period of Elagabalus (218-222 AD) shows a female figure, possibly Demeter, wrapped in a mantle with a snake next to her.<sup>1702</sup> It is not easy to determine whether the cult of Demeter was established in Attaleia at the time of its foundation under Attalos II (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) or it was a Roman novelty. In Pergamon, the cult of Demeter and Persephone went back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and the sanctuary witnessed a renovation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD under the reign of Antoninus Pius.<sup>1703</sup> Therefore, Baydur states that the renovation of the Demeter/Persephone temple at Pergamon during this period might have also been reflected in the coins of Attaleia. However, she also notices that the representations on the Pergamene coins bear no resemblance to the Attaleian ones;<sup>1704</sup> therefore, a direct link is not to be expected between the cult of Demeter at Pergamon and the one at Attaleia.

The earliest epigraphic evidence for the cult of Demeter comes from the territory of Perge, from Lyrboton Kome. In the village of Lyrboton Kome, which had a long settlement history starting from the Hellenistic period onwards, a tower with once two floors exists in the western end of the village (Figure 4.76).<sup>1705</sup> The tower can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and was dedicated to Domitianus (later erased) (81-91 AD) and

---

<sup>1697</sup> Baydur 1975, 220, RPC IV, no. 4052.

<sup>1698</sup> Orphic Hymn 40 to Demeter.

<sup>1699</sup> Beschi 1988, 846-47.

<sup>1700</sup> Baydur 1975, 65-66.

<sup>1701</sup> RPC IV, no. 10822.

<sup>1702</sup> SNG Pfälzer 4, no. 176.

<sup>1703</sup> Üreten 2004, 205-8.

<sup>1704</sup> Baydur 1975, no. 65.

<sup>1705</sup> For the occupation history of the village, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 2, 696-98; Çevik 2000, 79-102; Erdoğan 2019.

Artemis *Pergaia Asylos* by Arete, a priestess of Demeter.<sup>1706</sup> Arete built the tower from the ground to its roof at her own expense as she had promised to the people of the village. Later, Timotheos repaired the building and constructed a new roof. Arete was a member of a prominent and rich family, which gained its wealth thanks to the fertile land with olive groves in the territory of Perge. Arete's father was Demetrios, who was together with his brother Apollonios responsible for the construction of an arch situated on the intersection of the north-south and east-west colonnaded streets of Perge. The two brothers also served various important offices; they were priests of Artemis, *demourgoi* and *gymnasiarchoi*. They also made significant efforts to raise the status of their city in the eyes of Rome. For instance, the *Artemision* of Perge most probably gained its *asylia* status thanks to the achievements of the brothers Apollonios and Demetrios.<sup>1707</sup> As it is apparent from the inscription on the tower of Lyrboton Kome, Arete, Demetrios' daughter, continued the "family tradition" of *euergesia*, as she held important civic offices, such as the priesthood of Demeter, and she constructed a building at her own expense. Another inscription dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and written on a sarcophagus situated in the necropolis of the village provides information about Marcia Atte, the daughter of Moles, who served as a priestess of Demeter.<sup>1708</sup>

Demeter also held a prominent position in the pantheon of Side. In the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), an *agon* called *Agon Mystikos* was founded in the city by a prominent citizen who was also a friend of the emperor, and this festival was most probably celebrated in honor of Demeter and Dionysos.<sup>1709</sup> In addition, the so-called "Temple P", which was previously identified as a temple of Men, is now, in the light of the recent research conducted in the city, thought to have belonged to the cultic rituals of Demeter/Persephone, Hades, and Dionysos based on a relief figure situated on one of the pediments (Figure 4.259-260-1). The figure was previously interpreted as Men but has now been identified as Demeter with a stylized wheatear to her right and a poppy on her left. Therefore, the new interpretation suggests that the cult recipient of this 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD building was Demeter and that the subterranean chamber housed mystery cults related with Demeter, Kore, Hades, and Dionysos.<sup>1710</sup> The worship of Meter in an underground chamber below a temple is also documented in Aizanoi, where the cult cave of Meter

<sup>1706</sup> For the inscription, see Şahin 1999a, no. 65.

<sup>1707</sup> For the family, see Şahin 1999b, 437-45; Özdizbay 2012, 112-17.

<sup>1708</sup> Şahin 2004, 114-15, no. 428.

<sup>1709</sup> See The Cult of Dionysos in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.11.

<sup>1710</sup> Kaymak 2015, 203-40.



*Steunene* was transferred to the temple of Zeus in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, to a vaulted subterranean chamber, which is accessible via stairs from the *opisthodomos*.<sup>1711</sup> Coins of Side bearing the legend *Mystikos* reinforce this hypothesis. The obverse of a coin of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) features a table on which a prize crown with two palm branches is represented. The table is flanked on either side by a torch, which belonged to Demeter, and a *thyrsos*, which belonged to Dionysos.<sup>1712</sup> It is clear that the festival maintained its importance from the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD) into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Additionally, there are other coins that portray the goddess' image. A coin of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) depicts a standing Demeter. The goddess is looking back while holding torches in each hand. Behind the goddess, a *cista* with a snake is depicted.<sup>1713</sup> Besides, the reverse of a coin of Aurelianus (270- 275 AD) represents Demeter standing while holding a torch in her raised hand. Next to her, a snake can be seen.<sup>1714</sup>

Inscriptions found in the city provide additional information on the epithets and cult personnel of the deity. A votive inscription addressed to Demeter *Anarsitike* dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD proves that the deity was worshipped in the city as the “one who helps to raise the grain”, thus as the goddess of agriculture, alongside Zeus *Halonites*, “the protector of thresholds”.<sup>1715</sup> An inscription found in the theater of the city dating to 212 AD or later (based on the *Constitutio Antoniniana* that made all new Roman citizens take an Aurelius name) is an honorary inscription to Aurelia Quadratiania Crispina, a priestess of Demeter for life, dedicated by the Council and the People. The statue of Aurelia Quadratiania Crispina was erected by her sons Aurelius Anteianus and Aurelius Touesianos.<sup>1716</sup> The inscription also informs us that Aurelia Quadratiania Crispina generously performed her duties as priestess of Demeter at her own expense. Inscriptions mentioning the cult of Demeter in Side have not only been found in the city center but also around the city, in its territory. Such a place is Aydolin Castle in the territory of Karallia, which constituted a military settlement on the border of Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Isauria.<sup>1717</sup> The inscriptions found in the settlement provide information about prominent families who served in many offices in Side. For instance, the Council and the People of

---

<sup>1711</sup> Roller 1999, 339-40.

<sup>1712</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, no. 122.

<sup>1713</sup> RPC VI, nos. 6409, 6415.

<sup>1714</sup> SNG Pfalzer Pamphylien 4, no. 891.

<sup>1715</sup> Nollé 1993a, 266, no. 8.

<sup>1716</sup> Nollé 2001, 383-84, no. 92.

<sup>1717</sup> For the military characters of these settlements situated on the border of Pamphylia, such as Kolybrassos, Kasai, Syedra, Iotape, Kotenna, Amblada and Vasada, see Onur 2009, 299-318.

Side honored Aurelius Mandrianus Longinus in 220-240 AD. He was, among many other offices, high priest of the Imperial cult and a priest of the patron deity of Side, Athena, together with his wife Aurelia Killaramotiane Ies, who also erected a statue for her husband.<sup>1718</sup> According to another inscription found in the settlement, Aurelia Killaramotiane Ies was also a priestess of Demeter and was therefore honored by the Council and People of Side.<sup>1719</sup> Another inscription dating to the end of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and originating from Kobaşlar in the territory of Karallia records a dedication made by Obrimos and Konis. According to the inscription Konis served as a priestess for life of Demeter, “the goddess of the most famous city of Side”.<sup>1720</sup> These inscriptions found in settlements like Karallia are not only indicators concerning the extension of the territory of Side, but also illustrate Demeter’s importance for and her influence in the pantheon of Side and its territory. The cult of Demeter was also widespread in the cities situated on the border between Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia. For instance, the city of Kestros honored Mosos, who was a priest of Zeus and overseer of the *stoa* of Demeter.<sup>1721</sup> Again in Kestros, the council honored a certain Moutes, who served as a priestess of Demeter.<sup>1722</sup> The imagery of Demeter was also widely used in the coinage of these cities. The city of Syedra used Demeter on its coins at least from the period of Tiberius (14-37 AD) to that of Gallienus (253-268 AD). She was either depicted standing or seated, wearing a long *chiton* and a *kalathos*. She usually holds symbols of agriculture, like corn ears or poppies, or attributes related to the search of her daughter, such as torches.<sup>1723</sup> Coins of Karakesion dating to the period of Traianus (98-117 AD) and Hadrianus (117-138 AD) depict Demeter as standing while holding a torch and corn ears.<sup>1724</sup> On the other hand, a coin of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) represents the goddess in a *biga* with a torch in each hand.<sup>1725</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins

<sup>1718</sup> Nollé 1993a, 195-202, Tep 1.

<sup>1719</sup> Nollé 1993a, 202-203, Tep 2.

<sup>1720</sup> Nollé 1993a, 204, Tep 3.

<sup>1721</sup> Bean and Mitford 1970, 164ff, no: 172a. For the other *stoai* dedicated to the deities in the region, see *The Cult of Asklepios and Hygieia in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.17.

<sup>1722</sup> Bean and Mitford 1970, 166, no. 175

<sup>1723</sup> For Tiberius (14-37 AD), see SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, nos. 1136, 1145; for Traianus (98-117 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia Supp.1, nos. 70, 71; SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no. 1151; for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 409, SNG Isaurien und Kilikien 6, nos. 1162, 1163, 1164; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, Supp.1, no.74; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no. 1184; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see SNG Pfälzer Isaurien und Kilikien 6, no. 1204; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 430; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 2 Cilicie, no. 670.

<sup>1724</sup> SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, nos. 388, 390.

<sup>1725</sup> SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 392.

of Iotape feature the goddess in an iconography that is similar to that of Korakesion.<sup>1726</sup> Similarly, also the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins of Lyrbe depict the deity while holding torches in both hands.<sup>1727</sup>

The cult of Demeter was as much present in the inland cities of the region, such as Aspendos, Sillyon, and Perge, as in the western and eastern coastal cities. On the reverse of an Aspendian coin minted under Elagabalus (218-222 AD), Serapis was seated in between Isis and possibly Demeter, who is holding a long torch.<sup>1728</sup> The same triad was also present on the Alexandrian coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD but on these Alexandrian coins, the deities were usually depicted inside galleys (Figure 4.220).<sup>1729</sup> The city had close contact with Egypt from the Hellenistic period onwards and the cult of Egyptian deities was clearly present in Aspendos in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>1730</sup> In Egypt, Demeter was closely associated with Isis and the two goddesses were seen as equivalents in nature as well as in rituals, as emphasized by ancient authors such as Herodotos, Plutarch, and Diodoros Siculus. They were both seen as goddesses of fertility, abundance, and motherhood.<sup>1731</sup> However, such an equivalence was not apparent in Aspendos, since Demeter was depicted on a coin of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) as standing while holding a long torch and corn ears, an imagery that is similar to that of the other Pamphylian cities.<sup>1732</sup> The coin images are further supported by the epigraphic testimony for the cult of Demeter in the city. A funerary stele dating to the Roman Imperial period records the name of Zobalima, daughter of Astragalos, as a priestess of Demeter.<sup>1733</sup>

The situation in Sillyon is similar that at Aspendos, since both numismatic and epigraphic evidence on Demeter and her cult personnel are available. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD coins depict Demeter either seated while holding a torch and corn ears or standing while leaning against a torch.<sup>1734</sup> An inscription that was found in the lower city of Sillyon and can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD provides information about

<sup>1726</sup> For Philippus II (247-249 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 453; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 455.

<sup>1727</sup> For Gordianus (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 269; for Hostilianus (250 AD), see SNG Switzerland 1 Levante-Cilicia, no. 286.

<sup>1728</sup> RPC VI, no. 6265.

<sup>1729</sup> Magie 1953, 169, footnote 52. For the coins of Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see RPC IV, no. 14621.

<sup>1730</sup> See *The Cult of Egyptian Deities in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.9.

<sup>1731</sup> Tobin 1991, 187-200.

<sup>1732</sup> RPC VI, no. 6298.

<sup>1733</sup> For the inscription and the locality of the name Zobalima, see Brixhem 1965, 130-32, no. 27; Brandt 1988, 247.

<sup>1734</sup> For Commodus (177-192 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 976; for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 979.

Menadora, who was a member of the most prominent family of Sillyon.<sup>1735</sup> According to the inscription, Menadora was honored by the Council and People of Sillyon due to her contributions to the city. She served as a priestess of Demeter and All Gods and she was the high priestess of the Imperial cult. She was also a hierophant of the *Theoi Patrioi* “ancestral gods”.<sup>1736</sup>

As the Greek goddess of grain, agriculture and harvest, Demeter was mentioned in Homer and Hesiodos and emerged in the archaeological sources at the same time when a Minoan and a Mycenaean predecessor were also present.<sup>1737</sup> The main cult center of the deity was Eleusis, a rural settlement near Athens, which constituted the scene of the myths related to the goddess. The *Hymn of Demeter* emphasized two main aspects of the goddess: agriculture as her gift to mankind and her connection to the Underworld and Afterlife through her daughter Persephone. The strong relation of Demeter and Persephone with the Underworld formed the basis of the Eleusinian Mysteries and their secret rites, which were also taught by the goddess herself.<sup>1738</sup> The worship of Demeter with her epithet “Eleusinian” and thus in relation to her secret rituals was not exclusive to Eleusis, but was also seen in Central and Southern Greece, as well as on the Western coast of Asia Minor, such as at Ephesos, Erythrai, Miletos, Teos, Pergamon, Panamara, and Stratonikeia.<sup>1739</sup> As an inland city, Termessos in Pisidia also had a prophetess of the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter.<sup>1740</sup> Concerning the spread of the worship of Demeter with this epithet, Bowden discusses the contribution of wandering religious officials who were familiar with mystery cults and secret rites, and their influence on local beliefs and priests.<sup>1741</sup> Based on the currently available evidence, the cult of the Eleusian Demeter seems not to have been present in Pamphylia but her connection with mystery rites was nevertheless implied at Side where an *Agon Mystikos* was celebrated, most probably in honor of Demeter and Dionysos from the reign of Hadrianus (117-138 AD) onwards.

---

<sup>1735</sup> For the inscription, see Lanckoronski 2005, no. 60, IGR III, 802; for the family of Menadora, see van Bremen 1994, 43-56.

<sup>1736</sup> Hierophants were responsible for teaching rites of worship and sacrifice. The same title is present at Eleusis in the context of the mystery rites of Demeter. The hierophants played an active role in the mystic cults and initiations of various deities in different cities, such as for Artemis at Ephesos, for Dionysos in Akmonia in Phrygia, for Demeter in Eleusis, and for the Imperial cult in the *koinon* temple of Bithynia. For Ephesos, see Rogers 2012, 148-50; for Phrygia, see Cole 1991, 41-9; for Eleusis, see Clinton 1974, 32-35; for Bithynia, see Burrell 2004, 152.

<sup>1737</sup> For the predecessors of Demeter, see Cronkite 1997, 13-31.

<sup>1738</sup> For the Eleusinian Mysteries and their origin, see Kosmopoulos 2015, 14-22.

<sup>1739</sup> For the cult places of the Eleusian Demeter in Asia Minor and their date of foundation, see Bowden 2007, 74, table 1.

<sup>1740</sup> For the cult of Demeter in Termessos, see TAM III, 870; Talloen 2015, 271.

<sup>1741</sup> Bowden 2007, 71-83.

Similar games were in the same period organized in Akyra, Ikonion, and possibly Pessinous.<sup>1742</sup> Musical and stage performances were part of this festival, as can be understood from the dedication of two players of *kithara* from Aphrodisias who were victorious in the *Agon Mystikos* of Side.<sup>1743</sup> The *Agones Mystikoi* celebrated at Side had a close relationship with the Imperial cult, since they were founded by the Sidetan poet P. Aelius Pompeianus Paion, a close friend of Hadrianus, and with the support of the emperor himself.<sup>1744</sup> Hadrianus had an extraordinary interest in the cult of Demeter and her secret rites at Eleusis. He was himself an initiate of the Mysteries, and he gave special attention to the sanctuary in terms of the construction of new structures and the restitution of old rituals.<sup>1745</sup> Therefore, the cities of Side, Ankyra, Ikonion, and possibly Pessinous might have benefitted from the emperor's fondness of the cult of Demeter and Kore/Persephone and its mysteries and they perhaps got some privileges from his reign onwards.

A famous festival celebrated all over the Greek world in honor of the goddess were the *Thesmophoria*.<sup>1746</sup> This festival was exclusive to women and was overseen by priestesses. It was about the revival of the mythology of Demeter that was narrated in her hymn in a very detailed way. In imitation of the abduction of Persephone to the Underworld, pigs were thrown into chasms or wells as a sacrifice. The participants spent the next day with fasting and sitting on the floor, just like Demeter had refused to eat and to drink due to the sorrow that she felt for her daughter. On the last day of the festival, the pig remains were taken from the pits and put on top of altars after mixing them with seeds and then they were scattered over the fields. This symbolized Persephone's coming back from the Underworld. It also ensured the fertility and abundance of the land and crops. According to Parker, the *Thesmophoria* encouraged the fertility of the fields, and the fertility of women.<sup>1747</sup> According to Goff, the festival was an alternative to a male dominant society, since the rituals were always presided by female officials and the participants were only women.<sup>1748</sup> The *Thesmophoria* were also celebrated outside the Greek mainland, mainly on the western coast of Asia Minor. The sanctuaries of Demeter

---

<sup>1742</sup> Ankyra and Ikonion, see Bosch 1967, 127-30; Pessinous, see IGR III, 231.

<sup>1743</sup> Adak 2018, no. 6. See The cult of Dionysos in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.11.

<sup>1744</sup> Nollé 2001, 439.

<sup>1745</sup> For further information on Hadrianus and the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Clinton 1989, 56-68.

<sup>1746</sup> For the festival of the *Thesmophoria*, see Brumfield 1981, 54-69; Foley 1994; Larson 2007, 70-72; Stehle 2012, 192-96.

<sup>1747</sup> Parker 2005, 270-83.

<sup>1748</sup> Goff 2004, 205-11.

where this festival was celebrated were usually not filled with monumental structures but with modest ones instead, such as *megara* or natural formations like chasms or caves. However, the material left behind from the rituals of the *Themophoria* allows us to relatively easily identify these spaces as sanctuaries of Demeter.<sup>1749</sup> A sanctuary of this kind is situated at Kaunos on top of a rock boulder with a large terrasse in the front overlooking the city. The natural rock boulder with an oak tree in the center yielded many offerings consisting of coins and figurines. Furthermore, in a *bothros* in the sanctuary, many miniature lamps, vessels, figurines of deities, votive trays, figurines of piglets and women carrying pigs dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as well as pig bones have been found. The *Thesmophoria* celebrated here are further documented by inscriptions.<sup>1750</sup> In addition, Herodotos states that the *Thesmophoria* were celebrated by the women of Ephesos<sup>1751</sup> and by the women of Miletos.<sup>1752</sup> The sanctuary of Demeter at Ephesos was a rock temple called Yarikkaya (which means “split rock”) situated near the Vedius *Gymnasion* and the *stadion*.<sup>1753</sup> Furthermore, the research conducted at the *Artemision* revealed that 15% of the bones found in the sanctuary belonged to pigs.<sup>1754</sup> A syncretism of the cults of Demeter and Artemis at Ephesos is also implied in the epigraphic record.<sup>1755</sup> Furthermore, rituals for Demeter and the *Thesmophoria* were conducted at the Sibylline cave of Erythrai, which was dedicated to Demeter; was situated on the eastern slopes of the city’s Acropolis and stayed in use from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>1756</sup> Similarly, the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon initially consisted of a natural rocky outcrop at the southwestern edge of the Acropolis and witnessed intensive building activities from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. The stairs that were located in the northern part of the sanctuary were intended for the participants to watch the *Thesmophoria* rituals that were performed in the center of the temple terrasse.<sup>1757</sup> The *Thesmophoria* are not explicitly attested in Pamphylia but the significance of Demeter’s cult in the region makes their existence more than likely. In addition, the epigraphic evidence compiled from the cities and their territories, which provides information on the civic officials of the goddess, indicates that the cult personnel of Demeter consisted of

---

<sup>1749</sup> Larson 2007, 71.

<sup>1750</sup> Later a church was built in the area of the sanctuary, Işık 2010, 89.

<sup>1751</sup> Hdt. 20.6.16.

<sup>1752</sup> Çaykara 2012, 305.

<sup>1753</sup> Soykal Alanyalı 2003, 173-81.

<sup>1754</sup> Forstenpointner 2001, 49-71.

<sup>1755</sup> TAM V.1, no. 244.

<sup>1756</sup> Gençler Güray 2018, 55-70.

<sup>1757</sup> Agelidis 2014, 391-92.

priestesses, instead of priests, which shows the female dominion in religious matters involving Demeter. This situation is in accordance with the rituals at the *Thesmophoria*, which were only open to women and strictly presided by female officials. Apart from “Temple P” of Side, which was presumably reserved for the Demeter and Dionysos worship, no specific sanctuary of the goddess has been identified in the region thus far, despite the presence of her cult personnel in nearly every city. A tentative suggestion for a sanctuary of Demeter can be put forward based on the animal remains found in a *bothros* on the Acropolis of Perge. This *bothros* yielded materials dating to the 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, including drinking vessels, amphora fragments, and figurines associated with the cultic sphere of Aphrodite.<sup>1758</sup> The animal bones found in the *bothros* consisted of cattle (41.8%), sheep and goat (36.9%), pig (10.6%), deer (2.8%), and equids (2.7%).<sup>1759</sup> Based on these analyses, pigs had the third highest percentage of the animal remains. The question to which deity this sanctuary from where the animal bones originated, was dedicated remains unanswered. Moreover, the bones have been associated with the dietary habits of the Pergaians rather than having been seen as specific indicators of rituals performed for deities.<sup>1760</sup> The Acropolis of Perge also housed natural sacred spaces consisting of caves, chasms, and rock formations, which are seen as related with the cult of Artemis.<sup>1761</sup> However, these type of spaces were sacred for many deities, including Demeter, as many examples from Asia Minor indicate; therefore, the Acropolis of Perge would be a good candidate for such a sanctuary based on its natural features and its dominant position overlooking the plain below, a characteristic that was also present in the Demeter sanctuaries of Kaunos, Ephesos, Ertlyhrai, and Pergamon. However, a definite answer to questions such as whether the pig bones found in the *bothros* and the natural features on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis are certain indicators of a Demeter sanctuary and whether there existed a possible syncretism of Artemis and Demeter at Perge, or both goddesses rather had a separate cult place in the area will depend on future research in the city.

The research carried out within the scope of this thesis points out the significance of goddesses in the pantheon of the cities in Pamphylia. As indicated by the epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological and statuary evidence, Artemis became especially prominent

---

<sup>1758</sup> See *The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.5.

<sup>1759</sup> Fabis 2017, 380.

<sup>1760</sup> Martini 2003b, 22.

<sup>1761</sup> See *The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.4 and *The Sacred Landscape of Pamphylia*, Chapter 5.

at Perge, while Aphrodite was the most important deity at Aspendos and Athena was the patron goddess of Side, even though the cults of these deities were also seen in other cities. Judging from the coins of Magydos, Demeter might have had this kind of importance for this city, since she appeared on the coinage from the period of Nero to the reign of Volusianus (251-253 AD). However, more information in addition to the coinage is needed in order to understand the exact place of Demeter in the pantheon of the city of Magydos.

The only epithet attested for Demeter is *Anarsitike*, “the one who helps to raise the grain”, which was used at Side and highlighted her dominion over and protection of agriculture, fields, and crops. Although no other epithet of the deity is present to show the nature of her cult in the region, the coin depictions on which she is accompanied with a corn-ear indicates a similar aspect and veneration for the goddess throughout the region. Pamphylia was a fertile region in terms of grain production; however, it also experienced grain shortages from time to time. Such a period occurred at Aspendos<sup>1762</sup> and Perge in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, during which Tiberius Claudius Apollonios, who belonged to the same family as Arete, the priestess of Demeter who constructed a tower in Lyrboton Kome, granted a sum of money to the city of Perge in order to import grain.<sup>1763</sup> During the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, which coincided with the most important period for the cult of Demeter within the region, Pamphylia’s importance increased, not only because of its strategic position in the external military affairs of the Roman Empire but also due to its surplus in the grain production. The region was able to feed the auxiliary Roman armies deployed at times in Perge and Side.<sup>1764</sup> In addition, the harbor of Side was used for the shipping of grain to Syria to feed the armies during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1765</sup> For instance, a certain person from Kasai in the territory of Side sent grain to the armies in Syria three times.<sup>1766</sup> This shows the importance of the city’s territories in terms of agricultural production. Inscriptions dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD also inform us about the presence of civic officials responsible for purchasing grain in Side.<sup>1767</sup>

The compiled available source materials on Demeter from the region are dated to the Roman Imperial period starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards. Surprisingly, no

---

<sup>1762</sup> Akdoğan Arca et al. 2011, 291, footnote 25.

<sup>1763</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 58.

<sup>1764</sup> Bennet 2007, 136-43.

<sup>1765</sup> Drexhage 1991, 81.

<sup>1766</sup> Bean and Mitford, 1970, nos. 19-21.

<sup>1767</sup> Bean 1965, no. 128; Nollé 1993a, Tep 1.



evidence is currently present in the region for her cult during the Hellenistic period. This situation is similar to the cult of Demeter in Pisidia. According to Talloen, the lack of the Demeter cult in Pisidia was due to the lack of the Greek influence in the countryside during this period and the role of Demeter as the protectress of the agriculture might have been fulfilled by a different, local goddess until the Roman Imperial period. Based on his analysis, the cult of Demeter was first introduced to the countryside through the involvement of local élites and it came only later to the city centers.<sup>1768</sup> It is not possible to trace such a process for Pamphylia because of the lack of research on the countryside. Pamphylia was also much more open towards outside than Pisidia but the presence of Demeter's priestesses in the countryside, such as at Lyrboton Kome, Kasai and Karallia, brings to mind a similar development. Furthermore, the transformation of a local goddess into a Greek one, such as *Wanassa Preiia* into Artemis at Perge or *Wanassa Akrou* possibly into Aphrodite at Aspendos, as well as the symbiosis of local and Greek elements in one deity, such as Athena who was depicted with the pomegranate at Side, are recurrent patterns in the development of the religious life in Pamphylia. The limited source material, however, prevents us from understanding such transformations in a detailed way. For instance, the above-mentioned inscription of Sillyon written in the Pamphylian dialect mentions both Diwia and Wanassa, whose later associations remain elusive due to the lack of information.<sup>1769</sup> The cult of Demeter, in this regard, might have been present in the countryside and perhaps also on the Acropolis of Perge in the earlier periods. Since its rituals did not necessitate elaborate constructions but rather modest natural features and because her cult places were generally located outside the city centers, the goddess might have remained largely invisible in the archaeological record. In the Roman Imperial Period, Demeter might have entered into the cities and thus have become visible in the material record, such as on coins and in inscriptions. The production of grain and its supply to the Roman armies stationed in the cities of the region and to the armies elsewhere, like those in Syria, possibly also increased the importance and visibility of Demeter, the personification of grain and agriculture. This hypothesis, however, needs to be supported with further evidence, which is at the moment not present in the archaeological and written record.

---

<sup>1768</sup> Talloen 2015, 186.

<sup>1769</sup> See The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

#### 4.13 *The Cult of Helios in Pamphylia*

The cult of the sun god, Helios, is documented in the region through coin depictions, inscriptions and statuary. The majority of the evidence is dated to the Roman Imperial period except for that of Phaselis.

The earliest evidence for the god's existence comes from Phaselis, where Helios was mentioned next to Zeus, Gaia, and Tyche as a god to swear upon in an agreement between Mausollos and Phaselis, dating to 367-353 BC. As a deity who symbolized the *kosmos* together with other gods, such as Zeus, Gaia, and Nyx, Helios, the all-seeing god of the sun, was the natural guardian of oaths.<sup>1770</sup> Helios was summoned as the witness of all human deeds, since he would always punish sins.<sup>1771</sup> The god was venerated as the guardian of oaths, because he was perceived as an "all-seeing deity" due to his association with the sun. This aspect continued throughout the Roman Imperial period as attested in a funerary inscription from Olba, a city located in the neighboring region of Cilicia Tracheia, which records an oath upon the gods of the Underworld and Helios.<sup>1772</sup> Apart from this agreement, Phaselis yields more evidence for the cult of Helios in the city. An inscription dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and recording a votive to Helios was secondarily used in the *palaestra* of the Great Baths of the city. According to the fragmentary text, Sotas, son of Hellokrates, made a dedication to Helios and the other gods while he was a priest of Helios.<sup>1773</sup> No certain evidence is present for the location of the Helios temple at Phaselis; however, the Acropolis has been put forward by researchers as a possible location, considering the archaeological remains of structures and epigraphic testimonies mentioning other deities, such as Hestia, Hermes, and Apollo.<sup>1774</sup> The name of the god in the inscription of Phaselis is given as Halios in the Doric dialect. The cult of Helios was widespread in Greece. He was perceived as the primordial god of the Akrokorinth.<sup>1775</sup> Moreover, Rhodos, the mother city of Phaselis, housed a very well known and famous cult of Helios. Larson suggests that the cult of Helios was brought to Rhodos by Dorian settlers, considering the widespread dissemination of his cult in the Peloponnese; however, Farnell thinks that his cult on Rhodos had a prehellenic origin.<sup>1776</sup> In any case,

---

<sup>1770</sup> For detailed information on deities invoked in oaths, see *The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.6.

<sup>1771</sup> Tüner Önen 2008a, 303-4, no. 1.

<sup>1772</sup> Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, no. 6.

<sup>1773</sup> Tüner Önen 2008a, 307-8, no. 4.

<sup>1774</sup> Tüner Önen 2008a, 308.

<sup>1775</sup> Larson 2007, 158.

<sup>1776</sup> Larson 2007, 158-59.

the god had a sanctuary on Rhodos,<sup>1777</sup> which was adorned with votive offerings, including the colossal bronze statue of Helios, which was perceived as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.<sup>1778</sup> The god had his cult personnel comprising an association of priests<sup>1779</sup> and a festival called *Halieia*, which included sportive, musical contests, chariot races, sacrifices, processions, and rituals, such as the immersion of a *quadriga* dedicated to Helios into the sea.<sup>1780</sup> Since Phaselis was founded by Rhodians around 691/690 AD, it has been suggested that, just like the cult of Athena *Polias*, the cult of Helios too was brought to the city by colonists; therefore, the god may have been present in the city's pantheon since its foundation.<sup>1781</sup> This hypothesis would make the cult of Helios one of the earliest identifiable cults in Pamphylia, alongside the cult of Athena. However, it is not possible to certainly determine the similarities between the Helios cult on Rhodos and that at Phaselis due to the lack of sources. The other Rhodian colonies in Eastern Lycia, such as Rhodiapolis, Olympos, Korydalla, and Melanippion, have not yielded any information on the cult of Helios thus far.<sup>1782</sup> However, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Soloi in Cilicia, another Rhodian colony according to Strabo,<sup>1783</sup> minted coins with the depiction of Helios wearing a radiate crown on the obverse and the Rhodian rose on the reverse.<sup>1784</sup> In any case, the worship of Helios must have continued throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, since the city put the depiction of the god on its coins. The obverses of these coins dating to these periods feature a galley, while the bust of Helios with a radiate crown is present on their reverse sides.<sup>1785</sup>

Besides Phaselis, evidence for the cult of Helios from other cities in Pamphylia dates to the Roman Imperial period. A votive inscription with the depiction of the bust of Helios wearing a radiate crown was found in Side but its exact provenance is unknown. The stone records an inscription dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD mentioning a certain Hermes who made a dedication to Helios.<sup>1786</sup> The second inscription, dating to the Hadrianic

---

<sup>1777</sup> For inscriptions mentioning the *temenos* of Helios, see Jessen 1912, 66. The exact location of this sanctuary remains unknown; however, according to Vedder's opinion the sanctuary must have been located on the southern slope of the Acropolis, in the area previously identified as the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, see Vedder 2015, 117-19.

<sup>1778</sup> Strab. 14.2.5.

<sup>1779</sup> Erten 2007, 274-76.

<sup>1780</sup> Arnold 1936, 434-36.

<sup>1781</sup> Erten 2007, 246; Tüner Önen 2008b, 308.

<sup>1782</sup> For the Rhodian influence in Lycia, see Adak 2007b, 251-79.

<sup>1783</sup> Strab. 14.4.8.

<sup>1784</sup> SNG France 2, no. 1194.

<sup>1785</sup> Heipp Tamer 1993, 142, no. 5, 150, no. 63.

<sup>1786</sup> Nollé 1993a, 266-67, no. 9.

period (117-138 AD), which was found in the western part of the peninsula, mentions a certain Sozon, who dedicated a marble altar to Zeus Helios Megalos Sarapis and the *synnoi theoi*, i.e. the gods with whom he shared his temple.<sup>1787</sup> These two inscriptions indicate that Helios did not only receive a separate worship in Side but he was also syncretized with Zeus and Sarapis. The association of Sarapis with Zeus and Helios started from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards, and therefore, this triple naming started to be seen at several places, like Side, Epiphaneia, Stratonikeia, Mytilene, Sidyma, and Sinope.<sup>1788</sup> This syncretism based on the association of the three deities highlights the cosmic character of Zeus Helios Sarapis, since Sarapis was the Egyptian counterpart of Zeus, the god of the sky, and Helios was the personification of the all-seeing sun. Helios also appeared on the civic coinage of the city of Side. The reverse of a coin dating to the period of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) features a standing Helios wearing a radiate crown and holding a *cornucopia* in his left hand.<sup>1789</sup> The *cornucopia* as an attribute accentuated another role of the deity for the city: protecting the fertility and abundance of the land. Apart from being the personification of the sun, Helios was indeed often worshipped with the epithet *Phytios*, which means “generative”,<sup>1790</sup> symbolizing the god's power over the production and growth of crops, grains, and fruits through the sun.<sup>1791</sup> This nature of Helios is mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In *Iliad* VII. 421-423 the god is depicted as “*The sun was now just striking on the fields, as he rose from deep-flowing Okeanos.*” In the *Odysseia*, Helios is invoked with the title “the giver of grain – Zeidoros – by Zeus.”<sup>1792</sup> One of the Greek Magical Papyri, a collection of papyri that contains spells, rituals, and hymns from Graeco-Roman Egypt, accentuates Helios’ connection with nature. In PGM IV. 1596-1715, a papyrus which records a spell for Helios that could be used for all purposes, the god was summoned as “*the earth flourished when you shone forth, and the plants became fruitful when you laughed; the animals begat their young when you permitted.*”<sup>1793</sup> This dominion of the god over the earth is expressed on the Sidetan coin through the symbol of the *cornucopia*. In Side, apart from Helios another god was also perceived as the protector of grain and threshing floors: Zeus. Both deities were

<sup>1787</sup> Bean 1956, 85-86, no. 52; Nollé 1993a, 272-73.

<sup>1788</sup> For further information on the subject, see The cult of Egyptian deities in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.9.

<sup>1789</sup> Lindgren-Kovacks 1985, no. 1176.

<sup>1790</sup> Liddell and Scott, (online source), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Dfu%2FtiOS>

<sup>1791</sup> Erten 2011, 198.

<sup>1792</sup> Hom. Od. XII. 385-86.

<sup>1793</sup> Dieter-Betz 1986, 68.

regarded and venerated by the Sidetans as forces responsible for the abundance of the land.<sup>1794</sup> Therefore, apart from sharing a common name, such as Zeus Helios Megalos Sarapis, they also seem to have shared a common function in the pantheon of Side. Another coin depiction, which features Helios holding a *cornucopia* on its reverse, comes from the nearby city of Lyrbe and dates to the period of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) (Figure 4.221).<sup>1795</sup> To firmly determine whether or not Helios was always worshipped due to this quality in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD is not possible. However, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD Side witnessed an increase of cults related to agriculture, such as those of Zeus and Demeter, due to the major role the city played in feeding the Roman armies that were stationed in the region for Eastern campaigns.<sup>1796</sup> As a result, Helios must have gained importance as a deity who was responsible for casting the sunlight necessary for the growth of grains.

The sources for the Helios worship at Perge are inscriptions, coins, statues, and reliefs. A votive stele with a relief of Mithras depicted while killing the bull also features Helios wearing a radiate crown on the upper side of the scene. This votive stele, which was offered to the *Mithraeum* to the north of Perge, dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and was dedicated to Mithras-Helios by Marcus Lucius Crispus (Figure 5.26).<sup>1797</sup> Apart from the association of Helios with Zeus and Sarapis evidenced at Side, this inscription indicates that Mithras was associated with Helios in Perge. In Asia Minor, the syncretism of Mithras-Helios can also be seen at Anazarbos and Tarsos in Cilicia, at Arykanda and Oinoanda in Lycia,<sup>1798</sup> and at Kaisareia in Cappadocia.<sup>1799</sup> The identification of Mithras with Helios was very common in Rome and the Roman West, as testified by inscriptions mentioning the deity as *Sol Invictus Mithras*, *Deus Sol Mithras* or simply *Sol Mithras*.<sup>1800</sup> On reliefs found in the Latin West, Helios/Sol is depicted together with Mithras in various ways, such as kneeling before him as an act of obedience, shaking hands with Mithras as a sign of friendship or partnership, banqueting with him or sitting/standing next to him in a *quadriga* when ascending to the sky.<sup>1801</sup> These scenes might indicate that Helios/Sol had a role in the mythology of Mithras. Therefore, the association of Mithras with Helios

<sup>1794</sup> See The Cult of Zeus in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.6.

<sup>1795</sup> SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen 6, no. 897.

<sup>1796</sup> See The Historical Setting, Chapter 1 and The Cult of Demeter in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.12.

<sup>1797</sup> Şahin 1999a, 278-80, no. 248; for the *Mithraeum* and the cult of Mithras at Perge, see The Sacred Landscape of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

<sup>1798</sup> Erten 2007, 313-14.

<sup>1799</sup> Clauss 2011, 147.

<sup>1800</sup> Clauss 2011, 146-55.

<sup>1801</sup> Clauss 2011, 149-53.

at Perge may be explained by the Latin origin of the dedicant of the votive stele. In any case, the Helios worship was not limited to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the god was not only worshipped in association with Mithras. Individual depictions of Helios can also be found, on coins, reliefs and statues. A coin of Maximinus Thrax (235-238 AD) features on its reverse a standing Helios with a radiate crown, holding in his left hand a whip that he uses while driving his *quadriga* (missing in the scene) (Figure 4.222).<sup>1802</sup>

Judging from the archaeological finds, Helios played an important role in the visual landscape of the city of Perge, since he was frequently depicted on reliefs or in statues. The frieze of the northern monumental fountain (F3) constructed in the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD) was embellished with busts of Helios (Figure 4.223).<sup>1803</sup> Moreover, on the soffits of the architraves of the *propylaion* of the Southern Baths dating to the period of Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), the busts of Helios and Selene were present (Figure 4.224).<sup>1804</sup> The pediment of the Severan monumental fountain (F4) was adorned with images of deities whose cult took a prominent position in the city's pantheon, such as Artemis Pergaia and Aphrodite, and its inner corners were embellished with the busts of Helios and Selene.<sup>1805</sup> In all these reliefs, the god is depicted wearing a radiate crown, his most distinctive attribute. A relief on a column in the eastern portico of the north-south colonnaded street features Helios with a radiate crown inside a *quadriga* (Figure 4.225). Finally, in the Gigantomachy scene situated on the third floor of the *scaenae frons* of the theater dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD Helios is fighting with the Gigants in his *quadriga*. In his right hand, which is raised high, he holds a whip, similar to the attribute with which he is depicted on coins of the same period.<sup>1806</sup> During recent excavations, conducted in the city between 2012-2014, a statue of Helios was found together with a statue of Selene, Tyche, and Asklepios in the so-called monumental fountain F5 dating to the Severan period (193-235 AD) and situated in the southern part of the eastern colonnaded street (Figure 4.226).<sup>1807</sup>

A funerary inscription of unknown provenance in Aspendos and dating to the Roman Imperial period informs us about a priest of Helios, named Lagos.<sup>1808</sup> The inscription is important in terms of indicating the existence of a cult place for Helios,

<sup>1802</sup> Lindgren-Kovacs 1985, 58, no. 1119.

<sup>1803</sup> Mansel 1975b, 85-6, Fig. 51.

<sup>1804</sup> Mansel 1975b, 71-2, Fig. 32.

<sup>1805</sup> Mansel 1975b, 67.

<sup>1806</sup> Alanyalı 2007, 87.

<sup>1807</sup> Kara 2015, 19.

<sup>1808</sup> Hereward 1958, 66, no.11

although its location has not been discovered yet. No further evidence is available for the cult of Helios in the city.

Finally, coins and epigraphic sources indicate the presence of the Helios cult at Attaleia. The reverse of a coin dating to the period of Caracalla (211- 217 AD) features Helios wearing a radiate crown and riding a *biga* (Figure 4.227). He has a whip in his left hand and a bridle in his right one.<sup>1809</sup> An inscription from an unknown findspot has been studied by both Bosch and Bean. According to Bosch, the inscription is composed of four lines and records a dedication to *Theos Helios* by the *Boule* and *Demos*.<sup>1810</sup> However, Bean states that Bosch overlooked the deliberately erased line 2, in which the name of the emperor Elagabalus (218-222 AD) was once present.<sup>1811</sup> Therefore, he concludes that the dedication was initially made to Theos Helios Elagabalus. After the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor, his name was erased from public monuments including this inscription, and from this time onwards, the Attaleian dedication simply appeared to be intended for Helios. The members of the Severan dynasty (193-235 AD) had a particular relationship with the sun god and, consequently, the cult of the sun god was especially predominant in this period. The worship of the sun had already commonly been practiced by earlier emperors and the sun had been identified with, for instance, Augustus, Nero, and Commodus.<sup>1812</sup> Augustus constructed a temple for the Solar Apollo on the Palatine, the obelisk he placed in his funerary complex was rededicated to Helios, and the colossal statue of Helios erected outside the amphitheater of Vespasianus (the *Colosseum*) originally featured Nero's head before the construction of the *Colosseum*. Besides Herakles, Commodus identified himself as Helios/Sol in his portraiture and on his coinage.<sup>1813</sup> The emphasis on the worship of Sol/Helios by the Severan dynasty created, in this sense, a religious continuity with Rome's earlier emperors and a rightful claim of legitimacy.<sup>1814</sup> The first emperor of the dynasty, Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), appeared on a coin of Caracalla minted in 201 AD together with his wife Iulia Domna. The emperor is depicted with a radiate crown, whereas his wife wears a lunar one, identifying the couple as Sol and Luna, Helios and Selene.<sup>1815</sup> The *Septizodium*, built in Rome by Septimius Severus, might also have reflected this imagery of the Imperial couple as the sun god and

---

<sup>1809</sup> Baydur 1975, 47, no. 294.

<sup>1810</sup> Bosch 1947, 89, no. 1.

<sup>1811</sup> Bean 1958, 4-85, no. 112.

<sup>1812</sup> For the identification of Nero with the sun, see Hannah et al. 2016, 511-24.

<sup>1813</sup> Levick 2007, 126-27.

<sup>1814</sup> Smith 2014, 126.

<sup>1815</sup> Lusnia 2004, 525.

moon goddess.<sup>1816</sup> Septimius Severus' wife, Iulia Domna, and her sister Iulia Maesia were the daughters of a high priest of the ancestral cult of Elagabalus, the Semitic sun-god of Emesa, Syria, where they came from.<sup>1817</sup> Although Caracalla was an enthusiastic follower of the cult of Egyptian deities, like Sarapis and Isis, he was venerated by the Ephesians as the new Helios and was associated with Helios in the god's sanctuary at Philadelphia in Lydia.<sup>1818</sup> The recently excavated monumental fountain (F5) of Perge mentioned above could be evaluated within this context, since due to the discovery of a statue of Caracalla during the excavations, the fountain has been dated to the period of this emperor. Moreover, among the statues that were found near the fountain there were a Helios and a Selene.<sup>1819</sup> Further architectural analysis and contextual studies should be conducted to firmly identify the date of the monumental structure and its sculptural program. The worship of Sol/Helios witnessed its apex in the reign of Varius Avitus Bassius, known as Elagabalus (218-222 AD), one of Caracalla's successors, a grand-nephew of Iulia Domna and hereditary highpriest of the cult of Elagabalus at Emesa. Due to his fondness to Elagabalus, this emperor identified himself with the god as is apparent from his name. He even insisted that the sun god would be worshipped exclusively at Rome.<sup>1820</sup> The inscription from Attaleia accentuates this aspect of the emperor. After the erasure of his name on the stone, the inscription became a votive for Helios, which might indicate a continuation of the cult of Helios in the city of Attaleia as Bean suggests. However, besides the Caracalla coin and the Elagabalus inscription there is no evidence that points towards such a continuation. Therefore, the worship of Helios in Attaleia might also have been the result of the influence of the Severan rule.

A closer look at the cult of Helios in the neighboring regions of Pamphylia, such as Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia, reveals different aspects of the god. In Cilicia Tracheia and Pisidia, the deity had a more punitive character, since he was often mentioned in the context of funerary inscriptions.<sup>1821</sup> Thus far, such an aspect is not visible for Helios in Pamphylia. Additionally, in Lycia, Helios was often syncretized with Sozon, a local deity

---

<sup>1816</sup> Grant 1996, 78-9. However, Lusnia 2004, 517-44 suggests that Septimius Severus was portrayed in the statuary program of the *Septizodium* in a god-like way but still as a human, who was perhaps adorned with divine attributes or accompanied by deities.

<sup>1817</sup> Levick 2007, 6-23 for the origins of the family and 124-145 for its role in the spread of the worship of the Syrian god into the Roman pantheon.

<sup>1818</sup> Burrell 2004, 127-28.

<sup>1819</sup> Kara 2016, 10.

<sup>1820</sup> Smith 2014, 127.

<sup>1821</sup> For Pisidia, see Talloen 2015, 54-55; for the Roman inscriptions of Kanytella, see Şahin 2009, 262; for Elaiussa Sebaste, see Şahin-Özdizbay 2014, 101; for Korykos, see Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, no. Kry 528; for Lamos, see Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, no. Lam 7.



who was depicted on horseback, and with Apollo.<sup>1822</sup> In Pamphylia, the worship of Sozon, either separate or in relation with Helios, is not documented, although the god was associated with Zeus Sarapis and Mithras. A distinctive aspect of Helios in Pamphylia could be his perception as a god who was responsible for the growth of the crops and grain in Side and Lyrbe.

#### 4.14 *The Cult of Tyche/Fortuna in Pamphylia*

Tyche/Fortuna is one of the most commonly portrayed deities in the cities of Pamphylia. The goddess appears on the Roman Imperial coinage of nearly every Pamphylian city. Despite the widespread usage of her image on coins, other sources about her cult, both epigraphic and archaeological, are rather limited. Whereas Phaselis, Attaleia, Magydos, Perge, Sillyon, Aspendos, Side, and Lyrbe, and the cities in the border area between Pamphylia and Cilicia, such as Syedra, Kasai, Karallia, Kolybrassos, and Korakesion frequently used the goddess' image on their coins, only Phaselis, Side and Perge provide possible further evidence for her cult.

The earliest attestation of Tyche in the region occurs in a letter of agreement between the Phaselites on the one hand and Mausollos and Artemisia of Caria on the other.<sup>1823</sup> The letter, dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, was found in a house in Attaleia. In this agreement, Mausollos and Artemisia swore an oath upon Zeus, Helios, Gaia, and Tyche *Basileios* before the messengers of the Phaselites. The messengers of the Phaselites in return would send Tyche *Basileios* to the people whom Mausollos would choose, and accordingly, they would stay faithful to their oath. Although this letter of agreement cannot be seen as direct evidence of the Tyche worship in Phaselis, it nevertheless might indicate that the deity was not unfamiliar to the Phaselites during the Hellenistic period. Tyche later appeared on the city's coinage of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, in the reign of Gordianus III (238-244 AD). She is depicted as standing and holding a *cornucopia*.<sup>1824</sup>

Side used the image of Tyche on its coinage from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The reverse of a coin dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC features a standing Tyche next to a *vexillum*, the standard attribute of the Roman army, which might symbolize the victorious situation of the Roman armies against the pirates during which

<sup>1822</sup> Delemen 1999, 41, 44, 47, 52, 56.

<sup>1823</sup> Tüner Önen 2008a, 303-4.

<sup>1824</sup> Von Aulock Lykien, nos. 265-66.

the harbor of Side played an important role.<sup>1825</sup> The image of the goddess appeared on coins dating to the reign of Domitianus (81-96 AD). Tyche is seated and she holds a *cornucopia* and prow (Figure 4.228). To the right of the goddess, a *vexillum* is surmounted by the city's symbol of the pomegranate.<sup>1826</sup> The period of the Flavian dynasty was very important for the Pamphylian cities, since with the new provincial organization of *Lycia et Pamphylia* under Vespasianus (69-79 AD) came new privileges and an increase of wealth for individuals, which triggered new urbanistic activities and this ultimately caused an upward development for the whole region.<sup>1827</sup> Perge received its first neocorate under Vespasianus;<sup>1828</sup> new games were organized and large scale constructions accelerated under the Flavian period for several towns, such as Attaleia, Perge, Lyrbe, and Side.<sup>1829</sup> According to Nollé, the image of Tyche, the personification of the city, on the Domitianic coinage of the city symbolized not only the new economic prosperity Side gained during this period but was also an indication of the sea trade that the city restored after the threat of piracy in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, since the goddess is depicted holding a prow. He also emphasizes that during this period, the Sidetans gained new self-confidence towards their city, which was reflected in their coinage by selecting the image of the city goddess and their city symbol, the pomegranate.<sup>1830</sup> From this period onwards, Tyche frequently appeared on the city's coinage. On a Hadrianic (117-138 AD) coin, the crowned goddess is depicted as seated, while holding a Nike and leaning on a scepter on which a pomegranate is present. At her feet a prow is represented.<sup>1831</sup> A common iconography for the goddess from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards is that she is depicted while standing. She wears a *polos* on her head, a *chiton* and *himation*. In her left hand, she holds a *cornucopia* and a rudder in her right one (Figures 4.229-430). This type can be seen on the reverses dating to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1832</sup> The *cornucopia* Tyche holds symbolized the abundance and the

<sup>1825</sup> SNG France 3, no. 775.

<sup>1826</sup> SNG, France, 3, 787. For the 1st century BC history of the city, see Nollé 1993a, 68-77.

<sup>1827</sup> For the new province of *Lycia et Pamphylia* under Vespasianus, see The Historical Framework, Chapter 2.3.

<sup>1828</sup> Özdizbay 2010, 195-203; Baz 2016, 134-48.

<sup>1829</sup> For the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD development of Attaleia, see Gökalp 2008, 36-8; of Perge, see Özdizbay 2012, 11-6; of Lyrbe, see İnan 1998, 36-38; The Historical Framework, Chapter 2.3.

<sup>1830</sup> Nollé 1993a, 78-80.

<sup>1831</sup> SNG France 3, no.802.

<sup>1832</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11029; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 56; for Faustina Minor (147-176 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 58; for Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 64; for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 818; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 827; RPC VI, no. 6375; for Orbiane (225-227 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 843; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 849, RPC VI, no.

fertility that the city might secure thanks to her worship, and the rudder was the symbol of guiding and conducting the affairs of a city, which can be also seen as guiding the fortune of a city. The rudder also symbolized the importance of the maritime trade and marine transportation for the town, a suitable symbol for Side as an important port city.<sup>1833</sup> Although this iconography was frequently shown on the reverses of 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins, some diversifications occurred in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. For instance, on a coin of Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD) Tyche holds an agonistic crown and a prow, to the left an altar is depicted and to the right a *vexillum* surmounted by a pomegranate.<sup>1834</sup> Coins of Orbiana portray the goddess who is holding either a cornucopia or a *patera*<sup>1835</sup> or is seated on a rock, holding corn-ears and a poppy, while the personification of the River Melas is swimming under her feet (Figure 4.231).<sup>1836</sup> The latter iconography is also present on the coins of Gallienus and Salonina (253-268 AD).<sup>1837</sup> Side possessed fertile land thanks to the River Melas, and on these coins Tyche might symbolize that she held abundance - corn ears and poppies- in her hands, hence the fortune of Side. This coin image emulates the most famous Tyche statue, the Tyche of Antioch, created by Euthychides around 300 BC. The original statue represented the goddess in a triangular composition seated on a rock, which symbolized Mount Silpios on whose slopes the city of Antioch was founded. At her feet, there was a swimming man, the personification of the Orontes River. The goddess was portrayed while holding a branch of palm in one hand and stalks of grain in the other. She wore a mural crown on her head.<sup>1838</sup> The original Hellenistic statue was continually adapted and reproduced, especially in the Roman Imperial Period, by the emperors Tiberius (14-37 AD), Traianus (98-117 AD), and Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), and henceforth, this iconography maintained its importance from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1839</sup> Alanyalı argued that the cult of Tyche must go back to the Seleucid period in Side, based on the fact that the goddess' representation follows the Antioch type on the coinage of Side.<sup>1840</sup> However, Arya points out that the image of the

---

6455; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 103; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 884; for Salonina (254-260 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 176; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see Büyükyörük 2018, no. 120; for Valerianus II (Caesar, 256-268 AD) SNG France 3, no. 947.

<sup>1833</sup> For the general iconography of the goddess, see Villard 1997, 115-25. For the rudder as the symbol of the deity, see Arya 2002, 77-80.

<sup>1834</sup> SNG France 3, no 837.

<sup>1835</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, no. 95.

<sup>1836</sup> SNG France 3, no. 845.

<sup>1837</sup> SNG France 3, no. 895, 905; Nollé 1990, 248.25, 256.84, 258; Büyükyörük 2018, 141-43, 188.

<sup>1838</sup> For the iconography of the Tyche of Antioch, see Arya 2002, 21-24.

<sup>1839</sup> Arya 2002, 21.

<sup>1840</sup> Alanyalı 2010, 82.

Tyche of Antioch did not become popular in the Greek East until its recreation by Traianus and that only from this period onwards, the proliferation of the image occurred gradually until it became common in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1841</sup> The spread of the Antiochan iconography on the city's coinage may be explained as a result of its popularity and expansion, especially from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards. On coins of Gallienus (253-268 AD), Tyche is also depicted as a bust wearing a mural crown, which symbolizes the city through its fortification walls<sup>1842</sup> and as a standing goddess holding in one hand a small temple and in the other a prow.<sup>1843</sup> A coin of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) depicts the goddess as standing and holding Nike and a prow,<sup>1844</sup> while a depiction of a seated Tyche with Nike and a prow in her hands can be found on the coins of Elagabalus (218-222 AD) and Valerianus I (253-260 AD).<sup>1845</sup> As is evident from the Sidetan coinage, the goddess is depicted either standing or seated; the common attributes of the goddess are the *cornucopia*, rudder, prow and mural crown. She is also accompanied by the River Melas -another obvious personification used to represent the city- and Nike. These attributes are also visible on the coinage of other Pamphylian cities.

Apart from these attributes, the goddess was also depicted inside a temple on the basis of which a *Tycheion* has been identified in Side. On a coin minted for Salonina (253-268 AD) the goddess is represented as seated inside a temple, which has four columns at the front, an arched pediment and a conical roof (Figure 4.232).<sup>1846</sup> On the conical roof, the symbol of the pomegranate is present. This image has been interpreted as corresponding to the *tholos* building that is located on the agora and was recently partially reconstructed in 2013. It is not exactly situated in the center of agora but slightly towards its southwestern edge (Figures 4.234-35). The structure rises on a podium (9.90 m of diameter) made of rubble stones and is accessible via monumental stairs (Figure 4.233). It has twelve Corinthian columns surrounding the podium and is surmounted with a flat architrave (Figure 4.236). Its cella is covered with a vault whose interior is decorated with zodiac motifs.<sup>1847</sup> The structure is thought to have had a conical roof (Figure 4.237). The *tholos* of Side can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, to either the Hadrianic or the Antonine

---

<sup>1841</sup> Arya 2002, 31-3.

<sup>1842</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 918, 921-22, 930.

<sup>1843</sup> SNG France 3, no. 912.

<sup>1844</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, 104.

<sup>1845</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, 84, 121.

<sup>1846</sup> SNG France 3, no. 933; Mansel 1978, 166, Fig. 183.

<sup>1847</sup> The fragments decorated with the zodiac motifs are lost today.

period.<sup>1848</sup> Due to the resemblance of the conical roof of the *tholos* and that of the structure on the coin, Mansel assumes that the building was dedicated to Tyche.<sup>1849</sup> Despite the resemblance of the conical roofs, the coin image illustrates an arched gable, whereas the *tholos* has a flat architrave. This difference, however, was perhaps deliberate, due to the need to create more room for the image of the cult statue on the coin. The question why the image of the *Tycheion* was represented on the city's coinage nearly 100 years after the building's construction remains currently unanswered.

An inscription on an altar of unknown provenance identifies the deity as “the great Tyche of Side, the most brilliant city”,<sup>1850</sup> thus showing the goddess' relation with Side as its personification. Besides numismatic, archaeological and epigraphic evidence, statuary depictions of the goddess are also present. A statuette showing the goddess holding a rudder on a globe in one hand and a *cornucopia* in the other was found near the colonnaded street. The statuette can be dated to the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1851</sup> Fragments belonging to three other statuettes of the deity were also found in the city.<sup>1852</sup> A statue that is only preserved below the waist was uncovered in the central door of the theater opening to the agora; it can be dated to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1853</sup> Another fragment of a torso is dating to the same period, to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1854</sup> The diversification of coin depictions and the goddess' visual representations might indicate that her worship gained further importance during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Based on the available data, Perge used Tyche on its coinage from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards and she was frequently depicted from that period onwards until the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The image of a standing Tyche holding a *cornucopia* and rudder was widely portrayed on many coins.<sup>1855</sup> Her bust with a mural crown also appeared on

<sup>1848</sup> Mansel 1956d, 2, 7; 1978, 167-69.

<sup>1849</sup> Mansel 1978, 165-66; Nollé 1993a, 121-22; Alanyalı 2010, 81.

<sup>1850</sup> Nollé 2001, 555-56, no. 241.

<sup>1851</sup> İnan 1975, 96-7, no. 40.

<sup>1852</sup> İnan 1975, 97, nos. 41-43.

<sup>1853</sup> İnan 1975, 99-101, no. 45.

<sup>1854</sup> İnan 1975, 101, no. 46.

<sup>1855</sup> For Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 395; RPC III, no. 2691; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, nos. 11025, 10203; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no. 10811; for Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 434; for Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 436; for Geta (209-211), see SNG France 3, no. 457; for Diadumenianus (217-218 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 459; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 467; RPC VI, nos. 6118, 6126, 6129; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 473, RPC VI, no. 6134; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 491; for Philippus II (244-249 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 505, 522-24; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 538, RPC IX, nos. 1122, 1127; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 552, 554, 563, 573; for Salonina, see SNG France 3, nos. 588, 592; for Saloninus (258-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 614.

the coins (Figure 4.238).<sup>1856</sup> The coins of Salonina and Saloninus (259 AD) portrayed the goddess following the Antiochian iconography, as Tyche was depicted seated on a rock and holding a branch. The personification of the River Kestros is swimming beneath her feet.<sup>1857</sup> Apart from these, there were also coins showing the goddess with her cult image and temple. Some coins dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD portrayed Tyche seated on a throne and holding a *cornucopia* in one hand and the cult image of Artemis Pergaia in the other.<sup>1858</sup> The same iconography can be found in the so-called sacrificial frieze situated above the *porta regia* of the theater. Tyche is seated in the center of the composition and is approached from both sides by servants carrying sacrificial bulls. She wears a mural crown. In her left hand, she holds a *cornucopia* and in her right one the cult image of Artemis Pergaia. Under the cult image there is a small altar. The frieze can be dated to the beginning to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD,<sup>1859</sup> which is also in line with the coins of the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD that follow a similar iconography (Figures 4.129-130). A statue of Tyche dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD-beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD is also thought to have been placed inside the niches of the second floor of the *scaenae frons* of the theater.<sup>1860</sup> On a coin of Tacitus (275-276 AD), the emperor is portrayed while receiving a statue of Artemis Pergaia out of the hands of Tyche.<sup>1861</sup>

Another statue of Tyche dating to an earlier period, 121 AD, was dedicated by Plancia Magna and placed into the arch bordering the northern end of the oval courtyard together with statues depicting deities, and the imperial family of Hadrianus.<sup>1862</sup> On the inscribed base of the statue, Tyche is described as the *Tyche tes poleos* in Ancient Greek and *Genio civitatis* in Latin, which indicates her status as the personification of the city.<sup>1863</sup> The iconography of the statue also matches with the goddess' status in the inscription, since she holds a mural crown on her head, which represents her as the protectress of the city (Figure 4.239). Tyche is portrayed together with Artemis Pergaia on the arch, the former being the symbol of the city in general and the latter the patron of

<sup>1856</sup> For Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 540, RPC IX, no. 1128.

<sup>1857</sup> For Salonina, see SNG France 3, no. 602; for Saloninus (258-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 612.

<sup>1858</sup> For Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 423; for Macrinus (217-218 AD), see [www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID 12348; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6156.

<sup>1859</sup> Ateş 2000, 331-36. Akçay Güven suggests that on the sacrificial frieze Tyche might also be depicted as a free standing statue in the theater based on its static stance and frontal depiction, see Akçay Güven 2014, 273, footnote 278.

<sup>1860</sup> Öztürk 2009, 90-91.

<sup>1861</sup> Harl 1987, 59.

<sup>1862</sup> For the sculptural reconstruction of the Hadrianic arch, see Akçay Güven 2014, 213-27.

<sup>1863</sup> Şahin 1999a, 127-28, no.90.

this particular city. These two aspects are again accentuated on the frieze of the theater, as well as on the city's coinage nearly 40-60 years later. The last statue of Tyche from Perge is now housed in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels, Belgium. The goddess is depicted in her most common iconographical type as seen on the city's coins; she holds a *cornucopia* and possibly a rudder. The statue can be dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD or beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Figure 4.240). Since the statue is detached from its original context and was taken to Belgium, its original findspot can only be determined with the help of two other statues -those of Aphrodite and Herakles- which have the same inscription on their base as the statue of Tyche: "Titus Flavius Clemens Pelopodanus dedicated (this statue)". These statues were found in the *palaestra* of the Northern Baths and thus dedicated by the same person. Therefore, it can be assumed that Tyche was once part of the statuary repertoire of the *palaestra*.<sup>1864</sup> An inscription dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD-beginning to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD found in the western colonnaded street informs us about a certain Falconianus, who served as a priest of Tyche Sebastos among other offices.<sup>1865</sup>

Just like Side, Perge had a *tholos*, which was here, however, located in the centre of the *macellum* (Figures 4.241-2). The *tholos* stood on top of a podium with a preserved height of 2,49 m and 13,40 m diameter (exterior) and which had 8 niches. If two columns were to be situated framing each niche, there would have been 16 columns surrounding the structure. A flat architrave topped the Corinthian columns. However, no certain evidence exists for its roof. It could have been conical like the one in Side or the building could have been covered with a dome. The possibilities of a wooden roof or no roof at all have not been ruled out by Özdizbay either (Figures 4.243-44).<sup>1866</sup> Moreover, its function has not been fully determined either. By comparing the Perge *tholos* with the *tholos* of Side, Mansel suggests that the one in Perge most probably also had a religious function.<sup>1867</sup> Anabolu, on the other hand, suggests that the *tholos* at Perge might have functioned as a temple for the Imperial cult, since a statue of a priest of the Imperial cult was found in the *macellum*.<sup>1868</sup> However, Özdizbay suggests that this statue can also have been erected to honor the Imperial cult priest who was responsible for building the *stoa*

---

<sup>1864</sup> Tüner Önen 2018, 903-12.

<sup>1865</sup> Tüner Önen-Arslan 2019, 325-27.

<sup>1866</sup> For the *macellum* and *tholos* of Perge, see Özdizbay 2012, 66-73.

<sup>1867</sup> Mansel 1974a, 111; 1975b, 80.

<sup>1868</sup> Anabolu, 2003, 10.

*dipyle* of the *macellum*.<sup>1869</sup> Coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD minted under Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (Figure 4.245), Salonina, Valerianus II (256-258 AD), and Saloninus (258-260 AD) show Tyche inside a distyle temple, holding a *cornucopia* and rudder with the accompanying legend of *Pergaion Neokoron*.<sup>1870</sup> If we accept these coin depictions as evidence for the existence of a *Tycheion* in the city of Perge, the plan of the temple on the coins would not correspond with that of the *tholos*.<sup>1871</sup> Here again appears the discussion of the degree of reality between temple representations on coins and real structures. The question whether these representations can be seen as “realistic” or rather as symbolic depictions that can be identified as ‘a’ temple building” has been asked many times by many scholars, but the answer somehow has remained inconclusive.<sup>1872</sup> For the possible Tyche temple at Perge, the reason behind this uncertainty is the lack of archaeological and epigraphic evidence that can be evaluated together with the numismatic data and thus could support or rule out the depictions on the coins.

From Aspendos, Attaleia, Magydos, Sillyon, and Lyrbe only numismatic evidence exists for Tyche. Aspendos used the imagery of the goddess during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD in diverse iconographies: some coins of the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD portrayed the goddess as standing and holding a *cornucopia* and a rudder in her hands (Figure 4.246).<sup>1873</sup> The iconography of Tyche seated on a rock with Eurymedon swimming at her feet also frequently occurred on the city’s coinage. A coin of Commodus (177-192 AD) portrayed the goddess seated on a rock. She wears a mural crown on her head and holds a bunch of grapes. At her feet Eurymedon reclines on a rock with one arm resting on a water urn and holding a *cornucopia* on his head.<sup>1874</sup> Coins of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) represent the goddess seated on a

---

<sup>1869</sup> Özdizbay 2012, 71.

<sup>1870</sup> For Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 547; for Salonina (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 608; for Valerianus II (256-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 609; for Saloninus (259 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 615. For a complete account of Perge’s coinage with the legend of *Neokoron*, see Burrell 2004, 180.

<sup>1871</sup> Atik 2002, 117 suggests that the *tholos* at Perge might have functioned as a *Tycheion* due to its resemblance with the one at Side.

<sup>1872</sup> Drew-Bear 1974; Price-Trell 1977; Burnett 1999; Lichtenberger 2017.

<sup>1873</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (139-161 AD), see RPC IV, no. 4948; for Elagabalus (139-161 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6267; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6301; for Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6311, 6334; for Maximus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6318; for Tranquilina (241-244 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 193; for Philippus II (244-247 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 195, 196; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1056; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 202; RPC IX, nos. 1061, 1075; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see, RPC IX, no. 1068; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 210, 214, 217.

<sup>1874</sup> RPC IV, no. 5709.



rock and holding corn-ears while Eurymedon is swimming below her feet.<sup>1875</sup> There are also types related to agonistic games. For instance, a coin of Commodus (177-180 AD) showed a turreted goddess seated on a throne, dropping a pebble into a water urn while holding a palm branch (Figure 4.247).<sup>1876</sup> Another type minted under Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) portrayed a standing goddess holding a *cornucopia* and a rudder, while being crowned by Nike who holds a palm branch and a wreath.<sup>1877</sup> There are also other depictions. A coin of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) shows Tyche seated on a throne with a mural crown on her head, while holding Nike and a scepter (Figure 4.248).<sup>1878</sup> On a coin of Gordianus (238-244 AD), she is seated, while holding a *cornucopia* and being accompanied by two cult images of Aphrodite Kastnietides.<sup>1879</sup> A coin of Volusianus (251-253 AD) portrays her while holding two *cornucopiae* in each hand and stepping on a water urn.<sup>1880</sup>

Tyche also appeared on the coinage of Magydos from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD into the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In the most depicted iconographical type, she is either seated or standing while holding a *cornucopia* and rudder. The coins of Crispina (180-182 AD) (Figure 4.249), Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), Plautilla (202-211 AD), Iulia Mamaea (222-235 AD), Volusianus (251-253 AD), Valerianus I (253-260 AD), Gallienus (253-268 AD) and Salonina are examples of this iconography.<sup>1881</sup> A coin of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) and Salonina (253-268 AD) depicts the goddess seated on a rock while holding corn ears.<sup>1882</sup> Among other personifications, Tyche is frequently used on the coinage of Roman empresses. This tradition found its roots in the Hellenistic period when Arsinoe II Philadelphus (276-270 BC) was portrayed with the attributes of a goddess, namely the *cornucopia*, which associated her with Tyche. This was followed by other Hellenistic queens and finally adopted by Livia (14-29 AD). The image symbolized many things, such as agricultural abundance, human fertility, nurturing

<sup>1875</sup> SNG France 3, no. 175; RPC VI, nos. 6300, 6303.

<sup>1876</sup> RPC IV, no. 4949.

<sup>1877</sup> RPC VI, no. 6284.

<sup>1878</sup> RPC IV, no. 5706.

<sup>1879</sup> SNG France 3, no. 183.

<sup>1880</sup> RPC IX, no. 1074

<sup>1881</sup> For Crispina (180-182 AD), see RPC IV, no. 9727; Ünal 2017, no. 29; for Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 33; for Plautilla (202-205 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 42; for Iulia Mamaea (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6098; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 68; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 75; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 321, 322; Ünal 2017, no. 84; for Salonina (253-268 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 88.

<sup>1882</sup> For Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 306; for Salonina (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 323.

children, protection, success and fortune, and provided useful propagandistic messages, which also overlapped with the role of women in the society.<sup>1883</sup> Finally, coins of Caracalla (198-217 AD) and Macrinus (217-218 AD) depicted Tyche according to the standard iconography; she is seated on a rock and holding corn-ears, with a figure, presumably the personification of the River Katarraktes, swimming below her feet.<sup>1884</sup>

The city of Sillyon used the goddess on its coins in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The most depicted type portrayed the goddess either seated or standing and holding a *cornucopia* and rudder, like on the coinage of Magydos.<sup>1885</sup> On a coin of Salonina, she is seated on a rock and holds corn ears, while a figure, possibly the personification of the river, is swimming below her feet.<sup>1886</sup>

Coins from Attaleia minted under Caracalla (198-217 AD), Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) and Volusianus (251-253 AD) portray Tyche as standing with a *cornucopia* and rudder in her hands.<sup>1887</sup> Besides Side and Perge, Attaleia is another city where a *tholos* existed. It was constructed by a certain Aniketas in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Figure 4.250).<sup>1888</sup> However, the function of the structure remains unknown.

The Tyche depictions on the coins of Lyrbe all date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. On coins of Gordianus III (238-244 AD), Decius (249-251 AD), and Salonina, she holds a *cornucopia* and a rudder.<sup>1889</sup> Tyche represented as seated goddess holding a *cornucopia* in one hand and Nike on the other is portrayed on a coin of Gordianus III, whereas she is standing with a *cornucopia* and a *phiale* in her hands on a coin of Herennius Etruscus (249-251 AD).<sup>1890</sup>

Cities situated in the border area between Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia, such as Iotape, Karallia, Kasai, Kolybrassos, Korakesion, Laertes, Selinous, and Syedra,

---

<sup>1883</sup> Goldberg 2002.

<sup>1884</sup> For Caracalla (198-217 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 39; For Macrinus (217-218 AD), see Ünal 2017, no. 47.

<sup>1885</sup> For Commodus (177-192 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 974; for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 980; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 998; for Philippus II Caesar (244-247 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1001; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1003; RPC IX, no. 1138; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1005; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1007; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1013.

<sup>1886</sup> SNG France 3, no. 1008.

<sup>1887</sup> For Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 270; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1088; for Volusianus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 283; RPC IX, no. 1091.

<sup>1888</sup> Gökalp 2008, 67.

<sup>1889</sup> For Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 273; for Decius (249-251 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 283; for Salonina (253-268 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 294.

<sup>1890</sup> For Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, Supp. I, no. 32; for Herennius Etruscus (251 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 285.

also used the image of Tyche on their coins. Here she was standing and holding a *cornucopia* and a rudder.<sup>1891</sup>

As the personification of luck and fortune Tyche had a divine lineage attested in the literary sources, from Hesiodos onwards (8<sup>th</sup> century BC),<sup>1892</sup> but this lineage did not contribute to the goddess' iconography and she did not appear in any Greek mythological tale. She was already an important goddess during Archaic and Classical times, since a statue of hers was created by Boupalos in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC for the Smyrnaeans. This was the earliest known image holding a *cornucopia* created for the goddess.<sup>1893</sup> Although the goddess existed in earlier periods, her importance significantly increased in the Hellenistic period becoming a more complex deity and the symbol of fate, prosperity, and the *polis* itself. Cities maintained their importance during the Hellenistic periods but with decreasing autonomy and they became more dependant on the federations and leagues they formed and on Hellenistic rulers as well.<sup>1894</sup> Kingdoms like those of the Seleucids and Ptolemies founded new cities via colonies and each city now possessed its own Tyche, who was interpreted in many ways and symbolized a city's wealth, achievements, fortune, and luck.<sup>1895</sup> Apart from the cities itself, Tyche was also associated with the Hellenistic kings and queens thanks to whom the city owed its great fortune. This relation with the ruler cult was later adopted by the Roman emperors. With the increasing popularity of the goddess, her temples and cult statues also proliferated. The cult statue

---

<sup>1891</sup> Iotape: for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 448; for Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia, Supp.1, no. 85; for Geta Caesar (198-209 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 451; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 454; Karallia: for Philippus I (244-249 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia Supp.1, no. 57; Kasai: for Maximus Caesar (253-258 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 299; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 303; for Philippus I (244-249 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 305; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 311; Kolybrassos: for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 329; for Gordianus III (238-244 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia Supp. 1, no. 46; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia Supp.1, no. 51; for Valerianus II (255-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 352; Korakesion: for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 389; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 396; for Maximus (235-238 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia Supp.1, no. 68; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 403; Laertes: for Hadrianus (117-138 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia Supp.1, no. 60; for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Switzerland Levante-Cilicia Supp.1, no. 63; Selinous: for Philippus I (244-249), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 466; Syedra: for Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see SNG Switzerland I Levante-Cilicia, no. 411.

<sup>1892</sup> Tyche appeared as the daughter of Okeanos and thus as one of the Oceanids in Hesiodos. According to Alkman she was the sister of Eunomia and Peitho. Pindaros states that she was the daughter of Zeus Eleutherios and one of the Moirai. For these literary sources, see Villard 1997, 115.

<sup>1893</sup> Kılıç 2014, 852. For other cult statues of Tyche dating to the Archaic and Classical Periods, see Novakoca-Gucik 2014, 249.

<sup>1894</sup> Hansen 2000, 132-34.

<sup>1895</sup> Novakoca-Gucik 2014, 248.

of Tyche of Antioch created by Euthychides in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC became canonical for the image of the goddess. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, the combination of the *cornucopia* and rudder in the statues of Tyche became a widespread phenomenon.<sup>1896</sup> In Asia Minor, her image began to be used in the coinage of Cilicia from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>1897</sup> Her worship is also numismatically attested in some cities of Pisidia, like Keraia, Kremna, and Andeda, whereas temples dedicated to her cult were built at Selge and possibly at Ariassos.<sup>1898</sup> In Smyrna, where she already had a cult statue in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, she was venerated among the other deities upon whom the Smyrnaeans and Magnesians swore an oath in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1899</sup> In this regard, she shared common characteristics with the Phaselites. Nollé and Alanyalı have suggested that the cult of Tyche was adopted by the Sidetans in the Hellenistic period, since the region was under the hegemony of the Seleucid kingdom until Antiochos III (222-187 BC). The depiction of the goddess in the form of the Antiochian Tyche on a coin of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD has also been seen as an earlier influence of the Seleucid kingdom. According to these scholars, the cult of Tyche was spread within the region during the Hellenistic period. Side adopted the cult and placed the cult statue of Tyche inside the *tholos* that they built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and showed this on a coin of Gallienus dated to 253-268 AD.<sup>1900</sup> The presence of the goddess in the neighboring regions of Cilicia and Pisidia in the Hellenistic period might reinforce the possibility that the cult was also adapted in Pamphylia in that time, but this is not attested yet, neither archaeologically nor epigraphically.

The Hellenistic goddess Tyche held great importance for the Roman emperors under the name *Fortuna*. As mentioned above, the Antiochian Tyche statue created in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was gradually recreated and duplicated by Tiberius (14-37 AD), Traianus (98-117 AD), and the Severan Emperors, which led to the gradual spread of the image on the coinage throughout the Roman Empire. It became particularly very popular in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. These periods are in line with the Pamphylian duplication of the image. For instance, this iconography appears on the Aspendian coins dating to Commodus (177-192 AD), Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) and Iulia Mammea; the Magydos coins dating to Caracalla (211-217 AD) and Macrinus (217-218 AD); the

---

<sup>1896</sup> Arya 2002, 73.

<sup>1897</sup> SNG France 2, nos. 52-180.

<sup>1898</sup> Talloen 2015, 91.

<sup>1899</sup> Kılıç 2014, 843.

<sup>1900</sup> Nollé 1993a, 121-22; Alanyalı 2010, 82.

Pergaian coins of Gallienus and Salonina (253-268 AD); the Sidetans coins dating to Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) and Gallienus, and the Sillyon coins of Gallienus. Although this imagery emulated and evoked the famous Antiochian Tyche, which remained very popular in the Roman Imperial Period, it also perfectly fitted the natural qualities of the Pamphylian cities. All the mentioned cities owed their wealth and prosperity to the rivers that flew near them, namely the Katarraktes, Kestros, Eurymedon, and Melas respectively. Sillyon, Perge and Aspendos were in their earliest phases founded on top of *acropoleis*, like Antioch was founded on the slopes of Mount Silpios. Therefore, in addition to the need to depict their city goddess on their coinage, the Pamphylian cities might also have emphasized their distinct natural features by choosing this image.

Although the image of the Antiochian Tyche was very popular, the most common imagery was the one that depicted the goddess as standing while holding a *cornucopia* and rudder. This iconography was created in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, but became universal only in the Roman Imperial period, both in Rome and in the provinces including Pamphylia.

Some of the Pergaian and Sidetan coins showed Tyche with a temple. The Pergaian coins minted under Valerianus I (253-260), Salonina, Valerianus II (256-258 AD) and Saloninus (258-260 AD) showed Tyche inside a distyle temple, holding a *cornucopia* and rudder with an A on the pediment and the accompanying legend *Pergaion Neokoron*. If these images depict the *Tycheion* of the city, then the *tholoi* in the agora/*macellum* of Perge were not in line with the coin depictions and the *Tycheion* should be sought elsewhere. The Ionic distyle temple inside which Tyche appeared can designate the neocorate temple of Perge. The A on the pediment has been interpreted by Burrell as showing Perge's claim to rank first, rather than referring to its first neocorate, since contemporaneous coins with the same pediment did not possess the legend *neokoria*.<sup>1901</sup> Tyche was also associated with the personification of the city as *neokoros*, since the reverse of a coin of Gallienus (253-268 AD) showed a seated Tyche who holds a branch with the accompanying legend *Perge Neokoros*.<sup>1902</sup> The neocorate coins of Side minted under Gallienus and Valerianus also portrayed Tyche as the symbol of the city's neocorate. Tyche holds a pomegranate, a small distyle temple and a prow, two six column temples or three temples. She was also portrayed as a bust with a mural crown.<sup>1903</sup> The

---

<sup>1901</sup> Burrell 2004, 176.

<sup>1902</sup> SNG France 3, no. 602; Burrell 2004, 177.

<sup>1903</sup> Burrell 2004, 182-85.

goddess also appeared inside the *tholos* during this period, a fact not mentioned by Burrell.<sup>1904</sup> To sum up, during this period, the goddess was shown holding a distyle and two hexastyle temples and she appeared inside a *tholos*. Burrell stated that Side imitated the temple-holding type of other cities<sup>1905</sup> and did not comment on the *tholos* type. She acknowledged the great role the gods who were venerated played in the *neokoria* but suggests that the city never claimed to be the *neokoros* of any deity. When Side received the first neocorate under Gallienus and Valerianus, Apollo, Athena and Tyche all appeared on the neocorate coins, either alone or holding one or multiple temples.<sup>1906</sup> However, Tyche was depicted inside a circular temple. Therefore, one might wonder if this depiction suggests that the circular *Tycheion* also served as an Imperial temple for the city as may have been the case at Perge.

The proliferation of Tyche depictions on the coinage of the region in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD might also be in line with the political situation of the region during this period. The cities of Pamphylia flourished during this period thanks to Pamphylia's strategic position and the importance of the port city of Side during the eastern campaigns of Valerianus and Gallienus. The region had always had military importance from the beginning of the Roman Imperial period onwards,<sup>1907</sup> but this drastically increased during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. As opposed to many neighboring cities, which were affected by the civic and administrative unrests, the cities managed to maintain their wealth.<sup>1908</sup> For instance, Perge received the neocorate under Valerianus I (253-260 AD), which is shown by the depiction of Tyche inside a temple. During the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD), the city received the honorary title of *metropolis* and the privilege of being the treasure of the emperor, while the legionary headquarters were transferred to the city.<sup>1909</sup> Tacitus also appeared on the city's coinage while receiving a miniature cult statue of Artemis Pergaia from the hands of Tyche.<sup>1910</sup> The reverse of the coin that Aspendos minted in the period of Valerianus-Gallienus depicted the city goddess of Aspendos clasping hand with the goddess Roma in a typical *homonoia* posture. The legend of the coin reads as *Aspendos Symmachos Romaion*, which evidences the loyalty of Aspendos to Rome during

---

<sup>1904</sup> SNG France 3, no. 933.

<sup>1905</sup> Burrell 2004, 184.

<sup>1906</sup> Burrell 2004, 187.

<sup>1907</sup> Bennett 2007; Onur 2009.

<sup>1908</sup> Mitchell 1993, 1, 216, 238.

<sup>1909</sup> Şahin 2004, 50-58, no. 33; Onur 2009, 303.

<sup>1910</sup> Harl 1987, 59.

the Sassanid wars.<sup>1911</sup> Similarly, the neocorate of Side during Gallienus' and Valerianus' reigns was often expressed through the imagery of Tyche. The goddess was particularly associated with the *polis* concept since she was seen as the *Tyche tes poleos*, "Tyche of the *polis*"; therefore, her explicit emphasis during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, when the Pamphylian cities gained an important place in the eyes of Rome, is not surprising.

The Tyche worship was also seen in the neighboring regions. In Pisidia, her image appeared on coins from Andeda, Komana, and Kremna in the Hellenistic period as was the case at Side. Unlike the situation in the Pamphylian cities, she had shrines dating to this period in Selge and Ariassos.<sup>1912</sup> According to the architectural remains and the inscription, the Selgian temple was dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, but the existence of a predecessor dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or the early Roman Imperial period has been suggested.<sup>1913</sup> The *templum in antis* is situated at the northwestern edge of the city's upper agora, while a building with the same plan and on a similar location -on the agora of Ariassos- has also been interpreted as a temple belonging to the goddess.<sup>1914</sup> The Upper Agora of Sagalassos was also equipped with an Early Imperial building, which had four columns carrying a curved canopy roof. This temple has been interpreted as a shrine of Tyche based on its depiction on coins dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Similar buildings were also present on the *agorai* of Konana and Baris.<sup>1915</sup> Although the plans of the temples show diversity, the selection of their location on *agorai* shows a similarity between the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia.

Despite the large number of numismatic sources and statues found at Side and Perge, evidence for the rituals, the cult personnel, the festivals and games dedicated to the goddess are limited for the Pamphylian cities. In any case, material evidence is lacking in order to reconstruct the cult of Tyche in Pamphylia.

#### 4.15 The Cult of Poseidon in Pamphylia

Evidence for the cult of Poseidon from the cities of Pamphylia is limited to a few coin depictions and inscriptions. However, the evidence goes back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in the

---

<sup>1911</sup> Harl 1987, 74.

<sup>1912</sup> Talloen 2015, 91.

<sup>1913</sup> Vandeput 2002, 210.

<sup>1914</sup> Talloen 2015, 106.

<sup>1915</sup> Talloen 2015, 208.

city of Attaleia, which makes Poseidon one of the deities of the Hellenistic period. The god's worship was also continued into the Roman Imperial period.

The coin depictions are the only source materials for the cult of Poseidon in Attaleia, since no inscription mentioning the name of the deity is known from the city yet. Poseidon is frequently depicted on the coins minted in the period when the city was founded, which means between 159-100 BC, in various ways. His laureate bust is depicted on the obverse while a dolphin is wrapped around an anchor on the reverse (Figure 4.251).<sup>1916</sup> Alternatively, he could be portrayed on both sides; while on the obverse his laureate bust is present, he stands on the reverse while leaning on a trident with a dolphin to his right (Figure 4.252).<sup>1917</sup> This type can also be seen on coins dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>1918</sup> Furthermore, on the issues where the god's bust accompanied by a trident was depicted on the obverses, various other deities appeared on the reverses, such as Athena leaning against a shield while holding a bow on the galley and a spear<sup>1919</sup>, Apollo carrying a bow,<sup>1920</sup> Hermes seated on a rock while holding a *kerykeion* and a purse,<sup>1921</sup> Dionysos holding a *thyrsos* and *kantharos*,<sup>1922</sup> and Nike holding a wreath and a branch of palm (Figure 4.253).<sup>1923</sup> On the obverses of the pseudo-autonomous coins of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, a dolphin wrapped around a trident is present, while their reverses feature an anchor.<sup>1924</sup> The depiction of Poseidon on the Attaleian coins continued into the Roman Imperial period, since the bust of the deity with a trident and dolphin appeared on the obverses of pseudo-autonomous coins of the Antonine period (138-180 AD).<sup>1925</sup> We can wonder what was the importance of Poseidon for Attaleia from its foundation onwards. A closer look at the Hellenistic pantheon of Pergamon might reveal the lack of evidence for the deity in Pergamon, which might show that Poseidon was not among the deities whom the Pergamenes brought to Attaleia from their city.<sup>1926</sup> Therefore, the significance of Poseidon to the Attaleians may have laid in his role as the patron of the sea. Homer informed us that, when the universe was divided among the deities, Poseidon

<sup>1916</sup> Baydur 1975, 36, nos. 1-9; SNG France 3, nos. 223-24.

<sup>1917</sup> Baydur 1975, 47-49, nos. 10-34; SNG France 3, nos. 225-26.

<sup>1918</sup> Baydur 1975, 51, nos. 53-61.

<sup>1919</sup> SNG France 3, no. 227.

<sup>1920</sup> SNG France 3, no. 228.

<sup>1921</sup> SNG France 3, no. 229.

<sup>1922</sup> Baydur 1975, 51-52, no. 62.

<sup>1923</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 230-34.

<sup>1924</sup> Baydur 1975, 53-54, nos. 79-90.

<sup>1925</sup> The reverses of these coins portray Nike, Athena, and/or Hermes. Baydur 1975, 55-60, nos. 100, 104, 106, 108, 109-10, 115, 121-22, 125, 135, 142, 147.

<sup>1926</sup> For an opposed situation, see The cult of Athena in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.2.



gained the sea, while his brother Zeus received the sky and his other brother Hades the Underworld.<sup>1927</sup> He was associated with everything that the sea represents. He presided over the unpredictable sea, waves, disastrous storms, droughts, and floods. In this way, he was also the protector of sailors and fishermen. According to ancient cosmology, the earth floated upon water like an island and earthquakes happened as results of waves in the sea.<sup>1928</sup> In this regard, Poseidon was also perceived as responsible for the tremors of the earth, since he was also the god of geological forces.<sup>1929</sup> Due to the god's close relationship with the sea and water, his attributes were related to sea creatures. The dolphin was a sacred animal of the god, which was widely depicted on Attaleian coins. He was sometimes depicted in a chariot drawn by hippocamps, a mixed creature of a horse and a fish.<sup>1930</sup> His most known symbol, the trident, a spear with three points which was forged by the *Kyklopes*,<sup>1931</sup> was used by the god to crack the rocks, to call upon the storms and waves and to cause earthquakes.<sup>1932</sup> The trident, the dolphin and the anchor were symbols present on the coins of Attaleia in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period. As mentioned above, the location of Attaleia was chosen due to its favorable conditions as port-city. Between the years 188 and 133 BC, Pergamon founded cities both inland and on the coast to ensure its kingdom. Since Side, which was the most important harbor city of the region, was a friend of Rome, a new port city, Attaleia, was founded by Attalos II in 159-155 BC.<sup>1933</sup> Therefore Attaleia's, hence Pergamon's, military, commercial, and strategic importance as well as its wealth must heavily have depended on the benefits that the sea offered. In this regard, Poseidon, the patron of the sea, might have been venerated by the city.

Side is another city that yields evidence on the cult of Poseidon; however, unlike Attaleia, this cult dates to the Roman Imperial period. The bottom part of a pinkish marble stele found near the harbor in 1958 records a dedication to Poseidon *Asphaleios*.<sup>1934</sup> The inscription was not dated by Bean but it was evaluated in the context of the Roman pantheon of Side by Alanyalı.<sup>1935</sup> The findspot of the stone denotes the god's relationship

---

<sup>1927</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.184–93.

<sup>1928</sup> Cook 1940, 17-18, footnote 1-6.

<sup>1929</sup> Larson 2007b, 57.

<sup>1930</sup> Güney 2015, 249.

<sup>1931</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 6-8.

<sup>1932</sup> There are suggestions that the trident originated from a weapon in the shape of the thunder or an Indo-European kingship symbol, see Turak 2018, 42 on the origins of the trident.

<sup>1933</sup> For the historical developments of the 2nd and 1st century BC of Pamphylia and the foundation of Attaleia, see the Historical Framework, Chapter 2.3.

<sup>1934</sup> Bean 1965, 41, no. 140.

<sup>1935</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 80-81.

with the sea. The epithet *Asphaleios* means “securer”<sup>1936</sup>, “steadily and immovable”,<sup>1937</sup> and although it can symbolize the secure journeys of seafarers, it also highlights the god’s power over tremors of the earth, since Poseidon was invoked with this epithet when a city suffered from an earthquake.<sup>1938</sup> The cult of Poseidon *Asphaleios* is well-known in the Aegean and Mediterranean, since it has been documented in many cities such as Athens, Syros, Sparta, and Tainaron.<sup>1939</sup> The cult and the sanctuaries venerating the god under this epithet were generally established after a devastating earthquake. For instance, the earthquake that happened in 464 BC at Sparta was interpreted as the wrath of the god and as a result, six temples dedicated to Poseidon including Poseidon *Asphaleios* were built in the agora.<sup>1940</sup> The Rhodians constructed a small sanctuary to Poseidon *Asphaleios* on an island called Hiera, which was newly formed between the islands of Thera and Therasia as a result of an earthquake that occurred in 197 BC.<sup>1941</sup> The cult of Poseidon *Asphaleios* was also very prominent in Ionia. For instance, when the city of Miletos was hit by an earthquake in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the oracle of Didyma advised the city to reinstate the cult of Poseidon *Asphaleios*.<sup>1942</sup> Similar examples are present for Caria in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, at Aigai in Cilicia in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, at Poimanenon in Mysia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and at Tralleis in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1943</sup>

Due to the geological formation of Asia Minor, which is divided by many fault systems from the Aegean and Mediterranean, namely the East Anatolian fault, the Ececiş Fault, and the Dead Sea fault, the region was prone to destructive earthquakes, which had large effects on the economic, civic, and urbanistic life of the cities and their inhabitants.<sup>1944</sup> In the past, the southern coasts of Asia Minor were highly affected by these earthquakes as the data compiled by Erel and Adatepe from 148 BC to 1897 shows.<sup>1945</sup> According to this study, although Pamphylia was not an earthquake producing region, it was highly affected by tremors originating from Crete and Rhodos. In this area,

---

<sup>1936</sup> Liddell and Scott (online source), [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=%29asfa%2Fleios&la=greek&can=%29asfa%2Fleios0&prior=a\)sfa/leios](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=%29asfa%2Fleios&la=greek&can=%29asfa%2Fleios0&prior=a)sfa/leios)

<sup>1937</sup> Liddell and Scott (online source), [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0073%3Aentry%3Da\)sfale%2Fws](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0073%3Aentry%3Da)sfale%2Fws), Larson 2007, 57.

<sup>1938</sup> Burkert 1985, 136-38.

<sup>1939</sup> Güney 2015, 295.

<sup>1940</sup> Pausan. III. 11-15.

<sup>1941</sup> Mylonopoulos 2013b, 5454-55.

<sup>1942</sup> Parke 1985, 65-68.

<sup>1943</sup> Güney 2015, 296 and 301.

<sup>1944</sup> Erel-Adatepe 2007, 241-42.

<sup>1945</sup> Erel-Adatepe 2007, 243-45, Table 1.

earthquakes occurred in 142 AD, 144 AD, 226 AD, 344 AD, and 365 AD. Another interesting research, conducted by Güney in 2015, attempted to correlate the coin depictions of Poseidon in various cities with earthquakes records of Asia Minor to see if there are any associations between the religious life of the inhabitants and the natural disasters manifested in the archaeological record. The results of this study suggest that such a correlation was present, especially for three regions: northwestern Asia Minor including Mysia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia; western Asia Minor comprising Lycia, Phrygia, Aolis, and Ionia, and finally Cilicia.<sup>1946</sup> We might also attempt to evaluate the few evidence acquired from the Pamphylian cities in the context of these two studies. As stated above, Attaleia minted issues with Poseidon from the Hellenistic period onwards; however, the popularity of these issues decreased in the Roman Imperial period until the period of the Antonines (138-180 AD), when the pseudo-autonomous issues started again with the depictions of Poseidon on their obverses. In 140-143 AD, an heavy earthquake occurred, which had a devastating impact on the cities of Caria, Lycia, and Rhodos, after which the *euergetes* Opramaos donated large sums of money to the Lycian cities to repair or reconstruct their damaged edifices.<sup>1947</sup> Attaleia was not cited amongst the cities that received aid, but Phaselis was and the large-scale rebuilding activities that happened at Perge in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD are also presumably associated with this earthquake.<sup>1948</sup> Therefore, Attaleia, a city close to both Phaselis and Perge, might have used Poseidon, the god who presided over earthquakes, on its coins again to appease his wrath and to ensure protection. When it comes to Side, the inscription that records the votive dedication of Poseidon *Asphaleios* does not include an exact date; however, a coin dated to the period of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) features a depiction of Poseidon on its reverse. The god is standing while facing left. He leans against his trident that rests on a dolphin and he holds a triton on his right hand.<sup>1949</sup> According to the “The Historical Earthquake Catalogue of Turkey”, an earthquake occurred in Antioch in 220-230 AD.<sup>1950</sup> Although we do not have clear evidence about the impact of this tremor at Side, the *forum*, *basilica*, and bathhouse at Kremna were damaged as a result of this earthquake, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD reconstruction activities on the northern monumental fountain of Perge

---

<sup>1946</sup> Güney 2015, 305-6.

<sup>1947</sup> Duggan 2004, 129.

<sup>1948</sup> Duggan 2004, 129.

<sup>1949</sup> RPC VI, no. 6417.

<sup>1950</sup> <https://deprem.afad.gov.tr/tarihseldepremler>, 21.09.2019.

have also been associated with this disaster.<sup>1951</sup> Therefore, it is probable that Side suffered from this disaster too and that the city used the imagery of Poseidon on its coins to avoid the earthquake's repetition. However, this hypothesis needs further research and justification, which should go hand in hand with detailed architectural studies, the analysis of coin depictions, epigraphic testimonies, and the study of analogies with neighboring regions, which at this moment are lacking for Pamphylia.

#### 4.16 *The Cult of Men in Pamphylia*

The cult of Men, the moon god, was not very widespread in Pamphylia, but despite that, it was especially prominent in Sillyon. An inscription found in Perge is probably also related to the deity's cult in Sillyon. On the other hand, Attaleia portrayed the god on its coins. Furthermore, while earlier research suggested a possible temple for the god in Side, recent research puts emphasis on different identifications. Although there is discussion about the origin of the deity, his cult mainly flourished in Asia Minor during the Roman Imperial period. His cult in Sillyon is important in terms of pointing out the "non-Greek" beliefs of the Pamphylians.

The moon god was depicted on coins from Sillyon dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and had three iconographic types. On some coins the god is depicted on horseback with a crescent behind his shoulders and wearing a *chiton*, *chlamys*, and a Phrygian cap (Figure 4.254).<sup>1952</sup> On other coins he is standing, resting on a spear, and holding a pine cone in his left hand, while stepping on a bull's head. He wears a Phrygian cap and a crescent is depicted behind his shoulders (Figure 4.255). The third type depicts the god as a bust; also here his Phrygian cap and crescent are always present (Figure 4.256).<sup>1953</sup> On a coin minted under Aurelianus (270-275 AD) the legend reads:  $\forall$ *Sillyeon*

<sup>1951</sup> For Kremna, see Mitchell 1995, 67, 136-37; for Perge, see Freely 1998, 66-67.

<sup>1952</sup> For Antoninus Pius (131-168 AD), see SNG France 3, nos. 967-68; RPC IV, 10676; for Faustina Minor, see RPC IV, 5723; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see von Aulock Pamphylien, no. 4874; for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, 165, no. 3; SNG France 3, nos. 976-78; for Macrinus (217-218 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 990; for Diadumenianus (218 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 447. For Gallienus (253-268 AD), see BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, 168, no. 17; SNG France 3, nos. 999, 1002; for Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1011.

<sup>1953</sup> For Geta (197-209 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 989; for Orbiane, see Köker 2011, 37; for Maximinus (253-238 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 995; RPC VI, no. 6211; for Gordianus III (238-244AD), see SNG France 3, no. 997; for Philippus II Caesar (244-247 AD), see Hill, BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, 168, no. 14; Volusianus (251-253), SNG France 3, no. 1004; RPC IX, no. 1139; Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), SNG France 3, no. 1004; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1006; for Salonina, see SNG France 3, no. 1010; for Valerianus I (253-260 AD), see SNG von Aulock Pamphylien, no. 4891; SNG France 3, no. 1014; for Aurelianus (270-275 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 1015.

*Theou Menos Asylou*”, indicates that the sanctuary of Men had the status of *asylia* at least in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. According to Rigsby, based on the formula of the legend it was not the city or its territory, but only the sanctuary of Men that gained the recognition of *asylia*. He thinks that the temple was not situated in the city, which was founded on top of a hill, but rather in the plain, however, without explaining his arguments. He also mentions that the original granting of *asylia* must have taken place in the Late Hellenistic period, as this was also the case with other Pamphylian cities, like Perge and Side.<sup>1954</sup>

Thus far, only surveys have been conducted at Sillyon. During his visit in 1884, Lanckoronski and his team determined four temples. The first one was situated west of the tower gate of the lower city fortifications, east of the stadion, and measured 8,20m by 12,00m. The other temples were located on the top of the hill. The second one was attributed to Tyche and thought to be situated under a medieval structure, either a church or mosque, on the northwestern edge of the hill. The third one was located on the southern edge and was part of a series of buildings dating to the Hellenistic period. This *tetrastylus prostylos* with east-west orientation was located to the far east. It was built on top of a rocky surface, which formed a natural platform for the temple, and this platform was accessible via a series of steps carved in the bedrock at both the east and west side. Besides this temple, there are other Hellenistic structures in the west that were connected to the temple area by means of steps. These structures include a rectangular building with at least three rooms with an east-west orientation, which have been interpreted as houses, and a larger building with a large depression at its far west side. The last temple was situated on the eastern ridge of the hill and was a *templum in antis* or prostyle temple.<sup>1955</sup> If these identifications are accurate, except for the one in the lower city, all temples at Sillyon seem to have been built at the edges of the hill, on rocky surfaces that functioned as natural podiums to elevate the buildings and make them more visible from the plain below. Nevertheless, there is no secure evidence to prove that one of these temples belonged to the moon god. New research at Sillyon since 2009 has concentrated not only on the city, but also on its territory. However, no sanctuary of Men has been identified with certainty yet to support Rigsby’s suggestion. Ongoing research and excavations might provide more information on the possible location of the Men sanctuary at Sillyon.

At Perge an inscribed architrave block was found in front of the eastern city wall. The block is fragmented; therefore, the inscription, which reads *to Theos Men Asylos*, is

---

<sup>1954</sup> Rigsby 1996, 455.

<sup>1955</sup> Lanckoronski 2005, 69, 74, 77, 81.

not complete.<sup>1956</sup> Some scholars have suggested that this inscription provides evidence for a sanctuary of Men at Perge, which thus also may have had the *asylos* status as was the case at Sillyon.<sup>1957</sup> However, there are no additional epigraphic, archaeological or numismatic sources that support this suggestion. Therefore, relating this cult to Sillyon is more plausible. The inscription can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Thus, its date is coherent with the Aurelian coins of Sillyon indicating the *asylia* status of the Men temple at Sillyon. Şahin suggests to complete the inscription with the name of Artemis Pergaia, due to the lunar characteristic of the patron deity of Perge. He first proposed that this architrave was brought to Perge from a temple of Men that was situated between Sillyon and Perge but later, he suggested that a cultic community of Men might have dedicated a building to the god within the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia. The building could also have been constructed by the people of Sillyon and dedicated to Men in the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia or somewhere else in the city of Perge. In the region, there are parallels of people from a certain city who paid for the construction of buildings in a different city; though not in a religious context. An example is Aurelia Paulina, a priestess of Artemis Pergaia and the high-priestess of the Imperial cult at Sillyon, who constructed a monumental fountain (F2) in the city of Perge during the reign of Commodus (177-192 AD).<sup>1958</sup>

Attaleia used the image of Men on its coins that were minted in the reigns of Geta (197-209 AD) and Caracalla (198-217 AD). The deity has a crescent above his shoulders and a Phrygian cap on his head and is standing while leaning against a scepter, holding a pine-cone in his right hand and stepping on a bull's head.<sup>1959</sup> A bronze statuette supposedly found in Attaleia depicts the deity in the same pose: he is standing while holding a pine cone in his left hand and he is stepping on a bull's head. The object in his right hand is missing but judging from his posture and the position of his arm, it must have been a spear. The deity is wearing a *chiton*, *himation* and Phrygian cap. The crescent is, as usual, depicted above his shoulders.<sup>1960</sup>

In 1978 Mansel provided a detailed account of a temple in Side that he attributed to Men. The temple was situated nearly 90 m east of the temples of Athena and Apollo on the peninsula, in the area where the colonnaded streets reached a square (Figures 3.24-

<sup>1956</sup> Şahin 2004, 29-30, no. 310.

<sup>1957</sup> See, for instance, Büyükgün 2006, 150.

<sup>1958</sup> Şahin 1999a, 229-39, no. 195.

<sup>1959</sup> Baydur 1975, 66.

<sup>1960</sup> The statuette has been preserved in the Rijksmuseum in Leyden since 1897, see Lane 1971, 88, no. 137.

25). The building, named “Temple P”, consisted of a semi-circular *cella* (11,15 m of diameter) which had orthostate blocks in its exterior wall and a columnar *porticus* at its west side. The whole structure rose on a podium with a height of 2,31 m (Figure 4.257). The podium had several subterranean chambers, including one central vaulted room and two flanking triangular rooms. Due to the “unusual” circular plan of the structure, its entrance from the west, its closeness to the other two main temples of the city and the subterranean space, Mansel concluded that the building belonged to an oriental cult.<sup>1961</sup> He also benefited from the account of Lanckronski and his team who identified the figure on the *tympanon* of one of the entrances of the circular building as Men, based on his pointed cap and crescent behind his shoulders.<sup>1962</sup> In addition, a coin of Gallienus (253-268 AD) was also taken into consideration to identify the temple (Figure 4.258). On its reverse, this coin shows three temples; the ones at the two sides are shown in profile, while the central one is shown frontally. The temple in the middle features a man on horseback flanked by two figures. Mansel identified this figure on horseback as Men. Therefore, he concluded that the circular temple must have been dedicated to Men in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>1963</sup> This identification was questioned because of new research that began in the city in 2011. In the light of the new excavations and documentation, a new identification for the building has been put forward. The “unusual” semi-circular plan seems to have been the result of the construction of the building on top of an older round tower and of the fact that its remaining foundations were used for the circular building (Figure 4.259). Additionally, the figure on the *tympanon*, which was previously designated as Men, has also been also been questioned. The figure is now identified as Demeter, flanked by a stylized wheat ear at her right side and a poppy at her left side, which was initially interpreted as the two points of a crescent. The figure has an oval face and two tresses of hair fall on her shoulders. She probably also had a head-piece that is heavily worn out (Figures 4.260-1). Therefore, the new interpretation rather suggests that the cult recipient of this building was Demeter, whose cult is widely documented in the city<sup>1964</sup> and that the subterranean chamber housed mystery cults related to Demeter, Kore, and Hades.<sup>1965</sup> If the

---

<sup>1961</sup> Mansel 1978, 140

<sup>1962</sup> Lanckoronski 2005, 131.

<sup>1963</sup> Mansel et al. 1951, 24; 1978, 40.

<sup>1964</sup> See The Cult of Demeter in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.12.

<sup>1965</sup> Researchers have also pointed out that further research is needed in order to determine the identification of the building, see Kaymak 2015, 203-7.

identification of Demeter is correct for 'Building P', then the cult of Men remains undocumented for the city of Side at the moment.

The name of Men appears in two *astragaloi* inscriptions found in Perge and Attaleia,<sup>1966</sup> in which Men received the epithet *Phosphoros*, "the light bringer". Although this epithet might show how the deity was perceived by the people, the inscriptions are rather in the form of a template than referring to specific deities that were venerated in the cities, since these inscriptions all follow the same formula that was necessary for the dice oracle<sup>1967</sup> Therefore, these inscriptions cannot be taken as evidence for a cult, but they rather show that Men was a deity familiar to both the Pergaians and Attaleians.

Thus, the currently available evidence suggests that the cult of Men was especially pronounced in Sillyon, since the city used the god's image on its coinage during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. The inscription found in Perge seems to be related to the god's worship at Sillyon, because no further evidence for the cult of Men exists in Perge itself. Finally, Attaleia was another city that used the god on its coins but only during the reigns of Geta and Caracalla. Besides *Phosphoros*, the only epithet known to have been used for the god was *asylos*, which shows the importance of his sanctuary in Sillyon at least in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

The origin of the god Men has been a subject of discussion and consequently four different opinions have been proposed.<sup>1968</sup> The first one favors an indigenous origin for the deity, either Phrygian or Anatolian. Erzen and Ramsey suggested that Men was a native Phrygian deity, based on literary accounts, the resemblance of the deity's name with Manes in the Phrygian language, and the god's iconography, especially the Phrygian cap he was always wearing.<sup>1969</sup> Erzen further suggested that the origin of the deity could go back to the Hittite period, since the rock reliefs of Yazılıkaya, Malatya, and Kargamış feature a lunar deity.<sup>1970</sup> The general distribution of the god's cult, mainly in Phrygia and Pisidia, led many scholars to place Men's origin in Phrygia.<sup>1971</sup> However, according to Lane, his cult was not restricted to Phrygia but it was also widely spread in Lydia, Lykaonia, Pisidia, Galatia, and Pontos. Therefore, associating the god with only one

---

<sup>1966</sup> For Perge, see Şahin, 1999a, 254-59, no. 207; for Attaleia, see Woodward 1910, 260-66.

<sup>1967</sup> See The Cult of Hermes in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.8.

<sup>1968</sup> These opinions are discussed in detail in Lane 1968, 81-98.

<sup>1969</sup> Erzen 1953, 3; Ramsay 1895, 169, 294.

<sup>1970</sup> Erzen 1953, 4.

<sup>1971</sup> The most famous sanctuary of Men was situated in Pisidian Antioch and dedicated to Men *Askaenos*. The name *Askaenos* is said to be related with the Phrygian land, and appeared in the *Iliad*, II. 862- 863; Robert 1983, 567-79; Mitchell 1993, 24-25.



region is not correct. Thus, from this point of view Men would rather be Anatolian than Phrygian. Additionally, Lane remarked the absence of lunar symbolism in the Phrygian rock monuments and religion. Consequently, he suggested Hittite roots for the god and concluded that the Hittite deity Arma, which was related to darkness, the moon and the Underworld, would be a better candidate as a predecessor for Men.<sup>1972</sup> Talloen also pointed out the multitude of names that originated from the Hittite god Arma, such as Armastis and Hermasta in Pisidia, and thinks that this can be evidence for the indigenous worship of Arma, which later contributed to the proliferation of the cult of Men in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods of Pisidia.<sup>1973</sup> The second opinion concerning the origin of Men was suggested by Wright and seeks the deity's roots in Mesopotamia by comparing the epithet Men *Tiamou* with the name of the Assyrian-Babylonian goddess Tiamat. However, Laner rejected this hypothesis by pointing out the lack of Assyrian-Babylonian influence in Anatolia, especially on the Phrygian-Lyidian and Pisidian regions where the cult of Men is mainly seen.<sup>1974</sup> The third hypothesis is connected to Greek influence, since in Greek thinking months were represented by the *Menai*, the daughters of Selene and Endymion.<sup>1975</sup> In addition, the earliest depictions of Men were generally found in Greece, especially in Attika, on Delos and on Rhodos, in votive offerings dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.<sup>1976</sup> On votive *stelai* found in Attica, Men was represented in his usual attire: he wears the Phrygian cap, a crescent is represented behind his shoulders and he was seated on a ram before a table of dedications, under which a rooster -one of his sacred animals- is represented. A Delian inscription found in the *Serapeion* and dedicated to Men features the name *Taosa*, which is not Greek, while on Rhodos, an association of priests called *Menastiai* were known. While questioning the presence of Men in Attica, on Delos and on Rhodos, Labarre concluded that the god cannot have symbolized the months, since in the Greek conception the months were thought to be feminine. In addition, he stated that the mythological tales concerning the god Men and his adventure did not occur in Greece. Moreover, the iconography of the votive *stelai* of Attica show features similar to that of the Eastern Greek ones. In conclusion, he interpreted that these votives might have been products of private worship that was probably practiced by a group of people who migrated to mainland Greece and the islands

---

<sup>1972</sup> Lane 1967-1968, 81-83.

<sup>1973</sup> Talloen 2015, 54.

<sup>1974</sup> Lane 1976, 68; for the epithet *Tiamou* of the god, see Sekunda 2014, 149-56.

<sup>1975</sup> Pausan. 5, 1, 4.

<sup>1976</sup> Lane 1971, nos. 12-13, 16 and 18 respectively.

from Asia Minor but who still maintained their religious beliefs and continued to worship their own deity Men.<sup>1977</sup> The fourth and final opinion, which sets a link between Men and Persia, has been proposed by Lane and supported by Van Haepere-Pourbaix. According to Lane, Men iconographically resembled the Persian moon god Mao. Moreover, Men was usually worshipped in Phrygia and Lydia together with Artemis Anaitis, a goddess formed by the syncretism of the Persian goddess Anahita. Finally, a sanctuary of Men *Pharnakou* existed at Pontos, which was “an extremely Iranized kingdom.”<sup>1978</sup> Van Haepere-Pourbaix further elaborated on this opinion by pointing out the existence of a male lunar god in Bactria, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia.<sup>1979</sup> According to this view, the worship of the Iranian lunar god Mao was first introduced to Anatolia under Achaemenid rule and accepted due to the pre-existence of the Hittite lunar deity Arma in Anatolia. It thus was the result of the syncretism of local Phrygian and Persian beliefs. The cult rapidly developed after the conquest of Alexander the Great, since the Greeks accepted this cult. However, in a recent article, Labarre discussed that no adequate evidence exists to define the origin of Men as Persian, Phrygian or Mesopotamian and he cautiously suggested that the cult of Men was originated in Asia Minor itself, most probably in rural communities and, hence, that it did not leave any traces during the Classical periods. It was transferred to Attica, Rhodos and Delos by slaves and merchants in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. Due to this contact with the Greeks, the god received its anthropomorphic image, but Men’s Anatolian attire with his Phrygian cap accentuated his foreignness in the eyes of the Greeks. Therefore, the cult of Men was an amalgamation of local beliefs with outside influences. The Greeks played a dominant role in the formation of the god’s iconography and perhaps the related religious practices.<sup>1980</sup>

Silyon illustrates this amalgamation of different cultures during its long history. The earliest finds go back to the Chalcolithic Period or Early Bronze Age. Silyon has been identified with the Hittite city of Sallusa; therefore, it has been assumed that it was a non-Greek city, which already existed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, just like Perge.<sup>1981</sup> From the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, it had contacts with the Greeks, as documented by the ceramic repertoire. This led to the assumption that the Greeks came here after the fall of

---

<sup>1977</sup> Labarre 2009, 398; Türkan 2012, 335-36.

<sup>1978</sup> Lane 1990, 2166.

<sup>1979</sup> Van Haepere-Pourbaix 1983, 235-48.

<sup>1980</sup> Labarre 2009, 397-98.

<sup>1981</sup> Tekoğlu 2006, 75-81.

the Hittite Empire between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>1982</sup> During the surveys, ceramics dating to the 8<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC have been identified, which shows the continuity of the settlement and the increasing Greek influence. Sillyon housed a Persian garrison in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. This garrison was so strong that Arrian (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) states that the city resisted the siege of Alexander the Great like Aspendos did. According to Arrian, “*he (Alexander the Great) left a guard in Side and went to Sillyon, a fortified place with a garrison of mercenaries and also natives. But he could not take Sillyon in his stride*”.<sup>1983</sup> There are also possible Persian graves in the city.<sup>1984</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC coins, however, give the name of the town in the local Pamphylian dialect, while there are also inscriptions written in the Pamphylian dialect<sup>1985</sup> indicating that Sillyon preserved its native characteristics during the Hellenistic period. Many remains date to the Hellenistic period and the majority of these belong to defensive buildings emphasizing the military character of Sillyon in the Hellenistic period. The city expanded in the Roman Imperial Period and in this time the native legend of the Hellenistic coins turned into Greek.<sup>1986</sup> When it comes to the cult of Men, there are numismatic sources for this period, as well as the inscription from Perge. If the Roman Imperial cult of Men had a Hellenistic or even Classical predecessor, it may have been the result of the syncretism of different cultures, like Hittite, Anatolian, Greek, and Persian -all of these cultures were set forth as possible origins of Men. If the cult at Sillyon only began to be practiced in the Roman Imperial period, this may have been the result of the distribution of the cult from the central core of western Phrygia and northern Pisidia via three possible routes, determined by Labarre: to the south via the Pamphylian plain, to the west through Magnesia at the Maeandar and the Hermos river, and to the northeast via Galatia.<sup>1987</sup> Considering that the real boom of the cult happened in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, its presence at Sillyon and at Attaleia may be the result of this distribution.

It is not possible to determine the nature of the cult of Men in Pamphylia precisely. The god was, for instance, worshipped in Lydia for healing or he appeared in confession inscriptions as the god who punished those who did not listen to him and did not behave accordingly. In Lydia, especially at Sardeis, and in Lykaonia, Men was seen as the patron

---

<sup>1982</sup> Grainger 2009, 7.

<sup>1983</sup> Arrian. *Anab.* I.26.5.

<sup>1984</sup> Özer 2016, 611-29.

<sup>1985</sup> Brixhe 1976, 163-91.

<sup>1986</sup> Köker 2012, 205-7.

<sup>1987</sup> Labarre 2009, 404.

of the Underworld, probably because the moon disappears for some days and rises again, and as a protector of tombs; thus, he was worshipped with the epithet *Katachtonios*, “the subterranean one”. In Phrygia, he was mostly related to wishes and seen as *soter* “savior”. In Pisidian Antioch, the god’s most renowned sanctuary where he was worshipped as *Men Askaenos* from the Hellenistic period onwards but especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, his protective status over the family stood out, as evidenced by the majority of private offerings mentioning various names in the epigraphic record. As further research and excavations will be carried out in Pamphylia, more information regarding the cult, nature and *asylos* sanctuary at Sillyon will hopefully be revealed.

#### 4.17 The Cult of Asklepios and Hygieia in Pamphylia

The cult of Asklepios and other deities related to health is mainly represented on the coins of the Pamphylian cities from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Although the numismatic sources form the majority of the evidence, inscriptions and statuary from various cities also testify the deities’ presence throughout the region.

Perge used Asklepios on its coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. On the coins, Asklepios is usually depicted standing and wearing a *himation* wrapped around his waist under his right arm and over his left shoulder (Figure 4.262). He holds a serpent-entwined staff upside down.<sup>1988</sup> On a coin dating to the period of Caracalla (197-217 AD), he is accompanied by Hygieia, his daughter and attendant.<sup>1989</sup> The importance of Asklepios, however, goes back to the foundation myths of Perge. One of the statue bases placed in the oval courtyard, which attained a representative character during the period of Hadrian, once carried the bronze statue of the son of Asklepios, Machaon from Thessalia, to whom a sanctuary on the Acropolis was dedicated (Figure 3.11).<sup>1990</sup> As the father of one of the *ktistai* of the town, the god must have held a prominent position among the deities venerated in Perge. There are more inscriptions related to the Asklepios’ worship within

<sup>1988</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 8408, SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 303; for Faustina (147-176 AD), see SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 307; for Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 427, SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 309; for Caracalla (197-217 AD), see SNG Cop, no. 324; for Elagabalus (218-222 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 465, RPC VI, no. 6116; for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 481, RPC VI, no. 6140; for Maximinus (235-236 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6160; for Philippus II (244-249 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 506; for Decius (249-251 AD), see RPC IX, no. 1106.

<sup>1989</sup> For Caracalla (198-217 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 440.

<sup>1990</sup> Pekman 1989, 10-11; Şahin 1993a, 104; 137-38, 104; see also The Mythical Past of the Pamphylia, Chapter 2.

the city. An inscribed altar was found to the south of the small church that was in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD built in the western portico of the north-south oriented colonnaded street.<sup>1991</sup> The inscribed altar recorded an offering from P. Aelius Plancianus Antonius to Asklepios upon a vow made during the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1992</sup> The same person also dedicated a Nemesis statue dating to the Antonine period, which was placed inside the Southern Baths.<sup>1993</sup> A second altar, which can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, records a family dedication to Asklepios *Epekoos Soter*, “Asklepios the savior who hears all the prayers”, upon a vow.<sup>1994</sup> The altar was found on the same spot as another one, which was dedicated to Artemis,<sup>1995</sup> on the slopes of the İyilikbelen hill situated nearly 1 km south of the city. Considering the presence of two small sanctuaries and a large Christian basilica, which was probably rebuilt on top of an earlier structure on the İyilikbelen hill, these altars might have been dedicated to the deities in these sanctuaries. Another inscribed base, probably dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and dedicated to Asklepios *Epekoos* by Attalos, son of Attalos, was found near the intersection of the two colonnaded streets.<sup>1996</sup>

Apart from the numismatic and epigraphic sources, the statuary shows that the city was embellished with statues of Asklepios and also of Hygieia. The Southern Baths, the Late Roman Gate, the theater and the north-south colonnaded street all yielded statues or fragments belonging to these deities. Among the statuary decoration of Room IV, the *natatio*, of the Southern Baths are Asklepios (Figure 4.263) and Hygieia (Figure 4.264). Both deities are depicted standing frontally. Asklepios is wearing a *himation* wrapped around his waist and covering his left arm while leaving his right arm exposed. He holds a papyrus scroll in his left hand. His serpent-staff stands next to his right foot.<sup>1997</sup> The statue of Hygieia is wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. A serpent crosses her body diagonally; she holds the serpent’s tail with her right hand. Next to her right foot, a winged Hypnos is shown while sleeping on top of a rock.<sup>1998</sup> Another statue of Hygieia was found in Room VII, the so-called Gallery of Claudius Piso, in the same bath complex and can

<sup>1991</sup> For the small church and other Late Antique arrangements in this section of the city, see Özdizbay 2012, 86-87; see The Monotheistic Religions in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.20.

<sup>1992</sup> Şahin 1993a, 195, no. 176.

<sup>1993</sup> Şahin 1993a, 194-95, no. 175; see The Cult of Nemesis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.18.

<sup>1994</sup> Şahin 1993a, 275-76, no. 242.

<sup>1995</sup> Şahin 1993a, 169, no. 135.

<sup>1996</sup> Abbasoğlu 2009, 63.

<sup>1997</sup> İnan 1980, 609.

<sup>1998</sup> İnan 1980, 609. The statues can not precisely be dated; however, for the *natatio* two construction phases, one Hadrianic and the other Severan, have been suggested. Özdizbay 2012, 34-35, footnotes 266-67.

be dated to the Antonine Period (Figure 4.265).<sup>1999</sup> The goddess, who is clad in a *peplos* and *himation* and wears a *stephane*, is standing frontally while holding a *cornucopia* in her left hand from which she feeds a snake. Another snake is twisted around her right arm and eats from a *patera* that she was possibly holding in her right hand. A winged figure, possibly Hypnos, sits on a rock-shaped support. The last sculpture found in the Southern Baths, in Room VIII, belongs to a torso of Asklepios with Telesphoros standing next to him (Figure 4.266).<sup>2000</sup> Asklepios and Hygieia, the deities of health, often appeared in the statuary repertoire of baths in relation to the water's cleaning and medical effects. Considering how ancient literary accounts on medicine praised the benefits of water for health, this arrangement is hardly surprising. It was almost traditional to include statues of Asklepios and Hygieia in baths, as they were often displayed in pairs. The Southern Baths of Perge are no exception in this regard.<sup>2001</sup> The second structure that included a statue of Asklepios was the Late Roman Gate, which was built in the southern part of the city in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD to enclose the buildings left outside the Hellenistic fortification walls.<sup>2002</sup> The statue of Asklepios, probably dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and brought here from a different but unknown earlier building, depicts the god standing frontally and wearing a *himation* in such a way that it leaves his chest bare (Figure 4.267). The statue was identified by Mansel as Asklepios on the basis of the drapery of his *himation* and its resemblance with the Asklepios Giustini type.<sup>2003</sup> His role in the Late Roman Gate might be related to the well-being of Perge. The theater of Perge is another building in whose decoration Asklepios and Hygieia took part. These statues, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, have hypothetically been placed inside the niches of the first floor of the *scaenae frons*.<sup>2004</sup> Finally, the north-south colonnaded street yielded fragments belonging to Asklepios and Hygieia. A portion of the eastern and western porticoes of the colonnaded street, approximately up to 200 meters from the south, was rearranged by placing the porticoes to the back and by thus creating small spaces behind them.<sup>2005</sup> In this way, a square with a more prestigious and representative character was created. Several inscriptions and statues that were found around this square and inside the water channel passing through the street testify the unique character of this square. The inscriptions and private portraits

---

<sup>1999</sup> İnan 1983, 11.

<sup>2000</sup> İnan 1983, 7-8.

<sup>2001</sup> Fagan 1999, 88-89; Manderscheid 1981, 30-34.

<sup>2002</sup> For the Late Roman Gate, Abbasoğlu 1994, 30-31; Türkmen 2008, 1191.

<sup>2003</sup> Mansel 1975b, 63.

<sup>2004</sup> Öztürk 2009, 90-91.

<sup>2005</sup> Uytterhoeven (in press).

mostly belong to priests of the cult of emperors. Alongside the private portraits, fragments belonging to statues of Artemis, Asklepios (Figure 4.268) and Hygieia were also found in the vicinity of this area. Therefore, this spot, which was closely located to the middle of the northern-southern colonnaded street, must have been deliberately planned as a square with a representative character, furnished with statues and inscriptions honoring the *euergetai* and important figures of the city, and perhaps also equipped with a religious function through the addition of statues of deities like Hygieia, Asklepios and Artemis.<sup>2006</sup> This rearrangement probably dates to the Antonine period (138-192 AD), as suggested by the dating of the private portraits.<sup>2007</sup> Thus, as is apparent from the extant evidence, Asklepios and Hygieia played an important role in the statuary repertoire of the monumental buildings of the city. They also appeared alongside Artemis -the patron deity of Perge- and portraits of Imperial priests in the rearranged square of the colonnaded street whose representative and perhaps religious character illustrated their importance for the city.

The literary and epigraphic evidence also informs us about doctors who practiced medicine in the city. After receiving Roman citizenship around 80 BC, a physician named Artemidoros served as a guide of Verres and as a prompter in Verres' plundering of the *Artemision* of Perge.<sup>2008</sup> Besides, a decree of the Late Hellenistic-Early Imperial period records the gratitude of the *Boule* and the *Demos* of the cities of Perge and Lyrbé towards a certain Asklepiades due to the marvelous healings, surgeries and operations that he performed and to the public speeches he gave in *gymnasia* on matters related to public health.<sup>2009</sup> Finally, a 4<sup>th</sup> century AD inscribed mosaic, decorating the entrance of a 'small space' situated in the eastern portico of the north-south colonnaded street, informs us that the space belonged to the physician Polydeukes.<sup>2010</sup> In addition, archaeological evidence also provides information about the surgical procedures that took place in the city. A skull found in a tomb, based on its context dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, exhibits traces of trepanation. It was not possible to determine whether the treatment was carried out when the patient was alive or dead, but according to Erdal, the eight small holes in the skull can

---

<sup>2006</sup> Özdizbay 2012, 84-85.

<sup>2007</sup> Delemen 2009, 173-84.

<sup>2008</sup> Cic.Verr. 2.3.54.

<sup>2009</sup> Şahin 1993a, 14-16, no. 12.

<sup>2010</sup> İnan 1986, 399-400; Işıklıkaya Laubscher 2016, 177-81.

also have been punctured for educational purposes, which may indicate educational practices of medicine in Perge.<sup>2011</sup>

The city of Side has also yielded numismatic, epigraphic and statuary evidence for the healer deities. Coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD portray Asklepios and Hygieia on their reverses. On these coins, Asklepios is depicted standing frontally and holding his snake-entwined staff.<sup>2012</sup> A coin of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) has a different iconography. Asklepios and Hygieia are depicted standing frontally while looking to each other, with Telesphoros, son of Asklepios, between them. Asklepios is leaning on his serpent-entwined staff that has been turned upside down, while Hygieia is feeding a snake in her right hand from a *patera* that she is holding in her left hand (Figure 4.269).<sup>2013</sup> The coins of Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Figure 4.270) and Aurelianus (270-275 AD) (Figure 4.271) bear the legend *neokoros* which might indicate that Asklepios' temple possessed the title of *neokoros*, although this has not been attested yet, neither archaeologically nor epigraphically.<sup>2014</sup> In addition, the epigraphic evidence confirms the presence of the cult of the healer deities in the city of Side. A 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD inscription records that a city slave named Antipatros made an offering to Asklepios and Hygieia, to the deities who hear the prayers (*epekoois*) upon a vow.<sup>2015</sup> Furthermore, an inscribed base of a statuette of Asklepios dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD was an ex-voto of a linen weaver or linen merchant dedicated to Asklepios *epekoois*.<sup>2016</sup> Thus, as was the case in Perge, the deities in Side were worshipped under the epithet of *epekoois*. Another small altar dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD was found in the territory of the city. The altar was dedicated by Glykon to Asklepios for his mother upon a vow. The occasion of this dedication is probably the recovery of Glykon's mother from a disease.<sup>2017</sup>

---

<sup>2011</sup> Erdal 2008, 421-35.

<sup>2012</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 11031; for Macrinus (217-218 AD), see SNG Pfalzer 4, no. 708; for Gallienus (253-268 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 883, SNG von Aulock, no. 8546; for Aurelianus (270-275 AD), see Burrell 2004, 183.

<sup>2013</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, no. 54. The same iconography also appears on coins from Nikaia dating to the period of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), see RPC IV, nos. 5878-79; from Kyzikos dating to Marcus Aurelius' reign (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 754; from Pergamon of the time of Marcus Aurelius, see RPC IV, nos. 3225, 3236, for Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see RPC VI, no. 4219; from Sagalassos of the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 8737; from Prusa of the time of Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 3048; from Prostanna of the time of Maximus (236-238 AD), see RPC VI, no. 5860 and from Tarsos of the time of Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC, VI, 7099, 7106.

<sup>2014</sup> Nollé 1990, 253.

<sup>2015</sup> Nollé 1993a, 265-66, no. 7.

<sup>2016</sup> Nollé 1993a, 263-64, no. 6.

<sup>2017</sup> Adak et al. 2015, 105, no. 12.



In addition, Side, like Perge, is particularly rich when it comes to the statuary of the healer deities. Two statues decorated the city gate (Figure 4.273); one was found in “Building M” and two were found by villagers, probably in the territory of the city.<sup>2018</sup> All statues depict the god standing frontally, wearing a *himation*, which leaves his chest bare, and leaning against his serpent-entwined staff. Due to the fragmentary nature of the statues, only one of them, a statue from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, can be dated. Moreover, a statue of Hygieia was also found in “Building M” and this can be dated to the beginning of the Antonine period (138-180 AD) (Figure 4.274).<sup>2019</sup> She is wearing a *peplos* and a *himation*. A snake coils in her right arm and is eating from a *patera* the goddess is holding in her left hand

Also at Side, literary and epigraphic sources provide information about the physicians who practiced medicine in the city from the Hellenistic to the Late Antique period. For instance, Mnemon was a Sidetan physician and a pupil of the Alexandrian doctor Kleophantes who traveled to Alexandria in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>2020</sup> Besides Mnemon, Artemidoros (200-50 BC) and Marcellus (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) are other physicians known to have been from the city.<sup>2021</sup> Sidetan physicians also practiced their professions outside Side as evidenced by a 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD funerary inscription found in Rome and belonging to the Sidetan doctor Titus Flavius Coelius Severus, his wife and his two sons.<sup>2022</sup> In the Hellenistic period Side was such an important educational center that Antiochos VII (138-129 BC) came to the city for education and added the epithet “Sidetes” to his name.<sup>2023</sup> Therefore, Side seems to have possessed a medical school, as evidenced by the number of important physicians who practiced their professions throughout the Mediterranean and this might also explain the importance of the Asklepios and Hygieia cults within the city.<sup>2024</sup> The same situation can also have been valid for Perge.

Attaleia used the imagery of Asklepios on its coinage in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Figure 4.272).<sup>2025</sup> On these coins, Asklepios is depicted with his snake-entwined

<sup>2018</sup> For the statues of Asklepios, see İnan 1975, 53-55, no. 15, 55, no. 16, 56, no. 17, 56-59, no. 18, 137, no. 77.

<sup>2019</sup> İnan 1975, 90-93, no. 36.

<sup>2020</sup> Nollé 1983, 85-98.

<sup>2021</sup> Nollé 1983, 96-97.

<sup>2022</sup> Nollé 1993a, Tep 40.

<sup>2023</sup> Nollé 1993a, 164.

<sup>2024</sup> Nollé 1990, 253.

<sup>2025</sup> For the coins of Commodus (177-192 AD), Septimius Severus (193-211 AD) and Volusianus (251-251 AD), see Baydur 1975, nos. 254, 275, 336-37.

staff. Considering the fact that the city was a Pergamene foundation, one might ask whether the cult of Asklepios was brought to Attaleia from Pergamon. However, Baydur noticed no similarities between the coins of Pergamon and Attaleia.<sup>2026</sup> The cult of Asklepios was present in Pergamon from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards,<sup>2027</sup> whereas Attaleia lacks evidence from the Hellenistic Period, which suggests that the cult was not established here at the foundation of the city. Therefore, the coin images might be related to an increase of the importance of the cult in Pamphylia during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.

Magydos' coins with the depiction of Asklepios date to the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235 AD).<sup>2028</sup> On these coins, Asklepios and Hygieia are depicted together. Asklepios is holding his snake-staff, whereas Hygieia is feeding a snake from the *patera* she is holding. Beside the coin depictions, no additional evidence for the cult of Asklepios and Hygieia is currently known for Attaleia and Magydos. The situation is the same when it comes to Aspendos, Lyrbe, and Sillyon. Coins of the reigns of Maximinus (235-236 AD) and Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) issued at Aspendos depict Asklepios standing while holding his snake-staff.<sup>2029</sup> The coins of Lyrbe date to the period of Gordianus III (238-244 AD) and portray Asklepios holding a snake-entwined staff, and Hygieia, with in between them Telesphoros, like on the coins of Side minted under Marcus Aurelius.<sup>2030</sup> On coins from Sillyon dating to the period of Valerianus II (256-258 AD), the god is depicted with his serpent-staff and Telesphoros by his side.<sup>2031</sup>

Asklepios was also a deity familiar to the cities in Eastern Pamphylia and Western Cilicia, such as Kasai, Kolybrassos, and Laertes. Coins of Kolybrassos dating to the period of Marcus Aurelius depict Asklepios with his snake-staff and Hygieia feeding a snake from a *patera*.<sup>2032</sup> A coin of Laertes, dating to the reign of Maximus Caesar (235-238 AD), also shows the god with its snake-entwined staff.<sup>2033</sup> An inscription from Kasai dating to the Early Imperial Period records that Lucius Cailius Romanus dedicated a *stoa* to Asklepios upon his vow.<sup>2034</sup> Mitford dated the inscription to the Early Imperial period; however, in a recent study the inscription has been dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>2035</sup> If the

---

<sup>2026</sup> Baydur 1975, 65.

<sup>2027</sup> Agelidis 2014, 385-87.

<sup>2028</sup> Ünal 2018, no. 56; RPC VI, no. 6097.

<sup>2029</sup> For Maximinus (235-238 AD), see RPC VI, nos. 6321-22; for Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD), see SNG France 3, no. 201, RPC IX, no. 1065.

<sup>2030</sup> SNG Levante-Cilicia, no. 266.

<sup>2031</sup> SNG France 3, no. 1012.

<sup>2032</sup> Coin with Asklepios, SNG Levante-Cilicia, no. 314; coin with Hygieia, SNG Levante-Cilicia, no. 317.

<sup>2033</sup> SNG Levante-Cilicia Supp. 1, no. 66.

<sup>2034</sup> Mitford 1990, 2154; SEG 40, 1315.

<sup>2035</sup> Küçüköğlü 2015, 86.

inscription dates to the Early Imperial Period, this would be one of the earliest attestations for the worship of Asklepios in the region. However, if the date of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD is accurate, then the dating would fit into the period of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, when the cults of the healer deities flourished in the region. In his study on the cult and sanctuaries of Asklepios, Riethmüller suggests an incubation function for the *stoai* dedicated to Asklepios in places like Apameia, Smyrna, and Kasai. On the other hand, by stating that *stoai* could serve a variety of different purposes, Renberg refused to identify all *stoai* dedicated to the god as incubation centers.<sup>2036</sup> For Kasai, no archaeological evidence exists for the *stoa* or its connection with an *Asklepieion*. In addition, in Rough Cilicia *stoai* are known to have been dedicated to different deities, such as the *stoa* for Selene in Kurşunkalesi, a rural settlement in the territory of Olba, which dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The *stoa* in Kasai, however, shows at least the presence of the Asklepios cult in the city.

The literary accounts place the birthplace of Asklepios, first the healer-hero and then the healer-god, in Thessalia around Triikka and Pherai.<sup>2037</sup> The iconographic characteristics of Asklepios were not very diversified and they were mainly derived from his cult image created around the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>2038</sup> This cult image portrayed the deity often flanked by his daughter Hygieia, either sitting on a throne or leaning against his snake-entwined staff. The snake as a symbol of self-renewal and rejuvenation, but also of the Underworld and death can be traced back to the Minoan civilization, but became the canonical attribute of Asklepios from the 4th century BC onwards.<sup>2039</sup> The scroll, which is shown in the hand of the deity in the Pergaian and Sidetan statues, represents medical learning.<sup>2040</sup> Moreover, Asklepios and Hygieia were often accompanied by Hypnos and Telesphoros. Hypnos, as the personification of sleep, implied incubation, which was an essential healing ritual practiced in the *Asklepieia*.<sup>2041</sup> Telesphoros, which means “accomplishment”, “bringing to an end” in Ancient Greek,<sup>2042</sup> was associated with successful healing and appears to have originated in Pergamon in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>2043</sup>

---

<sup>2036</sup> Renberg 2017, 148-50, footnote 66 for Courtils and Riethmüller’s opinions on *stoai*.

<sup>2037</sup> Holtzmann 1984, 863.

<sup>2038</sup> Holtzmann 1984, 865.

<sup>2039</sup> Antoniou 2011, 218-19.

<sup>2040</sup> İnan 1975, 75.

<sup>2041</sup> Renberg 2016, 677- 89.

<sup>2042</sup> Liddell and Scott (online source) <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aentry%3Dtele%2Fsforos>

<sup>2043</sup> Renberg 2016, 684.

All these iconographic features are seen in various media acquired from the cities of Pamphylia during the Roman Imperial period.

The earliest cult places dedicated to Asklepios are found in the Peloponnesos and go back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, as is the case with Epidauros. From here, the cult spread to Athens in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and to Corinth in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>2044</sup> In Asia Minor, Pergamon, where the cult was founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and developed throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, housed one of the most important *Asklepieia* in Antiquity.<sup>2045</sup> The focal point of the complex was finding a cure for various afflictions and the most practiced way of healing was through *enkoimesis* (temple sleep), carried out in special rooms inside the sanctuary.<sup>2046</sup> As mentioned above, the literary and epigraphic evidence inform us about the presence of physicians who practiced medicine in Perge and Side and whose fame also spread outside Pamphylia. These physicians and their patients either venerated the healer deities at a more private level or evidence for a public cult has not been preserved. However, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD Asklepios and Hygieia became visible on the cities' coins, in the epigraphic testimony and in the cityscapes through statuary. The situation is similar in Pisidia, where Asklepios has been interpreted as a possible latecomer to the region's pantheon in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>2047</sup> In the city of Aigai in Cilicia, evidence for the cult prior to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD exists but the real development of the sanctuary dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>2048</sup> According to Debord, during the Hellenistic period under Attalid rule the cult of Asklepios was spread in Asia Minor and the cult of the healer deities cults were institutionalized in the Roman Imperial period, especially during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD with the flourishing of the Pergamene *Asklepieion* from the period of Hadrian onwards. Therefore, the upswing of the cult in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD in other areas of Asia Minor have been a reflection of the flourishing of the Pergamene cult.<sup>2049</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, especially the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), witnessed a life-changing event, which threatened the health of many people and resulted in the death of thousands: the so-called Antonine plague or the plague of Galen. This

---

<sup>2044</sup> Holtzmann 1984, 864-65.

<sup>2045</sup> The cult was brought here from Epidauros by Archias in the 4th century BC. The first climax of the sanctuary of Asklepios in Pergamon came with Attalos I (241-197 BC); the second flourishing period with Hadrianus (117-138 AD), when the sanctuary was provided with new religious and public buildings, Agelidis 2014, 384-85.

<sup>2046</sup> For the incubation and the cult of Asklepios, see Renberg 2016.

<sup>2047</sup> Talloen 2015, 183.

<sup>2048</sup> Demir 2016, 1-13.

<sup>2049</sup> Debord 1982, 36-37; Hofmann 1998; Talloen 2015, 183.

epidemic was brought to Asia Minor, Rome, and even Germania and Gallia by the troops returning from military campaigns in the East. The plague struck Egypt, the Near East, and Asia Minor in 165 AD and the following years and a great number of people perished as a result.<sup>2050</sup> Examples of the foundation of the cult of Asklepios due to epidemics that seriously affected the population of cities are known from Athens and in Rome in earlier times. It has been suggested that the cult of Asklepios was brought to Athens from Epidaurus as a result of the great plague of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and to Rome from Epidaurus in 293 BC on account of an epidemic.<sup>2051</sup> The increase of the cult in the Balkan provinces also coincided with the Antonine plague.<sup>2052</sup> A group of Greek and Latin inscriptions that record dedications made to the health deities based on an interpretation of an oracle of Apollo Klaros, which have been found throughout the Roman Empire, were interpreted by Jones as an attempt to avert the Antonine Plague.<sup>2053</sup> Renberg also suggested that the dedicatory reliefs of the Twelve Gods, seen principally in Lycia in a particular period of time between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, might have fulfilled a similar function like warding off the plague.<sup>2054</sup> In addition, Şahin suggested that the ex-voto inscription by a family from Perge to Asklepios *Epekoos Soter* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD might also be a sign of gratitude of a family that managed to escape the Antonine plague. Moreover, Asklepios started to be depicted on the coins of Perge and Side from the time of Marcus Aurelius onwards and the depiction of the healer deities continued throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD on the coins of nearly every city. Even though the rise of the cult of the healer deities in Pamphylia might have been a reflection of the development of the Pergamene *Asklepieion* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the impact of the plague might also have been an additional reason for the veneration of Asklepios and Hygieia on a broader scale, thus transcending the possible private worship of the Hellenistic period.

---

<sup>2050</sup> For the Antonine plague, see Gourevitch 2005, 57-69.

<sup>2051</sup> Van der Ploeg 2018, 34, 52-57, 64.

<sup>2052</sup> Van der Ploeg 2018, 188-89.

<sup>2053</sup> Jones 2005, 293-301.

<sup>2054</sup> Renberg 2014, 107-32.

#### 4.18 The Cult of Nemesis in Pamphylia

Nemesis, whose name means “distribution of what is due, apportionment” in Greek<sup>2055</sup> was the goddess and personification of retribution and divine fury against excessive good fortune. She was the power who punished arrogant pride and the immoderation of humans, *i.e.* their *hybris*. Therefore, with this notion, she symbolized the basic Greek concept that whoever rose above his/her conditions, opened up him/herself to a reprisal of the deities.<sup>2056</sup> While discussing the evil deeds of the iron age of the fifth age in his *Works and Days*, Hesiod mentioned that *Aidos* (shame) and *Nemesis* (indignation) would forsake mankind, thus only bitter sorrows would be left to mankind and there would be no protection against evil.<sup>2057</sup> Furthermore, Nemesis played a role in the stories of arrogant figures of Greek mythology, such as Prometheus, Niobe, and Narkissos.<sup>2058</sup> She was an avenging deity who measured the happiness and unhappiness of mortals and set up an equilibrium of what had been distributed to men like wealth and happiness. In this way, she formed the contrast of Tyche, since when this goddess gave an excessive amount of fortune, Nemesis visited with losses and misfortune.<sup>2059</sup>

Nemesis was depicted as a wingless goddess in a long dress holding a measuring stick and scales. According to Pausanias, her cult statues stood in the temple of Nemesis in Rhamnous (Attica) and Smyrna, two cities where the cult of Nemesis was very prominent.<sup>2060</sup> The measuring stick in her hand symbolized that one should always act in proper measure. Menomedes of Crete<sup>2061</sup>, who composed a hymn to Nemesis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, wrote that Nemesis “measures lifetime with her forearm”, which implied that the goddess was also responsible to determine the duration of the lives of humans. Mesomedes also called the goddess “the winged tilter of scales”, which may equally have symbolized her power over the fate of mankind.<sup>2062</sup> She also held a bridle, an attribute again associating her with fate. Her animal was the griffin, which was mainly represented at her feet, while she was holding a wheel, an attribute that symbolized that, while turning

---

<sup>2055</sup> Liddell and Scott Greek-English dictionary <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0058%3Aentry%3Dne%2Fmesis>

<sup>2056</sup> Grimal, 289.

<sup>2057</sup> Hes. *Op.* 175-180.

<sup>2058</sup> Aesch. *PV.* 932-950; Strab.12. 7. 18; Ov. *Met.* 3. 402-410.

<sup>2059</sup> Conway 2004, 106-7.

<sup>2060</sup> Pausan.1.33.7.

<sup>2061</sup> Translation by Yeld 1993, 116.

<sup>2062</sup> Her depiction with a scale associated Nemesis with the personifications of Justice, such as Dike and Dikaiosyne; for examples, see Hornum 1993, 64.

round, one's fate and proud can rise and then fall in an instant.<sup>2063</sup> In statues and reliefs, she made a gesture with her right or left hand, drawing out the neck of her dress.<sup>2064</sup> This is called the "Nemesis gesture", interpreted as spitting into the bosom, which according to Kallimachos was a custom that was made by women for Nemesis to avoid jealousy and thus had an apotropeic meaning.<sup>2065</sup> She was sometimes depicted stepping on a figure under her feet, an image generally used for rulers crushing their enemies under their feet.<sup>2066</sup> In iconographic representations, she was sometimes portrayed with the attributes belonging to various other goddesses. For instance, on a statue found in the theater of Ephesos, she holds a measuring stick in her right hand, has a griffon and globe at her feet and holds a *cornucopia*, an attribute of Tyche, in her left hand.<sup>2067</sup> This statue, therefore, merges in itself the contrasting nature between Tyche (bestower of wealth) and Nemesis (the one who retrieved back) and the equilibrium born out of this contrast. Thus, the statue from the theater of Ephesos may be interpreted as a visual reminder of this balance. An image equalizing Nemesis with Diana/Artemis is known from the Roman settlement of Viminatum in Serbia,<sup>2068</sup> from Cornutum in Austria,<sup>2069</sup> and from Miletos<sup>2070</sup> in Asia Minor.<sup>2071</sup> Furthermore, in the Syrian provinces, in the Roman Imperial period, Nemesis was associated with Hera, Tyche, Allat, Athena, Hekate, and Dea Roma in terms of attributes, religious and symbolic aspects.<sup>2072</sup> Therefore, although the deity's iconography was very precise, she could be syncretized with various other deities, especially in the Roman Imperial period, perhaps depending on the context of the veneration and cult.

In pre-Roman times, the cities of Rhamnous, Alexandria, and Smyrna housed a sanctuary of Nemesis. Based on the votive offerings the cult at Rhamnous goes back to the Archaic period; however, the influence of the cult began to increase in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as testified by the epigraphic evidence and the construction of a Doric temple.<sup>2073</sup> The flourishing of the cult in this period was associated with the Athenian victories over the

---

<sup>2063</sup> Nonnos, Dion. 48. 375

<sup>2064</sup> Hornum 1998, 134.

<sup>2065</sup> Callim. Fragment 687.

<sup>2066</sup> Hornum 1998, 131-38.

<sup>2067</sup> Hornum 1993, 66.

<sup>2068</sup> Gavrilovic 2011, 191-203.

<sup>2069</sup> Hornum 1993, 66-67.

<sup>2070</sup> Hornum 1993, 67.

<sup>2071</sup> Hornum 1993, 67.

<sup>2072</sup> Bru 2008, 306.

<sup>2073</sup> For the temple and cult at Rhamnous, see Dinsmoor 1961, 179-204; Tomlinson 1969, 185-92; Miles 1989, 133-249.

Persians in Marathon.<sup>2074</sup> The cult statue was described by Pausanias,<sup>2075</sup> who mentioned that Nemesis was holding a *patera* and apple tree branch and that the base on which the statue once stood was decorated with the birth scenes of Helena and the Dioskouroi. A decree dating to 236-235 BC gives information about the *Nemeseia* festival celebrated in the precinct, during which athletic and theatrical contests were organized.<sup>2076</sup> At the beginning of the Roman Imperial period, a deified Livia statue was consecrated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC temple of Nemesis by Claudius<sup>2077</sup> and from this period onwards, a relation between Nemesis and the Imperial cult started, which later continued into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Besides, inscriptions dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC inform us about the presence of a Hellenistic temple of Nemesis in the city of Alexandria. Another temple once stood at the place where the head of Pompey was presented to Julius Caesar, who afterwards set apart a small area for the construction of a Nemesis temple near Alexandria.<sup>2078</sup> Here again, it is possible to see the Greek notion of vengeance related to the deity. The establishment of the cult of Nemesis in Smyrna goes back to 575 BC after the destruction of the city by the Lydians. The cult was founded as a punishment of the *hybris* of the Smyrnaens who waged war against Lydia and who thus caused the destruction of their city, a characteristic punishment of Nemesis in the Greek thinking about excessive arrogance. Here, at Smyrna, during the Roman Imperial period the cult was closely associated with the Imperial cult.<sup>2079</sup> Apart from Smyrna, Ephesos is another city where a pre-Roman Nemesis cult existed.<sup>2080</sup>

The worship of Nemesis proliferated in the Roman Imperial period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards, especially from the reign of Hadrianus (117-138 AD). During this period, some differences in the worship of the goddess appeared. The cult became much more common among state officials, soldiers, and gladiators. The most distinctive feature of the Nemesis cult during the Roman Imperial period was undoubtedly the occurrence of small temples or shrines that were dedicated to Nemesis in stadia, amphitheatres, and

---

<sup>2074</sup> Pausan. 1.33.3

<sup>2075</sup> Hornum 1993, 11-12.

<sup>2076</sup> Parker 1996, 254.

<sup>2077</sup> The placement of the Livia statue in the Nemesis temple was due to the sanctuary's association with the retribution against foreign enemies, a notion that arose when the first temple was erected during the Persian Wars, Stafford 2013, 205-38.

<sup>2078</sup> This temple was later destroyed during the Jewish Revolt, see App. B Civ. II.13.90.

<sup>2079</sup> For the cult of Nemesis in Smyrna, see Kılıç 2014, 833-54.

<sup>2080</sup> Hornum 1993, 12; the presence of a pre-Roman Nemesis cult both in the cities of Smyrna and Ephesos has led to the interpretation that the goddess came from Asia; for the discussion, see Coman 1931, 27; Miles 1989, 138.



theaters in both the western and eastern provinces.<sup>2081</sup> That the cult seems to have spread as a result of Roman influence manifested itself in gladiatorial fights and staged hunts. The cult of Nemesis was widely attested in the western and southern parts of Asia Minor. In some cities, it was closely related with games, but also outside the context of games dedications are known. After presenting the evidence for Nemesis in Pamphylia, we will put the region into the broader context of Asia Minor and attempt to retrace the characteristics of the worship, its resemblances, and differences in the different regions.

In Aspendos and Attaleia, there is no further evidence for the presence of Nemesis besides coins. Coins of Aspendos issued in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD feature Nemesis on their reverses.<sup>2082</sup> On these coins, Nemesis is standing and holds a measuring stick, while a griffon and a wheel are represented at her feet (Figure 4.275). On a coin of Julia Maesa (218-224 AD) she is depicted with the “Nemesis gesture” (Figure 4.276). In Attaleia, she appears on coins dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. On coins, the goddess is depicted as a winged deity as opposed to the coins of Aspendos and Perge, on which she holds a bridle in one hand and shows a measuring stick in the other (Figure 4.277). In front of her, a griffin is represented putting a paw on a wheel.<sup>2083</sup> On two *homonoia* coins shared by Side and Attaleia, which were struck in the reign of Gallienus (253-268 AD), Side is represented by means of Athena holding a spear in her clasping hands and Attaleia is represented as Nemesis holding a measuring stick with a griffin at her feet (Figure 4.278).<sup>2084</sup> Coins of Perge dating to the period of Commodus depict Nemesis. The goddess is making the Nemesis-gesture and holds a *cubit*.<sup>2085</sup> On coins from Side showing Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, a winged Nemesis holding a measuring stick and a bridle is present.<sup>2086</sup>

Apart from the numismatic evidence, Perge yields both statuary and epigraphic evidence for the goddess. Five statues of Nemesis were found in the city, one coming from the Late Roman Gate, one from the theater and three from the Southern Baths. The statue found in the Late Roman Gate<sup>2087</sup> depicts Nemesis in a *peplos* that slipped down from her left shoulder, leaving the breast exposed at this side, and she has a griffin at her

<sup>2081</sup> Wittenberg determined 220 amphitheaters throughout the Roman Empire in which the cult of Nemesis existed, see Wittenberg 2014.

<sup>2082</sup> For Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), see RPC IV, no. 3558; for Commodus (177-192 AD), see RPC IV, no. 8642, for Julia Maesa (218-224 AD), see RPC VI, no. 6271.

<sup>2083</sup> Baydur 1975, nos. 270, 277, 297-98, 315, 329-333, 341, 346-47, 349, 350.

<sup>2084</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 928-29; SNG von Aulock, no. 8549.

<sup>2085</sup> RPC IV, no. 10665.

<sup>2086</sup> Mionnet suppl. VII, 72, 219.

<sup>2087</sup> Mansel 1969, 95; Özgür et al. 1996, no.23.

feet (Figure 4.279). The so-called Late Roman Gate functioned as Perge's main gate after the city's expansion to the south. Based on resemblances concerning its architectural characteristics and ornamental decoration with the monumental fountain that can be precisely dated to the reign of Septimius Severus, the gate can be dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>2088</sup> The statues found here, however, include statues of Artemis, the Charites, Asklepios and two draped women apart from Nemesis dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>2089</sup> Therefore, the gate is a secondary setting for these statues, but nevertheless, they were deliberately erected here as part of the statuary programme. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, Asia Minor witnessed foreign invasions both from the East and the North by the Sassanians, Goths, and Isaurians.<sup>2090</sup> These invasions resulted in taking extra defensive precautions for the cities as exemplified by the Pergaian Late Roman Gate, which was built into the fortifications that was expanded further south during this period. Pamphylia, however, was one of the most sheltered regions due to the Tauros Mountains; therefore, it remained relatively secure against these foreign invasions. Secondly, the region accommodated the Roman army preparing for the Eastern expedition because of its strategic position.<sup>2091</sup> As a result, the cities took advantage of the Roman presence. Perge, in particular, was among the cities that kept its important position during this century: it received many honours, the organization of the festivals continued and the minting of the civic coins did not decrease.<sup>2092</sup> The Late Roman Gate and its statuary programme, therefore, display this importance and wealth of the city. According to Chi, this statuary programme revealed the city's "renewed prosperity and fertile existence" despite the crisis that the Empire had to cope with. Although the Nemesis statue did not have a cultic connotation, it symbolized protective power.<sup>2093</sup> Nemesis was also among the deities that were chosen to convey this message; therefore, it can be said she held a prominent place in the pantheon of the city.

Another statue of Nemesis, also depicted with a griffon, was found among the debris of the stage building of the theater.<sup>2094</sup> Moreover, one of the two statues found on the floor of the pool of the *natatio* of the Southern baths has the same dress and attributes

---

<sup>2088</sup> Abbasoğlu 1994, 30-31; Türkmen 2008, 1191.

<sup>2089</sup> No detailed investigation of these statues has been carried out, so a general date is given for them, see Chi 2002, 207-12.

<sup>2090</sup> On the 3rd century AD of Pamphylia, see The Historical Framework, Chapter 2.3.

<sup>2091</sup> Bennett 2007, 131-55; Onur 2009, 299-318.

<sup>2092</sup> Nollé 1987, 252-54; Howgego 1985, 64-73.

<sup>2093</sup> Chi 2002, 203-6.

<sup>2094</sup> İnan 1986, 142.

as the statue found in the Late Roman gate (Figure 4.280).<sup>2095</sup> The other Nemesis, which comes from the same room, has a different attire (Figure 4.281).<sup>2096</sup> She is dressed in a *chiton* and covered with a *himation*. She wears a high *stephane* and carries a measuring stick in her left hand. Beside her left foot, there is a griffon with its paw on a wheel. The statue bears resemblance with the goddess' depiction on coins of Commodus struck in Perge. The inscription on the plinth reads "P. Aelius Plancianus Antonius consecrated (the statue)".<sup>2097</sup> The verb used in the inscription is ἀφιερῶ which has the meaning of "hallow, consecrate and fulfill what is due to the gods"<sup>2098</sup> and is thus related to a religious act. Although the *natatio* did not have a sacred function, the dedicant clearly had a religious purpose. Maybe the statue was meant to be placed in another building but later it was erected in the Southern Baths. However, this remains uncertain. The location of other statues found in the room is challenging,<sup>2099</sup> since the niches that are the best candidates for having housed the statues also had outlets for running water. Therefore, multiple phases have been suggested for the construction of the room. It has been proposed that in the first phase, dating to the Hadrianic period, no pool was present in the room; therefore, the niches were used to accommodate the statues in the absence of outlets. In the second phase, dating to the Severan period, a pool was constructed, so the statues were taken out of the niches and placed somewhere around the pool.<sup>2100</sup> Furthermore, Şahin has dated the construction of the *natatio* in 200 AD, based on a fragmentary inscription found in pieces in several rooms of the baths.<sup>2101</sup> Thus, in the period between Hadrian and 200 AD, a small *natatio* seems to have existed.<sup>2102</sup> The statue of Nemesis is dated to the Antonine period, a time when the room was functioning as a *natatio*. Although the precise location of the statue remains uncertain, it clearly documents a religious act made to Nemesis, perhaps an act of personal devotion. The final statue comes from the so-called "Gallery of Claudius Piso" (Figure 4.282).<sup>2103</sup>

The statues in Perge generally seem to have had a decorative purpose instead of a religious one. Although all the statues decorating the cityscape cannot be perceived as

---

<sup>2095</sup> İnan 1980, 609.

<sup>2096</sup> İnan 1980, 609; İnan 1981, 365. Özgür et al. 1996, no 25.

<sup>2097</sup> Şahin 1999a, 194-95, no.175.

<sup>2098</sup> Liddle and Scott  
[http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0058%3Aentry%3Da\)fiero%2Fw](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0058%3Aentry%3Da)fiero%2Fw)

<sup>2099</sup> For the other statues found in the room, see İnan 1980, 609; 1981, 365; Akçay 2007, 53-63.

<sup>2100</sup> Abbasoğlu 1982, 93-4, 108-109; Atik 1995, 30, 7.

<sup>2101</sup> Şahin 1999a, 219-27, 194.

<sup>2102</sup> Özdizbay 2012, 34, with footnote 267.

<sup>2103</sup> İnan 1983, 11.

indication for the cults, they can often give a general idea about the deities venerated in the city. Due to the lack of complementary epigraphic data, it is usually not possible to ascertain whether a statue carried a sacred function or not. The inscribed Nemesis statue is an important example that may help us to assign a sacred function to the statue, but the purpose of this dedication is not clear.

However, at Perge, there is also epigraphic evidence documenting the presence of the goddess' cult. A limestone altar dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD was found in the theater and records that a certain Flavius dedicated (it) as a fulfillment of an oath to Nemesis *Epekoos*, "the one who hears the prayers".<sup>2104</sup> Another attestation was found in recent excavations conducted in the western colonnaded street. The inscription dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD-beginning to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, informs us about the *Nemeseia Severeia agones* celebrated once every three years.<sup>2105</sup> Finally, our last evidence comes from the necropolis of Perge and is carved on the lintel of a tomb structure (Figure 4.283). According to the inscription dating to the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), the tomb belonged to Euthychianos, priest of Nemesis *Enodia*, and his family.<sup>2106</sup> The epithet *Enodia/Ennodia* requires special attention, since it is elsewhere not found, neither as an epithet nor as a deity in Asia Minor. The word "ennodia," derived from *en(n)odios*, means 'in or on the way, by the way-side' reflecting a connection with crossroads.<sup>2107</sup> Ennodia was the most characteristic deity of the Thessalians. Her cult was very prominent in Thessalia from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, especially at Pherai; hence, she was also known as a Pheraian goddess.<sup>2108</sup> Her worship was also seen in the Hellenistic period outside Thessaly in Lokris, Epidauros, Pella and Exochi in Macedonia, Lindos, Euboia, Athens, Sikyon, and Egypt.<sup>2109</sup> In the literary evidence she is sometimes associated with Artemis and Hekate.<sup>2110</sup> Epigraphic evidence also records her syncretism with Artemis in places like Lokris, Pherai, Epidauros, Magnesia, and Egypt.<sup>2111</sup> Various suggestions have been made about the origin of the goddess. For instance, Willamowitz argued that the cult of Ennodia in

<sup>2104</sup> Şahin 1999a, 278-79, no.247.

<sup>2105</sup> Tüner Önen-Aslan 2019, 324-27.

<sup>2106</sup> Özidzbay 2001, 68-73; Şahin 2004 80, no. 366.

<sup>2107</sup> Liddell and Scott Greek-English dictionary (Online Source) <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=e%29no%2Fdios&la=greek&can=e%29no%2Fdios0>

<sup>2108</sup> Mili 2015, 147. In Thessaly, apart from Pherai, she was worshipped at Melitaia, Thebai, Pagasai, Larissa, Gonnoi, and Phallana.

<sup>2109</sup> Mili 2015, 45.

<sup>2110</sup> Hes. fr. 23a (Artemis), Soph. fr. 535 (Hekate)

<sup>2111</sup> IG IX,1 281 (Lokris), SEG:48, 668 (Pherai), IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 273, 274, 500 (Epidauros), SEG:48, 658 (Magnesia), OGIS 53 (Egypt-Koptos(Qift)).

Thessalia was the result of the spread of the Hekate cult from Asia Minor to Greece.<sup>2112</sup> On the other hand, Robert acknowledged Ennodia as a local goddess from Thessalia and thought that then her cult spread to the north, to Macedonia.<sup>2113</sup> However, Chrysostomou suggested that the worship of Ennodia initially began in Pherai and then diffused to other parts of Greece from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.<sup>2114</sup> Regardless of her provenance, she was worshipped as a chthonian goddess but she also had an interest in childbirth and nursing. She was a *polis* goddess in Thessalia, as her epithet *Wastika* (*Astike*) points out. Moreover, she was also seen as the protectress of families, as her joint worship with Zeus *Meilichios* in Pherai and Larissa shows. Besides, she offered protection in wars and had a clear association with roads, ghosts, deads, and magic.<sup>2115</sup> None of these cases, however, points out a relation with Nemesis.

The goddess Ennodia is often portrayed on horseback while carrying torches. On 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of Pherai, she appears as riding a horse with a torch in her hand. The southern necropolis of the city, where a possible temple to Ennodia was later built, produced ceramic *pinakes* with an image of a torch-bearing and horse-riding goddess.<sup>2116</sup> In Macedonia, reliefs dating to the Roman Imperial period also depicted goddess on horseback with torches.<sup>2117</sup> The closest parallel of this figure in Asia Minor is a relief depicting Hekate *triformis* carrying torches on horseback, which was found in Phrygia (Figure 4.284).<sup>2118</sup> Although an inscription is lacking, the figure can be identified as Hekate based on her iconography. Delemen emphasized the rarity of the image of a woman on horseback for both Greece and Asia Minor and points out the similarity of the Phrygian relief with Ennodia of Thessalia and Macedonia. Going back to the funerary inscription of Perge, another question that can be raised is where the *Nemeseion* was located in Perge, based on the presence of a priest for Nemesis *Enodia*. No inscription found in the city provides information about a Nemesis sanctuary. Apart from the small shrines or temples situated in or near theaters and amphitheaters, another area related to Nemesis shrines or temples was the *agora*. The close association of Nemesis with Tyche can be based on such a notion, for these goddesses shared their iconography and aspects in the Roman Period. Temples of Tyche and Nemesis have hypothetically been placed on

---

<sup>2112</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1956, 168-74.

<sup>2113</sup> Robert 1960, 588-95.

<sup>2114</sup> Chrysostomou 1998, 268-71.

<sup>2115</sup> For detailed information on the goddess' cultic characteristics, see Mili 2015, 147- 58.

<sup>2116</sup> Graniner 2009, 114.

<sup>2117</sup> Robert 1955, 154-58, pl. 28, 1-3.

<sup>2118</sup> Delemen 1999, 74-76.

the southern side of the Agora at Smyrna.<sup>2119</sup> Besides, a temple of Nemesis was erected by Onesimos on the agora of Balbura in the reign of Antoninus Pius and a statue of Tyche was placed in the same street as the *Nemeseion*.<sup>2120</sup> Moreover, Opramoas, the above-mentioned wealthy citizen from Rhodiapolis, dedicated temples to Tyche and Nemesis.<sup>2121</sup> At Kremna, a coin dating to the reign of Aurelian (270-275 AD) depicted Nemesis with the title *Fortuna Colonia Cremna*.<sup>2122</sup> As mentioned above, the *monopteros* situated in the center of the *Macellum* of Perge has either been interpreted as a Tyche temple based on its counterpart found in Side or as a temple dedicated to the Imperial cult based on a statue of a priest of the Imperial cult in the building.<sup>2123</sup> Recent excavations carried out in the complex have revealed that the southern gallery of the *Macellum* possibly gained a sacred character after the first construction phase.<sup>2124</sup> It is not possible to assign the *Nemeseion* of Perge to the *Macellum* because of the lack of sufficient evidence, but the close relationship between these two goddesses and the proximity of their temples in the given examples might provide a clue for Perge. The Nemesis *Enodia* cult also remains unique for the city. Perhaps it demonstrated a local cult born out of the syncretism of Hekate and Nemesis.

Apart from the numismatic evidence, in Side statues and inscriptions document the presence of the goddess. An *in situ* statue of Nemesis with a griffon and wheel by her side was found in “Building M”, dating to the beginning of the Antonine period.<sup>2125</sup> Besides, four dedicatory inscriptions dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD have been found at Side. The first one found in the debris of the stage building of the theater, records that a certain Sozon dedicated an altar to Nemesis.<sup>2126</sup> The original location of the other three inscriptions is unknown. Two inscriptions document dedications made by Agathangelos to Nemesis *Kyria*,<sup>2127</sup> and by Primigenes to Nemesis upon the fulfillment of an oath<sup>2128</sup>. The fourth inscription is so fragmented, that only the name of the deity can be restored.<sup>2129</sup>

---

<sup>2119</sup> Kılıç 2014, 847-49.

<sup>2120</sup> Coulton et al. 1988, 121–45.

<sup>2121</sup> TAM 2.3, 905. Excavations carried out in Rhodiapolis revealed a *monopteros*, which might have been situated in a small *macellum* and this *monopteros* was cautiously interpreted as a temple of Tyche based on other examples, such as at Sagalassos, Perge, and Side, see Çevik et al., 2009, 76-77.

<sup>2122</sup> Coulton et al. 1988, 131.

<sup>2123</sup> Mansel 1956a, 2, 7; see The Cult of Tyche in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.14.

<sup>2124</sup> Kepçe-Çokay 2018, 10-20.

<sup>2125</sup> İnan 1975, 93-94, no. 37; Mansel 1978, 177-82.

<sup>2126</sup> Bean 1965, no. 188; Nollé 1993a, 269, no.13.

<sup>2127</sup> Bean 1965, no. 139; Nollé 1993a, 267, no.11.

<sup>2128</sup> Bean 1965, no. 188; Nollé 1993a, 268, no. 12.

<sup>2129</sup> Nollé 1993a, 269, no. 14.

Based on the extant evidence, the cult of Nemesis in Pamphylia started to become visible in the Roman Imperial period. Surely, the lack of evidence for Pre-Roman times does not exclude the possibility of an earlier cult of the goddess. However, the inscriptions and statues found in the theater of Side may have been related with to the role of the goddess in the broader context of games. Besides the western and eastern provinces (esp. Syria), evidence from Asia Minor on the relationship between the cult of Nemesis and games are abundant. Two inscriptions from Ephesos provide evidence that Nemesis' relationship with games can be taken back to the Hellenistic period for Asia Minor. The first one, dating to the 3rd century BC, was dedicated by a *gymnasiarch* and the second one was, from the 2nd-1st century BC, was dedicated by an umpire in the games.<sup>2130</sup> The inscriptions and votive reliefs from Roman Imperial Ephesos indicate that there possibly existed a *Nemeseion* in the theater.<sup>2131</sup> In Prusa and Stratonikeia, the organizers of the gladiatorial games offered their gratitude to Nemesis, while at Panarmara a *gymnasiarch* and priest of the Imperial cult paid their respect to the goddess. An inscription found in Miletos dating to the Hadrianic period states that Nemesis was venerated in the city as “the goddess who supervises the stadion of the athletes”, while dedications were also found in the theater and *gymnasium*. Finally, there are also votive *stelai* from Halikarnassos that were dedicated by gladiators and other examples for a memorial of a gladiatorial family from Aphrodisias.<sup>2132</sup> There is no firm archaeological or epigraphic evidence that associates Nemesis with the games that were celebrated at Perge and Side. For the organization of the gladiatorial games, the data coming from Perge are hypothetical. The balustrades separating the *orchestra* from the *cavea* were added to the theater in the reign of Tacitus (275-276 AD) and have been interpreted as a possible indicator for gladiatorial games and staged naval battles that may be organized within the scope of the *Agon Takitios Metropolitios* introduced to the city in this period.<sup>2133</sup> On the other hand, the evidence for gladiatorial games in Side is plenty. On two circular altars decorated with the images of fighting gladiators dating to the 3rd century AD, a priestess and priest of the Imperial cult, Modesta and Modestus, were honored by the *Gerousia* as the founders of the gladiatorial games and staged hunts.<sup>2134</sup> It is understood from another inscription written on a monument that was erected in honor of Aurelius Mandrianus

---

<sup>2130</sup> Hornum 1993, 12-30.

<sup>2131</sup> Hornum 1993, 287, no. 239.

<sup>2132</sup> Hornum 1993, 61.

<sup>2133</sup> İnan 2000, 321; Şahin 2000, 205-6; Özdizbay 2012, 76.

<sup>2134</sup> Nollé 2001, 415-19, nos. 111-12.

Longinus, the organizer of the games, that the people of Side were endowed with gladiator fights and staged hunts by Licinius Mucianus.<sup>2135</sup> Finally, a funerary stele dating to the 3rd century AD and belonging to a gladiator was also found in the city.<sup>2136</sup> Although the name of Nemesis was not mentioned in these inscriptions, the presence of an altar in the theater may suggest a relationship between the goddess and the gladiatorial games. Therefore, if there was a *Nemeseion* in Side, it would seem reasonable to look for it in the theater.

Just like in Pamphylia, in Pisidia the cult of Nemesis firstly appeared in the Roman Imperial period and was seen as a goddess associated with gladiatorial and animal fights as well as athletic contests. However, she was also called for divine justice and her statues embellished the cities of Sagalassos and Kremna.<sup>2137</sup> In Lycia, evidence for her worship also only dates to the Roman Imperial period but her nature remains unknown.<sup>2138</sup> In Cilicia, coins from Olba, Aigeai, Anazarbos, Tarsos, and Eirenopolis featured Nemesis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD<sup>2139</sup> and an inscription from İmsiören, a settlement in Rough Cilicia, which has not been identified with an ancient *polis* or *kome* yet but dates to the Roman Imperial period, informs us about an *oikonomos* (household manager) who dedicated her statue.<sup>2140</sup> However, the evidence does not reveal much information about her cult and her nature in the region. As a result, it seems that Nemesis was not only a newcomer to Pamphylia in the Roman Imperial period, but in neighbouring regions, such as Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia, as well.

#### 4.19 The Divinity of Rulers and the City of Rome in Pamphylia

The divinity of rulers is a phenomenon that predates the Roman Imperial period and throughout the ages, it was acknowledged by many civilizations. This concept, which interconnects politics, propaganda, and religion, became clearly visible in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period and Pamphylia was not an exception. The incorporation of the Greek cities in the Roman Empire led to the development of many diversifications in the religious life of towns. Importantly, these diversifications, one of which was the Emperor

---

<sup>2135</sup> Bean- Mitford 1970, no 12; Nollé 1993a, no. 3.2.1

<sup>2136</sup> Yurtsever 2012, 88.

<sup>2137</sup> Talloen 2015, 189.

<sup>2138</sup> Akyürek Şahin 2016, 540.

<sup>2139</sup> Erhan 2014, 630-65.

<sup>2140</sup> Hornum 1993, no. 246.



worship, was not mandated by Rome herself but rather established on the initiative of the *poleis*, their civic government and distinguished citizens. The cults of the Roman Emperors practiced in the cities of Asia Minor in the 1st-3rd centuries AD can be described as equipping emperors and sometimes members of their families with the divine authority of the Senate and worshipping the emperor as a god. The cult, which has constituted the subject of many studies, encompassed notions about the relationships between religion, ideology, power, and politics. The cult of the Roman Emperors in Pamphylia deserves a comprehensive study in its own terms which would place the region in the broader framework of “Roman influence”, the much discussed “Romanisation”, and the cults of the emperors in Asia Minor. Separate studies which individually focused on the cult in various Pamphylian cities have been conducted, especially by Baz, who provides essential information for this chapter.<sup>2141</sup> From the 2nd century BC onwards, the cults that accentuated the political power of Rome started to be practiced among the Pamphylians and in the Early Imperial Period the region witnessed the cult of the Roman emperors both on the local and regional scale.

The history of the phenomenon of the deification of rulers/kings/monarchs was more deeply rooted in the Near Eastern and Egyptian civilizations compared to Greece and Rome. With the initial foundation of the first “state” formations, which go back to ca. 3000 BC, the notion of the “sacred kingdom” and “sacred king” was embedded in state structures. The consideration of a monarch as sacred increased his political power just as it certainly increased the functionality of the power of the monarchs.<sup>2142</sup> In Mesopotamia the monarchs were inducted by the gods themselves. The duties of a monarch and his status in the social and political hierarchy were set upon the orders and desires of the deities. A monarch was at the same time the defender and the ruler of the State, a sacred mediator who built a bridge between people and gods.<sup>2143</sup> The Egyptian pharaohs were considered the sons of the God Re, his successors and the god himself at the same time.<sup>2144</sup> In the Persian Achaemenid kingdom, monarchs believed that they were under the protection of the great god Ahuramazda and the god constituted the main source of their powers. However, they did not identify themselves as gods and divine titles were not used alongside their names when they obtained a great victory.<sup>2145</sup> The notion that

---

<sup>2141</sup> For the cult of the emperors at Side, Aspendos, and Perge, see Baz 2012; 2013; 2016.

<sup>2142</sup> Morrison 2008, 267.

<sup>2143</sup> For the notion of the ruler-god in Mesopotamia, see Ehrenberg 2008, 103-32.

<sup>2144</sup> Lutz 1924, 436-58.

<sup>2145</sup> Taylor 1975, 248.

identified the king as a god for the Near Eastern civilizations, provided a source of inspiration for the Western civilizations, first for the Greeks and then for the Romans. In fact, the Greeks were no stranger to the idea of having as an immortal parent as a hero or a king, since their mythologies were filled with this kind of divine lineage. For instance, due to his skills on the battlefield, Hektor was considered the son of a god, instead of a mortal.<sup>2146</sup> Individuals who accomplished extraordinary deeds for the sake of their society were also worthy of divine honors as seen in the case of Herakles. Individuals with successful accomplishments, such as founding a new city, war heroes, *euergetai*, state officials, and victors of the Olympic games, were also seen as subjects of divine veneration in the 5th-4th centuries BC.<sup>2147</sup> The tyrants of Syracusai were important in terms of the ruler cult, since in the 5th-4th centuries AD, some of the tyrants were depicted with the attributes of Dionysos and Apollo, because they identified themselves with these deities and they also became the object of a cult after their death. Sanders suggests that the notion of the ruler cult spread from Syracusai to Macedonia and to the Pontic coasts of Asia Minor.<sup>2148</sup> The monarchs of the Macedonian kingdom before Alexander the Great, such as Amyntas III (392-370 BC) and Philippos II (359-336 BC), were the subjects of divine honors and cults too. Whereas Amyntas had a cult at Pydna, Philippos II was identified with Zeus at Eresos, he was deified posthumously at Ephesos, and he received a cult at Athens and Amhipolis.<sup>2149</sup>

During the Hellenistic period, the notion of the ruler cult and the divinity of the Hellenistic rulers were further consolidated, first with Alexander the Great, whose lineage went back to Herakles, and then later with his successors, the *Diadochoi*. Alexander the Great was greeted as a god in the Ammon temple in the Siwa Oasis in Egypt<sup>2150</sup> and depicted as a pharaoh in Egypt, where he took the names of Horus and Ra, the most important deities in the Egyptian pantheon.<sup>2151</sup> Many cities of Asia Minor established cults for Alexander the Great. According to a recent article of Kholod, both leagues and individual cities venerated Alexander, either when he was alive or posthumously. The Ionian league celebrated the festival of the *Alexandreia* to honor his birthday. This included processions, sacrifices, and contests and always occurred in a grove between

---

<sup>2146</sup> Hom. Il. XXIV, 258.

<sup>2147</sup> Baz 1998, 3-4.

<sup>2148</sup> Sanders 1991, 278- 80.

<sup>2149</sup> For the cult of Philippos II, see Habicht 1970; 11-20, Baz 1998.

<sup>2150</sup> Arr. *Anab.* III. 3.1-6.

<sup>2151</sup> Taylor 1975, 14-15.

Teos and Erythrai, dedicated to Alexander. The individual cities in which evidence for Alexander's cult has been gathered are Ilion, Smyrna, Erythrai, possibly Teos, Ephesos, Magnesia on the Maeander, Priene, and Bargylia.<sup>2152</sup> A cult of Alexander in Pamphylia has not been documented yet. However, evidence for the ruler cult maintained by the *Diadochoi* is present in the region. When Alexander the Great died without leaving an heir, his vast empire was separated into various regional kingdoms ruled by his successors. Beginning from Alexander the Great, each monarch had a different way to use religion and sacred imagery to fit in their political and social agenda. The cult of the ruler preserved its importance during this period; however, its characteristics varied depending on the kingdom. The notion of worshipping mortal monarchs was different for the East and the West. For instance, in Egypt and in Syria, where rulers had also already been worshipped before as deities, the Hellenistic monarchs could claim the royal symbols and continued their legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects. However, although the Greeks bestowed divine honors, such as heroization, to mortals who showed extraordinary achievements, they did not consider their *poleis* the personal property of the monarchs.<sup>2153</sup> For instance, the Ptolemies settled in Memphis from the period of Ptolemaios V onwards (203-181/180 BC) like the ancient pharaohs did, whereas the monarchs ruling in Macedonia never possessed divine worship.<sup>2154</sup> The Seleucid kingdom also created a divine identity for itself. Seleucos I Nikator (312-281 BC) for instance, followed Alexander the Great's example by using Zeus on his own coins and used both the Zeus and Alexander imagery on his coins with little alterations. After the death of Seleukos I Nikator, his son and successor Antiochos I declared that his father had to be worshiped as Zeus Nikator.<sup>2155</sup> A Hellenistic inscription found near the entrance of Side dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC records the name of a priest of Zeus Nikator.<sup>2156</sup> The cult of Zeus Nikator was also firmly established at Seleukeia Pieria, a colony founded by Seleukos Nikator himself, and it was also seen elsewhere in Asia Minor, such as at Arykanda, Tymandos, and Konana (Pisidia), and at Orokenda near Side, as the epigraphic evidence testifies.<sup>2157</sup> Furthermore in the city of Orokenda nearly 20 km north of Side,

---

<sup>2152</sup> Kholod 2016, 495-525.

<sup>2153</sup> Koester 1995, 34-36.

<sup>2154</sup> Green 1990, 405.

<sup>2155</sup> Koester 1995, 38; Erickson 2018, 97-111.

<sup>2156</sup> Nollé 2001, 79-382, no.90; Bean 1965, no. 100.

<sup>2157</sup> Nollé 2001, 380-81.

beside the inscription mentioning a priest of Zeus Nikator, the remains of a structure have also been identified as a possible Zeus temple.<sup>2158</sup>

The period after the death of Alexander the Great was very chaotic due to never-ending battles between the regional kingdoms; therefore, the political equilibrium was constantly shifting depending who was victorious. In such conditions, the people of the Greek city-states needed shelter next to the politically powerful ones in order to secure themselves. The cults for the rulers, therefore, were founded for both security and the expression of the gratitude towards the monarchs. The Hellenistic ruler cult was mainly based on granting the monarchs *isotheoi timai*, honors equal to gods, for protection, help, and the benefactions the kings offered to the people in times of need.<sup>2159</sup> The implementation of a ruler cult was also a powerful political strategy that could reinforce the monarch's legitimacy. The ruler cult of the Hellenistic period principally comprised two different aspects. The first one was a civic cult, which carried local features that might change depending to the city. The latter was a more formal state cult that was centrally organized. In addition, during this period, a dynastic cult was also formed, which not only deified the rulers, but also their wives and other family members.<sup>2160</sup> All of these three features can be found in the cults of the Roman emperors as well.

Nevertheless, the practices of the Hellenistic ruler cults were applied to distinguished Roman generals during the Roman Republican period by the people of the Greek city-states. Rome secured the dominance of the Mediterranean after the Punic wars (264-146 BC) and set its eyes on the East by taking advantages of the civil strives of the Hellenistic kings. Through time, with the advent of Rome to the East, people living in areas that passed to the control of Rome from Hellenistic rule began to give honors to the Romans that were similar to the ones they had once given to the Hellenistic rulers.<sup>2161</sup> A similar practice can be found in the Pamphylian city of Side where an inscription found in the southwestern part of the so-called Apollo temple ("N2") in 1961 records an honorary text erected by the *Demos* of Side to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.<sup>2162</sup> Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was described as *isotheos time*, "worthy to godly honors", and as patron of the city on account of his accomplishments in the war against the pirates that

---

<sup>2158</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 768.

<sup>2159</sup> Chaniotis 2003, 431-45.

<sup>2160</sup> Price 1985, 30-33.

<sup>2161</sup> For the divine honors given to the distinguished Roman generals and officials, see Baz 1998, 12-14.

<sup>2162</sup> Bean 1965, 14-16, no. 101; Nollé 1993a, 333-35, no. 53.

ended in 67 BC.<sup>2163</sup> Nollé further suggested that Pompeius was accepted as *synnaos*, temple sharer, of Athena and that, therefore, he received a joint cult with the goddess through the erection of his statue in her temple.<sup>2164</sup>

There is another step between the cult of the Hellenistic rulers and the cult of the Roman emperors. The establishment of the cult of Thea Rome/Dea Roma in various cities represented a transitional process, which embodied the power of Rome in the time between 190 BC, when the power of the Hellenistic monarchs started to decrease due to the rise of Rome, until the foundation of the “cults of the Roman emperors”. In his comprehensive book on the cult of Thea Rome in the Greek states, Mellor identifies the cult as “the bastard offspring of the Hellenistic ruler cult.” The political power of Rome was personified and deified nearly a century ago before the institutionalized worship of Augustus.<sup>2165</sup> According to Tacitus (56-120 AD) the first temple dedicated to Thea Rome/Dea Roma in Asia Minor was at Smyrna and dated to 195 BC.<sup>2166</sup> After this date, the cult of the goddess spread to various cities of Asia Minor, including the cities of Pamphylia, in order to keep good political relations with Rome. Although some cultic and ritual practices inherited from the Hellenistic ruler cult were kept, a fundamental change occurred through which the cult of Thea Rome/Dea Roma was arranged in accordance with the mindset of Republican Rome. The recipient of the cult was no longer a person, but the city of Rome, which was personified as a goddess. The cities’ intentions behind establishing such a cult were to maintain good political relations with Rome and to show their devotion and adherence to the Roman power, especially in periods of crisis, when conflicts between Hellenistic monarchs and Roman rulers increased in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. In Pamphylia, Side founded this cult at a relatively early date. The city had a rather fickle attitude towards Rome during the Hellenistic period. In the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC, Side initially supported Antiochos III by supplying ships to the monarch; however, later it changed sides and supported Rome and preserved its independence thanks to this decision.<sup>2167</sup> The city accepted the superiority of Rome by changing sides and founded the cult of Thea Rome/Dea Roma after the battle of Magnesia

---

<sup>2163</sup> Pompeius was honoured as *soter*, *ktistes* and *euergetes* on Delos, Samos and in Mytilene and similar inscriptions can be found in some cities in Asia Minor, such as Miletopolis, Ilion, Klaros and Miletos, Bean, 1965, 15; Nollé 1993a, 333, footnote 2; see The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.2.

<sup>2164</sup> Nollé 1993a, 334.

<sup>2165</sup> Mellor 1975, 195.

<sup>2166</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4. 56.

<sup>2167</sup> Livius, *ab urbe condita*, 37. 23.2-8; Nollé 1993a, 62-3.

(190 BC) BC in order to attain the forgiveness of Rome.<sup>2168</sup> The cult maintained its importance throughout the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD as the epigraphic sources record, until the establishment of the neocorate and after that, it continued throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Seventeen documents, either written on stone or papyrus, provide information on the priests of Thea Rome/Dea Roma in Side.<sup>2169</sup> Inscriptions show that all the priests were male. They were either of Latin origin or Roman citizens. The office was mainly held together with that of the one of *demiourgia*. A priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma could also serve in the priesthoods of other deities, such as Apollo, Poseidon, Dionysos, Isis, and Sarapis. The temple near the theater has been identified as the possible Thea Rome/Dea Roma temple; however, this remains a hypothesis due to the lack of evidence.

Attaleia is another Pamphylian city where the cult of Thea Rome/Dea Roma was present in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Two inscriptions provide information on the cult and its cult personnel. The first one records an honorary inscription of a person with an unknown name who served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Since Drusus died in 23 AD, the inscription must belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>2170</sup> As it appears from the inscription, not only the cult of Thea Rome/Dea Roma existed in the city, but also the emperor worship was present from the Early Imperial period onwards. The second inscription honors Caecilia Tertulla, a member of the Calpurnii family, who served as a priestess of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and Iulia Augusta

---

<sup>2168</sup> Nollé 1993a, 64.

<sup>2169</sup> In the 1st century AD, Tiberius Iulius Magnus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, *demiourgos*, *agonothetes*, *gymnasiarchos* and *proboulos*, see Nollé 2001, 367, no. 75; in the Early Imperial Period, Marcus Annius Afer served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, *demiourgos* and priest of Apollo and Poseidon, see Nollé 2001, 361-62, no. 71; in 142 AD, L. Claudius Auspicatus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, see Nollé 2001, 613-14; in 151 AD, [..]us Demonikos Myros served as a priest Thea Rome/Dea Roma, and *demiourgos*, see Nollé 2001, 617-22; in the 2nd century AD, P. Aelius Paeonianus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, Nolle 2001, 357-61, no. 70; in the 2nd century AD, T. Flavius Flavianus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, see Nollé 2001, 362, no. 72; in the mid 2nd century AD, T. Flavius Spartiaticus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, see Nollé 2001, 362-65, no. 73; in the mid 2nd century AD, Titus Flavius served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, *demiourgos* and possibly a priest of Isis and Sarapis, see Nollé 2001, 365-67, no. 74; in the 2nd century AD, Decimus Iunius Zenodotos served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, *demiourgos*, a priest of Dionysos and *emporiarches*, see Nollé 2001, 368-70, no. 76; in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, Marcus Quirinus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, *demiourgos* and *agonothetes*, see Nollé 2001, 370, no. 77; in the 3rd century AD, Claudianos served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, see Nollé 2001, 374, no. 82; in the Late Imperial period, Klesippos served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, as an inscription which was found in the east of Manavgat in the territory of Side indicates, see Nollé 2001, 600-2, no. 375; in the mid 3rd century AD, a certain person whose name was unpreserved served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgos*, see Nollé 2001, 477-78, no. 157; in the Roman Imperial period, Celsianus served as a priest of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, *demiourgos* and priest of Dionysos, see Nollé 2001, 372- 73, no. 79; in the Roman Imperial period, three persons with unknown names served as priests of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and *demiourgoi*, see Nollé 2001, 373-75, nos. 81, 83, 84.

<sup>2170</sup> Bean 1958, 34-35, no. 24.

at the beginning of the Roman Imperial period.<sup>2171</sup> The mentioned Iulia Augusta has been interpreted as Iulia, who was deified during the period of Claudius (41-54 AD). Evidence from Attaleia indicates that not only men but also women could be in the service of the goddess Roma. The Calpurnii family Caecilia Tertulla belonged to was one of the foremost families in Attaleia, which migrated to Asia Minor from Italy. The earliest family members we know thanks to inscriptions are Caecilia Tertulla and her husband Marcus. Their son, Calpurnius Rufus, became a senator during the Tiberian period (14-37 AD). Since the region was attached to the *Provincia Galatia* until the period of Vespasianus (69-79 AD), the family had close relationships with other élite families from Antioch of Pisidia and Ancyra. The family also had estates in the north and at the border with Caria.<sup>2172</sup> By holding this priesthood, an Italic and élite family demonstrated the involvement of people from Roman descent in the establishment, development, and maintenance of the emperor worship and the cult of the goddess Roma from the Early Imperial period onwards in Pamphylia. An interesting find further documents the influence of the Roman originated cults in the region apart from the cult of the goddess Roma or the emperor worship. A rectangular altar with an ancient Greek inscription dating to the Roman Imperial period records that Euktemon and Agathopous dedicated (the altar) to the River Tiber (Potamo Tiberino).<sup>2173</sup> The name of the river is given in its Latin form, whereas the dedicants' names are Greek. According to Gökalp, Agathopous (from *agathos*, “good” and *pous*, “foot”) was a common slave name.<sup>2174</sup> Therefore, Euktemon, “wealth”, and Agathopous might have been slaves of an Attaleian family. However, the inscription lacks details on their status (freedmen or slaves), and the name of their masters. It does not give any information about their provenance either but since they dedicated a votive to the River of Tiber, they must certainly have had a connection with Rome. As in Asia Minor, in Italy water sources and rivers were the subjects of cults. The ancient writers inform us that the river Tiber was worshipped under the name *Pater Tiberinus*. The Tiber was an important religious element of the Roman religion. The river was the symbol of the wealth and power of Rome, the symbol of being Latin, and a topographic marker. For instance, on the reverse of a coin of Vespasianus (69-79 AD),

---

<sup>2171</sup> Pace, 1916-20, 10-11 no. 1 She also served as *gymnasiarchos* apart from being a priestess.

<sup>2172</sup> For detailed information on the Attaleian Calpurnii family, see Gökalp 2008, 83.

<sup>2173</sup> Bean 1958, 41, no. 36.

<sup>2174</sup> Gökalp 2008, 126.

Dea Roma was represented sitting next to him, on top of the seven hills.<sup>2175</sup> The Romans turned to the river to obtain healing from diseases, since votive terra-cotta figurines in the form of various body parts were found together with artifacts during excavations conducted in the river basins. The Tiber also offered ritual and moral purification to its worshippers and also to Rome.<sup>2176</sup> The personification of rivers and religious beliefs and practices directed towards them were widespread phenomena encountered in Asia Minor and Pamphylia as well.<sup>2177</sup> This example, however, is unique and not only documents a personal devotion but also illustrates the presence of Italic-originated religious beliefs in the region. No information is present about the place where this altar might have stood, since temples dedicated to the River Tiber have not been documented at Rome either. It was possibly dedicated in the temple of another deity or might have also have been related to domestic worship.

The influence of the increasing political power of Rome, the effort of the cities to find favor in Rome's eyes and the involvement of Italic citizens and urban élites living in the cities did not only result in the foundation of certain cults, like that of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, but also led to the emperor worship either in a more local form as the cult of the *Theoi Sebastoi* or on a more regional scale, like the bestowment of the *neocorate* status. Both practices are visible in the cities of Pamphylia. In this manner, the population of Pamphylia seems to have been particularly receptive to the introduction of new cults into the region. With the triumph of Actium in 31 BC, the struggle for power over Rome ended and by restoring the peace, Octavianus became the founder of the *Pax Romana*, a period that lasted nearly 200 years.<sup>2178</sup> People wishing to express their gratitude to the ruler because of the peace immediately acted within the framework of their traditions and honored their present sole ruler.<sup>2179</sup> In this manner, Asia and Bithynia took action in the early 30 BC to establish a cult of Octavianus. Octavianus, who was not open yet to the idea of being the subject of a cult himself, decided to allow the foundation of a Thea Rome and Augustan cult in Pergamon and Nikomedia for the Greeks who were no Roman citizens, and the foundation of a Dea Roma and Divus Iulius cult in Ephesos and Nikaia

---

<sup>2175</sup> The British Museum Online Collection, [https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1201223&page=47&partId=1&peoA=93014-3-17&people=93014](https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1201223&page=47&partId=1&peoA=93014-3-17&people=93014); museum number, 1872,0709.477.

<sup>2176</sup> For the importance of the Tiber in Antiquity and its cult, see Le Gall 1953a and 1953b.

<sup>2177</sup> See The Sacred Landscape of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

<sup>2178</sup> Rowell 1962, 205-10.

<sup>2179</sup> For instance, in Egypt a cult of Augustus was founded, see Dundas 2002, 439-48.



for the Roman citizens.<sup>2180</sup> After the death of Amyntas, king of Galatia, in 25 BC, all the land of his kingdom including Pamphylia was annexed to the Roman Empire as the *Provincia Galatia*, where a cult for Dea Roma and Augustus was also founded.<sup>2181</sup> Therefore, the cities of Pamphylia must have become familiar with the rituals, festivals, contests, sacrifices, and offerings directed towards the emperor and his family from this period onwards. The earliest evidence for the foundation of the Imperial cult on a more local scale, which involved Pamphylian cities, comes from the Tiberian period (14-37 AD). Smyrna got the status of *neocorate* under his reign, and became the second city in the province of Asia to house a temple for the Imperial cult.<sup>2182</sup> In Pamphylia, officials who were responsible for the maintenance of the emperor worship and organization of the games<sup>2183</sup>, were initially documented with the title *archiereus* during this period. The people who fulfilled this highly prestigious office were among the most prominent citizens of the city. Like the priesthoods of other traditional cults, their time of service could be one year, or more, or even a lifetime. Two inscriptions from Aspendos dedicated to Tiberius and possibly Germanicus, his son, mention priests of the Imperial cult.<sup>2184</sup> Philostratos' account (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) also provides invaluable information on how the emperor and his divinity were perceived in the city. A grain shortage occurred in Aspendos due to the sales policy of the merchants. The citizens of Aspendos put the blame on the Roman governor, who did not take any precautions, and attacked him. To put an end to the citizen's attacks, the governor took refuge at the statue of Tiberius located in the Aspendian agora to obtain his right of *asylia*. The Aspendians, who respected the governor's *asylia* right, put their torches on the other altars in the agora and started listening to him.<sup>2185</sup> This account indicates many important points. Although the *asylia* right cannot have formally been bestowed to a statue of Tiberius, the divinity of the emperor was so well accepted that even his statue acted like an inviolable sacred *temenos*. The account also shows the unnecessary to build a temple for a cult, either traditional or Imperial, since a part of the agora was organized in such a manner that the traditional cults (as is apparent from other altars) as well as the Imperial cult were practiced in a

---

<sup>2180</sup> Cass. Dio. 51. 20. 6–9. For the possible reasons why the two cults directed two different audiences, see Herz 2003, 134-48.

<sup>2181</sup> Brandt 1992, 96-98; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 103-4. For the cult at Ankyra, see Burrell 2004, 166-75.

<sup>2182</sup> Burrell 2004, 38-55.

<sup>2183</sup> For the games related to the emperor cult, see Magie 1950, 15-23; Price 1985, 179-227.

<sup>2184</sup> Baz 2013, 71-73.

<sup>2185</sup> Baz 2013, 73-74.

public building or space like an agora.<sup>2186</sup> In Attaleia, an inscription documents a high priest of Thea Rome and Drusus, Tiberius' son.<sup>2187</sup> As mentioned above, Caecilia Tertulla served as a high priestess of Thea Rome and Iulia Augusta, identified as Livia who was deified during the period of Claudius (41-54 AD). An Imperial priest of Claudius was also documented in Attaleia. The inscription found in Attaleia states that the high priest of the emperor Claudius also served as the *agonothetes* of the pentaeteric games of the *Megala Kaisareia* organized and celebrated for the emperors.<sup>2188</sup> An inscription from the same city also mentions Terentia Polla, who served as a priestess of Claudia Antonia, daughter of Claudius.<sup>2189</sup> Side also yielded information on the priests of the Imperial cult of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, such as Marcus Annius Afer and Tiberius Iulius Magnus.<sup>2190</sup> Priests are also attested for the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD;<sup>2191</sup> they were responsible for the offerings, celebrations and processions organized in the city, still in a more local manner.

The reign of the Flavian dynasty (69-96 AD) is a period when drastic changes in the organization of the provinces occurred, which eventually had political and religious implications. The question whether Claudius (41-54 AD) or Vespasianus (69-79 AD) were responsible for the creation of a new provincial organization that included Pamphylia and Lycia together as the *Provincia Lycia et Pamphylia* has been a subject of debate for many years. However, inscriptions found during the excavation campaigns of 2004 and 2005 in Perge demonstrated that the joint province was founded between 70-74 AD under the reign of Vespasianus and that Perge most possibly became the capital city of the province as the seat of the governor. Moreover, the *kistaphoroi* of Nerva (96-98 AD), Traianus (98-117 AD) (Figure 4.125), and Hadrianus (117-138 AD) featured on their reverses the *Artemision* with the Latin legend *Diana Pergeae*.<sup>2192</sup> An inscription which was written on the western architrave of the arch located at the intersection of the east-west and north-south colonnaded street and dedicated by the brothers Demetrios and Apollonios in the period of Domitianus (81-96 AD) documents that the city had the title of *neokoros* in this period.<sup>2193</sup> Additionally, an inscription dating to the period of Tacitus

---

<sup>2186</sup> The agoras of Perge and Side might also have had this sacred function, see The Cult of Tyche in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.14.

<sup>2187</sup> Bean 1958, 34-35, no. 24.

<sup>2188</sup> Bean 1958, 33-34, no. 22.

<sup>2189</sup> Bean 1958, 31, no. 18.

<sup>2190</sup> Nollé 2001, nos. 71 and 75.

<sup>2191</sup> Nollé 2001, nos 103 and 116.

<sup>2192</sup> For a thorough discussion of the province of *Lycia-Pamphylia*, see Özdizbay 2012, 16-9; Onur 2013, 55-76. For Perge as the main city, see Burrell 2004, 175.

<sup>2193</sup> Şahin 1999a, 72-80, no. 56.

(275-276 AD) erected on the street to the north of the *agora/macellum* (Figure 4.241-2) stated that Perge gained the neokorate four times and that the first one was bestowed to the city during the period of Vespasianus (69-79 AD) (Figures 4.285-86).<sup>2194</sup> The term *neokoros* had different meanings in the Greek and Roman periods. Before the Roman Imperial period, the term referred to religious officials who served in the religious organization of city-states, who were responsible for the money and valuable items in a temple, and for conducting the practical functions of a cult, including making offerings and sacrifices.<sup>2195</sup> However, in the Roman Imperial period, the term was transferred from humans to the cities, where a special kind of a temple, a provincial temple reserved for the emperor cult, was present. The title was bestowed upon the cities either by the emperor himself or by the Senate.<sup>2196</sup> A city that had this institutionalized formal emperor cult was allowed to build a temple or a sacred space in which the emperor worship was practiced. Apart from temple structures, the term also included the organization of religious festivals and contests celebrated for the emperors, processions, the presence of cult personnel, and the making of sacrifices on a larger scale. Perge was the first city in Pamphylia that gained this title during the *Pax Romana* at a relatively early date compared to the other Pamphylian cities. The reason behind this has thoroughly been questioned by Baz, who concluded that the success of the city depended on its good relations with Rome, its developed urban structure, its infrastructure, its economic sufficiency, and its competence in organizing and maintaining a supra-regional tradition cult known as the cult of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>2197</sup> The city's earliest *agones* celebrated in the context of the emperor cult were the *Megala Kaisareia* and *Artemisia Vespasianeia*, which were organized as a result of the neokorate status bestowed to the city.<sup>2198</sup> The existence of a festival that incorporated the names of both Artemis and Vespasianus might lead to the question whether the Emperor cult shared the same sanctuary with Artemis or not, as happened in the Artemis temple at Sardeis.<sup>2199</sup> However, not only is archaeological evidence missing, since the location of the *Artemision* is undetermined, but also the numismatic and epigraphic evidence is silent about this matter. A temple of the Imperial cult is also missing in the

<sup>2194</sup> For the inscription, see Merkelbach-Şahin 1988, 115-16, no. 22.

<sup>2195</sup> Burrell 2004, 2-3.

<sup>2196</sup> For a discussion, see Baz 2012, 31, footnote 6.

<sup>2197</sup> Baz 2016, 134-42; for the urban structure of the city in the 1st century AD, see Özdizbay 2012, 133-44. For the Artemis cult with supra-regional importance, see The cult of Artemis at Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2198</sup> Şahin 1999a, no. 42 and no. 60.

<sup>2199</sup> Yegül, "The Temple of Artemis at Sardeis", (online source), <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-yegul-temple-of-artemis>, 10.09.2019.

archaeological record. Another festival organized in the context of the Emperor cult was called *Treis Agones Sebastoi*.<sup>2200</sup> The initiative behind acquiring the title of neocorate comes from the élites of the city. In this manner, the endeavors of the Cornutii family from Italy should be mentioned.<sup>2201</sup> According to Şahin, the cult was founded in Perge thanks to the efforts of C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus, the son of C. Iulius Cornutus who was responsible for the construction of the so-called *Palaestra* of Cornutus.<sup>2202</sup> The name of C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus appeared in three inscriptions found in Perge and all dating to the Flavian period (69-96 AD). In two of them he is honored as the high priest of the Imperial cult by the peoples of Claudiconium in Lykaonia and Konana in Pisidia, which were both attached to the Province of Galatia.<sup>2203</sup> In the third inscription, he is honored by his two brothers as the high priest of the Imperial cult and also as the *agonothetes* of the *Megala Kaisareia*.<sup>2204</sup> Other members of the Cornutii family, such as C. Iulius Caesius Cornutus and Gnaeus Postumius Cornutus, also served as high priests.<sup>2205</sup> Members of the Cornutii family apparently founded and established the Imperial cult at Perge. It appears that families of Italic descent who naturally had more connections with Rome tried to develop this cult in their new homeland. The Calpurnii of Attaleia and the Cornutii of Perge were among such families. Once the cult was established within a city, the prominent native families also served as high priests of the Imperial cult. However, in Perge, members of a native family who owed their wealth to rich olive groves in Lyrboton Kome also served important offices that involved close relations with Rome. As mentioned above, after the bestowment of the *neokoros* status to the city under Vespasianus (69-79 AD), the *asylia* right of the Artemis temple might have been given to the city in the period of Domitianus (81-96 AD), thanks to the efforts of Demetrios and Apollonios, sons of Apollonios. In the inscription of the honorary arch that was built by these two brothers, the neocorate status of the city is also stated. Apollonios also served as the high priest of the Imperial cult.<sup>2206</sup>

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the number of inscriptions recording the names of Imperial priests increased together with the importance of the cult. Among the cult personnel of

---

<sup>2200</sup> Şahin 1999a, 81-84, no. 58.

<sup>2201</sup> For the Cornutii family, see Özdizbay 2012, 109-12.

<sup>2202</sup> Şahin 1999a, 30-32.

<sup>2203</sup> Şahin 1999a, 55-58, nos. 42, 43.

<sup>2204</sup> Şahin 1999a, 59-60, no. 45.

<sup>2205</sup> Şahin 1999a, 59-60 nos. 46-47; 86-88, no. 60.

<sup>2206</sup> For the brothers Demetrios and Apollonios, see Özdizbay 2012, 112-17. For the inscription that documents the high priesthood of Apollonios, see Şahin 1999a, 81-84, no. 58.

Attaleia were L. Gavius Fronto<sup>2207</sup>, Marcus Gavius Gallicus<sup>2208</sup>, Curtia Paulina<sup>2209</sup>, Calpurnius Diodoros who was high priest for four years and also served as priest of Apollo, Dionysos, Ares, Artemis, and Leto<sup>2210</sup>, Marcus Petronius Firmus Calpurnius Saeclarus who was also priest for life of Apollo and served as *agonothetes* of the pentaeteric *Megala Kaisareia*,<sup>2211</sup> and Quintus Rutilius.<sup>2212</sup> It appears that the Italic families of the city frequently served as the cult personnel of the emperors, sometimes together with traditional deities. They became the overseers of the games and festivals related to the cult and sometimes paid for the organization of these games at their own expenses.

In other Pamphylian cities, both families from Italic descent and natives served as high priests/esses. For instance, Plancia Magna, who was a member of the Plancii family, one of the most prominent families in Perge and who was known through many construction activities in the city,<sup>2213</sup> served as high priestess, *demiourgos*, priestess of Artemis and Meter, and *gymnasiarchos*.<sup>2214</sup> Imperial cult priests/esses are known from the Antonine Period<sup>2215</sup>, and from the Late Antonine and Severan Periods.<sup>2216</sup> Inscriptions from Sillyon provide information about two Imperial priestesses who served in the 2nd century AD.<sup>2217</sup> The personnel of the Imperial cult in the 2nd century AD is also documented at Side<sup>2218</sup> and Aspendos.<sup>2219</sup> In these cities too, the high priests/esses frequently also served as officials of traditional gods as well as *agonothetai* of the games.

In some instances, the statuary evidence in its archaeological context can also provide information about the identification of priests/esses of the Roman Imperial cult. Some portraits found in the city of Perge wear crowns decorated with small busts. Literary

<sup>2207</sup> Gökalp 2008, 90-91, no. 4.1.2.10.

<sup>2208</sup> Gökalp 2008, 91-92, no. 4.1.2.13.

<sup>2209</sup> Gökalp 2008, 144-45, no. 4.4.3.1.

<sup>2210</sup> Gökalp 2008, 108-9, no. 4.1.3.11.

<sup>2211</sup> Gökalp 2008, 110-11, no. 4.1.3.13.

<sup>2212</sup> Gökalp 2008, 113-14, no. 4.1.3.17.

<sup>2213</sup> For the *Plancii*, see Özdizbay 2012, 117-25.

<sup>2214</sup> Şahin 1999a, 161-64, no. 123-25.

<sup>2215</sup> For Claudius Apellinus and Ulpia Artemisia, see Şahin 1999a, 192-93, no. 173; for Titus Aelius Aurelius Asklepiades, see Şahin 1999a, 197-98, no. 179; for Gnaeus Pedanius Valerianus, see Şahin 1999a, 198-99, no. 180. For a possible identification of Pedanius Valerianus with a statue found in the city of Perge, see Özdizbay 2010, 195-205.

<sup>2216</sup> For Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, see Şahin 1999a, 206-91, no. 193; for Tiberius Claudius Aurelius Gygetianus Apellas and Aurelia Matoulis, see Şahin 1999a, 238-39, no. 199.

<sup>2217</sup> For Menadora, see Lanckoronski 2005, no. 60; for Aurelia Paulina Aeliane, see Şahin 1999a, 178-80, no. 149; for Aquilos, son of Kidramus and Aurelia Paulina, see Şahin 1999a, 229-30, no. 195.

<sup>2218</sup> For Toues, son of Nineis, in an inscription found in Laertes, see Nollé 1993a, Tep. 5; for Marcus Annus Afer, see Nollé 2001, no. 71; Titus Flavius Spartiacus, see Nollé 2001, no. 73.

<sup>2219</sup> For Tiberius Claudius Italicus who donated 2 million *denarii* for the construction of the aqueduct and also organized the pentaeteric *Kaisareia* festival, see Baz 2013, 74-75.

and archaeological evidence enables us to understand that the cult personnel of diverse deities wore different costumes and accessories, such as crowns and wreaths, or carried different attributes, which separated them from ordinary people and made their special status in the society recognizable.<sup>2220</sup> An example of this comes from Perge. The so-called priestess of Artemis Perge is depicted with a pendant and necklaces reminiscent of those of the goddess.<sup>2221</sup> The same situation exists with the cult personnel of the Imperial cult. Crowns decorated with small busts constituted a compact group among the priestly paraphernalia that were commonly seen in Asia Minor. When these crowns were decorated with the bust of divinities, they might have designated the priests/esses of traditional cults; however, when these busts represented the emperor and members of his family, they referred to the officials of the Imperial cult. The lack of divine attributes on the busts and the presence of a cuirass and *paludamentum* may have given an Imperial character to the busts. In Perge, some portraits dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and bearing these busts have been identified and interpreted as belonging to Imperial priests/esses.<sup>2222</sup> The portraits of Perge were possibly erected on prominent points in the city, such as the enlarged plaza situated at the western portico of the north-south colonnaded street (Figures 4.287-88) and the agora/*macellum* (Figure 4.289),<sup>2223</sup> where pedestrian traffic was busy, which again accentuates the significance that these officials and hence the emperor cult had within the society. The cluster of emperor statues found in the northern portico of the *palaestra* of the Southern Baths of Perge have made researchers to attribute a special meaning to this space as a “Kaisersaal”, *i.e.* an area reserved for the worship of the Emperor cult (Figure 4.290).<sup>2224</sup> However, this area is devoid of any other evidence, archaeological or epigraphic, that would identify it as a cult place. The space, being the northern portico of the *palaestra* of the Southern Baths, is hardly suitable for the practice of any rituals related to such an important cult that was bestowed to the city as part of the fourth neocorate. Recent studies have indeed designated this area as a portrait gallery reserved for the commemoration of the Imperial ideology.<sup>2225</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD not only witnessed an increase in the Imperial cult personnel in inscriptions and archaeological remains but perhaps also the bestowment of a second

---

<sup>2220</sup> Turcan 1996, 37-38; 164-65; 238-39.

<sup>2221</sup> See The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4

<sup>2222</sup> Delemen 2009, 173-84; Özdizbay 2010, 195-203.

<sup>2223</sup> Özdizbay 2018, 659-69.

<sup>2224</sup> İnan 1980, 628; Abbasoğlu 1982, 90.

<sup>2225</sup> Delemen 2011, 303-4; Akçay-Güven 2014, 263-64.

neorate status to the region during the *Pax Romana*. A now-missing, very fragmented inscription once stood on the door of the Aspendian theatre and honors Zenon, the architect of the theater. The 7<sup>th</sup> line of the inscription is unreadable. Therefore, it has been completed by different researchers and one of the words that the line included has been completed with the term *neokoros*. If this reconstruction is correct, then the city must have received this title some time in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, since the construction technique of the building indicates a time period between the beginning and middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>2226</sup> However, because no additional information exists for the neorate status of the city during this period apart from the above-mentioned inscription, it is not possible to make a certain identification.

Plenty of information, on the other hand, exists for the neorate status of the Pamphylian cities in the 3rd century AD. The first two neorates of Side were bestowed to the city under the emperor Valerianus I (253-260 AD). Coins minted in this period bear the legends of *neokoros* in relation with different deities, such as Apollo Sidetes, Athena and Apollo clasping hands with between them a distyle temple (Figure 4.291), and Apollo Sidetes inside a tetrastyle temple.<sup>2227</sup> Coins of Gallienus (253-268 AD) with the legend *neokoros*, which were minted under Valerianus I (253-260 AD), featured Athena, Apollo Sidetes, Securitas Sidae, Sarapis, and Tyche.<sup>2228</sup> In addition, an inscription carved on a statue base of emperor Gallienus dedicated during the period of Valerianus I (253-260 AD) informs us that in 256 AD the city had two neorate titles.<sup>2229</sup> A coin minted under the reign of Gallienus (253-268 AD) features on its reverse three temples with the legend *neokoros*, which has led to the interpretation that the first two neorates were bestowed to the city by Valerianus I (253-260 AD) and the third one by Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Figure 4.258).<sup>2230</sup> A coin minted in the period of Aurelianus (270-275 AD) indicates that Side gained this title three times,<sup>2231</sup> while an inscription dating to the period of Tacitus (275-276 AD)<sup>2232</sup> or after 286 AD<sup>2233</sup> informs us that Side was honored with the title of *neokoros* six times.<sup>2234</sup> Therefore, the fourth, fifth and sixth neorates must have been bestowed to the city after 275 AD. The deities of the city played an exceptional role

<sup>2226</sup> Baz 2013, 75-76 with footnotes 43, 44 and 46.

<sup>2227</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, nos. 117-19, 123.

<sup>2228</sup> Büyükyörük 2018, nos. 125-52.

<sup>2229</sup> Bean 1965, no. 183; Nollé 1993a, no. 44.

<sup>2230</sup> Nollé 1990, 251, 255.

<sup>2231</sup> SNG von Aulock Pamphylien, no. 4864.

<sup>2232</sup> Nollé 1990, 252.58.

<sup>2233</sup> Burrell 2004, 185.

<sup>2234</sup> Baz 2012, 34.

in the neorate status and the general consensus is that, instead of constructing new buildings to function as the neorate temples, sacred spaces dedicated to traditional deities, such as Apollo, Athena, and possibly Tyche, might have also served as neorate temples.<sup>2235</sup> However, future research will hopefully yield more evidence for the sacred spaces dedicated to the emperor worship. The situation is similar in Aspendos. The numismatic evidence suggests that the city gained its neorate status during this period, under the reign of Gallienus (253-268 AD), since coins minted under this emperor represented on their reverses a distyle temple with the legend *neokoros* (Figure 4.292).<sup>2236</sup> These coins show that Aspendos had its neorate status under Gallienus (253-268 AD) but this does not mean that the city acquired this title under this emperor. It is not possible to securely identify the emperor under whose reign the city got the title, due to the lack of additional literary and epigraphic evidence. Perhaps Gallienus (253-268 AD) bestowed the title to Aspendos or the city got it already earlier and chose to promote it, particularly during the period of Gallienus (253-268 AD). Baz finds the latter hypothesis improbable and favors the first opinion.<sup>2237</sup> Finally, Perge gained its first neorate during the *Pax Romana* under Vespasianus (69-79 AD). The city was called *neokoros* in an inscription dating to 141/142 AD.<sup>2238</sup> Perge markedly increased its importance in the eyes of Rome in the 3rd century AD, as did its peers in the region. Coins of Aurelianus (270-275 AD) represent on their obverses distyle temples with a  $\Delta$  on their pediments and the legend of *neokoros*, which indicates that the city was *neokoros* for the fourth time under Aurelianus.<sup>2239</sup> The inscription erected under the reign of Tacitus (275-276 AD) shows that the city had four neorates in this period. However, the coins of Gallienus (253-268 AD)<sup>2240</sup> and Valerianus II Caesar (256-258 AD)<sup>2241</sup> bear the legend *neokoros* mostly with the accompanying Greek letter A with indicates “the first”.<sup>2242</sup> The city may have received the second and third neorates under these emperors but no additional information is currently present to support this. Finally, an inscription found in Attaleia written on a statue base, which mentions the titles of Perge, possibly bears the symbol  $\omega$  before the

<sup>2235</sup> Nollé 1990, 255, 252-58; Burrell 2004, 187-88; Alanyalı 2011, 77-78.

<sup>2236</sup> Price 1985, 271; Burrell 2004, 189; Baz 2013, 76.

<sup>2237</sup> Baz 2013, 77.

<sup>2238</sup> Burrell 2004, 176.

<sup>2239</sup> Burrell 2004, 177-79.

<sup>2240</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 553-55.

<sup>2241</sup> SNG France 3, nos. 609-14.

<sup>2242</sup> Burrell 2004, 176.



term *neokoros* which has led to the interpretation that the city gained its sixth neocorates after 276 AD, just like Side.<sup>2243</sup>

As is apparent from the available evidence, the cities of Pamphylia including Perge, Side, and Aspendos, gained exceptional importance in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD as the proliferation of the neocorate title given to them demonstrates. The reason behind this is the increased importance of the Pamphylian cities for the Roman military campaigns, especially after the capture of the Cilician cities by the Sasanids from 260 AD onwards.<sup>2244</sup> The neocorate titles given to the cities of Aspendos, Perge, and Side were bestowed by the emperor who had been in the East for the Eastern campaigns. Looking from this perspective, by bestowing these honors, Roman emperors expected logistic support from the cities for their Eastern military campaigns. In return of the logistic and military support they offered, the Pamphylian cities gained titles and privileges from their emperors, which increased their status in political and economic terms. They either built new temples or used the already existing ones for the cult of the emperors, appointed cult personnel to conduct sacrifices and rituals to venerate them, and organized festivals, games, and contests in order to honor them. In this manner, a reciprocal relationship between the Pamphylian cities and the Roman emperors developed, which can also be explained by means of the practical term *do ut des*, “I give so that you give.”

#### 4.20 Monotheistic Religions in Pamphylia

The region met monotheistic religions in a relatively early period, *i.e.* in the Hellenistic and the Early Roman Periods, which means that the Pamphylians living in a designated piece of land had different religious beliefs. The spread of Christianity in Lycia and Pamphylia was, as in neighboring Cilicia, encouraged by Jews living in these regions. Judaic minorities must have lived on the south coast of Asia Minor, although the ancient sources do not prove solid evidence in every case.<sup>2245</sup> The presence of a Judaic community in Phaselis and Side is documented from 140 BC onwards<sup>2246</sup> but became especially dominant in Late Antiquity. An inscription dating to the 1<sup>st</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD from

---

<sup>2243</sup> Burrell 2004, 179.

<sup>2244</sup> Baz 2013, 72.

<sup>2245</sup> Hild and Hellenkemper 2004, 139-40.

<sup>2246</sup> For Phaselis, see Ruge 1938, 1881; for Side, see Nollé 1993a, 162-64, Tlit. 29.

Aspendos reveals the attitude and perception of the Jewish community towards pagan customs and rituals.<sup>2247</sup> The inscription was carved on a cylindrical altar and found in a private house at Aspendos; therefore, here too the context and the related building are unknown. The inscription is dedicated “to the god who is infallible and not made by hand in the fulfillment of a vow”. Ameling considers that the inscription is puzzling because of the word *apseudes*, which is commonly used in pagan oracular inscriptions. However, he does not renounce the Jewish influence. Van der Host, on the other hand, suggests that the stone was dedicated by a pagan who was a sympathizer of Judaism.<sup>2248</sup> In addition to this evidence, from Aphrodisias, we know a certain Samouel from Perge.<sup>2249</sup> Besides, Jewish names are mentioned in inscriptions from Perge itself, dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>2250</sup> Moreover, there were at least two synagogues at Side.<sup>2251</sup> An inscription written on a marble plaque from Side and dating to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD was found in a private house; therefore, its exact findspot and original location are unknown. The text informs us about a certain Isakis who served as the construction supervisor (*curator*) of the first synagogue. Isakis was responsible for the marble revetment of the synagogue from *ambo* to *sima*.<sup>2252</sup> Another inscription from Side dating to the same period and also with an unknown findspot informs us about a certain Leontios, son of Iakob, during whose curatorship a fountain (*kyrene*) and a colonnaded inner court (*mesaulos*) were built.<sup>2253</sup> These two inscriptions might indicate the good economic status of the Jewish community in Side, at least during Late Antiquity. Finally, the last Judaic inscription from Pamphylia known thus far comes from Sillyon and mentions the name Debbora.<sup>2254</sup> As is apparent from the evidence, the concept of monotheism was no stranger to the cities of the region from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards.

The process of Christianisation in Pamphylia also begun at a relatively early date. The region was visited by the Apostle Paul and his companions on their way to Pisidian Antioch from Paphos, Cyprus, during his first missionary journey, which probably happened between 45-49 AD. Paul arrived in Pamphylia from Paphos via the sea and

---

<sup>2247</sup> Ameling 2004, 458-60, no.218.

<sup>2248</sup> van der Horst 1992, 32-37.

<sup>2249</sup> Ameling 2004, 461.

<sup>2250</sup> Şahin 2004, 19-20, no. 294; 42-43, no. 321.

<sup>2251</sup> Mansel 1978, 13.

<sup>2252</sup> Nollé 2004, 515-20, no. 191.

<sup>2253</sup> Nollé 2004, 511-15, no. 190.

<sup>2254</sup> Ameling 2004, 469.

went ashore either at Attaleia, the river-port of the Kestros, or at Magydos.<sup>2255</sup> On his way back from Pisidian Antioch to Antioch on the Orontes, Paul preached in Perge (Figure 4.293). We do not know how his sermon was locally received and how it impacted the population of Perge or the region; however, the number of Christians gradually rose in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD as the hagiographical accounts testify.<sup>2256</sup> For the cities of Perge, Side, Attaleia, Sillyon, and Aspendos martyr stories are known, which narrate the sufferings caused by pagans. Thus, during the reign of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), Hesperos, his wife Zoe and their sons Kyriakos and Theodoulos, a slave family that was owned by a Roman citizen named Catullus in Attaleia, were thrown inside a furnace because they renounced to eat the meal offered to the pagan gods by their master upon the birth of his son.<sup>2257</sup> Theodoros, Sokrates, Dionysios, and his mother Philippa from Perge came in conflict with the authorities because they refused military service. The men were burned and the woman executed by the sword in the period of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD).<sup>2258</sup> Tribimios of Perge and Nestor from Kibyra were martyred in the reign of Decius (250-251 AD) because they refused to worship pagan idols. An inscription written on a sarcophagus situated near the Acropolis of Sillyon indicates the original burial place of Tribimios, whose remains were later possibly moved to another place, perhaps a *martyrion*, which has, however, not archaeologically been attested yet.<sup>2259</sup> The Christian population of the region of Pamphylia also suffered from the Diocletianic persecution when the Tetrachic emperors Diocletianus, Maximianus, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus issued a number of edicts in 303 AD, which deprived Christians from their legal rights. These also ordered that the Christians had to adhere to the traditional cults and sacrifice to the pagan gods and goddesses, which resulted in the execution of many Christians.<sup>2260</sup> Probus from Side was only one of those; he was together with with Andronikos and Tarachos executed in the city of Pompeiopolis in Cilicia.<sup>2261</sup> These martyr stories continued throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, when the city of Aspendos was renamed Primopolis after a local martyr named Primus.<sup>2262</sup> Another important Christian figure should be mentioned here in the context of holy people from Pamphylia: Saint

---

<sup>2255</sup> For the possible embarkment locations of St. Paul and his party in the first missionary trip in the region, see Wilson 2016, 229-50.

<sup>2256</sup> Grainger 2009, 193.

<sup>2257</sup> Thurston 1990, 217.

<sup>2258</sup> Schultze 1926, 213-14.

<sup>2259</sup> For the inscription, see Brixhe-Hodot 1988, no. 14B; Nowakowski 2017, 312.

<sup>2260</sup> Gwynn 2015, 15-27.

<sup>2261</sup> Thurston 1990, 84.

<sup>2262</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 140.

Matrona of Perge. She was born in Perge and probably lived from 430 to 510/515 AD. After marrying Dometianos, she gave birth to a girl named Theodote. After her marriage, she abandoned everything and gave herself to God by staying humble and she refrained from all adornments and cosmetics. By the wish of God, she left Perge with her son and daughter and went to Constantinopolis. Her life story mentions that she was constantly abused and tortured by her husband Dometianos and in order to run away and hide from him, Matrona traveled to a lot of places including a monastery in Constantinopolis where she hid herself clothed like a man, a convent in Emesa, Syria, where she performed miracles, such as bringing a blind man's sight back, Beirut where she founded her own monastery after taking refuge in a pagan temple, and finally, she went back to Constantinopolis.<sup>2263</sup>

The Diocletianic period (284-305 AD) does not only provide information about the attitude of pagans towards Christians but is also important in terms of revealing the behaviors of Christians towards the traditional pagan cults and sanctuaries of the region. Two accounts are known, one from Side, the other from Perge. Nine martyrs of Side, Leontios, Attes, Alexandros, Kindaios, Mnesitheos, Kyriakos, Minnaios, Katynes and Eukles, a group of people composed of farmers except for Minnaios, who was a carpenter, attacked the sanctuary of Artemis one night and threw away all the cult objects in the temple. As a result, they were captured, interrogated, severely beaten, burned, tortured and threw in jail. A short time later, they were thrown to the wild beasts in the theater.<sup>2264</sup> As mentioned above, the cult of Artemis was still present in Side in this period<sup>2265</sup> and the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* of the 3rd century AD mentions a temple of Artemis in the territory of Side, constructed on a prominent point visible from the sea.<sup>2266</sup> The mob, which mainly comprised of farmers, might have attacked a rural Artemis temple, which was located outside the city and in the *chora* of Side. It is not possible to determine the accuracy of this literary account due to the lack of further data. However, Nollé finds it acceptable to a certain degree, due to the frequency of the aforementioned names in the neighboring regions and the presence of the cult of the goddess in Side. A similar story comes from Perge. Here, a comparable act was accomplished by Leontinos and Alexandros in the same period. They damaged the cult idol and the temple of Artemis at

---

<sup>2263</sup> For the *vita* of Matrona, *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saint's Lives*, 13-65.

<sup>2264</sup> For the translation of the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, see Nollé 1993a, 190-91.

<sup>2265</sup> See *The cult of Artemis in Pamphylia*, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2266</sup> See *The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia*, Chapter 5.

Perge and eventually met their death in the arena. Both names are also present in the account from Side; therefore, one story may have been copied from the other one.<sup>2267</sup> Nevertheless, these accounts might point out that at least part of the population living at Side and Perge consisted at that time of devoted Christians and that the worshippers of the traditional cults were powerless in stopping them and conflicts between the different communities.<sup>2268</sup> Grainger further mentions that the cult idol and the temple of Artemis at Perge must have been repaired and renovated after this attack, since her worship continued at least for some additional thirty years, since the period of Tacitus between 275-276 AD was the last time when the Artemis worship is attested.<sup>2269</sup>

Although the accuracy of the ancient literary accounts about the damage done by Christians to pagan structures is questionable, additional epigraphic evidence reveals the tension between pagans and Christians. A bilingual inscription found at Arykanda in Lycia and dated to 312 AD, just a year before the Edict of Milan, which declared religious tolerance for all people, records a petition made by the people of Lycia et Pamphylia to Constantinus and Licinius. The letter from the pagan inhabitants of the province states that “...*the Christians, long raging mad and maintaining their mania unvaried should be stopped and not trespass against the cult due to the gods with any sinister novelty of worship.*”<sup>2270</sup> The reply in Latin is not fully preserved but records a positive answer in favor of the pagans. Furthermore, the efforts of the Pamphylians to preserve their traditional pagan cults can also be seen in the deification of the last pagan emperor, Iulianus (361-363 AD), by the Sidetans.<sup>2271</sup>

The evident result of the increasing role of Christianity can be observed in the urban layout of the cities, since a new religion necessitated new structures, especially new religious edifices, which differentiated themselves from previous pagan temples and sanctuaries. However, the importance of the traditional pagan cults in Pamphylia did not decrease in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. As mentioned above, many inscriptions reveal the continuity of cultic activities. They give information about festivals, games, contests and cult personnel, while coin depictions also feature various gods and goddesses that held a prominent position in the city. Since these festivals were mainly concentrated on sanctuaries, sacred processions started or ended at the sanctuaries and cult personnel was responsible, among other things, for the upkeep and maintenance of temples. All this

---

<sup>2267</sup> Nollé 1993a, 190-91.

<sup>2268</sup> Grainger 2009, 105.

<sup>2269</sup> See The cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2270</sup> The translation is taken from MacMullen-Lane 1992, 238-39.

<sup>2271</sup> Nollé 1993, 327, no. 50.

evidence can be accepted as an indirect indication of the lasting role of the temples in the civic life of the Pamphylian cities. The cities of the region, however, are devoid of direct evidence from systematic stratigraphical excavations that can archaeologically inform us about the occupation history and abandonment of pagan temples, except for Side. Thus, the archaeological excavations conducted in the temple near the theater determined six phases; the third one can be dated to the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, the end of the religious function of the temple, and the sixth one is dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>2272</sup> Afterwards, however, this temple did not achieve a new religious purpose but was instead incorporated into a neighborhood characterized by numerous workshops, possibly for glass production, given the presence of slags.<sup>2273</sup> On the other hand, the semi-circular temple, the so-called "Temple P", most presumably continued its cultic function only into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD given its good architectural condition at its discovery.<sup>2274</sup> The initial construction phase of the *monopteros* of Side, which has been interpreted as a religious building and in particular as the temple of Tyche,<sup>2275</sup> was constructed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and underwent some changes in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, such as the removal of pavement slabs of the agora, but its later acquired function is unknown.<sup>2276</sup> In studies concentrating on temples or structures in general in the region, scholars have generally aimed to understand the original construction date instead of a building's later phases, including its abandonment. One reason for this is that the excavations in the largest cities of the region, especially at Side and Perge, started at an early date, when detailed stratigraphical documentation was non-existing. As a result, the recent undertakings generally focus on previously excavated buildings and consist mostly of a reevaluation of the architectural analysis.

The legitimate status of the temples degraded in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD with new edicts issued by the now Christian emperors. In 356 AD, Constantius II (337-361 AD) instructed that all pagan sanctuaries should be closed for the first time. Iulianus (361-363 AD), on the other hand, authorized the reconstruction and repair of all destructed temples that had been damaged after the edict of 356 AD. After his death, however, this period of toleration towards pagan belief and monuments ended. In 391 AD, Theodosius I (379-395 AD) first confiscated all the incomes from temples and later banned all ritualistic

---

<sup>2272</sup> Soykal Alanyalı 2016, 428.

<sup>2273</sup> Soykal Alanyalı 2016, 429-31.

<sup>2274</sup> Foss 1996, 39.

<sup>2275</sup> See The cult of Tyche in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.14.

<sup>2276</sup> Alanyalı 2011b, 104.

activities, including sacrifices, worship of idols, and visiting sanctuaries, which ended the religious, public, and economic functions of temples.<sup>2277</sup> From this period onwards, temples were either converted into other buildings with different functions in different contexts, including religious buildings, or they were used as quarries for building materials. Although temples were in some cases preserved as monuments of the past<sup>2278</sup>, churches started to dominate the urban layout of the cities in Pamphylia.

Attaleia has constantly been inhabited from its foundation in the Hellenistic period until modern times. Construction activities always occurred on top of earlier buildings and, as a result, due to the continuous habitation and limited archaeological research in the city, the history of Attaleia as a whole is better understood from the epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources than from the archaeological record. This situation is the same when it comes to identifying the traditional cults of the city and the development of Christianity as well. The city's wealth in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period is apparent in the fact that Constantinus plundered ancient statues to decorate his hippodrome in Constantinopolis.<sup>2279</sup> Moreover, the city housed many churches. A church, which was later converted into a mosque and is referred to with different names but best known as Kesik Minare<sup>2280</sup>, is located in the northwestern part of a large space on which once a Hellenistic or a Roman agora was situated. It was located near the street that connected the main gate of the city, a triple arch built in the period of Hadrianus (117-138 AD), in the east to a monumental funerary structure, known as the Hıdırlık tower and dating to the Roman Imperial period, in the west.<sup>2281</sup> Consequently, this was a very prominent and visible spot within the city. The area of the church revealed numerous architectural finds dating to the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period. The church also included *spolia* taken from these earlier buildings. Among the Hellenistic finds are coins, ceramics, ashlar, Doric column drums and capitals, architrave fragments, as well as triglyph and metope fragments. Architectural studies of these finds suggested the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC for the construction of a Hellenistic building in the area. The exact identification of this building is not possible; however, a Doric *peristasis* surrounding the agora has been considered as a hypothesis.<sup>2282</sup> The number of remains dating to the

---

<sup>2277</sup> Talloen-Vercauteren 2011, 351 with footnotes.

<sup>2278</sup> For a detailed analysis of the subject, see Talloen-Vercauteren 2011, 347-87; Talloen 2019, 499-501.

<sup>2279</sup> Foss 1996, 5.

<sup>2280</sup> Kaymak 2015, 25.

<sup>2281</sup> Kaymak 2015, 133-34.

<sup>2282</sup> Kaymak 2015, 197-200.

Roman Imperial period is higher. Four bases with moldings, seven blocks with circular sections, fragments of an architrave, pieces belonging to a conical roof, column capitals and bases that belonged to a *monopteros*, which was dedicated by Aniketos, son of Serapion, at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, still stand *in situ* (Figure 4.250).<sup>2283</sup> A colonnaded portico of the Roman agora to the northeast of the church and another building, which has been interpreted as a temple dedicated to Egyptian deities without firm evidence, are among the Roman Imperial buildings that once stood in the area of the church.<sup>2284</sup> The church was southwest-northeast oriented and had a length of 36,20 m and a width of 27,65 m. The *naos* was bordered by two naves in the south and east. The apse in the east was flanked by two *pastaphoria*. Finally, a *narthex* was located in the west. The building underwent several changes; seven construction phases have been determined based on a detailed architectural study. The first construction phase can be dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD; the conversion of the church into a mosque occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>2285</sup> The architectural evidence indicates that the edifice was built in a sizeable area that functioned as the civic, economic, social, political, and perhaps religious center of Hellenistic and Roman Attaleia. These aspects certainly played a crucial role in the selection of the location of the church. In addition, there were at least three more churches in the city. However, these are completely ruined and have not been subject of detailed study yet.<sup>2286</sup> The discovery of a Byzantine cemetery dating to the 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century AD near Kesik Minare testifies to the Christian population of the city in later times.<sup>2287</sup>

The urban layout of Perge in the Late Antique and Byzantine periods refers to a process that was characterized by new construction activities alongside the transformation of previous structures. The effects of the growing role of Christianity can be seen in both the upper and lower cities of Perge. “Areas 1 and 3” (Figure 4.143,165) on the Acropolis, which are situated on the Eastern and Western hills respectively, witnessed an occupational and cultic continuity for a very long time.<sup>2288</sup> As mentioned above, the earliest evidence for a religious function of the East Hill dated to the Early Bronze Age and this function continued into the Roman Imperial Period. A similar process occurred

---

<sup>2283</sup> Gökalp 2008, no. 4.2.1, 119.

<sup>2284</sup> Kaymak 2015, 200-15.

<sup>2285</sup> Kaymak 2015, 185-95.

<sup>2286</sup> Grainger 2009, 196.

<sup>2287</sup> Kara 2014, 67-85.

<sup>2288</sup> For the Byzantine settlement on the Acropolis, see Martini 2017, 575-79.



on the East Hill from the Classical Period into the Roman Imperial period.<sup>2289</sup> The archaeological evidence documented during the surveys of the Acropolis revealed that the upper city maintained its significance in the Late Antique and Byzantine periods, between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Intensive surveys conducted in this part of the city enabled scholars to document the archaeological evidence, which is mainly comprised of architectural remains. The religious buildings of the Acropolis included three basilicas. The first one was located in the lower area situated between the Eastern and Western hills and had a length of 46 m. It comprised three naves. The central one was embellished with an *opus sectile* pavement, whereas the two lateral ones had polychrome mosaics. Basilica II further north had a length of 50 m and was provided with an *atrium* in the west. The *spolia* recycled from neighboring buildings, mainly dating to the Roman Imperial period, were to a large extent used as building materials. The third and final basilica was constructed adjacent to the northern edge of the so-called Artemis Pergaia sanctuary situated in the southeastern part of the Acropolis.<sup>2290</sup> According to Martini, the construction of a Christian basilica in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century AD in the area that once housed the possible famous temple of Artemis Pergaia had a symbolic meaning and can be considered an example of the conversion of a pagan temple into a Christian sanctuary during the Late Antique period.<sup>2291</sup> The building was renovated in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. Finally, a Byzantine necropolis was located on the western hill of the Acropolis. This mostly comprised rock-cut openings in the form of *columbaria*, which testify to the burial customs of the Byzantine population of Perge.

The lower city, which had started to develop from the Hellenistic period onwards, experienced many changes during this period. It had several basilicas. One is located 850 m south, on the slopes of the İyilikbelen Hill. This area has been the subject of research aiming to locate the *Artemision*. Two relatively small temples, one in the Ionic and the other in the Doric order, were discovered. No excavation, however, has been conducted in the basilica, which has a length of 27 m and a width of 23 m. Mansel and Akarca, however, documented the utilization of building materials taken from earlier buildings in the basilica and noticed that the apse was a new addition to an earlier public building, which was later converted into a Christian basilica.<sup>2292</sup> The function of this possibly early

---

<sup>2289</sup> See The Sacred Landscapes of Pamphylia, Chapter 5.

<sup>2290</sup> For the possible locations of the Artemision of Perge, see The cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2291</sup> Martini 2017, 575-76.

<sup>2292</sup> Mansel and Akarca, 1949, 42.

building cannot be determined.<sup>2293</sup> Further north, another basilica was situated on the secondary road leading to the east from the Late Roman Gate, “Basilica A”. The dimensions of the basilica with a transept were 50 m x 35 m; it had a colonnaded *atrium*, three naves and large arched windows. Several dates have been proposed for its construction; however, no detailed archeological search has been conducted in the building.<sup>2294</sup> Another basilica with transept (“Basilica B”) was situated west of the colonnaded street in a prominent position overlooking the entire city. This basilica can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD but one needs to keep in mind that no detailed study or archaeological excavation has been conducted in this building. The basilica was 32 m wide and 45 m long and had five naves, an *atrium*, and a *narthex*. Among its building materials are many spoliated blocks,<sup>2295</sup> which might suggest that the structure was transformed from another one, built by dismantling neighboring structures or constructed on a wide and open spot using building elements from earlier buildings. Further research needs to be conducted in and around the building to fully understand its nature and function. Also, smaller structures fulfilled a religious function. The northern part of the western *propylon* of the *agora/macellum* was organized as a small chapel<sup>2296</sup> and a small church, surrounded by Byzantine burials (their date is unknown), was built very close to the intersection of colonnaded streets, on top of a water channel that ran in the middle of the north-south oriented colonnaded street of the city.<sup>2297</sup> Finally, a *tetrakonchos*, completely constructed with building elements taken from the northern *gymnasium*, was built on the southeastern inner edge of the *gymnasium*. The 4<sup>th</sup> century AD was set as a *terminus post quem* for the *tetraconchos*.<sup>2298</sup> The presence of these buildings and numerous small religious edifices in the city confirms Perge's status as the ecclesiastical *metropolis* of Pamphylia, a title the city acquired in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (Figure 4.295).<sup>2299</sup>

Another ecclesiastical metropolis of the region was Side, the continuous rival of Perge. The presence of many Byzantine buildings at Side indicates the importance of the city in the period of Christianity. A large complex was discovered during excavations conducted by Mansel. It was located in the eastern part of the city, west of the Hellenistic

---

<sup>2293</sup> See The cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2294</sup> Grainger 2009, 199 suggests the 4th century AD for the construction of the building, while Aran 1970, 63 suggests the end of the 5th century AD and the beginning of the 6th century AD, and Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 369 the Middle Byzantine Period.

<sup>2295</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 357.

<sup>2296</sup> Mansel 1974a, 109.

<sup>2297</sup> Özdizbay 2012, 148.

<sup>2298</sup> Kleinbauer 1987, 279.

<sup>2299</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 360-73.

fortifications. The complex was constructed at the southern end of the east-west oriented colonnaded street.<sup>2300</sup> It was surrounded by a large *temenos* wall inside of which a basilical church (55.40 x 31.78 m), a baptistery, a *tetrokonchos* and small edifices including *martyria*, and cisterns were located (Figure 4.295). The eastern part was reserved for a large square, which has been interpreted as a garden, since no architectural remainings were discovered there. The complex can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD based on detailed archaeological and architectural investigations.<sup>2301</sup> The best known building of the city, which documents the transformation from a pagan cityscape into a Christian one, occurred at the western end of the Sidetan peninsula, in the area of the temples that were most presumably dedicated to Athena and Apollo.<sup>2302</sup> Here, a basilical church was constructed east of the temples, inside the *temenos* (Figure 4.12). For this reason, the church was labelled *Temenos Church*.<sup>2303</sup> Its construction must have occurred in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, when the temples had gone out of use after the edicts of 341 and 346 AD. We do not know if the two temples acquired a new function after the loss of their initial purpose because of the lack of archaeological evidence. However, based on their locations close to the city's harbor, scholars have attributed them a possible commercial function.<sup>2304</sup> Both temples were not destroyed but partly dismantled for the construction of the *Temenos Church*. The southern stylobate of the “N2 temple” (the northern one) was dismantled, which destroyed the larger part of its *cella*, leaving only the columns in the north and west standing. The stylobate of the “N1 temple” (the southern one) was partially dismantled as well. All removed building materials were utilized in the stylobate of the basilical church. The church had a length of 36,29 m and a width of 29,17 m; it had three naves and possessed an *atrium* and a *narthex* in the west. Its initial construction phase can be dated to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. Later, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, a small church was built in the central nave of the basilica.<sup>2305</sup>

Silyon became a bishopric city in Late Antiquity and its importance gradually increased during the Byzantine period, since it replaced Perge as a metropolitan archbishopric in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD, a status which lasted until 1084.<sup>2306</sup> Silyon

---

<sup>2300</sup> Mansel 1978, 270-76.

<sup>2301</sup> Yildirim 2013, 23-56, 103-77.

<sup>2302</sup> For detailed information on the construction, building phases and architecture of the basilica, see Yildirim 2013, 57-80; 178-219.

<sup>2303</sup> Talloen-Vercauteren 2011, 363.

<sup>2304</sup> Yildirim 2013, 179.

<sup>2305</sup> Yildirim 2013, 244.

<sup>2306</sup> Foss 1996, 20.

comprised, just like Perge, of a lower and an upper city. Both areas were encircled by impressive fortifications of three storeys high. At least two construction phases can be dated to the Byzantine period.<sup>2307</sup> The possession of a strong defensive system might indicate the city's importance during this period. A Late Antique/Byzantine complex of an unknown date was situated in the southern part of the Acropolis, where a small church with dimensions of 10 m x 8 m was built over an earlier building. A 2-storeyed rectangular structure was perpendicularly placed in the southern part of the church. The complex has been interpreted as an episcopal palace and its related church.<sup>2308</sup>

Not only the large cities but also the rural sites experienced a transformation in Late Antiquity. At Lyrboton Kome, a Pamphylian village that has been well investigated in terms of its Late Antique organization,<sup>2309</sup> houses, workshops, cisterns, churches, and small chapels were documented. The basilical churches can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century AD. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, two small chapels were placed inside these large basilicas, as also happened in the Sidetan basilica.<sup>2310</sup>

This brief survey gives information about different attitudes of the Christian population towards pagan structures, especially towards temples. Some temples were kept as monuments of the past, which had great value, like the circular "Temple P" of Side, a practice that found its parallels in some of the Pisidian cities, like Adada, where a large complex comprising four temples continued to exist in Late Antiquity. At Termessos in Pisidia ("Temples N2, N3 and N4") and Patara in Lycia the same practice occurred.<sup>2311</sup> Some temples were given a new function in a new context. This is illustrated by the temple near the theater of Side, which was transformed into a glass workshop in accordance to its new surroundings, since from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD the area was turned into a neighborhood with a different function than the Roman one. Similar examples can be found in Sagalassos where the *naos* of the Zeus temple was converted into a watchtower and the *Tycheion* of the Upper Agora became a dynastic monument commemorating Valentinianus II (375-392 AD) and his dynasty.<sup>2312</sup> Some churches were built in the *temenos* of previous pagan temples, as witnessed in the harbor area of Side and possibly also on the Acropolis of Perge. The same happened in the *Artemision* of

---

<sup>2307</sup> Foss 1996, 21.

<sup>2308</sup> Foss 1996, 19.

<sup>2309</sup> Erdoğan 2019.

<sup>2310</sup> Erdoğan 2019, 96-104.

<sup>2311</sup> Talloen-Vercauteren 2011, 359-61.

<sup>2312</sup> Talloen-Vercauteren 2011, 361.

Ephesos, the *Letoon* of Xanthos and the *Olympieion* of Sardeis.<sup>2313</sup> The heavy utilization of *spolia* from earlier buildings can be seen in nearly all examples, such as in the church of Panagia in Attaleia (Kesik Minare), which was built on the Hellenistic and Roman agora, in the three basilicas of Perge, the basilica of Side and the small church of Sillyon. Finally, the small church at the bottom of the Varsak doline near Lyrboton Kome testifies the continuity of the perception of the sacred depending on designated landscape features. A very close parallel of this comes from Cilicia Tracheia. In Korykos, a sink-hole, the so-called "Heaven and Hell" (Cennet – Cehennem in Turkish), was a cult place dedicated to Hermes and Pan.<sup>2314</sup> In the Byzantine period a church dedicated to Virgin Mary was built at the bottom of one of the sink-holes.<sup>2315</sup>

The attitude of Christians towards pagan monuments can also be understood from statues. Jacobs' detailed study on the Christian attitude towards ancient statuary in Asia Minor in the Late Antique and Byzantine period reveals that, like the situation observed in temples, the approach was various.<sup>2316</sup> Statues were still accepted as means of decorations, links to a splendid past, expressions of prestige, or an indication of cultural wealth, a situation which indicates that not all pagan statuary was objected to destruction and mutilation. The only entry in Jacobs' catalog from Pamphylia comes from Perge, where the statues found in the so-called "Gallery of Claudius Piso" in the Southern Baths were either preserved or, as was the case with Meleagros, Horus, and Marsyas, their genitalia were cut off at an unknown date.<sup>2317</sup> However, the statues that once embellished the northern monumental fountain ("F3") including Kestros, Isis, Apollo, Artemis, and Zeus<sup>2318</sup>, the reliefs of the southern monumental fountain ("F2") that depicted Aphrodite, Artemis Pergaia, Apollo, the Charites, and Erotes,<sup>2319</sup> and the frieze with Dionysos that was placed on the *scenae frons* of the theater<sup>2320</sup> were tolerated. However, no detailed investigation is present so far about Late Antique replacement of statues in new contexts in the cities of Pamphylia.

---

<sup>2313</sup> Talloen-Vercauteren 2011, 363-66.

<sup>2314</sup> Hagel-Tomaschitz 1998, no. KrA 3.

<sup>2315</sup> TIB 9, 423.

<sup>2316</sup> Jacobs 2010.

<sup>2317</sup> Jacobs 2010, no. 10, 294.

<sup>2318</sup> Jacobs 2010, no.25, 295.

<sup>2319</sup> Jacobs 2010, no.26, 295.

<sup>2320</sup> Jacobs 2010, no. 32, 296.

## Chapter 5

### THE SACRED LANDSCAPES OF PAMPHYLIA

#### 5.1 Introduction

The term “landscape” is a very broad term and, therefore, many researchers have different opinions when defining it. The word has entered the English vocabulary as a Dutch imported word “landschap”, when Dutch painters started to depict rural sceneries with a reference to the changing conditions of life from the 16th century onwards.<sup>2321</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word as “all the visible features of an area of land in terms of aesthetic appeal”, “a picture representing a countryside”, “the genre of painting”, and “the distinctive features of a sphere of activity”.<sup>2322</sup> The term got a specialized meaning within the discipline of archaeology and in other research fields as “landscape archaeology” from the 1970’s onwards and since then it has been extensively used with a broad range of meanings.<sup>2323</sup> The distinction between the terms landscape and scenery can be found in Roberts, who, basing himself on Hoskings, defines landscape as “scenery examined with a trained eye”.<sup>2324</sup> According to Spencer, landscape, as distinct from environment or scenery, focuses on cultural context and highlights the relationship between nature, people, and the inhabited world.<sup>2325</sup> In this sense, landscape is neither a mere “environmental context” in which archaeologists examine the remains, nor a passive scenic background of historical events. On the contrary, it is perceived as a mediation between nature and culture.<sup>2326</sup>

In the study field of the archaeology of the landscape, four prominent approaches have been determined by Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider. The first aims to analyze the settlement pattern and distribution relying heavily on regional surveys, sampling, and

---

<sup>2321</sup> David and Thomas 2008, 27.

<sup>2322</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/landscape> The Turkish equivalent of the word landscape is “peyzaj” which derives from the French word “paysage”. The word is defined in TDK as a “rural scenery” and “a natural appearance of a place.” [http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_gts&arama=gts&guid=TDK.GTS.5ad88b5181f853.70368034](http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&arama=gts&guid=TDK.GTS.5ad88b5181f853.70368034) (21.07.2019).

<sup>2323</sup> The subject of landscape archaeology covers a wide range of research fields from regional survey to geography, history and environmental studies. For detailed information, see David and Thomas 2008.

<sup>2324</sup> Roberts 1987,77.

<sup>2325</sup> Spencer 2010, 1.

<sup>2326</sup> Harmanşah 2013, 28.

computational methods. The second focuses on the geomorphological aspect and evolution of landscape and its impact on demographic and economic processes. The third emphasizes human agency by viewing the landscape as a social construct and expression of ideas, and these studies concentrate on the analysis of monuments, natural places, and historical landscapes. The last one attempts to relate landscape to evolutionary principles.<sup>2327</sup> Alcock, one of the pioneers of the third approach, sees the landscape as the arrangement and interaction of peoples and places in space and time and examines the landscapes of Greece during the Roman Imperial period according to four groups: rural, civic, provincial, and sacred landscapes.<sup>2328</sup> The notion of sacred/religious landscapes have generated great interest in the past two decades because of their abilities to identify the human-nature-cultic interaction: how did landscape shape the people and how was it shaped by people who experienced it.<sup>2329</sup> However, the term sacred/religious landscape, as is the case with the term landscape, has a broad meaning, which contains many aspects. Horster divides the term religious landscape into four groups. According to this author, a religious landscape can include all the ritual, cultural, social, and economic activities taking place in a religious sphere; for instance, during the time of festivals, the procession roads connecting the polis to extra-mural sanctuaries, and the rituals taking place in the city, alongside the road and in the sanctuary, the fairs and markets offering all kinds of services for the worshippers can be evaluated as a religious sphere. Secondly, a religious landscape can include extra-mural sanctuaries which defined the civic territory. Thirdly, the mythological landscape where myths played an important role for the foundation of a cult is part of a religious landscape. Lastly, there were the real “sacred” places that belonged to a deity.<sup>2330</sup> These sacred places, which were either equipped with monumental architecture or stayed simple, and were sometimes protected by sacred laws, can be counted as religious landscape. In this chapter, I want to put emphasis on the natural sacred landscape of Pamphylia.

---

<sup>2327</sup> Athanassapoulos and Wandsnider 2004, 9-10.

<sup>2328</sup> For the sacred landscape, see Alcock 1993, 172-214.

<sup>2329</sup> Alcock and Osborne 1994; Crumley 1999, 269-76; Horster 2010, 435-58; D’Agostino et al. 2015.

<sup>2330</sup> Horster 2010, 437-39.

## 5.2 Landscape and Greek Religion

Greek religion was deeply embedded in nature. All deities were connected to natural phenomena, as Zeus was the god of the rain, lightning, and storms, Poseidon, the god of seas and earthquakes, Artemis, the goddess of wild nature and animals, the Nymphs, the protectresses of freshwater springs and trees, and so on. The birth and life of deities often took place in natural spaces. For instance, Hermes was born in a cave on Mount Cyllene in Arkadia,<sup>2331</sup> Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth and labor pains, was born in a cave,<sup>2332</sup> Rhea hid Zeus in a cave on Crete to protect him from Kronos,<sup>2333</sup> and Dionysos spent his youth on Mount Nysa with the Nysiades, the nymphs of the mount.<sup>2334</sup> Some plants and trees were sacred to deities and, in addition, spaces having a particular natural characteristic -mountain tops, groves, rocks, springs, caves, lakes- carried a religious importance and became sacred places. Therefore, landscape constituted an important factor in the sacred power of a place. The natural features of a landscape sometimes may have been the only thing that one needed to define a place sacred, as Antigone states in *Oedipus at Kolonos*, “this place is sacred, to judge from its appearance: laurel, olive, and vine grow thick-set; and nightingales make music within”.<sup>2335</sup> The common idea is that the sacredness of a place was mainly due to its location with specific geographic features. According to Williamson, the emotions aroused by a certain type of geographic features were usually channeled through religion.<sup>2336</sup> The notion that landscape and physical setting triggered certain emotions and directly influenced emotional responses can also be found in the study of Kelleher.<sup>2337</sup> However, these geographic features mattered to people who were aware of the places’ religious importance and who showed their religious devotion in the form of rituals. “Natural” places were not man-made monuments (or the human interventions were limited). They did not witness any major change in the course of time and, because of their stability, many generations may have experienced them in a similar manner. Their formations may have been explained by the involvement of ancestors (kings and heroes) or supernatural forces and in this way, they acquired a place in the

---

<sup>2331</sup> Hom. *Od.* VIII, 335; XIV, 435.

<sup>2332</sup> Hom. *Od.* XIX, 188.

<sup>2333</sup> Hesiod. *Theog.* 453.

<sup>2334</sup> Hom. *Il.* XXIII, 486.

<sup>2335</sup> Soph. *OC.* 16-18,

<sup>2336</sup> Williamson 2014, 87–110.

<sup>2337</sup> Kelleher 2002.



memory of people.<sup>2338</sup> However, these natural places did not always stay “untouched” and some of them received altars, temples, statues, and other structures.

This chapter concentrates on the sacred landscapes of Pamphylia in order to investigate places where religious activities took place related to specific geographic features, such as caves, rocks, springs, and the sea. Some deities had epithets highlighting their connection to nature and some personifications, such as the rivers of the region, expressed their importance for Pamphylia. The material evidence enabling us to determine the presence of religious activity usually comes from inscriptions. However, for earlier cases, in particular on the Acropolis of Perge, the evaluation of a combination of the natural space, small finds and structures have led researchers to interpret a specific area as a cult place. For some places, the cult recipients are clearly identified by inscriptions, whereas for others it is only possible to make suggestions by analyzing the finds.

### *5.3 Sacred Caves, Rocks and Springs in Pamphylia*

The Taurus Mountain range, surrounding the Pamphylian plain at its western, eastern and northern sides, constituted a natural boundary between Pamphylia and Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia. Many caves are situated in this mountain range. Some of them were considered sacred due to their natural characteristics and used as sacred spaces dedicated to various deities.

A cluster of cave formations can be found in the Katran Mountain in Yağca village, a mountain that is a part of the Bey Mountains in the Western Taurus range. It is located on the northern travertine terrace of Antalya<sup>2339</sup> and oriented in north-northeast/south-southwest direction reaching up to a 1500 m altitude.<sup>2340</sup> The mountain was ruptured both horizontally and vertically by faults. Especially the western side of the mountain is highly suitable for the formation of caves and rock shelters due to its karstic environment and the abundance of freshwater springs. Among the caves of the Katran

---

<sup>2338</sup> Bradley 2000, 34-5.

<sup>2339</sup> The travertine terraces of Antalya were formed by the Kırkgöz freshwater springs, which are rich in limestone. These springs created waterfalls and precipitated when going onwards; therefore, cavities, which later turned into small chambers, developed under these waterfalls. Over time, these small chambers became larger, due to the dissolution of the carstic terrain and of rocks falling from the ceiling. See the Tay Project [http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm\\$Retrieve?YerlesmeNo=10594&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm$Retrieve?YerlesmeNo=10594&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web) (03.03.2018).

<sup>2340</sup> Yalçınkaya 1995, 55-6.

Mountain are Karain, Suluin, Öküzini, Kızılin, Çarkini, Harunini, and Boynuzluin, which were settled from the Pleistocene period onwards because of their favorable paleoecological conditions.<sup>2341</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that some of these were used during Classical Antiquity too, while one of them, Karain, was undoubtedly a sacred place during the Roman Imperial period.

Karain is a natural cave located in the Yağca village, 27 km west of Antalya (Figures 5.1-3). The cave was first seen and described by Moretti in 1919. It was later excavated by Kökten between 1946-1972, by Yalçinkaya between 1985-2014 and, by Taşkıran from 2015 onwards. A total of 13 stratigraphical levels reaching from the Paleolithic up to the Byzantine period were determined during the excavations. However, the evidence for an identification of the cave as a cult place comes from ancient Greek inscriptions that were carved on the walls underneath and next to the niches that are situated near the entrance (Figures 5.4-9). Some of the inscriptions were framed by a *tabula ansata*. The eight ancient Greek inscriptions were first copied and read by Moretti and later corrected and reinterpreted by Şahin.<sup>2342</sup> Based on the epigraphic record, the deity worshipped here is *Meter Oreia*, “mother of the mountains”, but she is also referred to in the inscriptions as *Thea*, “the goddess”, and *Meter Thea Epekoos Oreia*, “mother goddess of the mountain who hears the prayers”.<sup>2343</sup> It is evident from the Karain inscriptions that *Meter Oreia/ Meter Thea Epekoos Oreia* was a significant deity for Pamphylia. The texts also provide information about the nature of the cult because the worshippers of the goddess formed a *thiasos* (a company or procession of persons dancing and singing in honour of a god) and the individuals responsible for the rituals were an *archithiaseites* (leader of a *thiasos*), an *archimystes* (chief of the mysteries), and a *mysteriarches* (head of the mysteries), implying that the cult venerated in this cave was a mystery cult.<sup>2344</sup> The hierarchical status of the ritual that took place in the cave is clear, since the procession was presided by an *archithiaseites*. The *archimystes*, on the other hand, was responsible for another part of the ritual, which included making a dedication to the *Meter Oreia Epekoos* for the salvation (*hyper soterias*) of the worshippers. An interesting word occurs in the 3rd line of the 7th inscription, situated on the right side of the niche holding the goddess’ statue. The word was copied by Moretti

<sup>2341</sup> More information about these caves can be found in Yalçinkaya 1995.

<sup>2342</sup> Moretti 1926, 547-54; Vermaseren 1987, 226-28 (under Ariassos); Şahin 1991, 126-32.

<sup>2343</sup> *Meter Oreia* in inscriptions 1, 4 and 7; *Thea* in inscriptions 3 and 5; *Meter Thea Epekoos Oreia* in inscription 7; see Şahin 1991, 126-32.

<sup>2344</sup> See Appendix 1.10.

as  $\square\nu\alpha\delta(\upsilon)\tau\rightarrow\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (*anadyterion*) and used in this form by Vermaseren and Gasparro.<sup>2345</sup> According to the inscription, the members of the *thiasos* (their names are given below) prepared, furnished, or built (*kateskeuasen*) an *anadyterion* for the goddess. Moretti and Gasparro suggest that this rare word describes a place within the cave suitable for the practice of the mystery cult. However, Şahin reads the word as  $\square\nu\alpha\upsilon\lambda\iota\tau\rightarrow\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (*anauliterion*), derived from *aulisterion*, which means an “animal stall”.<sup>2346</sup> The meaning of the word and therefore its use is not clear; however, the fact that the worshippers of this mystic religion collectively prepared or built and dedicated something/a construction/structure that had a ritual purpose for their goddess at their own expenses is evident from the inscription. The incomplete 8th inscription mentions an *archimystes* who displayed his honor to a fishermen’s guild of a place where the water swirled. This specific place has been identified as the Kirkgöz springs nearby the cave<sup>2347</sup> or as an ancient lake that was once located in the area.<sup>2348</sup> Anyhow, the inscription is important in terms of showing the relationship between *Meter Oreia* and the fishermen’s guild and perhaps her protective status over the fishermen. Şahin also remarks that the majority of the names mentioned in these inscriptions are Greek local names (there is only one Latin name -Marcus Cocceius Troilos, a local who got the Roman citizenship) that are predominantly seen in Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, which may imply that the mystery cult mainly drew the interest of the Greek population of Pamphylia as an indigenous cult. The majority of the names are theophoric and derived from Hermes (Hermaios), Artemis (Artemios, Artemides, Artemanos, Artemos), Apollo (Apollonios), and Tarhun (Trokondas). Both male and female names are mentioned in the inscriptions showing that no differentiation based on gender could be seen in the ritual practices. All the inscriptions date to the Roman Imperial period but, due to a lack of further archaeological evidence, no further information exists about when the cult practices started in the cave and how long they lasted. However, a coin dating to the Trajanic period (98-117 AD) (Figure 5.10) indicates that the cave was certainly visited in the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>2349</sup>

In another cave, Suluin, situated near Karain, two coins dating to the Hellenistic period were found. One of these coins belongs to the city of Selge (300-190 BC) and the

<sup>2345</sup> Vermaseren 1987, 227-28, no.754; Gasparro 1985, 71.

<sup>2346</sup> Şahin 1991, 129-32, no.7.

<sup>2347</sup> Şahin 1991, 132, no.8.

<sup>2348</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 172.

<sup>2349</sup> Çizmeli-Öğün 2011, 99.

other to Perge (2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC).<sup>2350</sup> These coins alone are not sufficient to suggest a cultic function for the cave, but, at least, they indicate that Suluin was visited during the Hellenistic period.

The Gurma cave, situated in the southwestern part of the village of Hurma, 11 km west-northwest of Antalya, was also a cave with a possible sanctuary of Meter (Figures 5.11-12). Viale carried out an excavation in the cave in 1922 and revealed many animal figurines together with an inscribed marble stele dedicated to *Meter Theon*. Based on the inscription, Hermaios, son of Trokondas and Hinas, son of Agathios, dedicated the stele to *Meter Theon* in gratitude.<sup>2351</sup> In 1947, Metzger found a marble stele near the dried river bed of the Çandır stream after having been informed about it by a villager from Hurma (Figure 5.13).<sup>2352</sup> On the rectangular limestone stele, a goddess wearing a *chiton* and *himation* is depicted sitting in a niche limited by two *antae*. She possibly holds a *phiale* in her right hand and a torch in her left hand. On the pediment, there are two antithetical reclining lions. Metzger initially identified the figure as Meter but he also mentioned the possibility of Artemis and Demeter based on the torch. Torches, torchlit processions, and torchbearers were indispensable elements of the mystery rites of Meter.<sup>2353</sup> In *The Cretans* Euripides mentioned that the initiates raised their torches high to the Mother of the Mountains.<sup>2354</sup> Nocturnal rites also played a significant role in her cult.<sup>2355</sup>

Cave sanctuaries were also present in the northern part of the region, in the border zone between Pamphylia and Pisidia. An important example is the sanctuary of Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe, located northeast of Antalya on a hill overlooking the Pamphylian plain (Figure 5.14). The sanctuary was looted during illegal digs and, as a result, the Antalya Museum conducted a rescue excavation in 1997.<sup>2356</sup> The sanctuary consisted of a combination of a natural cave and man-made structures (Figure 5.16). A rectangular *temenos* wall surrounded a temple that once stood on a *krepidoma* and in its *naos*, there was an entrance to the cave in the form of a well (Figure 5.15). According to archaeological investigation, this cave entrance was initially a ritual place used for votive

<sup>2350</sup> Çizmeli-Öğün 2011, 98. The Selgian coin features a Gorgon head on the reverse and the head of Athena and an *astragalos* behind it on the obverse. The Pergaian one has the head of Artemis on the reverse and a sphinx on the obverse.

<sup>2351</sup> Viale 1925-1926, 386.

<sup>2352</sup> Metzger 1952, 39, no. 18.

<sup>2353</sup> Roller 1999, 149, footnote 19.

<sup>2354</sup> Euripides, *Cretans*, f472.9-15.

<sup>2355</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 3.79; Pausan. 9.35.3.

<sup>2356</sup> Işın 2006, 125-34.

offerings and later on, it was enclosed with a *temenos* wall and then a temple was built above the entrance. A wide range of votive offerings made of stone, bronze, and clay was found (Figure 5.17). The inscribed stone altars feature the name of individuals who made offerings to Meter and Apollo *Mamblasenos* (Figure 5.18). The iconography of the statue belongs to the god Apollo (Figure 5.19). In the inscription on its base we read that the statue was dedicated to the great god *Mamblasenos*. The word *Mamblasenos* is indigenous and can be interpreted as a divine word in the Pisidian language. It may have been a toponym since the *-mbl* orthography can also be found in city names, such as Amblada. However, it may also have been the name of an indigenous god who was later identified with Apollo.<sup>2357</sup> There are bronze figurines of male adorants, terracotta figurines of bulls heads, bulls, horses and riders, a Silenos playing diaulos, votive ears, seated pregnant (?) women, standing bearded men, seated *kourotrophoi* (child nurturers), standing bearded men, an Apollo statue, and coins. This rich assemblage of votives indicates that the sanctuary was continuously used over a long period of time, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>2358</sup> It is difficult to interpret the identity of the dedicators based on the votive offerings. Cave sanctuaries in Greece were visited by both male and female worshippers. Generally, the figurines of seated or standing pregnant women and *kourotrophoi*, which were among the commonly used votive offerings found in the caves of Greece, have been interpreted as part of cultic rituals performed by females and associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and childhood.<sup>2359</sup> The cult recipients of these caves were generally the Nymphs, Eileithyia, Rhea, and Aphrodite.<sup>2360</sup> The female figurines found in the Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe cave sanctuary may have been dedicated by women because of a similar purpose. Apart from the Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe cave, the cave sanctuary in Metropolis in Magnesia dedicated to the Mother Goddess also yielded female figurines but these were generally figurines depicting the enthroned Mother Goddess with a *tympanon* and *polos*.<sup>2361</sup> Some specific pottery types found in caves, such as *loutrophoroi*, have been interpreted as votive offerings made by young girls for prenuptial ceremonies.<sup>2362</sup> However, no distinctive pottery sherds of this kind were found in the cave of Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe. It is also important to note that the

---

<sup>2357</sup> Işın 2010, 5.

<sup>2358</sup> The votive offerings, especially the figurines, are thoroughly examined in Işın 2015, 555-70.

<sup>2359</sup> Sporn 2013, 208-9.

<sup>2360</sup> For general information about caves for Nymphs in Greece, see Larson 2001.

<sup>2361</sup> Meriç 2013, 50.

<sup>2362</sup> Larson 2001, 229-30.

Mother goddess shared a joint cult in this sanctuary with Apollo/*Mamblasenos*. Apollo was another deity whose cult was deeply related to caves and springs, as, for instance, his sanctuaries in Knidos and Magnesia indicate.<sup>2363</sup>

The quality of votive offerings can also provide some insights. For instance, the poor quality of dedications found in the Vari Cave comprising mainly terracotta sherds brought researchers to the conclusion that the cave was mainly visited by humbler people.<sup>2364</sup> Such a situation may not be true for the cave sanctuary of Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe regarding the variety of votive offerings, the presence of bronze objects from the Hellenistic period onwards, and the stone materials including statues and inscribed altars. The construction of a temple and a surrounding *temenos* can also be seen an indicator of the development, importance, and wealth of the sanctuary. Moreover, a total of 714 coins, of which the majority belongs to the Hellenistic period, were found in the sanctuary.<sup>2365</sup> Due to the predominance of Selgian coins in the Hellenistic contexts, the sanctuary is assumed to have been located in the territory of Selge. The Selgian coins were followed by those minted by different Pamphylian cities, such as Perge, Side, Aspendos, and Sillyon. However, during the Roman period, the majority of the coins belonged to the city of Perge. This situation made researchers to suggest that the sanctuary had a local importance for the Pisidians during the Hellenistic period and that its influence grew in the Roman period, especially for Pamphylia, and thus became more inclusive for other regions.<sup>2366</sup> The importance of the sanctuary for both Pisidia and Pamphylia is evident. It is also a remarkable example in terms of its religious continuity, the variety of its votive offerings, and the combination of a natural cave and man-made architectural features. There is no evidence why the cave underwent such a change; however, possibly, in the beginning an opening in the form of a well that connected to a cave by means of a tunnel might have been sufficient for the religious rituals, since architecture was never a prerequisite for a cult. Over time, a change in the rituals and an increase in the popularity of the cult seem to have taken place. Therefore, its visitors and the need for a more sophisticated spatial organization might have played a role in the construction activities that took place around the cave at a later time. Another example of such a transformation comes from Pisidia, from another sanctuary illustrating the combination of a natural cave

---

<sup>2363</sup> For the cult cave of Apollo in Knidos, see Berges and Tuna 2001, 89-94; in Magnesia, see Paus. X, 32, 6.

<sup>2364</sup> Larson, 2001, 243.

<sup>2365</sup> Lenger 2011, 145-49.

<sup>2366</sup> Lenger 2011, 147.

and elaborate architecture, the Zindan Cave, situated further north, in the territory of the Pisidian city Timbriada (Figure 5.20).<sup>2367</sup> As indicated by the epigraphic evidence, a local mother goddess, Meter Theon Vegeinos, was worshipped in the cave under the epithet of *Theas Epiphanous*, “manifesting goddess”, as well. A partially preserved mosaic floor was unearthed at the entrance of the cave. One of the figures on one of the panels depicts the head of the river god Eurymedon. The god is portrayed with dolphins on both sides and with winged male figures.<sup>2368</sup> Alongside this mosaic floor, a statue of the god was also discovered during the excavations conducted inside the cave. However, his depictions are not limited to those found inside and at the entrance of the cave. The head of the god was also carved on the key stone of the arched bridge that is situated on the Eurymedon river that passes nearby the sanctuary.<sup>2369</sup> In this way, the presence of the god who was the subject of a cult alongside Meter Theon Vegeinos, was visually enhanced. Zeus is another deity who was worshipped in the sanctuary together with Meter/Kybele and Eurymedon.<sup>2370</sup> Cult practices started in the Early Hellenistic period as ceramic sherds, coins, and humble architectural remains show. However, the cave witnessed an extensive construction activity and prosperity from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards, especially during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), with the addition of a monumental and decorated entrance and rooms with various functions, such as a *naos*, a *triclinium*, and a dining hall.<sup>2371</sup> The cave was also embellished with decorative floor mosaics and statues, whose bases have been found. There were also contests organized as part of religious festivals. The cultic function continued with the addition of a basilical monastery in the area in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Figure 5.21).<sup>2372</sup> Therefore, Zindan is one the best examples of how a rural cult worshipped in a natural cave was transformed into a more “official” cult.

An artificial cave is located on the slope of a hill situated nearly 1.5 km north of Perge, on Kızılyapı Hill, overlooking a creek of the Kestros flowing between Kızılyapı Hill and the Acropolis of Perge (Figure 5.22). The cave has an entrance in the form of an arch (Figure 5.23). There are rectangular holes on top of the arch, which were possibly used for a wooden construction covering the ritual structures that were situated in front

---

<sup>2367</sup> Takmer-Gökalp 2005, 103-13.

<sup>2368</sup> Dedeoğlu 2005b, 97.

<sup>2369</sup> Dedeoğlu 2005b, 99.

<sup>2370</sup> Dedeoğlu 2005b, 99.

<sup>2371</sup> For the excavations of Zindan cave, see Dedeoğlu 2005a,153-66; 2005b, 95-102; for a possible restitution of the architectural remains, see Alp 2013, 119-40.

<sup>2372</sup> Demirci 2016, 183-214.

of the entrance, as the architectural remains suggest (Figure 5.24).<sup>2373</sup> A rectangular niche in the rear wall of the cave was possibly used for a cult image (Figure 5.25). This artificial cave has been identified as a *Mithraeum* because of a marble stele that was reportedly found before the cave (Figure 5.26). The broken stele features Mithras killing a bull (tauroctony) in front of a cave that has an arched entrance between two columns. At the top left corner the bust of Helios and at the bottom left the figure of Kautopates holding a bow are depicted. According to the inscription carved on the top, this stele was dedicated by Lucius Crispus and his sons to Helios-Mithras.<sup>2374</sup> This stele, datable to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, informs us about a syncretic worship of Helios and Mithras in Perge. It is known that caves could be used as sanctuaries of Mithras but in this case, there is an additional natural element that plays a role in the selection of this sacred location: a spring. Literary accounts state that Mithras was born from a rock near a spring. He shot an arrow to a rock and water started to flow from the rock.<sup>2375</sup> Water also played a fundamental role in Mithras' cultic rituals, symbolizing a *katharsis*.<sup>2376</sup> Therefore, it seems that the presence of the spring here, the available rock and its natural quality motivated people to carve a cave and to build an arched entrance to create a sacred space for the Mithraic rituals.

There are also cases in which only indirect evidence for religious activities is present. One of these is the Kocain cave, situated 45 km north of Antalya, on the mountainous border between the provinces of Burdur and Antalya. In the cave, there is a large cistern and some architectural remains dating to the Roman Imperial period. A total of twenty-eight Greek inscriptions are carved on the walls of this cave near the entrance. These inscriptions were dedicated by an *eirenarches*, an *anteirenarches*, and a *diogmites*, officials who were responsible for the security and the protection of cities, territories, and villages.<sup>2377</sup> The inscriptions were initially found and published by Moretti in 1926, and due to their misreading, it was thought that *Meter Oreia* was worshipped in the cave.<sup>2378</sup> However, a reinterpretation by Öztürk in 2015 has shown that there is no reference to any deity in the inscriptions and that these were mere lists of names belonging to officials, their titles, and their patronyms.<sup>2379</sup> Nevertheless, according to the architectural remains and epigraphic testimonies the cave was extensively used. The location of these

---

<sup>2373</sup> Şahin 1999a, 247-59, no. 248.

<sup>2374</sup> Şahin 1999a, 247-59, no. 248.

<sup>2375</sup> For Mithras' birth and its narrative, see Clauss 2001, 62-74.

<sup>2376</sup> Clauss 2001, 71-74.

<sup>2377</sup> Öztürk 2006, 100-6.

<sup>2378</sup> Moretti 1926, 509-46, Robert 1928, 407-25.

<sup>2379</sup> Öztürk 2015, 159-81.



inscriptions inside a cave, their large number, and the risky nature of the enforcement duties of these officials may indicate that the cave was used in relation with cultic activities and that they were perhaps dedicated for the safety of the officials or successful accomplishments of their duties.

Another example of indirect evidence comes from the karstic Varsak doline, located nearly 5 km from Antalya, near the ancient village of Lyrboton Kome in the territory of Perge. Lyrboton Kome, as its name implies, was an important rural settlement which had its most wealthy phase during the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods with construction activities and agricultural production facilities, which were mainly used for the production of olive oil.<sup>2380</sup> The Varsak doline is located to the immediate southwest of the village and was formed due to the collapse of horizontal limestone layers that were eroded because of underground streams (Figure 5.27).<sup>2381</sup> Access to the bottom of the doline was provided by roads, tunnels, and galleries. The doline was considered sacred since a church, dedicated to Hagios Stephanos, was built at its bottom.<sup>2382</sup> Besides, there are also inscriptions carved on the walls of the gallery inside the doline and on the rock façade behind the church (Figures 5.28-9).<sup>2383</sup> Lyrboton Kome and the Varsak doline were situated near the *Via Sebaste*,<sup>2384</sup> therefore, they might have been visited by pilgrims traveling from West to East and East to West. Inscriptions dating to the Roman Imperial period indicate that the cultic significance of the area started before Christianity and lasted during the Late Antique Period. The divinity in question is unknown but his/her cult was probably related to spring sources and natural cave formations.

The Acropolis of Perge is also rich in evidence for cult practices that developed around natural features, namely caves, grottoes, and springs (Figure 5.30). The earliest religious activity on the Acropolis was documented on the eastern hill (“Area 1”), starting from the Early Bronze Age onwards and continuing up to the Early Byzantine period (Figure 4.143).<sup>2385</sup> The reason why these cult practices developed in this area must be the existence of a deep karst hole filled with fresh spring water immediately north of the cult places. Therefore, it is clear that natural features were important factors in choosing places for cultic activities from the Bronze Age onwards. Bronze Age evidence for religious

---

<sup>2380</sup> Çevik 2000, 79-102.

<sup>2381</sup> Takmer-Tüner Önen 2007, 30.

<sup>2382</sup> Ormerod-Robinson 1910/11, 217.

<sup>2383</sup> Takmer-Tüner Önen 2007, 30-32.

<sup>2384</sup> Takmer-Tüner Önen 2007, 30-32.

<sup>2385</sup> For a recent and very detailed overview of “Area 1”, its chronology and the evaluation of the buildings, see Martini et al. 2017, pp. 1-246; See also 2010; 2012a, 37-41. 2012b, 779-99.

activity is limited to an ash altar, pottery fragments, including libation wares and wares used for beer production and bronze daggers, which might have been dedicated as votives or used in rituals.<sup>2386</sup> From the Late Bronze age onwards, an architectural layout started to be developed in the area, consisting of wall enclosures, an *anta* building surrounding the ash altar and a podium placed in front of the *anta* building, possibly used for the placement of votives.<sup>2387</sup> Between the Geometric and Classical Period (900-500 BC) the appearance of the cult place was further emphasized with the addition of a new podium and a hearth in the entrance area, as well as with the construction of new buildings,<sup>2388</sup> all of which contained round hearths and which encircled the cult area on its north and west sides. These structures have been interpreted as feasting houses (*hestiatoria*, *leskhia*) due to the abundance of animal bones found inside.<sup>2389</sup> The easternmost of these possible houses were built in order to enclose the karst hole filled with spring water and contained a niche and a hearth, and, therefore, can be seen as the center of these cultic activities. Furthermore, an aniconic cult statue with a base in the form of an *omphalos* was placed 1.30 m northwest of this building.<sup>2390</sup> After a destruction took place in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, most of the buildings in the area were demolished except for the one enclosing the fresh water source and the aniconic cult statue was now placed inside a *naiskos* that had mudbrick walls built on a stone podium. The houses in the north were replaced by a building with three rooms with *klinai* inside. These must have been used as banqueting rooms during *symposia*. “Area 1” was continuously used until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as evidenced by ceramics, figurines, and bones found in a *bothros*.<sup>2391</sup> Even in the Roman Imperial period, the area with the cult statue and the banqueting halls were preserved but additionally some new buildings with mosaics were built.<sup>2392</sup>

The second important area is the western hill of the Acropolis (“Area 2”), where in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC a large building composed of four parallel elongated rooms and a perpendicular courtyard was built (Figure 4.145). In the courtyard, there was a water well. The function of this initial building remains unknown, but since a Hellenistic *anta* temple, which was renovated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, was built on top of this first building, and

---

<sup>2386</sup> Martini 2010, 16-20; 2017, 84-87; 144-52; 458-59.

<sup>2387</sup> Martini 2010, 21-36; 2017, 153-66; 459-67.

<sup>2388</sup> For a detailed overview of the houses, see Martini 2017, 5-63.

<sup>2389</sup> Fabis 2017, 372-80.

<sup>2390</sup> Martini 2017, 170-75; see The cult of Artemis in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2391</sup> Martini 2017, 506-14; for a detailed overview of the ceramics found inside the *bothros*, see Recke 2007a, 83-97.

<sup>2392</sup> Martini 2017, 514-24.

because of the water well in the courtyard, researchers have interpreted this as a continuously used cult place.<sup>2393</sup> There is no evidence about the exact identification of the divinity or divinities to whom these cult spaces were dedicated. However, the 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC figurines found in “Area 1” suggest a possible identification for the divinity worshipped here. Recke concludes that some figurines can directly be assigned to the circle of Aphrodite, taking into consideration the widespread cult of Aphrodite on Cyprus and the overlapping image of Aphrodite with an indigenous mother goddess of fertility and vegetation worshipped in the East and in certain cities of Asia Minor, such as Aphrodisias.<sup>2394</sup> However, many figurines of various types and with different stylistic features were found on the Acropolis, including a fragment of a hand holding a *tympanon*, various animals, charioteers, male and female heads, and fragments of garments. None of these figurines can with certainty be ascribed to the cult of a specific deity.<sup>2395</sup>

Besides, a rock-cut spring house was situated on the northern slope of the western hill (Figure 5.31). A square space of 2.5 m high was cut into the rock surface and could be accessed by means of a four-stepped entrance in the western façade. Ceramics and coins indicate that the spring house was continuously used during the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods; however, its initial building phase is hard to determine.<sup>2396</sup> Parallels for this structure are spring houses in Caria, which have been studied in a detailed way. Spring houses frequently occurred in the cities of Caria and they were mainly related to road systems, sometimes to sacred roads leading from one sanctuary to another.<sup>2397</sup> Carian spring houses were constructed in order to meet the water needs of travelers or visitors who used these roads. The reason for building a similar spring house on the Acropolis of Perge is undoubtedly the abundance of water on the spot and the need to benefit and preserve the sources. It is not possible to determine whether this spring house had a cultic meaning or not, since its relationship with a sacred place is unknown.

The most important area with a sacred function related to natural features is the southeastern hill (Figure 5.32).<sup>2398</sup> A large natural rocky terrain, which includes two caves and a freshwater spring, is situated beneath the architectural remains (Figure 5.33). In the walls of the caves rock-cut niches are located, which might have been used for votive

---

<sup>2393</sup> For a detailed overview of “Area 2”, see Martini 2017, 247-310; Martini 2010.

<sup>2394</sup> See The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.5

<sup>2395</sup> Martini 2017, 420-54.

<sup>2396</sup> Researchers have suggested that it can be dated to the 6th-5th century BC, see Martini 2017, 457.

<sup>2397</sup> For Carian spring houses, see Baran 2011, 51-99.

<sup>2398</sup> Martini 2017, 493-506.

offerings, and an inscription dedicated to Commodus, which indicates that this area was in use in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The caves were located behind a small passage, identified as a “small door” by the researchers. Visitors coming to Perge reached the Acropolis after passing this small passage and, subsequently, found themselves in a different landscape due to the presence of rocks, caves, and springs. This rocky outcrop extends over a length of nearly 100 m and is 3.5 m high. Apart from the rock-cut niches, it was embellished with stepped structures, which were reminiscent of Phrygian rock monuments (Figure 5.34)<sup>2399</sup> and possibly used for the placement of votive offerings, as well as with a very weathered relief depicting a seated woman at its eastern extremity (Figure 5.35). The only remaining part of the figure is a section of her garment and legs. The relief has been interpreted as a mother goddess and dated to the Hellenistic period based on the stylistic features of the garment. Near this relief an interesting monument is present: a rectangular stele of yellowish sandstone with a rectangular hole in its center stood on a white limestone base (Figure 4.94-5). Examples resembling this stele have been found on Cyprus and have been interpreted there as oil presses.<sup>2400</sup> However, at Perge, no other equipment, such as vats used for collection of products, has been detected. In addition, the excavation conducted in the area revealed a room in which the stele was placed. The stele predates the room, which has been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC based on the masonry technique, which is similar to the other buildings on the Acropolis. Consequently, its location, its relation to the rocky outcrop with caves and springs, its ancientness, and composite materials may indicate a sacred nature. A *plateia* from the south led to this rocky terrain and to the sanctuary in the east, which consisted of a large rock-cut *temenos* and large buildings in the western part of the *temenos*. Because no excavations have been conducted in the *temenos*, the earliest construction phase is unknown. However, the architectural remains dating to the Roman Imperial period and a Byzantine basilica point towards the continuity of the area’s sacred character. Therefore, the sanctuary on the southeastern hill of the Acropolis is a good example of a cult place that developed around natural features, such as caves, springs, and rock-cut features. The relief of possibly a seated goddess next to a rectangular niche may indicate the presence of an open-air sanctuary dedicated to a mother goddess that may have predated the building activities in the area. This sanctuary on the Acropolis has been identified as the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia by Martini, due to its location on a prominent location on a

---

<sup>2399</sup> Ersöz 2009, 11-19.

<sup>2400</sup> Hadjisavvas 1992.

rocky outcrop with lots of caves and freshwater springs, its visibility from the lower city, its monumental size, the intense building activities in the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique Periods, and its connection to the lower city and the east of Perge by means of a large *plateia*. This large *plateia* continued 4 km to the east, to the village of Solak, where the river harbor of the Kestros was possibly constructed (Figure 4.121). This 4 km road has, moreover, been identified as a sacred procession road along which the remains of a possible temple, tombs, and other architectural fragments were located and which may have led from the river Kestros to the temple of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>2401</sup>

The sacredness of caves was not exclusive to a specific geography, culture, period, or belief. Caves were generally recognized as ritual places by many civilizations.<sup>2402</sup> In ancient Greek and Roman thinking, caves played an important role as can be seen in many mythological tales. First and foremost, caves were the birthplaces of gods and goddesses and they were considered to house divine spirits, deities, and semi-deities, such as the Nymphs and Pan.<sup>2403</sup> Caves were also dwellings of monsters and hybrid creatures, such as the *Kyklopes*<sup>2404</sup>, *Sybaris*<sup>2405</sup>, *Skylla*,<sup>2406</sup> and the centaur *Pholos*<sup>2407</sup>, due to their mysterious and frightening environment. Besides, divine unions, such as those of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, took place inside caves.<sup>2408</sup> Caves were also places of oracular activity and prophecy, because of their dark environment decreasing sensory abilities, and in some cases they contained poisonous gases, which could affect the state of consciousness. Moreover, the presence of water in caves could be used in oracular activities.<sup>2409</sup> Apart from literary accounts, the presence of *astragaloï* found in many caves also reinforces their oracular function.<sup>2410</sup> There were also individuals called *nympholepts*, who showed an extreme devotion to the cult of the nymphs, and either lived inside caves as a recluse or spent a great work of labor to embellish cave shrines. These individuals may also have

<sup>2401</sup> Martini 2008, 115-31; see, *The Cult of Artemis in Pamphylia*. Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2402</sup> For a detailed overview of the sacredness of caves, see Moyes 2012.

<sup>2403</sup> For ancient narratives about caves, the Nymphs, and Pan, see Larson 2001, 61-87.

<sup>2404</sup> The *Odysseia* describes the *Kyklopes* as a lawless clan of giant shepherds who lived in an uncivilized manner in caves without any institutions. The choice of caves as their dwellings is also an indicator of their wild natures, see Hom. *Od.* VI. 5, XI. 106 ff.

<sup>2405</sup> *Sybaris/Lamia* was a she-monster who lived in a cave in Phokis and who devoured men and flocks. She was eventually killed by the hero *Eurybaros*, see *Ant.Lib.Met.* 8

<sup>2406</sup> Hom. *Od.* XII, 54; Verg. *Aen.* 3. 420.

<sup>2407</sup> The centaur *Pholos* took his name from the mountain *Pholoe* in Arkadia, where his cave was also located, see Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 83-87.

<sup>2408</sup> Ov. *Met.* 11. 217-20.

<sup>2409</sup> Ustinova 2009, 53-156.

<sup>2410</sup> Nearly 23.000 *astragaloï* were found in the *Korykrian* cave of the Nymphs in Delphi, see Larson 2001, 11.

been engaged in oracular activities.<sup>2411</sup> Furthermore, caves were also subject of cults associated with fertility. Among the factors that contributed to the establishment of a sacred place in a cave the presence of potable water in and around the area, which would attract the attention of people living on the countryside, can have played a role. A second factor may have been the size and comfort of a cave, since it needed to be large enough, maybe first to provide shelter to animals and herdsmen and then to house visitors. Thirdly, caves are mysterious. They may have arisen emotions, either fascination or fear. Caves are also liminal: when one enters a cave, he/she leaves his/her usual environment behind and literally steps into a different area. This transition can certainly have created a separation between the mundane and the divine. In a recent publication, Sporn summarized the deities that were worshipped in connection with cave sanctuaries in mainland Greece and on the islands. According to her list, Apollo, the Nymphs, Pan, Demeter, the Charites, Hekate, Hades, Zeus, Dionysos, Herakles, Hermes, Asklepios, Hygeia, Cheiron, Trophonios, the Erinyes, Artemis, Athena, Hera, Odysseus, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Ge, Rheia, and Eilithyia, *i.e.* nearly the whole Greek pantheon and also heroes and creatures was connected to the sacredness of caves.<sup>2412</sup> These caves usually witnessed a long period of worship<sup>2413</sup>; therefore, they might have acted as indicators of the ancientness of the cults venerated inside and have remained important spaces for the collective memory. This ancientness was so apparent in ancient times that Porphyry (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) states in his *De antro nympharum* that people consecrated caves before they started to construct temples for the deities.<sup>2414</sup>

Asia Minor is rich in cave sanctuaries; however, such a diversity of cult recipients in sacred caves has not been identified yet for Asia Minor. The caves in this region usually witnessed the Mother Goddess worship. An indigenous cult of Kubaba was present in

---

<sup>2411</sup> For instance, Archedemos was one the nympholepts who embellished the cave of Vari with inscriptions, stairs, reliefs, and shrines see, Larson 2001, 11-20.

<sup>2412</sup> Sporn 2013, Table 12.1.

<sup>2413</sup> The Polis cave on Ithaka received cultic attention from the 9th century BC into the 1st century AD (Larson 2001, 231-32); the Saftulis cave in Sikyon from the 7th century to the Hellenistic Period (Larson 2001, 232-33); the Korykian cave in Delphi from the 7th century to 2nd century AD (Larson 2001, 233-37); the Pharsalos cave from the 6th century BC to the Hellenistic period (Larson 2001, 238); the Oisyme cave in Thrakia from the 6th century BC to the Hellenistic Period (Larson 2001, 239); the Lera cave in Crete from the Neolithic to the Byzantine Period (Larson 2001, 239-30); the Asbotrypa cave in Leukas from the 6th century to the Hellenistic Period (Larson 2001, 240); the Melissani cave in Kephallonia from the 4th century BC to the Roman Period (Larson 2001, 241); the Vari cave in Attica from the 6th century BC to the 2nd century AD (Larson 2001, 242-43); the Phyle cave on Mount Parnas from the Mycenaean to the Roman Period (Larson, 2001, 245-46); the Eleusis cave from the 5th century to the Late Roman Period (Larson 2001, 248); and the Aspripetra cave on Kos from the 4th century BC to the Roman Period (Larson 2001, 250).

<sup>2414</sup> Porph. *De antr. nymph.* 20

Hittite and Neo-Hittite centers and cities of western Anatolia, like Sardeis, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC; thus, her worship was common to several Anatolian people.<sup>2415</sup> The main goddess of the pantheon of the Iron Age civilization of Phrygia was Matar, and her epithet preserved in paleo-Phrygian texts is Kubileya, possibly a topographical feature.<sup>2416</sup> There are some similarities and differences in both the nomenclature and attributes of the Neo-Hittite Kubaba and the Phrygian Kybele (the Phrygian Kybele was more connected to the hunt)<sup>2417</sup> but the fact that these two goddesses belonged to an indigenous Anatolian religion is certain. The rock-cut façades related to the goddess could be either small or monumental, had a niche reminiscent of a doorway housing the idol/statue of Matar, and they were distinct sacred spaces connected to the landscape.<sup>2418</sup> The cult of the Mother Goddess expanded from Phrygia to Western Anatolia and Greece from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards and her cult was adopted by the Romans during the Second Punic War (218-201 BC), and they identified her as Magna Mater.<sup>2419</sup> The indigenous Phrygian deity *Matar* was worshipped under many names, such as Meter, Kybele, Meter *Theon* and Meter *Oreia*, and during the Roman Imperial period, her cult was very widespread throughout Asia Minor.<sup>2420</sup> Various epithets were given to the deity. Meter *Oreia* was a general name primarily used in the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>2421</sup> However, from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards, the epithets used for Meter increased, due to an effort to associate the goddess with a particular region, city, or even with persons who made donations to her.<sup>2422</sup> Not only Kybele but also Rhea was associated with Meter, since Strabo informs us that "*the Berekyntes, the Phrygians and the Trojans who lived around the Ida worshipped Rhea, calling her Meter Theôn*".<sup>2423</sup>

The cave sanctuaries dedicated to Mother Goddess in Asia Minor are high in numbers. Caves also played an important role in the literary accounts that give information about the eunuch priests of the Mother goddess, the *Galloi*. The first literary account, a Hellenistic epigram (3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), tells us that Gallos took shelter in a cave, where he was attacked by a lion. He managed to frighten the animal by playing on

---

<sup>2415</sup> Roller 1999, 41-45.

<sup>2416</sup> Roller 1999, 41-45.

<sup>2417</sup> For iconographic characteristics, see Roller 1999, 47-50; Naumann 1983.

<sup>2418</sup> Berndt Ersöz 2009, 11-19.

<sup>2419</sup> Roller 1999, Chapters 2 and 4, 127-87 and 254-313.

<sup>2420</sup> For a general overview of the Kybele cult in Asia Minor, see Vermaseren 1987.

<sup>2421</sup> Meter *Oreia* was worshipped in Ephesos, on the Panayır Dağ, see Vermaseren 1987, no. 616; in Oinoanda, no. 729; in Nysa no. 731; in Pisidia close to Antiochia ad Pisidiam, no. 764.

<sup>2422</sup> Roller 1999, 327-29.

<sup>2423</sup> Strab. 10.3.12.

his *tympanon* and in gratitude to the goddess, he dedicated his *tympanon*, hair, robes, and an image of a lion to her.<sup>2424</sup> Apart from the caves of the Pamphylian-Pisidian border area dedicated to the Mother Goddess, sacred caves of the goddess were also present in the territories of Pergamon, Aizanoi, Klazomenai, Klaros, and Metropolis. The sacred cave of Pergamon, Kapıkaya, contained a freshwater spring and niches in its walls. It was used between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and was then turned into a Mithras cave.<sup>2425</sup> The sacred cave in Aizanoi, dedicated to Meter *Steunene*, also contained niches in its walls and during the excavations, a number of figurines depicting an enthroned goddess, *tympana*, and heads wearing *poloi*, dating to the Roman Imperial Period, were found.<sup>2426</sup> Furthermore, the cave sanctuary dedicated to the Mother Goddess in Klaros yielded archaeological finds dating to the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>2427</sup> Finally, the cave in Metropolis in the Gallesion Mountain near the Astraion River was continually used from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman Imperial period as evidenced by the various terracotta, metal and stone findings.<sup>2428</sup> The caves of Karain in Antalya, dedicated to Meter *Oreia*, Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe at the border between Pamphylia and Pisidia, dedicated to Meter and Apollo, and the Hurma Cave, possibly dedicated to Meter, can therefore be evaluated in the broader context of the Mother Goddess caves of Asia Minor.

Caves also offered a favorable environment for the practice of mystery cults. Mystery cults, as their names imply, were forms of personal devotion based on personal decisions with the hope to find salvation through a special relationship with a deity.<sup>2429</sup> The rituals that were associated with the mysteries were described in Greek as *orgia*, *mysteria* or *teletai*.<sup>2430</sup> Since the main aim was to find revelation through enduring difficulties and sufferings in the mystery cults, near-death experiences played a fundamental role in the ritual practices; therefore, initiation processes often took place in underground, dark spaces.<sup>2431</sup> For instance, as mentioned above, the initiation ceremonies in the Eleusinian mysteries were often performed in a cave, which had a temple built at its opening. The cave with an opening to the outside world may have symbolized the

---

<sup>2424</sup> Roller 1999, 229.

<sup>2425</sup> Nohlen-Wolfgang 1978, 31-33.

<sup>2426</sup> Naumann 1967, 218-25.

<sup>2427</sup> Geniere 1992, 15-16.

<sup>2428</sup> Meriç 2013.

<sup>2429</sup> Burkert 1987, 12.

<sup>2430</sup> Bowden 2010, 14.

<sup>2431</sup> Ustinova 2009, 230-32.



passage to the Underworld and thus the location of Persephone's journey.<sup>2432</sup> Caves also functioned as landmarks in the mythology of Dionysos<sup>2433</sup> and had an important place in the Bacchic rites.<sup>2434</sup> The terms *orgia* and *teletai* were often used in connection with the mystic rites of Dionysos and the Mother Goddess.<sup>2435</sup> The Mother Goddess also received mystery rites that were celebrated with ceremonies that were not open to the public and with which only initiates could participate. These rituals took place in the dark, as is clear from a story that Herodotos mentions.<sup>2436</sup> The mythological importance of caves in the Mother Goddess mystery rites is also evident, since the union between Attis and the Mother Goddess took place in a cave and the priest of the Mother Goddess was attacked by a lion in a cave as well.<sup>2437</sup> Similarly, a cave, either natural or man-made, as a place of worship, was a prerequisite in the Mithraic rites. According to the account of Porphyry, a cave was a place where the initiates were introduced to the mystic rites and it was also a symbolical path according to which the initiates descended and returned.<sup>2438</sup> Caves bore the image of cosmos; thus, they represented the universe that Mithras created. Caves were also actual physical spaces where initiates descended and came back again during the rituals. In the Mithraic mythology, Mithras caught a bull, dragged him to a cave, sacrificed it and from the body of the bull the plants, corn, and vineyards spread.<sup>2439</sup> Bowden also remarks that *Mithraea* could vary in size but they were never very large.<sup>2440</sup> A limited space within a cave was in accordance with the limited number of the initiates and must have emphasized the exclusiveness of the cult. Furthermore, caves were in some way or another connected to the mythology of these deities and the repetitive actions in forms of rituals taking place inside and outside of these caves must have been essential in order to keep the memory of the myth alive.<sup>2441</sup> The importance of a cave as a sacred space is also very clear in the example of Perge, since the decision to carve a large artificial cave must have been a great effort and have required a large work labor. This illustrates that caves were considered so special and sacred that their natural shape was even artificially imitated, as the *Mithraeum* on the Kızılyapı Hill demonstrates.

---

<sup>2432</sup> Ustinova 2009, 232-34.

<sup>2433</sup> Dionysos was nursed by the nymphs of Mount Nysa in a cave, see Hygin. Fab. 182.

<sup>2434</sup> For the use of caverns and underground chambers in the cultic practices of Dionysos, see Ustinova 2009, 235-39.

<sup>2435</sup> Bowden 2010, 18.

<sup>2436</sup> Hdt. 4.7.

<sup>2437</sup> Vermaseren 1977, 117.

<sup>2438</sup> Porph. *De antr. nymph.* 6.

<sup>2439</sup> Näsström 2002, 109.

<sup>2440</sup> Bowden 2010, 182.

<sup>2441</sup> For further information on memory and myths, see Solima 2014, 55-61.

In Pamphylia, apart from the Acropolis of Perge, another open-air sanctuary centering on a rock relief can be found in the village of Hurma, which is located 11 km northwest of modern Antalya. The rock façade is located on the southern slope of a hill overlooking a large flat area. It is outside the ancient village of Hurma and on the ancient road leading to the village. The rock relief depicts an enthroned Zeus holding a scepter or spear in his left hand and a *patera* in his right one (Figure 5.36).<sup>2442</sup> Rock-cut reliefs are important because they provide solid evidence for ritual places and the geographical distribution of sacred spaces, especially in the rural areas, whose detection might otherwise be difficult. In the Pamphylian example from Hurma, the deity worshipped was Zeus, but open-air sanctuaries developed around rock-façades and/or provided with depictions of deities were not rare in Asia Minor. Carving rock reliefs with accompanying inscriptions became a popular practice in the Late Bronze Age, in the 14th and 13th centuries BC.<sup>2443</sup> In his symbolic and cultural analysis of the rock-reliefs of the Hittites, Harmanşah argues that reliefs were carved in places that were centers of long-term human engagement and they were often carved near a spring, cave, and mountain passes, *i.e.* places that were frequently visited, possibly long before the carving of the reliefs. Moreover, the placement of rock reliefs in a geographically distinct landscape was directly connected with the numinous power of such sites, enabling a connection with a divinity.<sup>2444</sup> Rocky landscapes connected with a water source may have been interpreted in the imaginary of the people as places of epiphanies, where the divinities revealed themselves.<sup>2445</sup> This practice of carving rock-reliefs in places that religiously mattered to the people continued during a very long period of time. On the rock-reliefs of Roman Imperial Pamphylia, deities of both the Greek and local pantheon were seen. Similar representations are known in neighbouring regions. The area around Tefenni in Burdur (Pisidia) contains important examples of rock-cut votive areas dedicated to the rider-god, who was indigenous to the Anatolian pantheon.<sup>2446</sup> Another votive area with rock-reliefs is known in Lycia, at Tyriaion, on the Elmalı plateau, north-west of Pamphylia. Here six reliefs of rider-gods were depicted.<sup>2447</sup> Other examples from Lycia come from the

---

<sup>2442</sup> Çevik 1996, 235-51.

<sup>2443</sup> Harmanşah 2014, 6.

<sup>2444</sup> Harmanşah 2014, 92-93.

<sup>2445</sup> Harmanşah 2014, 112.

<sup>2446</sup> One of these votive areas is Kocataş, 3 km southwest of Tefenni, where a large rock boulder contains sixty-seven separate reliefs of rider-gods, each one arranged in niches. The votive place was dedicated to Herakles, as some inscriptions suggest. The second area is at Tefenni and includes fifty-six separate reliefs. This votive place dates to the 3rd century AD. Delemen 1999, 21-23.

<sup>2447</sup> Delemen 1999, 23-24.

territory of Balboura,<sup>2448</sup> where reliefs depict a triad, Kakasbos, Herakles, and the Dioskouroi, Artemis and Zeus, and from the territory of Oinoanda,<sup>2449</sup> where the Dioskouroi, triads, Helios-Mithras, Hermes, and Zeus are represented. These places are important in terms of indicating the variety of deities whose worship was expressed through rock-cut reliefs. Furthermore, this practice of carving reliefs on a rock surface was also predominant in Rough Cilicia, where rock-reliefs played an important role in both funerary and divine contexts.<sup>2450</sup> The geographical characteristics of Lycia, Pisidia, and Rough Cilicia are similar. All these regions were characterised by highly mountainous rocky terrains and these features surely facilitated the creation, development and long-lasting continuation of this tradition. The inaccessibility of the region further enabled the good preservation conditions of these reliefs. In contrast, Pamphylia mainly consists of a large alluvial plain and mountains do not dominate the landscape like they do in the neighboring regions. The accessibility of the region and the extensive agricultural activities on the countryside, as well as modern construction activities in the urban space may have negatively affected the preservation of rock-reliefs in Pamphylia. However, the preserved two reliefs, one on the Acropolis of Perge and the other one in the village of Hurma, indicate that the Pamphylians were familiar with this tradition and suggest that once more examples of this kind may have existed.

Another open-air sanctuary in the region is situated between Magydos and Perge. The so-called Kemerağzı *temenos* consists of a natural rocky outcrop bordered in the north by a wall of 1,70 m length that is preserved up to a height of 0.20 m. The rock consists of two adjacent niches and a pit possibly carved for the dedication of votive offerings. The deity or deities to whose this open-air *temenos* was dedicated is unknown, due to the lack of any inscriptions or reliefs.<sup>2451</sup>

#### 5.4 Rivers and River Gods

River gods had a special place in the Greek and Roman pantheon. Every river god had a numinous power. They were described as the children of Okeanos and Thetys in Hesiod's

---

<sup>2448</sup> Smith 1997, 3-49.

<sup>2449</sup> Milner-Smith 1994, 65-76.

<sup>2450</sup> Durugönül 1989.

<sup>2451</sup> Savucu 1996.

*Theogony*<sup>2452</sup> and as children of Okeanos in the *Iliad*.<sup>2453</sup> They were also connected with the underworld, *i.e.* the Styx<sup>2454</sup> and Acheron.<sup>2455</sup> Besides, they were also the founders of the land in which they flew: Skamandros was the father of Teukros<sup>2456</sup> and Inachos was the first king of Argolis.<sup>2457</sup> These gods also received cults and some of them had attendants and priests. The river Kaikos (Bakırçay) had priests responsible for the healing power of the stream,<sup>2458</sup> a temple was dedicated to the Kaystros (Küçük Menderes),<sup>2459</sup> and the Skamandros (Karamenderes) had a priest who was as honorable and respected as a god.<sup>2460</sup> There were regulations to keep rivers pure and sacrifices were also made in honor of them. Animal sacrifice was performed near rivers, so the blood of the victim could flow to the river.<sup>2461</sup> In his *Iliad*, Homer states that living horses were thrown in the Skamandros River.<sup>2462</sup> Moreover, river gods were frequently depicted in Greek and Roman art, either on small objects like coins or as reliefs attached to buildings, and/or as sculptures. An iconography for these gods started to develop around the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and in Greek art, they were mainly depicted either in a zoomorphic or anthropomorphic form.<sup>2463</sup> The personification of the reclining male type started to be seen in Greek art from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. It was adopted in Roman art and became highly widespread during the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>2464</sup>

The Taurus Mountain range, enclosing Pamphylia on three sides, was seen as a geographic barrier separating Pamphylia from the neighboring regions of Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia (Figure 2.1-2). If this mountain range was a barrier, then the four rivers of the region, the Katarraktes, the Kestros, the Eurymedon and the Melas (from west to east) were bridges enabling communication between north and south. Most of the Pamphylian cities were located in valleys and near the mouths of these rivers. These rivers did not

---

<sup>2452</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 337

<sup>2453</sup> Hom, *Il.* 21, 190.

<sup>2454</sup> Hom. *Il.* II. 755, VIII. 369. XIV. 271

<sup>2455</sup> Hom. *Od.* 10.503.

<sup>2456</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.159.

<sup>2457</sup> Paus.15.4.

<sup>2458</sup> Aeschylus, Fragment 68 Mysians.

<sup>2459</sup> Strab.14.1.46.

<sup>2460</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5. 77.

<sup>2461</sup> Larson 2007a, 65.

<sup>2462</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.131-32.

<sup>2463</sup> The depiction of the river god Achelous is a very distinct example of an zoomorphic form, since the god was usually depicted as a human-faced bull. This bull motif was sometimes replaced by a mask motif with horns and later turned into an anthropomorphic depiction with the rivers being shown as men (either young and old) with bulls horns on their head. For detailed information on the iconography of river gods, see Ostrowski 1991.

<sup>2464</sup> Ostrowski 1991, 26-34.

only contribute to the local economy by irrigating the plains and thus providing fertile soil for agricultural purposes, but they also created sheltered harbors away from the dangers of the sea and, therefore, they connected the inland cities, such as Perge, Sillyon, and Aspendos, to the Mediterranean.<sup>2465</sup> This communication was not only limited to material trade but also included the exchange of cultural and religious ideas. One such example can be seen in the Pisidian city of Selge and Pamphylian Aspendos. Selge was rich in oil, wine, and timber and these products might have been transported to the sea via the Eurymedon. Consequently, Selge developed economic and cultural ties with Aspendos. This is clear from the fact that both cities minted coins with the same wrestler iconography and indigenous ethnika throughout the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Therefore, it is evident that the rivers of Pamphylia strongly contributed to the economic and cultural development of the region, but we can wonder whether they also received another form of religious attention.

The rivers of the region and their personifications were often depicted on the coins of the region and the neighboring areas. The depiction of the Katarraktes, as a river god reclining on his left side on a water-pouring *amphora* and holding reed and straw, can be seen on coins of Magydos that were minted in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Figure 5.37).<sup>2466</sup> The depiction of the river god Kestros did not only occur on coins of Pamphylia, but on coins of Pisidia as well. The Kestros River had a special importance for Perge; the river god's representation appeared on the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD coins of the city. On coins of Septimius Severus (193-211 AD), and Caracalla (198-217 AD) (Figure 5.38), the Kestros was depicted with the same iconography as the Katarraktes on the coins of Magydos; reclining on his left side on a water-pouring amphora with reed and straw.<sup>2467</sup> However, the iconography changed in the coins of Salonina (Gallienus' wife) and Saloninus (259 AD), on which the Kestros was depicted as swimming under the feet of Tyche, who was seated on a rock.<sup>2468</sup> The visual representation of river personifications also appeared in statues and reliefs in Perge. On the façade of the monumental fountain (F3) at the northern limit of the north-south colonnaded street, a reclining, *in situ* marble statue whose head is missing is located. The identity of the statue has been interpreted as

---

<sup>2465</sup> Köse 2017, 182-83.

<sup>2466</sup> For coins minted by Magydos under the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD), Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), Caracalla (198-217 AD), Macrinus (217-218 AD), Elagabalus (218-222 AD), and Gallienus (253-268 AD), see Altınoluk 2005, 81-82.

<sup>2467</sup> For coins of Septimius Severus (193-211 AD) and Caracalla (198-217 AD), see Altınoluk 2005, 95.

<sup>2468</sup> For coins of Salonina and Saloninus (258-260 AD), see Altınoluk 2005, 96.

the Kestros (Figure 3.14-16).<sup>2469</sup> However, Martini argued that the statue may also be the depiction of the Kurşunlu waterfall, since the Kurşunlu was the main water source supplying the fountain, the water channel in front of the fountain and hence the city's water.<sup>2470</sup> Another representation of the Kestros can be found in the "Dionysos frieze" on the first floor of a *scaena* building of the theatre of Perge. This frieze depicts scenes from the life of Dionysos, such as his birth from the calf of his father Zeus, Hermes giving the infant Dionysos to the Nymphs of Nysa, the Nymphs bathing the infant Dionysos, the Korybantes playing music, Ariadne sleeping on a rock, and a *thiasos* of Dionysos consisting of Maenads and Satyrs (Figures 4.210-14).<sup>2471</sup> At its northern and southern sides, this frieze is bordered by two panels with identical scenes depicting the river god seated on a rocky surface, reclining on an *amphora*, and holding a *cornucopia* (Figure 5.39). This figure has been identified as the Kestros. The female figure in front of him is associated with a nymph or the personification of the city of Perge. The importance of the river was, therefore, visually enhanced by the side-by-side depictions of Perge and the Kestros. The representation of a river god, possibly the Kestros, is also present on a mosaic floor that embellished one of the two chambers in a monumental tomb complex known as M9 and dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Here, the head of the god is surrounded by dolphins and fishes and he is also accompanied by a rudder.<sup>2472</sup> Sillyon also used the Kestros imagery on coins dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, either as reclining on a rock while holding reed or as a swimming figure under the feet of Tyche (Figure 5.40).<sup>2473</sup> The coins bearing the depiction of the Kestros are interestingly also seen in the Pisidian cities of Sagalassos and Kremna and this situation was interpreted by Talloen as an indicator for the presence of the cult of the Kestros in those cities.<sup>2474</sup> The river Melas flowing to the east of Side was, like the Kestros, depicted both on coins and in statuary found in Side. The Melas appears on the parapet slabs of the fountain situated outside the city walls, in the "temple of the Nymphs" as an inscription identifies the building, and he represented as a young river-god in the typical reclining pose.<sup>2475</sup> The coins depicting the god were minted from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards, and included coins of Iulia Domna (193-217 AD), Caracalla (198-217 AD), Geta (209-211

<sup>2469</sup> Mansel 1973, 145; 1975b, 49-96, 84; Cahn 1992, 39 no. 1-5.

<sup>2470</sup> Martini et al. 2008, 163.

<sup>2471</sup> İnan 1987, 141-42.

<sup>2472</sup> Abbasoğlu 2005, 69; 2006b, 298-301.

<sup>2473</sup> RPC III, 2711; Altınoluk 2005, 96.

<sup>2474</sup> Talloen 2015, 54, footnote 39.

<sup>2475</sup> Mansel 1978, 95.

AD), Plautilla (202-205 AD), Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (Figure 5.41) and Iulia Mammea (222-235 AD).<sup>2476</sup> Finally, the depictions of the Eurymedon on the coins of Aspendos started at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and continued in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD as well. The god was mainly shown in a similar pose, either reclining on an *amphora*<sup>2477</sup> or under the feet of Tyche<sup>2478</sup>, but in one example, he holds the cult statue of Aphrodite Kastnietis (Figure 5.42).<sup>2479</sup> Visual representations of the Eurymedon do not only come from Aspendos, but also from further north, from the Zindan Cave located in the territory of Tymbrida, Pisidia. A statue of Eurymedon was found nearly 20 km west of the cave in 1977.<sup>2480</sup> Eurymedon is depicted here as a young standing man with horns on his head, holding a *cornucopia*. The inscription on the basis of the statue informs us that the city set up the statue of the manifesting god Eurymedon at its own expense, while a certain Attalos was supervising this dedication.<sup>2481</sup> The term used for the statue in the inscription is *agalma*, which indicates that this statue was meant to be a cult statue. The epithet used for the god is *Theos Epiphanes*, the manifesting god. The statue dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD),<sup>2482</sup> which means that it was an earlier dedication than the above-mentioned inscriptions dedicated to Meter *Vegeinos*. Both the Mother Goddess and the Eurymedon were depicted on a Severan coin of the city of Tymbrida. On this coin, Kybele is seated on a throne and the Eurymedon is reclining under her feet holding a spear.<sup>2483</sup> It is evident that a joint cult of Meter and the Eurymedon existed in the cave and the reason of this worship may have been the belief that both deities resided in the cave, as their epithets suggest. As mentioned above, the god was also represented on one of the panels of a mosaic floor unearthed at the entrance of the cave.<sup>2484</sup> Furthermore, the Zindan stream, which was one of the branches of the Eurymedon, originated near the cave and, therefore, it seems that the river, hence its god, literally manifested itself near the cave. In addition, a bust of Eurymedon was depicted on the keystone of the Roman bridge

<sup>2476</sup> On these coins, the god is depicted in the same reclining pose but his attributes change; the river god holds a prize crown in the coin of Iulia Domna; he holds reeds in the one of Caracalla (198-217 AD) and Iulia Mammea; he holds a *cornucopia* and reed in the one of Plautilla; he is depicted under the feet of Tyche sitting on a rock in the one of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), see Altınoluk 20015, 148-49.

<sup>2477</sup> For coins of Aspendos minted in the reign of Commodus (177-192 AD), Gordianus (238-244 AD), Tranquilina and Gallienus (253-268 AD), and Valerianus II (256-258 AD), see Altınoluk 2005, 39-40.

<sup>2478</sup> SNG France, 3, no. 175 (Severus Alexander, 222-235 AD).

<sup>2479</sup> SNG France, 3, no. 176 (Severus Alexander, 222-235 AD).

<sup>2480</sup> Kaya-Mitchell 1985, 39-55.

<sup>2481</sup> Kaya-Mitchell 1985, 50-51.

<sup>2482</sup> Kaya-Mitchell 1985, 51.

<sup>2483</sup> SNG Aul. Pisidien, no. 5370 (Septimius Severus, 193-211 AD).

<sup>2484</sup> Dedeoğlu 2005b, 97.

built over the Eurymedon River, near the cave. This visual imagery probably acted as a reminder of the god's worship in the cave to the visitors approaching from the south. In any case, the Zindan Cave is important in terms of revealing through inscriptions why this specific landscape was chosen to honor the deities: it was because of the sacred character of this natural place in which the deities revealed themselves. Such an attribution is not present yet for the natural sacred spaces of Pamphylia but envisioning a similar purpose would not be inaccurate.

Turning to the Pamphylian cities, aside from coins and statuary, there is no epigraphic evidence giving information about the cult of river gods, the rituals involved in their worship, their priests, and the offerings made to them. The issue of defining a cult solely based on numismatic evidence was discussed thoroughly by Brandt.<sup>2485</sup> Apart from their cultic importance, rivers were predominantly used in order to highlight the identity of cities. For instance, Greek colonies in Magna Graecia defined colonization movements in terms of river depictions on their coins: depictions of rivers of the mainland on the coins of new colonies illustrated a symbolic connection with the motherland. Rivers were also perfect emblems to ascertain a particular city's location in the landscape, since ancient writers often described a city's place with reference to the rivers nearby. Local mythology developed around rivers was also among the factors of a city's decision to put a depiction of a certain river god onto its coins.<sup>2486</sup> Rivers may also have been depicted on coins to show the wealth and prosperity that a city owed to its rivers. According to Nollé, during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, the cities in Asia Minor were afraid to lose their individuality in the Roman Empire and, therefore, they turned to their history and territorial particularities to emphasize their own identities. Thus, rivers were used to serve this purpose.<sup>2487</sup> The first appearance of rivers on coins of the Pamphylian cities corresponds to that period together with the increase in the water-related building activities. During the Severan Period (193-235 AD), three new monumental fountains were built in Perge and new additions were made to the Southern Baths.<sup>2488</sup> The fountain outside the city gate of Side and the fountain on the north of the agora of Aspendos were

---

<sup>2485</sup> Brandt 1988, 237-50.

<sup>2486</sup> Jones 2005, 42-43.

<sup>2487</sup> Nollé and Nollé 1994, 45-48.

<sup>2488</sup> Two monumental fountains were constructed side by side to the west of the square situated between the Hellenistic courtyard and the Late Roman Gate. The northern one (F2) is dated to 195-204 AD based on an inscription, see Mansel 1975b, 49; 1975c, 367-69; Şahin 1999a, 230 no.196. The second one can be dated to the Late Severan Period, see Türkmen 2007, 33. The third one was built against the outer eastern facade of the scene building and dates to the reign of Caracalla, see Türkmen 2007, 28. The *propylon* of the Southern Baths has been dated to 204-211 AD, based on an inscription, see Şahin 1999a, no. 197.



also built in this period<sup>2489</sup>. People were certainly aware of the importance of rivers for the water supply of their public and private buildings and, therefore, they may proudly have displayed their water sources on their coins as expressions of their prosperity in general. The rivalry between the cities may also have contributed to the choice to display such imagery, since the river gods nearly all emerged in the same period. Therefore, it seems that the representation of river-gods on the coins of the Pamphylian cities indicates an identity rather than a cult.

### 5.5 *The Sea*

The sea penetrated the everyday life of ancient people living in coast areas. The sea was a place of sustenance because of fishing, commercial activities, and, hence, the wealth of the region. The sea allowed the expansion of people, thus enabling them to travel to found colonies in distant geographies. The sea had also a political importance, since it was often the background of warfare. In Greek mythology, the sea was one of the children of Gaia.<sup>2490</sup> Nevertheless, there existed a great number of deities related to the sea. However, the sea was also a dangerous and unreliable place. The destructive effects of storms resulting in shipwrecks were often mentioned in Greek and Roman narratives.<sup>2491</sup> The sea was also full of monsters and Hades, the god of the Underworld, was believed to be living beyond the sea, on the coast of Okeanos.<sup>2492</sup> Because of this contradictory nature of the sea, many rituals were performed to ensure a safe sea voyage. These rituals often took place at the seashore, since the sea-shore was generally thought to represent a margin between the human and divine, hence, between polluted and pure.<sup>2493</sup> Sea water was often used in purification rituals, sanctuaries and temples were located on coasts, some deities were especially venerated because of their connection with seafaring, and some religious festivals included throwing offerings in the sea.<sup>2494</sup>

The sea had a very prominent role in Pamphylia, since the region was situated on the Mediterranean coast. Due to the region's location, Pamphylia was one the most

---

<sup>2489</sup> The monumental fountain at Side has been dated to the period of Septimius Severus-Caracalla, see Türkmen, 2007, 43; the monumental fountain at Aspendos can be dated to the Late Antonine-Early Severan period, see Türkmen 2007, 41.

<sup>2490</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 131.

<sup>2491</sup> Morrison 2014, 33-44.

<sup>2492</sup> Beaulieu 2016, 2.

<sup>2493</sup> Buxton 1994, 103.

<sup>2494</sup> Alvar et al. 2005, 167-89.

frequent destinations for the maritime commerce and transport taking place between Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, the Aegean Islands, and mainland Greece.<sup>2495</sup> The seaports of Phaselis and Side were important and busy, especially during the Roman Imperial Period, and played a significant role in the external trade of the region. In the city of Side, the sea and the harbor also constituted a background for its sacred landscape (Map 6- Plan 9-10). Here two temples dedicated to the patron deities, Athena and Apollo, were built.<sup>2496</sup> These two deities functioned as protectors of the seafarers. This is clear from an inscription mentioning that a certain Touesianos organized a contest to celebrate his safe return from a sea voyage and dedicated this contest to Athena and Apollo in order to show his gratitude towards them.<sup>2497</sup> In this inscription, the epithet of the contest was *epibaterios*. According to Alanyalı, this contest was about celebrating the new seafaring season when winter ended.<sup>2498</sup> One of the meanings of the word is “sacrifices on disembarkation”<sup>2499</sup> and a relief found in the monumental fountain outside the Eastern Gate of Side shows Athena making a sacrifice on an altar, while a ship with a pomegranate on top -the city’s symbol- is present in the background (Figure 4.19-20).<sup>2500</sup> Coins dating to the Roman Imperial period show Athena with a ship<sup>2501</sup> and thus emphasize the goddess’ connection with sea trade. Therefore, both Athena and Apollo acquired a maritime function in Side, and their temples located on the seashore enhanced and reminded the people of this maritime function.

According to the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, there existed an Artemis temple 9 nine stadia east of the River Melas.<sup>2502</sup> The temple stood on the coast and was seen from the sea as a prominent landmark. Bean and Mitford carried out some research in Kızılağaç and Kızılot but could not locate the temple, since, due to a possible change in the river’s course since ancient times, the temple may have been buried or washed away.<sup>2503</sup>

<sup>2495</sup> Akdoğdu-Arca et al. 2011, 288.

<sup>2496</sup> For the identification of temples, see The Cult of Athena in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.4.

<sup>2497</sup> Atlan 1967, 38.

<sup>2498</sup> Alanyalı 2011, 76.

<sup>2499</sup> Liddell and Scott  
[http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=e%29pibath%2Frios&la=greek&can=e%29pibath%2Frios0&prior=e\)pibathgo/s#lexicon](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=e%29pibath%2Frios&la=greek&can=e%29pibath%2Frios0&prior=e)pibathgo/s#lexicon) (online)

<sup>2500</sup> Mansel 1957b, 80.

<sup>2501</sup> Atlan 1967, footnote 37.

<sup>2502</sup> Nollé 1993a, 16.

<sup>2503</sup> Bean and Mitford 1965, 7.

### 5.6 Epithets

The last aspect that needs to be mentioned in relation to natural cults is the epithets of deities worshipped in the region that are related to natural features. In Greek polytheism, deities had an infinite amount of epithets attached to them, characterizing the specific honors that the deity possessed or functions that he/she was responsible for.<sup>2504</sup> These epithets highlighted different aspects of the deities and enabled worshippers to connect with the relevant functions of the deities in terms of their requests.<sup>2505</sup> Some epithets used for the deities worshipped in Pamphylia were directly derived from a distinct place in the landscape. One of these was Aphrodite Kastnietis whose epithet was according to Stephanus Byzantinus derived from Mount Kastnion in the territory of Aspendos. As discussed above, the location of Mount Kastnion remains unknown; however, Aphrodite Kastnietis was an indigenous goddess whose cult is documented by the epigraphic and numismatic evidence.<sup>2506</sup> Thus far, only one temple has been identified in the city and this was built in the eastern part of the Acropolis on a rock terrace. It had a central location and was visible to those who approached the city from the river and through the eastern gate. Classical pottery sherds and Hellenistic coins have been found in and around the *temenos*.<sup>2507</sup> However, no evidence is currently available to link the temple to Aphrodite or the hill to the Kastnion Mountain. Another deity whose epithet comes from a natural feature is Apollo *Elaibarios/Lyrbotai*, who was worshipped in Lyrboton Kome.<sup>2508</sup> This epithet consists of the word *elaia*, “olive trees”, and *baris*, a “large house, farm”, emphasizing the village’s richness in olive trees and its agricultural production depending on it.<sup>2509</sup> The production of olive oil in the village was further documented by the presence of several presses and it seems that Apollo was worshipped here as the protective deity of this production.<sup>2510</sup>

---

<sup>2504</sup> Wallensten 2008, 82.

<sup>2505</sup> Parker 2003, 175.

<sup>2506</sup> See The Cult of Aphrodite in Pamphylia, Chapter 4.5.

<sup>2507</sup> Özgür 1993, 251-61.

<sup>2508</sup> Şahin 1999a, 178, no.77.

<sup>2509</sup> Şahin 1999b, 437-45.

<sup>2510</sup> Çevik 2000, 79-102.

### 5.7 The Mythological Landscape

Apart from the physical sacred landscape, all kinds of mythological traditions intertwining with the land, region, and cities may have constituted a sacred landscape as well. From these myths, it is sometimes possible to draw some clues about a natural sacred space. As is well known, the foundation myths of the Pamphylian cities were developed around the motif of Greek heroes and seers traveling to the south in search for a new home after the Trojan War.<sup>2511</sup> In Perge, the evidence is abundant and comes mostly from the southern city gate, in which seven statues of mythological *ktistai* were placed in an oval courtyard. Rhixos was an unknown mythological figure until the discovery of the Pergaian base (Figure 3.9). The inscription on the base further informs us that “after Rhixos the Rhixoupous (Rhixos’ foot) is named”. Rhixoupous has been interpreted as a place name, maybe a little village, which possessed a foot-shaped natural characteristic and this might have given this place a divine quality. According to the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, there was a place called Rhouskopous on the coast south of Perge, on the western side of the point where the Kestros flew into the sea and this may have been the place referred to on the base.<sup>2512</sup> The inscription may be interpreted as evidence for a hero or a deity who visited this specific place.<sup>2513</sup> Rhixos may have given his name to Rhixopous, a cult place that possibly had a natural sacred quality. In any case, it seems that Rhixos was derived from the indigenous mythological tradition of the Pergaians or maybe the Pamphylians in general and that, although he had no roots in Greek or Roman mythology, he was a well-known figure in the collective memory of the people, as shown by his statue that was placed in the oval courtyard alongside other recognized heroes. Therefore, he must also have been a part of the mythological sacred landscape of the region.

---

<sup>2511</sup> See The Mythical Past of the Pamphylians, Chapter 2.

<sup>2512</sup> Şahin 1999a, 139; Weiss 1984, 181.

<sup>2513</sup> Dunanbin 1990, 85-109.

## Chapter 6

### AN INTEGRATED OVERVIEW OF CULTS AND RELIGIOUS

#### LIFE IN PAMPHYLIA

The earliest cult activity in Pamphylia is documented so far on the Acropolis of Perge and dates to the Early Bronze Age. The adoption of cultic traditions from neighboring cultures, such as the Hittites and Mycenaeans, is seen from the Middle Bronze Age onwards and was manifested in the material culture, such as libation pits and central hearths. This period also witnessed the development of some kind of a cultic architecture in Perge, which was characterized by wall enclosures, an *anta* building surrounding an ash altar, and a podium placed in front of it that might have served as a platform for votive offerings (“Area 1”). Between the 10<sup>th</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC this cult place started to have a more uniform layout, which included several houses with central hearths, that have been described as banqueting houses judging from the animal bones found inside. These structures encircled an *anta* building with a karstic hole filled with spring water, a hearth and niche, and an aniconic statue with a base in the form of an *omphalos* that was placed north of the building. Although some changes occurred in the cult area through time, the general idea stayed the same: banqueting houses surrounding a sacred place determined by an aniconic statue. Additionally, another sacred area developed on the southeastern hill of the Pergaian Acropolis, which was marked by natural features, such as rock formations, caves, and springs. Excavations conducted in this area revealed the presence of a stele erected in a room. This stele predated the room, which has been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC based on its masonry technique. Nevertheless, these cult places underwent major developments in time. After the demolition of the Archaic buildings, which can be associated with the conflicts between the Athenians and the Persians that marked the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, new structures were built, including a possible temple on the Acropolis. During the Hellenistic period, when the Greek influence increased, the Acropolis hosted the earliest temples built in the Greek style, with an *in antis* plan. During the Roman Imperial period, the Acropolis of Perge maintained its sacral character and this did not change during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. Three Christian basilicas mostly composed of three naves were constructed on top of and near the previous sacred buildings and areas, such as on the southeastern hill, which was

marked by a large *temenos* and characterized by many caves and grottoes. Consequently, the Acropolis of Perge witnessed a clear continuity from the Early Bronze Age into the Byzantine period and thus became one of the most important cult areas of Pamphylia based on what we know thus far. It thus sheds light on various cultic practices in a very long period, interestingly, without certain evidence about the deity/deities to whom they were dedicated. However, continuous cultic activity in the region could only be documented on the Acropolis of Perge and perhaps at Aspendos, where a *hekatompedon* may have been built, which finds its closest parallel in the large complex at Lefkandi dating to the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC. Nevertheless, the evidence is too limited to conclude if and how these cults interacted with each other.

However, we do have information about this for other places. From the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, the first identifiable cult recipients appeared in the archaeological and literary records. The Rhodians who founded Phaselis brought the goddess Athena with them from their mother city, Lindos. Other examples of Rhodians bringing their patron goddess to colonies in Asia Minor can also be seen in Rhodiapolis, Melanippion, Soloi, and Tarsos. From the Archaic period onwards, Athena became the main goddess of Phaselis and evidence from the city dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and written in the Doric dialect reveals that she was venerated here under the epithet *Polias*, a title which accentuated the deity's association with the *polis*.

Interestingly, the overall region is devoid of data providing information on the deities worshipped in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The existing cults, such as the Athena worship at Phaselis, the cult places on the Acropolis of Perge, and the possible *hekatompedon* at Aspendos, must have prevailed; however, no information about them or about new deities is present, due to the lack of archaeological and written data for this time. During the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the region was first attached to the kingdom of Lydia and later, in 540 BC, it became part of the Persian kingdom and was annexed to the first satrapy under the reign of Dareios I (521-486 BC). In contrast, the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC witnessed the proliferation of identifiable cults within the region, a phenomenon that is in accordance with the minting of the first coins. In this time, Pamphylia was still confined within the political administration of the first satrapy established by Dareios I (521-486) alongside Ionia, Caria, Lydia, and Milas. From this period onwards, the region witnessed Persian dominion, which lasted nearly 200 years. However, the Persian dominion in Pamphylia was not very strict. The Pamphylian cities paid taxes to the Persian king, but, nevertheless, minted their own coins, as a sign of their autonomy. Whether the Lydian and Persian

influence had a religious impact on the Pamphylian cities or not is hard to determine due to the lack of evidence. The city of Sillyon, however, hosted a Persian garrison from the rule of Dareios I onwards. The Men worship in the same town, which became particularly widespread in the Roman Imperial Period, might find its roots in this Persian influence, since according to one hypothesis, the god originated from the Persian moon god Mao. Nevertheless, the possible connection between Men and Mao, Mao's introduction to the city of Sillyon by Persian soldiers settled in the city's garrison, and the transformation of the cult to Men, which later, in the Roman Imperial period, would take an important place in Sillyon's pantheon, is currently lacking in the archaeological and written evidence, and, therefore, it cannot be suggested with certainty. The 5<sup>th</sup> century BC was also marked by the warfare between the Greeks and the Persians, by which Pamphylia was seriously affected. The Athenians defeated the Persians in the naval battle of the Eurymedon in 467-466 BC. The effects of this war seem also to be visible on the Acropolis of Perge, where the Archaic structures were destroyed. The cities of the region took sides with Athens in this period, since Perge, Sillyon, and Magydos appeared on the Athenian tribute lists of 425/424 BC. Pottery import from Athens to Pamphylia intensified as evidenced by the Attic ceramics encountered in many Pamphylian settlements, such as Perge, the Karaçalı Necropolis between Magydos and Perge, the so-called "Eastern Garage Necropolis" of Attaleia, Lyrboton Kome, Aspendos, and Sillyon. The Greek tradition of the *symposion* was introduced, at least to the Acropolis of Perge, where Attic drinking cups were found in great numbers. In such an environment, Athena appeared on the contemporaneous coins of Aspendos and Side, while her worship also continued in Phaselis. Coins with the depiction of Athena lasted in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC at Aspendos and later reappeared in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, apparently after a hiatus of nearly four centuries. The situation was completely different in Side. Here, Athena became the patron goddess of the city and her worship starting in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD continued without a break until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The image of Athena started to be portrayed on Side's coins with a complete Greek attire from the beginning onwards. This situation can be seen as the manifestation of a connection between Athens and Side. A particular symbol that accentuated Side's name in the indigenous Sidetan language often accompanied the goddess' image: the pomegranate. This powerful symbol was associated with the Sidetan Athena and became her attribute. The presence of the pomegranate has led scholars to suggest a syncretism between the Greek Athena and a Sidetan indigenous goddess, whose distinctive attribute was the pomegranate, as was the case with many

others eastern and Anatolian counterparts, like Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, and Kybele. A possible syncretism cannot be overlooked, since examples of syncretism, for instance, that between Wanassa Preiia and Artemis Pergaia did occur in the region. However, the Near East and Near Eastern religious beliefs might also have played a role in this process of syncretism considering the connection of Side with Near Eastern cities, especially in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, as manifested by a basalt statue base showing stylistic features belonging to Late Hittite Art. A third explanation would be that the Sidetans used the pomegranate, the name, and thus the symbol of their city, to express their individuality next to a figure that was very commonly known in the Greek world, such as Athena Parthenos. In any case, the use of the pomegranate can be accepted as an indigenous element belonging to the Sidetans, who thus seem to have exerted a special effort to demonstrate their Anatolian origin. The continuation of the use of the Sidetic language until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC also indicates the effort of preserving indigenous aspects through language. This is especially apparent in the foundation stories of the city. Unlike the other Pamphylian cities that connected themselves to a legendary Greek origin, Side favored an Anatolian background for itself. The famous story narrated by Arrian about Cumaean settlers coming to Side, who immediately forgot Greek and started to speak a different language, can also be seen as a way of emphasizing the Asiatic-Luwian background of Side, possibly as a result of a rivalry with the other Pamphylian cities who claimed a Greek ancestry. The foundation stories combined with archaeological evidence also provide interesting information concerning the religious beliefs of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC Aspendos. The 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC coins of the city portray the boar hunt of Mopsos, who sacrificed his hunt to Aphrodite Kastnietis, the local and patron goddess of Aspendos, who probably got her epithet Kastnietis from a local geographical feature, Mount Kastnion in Aspendos. These coins, therefore, not only shed light on the local religious beliefs and goddess of the Aspendians but also depict a ritual performed in honor of the goddess. This ritual was last mentioned by Dionysios Periegetes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which shows that this local tradition continued for (at least) nearly seven centuries. Moreover, the Aphrodite Kastnietis worship was present in the city until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, mainly on coin depictions.

Another interesting phenomenon worth mentioning belongs to the context of the foundation stories of the Pamphylian cities. In the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD), the courtyard between the southern round towers at Perge (the main entrance gate to the city from the south in the Hellenistic period) was transformed into a prestigious space of



display by the prominent Plancii family by adding several statues representing the city's ancient and current *ktistai*. Among the seven *ktistai* were Rhixos and Labos. Although Rhixos is said to have been an Athenian and Labos a Delphinian, they were figures that were previously unknown in Greek mythology until the discovery of these Pergaian bases. Therefore, they seem to have been important figures of the local Pergaian mythology, who later obtained a Greek ancestry and found their way among the Greek founders. A place called Rhixopous at the foot of the Kestros was possibly a sacred area that owed its sacral quality to a natural formation resembling a foot, as its name suggests. The religious festival of the *Labeia* that took its name from Labos was celebrated in the city in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and testifies to the significance of these local heroes for the city and its citizens. Consequently, these foundation stories -especially those evolving around the Greek hero/wanderer/seer motif- that started to be narrated from Herodotos (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) onwards and attributed Greekness to the Pamphylians (a notion that was promulgated by the majority of the Pamphylians but severely rejected by some modern scholars) also offer a glimpse on the indigenous mythology and beliefs.

Going back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC cults of the region, Apollo was another deity who appeared on the Sidetan coins alongside Athena. The worship of Apollo continued in the city until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD just like the worship of Athena. On the coins of this period, the dolphin stood for Apollo, just like the pomegranate stood for Athena. This symbol might have denoted Apollo's close connection with the sea in a port city, where the sea played a significant role. The bust of the deity appeared on coins dating to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and from this period onwards, a new iconography began to be developed for Apollo, which, in the following century, resulted in the creation of the iconography of the indigenous Apollo Sidetes.

The end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC were marked by important evidence for the cities of Pamphylia in terms of religious beliefs, namely the local names of the deities as they appeared in inscriptions written in the local Pamphylian dialect, and their process of transformation into their Hellenized counterparts. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards BC, a distinctive iconography for Apollo at Side started to be established. This depicted the deity with a short *chiton* and *chlamys*, making a libation from a *phiale* to an altar while holding a long laurel branch or staff in his other hand. This is an unusual iconography for Apollo, which was created for Apollo Sidetes, the native patron of the city, and it was continuously repeated in coin depictions and reliefs dating to the Roman Imperial period in such a frequency that some scholars have suggested that this could

have depicted the ancient, possibly Classical, cult image of the god. An inscription dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC found in Sillyon further reveals the god's name in the Pamphylian dialect as Apelon. The epithet used for the god was Putii/Pythion which referred to the cult of Apollo at Delphi and might suggest contacts between Sillyon and Delphi in this period. Sillyon, furthermore, used depictions of Apelon/Apollo in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, which shows the significant place of the god in the city's pantheon. The connection of the Phaselites with Apollo at Delphi had already been present in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, since the temple of Apollo at Delphi recorded a payment of an oracle of Apollo by the Phaselites. However, the earliest evidence of the Apollo cult in the city itself dates to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, when the god was worshipped under the epithet of *Iatros* (Doctor) as evidenced by an inscription written in the Doric dialect. The use of the Doric dialect shows the continuation of the influence of Rhodos, since the city was founded by Rhodian colonists from Lindos. This situation is further manifested in the Hellenistic coins of the city, on which Helios, the patron deity of Rhodos, was frequently depicted. Hestia and Hermes were other deities venerated in Phaselis in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. This perhaps forms evidence for religion in a domestic context, since the joint worship of Hermes and Hestia might have symbolized the inside and outside of a dwelling, *i.e.* the environment where women and men lived together at the level of the city. The Hermes worship, however, continued until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC at Phaselis. In addition, Zeus was another god who newly emerged in the iconographical/numismatic data of this period, since he was depicted on the coins of Sillyon in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. One of the most important pieces of evidence providing information on the indigenous pantheon of the region can also be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. An inscription secondarily used in the Severan monumental fountain of Perge records a votive offering made to Wanassa Preiia. This name corresponds with Artemis Pergaia in the Greek language and denotes the goddess and the lady of the city of Perge, one of the most known indigenous cults of Pamphylia. The term *Wanassa* had a long tradition in the Greek language, since it appeared already in Linear B tablets alongside its male counterpart *Wanax*. *Preiia*, on the other hand, is the genitive singular form of the ethnicon *Pergaia*. The "Queen of Perge" was later identified with Artemis, as attested by coins dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC at the earliest. On these coins both the legend in the Pamphylian dialect and in ancient Greek are present, just like the goddess appeared both in a Hellenized way with a short *chiton*, long boots, a bow and arrow, a scepter, a torch, and a deer, and in an indigenous way in the form of a *baitylos*, or an aniconic stone, in a distyle temple. The cult of Artemis at Perge was tremendously

famous, especially in the Hellenistic period, and both archaeological and literary evidence is present to confirm this. The *Artemision* attracted visitors not only from Pamphylia but also from neighboring regions. The cult was also spread outside Pamphylia, either in the form of private veneration or in a more institutionalized way. Perhaps, the simultaneous use of “Hellenized” and indigenous iconography and the use of the double name of the goddess on the coins -the most common portable and easily accessible medium- was the result of a need to address a multicultural clientele that looked for some sort of comfort in the Artemis worship. Additionally, two more cities yielded evidence for the indigenous epithet of Wanassa, namely Sillyon and Aspendos, in the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC respectively. At Sillyon, Wanassa appeared in the same above-mentioned inscription with Apelon (Apollo), Hiaroi, and Diwia. To firmly identify the Hellenized versions of Wanassa, Hiaroi, and Diwia is not possible due to the lack of comparative data. The question into which deity Wanassa of Sillyon was transformed, Artemis or another goddess, as the result of the Greek influence remains unanswered yet, as is the case with Hiaroi and Diwia. The same problem is valid for Aspendos, where inscriptions in the Pamphylian dialect record dedications to a certain *Wanassa Akrou* -the Queen of the Acropolis. Based on the possible derivation of the name Aphrodite Kastnietis from Mount Kastnion and on the preponderance of the cult of this goddess in Aspendos, we might tentatively suggest that *Wanassa Akrou* was the indigenous name of Aphrodite Kastnietis. This hypothesis undoubtedly needs to be supported by more evidence. It is also noteworthy to add the possible presence of the cult of Aphrodite on the Acropolis of Perge based on terracotta figurines with distinctive Aphrodite imagery found in a *bothros* that yielded materials dating between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.

By the spring of 334 BC, the Pamphylians were subdued to the rule of Alexander the Great and, together with Lycia and Pisidia, the region was annexed to the satrapy of Phrygia until 301 BC. From this date onwards, Pamphylia became a connection point between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. Until 188 BC, the peace treaty of Apameia that ended Seleucid dominion in Asia Minor, the cities of the region fell under the rule of either the Ptolemies or the Seleucids. The Hellenistic period witnessed the introduction of the ruler cult into the region. The presence of a priest of Zeus Nikator at Side and Lyrbe can be seen as an indicator of the loyalty of these cities to the Seleucids in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The divinity of rulers was undoubtedly also widely acknowledged with the rise of Roman power in nearly every city of the region; however, one of the earliest reflections is present in the cities of Side and Lyrbe. On the other hand, in the areas controlled by the

Ptolemaic kingdom, the worship of Egyptian deities started to be seen, for instance on 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC coins of Phaselis depicting Isis. The cities of Pamphylia, such as Phaselis, Aspendos, Perge, and Side, had a long-time connection with Egypt from the Archaic period onwards. However, the worship of these deities -Sarapis, Isis, and Harpocrates- was deliberately used by the Ptolemaic monarchs to ensure the loyalty of their Hellenic subjects and to strengthen the ties between the Egyptian and Greek communities. Although the evidence for the cult of Egyptian deities mainly dates to the Roman Imperial period, some examples, like those known at Phaselis, suggest that the influence already started in the Hellenistic period. The earliest evidence for the cult of Zeus and Hestia also appeared in Perge during this period in a votive inscription inscribed in the local Pamphylian dialect. Although the city has yielded no evidence regarding the cult of Hestia thus far, the cult of Zeus maintained its importance until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Furthermore, Zeus was related with the city's foundation stories and, according to an inscription, a temple dedicated to Zeus Machaonios once stood on the Acropolis of Perge, a place where the earliest cultic activities took place and, as mentioned above, preserved its sacral character from the Early Bronze Age into the Byzantine period, *i.e.* from its foundation onwards. Therefore, the location of the Zeus' temple, one of the earliest gods venerated in the city, on the Acropolis is hardly surprising.

After the Peace of Apameia in 188 BC and the end of Seleucid rule in western Anatolia, the political power over the region shifted to Pergamon with the support of Rome. The Attalids founded new cities in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, both to ensure their borders and to reach the Mediterranean, in order to have a share in the economic and military opportunities offered by the sea. Consequently, in 159-155 BC Attalos II founded a new city on the western coast of the region, named Attaleia after himself. Like a true *oikistes*, Attalos II brought certain cults from the mother city of Pergamon to Attaleia. Therefore, deities, such as Athena, Apollo, Zeus, and Dionysos, who were depicted on the coins of the city from its foundation onwards, might have been transferred from Pergamon, based on similarities in the coinage depictions of both cities or the existence of a worship under the same or a similar epithet, such as the *Zeus Tropaios* cult in Pergamon and the *Zeus Tropaiouchos* cult in Attaleia. The veneration of Poseidon in Attaleia, however, was different from the above-mentioned cults, since as far as currently known he did not have a cult in Pergamon in the Hellenistic period. Hence, Poseidon might have been a new deity for Attaleia, who symbolized the city's dependence on the sea in terms of military, commercial, and strategic aspects. All of these cults maintained their importance

in the Roman Imperial period, (at least) into the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Athena, Apollo, and Dionysos were also worshipped at Magydos. The use of a similar coin type both at Attaleia and at Magydos in the Hellenistic period indicates that both cities developed a close relationship from the foundation of Attaleia onwards. The choice of a similar coin type -as was the case with the Athena heads on the coins of both cities- possibly resulted from the need to express their political unity in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC through the imagery of deities. The expression of the political agenda through cults is not unique to the alliance between Attaleia and Magydos. After the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC, Side was quick to change sides, abandoning its longtime ally, the Seleucid kingdom, for Rome. Furthermore, this city proved its loyalty to Rome by establishing a new cult, the cult of Thea Rome/Dea Roma. This is the earliest evidence for her worship in Pamphylia and a good example of the political significance and use of a cult in a particular city, which shows that not only religious beliefs but also a political agenda could play a role in the foundation of cults.

After the death of Attalos III in 133 BC and the transfer of his kingdom to Rome by inheritance, the influence of Rome gradually increased. The end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, however, also witnessed the growing danger of piracy threatening the southern coasts of Asia Minor (and the rest of the Mediterranean). Although some of the cities, like Side and Phaselis, initially benefited from piracy, since they became main slave markets, the damaging effect of the pirates must have been felt soon. The threat of the pirates and the unstable environment in which Pamphylia found itself during this period, might have had an impact on the religious beliefs of the inhabitants too. For instance, the citizens of Syedra, who most probably did not want to be associated with the pirates, identified themselves as Pamphylians and consulted an oracle that advised them to put a statue of Ares in iron chains, to erect this statue in the middle of the *polis* and to offer sacrifices in order to prevent foreigners to sack their city. This ritual performed by the citizens of Syedra resonated in the collective memory of the people even in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, as the coins of these periods suggest. In Side, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, who defeated the pirates, was described as *isotheos time*, “worthy to godly honors”, and as the patron of the city on account of his accomplishments in the war against the pirates. Nollé has further suggested that Pompeius was accepted as *synnaos*, “temple sharer”, of Athena and, that, therefore, he received a joint cult with the goddess through the erection of his statue in her temple. During this period, plunder and looting were not limited to pirates. The Cilician quaestor Gaius Verres sacked the

*Artemision* of Perge, and stripped its cult statue of all gold and valuables, while he also took all statues from Aspendos and brought them to Rome in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. This incredibly disrespectful act must certainly greatly have affected the Pergaians and all the inhabitants of the rest of Pamphylia, since the cult of Artemis was very influential not only in Perge but also in the region in general. However, the temple and the statue must have recovered soon, since the cult maintained its importance throughout the Roman Imperial period.

While the oldest cults of the region, such as those of Athena, Artemis, Apollo, and Zeus, continued to be popular during the Hellenistic period, some new cults, such as those of the Egyptian gods, emerged, in relation to the political climate of the Mediterranean. Apart from the above-mentioned cults of Zeus Nikator and Thea Rome/Dea Roma, which had very visible political connotations, another goddess symbolizing the fortune, wealth, achievements, and luck of the Greek *polis* made her introduction into the pantheon of Pamphylia. Side was the first Pamphylian city that used the image of Tyche. Originally, she was the goddess of fortune and luck, but through time she became the personification of individual cities. She was depicted on the coins of Side next to a *vexillum* surmounted by the pomegranate, the city's symbol. This might have symbolized the victory of the Roman armies over the pirates and the significant role the harbor of Side played in this. Her cult witnessed a real boom in the Roman Imperial period. Furthermore, with the foundation of the new city of Attaleia by the Pergamene kingdom, the pantheon of Pamphylia was enriched with Poseidon and Dionysos, the former perhaps symbolizing the important role of the sea for this harbor city and the latter perhaps brought to Attaleia from Pergamon as a reminder of the cult of Dionysos *Kathegemon* (leader) who was widely worshipped at Pergamon. This co-existence of "old" and "new" cults was in accordance with the co-existence of native languages and ancient Greek that both appeared in the numismatic and epigraphic data dating to this period. Moreover, from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, a new religious community whose beliefs were drastically different than the other ones appeared in the region: the Jews. Evidence for Jewish presence comes from Side and forms the earliest information about a monotheistic region in Pamphylia. Therefore, the religious life of Pamphylia in the Hellenistic period witnessed the worship of deities of the indigenous pantheon, that of their counterparts in the Greek pantheon, and monotheistic beliefs.

Augustus (30/27 BC-14 AD) and the *Pax Romana* provided general stability for the region, which was followed by a period of (relative) prosperity. This prosperity is

reflected in the archaeological material, since most of the remains that we see today on the surface belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the following two centuries. Therefore, the amount of source material providing information on the cults and religious life of the region in this period is much larger compared to that of earlier times. From the Augustan period onwards, the impact of Roman-originated cults started to proliferate. A good example of this phenomenon comes from a relatively early date, the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in Attaleia. The city possessed the cults of Thea Rome/Dea Roma, Tiber, and the *Theoi Sebastoi*. One of the members of the Calpurnii family, Caecilia Tertulla, served as a priestess of Thea Rome/Dea Roma and Iulia Augusta. Although the Tiber worship might have been a personal devotion, it is unique and demonstrates the existence of religious beliefs with an Italic origin in the city. The information gathered from various Pamphylian cities in this period indicates that Italic families living in the region strongly participated in public life and, therefore, contributed to the establishment of these cults. The increasing impact of Roman political power, the need of the cities to find favor in Rome's eyes, and the increasing involvement of Italic and local élites also led to the emperor worship, in a more local form, such as the worship of the *Theoi Sebastoi*, or on a more regional scale, like the right to build an Imperial temple by the bestowment of the neocorate status. With these cults, the divinity of the Roman Emperors was accepted. A story about Aspendos informs us that the statue of the emperor (in this case Tiberius) that stood on the agora was perceived as divine, since a certain Roman governor took refuge at the feet of the statue. During the reign of Vespasianus (69-79 AD), the joint province of *Lycia et Pamphylia* was created and this eventually had political and religious repercussions. The city of Perge received its neocorate status and became one of the most important cities in the region. However, the foundation of such institutionalized cults certainly did not reduce the attention given to the traditional cults. The *Artemision* of Perge received *asyllia*, inviolability, most presumably during the period of Domitianus (81-96 AD). Tiberius Claudius Apollonios, a member of an important local family, very actively took part in the euergetic activities of the Early Imperial Period at Perge and contributed to the acquisition of this privilege by going to Rome three times at his own expenses. Therefore, not only élites from an Italic descent but also local citizens developed personal contacts with Rome. Judging by the numismatic and epigraphic evidence, the introduction of Demeter occurred in this period, as the coins of Magydos, Perge, Syedra, and Korakesion illustrate. Especially Magydos continuously used the image of Demeter on its coins in the following two

centuries. Demeter, therefore, became one of the goddesses promoted and put forward by the city, as Side did with Athena, Perge with Artemis, and Aspendos with Aphrodite. No evidence, however, survives to define whether Demeter was the Hellenized version of an already existing indigenous goddess or a new introduction to the pantheon in the Roman Imperial period. Moreover, the process of Christianisation of the region also begun in the Early Imperial period, since Pamphylia was visited by the Apostle Paul during his missionary visits in 45-49 AD. No information survives about how his preaches were received among the population of Perge but the number of Christians continuously increased in the following centuries. This seems to indicate that believers of polytheistic religion and monotheistic beliefs co-existed from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards when Judaism had started to be prominent.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD is the period for which we have the most information, not only about the cults but also about urban layout, architecture, and statuary decoration. In the Hadrianic period (117-138 AD), a festival called *Epibaterion*, which celebrated safe seafaring, was established at Side by a certain Touesanos. The festival, which possibly denoted the safe arrival of the emperor to Side, was dedicated first to Athena. Later, Apollo became the joint recipient. Another festival, the *Agon Mystikos*, was also founded at Side in the same period by a close friend of the emperor and this was dedicated to Demeter and Dionysos. Hadrianus' fondness of mystery rites might have triggered the establishment of such a festival. An ambitious architectural project accomplished under the patronage of Plancia Magna in Perge, resulted in the transformation of the Hellenistic gate and its interior courtyard into a more representative space through the erection of numerous statues, including the mythological and contemporary founders of the city and its most venerated deities. In this way, the inhabitants of Perge created a more Greek identity for themselves. Later on, during the eastern campaigns of Rome against the Parthians under the co-emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), a plague, possibly brought to Asia Minor by soldiers coming from Parthia, had a devastating effect on the region. The sudden increase in depictions of Asklepios and Hygieia on the coins of the cities of Pamphylia might be due to this pestilence. Some deities, which eventually would become symbols of the cities, started to appear frequently on the coins. Tyche, for instance, was portrayed on the coins of Attaleia, Magydos, Sillyon, Perge, Aspendos, Side (already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC), and Korakesion. Moreover, river gods, the personification of rivers, which were distinctive elements of the Pamphylian topography, appeared on the coins of Attaleia, Magydos, Aspendos,



Perge, Sillyon, and Side as an expression of self-identity. Furthermore, the depictions of Egyptian deities increased compared to the Hellenistic period, since cities like Attaleia, Perge, Aspendos, Side, and Lyrbe used the images of Sarapis/Isis/Harpokrates -the Egyptian triad- on their coins. The proliferation of similar cults in different towns of the region can point towards a rivalry amongst the cities. Perhaps, the most interesting development of this period was the introduction of Nemesis in the Pamphylian pantheon, due to the increasing influence of Rome. Her cult had existed already in Smyrna in Pre-Roman times, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, but it proliferated in the Roman Imperial Period, especially from the reign of Hadrianus onwards. Moreover, it was not limited to the eastern provinces but was widely encountered in the western regions as well. Her cult became very common among soldiers, gladiators, and state officials and was mainly associated with spectacles in theaters. This seems also to have been the case in Perge and Side, since archaeological and epigraphic evidence about the goddess is plenty for these cities.

The majority of statues, which mainly depicted gods and goddesses, were found in Perge and Side and date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. A detailed analysis studying them in their original find context and investigating the possible reasons behind the specific choice of arrangements has not been conducted yet, since many statues were not discovered *in situ* and/or if they were, they might have been brought to the buildings from somewhere else for secondary use. Therefore, their original context is frequently missing in the archaeological record. Some buildings, however, stood out because of their richness in statues. The bath-*gymnasium* complexes of Perge (Southern Baths) and Side (“Building M”) are among these. For instance, nearly fifty identifiable statues were found in the Southern Baths of Perge and among them, at least thirty-three depicted gods and goddesses. These statues were not the object of cults and they thus cannot be identified as *agalmata*, but they were mostly used for decorative purposes. They were, however, chosen carefully. The statues of Hermes and Herakles, guardians of *gymnasia*, were used in the bath-*gymnasium* complex where sportive activities were also practiced. Statues depicting a naked Aphrodite with attributes related to water, like a *hydria* and seashells, were put in several rooms. Statues of Asklepios and Hygieia represented the healing function of water. Therefore, these sculptures may have been used as reminders of the cultic functions of the deities. The cluster of emperor statues found in the northern portico of the *palaestra* led researchers to attribute a special meaning to this space as a “Kaisersaal”, *i.e.* an area reserved for the worship of the Emperor cult. However, this area

is devoid of any other evidence, archaeological or epigraphic, that would identify it as a cult place. The space, being the northern portico of the *palaestra* of the Southern Baths, is hardly suitable for the practice of any rituals related to such an important cult that was bestowed to the city as part of the fourth neocorate. Recent studies have indeed designated this area rather as a portrait gallery reserved for the commemoration of the Imperial ideology. However, the combination of the altar (described in its inscriptions as *hieroma* -a consecrated object) that was found in the *frigidarium* and designates Apollo as *Mousagetes*, and the nine statues of the Muses discovered in the same room might suggest a religious function for the space.

Pamphylia became the main station for several legions of Rome from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onwards and offered its loyalty as well as logistic support (such as food supply) to Rome thanks to its strategic location and fertile land. The Pamphylian cities supplied grain to the Roman army and this may have resulted in the prominence of deities related to crops, harvests, and abundance, such as Demeter *Anarsitike* (the one who helps to raise the grain), Zeus *Halonites* (the protector of thresholds), and Dionysos in Side and its territory. The loyalty of the Pamphylian cities towards Rome highly paid off, since, during this period, Perge and Side got the privilege to build an Imperial temple one after another and by the time of Aurelianus (270-275 AD) both cities had received their sixth neocorates. The temple of Men at Sillyon obtained its *asylia* status in the same period of Aurelianus. In this way, the traditional cults were not only maintained, but they also increased their importance during this period. For instance, an *acclamatio* inscription erected at Perge in the period of Tacitus states that Artemis Pergaia was equal in fame to Artemis Ephesia. When foreign invasions started to threaten the Pamphylian cities, as was the case with other cities of Asia Minor, Perge and Side reinforced their fortification walls. New defense systems with a new city gate dating to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD were added to the Hellenistic walls of Perge, encircling the southern part of the city. The gate was decorated with statues of deities, which were probably collected from other buildings. Among the deities were Athena, Nemesis, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Asklepios. A similar situation occurred at Side, as also this city repaired and reinforced its fortification walls in the same period. The inhabitants of Side proudly displayed their new defense system on their coins showing Apollon Sidetes in between the gates. In this way, Apollo might have acquired the function of Apollo *Propylaios* (the gatekeeper) although this is not mentioned in the epigraphic data. In 243 AD, Gordianus III (238-244 AD) raised the status of the local festival of the *Agon Phoibeios* that was

celebrated in honor of Apollo at Side. Moreover, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the worship of Apollo apparently gained a sudden increase, which perhaps moved him to the first place, thus surpassing Athena. One of the most remarkable novelties in the religious life of the region was the introduction of the cult of Mithras to Perge in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD by soldiers fighting in the Eastern campaigns. A *Mithraeum* was built on a slope of a hill in the northern part of the city. The apparition of new deities was not always only related to the political climate but can also have been linked with natural phenomena. For instance, the portrayal of Poseidon on the coins of Side in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and his veneration under the epithet *Asphaleios* (securer, steadily, immovable) might have been associated with the earthquakes that shook the southern cities in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>2514</sup>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD eventually witnessed the decline of the traditional polytheistic religion, while the following centuries were marked by the increase of the monotheistic Christian religion in the region. Martyr stories from various Pamphylian cities, which evolved around the theme of the persecution of Christians who refused to follow pagan rites, are present in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. This narrative was reversed in the Diocletianic period (284-305 AD), when Christians from the countryside of Side and Perge attacked and damaged the temples of Artemis in both cities. This means that the Late Roman Imperial period witnessed hostile attitudes of the two parties towards each other. The obvious result of the rise of Christianity from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards can be detected in both the epigraphic data and in the urban layout of the cities with the construction of churches and/or getting out of use of pagan sanctuaries. Unfortunately, data indicating the coexistence of pagans and monotheists from this period onwards are lacking, which, according to my opinion, can be considered as the main research issue regarding the transition period from polytheism to monotheism.

---

<sup>2514</sup> Appendix 2. Table 1-2.

## Chapter 7

### CONCLUSION

This thesis documented the presence of a myriad of gods and goddesses worshipped in Pamphylia. The cultic landscape of the region seems to have been an amalgamation of local and foreign aspects as was the case with its population. This conclusion will focus on several wh- questions (where, when, who, what, why and how?) concerning the cults and religious life in Pamphylia.

This study aimed to understand the cults and religious life of the region of Pamphylia. over a long period of time, from the Archaic period until the beginning of Late Antiquity, by focusing on various aspects. Covering such a long period allowed identifying and telling the religious history of the region and its people in a diachronic way and determining the continuity and changes the cults and religious customs underwent through time depending on the political, social, economic, and environmental conditions.

Besides, this dissertation demonstrated that the geographical quality of the region had an impact on its historical, political, social, cultural and religious developments. The name of Pamphylia, situated on the southwestern coast of Anatolia, means “the land of all tribes”, which refers to the different communities living in the region. The archaeological and linguistic data recovered from various settlements confirm this name, since they indicate the presence of various population elements, such as Mycenaean, Hittite, Eastern Mediterranean, Cypriot, Aiolic, Doric, and native. Cyprus and Cilicia are other areas whose influence is manifested in the material culture. In the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, colonizing movements dominated the narrow coastal land between Attaleia and Phaselis, where the Aeolians founded colonies like Thebe, Lyrnas/Lyrnateia, and Tenedos. Environmental factors played a decisive role in the multitude of communities within the region, and in the movement of people to and from Pamphylia. The region witnessed a gradual increase of Greek aspects in the following periods between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC but, nevertheless, retained its native languages. This mobility was easily achieved thanks to the region’s location. The Roman Imperial period was a time during which the Pamphylian cities immensely developed thanks to the steady political environment in the first two centuries AD. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, however, the

Pamphylian cities hosted a relatively new group of people comprised of soldiers from all over the Roman world, since the region became the main station for the Roman armies campaigning in the East. The region did not lose its importance during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period. This multitude of various communities in Pamphylia owed their presence to the favorable geographic conditions, topographical accessibility and the strategic location of the region. These enabled the introduction of new cults and religious ideas from neighbouring regions or even further away and eventually led to the co-existence of native and foreign aspects during a long period of time. In addition, the karstic geological formation made water abundant in the region, especially in terms of underground water that rises to the surfaces via rock cavities. Besides, the sea and four rivers dominated the landscape of the region. All these natural features played a prominent role in the sacred landscape of Pamphylia and led to the association of some gods and goddesses with distinct topographical aspects.

Why were the deities represented in the pantheon of Pamphylia worshipped by the inhabitants of the region? What was the nature of their cults? What was the expectation of the people from them? Various epithets used for the deities denote the specific cultic function of gods and goddesses. Additionally, iconographic aspects emphasize the role of deities in the cities' pantheon. Thirdly, the organization of several festivals was sometimes dedicated to the commemoration and celebration of a specific aspect of a deity. The same deities could be invoked in different cities, and even in the same city, with different purposes. In the Archaic-Classical period and in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (this gap should be due to the lack of sufficient excavations in the city) Athena was venerated in Phaselis under the epithet *Polias*, derived from the word *polis*, and this denotes the close association of the goddess with Phaselis as the protectress of the city. The same epithet appeared in Attaleia in the Roman Imperial period. In Side, the most distinctive symbol of Athena, the pomegranate, which was used from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards, might, on the one hand, have symbolized the close relationship of the goddess with Side and, on the other, have referred to her role in the fertility and abundance of the land. The *Epibateira* festival organized in Side from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards accentuated the goddess' role in safe seafaring, a role of high importance in a harbor city like Side. She was even depicted on the parapet reliefs of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD monumental fountain outside the city gates while making a libation on an altar and with a ship on the background. Furthermore, she was identified as *Prokathozomene Theos* (who sits before others) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, which shows her initial position in the pantheon. Other sources indicating

the presence of the goddess in these cities are plenty, which shows that Athena held special importance in the pantheon of Phaselis, Attaleia, and Side.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, Apollo was invoked in Side as *Theos Patroos Ktistes* (the ancestor god and founder). This epithet, which was commonly encountered in Lycia as well, accentuated the god's status as a Sidetan, who founded the city as an ancestral god and also protected the Sidetan families. This epithet, therefore, had also indigenous implications. Apollo's localness was further emphasized by his special iconography that appeared from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. Moreover, his partnership with Athena in the *Epibateira* festival accentuated his protector role over the seafarers. Their temples, which stood side by side in the harbor, reinforced this role. Furthermore, the festivals of *Phoibeios* and the *Pythia*, celebrated in his honor in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, a fragment of an *omphalos*, the presence of raven next to the god on some of the coins, as well as oracular verses on the base of an altar erected in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD might all symbolize the connection between Side and Delphi and thus suggest an oracular function for Apollo in Side. The same function may have been present in Sillyon, where a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription described Apollo as *Apelona Pythia*. In the same period, Apollo was venerated in Phaselis as *Iatros* (the doctor) which symbolizes the god's healing aspects. Moreover, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD inscription found in Attaleia designated the god as *Archegetes*, a title that denoted a deity's aspect as the founder of a city or a family. In this sense, Apollo *Theos Patroos Ktistes* of Side and Apollo *Archegetes* of Attaleia showed similarities. The epithets used for the god were plenty in Perge and, therefore, indicated many of his aspects. In an inscription of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, he was venerated as *Soter* (savior), *Epekoos* (who listens to the prayers) and *Pamphylos* (the Pamphylian). Although the titles *Soter* and *Epekoos* could be used for many deities, *Pamphylos* was unique to Perge and emphasized not only the local but also the regional significance of Apollo. Furthermore, he was designated as *Pythios* in a 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD inscription, which shows a relationship between Perge and Delphi. Since Apollo was considered the father of Mopsos, the Delphinian, on one of the *ktistes* inscriptions placed in the oval courtyard, this relationship is seen in the mythological foundation of the city. The epithet *Mousagetes* (leader of the Muses) (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) indicates Apollo's patronage over poetry, music, and singing. The most interesting epithet, however, was *Kerykeios* (of a herald), which thus far has only been found on a *phiale* from Tanagra dated to the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC. This designation might forge a connection between Apollo and Hermes, since they had similar iconographical aspects in Side and their oracular powers were apparent in *astragaloi*

inscriptions found in Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycia. The epithet *Lyrboton* encountered in Lyrboton Kome (the rural settlement near Perge) and that of *Elaibaris* denoting an olive farm possibly found in Lyrboton Kome both highlighted the god's local relationship with the village and his presumable role in the abundance and protection of olive and oil production for which the village was renowned. Therefore, epithets are also important to enlighten lesser-known rural cults.

Artemis' relation with the city of Perge as its patron goddess is very evident, not only because of the abundance of the archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic data but also thanks to her most frequently used epithet *Wanassa Preiia* (the queen of Perge) and her epithet *Pergaia* (of Perge). The title *Asylos* indicated the inviolable status of her temple from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards. Moreover, the epithet *Asylos Epiphanes* recorded in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD designated her as "the manifesting goddess". The attributes of the goddess, in addition, revealed many other aspects concerning the nature of Artemis' cult. The aniconic depiction of Artemis as *baitylos* or *xoana* resembled indigenous Anatolian deities, such as Agdistis, Kybele, the Ephesian Artemis, the Aphrodisian Artemis, and the Carian Zeus, and possibly related her cult to the earth. The torches, which frequently appeared on the coins, might have attributed a chthonic aspect, frequently seen with the goddesses Hekate, Hestia, Demeter, and Kybele, to the Pre-Hellenic worship of *Wanassa Preiia*, who was later identified with the Greek Artemis. Sphinxes may have been interpreted as the companions of the Mother Goddess, a characteristic status, for which Artemis Pergaia was not an exception. Celestial figures accentuated her dominion over the sky and her role as the queen of heaven, just like she was the queen of Perge. Moreover, her portraying as a huntress symbolized her relationship with the wild nature and with beasts and thus possibly represented her as a mediator between the wild and the civilized. An interesting epithet used for the goddess in Attaleia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD was *Elaphebolos* (the shooter of the stags), which, as at Perge, highlighted the huntress character of Artemis.

The epithet *Kastnietis*, which was derived from Mount Kastnion in Aspendos and used for Aphrodite, showed the close connection of Aphrodite with the city as its patroness. In this sense, there might have been a similarity between Athena *Polias* of Phaselis and Artemis *Pergaia* of Perge. In the Roman Imperial period the deity was venerated at Perge under the epithet *Epekoos* (the one who hears/listens the prayers). Votive inscriptions dedicated to her in Perge and Side by officials from the Late

Hellenistic period onwards, indicate that she had a role in the administrative civic life as the protectress of civic officials.

Zeus' epithets, encountered in the Pamphylian cities, are various and, therefore, indicate the manifold nature of the god. In Phaselis, he was invoked as the guarantor of oaths, as a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC agreement between the Phaselites and Mausollos shows, and as Zeus *Boulaios*, which indicated the god's function as the protector of the *Bouleuterion/Boule*. Zeus played a role in the administrative life of Phaselis, just like Aphrodite did in Perge and Side. Zeus received the epithet of *Tropaiouchos* (to whom the trophies are offered) in Attaleia. A similar epithet, *Tropaios*, which had a clear military connotation, was used for Zeus in the Pergamene kingdom, as shown in an inscription commemorating Attalos II's campaign in Thrace. The presence of the Zeus cult in Attaleia was possibly the result of its foundation by Attalos II, and the cult of Zeus *Tropaiouchos*, therefore, might have been related to the city's foundation and the military victories of the Attalids. However, the joint worship of Zeus and Hestia in Perge, as evidenced by a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription, might have symbolized the important place of these gods in civic life and in the household respectively and thus as the guardian deities of city councils. In this regard, their functions are not quite clear. Nevertheless, the cult of Zeus *Poliouchos* (the city protector) in the city in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD certainly ascribed a public cult to the deity, accentuating his protection over the *polis*. One epithet, Zeus *Machaonios*, makes the deity immediately related to the city's foundation, since Machaon was one of the legendary founders of Perge. Zeus' relationship with the ruler cult of the Hellenistic period at Side has already been shown above through the presence of a priest of the Zeus Nikator cult. Other epithets acquired from the city, however, shed light on more traditional roles and/or indigenous aspects of the god. An epigram of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD designated him as *Barybremetai* (loud-thundering), as he was the lord of the sky, and as *Anakti Theon*, (lord of all gods), as he was the highest deity in the Olympian pantheon. The worship of Zeus *Aspidios* (Early Imperial period) and that of Zeus *Norites* (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD) are, however, unattested apart from Side. They might have symbolized a local cult that was related to the birth of Zeus and a toponym respectively. The epithet Zeus *Halonites* (of the threshing floor), attested for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, showed that the god was also worshipped among the Sidetans as the guardian of crops and the abundance of harvests. Finally, the presence of the epithet Zeus Helios Megalos Sarapis in Side indicates the syncretism between Zeus and Sarapis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Apart from that, the village of Lyrboton Kome offered a peculiar title



for Zeus as well: Zeus *Drymon*. The word *drymon* (oak thicket) had a clear connection with Zeus' sacred tree that played an important role in his cult.

Two aspects of Hermes became prominent in Pamphylia. In Phaselis he possibly played a role within the domestic context together with Hestia as the protector of thresholds and dangers coming from outside. He was also venerated because of his divinatory powers, which were especially connected with dice oracles in Pamphylia, as well as in neighboring regions, as attested by his epithet *Astragalomanteia* (of divination through astragals) known at Perge (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).

The character of Ares and his cult in Pamphylia was quite different from how the Greeks generally perceived him. First of all, he was deeply connected with the mythological foundation of Perge, since one of the legendary founders, Orchomenos, was Ares' son. Secondly, he was invoked by the guards of the Acropolis of the same city as a protective deity under the epithet *Epekoos* (the one who hears, listens to the prayers). Furthermore, his divinatory powers are attested in 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD inscriptions coming from the territory of Side.

In the Early Imperial period, Dionysos' relationship with the theater was evident, since the city of Side housed a guild of the "Artists of Dionysos", who dedicated a statue for the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD). Apart from his connection with the theater and the theatrical performances held under his patronage, mystery rites might also have been performed for the god, since "Building P", which was previously attributed to Men, is now seen as related with the *Agon Mystikos* celebrated in honor of Demeter and Dionysos from the Hadrianic period onwards (117-138 AD). Dionysos might have been considered responsible for the abundance of crops, just like his companion in the mystic rites, Demeter, who received the epithet *Anarsitike* (the one who helps to raise the grain) in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. Helios was another deity who was perceived as responsible for the growth of crops and grain as an eternal source of light, as attested in Side and Lyrbe. The veneration of Asklepios and Hygieia with the epithets *Soter* (savior) and *Epekoos* in Perge and Side during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD indicate that they were invoked due to their nature as healer deities. Finally, Nemesis had a clear religious function related to the games held in the theaters and she was possibly the guardian of gladiators with her epithet *Epekoos*. However, the epithet, *Ennodia* (the one of the roads), uniquely used for

Nemesis at Perge, expressed her possible association with Hekate, since Hekate was mainly venerated as the goddess of the roads and intersections.<sup>2515</sup>

Where were these gods and goddesses worshipped? Some recurrent patterns emerge concerning the location of sanctuaries in the various Pamphylian cities. The Acropolis of Perge maintained its sacral character from the Early Bronze Age into the Byzantine period. Although the cult recipients of the structures remain unknown, scholars have suggested the existence of sanctuaries for Artemis *Pergaia* and Aphrodite, whereas epigraphic testimony records a Zeus *Machaonios* temple. Based on the find spots of the inscriptions and the clusters of archaeological remains, the sanctuaries of Athena, Zeus, and Apollo in Phaselis were presumably also located on the Acropolis. The city of Sillyon was also founded on a hill with a flat surface resembling that of Perge. Some buildings have been identified as sanctuaries as the result of surveys; however, there is no certain evidence for their cult recipients. At Aspendos, a temple has been identified in the eastern part of the Acropolis, on a rocky terrace. It had a central location and was visible to those approaching the city from the river and the eastern gate. In and around the *temenos* pottery sherds dating to the Classical period and Hellenistic coins were found. However, again no evidence is available to link the temple to a particular god or goddess. Aphrodite might be a possibility, if the hill on which the Acropolis was built was indeed called Mount Kastnion.

Outside the Hellenistic fortifications of Perge, an extra-mural *temenos* was located in the south, in which the remains of at least two temples, one Doric and the other in the Ionic order, have been revealed. Additionally, a Late Antique basilica, which was probably built on top of an earlier temple, has been interpreted as a possible temple in the area. Although also the cult recipients of these temples are unknown, the area doubtlessly had a sacred character from the Late Hellenistic into the Late Antique period. Contrary to this situation, also intra-mural temples existed, as we see in the example of Side, where two temples were built next to each other in the harbor, possibly in the Late Hellenistic period, and were dedicated to Athena and Apollo. Another intra-mural temple was situated next to the theater, whose first construction phase dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Only assumptions can be made about to whom this temple was dedicated, including Dionysos, Dea Roma, Augustus, and Nemesis. The so-called ‘Temple P’ of Side, a semi-

---

<sup>2515</sup> Appendix 3. Table 2.

circular building, possibly housed mystic rituals related to Demeter, Persephone, Hades, and Dionysos.

Some deities were also worshipped in a specially designated place inside a building. For instance, the *deipnisterion* (the banqueting hall) of Dionysos, which was reserved for the cult of Dionysos and the Imperial cult, was located in the southern stoa of “Building M”, a bath-*gymnasion* complex in Side. The *monopteros* in the agora/*macellum* of the city of Side has been interpreted as a *Tycheion* based on coin depictions, while a similar purpose has also been proposed for its counterpart in Perge. Furthermore, recent excavations conducted in the western colonnaded street of Perge revealed a space on its southern side. In terms of its location, the space looks like a shop, but it had a larger entrance than the other shops and was strongly accentuated by means of two decorated door frames. The floor was paved with a polychrome mosaic and the southern wall, revetted with colorful marble tiles included a niche that was connected with an underground channel system in which many terracotta figurines were found.<sup>2516</sup> The study of these figurines and further research conducted in the area will hopefully provide information on the identity of the deities venerated in this sacred space.

For a place to be sacred, it did not need an elaborate architecture; often a natural characteristic sufficed. Examples of this phenomenon are also present in Pamphylia. The cave of Karain was used for the mystery rites of Meter in the Roman Imperial period, while the artificial cave created in the northern part of the Acropolis of Perge was reserved for Mithraic rituals. The Gurma/Hurma Cave to the west of Antalya also housed the cult of Meter *Theon*. The southeastern hill of the Acropolis at Perge was characterized by numerous rock crevices and grottoes filled with spring water and this has been interpreted by Martini as the reason why Artemis was worshipped in the large *temenos* behind it. On the bottom of the sinkhole near Lyrboton Kome a church was constructed, but inscriptions on the walls of the sinkhole that can be dated to the Roman Imperial period and are assumed to have been carved by pilgrims may indicate the earlier sacredness of this rock formation. Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe situated further north, at the border between Pamphylia and Pisidia, is another good example of a cult evolving around a natural feature, in this case, a large cave opening in which votive offerings ranging from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD were found. Later, on top of the natural cave entrance, a temple was built, which was visited by people from Pamphylia in the Hellenistic and

---

<sup>2516</sup> Personal communication with the archaeologists of the Antalya Museum.

the Roman Imperial period, as the numismatic evidence suggests. In addition, rivers also held a special significance for the Pamphylian cities, since many of them used the image of river gods on their coins. However, no evidence is currently present about sacred places near their banks.

What were the rituals practiced in honor of these deities? Unfortunately, the evidence coming from Pamphylia regarding cults and religious life is very limited when it comes to rituals. Sacrifices and communal feasting must have been very important, at least from the Archaic period onwards, as shown by the many banqueting houses on the Acropolis of Perge, in and around which bones belonging to various animals were discovered. The *bothros* on the Acropolis, which yielded terracotta figurines dating to the 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, reveals that dedicating figurines to the deities must have been a common practice. The same can be seen in the cult space along the western colonnaded street and in the Yumuklar-Arpalik Tepe sanctuary. Festivals celebrated in honor of deities can be counted among these rituals. Within the scope of at least one of them, the festival for Artemis Pergaia, a sacred procession combined with animal sacrifices was organized. Besides, an inventory at Perge lists the offerings made to the *Artemision* in the Hellenistic period. The offerings included small shields or discs, which were sometimes embellished with the image of Artemis and had hooks to be attached to a wall, golden and bronze pins (*peronai*), seals (*typoi*), and a composition of a necklace made of acorns and reeds. Additionally, bronze statues of prominent people were also erected in her *temenos* during this period. While describing the weapons of the Heroic Age, Pausanias stated that the spear of Achilles was dedicated to the temple of Athena at Phaselis. An inscription found in Lyrboton Kome mentioned that lances were offered to Zeus Drymon.

When were festivals/games introduced into the region? Our earliest evidence about festivals comes from Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century BC-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) who mentioned the *panegyris* celebrated in honor of Artemis Pergaia. However, this date seems very late compared to other parts of the Greek world and surely this *panegyris* must have had a predecessor considering the native nature of Artemis Pergaia. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence are silent concerning this matter. The situation is similar when it comes to sacred processions. Although a Roman Imperial inscription from Perge informs us about a *hiera plateia*, a sacred road, which was most likely reserved for festivals in honor of Artemis Pergaia, the foundation of this procession must have gone back to earlier times, especially when taking into consideration the sacred processions of the Ionian region, which appeared already in the Archaic period. Some scholars have attempted to

reconstruct the possible itinerary of the sacred procession for Artemis Pergaia, based on different hypotheses concerning the location of the *Artemision*, which currently remains unknown.

We can wonder what set Pamphylia apart from the neighbouring regions in terms of religious life. Answering to this question is not easy and requires a detailed analysis, not only of Pamphylia but of other areas as well. The state of the evidence is crucial in this matter. For instance, adequate evidence exists for the urban centers of Pamphylia, whereas source material from the rural sites is limited and this prevents us from making a complete comparison with other regions. In spite of this, some preliminary assumptions can be made. First of all, the topography of Pamphylia is distinctly different than that of its neighbors, since the core of the region is a large alluvial plain compared to the rugged mountainous Lycia, Pisidia, and Rough Cilicia. This undoubtedly negatively affected the conservation of the ancient remains and sites in Pamphylia due to modern occupation, which is relatively limited in the other regions. The reflection of this might be seen in the natural sacred spaces of Pamphylia. The sacred caves and grottoes are clustered in the mountainous areas, which set the limit between Pamphylia and Lycia in the west, Pisidia in the north, and Cilicia in the East. The rock reliefs are also very few compared to the aforementioned regions. However, this did not prevent the Pamphylians to practice their religious beliefs in caves and grottoes located on the southern slopes of the Acropolis of Perge, and in the doline near Lyrboton Kome, and even to artificially create a grotto in Perge or to visit caves in the border areas. Some epithets were uniquely encountered in Pamphylia, such as *Pamphylos* and *Kerykios* for Apollo, *Ennodia* for Nemesis, *Kastnietis* for Aphrodite, and *Drymon*, *Aspidios* and *Norites* for Zeus, which all might refer to toponyms or indicate indigenous beliefs. In this sense, Pamphylia did not remain behind its neighbors in terms of the multitude of local cults. However, most of all, the region shone out among the other regions due to the predominance of *Wanassa*, its queen. Inscriptions from Perge, Sillyon, and Aspendos reveal the presence of the cult of *Wanassa* in each city. One of them was later identified with Artemis, who received a supra-regional reputation. On the other hand, the later identity of the other two “queens” remains unknown thus far.

Future research conducted in the region will doubtlessly increase our understanding of these matters and will further contribute to answering the questions that are currently remaining. In contrast to the abundance of cults, we do not know much about how people privately experienced religion during and after their lives and how they

connected with the gods. The exploration of the domestic and funerary cults could further contribute to our understanding of the religious beliefs of the Pamphylian population in a broader context. Additionally, our limited knowledge about the ritual practices is another issue that needs to be addressed in further studies of the cults of the region and could be overcome by the combination of stratigraphical archaeological excavations and new scientific analyses including palaeobotany and archaeozoology. Another issue is the predominance of evidence about religious life coming from urban centers over that from rural sites. Thus far, excavations have mainly focused on city centers, which has created a void in the understanding of the countryside, where most information regarding indigenous cults or private practices might have come from. This void, however, has started to be filled thanks to the excavations of Lyrboton Kome and the surveys on the territory of Sillyon. Further research will surely contribute to increase our understanding about this matter.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Ancient Sources

Aeschylus. *Fragments*. Loeb Classical Library 505, edited and translated by Alan H. Sommerstein. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Aeschylus. *Persians. Seven against Thebes. Suppliants. Prometheus Bound*. Loeb Classical Library 145. edited and translated by Alan H. Sommerstein.. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Antoninus Liberalis. *Metamorphoses*. translated by F. Celoria, Routledge, London 8, 2001.

Apollodorus. *The Library*. Loeb Classical Library 121. Volume I: Books 1-3.9. Translated by James G. Frazer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Apollonios Rhodios. *The Argonautica*. The Loeb Classical Library. translated by R.C.Seaton, London, William Heinemann, New York, G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1921.

Appian. *Roman History*. Volume II. Loeb Classical Library 3. edited and translated by Brian McGing. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912.

Arrianos. *Anabasis*. translated by E. I. Robson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Athenaios. *Deipnosophistai*. (online source)  
[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Athenaeus/3C\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Athenaeus/3C*.html), 06.08.2019.

Augustus. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/resgestae1.html>, 25.07.2019.

Callimachus. *Hymns and Epigrams*. The Loeb Classical Library 129, translated by Mair A, W and Mair G, R, London, 1921.

Callimachus. *Musaeus. Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments. Hero and Leander*. Loeb Classical Library 421. edited and translated by C. A. Trypanis, T. Gelzer, Cedric H. Whitman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Callimachus. *The Poems of Callimachus*. translated by F. Nisetich, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*,  
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0009>, 25.07.2019.

Cicero. *Against Verres 2.1.53-86*. translated by I. Gildenhard. OpenBook Publishers, 2011.

Columella. *De Re Rustica*. The Loeb Classical Library Series. translated by E.S.Forster and E. H. Heffner, Volume III, Books 10-12, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1955.

Dio Cassius. *Roman History*. Loeb Classical Library 83. Volume VI: Books 51-55. translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History*. Volume XII: Fragments of Books 33-40. Loeb Classical Library 423. Translated by Francis R. Walton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Euripides. *Fragments: Aegeus-Meleager*. Loeb Classical Library 504. edited and translated by Christopher Collard, Martin Cropp. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Euripides. Iphigeneia in Tauris. (online source), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0112>, 30.07.2019.

Eustathios. *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem; ad fidem exempli romani editi*, ed. Gottfried Stallbaum, l. 1825. Leipzig.

*Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*. ed. J. Rougé, Les éditions de Cerf, 1966.

Heliodorus, FGrHist IV, 425f.

Herodotus. *The Histories*. The Loeb Classical Library. translated by A. D. Godley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1920.

Homer. *Iliad*. Volume I: Books 1-12. Loeb Classical Library 170. translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by William F. Wyatt. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Homer. *Iliad*. Volume II: Books 13-24. Loeb Classical Library 171. translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by William F. Wyatt.. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925.

Homer. *Odyssey*. Volume I: Books 1-12. Loeb Classical Library 104. translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by George E. Dimock. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.

Homer. *Odyssey*. Volume II: Books 13-24. Loeb Classical Library 105. translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by George E. Dimock. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.

Hesiod. *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*. Loeb Classical Library 57. edited and translated by Glenn W. Most. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.



Hesiod. *The Homeric Hymns and Homeric. Shield of Heracles*. translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914.

Libanius. *Autobiography and Selected Letters, Volume I: Autobiography. Letters 1-50*. Loeb Classical Library 478. edited and translated by A. F. Norman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Lucian. *De Dea Syria*. The Loeb Classical Library. translated by A.M. Harrison, , Harvard University Press, 1961.

Lycophron. *The Alexandra*. The Loeb Classical Library with English Translation and Notes by G.W. Mooney, London, 1921.

Nonnos. *Dionysiaca*, Volume II: Books 16-35. Loeb Classical Library 354. translated by W. H. D. Rouse. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Volume I: Books 1-8. Loeb Classical Library 42. translated by Frank Justus Miller. Revised by G. P. Goold. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916.

Pausanias. *Description of Greece I-V: Books 1-10*. Loeb Classical Library 93, 188, 272, 297-298 (5 volumes), (translated by W. H. S. Jones). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2006.

Philostratus. *Lives of the Sophists*. 2,6, Loeb Classical Library, with an English translation of W.C. Wright, London, William Heinemann, New York, 1922.

Pindar. *Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments*. Loeb Classical Library 485. edited and translated by William H. Race. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblon*. (online source), [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius\\_03bibliotheca.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius_03bibliotheca.htm), 18.10.2018.

Plato. *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus*. Loeb Classical Library 36. translated by Harold North Fowler. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Plinius. *Naturalis Historia. Natural History*. Loeb Classical Library. translated by H. Rackham, London, Harvard University Press, 1938.

Plutarch. *De Sollertia Animarium* (online source) <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0369>, 25.07.2019.

Plutarch, *Solon*. (online source), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0063>, 08.08.2019.

Polybios. *Historiai*. (online source), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0233&layout=&loc=5.72.8>, 27.07.2019.

Pomponius Mela. *de Chorographia*. <https://latin.packhum.org/loc/929/1/0#0>, 25.07.2019.

Porphyry. *De antro. Nympharum. On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Thirteenth Book of the Odyssey*. translated by T. Taylor, J.M.Watkins, 1917.

Pseudo-Skylax. *Periplous*. translated by M. Arslan in MJH II/I. 2012. 239-257.

Ptolemaios. *Geography*. <https://topostext.org/work/209>, 25. 07.2019.

Quintus Smyrnaeus. *The Fall of Troy*. Loeb Classical Library 19. translated by A. S. Way. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913.

Sophocles. *Oedipus at Colonus*. (Online source). <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0190%3Acard%3D1> (online source, 21.02.2018).

*Stephani Byzantii Ethnica Volumen II: A-I*, translated by M. Billerbeck and C.Zubler, De Gruyter, 2011.

Strabo. *The Geography: Books 1-17*. Loeb Classical Library 49-50, 182, 196, 211, 223, 241, 267 (8 volumes), translated by H. L. Jones. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2005.

Suidas. *Lexicon, Graecae & Latine, Tomus II*, translated by L. Küster, Cantabrigiae, 1705.

Tacitus. *The Annals*. Loeb Classical Library 249, translated by J. Jackson, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1931.

*The Orphic Hymns*, translation, introduction, and notes by Apostolos N. Athanassakis and Benjamin M. Wolkow, Harvard University Press, 2013.

Thucydides. *The Peloponnesian War*. (online source), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0247> 05.08.2019

Titus Livius. *Ad Urbe Condita Libri*. (online source), <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/livy/liv.38.shtml#37>, 25.07.2019.

### Modern Sources

Abbasoğlu, H. 1982. *Pamphylia Bölgesi Roma Devri Hamamları*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to İstanbul University.

Abbasoğlu, H. 1990. “Perge Kazısı 1988 Yılı Önraporu”, *KST* 11.II: 211-27.

Abbasoğlu, H. 1994. *Perge Roma Devri Mimarisinde Arşitravların Soffit Bezemeleri*, Ankara 1994

Abbasoğlu, H. 1996. “Perge Kazısı 1993 ve 1994 Yılları Ön Raporu”, *KST* 17.II: 107-21.

Abbasoğlu, H. 1997. “Perge Kazısı 1995 Yılı Ön Raporu”, *KST* 18.II: 41-51.

- Abbasoğlu, H. W. Martini. 1997. "Perge Akropolisinde 1995 Yılında Yapılan Çalışmalar", *KST* 18.2: 51-59.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 1998. "Perge Kazısı 1996 Yılı Ön Raporu", *KST* 19.2: 81-93.
- Abbasoğlu, H. W. Martini. 1998. "Perge Akropolisinde 1996 Yılında Yapılan Çalışmalar", *KST* 19.II: 93-105.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2000. "Perge Kazıları", Türkiye Arkeolojisi ve İstanbul Üniversitesi, ed. O. Belli, Ankara, Başak Matbaacılık ve Tanıtım Hizmetleri.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2001. "The Founding of Perge and its Development in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods", in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Perge and Xanthos*, ed. D. Parrish, Portsmouth, *JRA Supp.* 45:172-188.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2003a. "Perge 2002", *ANMED* 1: 30-33.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2003b. "Zur Geschichte der Ausgrabungen in Perge", Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994- 1997, Band 1, ed. H. Abbasoğlu, W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1-12.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2004. "Perge 2003", *ANMED* 2: 45-48.
- Abbasoğlu, H. "Pamphylia Hamamları: Plan Açısından bir Değerlendirme", in *Festschrift für Fahri Işık, 60. Yaşında Fahri Işık'a Armağan: Anadolu'da Doğdu*, ed. T. Korkut, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 1-9.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2005. "2004 Yılı Perge Kazı ve Onarım Çalışmaları", *ANMED* 3:67-71.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2006a. "Perge 2005", *ANMED* 4: 47-50.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2006b. "Perge", Stadtgrabungen und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien, Geplantes und Erreichtes, Internationales Symposium 6./7. August 2004 in Bergama (Türkei), Byzas 3, ed. W. Radt, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 289-302.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2007a. "Perge 2006", *ANMED* 5: 54-58.
- Abbasoğlu, H. 2007b. "Par-ha-a'dan Perge'ye", in *Vita: Belkıs Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan*, eds M. Alparslan, H. Peker and M. Doğan Alparslan, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 21-22.
- Adak, M. et al. 2005. "Neue Inschriften aus Phaselis", *Gephyra* 2: 1-20.
- Adak, M. 2006. "Olbia In Pamphylien – Die Epigraphische Evidenz", *Gephyra* 3: 1-29.
- Adak, M. 2007. "Die Dorische und aolische Kolonisation des lykisch-pamphyliischen Grenzraumes im Lichte der Epigraphik und der historischen Geographie", in *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenbilanz*, ed. C. Schuler. Wien, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 41-48.
- Adak, M. 2007b. "Die rhodische Herrschaft in Lykien und die rechtliche Stellung der Städte Xanthos, Phaselis und Melanippion", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 56. 3: 251-279.
- Adak, M. 2013, "Names, ethnicity and acculturation in the Pamphylian/Lycian borderland", in *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, ed. R. Parker, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 63-78.

- Adak, M. et al. 2015. "Neue Inschriften aus Side" *Philia* 1: 251-279.
- Adak, M. K. Stauner. 2018. "Die Neoi und das Temenos des Dionysos. Eine hellenistische Pachturkunde aus Teos" *Philia* 4: 1-25.
- Adiego, I. J. 2007. *The Carian Language*, Leiden.
- Agelidis, S. 2014. "Cults and Sanctuaries at Pergamon" in *Pergamon. A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*, eds. F. Pirson and A. Scholl, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 380-404.
- Alcock, S. 1993. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Alcock, S., R. Osborne (eds). 1994. *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, Clarendon Paperbacks.
- Adak, M. O. Atvur. 1999. "Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya II: Die pamphyliische HafensTADt Magydos", *EpigAnat* 31: 58-63.
- Akdoğan Arca, E., N. Gökalp, N. Tüner Önen. 2011. "Pamphylia Bölgesi'nin Mısır ve Kıbrıs ile olan İlişkileri", *Olba* 19:1-26.
- Akçay, B. 2007. *Perge Güney Hamamı Heykeltıraşlık Eserleri*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Akçay-Güven, B. 2014. *Pamphylia Bölgesi Roma Dönemi Portreciliği*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Akkurnaz, S. 2007. *Anadolu'daki Dor Düzenli Tapınaklar*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Adnan Menderes University, Aydın.
- Akman, A., A. Tosun. 2001. "Attaleia Nekropolü (Eski Doğu Garajı-Halk Pazarı Mevkii) Kurtarma Kazısı 2010 Yılı Çalışmaları", *20. Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu*, 47-71.
- Aksoy, F. D. 2016. *Perge Antik Kentinde Bulunan Anıtsal Çeşme(F3) 'nin Belgelenmesi ve Koruma Önerileri*, Unpublished MA Thesis to İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul.
- Akyürek Şahin, E. 2016. "Lykia'da Tanrılar ve Kültler", in *From Lukka to Lycia The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas. Lukka'dan Likya'ya - Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi*, eds. H.İşkan and E. Dündar, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 536-550.
- Alanyalı, H. S. H. 2005. "Apollon Sidetes", in *Synergia. Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzing*, eds. B. Brandt, S. Ladstätter and V. Gassner, Wien, Phoibos Verlag, 89-92.
- Alanyalı, H. S. 2007. "Gebannte Kentauren und Giganten: Die Friese am Theater von Perge in Kleinasien zeugen vom Nachleben der griechischen Mythologie in römischer Zeit", *AW* 1: 85-9.
- Alanyalı, H. S. 2009. "Der Tempel der Artemis Pergaia", in *Muhibbe Darga Armağanı*, eds. T. Tarhan, A. Tibet and E. Konyar, İstanbul, Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Yayınları, 69-81.
- Alanyalı, H. S. 2010. "Side Tiyatrosunda Yeni Yapılan Araştırmalar Işığında Scaenae Frons Kaset Kabartmaları ve Dionysos Frizi", in *Side'ye Emek Verenler Sempozyumu*, eds.

- Ü. İzmirligil, G. Tanyeli and Z. Ahunbay, İstanbul, Siva- Side Eğitim Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı Yayınları , 84-91.
- Alanyalı, H.S. 2011. "Side'nin Roma Dönemi Panteonu", *Anadolu/Anatolia* 37, 75-92.
- Alanyalı, H.S. 2011b. "Side 2010. Excavations at Side in 2010", *ANMED9*: 100-113.
- Alanyalı, H.S. 2014. "2012 yılı Side Çalışmaları", *KST* 35.1: 451-475.
- Alanyalı, H. S. 2013. "Side 2011-2012 Yılı Çalışmaları. Archaeological Work at Side in 2011 and 2012", *ANMED* 11: 121-134.
- Alanyalı, H.S.2015. "Side 2014 Yılı Kazı ve Araştırmaları-Excavations and Research at Side in 2014", *ANMED* 13: 114-130.
- Albayrak, Y. 2008. *Anadolu'da Artemis Kültü*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to Ankara University, Ankara.
- Allan, A. 2018. *Hermes*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Allen, R. E. 1983. *The Attalid Kingdom. A Constitutional History*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Alley, R. D. 2017. "Charon of Lampsakos", in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. R.S. Bagnall et al. 3. Chichester, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Alp, A.O. 2013. "A restitution proposal for the MHTHP ΘΕΟΝ VEΓΕΙΝΟΣ sanctuary in Zindan cave, Aksu", *Adalya* 16:119-140.
- Altınoluk, S. Z. 2005. *Sikkelerin Işığında Küçük Asya'da Irmak Tanrıları*, PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Alvar J. R. et al. 2005. "La vie religieuse en mer", in *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne, Supplément n°1, Hommage à Pierre Lévêque*, Besançon, 167-189.
- Amandry, M., A. Burnett. 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage III*. London, British Museum Press.
- Ameling, W. 2004. *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis Band II, Kleinasien*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck.
- Anadolu, U. M. 2003. *Antik Çağ'da Et ve Balık Pazarları*, İstanbul, Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü Yayınları.
- Aneziri, S. 2009. "World travellers: the associations of Artists of Dionysus" in *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture* eds. R. Hunter and I. Rutherford, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 217-236.
- Antoniou, S. 2011. "The Rod and the Serpent: History's Ultimate Healing Symbol", *World J Surg* 35: 217-221.
- Aran, B. 1970. "Antalya Cumanun Camiisi", *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları* 2: 60-76.
- Arca-Akdoğan, E. 2005. "The Genitive Case On Altares From Asia Minor indicating a Boundary Inscription", *Gephyra* 2: 47-58.
- Arena, G. 2005. *Città di Panfilia e Pisidia sotto il dominio romano: continuità strutturali e cambiamenti funzionali*. Catania. del prisma.

- Armstrong, A. J. 1998. *Roman Phrygia: Cities and their Coinage*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to University College, London.
- Arnaoutoglu, I. N. 2014. "Displaying proof of Ownership in Roman Pamphylia", *ZPE* 191: 185-188.
- Arnold, R. I. 1936. "Festivals of Rhodes", *AJA* 40.4: 432-436.
- Arslan, M. 2003. "Piracy on the Southern Coasts of Asia Minor and Mithridates Eupator", *Olba* 8: 195-211.
- Arslan, M. 2008. "Eurymedon Muharebesinden sonra Aspendos ve Genel Olarak Pamphylia'nın Durumuna bir Bakış", *Adalya* 11: 49-61.
- Arslan, M. 2010. *İstanbul'un Antik Çağ Tarihi: Klasik ve Hellenistik Dönemler*, Odin Yayıncılık, İstanbul.
- Arslan, M. 2012. "Pseudo-Skylax, Periplus", *MJH* II/1: 239-257.
- Arslan, M., N. Tüner Önen. 2016, "Phaselis", in *From Lukka to Lycia The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas. Lukka'dan Likya'ya - Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi*. eds. H. İşkan and E. DüNDAR, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 300-317.
- Arya, D.A. 2002. *The Goddess Fortuna in Imperial Roma: Cult, Art, Text*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to Texas University, Austin, Texas.
- Astour, M. C. 1965. *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in west Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece*, Leiden, Brill.
- Atalay, İ., K. Mortan, 1997. *Türkiye Bölgesel Coğrafyası*, İstanbul, İnkılap Yayınevi.
- Athanassapoulos, E. F., L. Wandsnider. 2004. "Mediterranean Landscape Archaeology Past and Present" in *Mediterranean Archaeological Landscapes: Current Issues* eds. E. F. Athanassapoulos and L. Wandsnider, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1-13.
- Ateş, G. 2000. "Die Opferfries" in *Untersuchungen an der Fassade Theaters von Perge*, ed. J. İnan, AA: 331-336.
- Atik, N. 1995. *Die Keramik aus den Südthermen von Perge*, IstMitt Book 40.
- Atik, N. 2002. *Anadolu Macellumları: Pamphylia ve Pisidia Macellumları Işığında bir Tipoloji Denemesi*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to Anadolu University, Eskişehir.
- Atlan, S. 1967. *Sidenin MÖ V. ve IV. Yüzyıl Sikkeleri Üzerinde Araştırmalar*. Ankara, TTK Basımevi.
- Austina, C. E. 2012. *Adaptation and Tradition in Hellenistic Sacred Laws*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to Duke University, North Carolina.
- Bagnall, R. S. 1976. *The Administrations of Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*, Leiden, Brill.
- Baillet, M. J. 1926. *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes*, Cairo, Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.

- Balkan-Atlı, N. 2003. "A Short Report on Flint and Obsidian Finds", *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994- 1997, Band 1*, eds H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 79-80.
- Baran, A. 2010. "Labraunda Kutsal Yolu ve Antik Dönem Çeşme Yapıları", in *Mylasa Labraunda/Milas Çomakdağ" Güneybatı Ege'de Arkeoloji, Tarih ve Kırsal Mimari*, eds. F. Kuzucu and M. Ural, İstanbul, Milli Reasürans Sanat Galerisi Yayınevi, 121-137.
- Baran, A. 2011. "The Sacred Way and the spring houses of Labraunda sanctuary", in *Labraunda and Karia: Proceedings of the International Symposium Commemorating Sixty Years of Swedish Archaeological Work in Labraunda*. eds L. Karlsson and S. Carlsson, Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 51-99.
- Baratta, V.G. 2013. "Bleierne Götter: Über Aediculae Mit Mobilen Türflügeln", *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen XLIX*: 283-291.
- Barnett, R.D. 1953. "Mopsos", *JHS*, 73:140-143.
- Barnett, R.D. 1975. "The Sea Peoples," *CAH II/2*: 359-378
- Bass, F.G. 1967. *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society.
- Bass, F.G. 1986. "The Bronze Shipwreck at Ulu Burun", *AJA* 90:85-110.
- Bayburtluoğlu, C. 2004. *Lykia*, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, Rehber Dizisi 1.
- Baydur, N. 1963. *Attaleia (Pamphylia) Sikkeleri*, Published Dissertation Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Baydur, N. 1975. "Die Münzen von Attaleia in Pamphylien I", *JNG* 25: 32-72.
- Baydur, N. 1976. "Die Münzen von Attaleia in Pamphylien II", *JNG* 26: 37-78.
- Baydur, N. 1986. "Yayınlanmamış bazı Attaleia sikkeleri", *Anadolu Araştırmaları*. 10: 439-454.
- Bauer, E. 2012. *Gerusien in den Poleis Kleinasiens in hellenistischer Zeit und der römischen Kaiserzeit: Die Beispiele Ephesos, Pamphylien und Pisidien, Aphrodisias und Iasos*, München, Herbert Utz Verlag.
- Bayliss, A. J. 2013. "Oaths and Interstate Relations", in *Oath and State in Ancient Greece*, eds. A. Sommerstein and A.J. Bayliss, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 147-175.
- Baz, F. 1998. *Roma İmparator Kültü*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Marmara University, İstanbul.
- Baz, F. 2012. "İ.S 1. 2. Yüzyıllarda Side Kentine Neokoros Ünvanı Verilip Verilmediğine İlişkin Düşünceler", *Akron. Eskiçağ Yazıları* 3: 29- 47.
- Baz, F. 2013. "Aspendos Kentinde İmparator Kültüne İlişkin Gözlemler", *Adalya* 16: 71-85.
- Baz, F. 2016. "Pamphylia'nın İlk Neokoros Ünvanının Perge'ye Verilmesi Hakkında Düşünceler", in *Vir Doctus Anatolicus, Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, eds. M. Adak et al. İstanbul, Kabalcı Yayınevi, *Philia Supplements* 1: 134-148.

- Bean, G.E. 1958. "Inscriptions in the Antalya Museum", *Bellethen* 22.85: 21–91.
- Bean, G.E. 1965. *Side Kitabeleri*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Bean, G.E, T. B. Mitford. 1965. *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.hist.Klasse., Denkschriften 85.
- Bean, G.E, T. B. Mitford. 1970. *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse., Denkschriften 102.
- Bean, G. E. 1999<sup>2</sup>, *Eskiçağ'da Güney Kıyılar*, translated by İ. Delemen and S. Çokay, İstanbul, Arion Yayınevi.
- Bean, G. E. 2000. *Eskiçağ'da Menderes'in Ötesi*, translated by P. Kurtoğlu, İstanbul, Arion Yayınevi.
- Beaulieu, M. C. 2016. *The Sea in the Greek Imagination*, Ann Arbor, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Beekes, R. 2016. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Vol.1, Leiden.Brill.
- Benndorf, O. 1879. *Über des Kultusbild der Athena-Nike*, Wien, Gerold Verlag.
- Bennett, M. F. 1917. "A Study of the Word Ksoanon", *AJA* 21, 1917, pp. 8-21.
- Bennett, J. 2007. "Roman Army in Lycia and Pamphylia", *Adalya* 10:132-153.
- Berg, W. 1974. "Hecate: Greek or Anatolian?", *Numen* 21.2: 128-140.
- Berges, D., N. Tuna. 2001. "Datça/Emecik/Sarıliman Mevkii Arkaik Tapınak 2000 Yılı Çalışmaları", *KST* 23.2, 2001. 89-100.
- Bernhardy, G. 1828. *Dionysius Periegetes: graece et latine, cum vetustis commentariis et interpretationibus*, Leipzig, Libraria Weidmannia.
- Bernand, A.E. 1970. *Le Délta Egyptien d'après les textes grecques*, I: Les Confins libyques. 3 vols. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Bernand, A. E. 1972. *Le Paneion d'el-Kanais: les inscriptions grecques*, Leiden, Brill.
- Bernand, A.E. 1981. *Receuil des Inscriptions Grecques du Fayoum, Tome III, La "Méris" de Polemôn*, Cairo, Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire.
- Bernand, A.E. 1989. *De Thèbes à Syène*, Editions de CNRS, Paris.
- Bernardi, F. D. 1970. *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore* 3, Rome, 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 2009. "Sacred Space in Iron Age Phrygia", in *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*, eds. Charles Gates et al. *BAR* 2034:11-19.
- Beschi, L. 1988. "Demeter", *LIMC* IV.1: 844 – 892.
- Billot, M.F. 1994. 'Le Cynosarges. Histoire, mythes et archéologie', in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* ed. R. Goulet, Paris, CNRS Editions, 917-966.
- Bing, J. D. 1971. "Tarsus: A Forgotten Colony of Lindos", *JNES* 30:103-109.
- Bingen, J. 1979. "Les inscriptions de Philae des IIIeme et IIe siècles avant Notre ère", *ChrEg* 54.108: 304-309.



- Bisaillon, P. 2007. *The Cult of Apollo in the Milesian Colonies along the Coast of Black Sea: an Inventory of Archaeological Data*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Université de Montréal, Canada.
- Blackman, D.J. 1981. "The Inscriptions" in *Phaselis. Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen*, ed. J. Schafer, Tübingen, Ist. Mitt. Beiheft 24, 138-163.
- Blinkenberg, C. 1941. *Lindos II. Inscriptions*, Berlin-Copenhagen.
- Boatwright, E. M. 1991. "Plancia Magna of Perge: Woman's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor", in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. S. Pomeroy, Chapel Hill-Londra, The University of North Carolina Press, 249-272.
- Boatwright E. M. 1993. "The City Gate of Plancia Magna in Perge", in *Roman Art in Context. An Anthology*, ed. E. D'Ambra, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 189-207.
- Boatwright, M. 2000. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Boethius, A. 1978. *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, New York, Yale University Press Pelican History of Art.
- Bogaert, R. 1968. *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques*, Leiden, Brill.
- Bookidis, N., S. R. Stroud. 1987. *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth*, Princeton, New Jersey, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Borchhardt, J., E. Bleibtreu. 2013. *Strukturen lykischer Residenzstädte im Vergleich zu älteren Städten des Vorderen Orients*, Antalya, AKMED/Koç Üniversitesi Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi.
- Bosch, C.E. 1947. "Antalya Kitabeleri", *Belleten* 41: 87-125.
- Bosch, C. E.1957. *Pamphylia Tarihine Dair Tetkikler*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Bosch, C. E. 1967. *Quellen zur Geschichte de Stadt Ankara im Altertum*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Bossert, H. 1950a. "Schrift und Sprache der Sideten", *Belleten* 14.53: 1-29.
- Bossert, H. 1950b. "Scrittura e lingua di Side in Pamfilia", *La Parola des Passato* 13:54-84.
- Bostancı, E.Y. 1962. "Belbaşı Kaya Sığınağında Bulunan Üst Paleolitik ve Mezolitik Endüstrisi, Belbaşı Kültürü" *Belleten* 26: 232-251.
- Bostancı, E.Y. 1968. "Beldibi ve Mağaracıkta Yapılan 1967 Yaz Mevsimi Kazıları ve Yeni Buluntular" *TAD* 16/1: 51-60.
- Bouché-Leclerq, A. 1882. *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Paris, E. Leroux.
- Bradley, R. 2000. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*, London, Routledge.
- Brandt, H.1992. *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidien im Altertum*, AMS 7.
- Brandt, H. 1998. "Kulte in Aspendos", *IstMitt* 38: 237-250.

- Brandt, H. F. Kolb. 2005. *Lycia et Pamphylia, Eine römische Provinz im südwesten Kleinasiens*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Bremmer, J. 2000. "Mopsos", *DNP* 8: 390-391.
- Brixhe, C. 1965. "Nouvelles épitaphes de Pamphylie", *EtAC* 3:87-138.
- Brixhe, C. 1969a. "Un nouveau document épichorique de Sidé", *Kadmos* 8:143-151.
- Brixhe, C. 1969b. "L'alphabet épichorique de Sidé", *Kadmos* 8:54-84.
- Brixhe, C. 1976a. *Le Dialecte Grec de Pamphylie: Documents et grammaire*. Paris, Librairie d'Amrique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Brixhe, C. 1976b. "Corpus des Inscriptions Dialectales de Pamphylie Supplément I", *EtAC* V: 9-17.
- Brixhe, C., R. Hodot 1988. *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud: Inscriptions Inédites*, Nancy, Pr. Univ. de Nancy.
- Brixhe, C. 1991. "Corpus des Inscriptions Dialectales de Pamphylie Supplément III", *Hellenika Symmikta EtAC* VII: 15-27.
- Brixhe, C. 1996. "Corpus des Inscriptions Dialectales de Pamphylie Supplément IV", *Kadmos* 35:72-86.
- Brixhe, C., Tekoğlu, R. 2000. "Corpus des Inscriptions Dialectales de Pamphylie Supplément V", *Kadmos* 39: 1-56.
- Brixhe, R. et al. 2008. "Corpus des Inscriptions Dialectales de Pamphylie Supplément VI", *Kadmos* 46:39- 52.
- Brouwers, J.J. 2016. *Warfare and Society in Early Greece*, Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit.
- Bru, H, et al. 2016. "Inscriptions de Perge", *ZPE* 199: 65-82.
- Bruneau, P. 1984. "Ares", *LIMC* II. 1: 479-492.
- Boutsikas, E. 2015. "Landscape and the Cosmos in the Apolline Rites of Delphi, Delos and Dreros" in *Human Development in Sacred Landscapes*, eds. L. Kappel and V. Pothou, Göttingen, V&R Unipress, 77-103.
- Bowden, H. 2007. "Cults of Demeter Eleusinia and the Transmission of Religious Ideas", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22.1: 71-83.
- Bowden, H. 2010. *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Bremmer, N. J. 2007. "Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice", in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. D. Ogden, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 132-144.
- Bru, H. 2008. "Nemesis et le Culte Impériale dans les Provinces Syriennes", *Syria* 85: 293-314.
- Brody, L. R. 2001. "The Cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Caria", *Kernos* 14: 93-109.
- Brumfield, A. C. 1981. *Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year*, Ann Arbor, Mich, New York.

- Bryce, R.T. 1986. *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Bryce, T. 2003. "History" in *The Luwians*, ed. H.C.Melchert, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 31-42.
- Buckler, W. H., D. M. Robinson. 1932. *Sardis VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part I*. Leiden, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis.
- Budin, L. S. 2000. *The Origins of Aphrodite*, PhD Thesis submitted to the University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor.
- Budin, L. S. 2010. "Aphrodite Enoplion", in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, ed. A.C. Smith and S. Pickup, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 79-113.
- Budin, L. S. 2014. "Before Kypris Was Aphrodite", in *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte – Aphrodite*, ed. D.T. Sugimoto, Göttingen, 195-217.
- Budin, S.L. 2016. *Artemis*. London and New York, Routledge.
- Bulgurlu, S. 1999. *Perge Kenti Hellenistik Güney Kapısı ve Evreleri*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Bulut, S. 2005. "Two Unique Olive Oil Presses from the Border Region of Lycia Pamphylia Pisidia", *Adalya* 8: 191-210.
- Bungard, C. 2012. "Reconsidering Zeus' Order: The Reconciliation of Apollo and Hermes", *The Classical World* 105.4: 443-469.
- Burkert, W. 1983. *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge; Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- Burkert, W. 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge, Mass, London, Harvard University Press.
- Burnett, A. 1999. "Buildings and Monuments on Roman Coins", in *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire*, ed. G. M. Paul, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 137-164.
- Burnett, A. et al. 1992. Ripollés, *Roman Provincial Coinage I*. London, Paris, British Museum Press.
- Burnett, A. et al. 1999. *Roman Provincial Coinage II*. London, Paris, British Museum Press.
- Burrell, B. 2004. *Neokoroi Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, Leiden-Boston, Brill.

- Bursa, P. 2007. *Antikçağ'da Anadolu'da Balık ve Balıkçılık*, Published PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Buxton, R. 1994. *Imaginary Greece: The Context of Mythology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 103.
- Buxton, R. 2004, *The Complete World of Greek Mythology*, Thames & Hudson, London.
- Büyükün, B. 2006. *Men Kültüyle İlgili Eskişehir, Afyon, Kütahya, ve Pamukkale Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Bazı Taş Eserler*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Anadolu University, Eskişehir.
- Büyükyörük, F., Tibet, C. 1999-2000. "1998-1999 Yılı Antalya Doğu Nekropolü Kurtarma Kazıları", *Adalya* 4: 115-171.
- Büyükyörük, F. 2018. "Antalya Müzesi'ndeki Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Side Sikkeleri. Roman Imperial Coins Struck By Side In The Antalya Museum", *Cedrus* 6: 273-328.
- Cahn, H. 1992. Kestros", *LIMC* VI: 39-40.
- Calame, C. 1990. "Narrating the Foundation of a City: the Symbolic Birth of Cyrene" in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed.L. Edmonds, Baltimore, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 277-341.
- Calame, C. 1999. "Sappho and her Social Context", in *Reading Sappho. Contemporary Approaches*, ed. E. Greene, Berkeley, London, University of California Press.
- Campbell, A. L. 1968. *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden, Brill.
- Carlier, P. 2006. "Anax and Basileus in the Homeric Poems", in *Ancient Greece from Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I.S. Lemos, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 101-110.
- Carstens, M. A. 2008. "Huvasi Rocks, Baityloi and Open Air Sanctuaries in Karia, Kilikia and Cyprus", *Olba* 16: 73-93.
- Casson, L. 1971. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Chaniotis, A. 2003. "The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers", in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, eds. A.Erskine, Blackwell, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 431-445.
- Chantraine, P. 1952. "Le Divin et les Dieux chez Homère," in *La Notion du Divin d'Homère jusqu'à Platon*, Geneve, Fondation Hardt pour l'Etude de l'Antiquité Classique, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 10: 47-94.
- Chi, J. Y. 2002. *Studies in the Programmatic Statuary of Roman Asia Minor*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to New York University, New York.
- Chlup, R. 2007. "The Semantics of Fertility. Levels of Meaning in the Thesmophoria", *Kernos* 20: 69-95.
- Christian, M. 2013. "Phoenician Maritime Religion: Sailors, Goddess Worship, and the Grotta Regina", *Die Welt des Orients* 43:179-205.

- Chrysostomou, P. 1998. *I Thessaliki Thea En(n)odia I Pheraia Thea*, Athens, Publications de l'Archeologikon deltion.
- Clauss, M. 2001. *The Roman Cult of Mithras*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Clerc, G., Leclant. J. 1994. "Sarapis", *LIMC* VII.1: 666-692.
- Cole S. G. 1995. "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", in *Sources for the ancient Greek city-state*, ed. M. H. Hansen. Symposium August, 24-27, 1994. Copenhagen, Munksgaard, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, vol. II: 292-325.
- Cole, G. S. 1984. *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrake*, Leiden, Brill.
- Collins, B. J. 2001. "Ritual Meals in the Hittite Cult", in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, eds. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, Leiden, Brill, 81-87.
- Collins, B. J. 2002. "Necromancy, Fertility and the Dark Earth: The Use of Ritual Pits in Hittite Cult", in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. By P. Mirecki, M. Meyer, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 224-243.
- Collins, B. J. 2006. "Pigs at the Gate: Hittite Pig Sacrifice in Its Eastern Mediterranean Context", *JANER* 6.1:155-188.
- Colvin, S. A. 2007. *Historical Greek Reader. Mycenaean to Koine*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Contoléon, A. 1887. "Epigraphai Anekdotoi", *BCH* 11:212-223.
- Conway, D.J. 2004. *The Maiden, Mother, Crone: The Myth and Reality of Triple Goddess*, Llwyn Publications.
- Cook, A. B. 1903. "Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak", *The Classical Review* 17.3:174-186.
- Cook, A. B. 1940. *Zeus: a study in ancient religion*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Coulton, J.J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Grek Stoa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Coulton, J.J. et al. 1988. "Balboura Survey: Onesimos and Meleager Part I", *AnatSt* 38: 121-145.
- Çağlayan, Ç. 2009. *Perge Antik Kentinde Suyun Kullanımı*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Çaykara, E. 2012. "Kadınlara Özel bir Bayram: Thesmophoria", in *Anadolu'da Kadın*, eds. M. Darga and E. Çaykara, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 296-318.
- Coşkun, Y. 1979. *Boğazköy Metinlerinde Geçen Bazı Seçme Kap İsimleri*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Fakültesi Yayınları 285.
- Crumley, C. 1999. "Sacred Landscapes: Constructed and Conceptualized", in *Archaeologies of Landscape*, eds. W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 269-276.

- Çakmak, O. 2018. *Roma Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Pamphylia Şehirciliği: Iulius Claudiuslar ve Flaviuslar Dönemi*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Anadolu University, Eskişehir.
- Çambel, H. 2002. *Karatepe – Aslantaş Öyküsü*, *Boğazköy'den Karatepe'ye /From Boğazköy to Karatepe*. Exhibition Catalogue, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Çelgin, V. 2003a. "Termessos Egemenlik Alanında Artemis Kültleri I: Ahırtaş-Örentepe (Kelbessos) Antik Yerleşmesindeki 'Artemis Kelbessis' Kültü. Son Epigrafik Araştırmaların Katkılarına Bir Bakış", *Adalya* 6: 119-140.
- Çelgin, V. 2003b "Termessos Egemenlik Alanında Artemis Kültleri II: Keldağ/Göldağ (Neapolis) Antik Yerleşmesindeki 'Aspalos - Artemis Akraia' Kültü. Epigrafik ve Arkeolojik Veriler Işığında Bir Değerlendirme", *Adalya* 6:141-170.
- Çevik, N. 1996. "Kent Antalya'nın Arkeolojik Envanteri Projesi II: Hurma Köy Yüzey Araştırmaları", *AST XIV.1*: 235-251.
- Çevik, N. 1999-2000. "Tarih ve Arkeolojisiyle Melas Vadisi", *Adalya* 4: 91-114.
- Çevik, N. 2000. "An Olive Oil Producing Center in Pamphylia: Lyrboton Kome, *Lykia* 3. 1996/1997: 79-102.
- Çevik, N. et al. 2009. "Rhodiapolis Kazıları 2008", *ANMED* 7, 2009: 75-81.
- Chadwick, J. 1976. *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Chantraine, P. 1968. *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque: histoire des Mots*, 2, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Cherry, J. F., Renfrew C. eds. 1986. *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Clinton, K. 1974. "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64.3: 1-143.
- Clinton, K. 1989. "Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis", *Bulletin Supplement*, University of London. Institute of Classical Studies, 55: 56-68.
- Cole, S.G. 1991. "Dionysiac Mysteries in Phrygia in the Imperial Period", *EpigAnat* 17: 41-49.
- Coman, J. 1931. *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle*, Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan.
- Cook, B. A. 1925. *Zeus. A Study of Ancient Religion* 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, A. F. 1996. *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas: The architecture* 1, Princeton N.J, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Cosmopoulos, B. M. 2015. *Bronze Age Eleusis and the Origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Crawley-Quinn, C., Wilson A. 2013. "Capitolia", *JRS* 103: 117-173.
- Crespo, E. 1997. "Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/Construction", *Phoenix* 51. 3.4: 253-295.

- Cronkite, S. M. 1997. *The Sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene: a Diachronic and Contextual Study*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to University of London, London.
- Cyrino, M. 2010. *Aphrodite*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Çizmeli Öğün, Z. “Smintheion Kazıları Sikke Buluntuları”, *Anadolu* 26: 25-37.
- Çizmeli-Öğün, Z. 2011. “Karain ve Suluin Mağaralarında Bulunan Sikkeler”, in *Işıl Yalçınkaya'ya Armağan-Studies in honour of Işıl Yalçınkaya*, ed. H. Taşkıran, Ankara, Belgin Kültür Sanat Yayınevi, 97-100.
- Çokay-Kepçe, S. 2006. Antalya Karaçalı Nekropolü, *Adalya Ek Yayın Dizisi* 4, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Çokay-Kepçe, S. 2010. “Pamphylia’da Klasik Dönem’de Saptanan Yerel ve Yunan Unsurlar Üzerine bir Değerlendirme”, *CollAn* 9: 213-229.
- Çokay- Kepçe, S. 2017. *Perge Batı Nekropolis Mezar Buluntuları*, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Kepçe-Çokay, S. 2018. “Yeni Veriler Işığında Perge Macellumu Hakkında Gözlemler” *MASROP*, 12.1 2018:10-20.
- D’Agostino, A. et al (eds). 2015. *Sacred Landscapes of Hittites and Luwians*, proceedings of the international Conference in honour of Franca Pecchioli Daddi, Florence, February 6th-8th 2014, in *Studia Asiana* 9, Firenze, Firenze University Press.
- Davies, J.K. 2007. “Pythios and Pythion: The Spread of a Cult Title”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22.1: 57-69.
- Dagron, G, Feissel, D. 1987, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris, de Boccard.
- Darga, M. 1967. “Side Dili ile Yazısı Hakkında Notlar ve Side Doğu Şehir Kapısında Bulunan Yazıt”, *Bellesten* 31.121: 49-64.
- David, B. J. Thomas. 2008. “Landscape Archaeology: Introduction”, in *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, eds. B. David and J. Thomas, Abingdon, Oxon, New York, Routledge, World Archaeological Congress Research Handbooks in Archaeology, 27-43.
- De Bellefonds, P.L. 2011. “Pictorial Foundation Myths in Roman Asia Minor”, in *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E.S.Gruen, Los Angeles, the Getty Research Institute, 26-47.
- De Polignac, F. 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, translated by J. Lloyd, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press.
- Debord, P. 1982. *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l’Anatolie gréco-romaine*, Leiden, Brill.
- Dedeoğlu, J. 2005a. “Aksu Zindan Mağarası Kutsal Alanı”, *Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu* 14:153-166.
- Dedeoğlu, J. 2005b. “The sanctuary at Zindan Mağarası in the light of the new archaeological evidence”, *Gephyra* 2. 95-102.
- Delemen, İ. 1999. *Anatolian Rider Gods*, Asia Minor Studien 35, Bonn.

- Delemen, İ. 2009. "Two New Portrail Heads with Prieslly Crowns from Perge" *Adalya* 11: 173-184.
- Delemen, İ. 2011. "The Colossal Statue of Lucius Verus Recently Discovered in Perge", *Adalya* 14: 297-314.
- Delemen, İ. 2013. "Perge'den Pergamon tipinde harap bir herme: taşın ömrü", *Prof. Dr. Orhan Bingöl 67. Yaş Armağanı*, ed. G. Kökdemir, Ankara, Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yayınevi, 103-110.
- Delemen İ. 2013b. "Perge'den Yeni bir Isis Başı ve 1973 ile 2010 arasında Karşılıklı Katkılar", in *Tarhan Armağanı. M. Taner Tarhan'a Sunulan Makaleler. Essays in Honour of M. Taner Tarhan*, eds. O. Tekin et al. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 175-185.
- Delivorrias, A. et al.1984. "Aphrodite", *LIMC* II. 1.2: 1-151.
- Demetriou, D. 2010. "Τῆς πάσης ναυτιλῆς φύλαξ: Aphrodite and the Sea", *Kernos* 23: 67-89.
- Demir, F. 2016. "Kilikya'daki Aigai Kenti ve Tarihi", *Çukurova Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2.2: 1-13.
- Demirci, D.2016. "Aksu Zindan Mağarası, Bazilikal Planlı ve Trikonkhos Apsisli Manastır Kilisesi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 39:183-214.
- Demirtaş, N. 2014. "Pamphylia Bölgesi Şehir Sikkeleri Üzerindeki Hermes Tasvirleri", *ASOS Journal* 2.8: 233-245.
- Denham, A, Whitelegg, M. 2014. "Deciphering Dioscorides. Mountains and Molehills" in *The Critical Approaches to the History of Western Herbal Medicine*, eds. S. Francia and A. Stobart, London, Bloomsbury, 191-211.
- De Souza, P. 1997. "Romans and Pirates in a Late Hellenistic Oracle from Pamphylia", *The Classical Quarterly* 47.2: 477-481.
- Derlien, J. 2003. *Asyl: die religiöse und rechtliche Begründung der Flucht zu sakralen Orten in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Marburg, Tectum Verlag.
- Diamantaras, A.S.1894. "Epigraphai ek Lykias", *BCH* 18:323- 334.
- Die Inschriften von Pergamon. Ed. M.Frankel, Teil 1. und 2, 1890 und 1895; 3. Die Inschriften des Asklepieions. Chr. Habicht, 1969.
- Dieter-Betz, H. ed. 1986. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Diehl, C, Cousin, G. 1889. "Inscriptions de Iasos et de Bargylia", *BCH* 13: 23-40.
- Dignas, B. 2000. "The Leases of Sacred Property at Mylasa: An Alimentary Scheme for the Gods", *Kernos* 13: 117-126.
- Dignas, B. 2002. *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Diler, A. 2000. "Sacred Stone Cult in Caria", *AMS* 39: 51-79.
- Dillon, M. 2002. *Girls and Women in Classical Religion*, London, New York, Routledge.



- Dillon, M. 2017. *Omens and Oracles: Divination in Ancient Greece*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Dimitriev, S. 1991. Three Notes on Attalid History, *Klio* 81: 397-411.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. 1961. "Rhamnountine Fantasies", *Hesperia* 30.2: 179-204.
- Dinçol, A et al. 2000. "The Borders of the Appanage Kingdom of Tarhuntassa – A Geographical and Archaeological Assessment", *Anatolica* XXVI:1-29.
- Doğan Alparslan, M. 2011. "Tarhuntassa", *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 21: 47-56.
- Donnellan, L. 2012. "Apollo mediating identities in Ancient Greek Sicily", *Babesch* 8: 173-186.
- Dougherty, C. 1993. *The Poetics of Colonization. From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Dowden, K. 2006. *Zeus*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Dörtlük, K. 1988. "Elmalı Bayındır Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı" *KST* 10.1:171–74.
- Drew-Bear, T. 1974. "Representations of Temples on the Greek Imperial Coinage", *Museum Notes, American Numismatic Society* 19: 27-63.
- Drexhage, H.J. 1991. "Die Kontakte zwischen Side, Alexandria und Ägypten in der Römischen Kaiserzeit (1.-3. Jh. n. Chr.)", *Asia Minor Studien* 3: 75-90.
- Drew-Bear, T. 1974. "Representations of Temples on the Greek Imperial Coinage", *American Numismatic Society* 19: 27-63.
- Duggan, T. M. P. 2004. "A Short Account of Recorded Calamities (earthquakes and plagues) in Antalya Province and Adjacent and Related Areas Over the Past 2,300 Years-an Incomplete List, Comments and Observations", *Adalya* 7: 123- 170.
- Dunanbin, K. 1990. "Ipsa deae vestigia...Footprints divine and human on Graeco-Roman Monuments," *JRA* 3: 85-109.
- Dundas, G.S. 2002. "Augustus and the Kingship of Egypt", *Historia* 51.4:439-448.
- Duru, R. 1994. *Kuruçay Höyük, I: 1978-1988 Kazılarının sonuçları Neolitik ve erken Kalkolitik çağı yerleşmeleri/Results of the Excavations 1978-1988. The Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic Periods*, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları
- Duru, R, 1996. *Kuruçay Höyük, II: 1978-1988 Kazılarının sonuçları Geç Kalkolitik ve İlk Tunç Çağı yerleşmeleri/Results of the Excavations 1978-1988. The Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Settlements*, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
- Duru, R, Umurtak, G. 2005. *Höyücek. 1989-1992 Yılları Arasında Yapılan Kazıların Sonuçları/Results of the Excavations 1989-1992*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu V. Dizi, 49.
- Duru, R. 2008. *M.Ö. 8000'den M.Ö. 2000'e Burdur - Antalya Bölgesinin Altıbin Yılı*, İstanbul,Suna ve İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Duru, R, Umurtak, G. 2019. *Bademağacı Höyüğü Kazıları. Neolitik ve Erken Kalkolitik Çağ Yerleşmeleri I*, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Durugönül, S. 1989. *Die Felsreliefs im Rauhen Kilikien*, BAR 511.

- Durukan, M. 2019. *Olba Hanedanlık ve Sonrası. Olba Dynasty and Beyond*. Mersin.
- Ehrenberg, E. 2008. "Dieu et mon Droit: Kingship in Late Babylonian and early Persian Times" in *Religion and Power. Divine Kingship in the Ancient Worlds*, eds. N. Birch, Chicago, University of Chicago. 103-133.
- Ekroth, G. 200. *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek-Hero Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, Liege, Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique.
- Ekroth, G. 2014. "Animal Sacrifice in Antiquity", in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Animals* ed. G.L.Campbell, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 324-354.
- Eliade, M. 1963. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, New York, Bison Books.
- Ercenk, G. 1992. "Pamphylia Bölgesi ve Çevresi Eski Yol Sistemi", *Bellekten* 56.216: 361-370.
- Erdal, S. Y. 2008. "Perge'den bir Trepanasyon: Olası Nedenleri", in *Euergetes. Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı – Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag* 1, eds. İ. Delemen et al. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 421-435.
- Erdoğan, B. 2019. *Pamphylia Lyrboton Kome Işığında Geç Antik Çağda Akdeniz Kırsalı*, Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayınları, 64.
- Erhan, F. 2014. *Antik Çağ Kilikia Sikkelerinde Dinsel Tasvirler*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Erel, T. L., Adatepe, F. 2007. "Traces of Historical earthquakes in the ancient city life at the Mediterranean region", *J. Black Sea/Mediterranean Environment* 13: 241-252.
- Erickson, K. 2013. "Seleucus I, Zeus and Alexander", in *Every Inch a King*, eds. L. Mitchell and C. Melville, Leiden, Brill, 109-19.
- Erickson, K. 2018. "Another Century Of Gods? A Re-Evaluation Of Seleucid Ruler Cult", *The Classical Quarterly* 68.1 97–111.
- Erol- Özdizbay, A. 2012. "Perge Sikkelerinde Agonistik Ödül Taçları". *Adalya* 15: 203-221.
- Ersöz, B. S. 2009. "Sacred Space in Iron Age Phrygia", in *Sacred Landscape in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions*. BAR 2034:11- 19.
- Erten, E. 2007. *Küçük Asya'nın Güneyindeki Helios Kültleri*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Erten, E. 2011. "Hierapolis-Kastabala'da Helios Tapımına Dair Bazı Gözlemler", in *Özsait Armağanı. Mehmet ve Nesrin Özsait Onuruna Sunulan Makaleler/Studies Presented to Mehmet and Nesrin Özsait* eds. H. Şahin et al. Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 189-211.
- Erzen, A. 1953. "Ay Tanrısı Men'in Adı ve Menşei Hakkında", *Bellekten* 17. 65: 1-14.
- Erzen, A. 1979. "Zur Geographie Pamphylens", *AnadoluAraş* 7: 93-108.
- Eschbach, N. 2003. "Die archaische Keramik", in *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997, Band 1*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 87-102.

- Evans, J. A. 1901. "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations", *JHS* 21: 99-204.
- Fabis, M. 2017. "Archaeofaunal Remains of Perge 2002", in *Die Akropolis von Perge. Die Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1998-2004 und 2008*, eds. W. Martini et al. 372-380.
- Fagan, G. G. 1999. *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*, Ann Arbor, Michigan University Press.
- Faraone, C. 1991. "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of "Voodoo Dolls" in Ancient Greece", *Classical Antiquity* 10.2: 207-220.
- Faraone, C. 2008. "Household religion in Ancient Greece", in *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*, eds. J. Bodel and S. M. Olyan, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 210-218.
- Faraone, A.C. 2018. *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press Publication.
- Farnell, L. R. 1896. *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Fejfer, J. 2008. *Roman Portraits in Context*, Berlin, New York, de Gruyter.
- Filges, A. 2008. "Die Münzbilder der Artemis Pergaia. Bemerkungen zu Tradierung und Wandel von Motiven", in: *Euergetes. Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu 'na 65. Yaş Armağanı – Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag* 1, eds. İ. Delemen et al. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 479-503.
- Finkelberg, M. 2005. *Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Fleischer, R. 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und Verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden, Brill.
- Flemberg, J. 1995. "The Transformation of the Armed Aphrodite", in *Greece and Gender*, eds. B. Berggreen and N. Marinatos, Bergen, Astrom Editions, 109-122.
- Flower, I.H. 2000. "The Tradition of the Spolia Opima: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus", *Classical Antiquity* 19, 1:34-64.
- Foley, H. P. 1994. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Forstenpointner, G. 2001. "Demeter im Artemision? Archäozoologische Überlegungen zu den Schweineknochenfunden aus dem Artemision", in *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos*, ed. U. Muss, Wien, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 37: 49-71.
- Foss, C. 1996. *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*. USA, Variorum.
- Fox, L.R. 2008. *Travelling Heroes: Greeks And Their Myths In The Epic Age Of Homer*, New York, Penguin Publishing.
- Franke, P.R., J, Nollé.1997. *Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasiens und der thrakischen Randgebiete*, 1. Katalog, Saarbrücken, Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte 10.

- Fränkel, M. 1890-1895. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon 2 vols.* Altertümer von Pergamon, Berlin.
- Freely, J. 1998. *The Eastern Mediterranean Coast of Turkey*, London.
- Furley, W. D. 1996. "Andokides And The Herms: A Study of Crisis in Fifth-century Athenian Religion." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*. Supplement, 65, 1-162.
- Fusco, U. 2015-2016. "The Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares (Paus. 2.25.1) in the Periurban Area of Argos and Temples with a Double Cella in Greece", *Tekmhria* 13: 97-124.
- Frei, P. 1993. "Solymer – Milyer – Termilen – Lykier. Ethnische und politische Einheiten auf der lykischen Halbinsel", in *Akten Lykien* II/1: 87-97.
- French, D. 2014. *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor 3. 36. Lycia et Pamphylia*, Ankara, British Institute at Ankara, Electronic Monograph 6.
- Gaifman, M. 2006. "Statue, Cult and Reproduction", *Art History* 29.2: 258-279.
- Gaifman, M. 2008. "The Aniconic Image of the Roman Near East", in *the Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*", ed. T. Kaizer, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 42-57.
- Gaifman, M. 2017. "Aniconism: definitions, examples and comparative perspectives", *Religion* 47:3, 335-352.
- Le Gall, J. 1953a. *Le Tibre Fleuve du Rome Dans L'Antiquité*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, Publications de L'Institut d'Art et 'Archéologie de L'Université de Paris I.
- Le Gall, J. 1953b. *Recherches sur le Culte du Tibre*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, Publications de L'Institut d'Art et 'Archéologie de L'Université de Paris II, Paris.
- Gasparro, S. G. 1985. *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis*, Leiden, Brill.
- Gavrilovic, N. 2011. "Ceramic Crustulum With The Representation Of Nemesis–Diana From Viminatum", *Starinar* 61: 191-203.
- Gençler-Güray, Ç. 2018. "Erythrai' de Demeter Tapınımı", *TAD* 37.64: 55-70.
- Geniere, J. 1992. "*Cahiers de Claros I*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- Gill, D. 1974. "Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 67. 2: 117-137.
- Gilliam, J. F. 1961. "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius", *The American Journal of Philology* 82. 3: 225-251.
- Giobbe, C. 2013 "Roman Temples in Rough Cilicia", *Rough Cilicia, New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, eds. M.C. Hoff and R. F. Townsend, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 128-143.
- Giveon, R. 1985. "Dating the Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck", *AnatSt* 35: 99-101.
- Glötz, G. 1996. *The Greek City and Its Institutions*, translated by K. Paul, New York and London, Routledge.

- Godwin, J. 1981. *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World*, New York, Harper & Row.
- Goff, B. 2004. *Citizen Bacchae: Women's Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece*, London, University of California Press.
- Goldberg, M, P. 2002. *Ptolemaic Queens and a Roman Empress with Aspects of Tyche and other Goddesses*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to University of California, Los Angeles.
- Gökalp, N. 2008. *Attaleia Kent Tarihi ve Yazıt Korpusu*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to Akdeniz University, Antalya.
- Gökalp, N, Akdoğan Arca, E. 2009. "Antalya'dan Yeni Adak Yazıtları", *Adalya* 12: 245-258.
- Gonzales, M.P. 2004. *Cults and Sanctuaries of Ares and Enyalios: A Survey of the Literary, Epigraphic, and Archaeological Evidence*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to the University of California, Berkeley.
- Gonzales, M. 2005. "The Oracle and Cult of Ares in Asia Minor", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 45.3:261-283.
- Gourevitch, D. 2005. "The Galenic Plague: a Breakdown of the Imperial Pathocoenosis: Pathocoenosis and LongueDurée", *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 27. 1: 57-69.
- Görkay, K. 2011. "Zeugma in Light of New Research", in *Stephanèphoros de L'économie Antique a L'asie Mineure. Hommages à Raymond Descat*, ed. K. Konuk, Bordeaux, Pessac, Ausonius, 275-301.
- Grace, V. 1973. "Imports from Pamphylia", *Etudes Déliennes BCH Suppl. I*: 183-208.
- Graf, F. 1979. "Apollon Delphinios", *Museum Helveticum* 36. 1: 2-22.
- Graf, F. 2004. "What is Ancient Mediterranean Religion?", in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. S. I. Johnston, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 3-16.
- Graf, F. 2005. "Rolling the Dice for an Answer", in *Mantike: Studies in Ancient Divination*, eds. S.I Johnston and P.T.Struck, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 51-98.
- Graf, F. 2009. *Apollo*. Oxon, Routledge.
- Grainger, J.D. 2009. *The Cities of Pamphylia*, Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Graham, A.J. 1982. "The Colonial Expansion of Greece". *CAH* III.3: 83–162.
- Graniner, C. D. 2009. "Apollo, Ennodia, and fourth-century Thessaly", *Kernos* 22: 109-124.
- Greaves, A. 2004. "The Cult of Aphrodite in Miletos and its Colonies", *AnatSt* 54: 27-33.
- Greaves, A. 2010. *The Land of Ionia. Society and Economy in the Archaic Period*. MA and Oxford, Wiley–Blackwell Publishing.
- Green, P. 1990. *From Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Grimal, P. 1997. *Mitoloji Sözlüğü*, translated by S. Tamgüç, İstanbul, Kalcı Yayınevi.

- Gulizio, J. et al. 2001. "Religion in the Room of the Chariot Tablets", in *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age*, eds. R. Laffineur and R. Hagg, Liege, Universite de Liege, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique, Austin University of Texas at Austin, Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory, Aegeum: 455-461.
- Günata, G. 2018. "Development of the Oracular Sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros in Relation to Theories of Greek Extra-Urban Sanctuaries", in *Epiphaneia. A Festschrift for Prof. Dr. Nuran Şahin from her colleagues, friends and former students*, eds. O. Zunal et al. İzmir, Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları, 201-210.
- Güney, H. 2015. "Poseidon as a God of Earthquake in Roman Asia Minor", *RN 172*: 293-315.
- Gür, B. 2013. "Mopsos Mitosu ve Anadolu'daki Arkeolojik Buluntular" *History Studies International Journal of History* 5.1:181-197.
- Gürdal, T. 2007. Anadolu'da Apollon Kültü, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to Ankara University, Ankara.
- Gwynn, M.D. 2015. *Christianity in the Later Roman Empire: A Sourcebook*, London, Bloomsbury.
- Haas, C. 1997. *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, Baltimore and London, JHU Press.
- Habicht, C. 1969. *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, De Gruyter.
- Habicht, C. 1970. *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, Munich, de Gruyter.
- Habicht, C. 2006. *The Hellenistic Monarchies. Selected Papers*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1992. *Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period*, Nicosia, P. Åströms Förlag.
- Van Haepereen-Pourbaix. 1983. "Recherches sur les Origines, la nature et les attributs du dieu Men", in *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne, Mélanges en l'honneur du Pr.P.Naster*, eds. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun, Louvain, 221-257.
- Hagel, S, Tomaschitz, K. 1998. *Repertorium der Westkilikischen Inschriften: nach den Scheden der Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Halfmann, H. 1986. *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 2.
- Hall, A. S. 1977. "A Sanctuary of Leto at Oinoanda", *AnatSt* 27: 193-197.
- Hall, A. S. 1968. "Notes and Inscriptions from Eastern Pisidia", *AnatSt* 18: 57-92.
- Hall, J. 2008. "Foundation Stories" in *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, ed. G. Tsetschkladze, Mnemosyne 2, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 383-426.
- Halm-Tisserant, M., G. Siebert. 1997. "Nymphaï", *LIMC Supplementum*, 891-902.

- Hamon, P. 2006. "Un prêtre des dieux boulaioi dans le bâtiment du Conseil de Cos", *Chiron* 26: 151-169.
- Hannah, R. et al. 2016. "Nero's Solar Kingship and the Architecture of Domus Aurea", *Numen* 63.5-6: 511-524.
- Hans, J. C. 1996. *Die Münzen von Perge in Pamphylien aus hellenistischer zeit*, Köln, Kölner Münzkabinett Tüll Kroha.
- Hansen, E. V. 1971. *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca, London.
- Hansen, M. H. 2000. *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History*, Aarhus, Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Hansen, M.A., T.H. Nielsen.2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Harl, K.W. 1987. *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Harmansah, Ö. 2013. *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Harmansah, Ö. 2014. *Place, Memory and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments*, London, Routledge.
- Haskell, W. H. 2004. "Wanax to Wanax: Regional Trade Patterns in Mycenaean Crete", *Hesperia Supplements* 33:151-160.
- Hatzfeld, J. 1927. "Inscriptions de Panamara" *BCH* 51: 57-122.
- Havelock, M. C. 2007. *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.
- Head, B. v. 1887. *Historia Numorum A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Heberdey, R., A.Wilhelm.1896. *Reisen in Kilikien, Ausgeführt 1891 und 1892*, Wien, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophisch-Historische Classe Band. 44.
- Heipp-Tamer, C. 1993. *Die Münzprägung der lykischen Stadt Phaselis in griechischer Zeit*, Saarbrücken, Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte 6.
- Hellenkemper, H. 2004. "Attalos und Attaleia", in *Anadolu'da Doğdu. 60. Yaşında Fahri Işık'a Armağan. Festschrift für Fahri Isik zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. H. İşkan et al. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 331-335.
- Hellenkemper, H., F. Hild. 2004. *Lykien und Pamphylien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 8, ed. J. Koder, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Hellstrom, P. 2007. *Labraunda: A Guide to the Karian Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos*, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Hemberg, B. 1955. *Anaks, Anassa, Anakes*, Uppsala, Uppsala University.
- Hereward, D. 1958. "Inscriptions from Pamphylia and Isauria", *JHS* 78: 57-77.
- Herrmann, P. 1965. "Antiochos der Grosse und Teos", *Anadolu* 9:29-160.

- Herz, P. 2003. "Zur Geschichte des Kaiserkultes in Kleinasien. Die Kulturorganisation für die *cives Romani*, in *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens, Elmar Schwertheim zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. G. Heedemann and E. Winter, Bonn, Habelt, 133-148.
- Heuchert, V. 2005. "The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography", in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, eds. C. Howgego et al. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 29-57.
- Hicks, E.L. 1891. "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia" *JHS* 12: 225- 273.
- BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia: Hill.G.F. 1897. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia*, London.
- BMC Cilicia: Hill, G.F. 1900. *A Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, London.
- Hockmann, U, Möller, A. 2006. "The Hellenion at Naukratis: Questions and Observations", in *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt*, eds A.Villing and U. Schlotzhauer, London, The British Museum Press, 11-23.
- Hoffmann, A. 1998. "The Roman remodelling of the Asklepieion", in *Pergamon. Citadel of the Gods* ed. H. Koester, Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development, Harvard Theological Studies 46:41-61.
- Holtzmann, B. 1984. 'Asklepios', *LIMC* II.1: 863-97
- Hooker, T, J. 1978. "The Wanax in Linear B Texts", *Kadmos* 18-2: 100-111.
- Hornblower, S, Spawforth, A, (eds) 1998. *The Oxford Companion of Classical Civilization*, Oxford University Press.
- Hornbostel, W. 1973. *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 32, Brill, Leiden.
- Hornum, M. B. 1993. *Nemesis, the Roman State & the Games*, Leiden, New York, Brill.
- Hornum, M. B. 1998. "Nemesis Trampling the Enemy: A Previously Unrecognized Example", in *Stephanos: Studies in honor Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, eds J. Hartswick and M. Sturgeon, Philadelphia, Bryn Mawr College, 131-138.
- Horster, M. 2010. "Religious Landscape and Sacred Ground: Relationships between Space and Cult in the Greek World", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 4:435-458.
- Howgego, C. 1985. *Greek Imperial Countermarks, Studies in the Provincial Coinage of Roman Asia Minor*, London, Royal Numismatic Society
- ID Inscriptions de Délos, vol. 1 [3], nos. 290-371, ed. Félix Durrbach, 1926; vol. 2 [4], nos. 372-509, ed. Félix Durrbach, 1929.
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Borussicae ed. maior : I-IV, VII, IX, XI, XII, XIV, Berlin 1873 ff.
- IGR III: Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes, ed. René Cagnat et al. 3 vols. Paris 1901-1927. Vol. 3, fasc. 1-6, with Jules F. Toutain, Pierre Jouguet and Georges Lafaye. Paris 1902-1906. Reprint: Chicago, Ares 1975.



IEphesos: Merkelbach, R. and J. Nollé. 1980. Ephesos Inscriptions. Texts and List. IGSK 16, Bonn.

IK Prusias ad Hypium: Walter, A. 1985. *Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 27. Bonn.

IK Stratonikeia: Şahin, Ç. 1981-1990. Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia. Vol. I, Panamara, with II,2. Neue Inschriften und Indices. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 21 and 22,2. Bonn.

IK Anazarbos: Sayar, M. H 2000. *Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung, I: Inschriften aus dem STADtgebiet und der nächsten Umgebung der STADt*. 2 vols. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 56. Bonn.

Ivp I: Fränkel, M. 1890-1895. Die Inschriften von Pergamon 2 vols. «Altertümer von Pergamon», 8,1-2. Berlin. Vol. 1. Berlin.

Ivp II: Fränkel, Max. 1890-1895. Die Inschriften von Pergamon 2 vols. «Altertümer von Pergamon», 8,1-2. Berlin 1890-1895. Vol. 2, nos. 251-1334, Berlin.

Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1902. *Kleinasiatische Münzen, vol. II*, Wien.

Isaac, B. 1997. "Dedication to Zeus Olybris", *ZPE* 17: 126-128.

Işık, C. 2010. "Kaunos'un Bereket Tanrıçası Demeter'in İzinde", *Bütün Dünya* 2: 88-96.

Işık, F. 1996. "Pamfilya ve Anadolu Gerçeği", *Adalya* 1: 23-35.

Işık, F. 2008. "Mopsos Mitosu ve Bilimsel Gerçekler: Perge ve Karatepe'nin Kuruluşu üzerine", in *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı*, eds. İ. Delemen et al, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 2:571-585.

Işıklıkaya-Laubscher, R. I. 2016. "Perge Mozaik Atölyeleri ve Akdeniz Havzası Mozaik Ekolleri İçerisindeki Yeri", *Adalya* 19:169-229.

Işın, G. 2006. "Yumaklar-Arpalık Tepe Küçük Buluntuları Ön Rapor", *AST* 23.2: 125-134.

Işın, G. 2008. "The Cult of Apollo in Southern Pisidia and Apollo Sideton", *Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi Özel Sayı* 12: 107-117.

Işın, G. 2010. "The Great God Mamblasenos/Apollo", *Bollettino di Archeologia Online*, I:1-7.

Işın, G. 2014. "The Sanctuaries and the Cult of Apollo in Southern Pisidia", *Anatolia* 40: 87-104.

Işın, G. 2015. "Terracotta Figurines from Arpalık Tepe in Pisidia: Apollo and the Great Mother Goddess in a Cave Sanctuary", in *Figurines de terre cuite en Méditerranée grecque et romaine 2*, eds. A.Muller et al. Paris, Athens, École française d'Athènes, , 555-570.

İnan, J. 1974. "Neue Porträtstatuen aus Perge", in *Mansel'e Armağan: Mélanges Mansel*, C.II, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 655-661.

İnan, J. 1975. *Side'nin Roma Devri Heykeltıraşlığı*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

- İnan, J. 1976. "Perge Kazısı 1975 Çalışmaları", *Belleten* 40.2: 702-705.
- İnan, J. 1977a. "Perge Kazısı 1976 Çalışmaları", *Belleten* 41.1: 616-618.
- İnan, J. et al. 1997b. "Perge Tiyatrosu Yayın Çalışmalarının Önraporu", *KST* 18. 2: 65-83.
- İnan, J. 1978. "Perge Kazısı 1977 Çalışmaları", *Belleten* 42.2: 529-532.
- İnan, J.1979a. "Perge Kazısı 1978 Çalışmaları", *Belleten* 43: 875-879.
- İnan, J. 1979b. "Lysippos'un Sandal Bağlayan Hermes Heykeli", *Belleten* 43:69-172: 397-413.
- İnan, J.1980. "Perge Kazısı 1979 Çalışmaları", *Belleten* 44: 607-611.
- İnan, J. 1981. "Perge Kazısı 1980 Çalışmaları", *Belleten* 45: 365-369.
- İnan, J.1983. "Perge Kazısı 1981 Çalışmaları", *TAD* 26: 1-20.
- İnan, J.1983. "Neue Porträts von Perge", *AntK* 26: 119-120.
- İnan, J.1984. "Perge Kazısı 1982 Çalışmaları", *KST* 5: 199-206.
- İnan, J. 1985. "Perge Kazısı 1983 Çalışmaları", *KST* 6: 322-344.
- İnan, J. 1986. "Perge Kazısı 1984 Çalışmaları", *KST* 7: 397-404.
- İnan, J. 1987. "Perge Kazısı 1985 Çalışmaları", *KST* 8: 137-151.
- İnan, J. 1987b. "Thronende Isis von Perge", *Anatolia* 21: 1-9.
- İnan, J. 1988. "Perge Kazısı 1986 Çalışmaları", *KST* 9: 188-214.
- İnan, J. 1989. "Perge Kazısı 1987 Çalışmaları", *KST* 10:197-217.
- İnan, J. 1989. "Der Demetrios Apollonios Bogen in Perge", *IstMitt.* 39: 237-244.
- İnan, J. 1998. *Toroslarda Antik bir Kent, Lyrbe (?) Seleukeia (?)*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- İnan, J. etlii. 2000. "Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen an der Fassade des Theaters von Perge" *AA* 2: 285-340.
- İnan, J. 2001. "Der Dionysosfriese", Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen an der Fassade des Theaters von Perge" *AA* 2:322-331.
- İnan, J. 2000. *Perge'nin Roma Devri Heykeltraşlığı I*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- İnan, J. 2003. *Perge'nin Roma Devri Heykeltraşlığı II*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- İplikçioğlu, B. 2003. "Batı Pamfilya ve Doğu Likya'da Epigrafya Araştırmaları 2001", *AST* 20. II: 71-75.
- İplikçioğlu, B. et al. 2007. *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und sein Territorium IV*, Wien, IV Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 743.
- İzbırak, R. 2001. *Türkiye I*. İstanbul, MEB Yayınları

- Jacobs, I. 2010. "Production to Destruction? Pagan and Mythological Statuary in Asia Minor", *AJA* 114. 2: 267-303.
- Jacobs, I, 2013. *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space: The "Classical" City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 193, MA: Peters Publishers, Leuven-Paris-Walpole.
- Jameson, S. 1965. "Cornutus Tertullus and the Plancii of Perge", *JRS* 55:54-58.
- Jessen, O. 1912. "Helios", *RE* VIII.1: 58-93.
- Johanoff, M. 2017. "Small Change for the Seleucid Army: Bronze Coins of Side in the Southern Levant", *The Royal Numismatic Society* 117: 29-65.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1971. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Jones, C.P. 1995. "A Decree from Perge in Pamphylia", *EpigAnat* 25: 29-34.
- Jones, C. P. 1976. "The Plancii of Perge and Diana Planciana", *HarvStClPhil* 80: 231-237.
- Jones, C. P. 1999. "Old and New in the Inscriptions of Perge", *EpigAnat* 31:8-17.
- Jones, C. P. 2005. *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*, Lanham, Oxford, Lexington Books.
- Jones, C. P. 2005b. "Ten Dedications "to the Gods and Goddesses", and the Antonine Plague", *JRA* 18: 293-301.
- Kara, O. 2014. "Attaleia (Antalya) Antik Kenti'nde Bir Bizans Gümü Alanı", *Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu* 22: 67-85.
- Kara, O, Demirel, M. 2015. "Perge Antik Kenti 2012-2014 Yılı Kazıları", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*, 149: 7-24.
- Kara, O, Demirel, M. 2016. "Perge 2015 Yılı Kazılarında Bir Grup Plastik ve Madeni Eser", *ANMED* 14: 349-357.
- Kaya, D, Mitchell, S. 1985. "The Sanctuary of the God Eurymedon at Tymbria in Pisidia", *AnatST* 35: 39-55.
- Kaya, M.A, Taşdöner, K. 2016. "Roma İmparatoru Hadrianus ve Anadolu: Geziler, Eyaletler ve Kentler", in *Vir Doctus Anatolicus. Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, eds. M. Adak et al. *Philia Supplements* 1: 494-514.
- Kaymak, G. 2009. *Die Cumanın Camii in Antalya. Antalya Cumanın Camii*, Antalya, Adalya Supplementary Series 9.
- Kaymak, G. 2015. "Side P Tapınağı'nda Yeni Araştırmalar, Yeni Bulgular ve Yeni Yorumlar", *Adalya* 18: 203-240.
- Kaygusuz, İ. 1980. "Perge Artemisi için bir Adak Yazıtı", *Belleten* 54.174: 249-256.
- Keen, A.G. 1996. "Alexander's invasion to Lycia: Its Route and Purpose", *The Ancient History Bulletin* 10: 110-119.
- Keen, A.G. 1998. *Dynastic Lycia. A Political History of the Lycians and their Relations with Foreign Powers, C. 545 – 362 B.C.*, Leiden, Brill.

- Keesling, M. C. 2017. "Greek Statue Terms Revisited: What Does Andrias Mean?", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 57: 837–861.
- Kelder, M. J, Poelwijk, M. 2016. "The Wanassa and the Damokoro: a New Interpretation of a Linear B Text from Pylos", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 56: 572:584.
- Kelleher, M. 2002. *Archaeology Of Sacred Space: The Spatial Nature of Religious Behaviour in the Blue Mountains National Park Australia*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to the University of Sdney, Sdney.
- Kellner, H. J. 1977. "Zwei neue Flottendiplome. Zur Grenze von Pamphylien und Kilikien", *Chiron* 7:315-322.
- Kerschbaum, S. 2014. "Die Apollines von Hierapolis in Phrygien", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 64: 15-42.
- Kholod, M. M. 2016. "The Cults of the Alexander the Great in the Greek Cities of Asia Minor", *Klio* 98. 2: 495-525.
- Kılıç, M. 2014. "The Cults of Nemesis and Tyche at Smyrna", *Belleten* 78.283: 833- 854.
- Kileci, Ş. 2019. "Perge'den Rahip Apollonios'un Zeus Soter'e Sütun Adığı. Column Offering Of The Priest Apollonios To Zeus Soter In Perge", *Cedrus* 7: 555-573.
- Killen, S. 2017. *Parasema: Offizielle Symbole griechischer Poleis und Bundesstaaten*, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag.
- Kirsch, K. A. 2015. *Asyilia and Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Period*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to San Jose State University, California.
- Kleinbauer, W. E. 1987. "The Double Shell Tetraconch Building at Perge in Pamphylia and the Origin of the Architectural Genus", *DOP* 41: 277-293.
- Klose, O. A. 2005. "Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East During the Roman Empire", in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, eds. C. Howgego et al. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 125–133.
- Koçak, M. 2016. "Lykia Apollonu ve Kehaneti", in *From Lukka to Lycia The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas. Lukka'dan Likya'ya - Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi*. eds. H. İşkan and E. Dünder, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 550-557.
- Kosmetatou, E. 1997. Pisidia and the Hellenistic kings from 323 to 133 BC, *Ancient Society* 28:5-37.
- Knappet, C, Kilikoglu, V. 2007. "Provenancing Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: Scales Of Analysis And Floating Fabrics", in *The lustrous wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. I. Hein, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1-26.
- Koester, H. 1995. *Introduction to the New Testament. History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, Berlin, Boston, de Gruyter.
- Koester, H. 1998. "The Cult of Egyptian deities in Asia Minor", in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*, ed. H. Koester, Harrisburg, Trinity Press International, 111-135.

- Köker, H. 2011. “2010 Yılı Sillyon Antik Kenti ve Çevresi Yüzeý Arařtırması”, *AST* 29.3:33-48.
- Köker, H. 2012. “Yeni bir Sillyon Bronz Sikkesi”, in *Uluslararası Genç Bilimciler Buluşması I: Anadolu Akdenizi Sempozyumu*, ed. K. Dörtlük, Antalya, 205-207.
- Köse, V. 2009. “Aspendos Yüzeý Arařtırması Projesi 2008 Yılı Birinci Sezon Çalışmaları”, *AST* 27: 373-394.
- Köse, V. 2017. “Nehirler, Kıyıları, Limanlar ve Kentler”, *Anadolu/Anatolia* 43: 179-210.
- Krauskopf, I. 1981. “Amphilochus”, *LIMC* I:713-717.
- Kron, U. 1998. “Sickles in Greek Sanctuaries”, in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence*, ed. R. Hagg, Stockholm, Svenska Institutet i Athen, 187-215.
- Kunze, E. 1931. *Altkretische Bronzereleief*, Stuttgart.
- Küçüköđlü, S. 2015. *Dađlık Kilikia Bölgesi (Kilikia Trakheia) Kültleri*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Küpper, M. 1997. “Landliche Siedlungsstrukturen in Pamphylien am Beispiel Sillyon”, *Adalya* II: 97-116.
- Kvist, K. 2003. “Cretan grants of Asyilia: Violence and protection as Interstate Relations”, *Classica et mediaevalia* 54: 185–222.
- Labarre, G. 2009. “Les Origines et la Diffusion du Culte de Men”, in *L'Asie Mineure dans l'Antiquité: Echanges, Populations et Territoires. Regards Actuel sur une Péninsule*, eds. H. Bru et al. 389-414.
- Lacroix, L. 1949. *Les Reproductions des Statues sur les Monnaies Grecques*, Liège, Presses universitaires de Liège.
- von Lanckoroński, Karl Graf, et al. 2005. *Pamphylia ve Pisidia Kentleri: Pamphylia I*, translated by S. Bulgurlu, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Lane, N. 1968. “A Restudy of the God Men III”, *Berytus* 17: 81-106.
- Lane, E. 1971. *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis (CMRDM) 1: The Monuments and Inscriptions*, Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- Lane, E. 1976. *Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis (CMRDM) 3: Interpretations and Testimonia*. Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- Lane, E. N. 1990. “Men: A Neglected Cult of Roman Asia Minor”, *ANRW* II. 18.3: 2161-2174.
- Larson, J. 2001. *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult and Lore*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Larson, J. 2007a. “A Land full of Gods: Nature Deities in Greek Religion”, in *Blackwell Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. D. Ogden, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 56-71.
- Larson, J. 2007b. *Ancient Greek Cults: a Guide*. New York, Routledge.
- Larson, J. 2009. “Arms and armor in the sanctuaries of goddesses: A quantitative approach”, in *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse: Systèmes votifs des sanctuaires de déesses dans le monde grec*, ed. C. Prêtre, Kernos Supplément 23, Liège, Presses universitaires de Liège.

- Larson, J. 2011. "The Corycian Nymphs and the Bee Maidens of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 36.4: 341-357.
- Larson, J. 2016. *Understanding Greek Religion. A Cognitive Approach*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Larson, J. 2017. "Venison for Artemis? The of Deer Sacrifice", in *Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. S. Hitch, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 48-62.
- Laube, I. 2003. "Die frühkaiserzeitliche Panzerstatue", in *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997, Band 1*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 151-155.
- Laumonier, A. 1958. *Les Cultes Indigenes en Carie*, Paris, de Boccard.
- Launey, M. 1987. *Recherches sur les Armées Hélienistiques*, Paris, de Boccard.
- Lazongas, E. 2005. "Side: The Personification of the Pomegranate", in *Personification in the Greek World from Antiquity to Byzantium*, eds. E. Stafford and J. Herrin, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London, 99-109.
- Lebedev, A. 1996. "Pharnabazos, The Diviner Of Hermes. Two Ostraka With Curse Letters From Olbia", *ZPE* 112:268-278.
- Léger, M. R. 2017. *Artemis and Her Cult*, Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Legrand, E, Chamonard, J. 1893. "Inscriptions de Phrygie *BCH* 17: 241-293.
- Lejeune, M. 1962. "Études de philologie mycénienne", *Revue des Études Anciennes* 64-1-2: 5-19.
- Leibovici, M. E. 1993. *The Asiatic Artemis*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to McGill University, Montréal.
- Leick, G. 2003. *A Dictionary of Ancient Near East Mythology*, London, Routledge.
- Lenger, S. D. 2011. "Arpalık Tepe Mağarası Kutsal Alanı'ndan Sikkeler", *MJH* I/2:145-149.
- Levick, B. 1967. *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Levick, B. 2004. "How Different from us! Inscriptions of Pamphylian Cities under the Roman Empire", in *L'Hellénisme d'Époque Romaine, Nouveaux Documents, Nouvelles Approches (Ier s.a.C.-IIIe s.p.C.)*, *Actes du Colloque International à la Mémoire de Louis Fabier Paris 7-8.07.2000*, ed. Simone Follet, Paris, de Boccard, 255-275.
- Levick, B. 2007. *Julia Domna. Syrian Empress*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Lichtenberge, A. 2017. "Coin Iconography and Archaeology: Methodological Considerations about Architectural Depictions of City Coins of Palestine", in *Expressions of Cult in the Southern Levant in the Greco-Roman Period*, ed. O. Tal and Z. Weiss, Turnhout, Brepols, 197-220.
- Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon* 1998<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Lindgren H.C., F. L.Kovacs. 1985. *Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor and the Levant from the Lindgren Collection*, San Mateo, Chrysopylon Publications.

- Litman, R. J., M.L. Littman. 1973. "Galen and the Antonine Plague", *The American Journal of Philology* 94. 3: 243-255.
- Longfellow, B. 2011. *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning, and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lopez-Ruiz, C. 2009. "Mopsos and Cultural Exchange between Greeks and Locals in Cilicia, in *Antike Mythen. Medien, Transformationen, Konstruktionen*, Fritz Graf Festschrift, eds. U. Dill and Ch. Walde, Berlin-NY, Walter de Gruyter, 382-396.
- Louis-Fowler, R. 2013. *Early Greek Mythography: Volume 2, Commentary*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Lupu, E. 2005. *Greek Sacred Law*, Leiden, Boston, Brill.
- Lurker, M. 1987. *The Routledge Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses, Devils and Demons*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Lusnia S. S. 2004. "Urban Planning and Sculptural Display in Severan Rome: Reconstructing the Septizodium and Its Role in Dynastic Politics", *AJA* 108. 4: 517-544.
- Lutz, H. F. 1024. "Kingship in Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt", *AA* 26. 4:435-459.
- Llewelyn, S. R. 1998. *A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1980-81*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.
- Ma, J. 2003. "Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age", *Past & Present* 180: 9-39.
- McCabe, D. F. 1985. *Iasos Inscriptions. Texts and List*, Bonn.
- MacKay, T.S.1990. "Major Sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Pisidia", *ANRW* II.18.3: 2048-2082.
- MacMullen, R, Lane, E. 1992. *Paganism and Christianity, 100-425 C.E.: A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press.
- Mac Sweeney, N. 2013. *Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Mac Sweeney, N. 2015. "Introduction", in *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies*, ed. N. Mac Sweeney, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1-20.
- Magie, D.1950. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, To the End of the Third Century After Christ, C. I*, Princeton-New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Magie, D. 1953. "Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and Coins", *AJA* 57: 163:187.
- Malay, H. 2001. "Lydia Arařtırmaları", *AST* 19.2: 147-151.
- Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion. Volume: 3. Leiden, Brill.
- Manderscheid, H. 1981. *Skulpturen Ausstattung der Kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, Monumenta artis Romanae.
- Mansel, A. M. A. Akarca. 1949. *Perge'de Kazılar ve Arařtırmalar: Excavations and Researches at Perge, Antalya Bölgesinde Arařtırmalar, No. 2*, Ankara, TTK Basımevi.

- Mansel; A. M. et al. 1951. *1947 Senesi Side Kazılarına Dair Önrapor: Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side im Jahre 1947*, Ankara, TTK Basımevi.
- Mansel, A.M. 1956a. *İlk Çağda Antalya Bölgesi*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Antalya Bölgesi Arkeoloji Arastirmalari istasyonu Yayınları.
- Mansel, A. M. 1956b. “Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1946-1955”, *AA* 71: 34-120.
- Mansel, A. M. 1956c. “1953 Antalya Bölgesi (Pamphylia) Kazılarına Dair Rapor”, *TAD* 6-1: 5-10.
- Mansel, A.M. 1956d. *Side Agorası ve Civarındaki Binalar*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Mansel, A. M. 1957a. “1956 Side ve Perge Kazılarına Dair Kısa Rapor”, *Bulleten* 21: 659-660.
- Mansel, A. M. 1957b. “Ein Ixion Relief aus dem Nymphaeum von Side”, *Anatolia* II: 87-94.
- Mansel, A.M. 1958a. “Ein Basaltkessel aus Side”, *Anatolia* 11:1-13.
- Mansel, A.M. 1958b. “1957 Senesi Side ve Perge Kazıları”, *TAD* 8.1:3-5.
- Mansel, A.M.1958c. “1946-1955 Yıllarında Pamphylia'da yapılan Kazılar ve Araştırmalar”, *Bulleten* 22:211-240.
- Mansel. A.M. 1963. *Die Ruinen von Side*, Berlin, de Gruyter
- Mansel, A.M. 1968. “1967 Perge Kazılarına Dair Rapor”, *TAD* 16.1: 101-103.
- Mansel, A.M.1969. “1968 Perge Kazısına Dair Ön Rapor”, *TAD* 17.1:93-104.
- Mansel, A.M.1970. “1969 Perge Kazılarına Dair Önrapor”, *TAD* 18.2:129-135.
- Mansel, A.M.1971. “1970 Yılı Perge Kazısına Dair Ön Rapor”, *TAD* 19.2:169-184.
- Mansel, A. M. 1973. “1971 Perge Kazısı”, *TAD* 20.2:143-153.
- Mansel, A. M.1974a. “1972 Perge Kazısı Önraporu”, *TAD* 21.1:103-123.
- Mansel, A.M.1974b. “Perge Kazısı 1973 Çalışmaları”, *Bulleten* 38:541-543.
- Mansel, A. M.1975a. “1974 Perge Kazısı”, *Bulleten* 39.2:551-553.
- Mansel, A.M.1975b. “Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1957-1972”, *AA* 90:49-96.
- Mansel, A.M. 1975c. “Die Nymphaeen von Perge”, *IstMitt* 25:367-372.
- Mansel, A. M. 1978. *Side: 1947-1966 Yılları Kazıları ve Araştırmalarının Sonuçları*, Ankara, TTK Basımevi.
- Mariantos, N. 2009. “Meta-mythology of “Baetyl Cult. The Mediterranean Hypothesis of Sir Arthur Evans and Fritz Graf”, in *Antike Mythen, Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen*, eds. U.Dill and C. Walde, Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 73-81.



- Mark, I.S. 1993. *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, AIA Monograph New Series 2 and Hesperia Supplement 26, Princeton New Jersey, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Martini, W. 2003a. "Topographie und Architektur", in *Die Akropolis von Perge Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997, Band 1*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 11-78.
- Martini, W. 2003b. "Akkulturationsgeschichtliche Forschungen auf der Akropolis von Perge", *Gießener Universitätsblätter* 36:13-25.
- Martini, W. 2003c. "Historische Schlußfolgerungen", *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997, Band 1*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 179-186.
- Martini, W. 2004. "Zur Lage des Artemis-Heiligtums in Perge", in *Anadolu'da Dođdu:Fahri Işık'a Armađan*, İstanbul, ed. T. Korkut, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 479-492.
- Martini, W. et al. 2008a. "Der Flußhafen von Perge in Pamphylien. Ein geoarchäologischer Survey löst ein altes Problem", *AA*, 2008.1:115-131.
- Martini, W. 2008b. "Perge und seine Akropolis Zur Funktion der Akropolis in der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit" in *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasođlu'na 65. Yaş Armađanı Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasođlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. İ. Delemen et al. Antalya, Suna - İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 779-799.
- Martini, W. 2010. *Die Akropolis von Perge in Pamphylien: vom Siedlungsplatz zur Akropolis*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Martini, W. 2012a. "Nymphaeum und Tor; Zur Wasserkulte in Perge in Pamphylien", in *Turm und Tor Siedlungsstrukturen in Lykien und benachbarten Kulturlandschaften, Akten des Gedenkkolloquiums für Thomas Marksteiner in Wien*, Wien, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 37-41.
- Martini, W. 2012b. "Perge und seine Akropolis. Zur Funktion der Akropolis in der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit", in *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasođlu'na 65. Yaş Armađanı Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasođlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. İ. Delemen et al. Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 779-799.
- Martini, W. 2016. "Die Akropolis von Perge in der Kaiserzeit und ihre Bedeutung für die Stadt", in *Vir Doctus Anatomicus, Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, eds. M. Adak et al., İstanbul, Kabalıcı Yayınevi, Philia Supplements 1: 617-626.
- Martini, W. et al. 2017. *Die Akropolis von Perge. Die Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1998-2004 und 2008*, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Martini, W. 2019. "Wanassa Preias-Artemis Pergaia. Die Herrin von Perge. Ihr Heiligtum und ihre Stadt", in *Byzas 24-Natur und Kult in Anatolien* eds. B.Engels et al, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 91-117.
- Martzavou, P. 2012. "Isis Aretalogies, Initiations, And Emotions. The Isis Aretalogies as a Source for the Study of Emotions", in *Unveiling Emotions. Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, ed. A.Chaniotis, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 267-291.

- Matthews, B. 1993. *The Herder Dictionary of Symbols: Symbols from Art, Archaeology, Mythology, Literature, and Religion*, Illinois, Chiron Publications.
- McDonald, W. A. 1943. *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Meiggs, R. 1982. *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Mellart, J. 1970. *Excavations at Hacilar*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Mellor, R. 1975. *9EA POMH, The Worship of Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht.
- Meriç, A.E.2013. *Metropolis Ionia III: Ana Tanrıça Kutsal Mağaraları*, İstanbul, Homer Yayınevi.
- Merkelbach, R. 1980. "Der Kult der Hestia im Prytaneion der griechischen Städte", *ZPE* 37: 77-92.
- Merkelbach, R, Şahin, S.1988. "Die publizierten Inschriften von Perge", *EpigAnat* 11: 97-170.
- Merkelbach, R, Stauber, J. 1996. "Die Orakel des Apollon von Klaros", *EpigAnat* 27: 1-54.
- Merkelbach, R. et al. 1997. "Kaiser Tacitus erhebt Perge zur Metropolis Pamphylien und erlaubt einen Agon", *EpigAnat* 29: 69-74.
- Metzger, H. 1952. *Catalogue des Monuments Votifs du Musée d'Adalia*, Paris, de Boccard.
- Meyer, E.A. 1999. "Review of K. Rigsby, *Asyilia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*", *American Journal of Philology* 120: 460-464.
- Micklem, N. 2016. *The Nature of Hysteria*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Miles, M. M. 1989. "A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous", *Hesperia* 58-2:133-249.
- Mili, M. 2015. *Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Miller, S.G. 1978. *The Prytaneion: Its Form and Function*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Miller, S. G. 2004. *Ancient Greek Athletics*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
- Miller, G. D.2014. *Ancient Greek Dialects and Early Authors*, Berlin, Boston, de Gruyter.
- Milner, N. P. 1991. "Victors in the Meleagria and the Balbouran Élite", *AnatSt* 41: 23-62.
- Milner, N.P, Smith, M.F. 1994. "New Votive Reliefs from Oinoanda", *AnatSt* 44: 65-76.
- Milner, N.P. 1998. *An Epigraphical Survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa Region Conducted by A.S. Hall*, London, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monographs 24.

- Milner, N.P. 2000. "Notes and Inscriptions on the Cult of Apollo at Oinoanda", *AnatSt* 50: 65-76.
- Mionnet, T.E. 1808. *Descriptions des Médailles Antiques, Grecques et Romaines*, 3, Paris, de Boccard
- Mitchell, S. 1974. "The Plancii in Asia Minor", *JRS* 64: 27-39.
- Mitchell, S. 1987. "Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 91: 333-365.
- Mitchell, S.1993. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, C.I, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Mitchell, S. 1995. *Cremna in Pisidia. An Ancient City in Peace and in War*, London, Duckworth.
- Mitchell, S. 2014. "The Trajanic Tondo from Roman Ankara: in Search of the Identity of a Roman Masterpiece", *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2.1: 1-10.
- Mitford, T. B. 1990 "The Cults of Roman Rough Cilicia", *ANRW II*. 18.3: 2131-2160.
- Mitropoulou, E. 1996. "Cybele in Funerary Banquets", in *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults*, ed. E. Lane, Leiden, New York, Brill.
- Momigliano, A. 1990. *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Morel, A. 2017. "Dağlık Kilikia Bölgesi'nde Bir Kırsal Yerleşimin Gelişimi: Çatıören Örneği", *Olba* 25:381-420.
- Moretti, G. 1926. "In-Daghindà Qogia-In. La grande caverna nelle montagne delle Caverne", *ASAtene* 6.7: 509-546.
- Morgan, J. 2011. "Families and Religion in Classical Greece", in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. B. Rawson, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 447-464.
- Morrison, K. D. 2008. "When Gods Ruled", in *Religion and Power. Divine Kingship in the Ancient Worlds*, eds. N. Birch, Chicago, University of Chicago. 267-271.
- Morrison, J.V. 2014. *Shipwrecked: Disaster and Transformation in Homer, Shakespeare, Defoe and the Modern World*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.
- Moyes, H. 2012. ed. *Sacred Darkness: A Global Perspective on the Ritual Use of Caves*, Boulder, University Press of Colorado.
- Mozel, P. M. Morden, 2006. "The Cult Statue of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos: A Meteorite?", *The Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 100.4: 149-155.
- Möller, A. 2000. *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Muthmann, F. 1982. *Der Granatapfel, Symbol des Lebens in der alten Welt*, Bern, Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung Bern.
- Mutlu, S. 2016a. "Tanrıça Ma (Mā) ve Kappadokia Komana'sı, The Goddess Ma (Mā) and Comana in Cappadocia", *Phaselis* 2: 311-322.

- Mutlu, S. 2016b “Zeus Panamaros Kutsal Alanı ve Bayramları”, in *Stratonikeia ve Çevresi Araştırmaları*, ed. B. Söğüt, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 79-95.
- Müller, B. 1988. “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Side”, in *Side Münzprägung, Inschriften und Geschichte einer Antiken Stadt in der Türkei*, 11-22, Saarbrücken, Dillingen.
- Müller-Karpe, A. 1988. *Hethitische Töpferei der Oberstadt von Hattuša: Beiträge zur Kenntnis spät-gross-reichzeitlicher Keramik und Töpferbetriebe*, Marburg, Lahn Hitzeroth.
- Mylonopoulos, I. 2013. “Commemorating Pious Service” in *Cities and Priests. Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*, eds. M. Horster and A. Klöckner, Berlin, de Gruyter, 121-125.
- Mylonopoulos, I. 2013b. “Poseidon” in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, eds. R. Bagnall et al. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 5454–5455.
- Näsström, B.M. 2002. “The sacrifices of Mithras”, in *PECUS. Man and animal in antiquity*, ed. B. Santillo Frizell, Proceedings of the conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, September 9-12, Rome, Swedish Institute, 108-111.
- Naumann, F. 1983. *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der Griechischen Kunst*, *IstMitt* 28, Beihaft, Tübingen.
- Naumann, R. 1967. “Das Heiligtum der Meter Steuene bei Aizanoi”, *IstMitt* 17:218-247.
- Neumann, G. 2003. “Eine epichorische Inschrift”, in *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997, Band 1*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 165-166.
- Ng, D.Y. 2016. “Making and Artful Case: Public Sculptural Programs as Instruments of Civic Rivalry in Imperial Perge and Pamphylia”, *IstMitt* 66: 225-237.
- van Nijf, O. 1999. “Athletics, Festivals And Greek Identity in The Roman East”, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 45: 177-180.
- Nilsson, P.M. 1940. *Greek Popular Religion*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Nohlen, K., R. Wolfgang. 1978. *Kapıkaya, ein Fesheiligtum bei Pergamon im Anhang: Topographische Karte von Pergamon*, Berlin, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Nollé, J. 1983. “Die Charaktere im 3. Epidemienbuch des Hippokrates und Mnemon von Side”, *EpigAnat* 2: 85-98.
- Nollé, J. 1984. “Etenna. In Vorbericht”, *EA* 3: 143-154.
- Nollé, J. 1986. “Pamphyliche Studien 1-5”, *Chiron* 16: 199-212.
- Nollé, J. 1987. “Pamphyliche Studien 6-10”, *Chiron* 17: 235-276.
- Nollé, J. 1989. “Inscriben Münzen und Papyri Dokumante aus dem antiken Side”, in *Side Münzprägung, Inschriften und Geschichte einer Antiken Stadt in der Türkei*. ed. R. Franke, Saarbrücken, Dillingen, Krüger, 45-67.
- Nollé, J. 1990. “Side. Zur Geschichte einer kleinasiatischen Stadt in der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel ihrer Münzen”, *AW* 21: 244-266.

- Nollé, J. 1992. “Zur Geschichte von Etenna”, in *Forschungen in Pisidien*, ed. E. Schwertheim, AMS 6:61-141, Bonn.
- Nollé, J. 1993a. *Side im Altertum, Band 1*. IK43, Bonn.
- Nollé, J. 1993b. “Die feindlichen Schwestern – Betrachtungen zur Rivalität der pamphyliischen Städte”, in *Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens: Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Akten des Symposiums vom 23. bis 25. Oktober*, eds. G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenröck, Wien, ETAM 14, 297-317.
- Nollé, J. 1993c. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Pfälzer Privatsammlungen, 4. Band, Pamphylien 1-960*. München.
- Nollé, J. M. K. and J. Nollé. 1994. *Götter, Stadt, Feste. Kleinasiatische Münzen der Römischen Kaiserzeit: Begleitheft zu einer Ausstellung von Münzen der Pfälzer Privatsammlungen*, München.
- Nollé, J. 1999. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Pfälzer Privatsammlungen, 5. Band. Pisidien und Lykaonien, 1-586*. München.
- Nollé, J. 2001. *Side im Altertum, Band 2*, IK44, Bonn.
- Nollé, J. et al. 2001b. “Katalog der Inschriften im Museum von Alanya”, *EpigAnat* 5: 125-146.
- Nollé, J. 2007. *Kleinasiatische Losorakel. Astragal und Alphabetchresmologien der hochkaiserzeitlichen Orakelrenaissance*, München, Verlag C.H.Beck.
- Nosnov, K. 2009. *Greek Fortifications of Asia Minor 500 – 130 BC*. Oxford, Osprey Publishing.
- Novakoca, L., L. Gucik. 2014. “Powerful Figures and Images: Contribution to Personification of Polis in Hellenistic Art”, *Iliria International Review* 2:241-252.
- Nowakowski, P. 2017. “Diffusion and Functions of the Cult of Saints in Asia Minor up to the End of the 6th Century (The Epigraphic Evidence)”, *AMS* 87, 307-331.
- OGIS: Dittenberger, Wilhelm. *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig 1903-1905.
- Oktan, M. 2017. “Dedications to Zeus Drymon from Lyrboton Kome,” *Philia* 3: 154-161.
- Onur, F. 2009. “The Roman Army in Pamphylia: From the Third to Sixth Centuries A.D.”, *Adalya* 12: 299- 318.
- Onur, F. 2013. “Perge’den İki Procurator Yazıtı”, *Akron. Eskiçağ Yazıları* 3: 55-76.
- Onurkan, S. 1969. “Perge Artemis Kabartmaları ve Artemis Pergaia”, *Belleten* 33:303-323.
- Onurkan, S. 1969-1970. “Artemis Pergaia”, *IstMitt* 19.20:289-291.
- Orhan, S. 2017. *Perge Batı Caddesi 2013 Yılı Kazılarında Ele Geçen Bir Grup Heykeltıraşlık Eseri*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, Burdur.

- Ormerod, H.A, Robinson, E.S.G. 1910-1911. "Notes and inscriptions from Pamphylia", *BSA* 17: 215-249.
- Ormerod, H. A. 1912. "A New Astragalos Inscription from Pamphylia", *JHS* 32:270-276.
- Ostrowski, J. 1991. *Personifications of Rivers in Greek and Roman Art*, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Universitas Jagellonica Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque CMLXIV.
- Otten, H.1988. *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Oxford Antikçağ Sözlüğü*, 2013. ed. M.C. Howatson, translated by F. Ersöz, İstanbul, Kitap Yayınevi.
- Özdizbay, A. 2001. *Perge Batı Nekropolisi M2 Mezar Yapısı*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Özdizbay, A. 2008. "Pamphylia - Perge Tarihi ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Öncesi Perge'nin Gelişimi: Güncel Araştırmalar Işığında Genel bir Değerlendirme", *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. İ. Delemen et al., İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 858-862.
- Özdizbay, A. 2010. "Perge'den bir İmparator Kültü Rahibi Portresini Kimliklendirme Önerisi", *Adalya* 13: 195-203.
- Özdizbay, A. 2012. *Perge'nin M.S. 1.- 2. Yüzyıllardaki Gelişimi*, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Özdizbay, A. 2018. "Adını Arayan Portreler: Perge'den Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus Örneği", in *Vedat Çelgin'in 68. Doğum Günü Onuruna Makaleler*, eds. M. Arslan and F. Baz, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 659-669.
- Özer, E. 2016. "Silyon Nekropolisi Ön Değerlendirmesi", in *Lykarkhissa. Havva İşkan'a Armağan*, eds. E. Dündar et al. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 611-629.
- Özgür, E. 1993. "Aspendos Ören yeri 1991 Yılı Kazı Onarım ve Çevre Düzenleme Çalışmaları", *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu* 3: 251-261.
- Özgür, E. et al. 1996. *Sculptures of the Museum in Antalya I: A Journey into Mythology and into History*, Ankara, Dönmez Offset Basımevi.
- Özhanlı, M. 2007. "Side'de Bulunan Bir Yeni Hitit Eserinin Düşündürdükleri", *Adalya* 10: 17-31.
- Özhanlı, M, 2014. "Side Apollon Kehanet Merkezi ve Omphalos Taşı", *CollAn* 13: 261-272.
- Öztürk, A. 2009. *Die Architektur der Scaenae Frons des Theaters in Perge*, DAA 20, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.
- Öztürk, B. 2010. *Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Küçük Asyası'nda Dionysos Kültü*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Öztürk, H.S. 2006. *M.Ö. II. – M.S. IV. Yüzyıllarda Likya-Pamphylia Bölgesinde Kırsal Alan Güvenliği*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to Marmara University, İstanbul.

- Öztürk, H.S. 2015. “Kocain (Antalya) Eirenarkhes, Anteirenarkhes ile Diogmites Yazıtlarının Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi”, *Adalya* 18: 159-181.
- Özyar, A. 2003. “Architectural Reliefs in Anatolia through Time”, in *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions* eds. B. Fischer et al. İstanbul, Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 107-115.
- Pace, B. 1916-1920. “Adalia”, *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 3: 3-21.
- Pace, B. 1923. “Diana Pergaea”, in *Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, eds. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, London, New York, Manchester University Press, 297-314.
- Pace, B. 1926. “Inventerio del Tempio di Artemide Pergea”, *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 7-8: 402-412.
- Pala, E. 2010. “Aphrodite on the Acropolis: Evidence from Attic Pottery”, in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, eds. A.C. Smith and S. Pickup, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 195-217.
- Palagia, O. 1992. “Cult and Allegory: The Life Story of Artemidoros”, in *Philolakon* ed. J.M.Sanders, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 171-177.
- Palaima, T. 1995. “The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions”, in *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America*, ed. P. Rehak, New Orleans, Louisiana, Aegum, 119-139.
- Palmer, L. R. 1963. *Mycenaeans and Minoans: Aegean Prehistory in the Light of the Linear B Tablets*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Papadopoulou, C. 2010. “Aphrodite and the Fleet in Classical Athens”, in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, ed. A.C. Smith, S. Pickup, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 217-235.
- Paribeni, R. and P. Romanelli. 1914. “Studi e ricerche archeologiche nell'Anatolia Meridionale”, *MonAL* 23:5-274.
- Parisinou, E. 2005. “Brightness Personified: Light and Divine Image in Ancient Greece”, in *Personification in the Greek World*, eds. by E. Stafford and J. Herrin, London, New York, Routledge, 29-43.
- Parke, H.W. 1985. *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*. London, Routledge.
- Parker, R. 1991. “The Hymn to Demeter and Homeric Hymns”, *Greece & Rome* 38.1: 1-17.
- Parker, R. 1996. *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Parker, R. 2000. “Theophoric Names and the History of the Greek Religion”, in *Greek Personal Names and Their Value as Evidence*, eds. S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 53-79.
- Parker, R. 2003. “The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithet”, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 28: 173-183.
- Parker, R. 2005. *Polytheism and Society of Athens*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Parker, R. 2016. “Athena in Anatolia“, *Pallas* 100: 73-90.

- Parker, R. 2017. *Greek Gods Abroads: Names, Natures and Transformations*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Payne, A. 2019. "Native Religious Traditions from a Lydian Perspective", in *Religious Convergence in Ancient Mediterranean* eds. S. Blakely and B.J. Collins, Atlanta, Lockwood Press.
- Pekman, A. 1989. *Son Kazı ve Araştırmaların Işığında Perge Tarihi: History of Perge*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi..
- Perdrizet, P, Lefebvre, G. 1919. *Les Graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos*, Paris, de Boccard
- Petersen, C. 1851. *Der Hausgottesdienst der alten Griechen*, Cassel, Wentworth Press.
- Petridou, G. 2015. *Divine Epiphany in the Greek Literature and Culture*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Philpot, J. H. 2004. *The Sacred Tree in Religion and Myth*, New York, Mineola.
- Picon, C. A., S. Hemingway (eds). 2016. Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
- Pilz, O. 2011. "The uses of small things and the semiotics of Greek miniature objects", *Pallas. Revue d'Etudes Antiques* 86: 15-30.
- Pironti, G. 2005. "Aphrodite dans le domaine d'Arès: Éléments pour un dialogue entre mythe et culte", *Kernos* 18:167-184.
- Planhol, X. de. 1958. *La Plaine Pamphylienne aux lacs Pisidiennes. Nomadisme et Vie Paysanne*, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Platt, V. 2011. *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Greco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Pleket, H.W. 2000. "The Infrastructure of Sport in the Cities of the Greek World", *Scienze Dell'Antichita* 10: 627-644.
- Piesker, K. 2015. "Auf den zweiten Blick: ein neuer Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für den "Dionysos Tempel" in Side", *IstMitt* 65: 151-183.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. 1994. *L'Aphrodite Grecque*, Athenes-Liege, Kernos Supplément 4..
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. 2004. "Image des dieux et rituel dans le discours de Pausanias. De l' 'axiologie' à la théologie," *MEFRA* 116.2: 811–825.
- Pop-Lazic, S. 2012. "Some observations on lead figurines of the goddess Venus in the area between Sirmium and Viminacium", *Starinar* 62:151-164.
- Price, H.T. 1971. "Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought", *JHS* 91: 48-69.
- Price, S.R.F. 1985. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Kult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Price, M, Trell, B.L. 1977. *Coins and Their Cities. Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine*, London, Vecchi.



- Pritchett, W. K. 1991. *The Greek State at War: Part V*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Quirce, H.A. 2016. “Los orígenes griegos de una ciudad de Pisidia: Selge, Esparta y Calcante”, *Emerita* 84.1: 51-71.
- Radt, W. 2002. *Pergamon: Antik bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları*, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Ramsay, D. 1895. *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I*, New York, Arno Press.
- Ramsay, M.W. 1883. “Inscriptions Inédites de l’Asie Mineure”, *BCH* 7: 258-278.
- Ramsay, M. W. 1927. *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Raubitschek, A. E. 1943. “Greek Inscriptions”, *Hesperia* 12.1: 12-88.
- Recke, M. 2003. “Der klassische Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier”, in *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994- 1997, Band 1*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 146-150.
- Recke, M, Çokay-Kepçe, S. 2007a. “Achaemenid Bowls in Pamphylia”, in *The Achaemenid Impact On Local Populations and Cultures In Anatolia (Sixth-Fourth Centuries B.C.)* Papers presented at the International Workshop Istanbul 20-21 May 2005, İstanbul, Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 83-97.
- Recke, M. 2007b. *Der Beginn archäologischer Forschungen in Pamphylien und die Kleinasien-Expedition Gustav Hirschfelds 1974. in loco Murtana, ubi olim Perge sita fuit, Pamphylia’daki Arkeolojik Araştırmaların Başlangıcı ve Gustav Hirschfeld’in 1874 Yılı Küçük Asya Araştırma Gezisi*, eds. K. Dörtlük et al. Adalya Ek Yayın Dizisi 5, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Recke, M. 2008. “Zwei parische Sphingen aus Kleinasien: Eine archaische Doppelweihung an Artemis Pergaia”, in *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu’na 65. Yaş Armağanı Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. İ. Delemen et al. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 1057-1077.
- Recke, M. 2010. “Die klassische und hellenistische Keramik unter Einschluß der attisch schwarzfigurigen Keramik”, in *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 103-121.
- Recke, M. 2011. “Pamphylien zwischen Ost und West - Die Ausgrabungen von Perge als Fallbeispiel” in *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas. Kulturelle Beziehungen von der Späten Bronzezeit zur Frühen Eisenzeit*, eds. H. Matthäus et al. Kongress Erlangen Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, Philippika 30, 167-176.
- Recke, M. 2017. “Aphrodite auf der Akropolis von Perge? Terrakotta statuetten aus F1”, in *Figurines de terre cuite en Méditerranée grecque et romaine 2: Iconographie et contextes*, eds. A. Müller and E. Lafli, Villeneuve d’Ascq, Septentrion, 547-553.
- Remijsen, A. 2011. “The So-Called "Crown-Games, Terminology and Historical Context of the Ancient”, *ZPE* 177: 97-109.
- Renberg, H. G. 2014. “The Unexplored Aspects of the Lycian “Twelve Gods Reliefs”, *EpigAnat* 47: 107-132.

- Renberg, G. 2017. *Where Dreams May Come: Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World I*, Leiden, Brill.
- Renberg, G, W., S. Bubelis. 2001. "The Epistolary Rhetoric of Zoilos of Aspendos and the Early Cult of Sarapis: Re-reading P. Cair.Zen. I 59034", *ZPE* 177: 169-200.
- Rethemiotakis, G. 1999. "The Hearths of the Minoan Palace at Galatas", *Aegaeum* 20.3: 721-727.
- Rigsby, K. 1996. *Asyilia. Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World Hellenistic Culture and Society*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Rives, B. J. 2014. "Religion in the Roman Provinces" in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmunson, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 420-45.
- Robert, L. 1928. "Études épigraphiques: Première série", *BCH* 52:407-425.
- Robert, L. 1949. "Deux Textes inutilisés sur Perge et sur Sidé", in *Hellenica: Recueil D'Épigraphie de Numismatique et D'Antiquités Grecques* 5, 64-76.
- Robert, L. 1955. *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, 10, Paris.
- Robert, L. 1960. "Une déesse à cheval en Macédoine," *Hellenica* 11-12: 588-595,
- Robert, L. 1960. "Monnaies et Divinités d'Aspendos" in *Hellenica* 11-12: 177-188.
- Robert, L. 1963. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine*, 1, Paris, de Boccard.
- Robert, L. 1966. *Documents d'Asie Mineure méridionale*, Geneva, Paris, de Boccard.
- Robert, L. 1969. "Les Inscriptions", in *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée. Campagnes 1961-1963*, ed. J. Des Gagniers, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 247-389.
- Robert, L. 1978. "Documents d'Asie Mineure", *BCH* 102.1: 395-543.
- Robert, L. 1983. "Documents d'Asie Mineure", *BCH* 107.1: 497-599.
- Roberts, B.K. 1987. "Landscape Archaeology", in *Landscape and Culture. Geographical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. J.M. Wagstaff, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 77-95.
- Robinson, M. 1905. "Greek and Latin Inscriptions From Sinope and Environs" *AJA* 9.3: 294-333.
- Rogers, M. G. 2012. *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Roller, L.E. 1999. *In Search of the God the mother: the Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, University of California Press.
- Rosenzweig, R. 2004. *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Roux, G, 1976. *Delphes, son oracle et ses dieux*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- Rowell, H. 1962. *Rome: In the Augustan Age*, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press.

- Ruge, W. 1937. "Perge", *RE* 37: 694-704.
- Ruge, W. 1938. "Phaselis", *RE* 19.2: 1874-1883.
- Ruijgh, C. 1999. "Wanax et ses dérivés dans les textes mycéniens", *Florent Studia Mycenaea, Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom. 1-5 Mai*, Wien, Verl. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., 523-535.
- Salviat, F, Bernard, P. 1962. "Inscriptions de Thasos", *BCH* 86.2: 578-621.
- Sanders, L. J. 1991. "Dionysos I of Syracuse and the Origins of the Ruler Cult in the Greek World", *Historia* 40: 275-287.
- Sarıkaya, S. 2009. *Hellenistik Dönemde Asyilia: İonia ve Karia'daki Tapınaklarla Birlikte Kent ve Egemenlik Alanlarına Tanınan Hieria Kai Asyilia*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Akdeniz University, Antalya.
- Sarıkaya, S. 2012. "Asyilia: Zaman İçindeki Tarihsel Gelişimi", *Akron* 2: 67-91.
- Sarian, H. 1990. "Hestia" *LIMC* V: 407-412.
- Savucu, A. 1995. *Kemerağzı Tapınım Alanı*, Unpublished Bachelor Thesis submitted to Akdeniz University, Antalya.
- Schäfer, J. 1971-1972. "Phaselis. Zur Topographie der Stadt und des Hafengebietes", *AA* 86: 542-561.
- Scherrer, P. 2014. "Hunting The Boar—The Fiction of a Local Past in Foundation Myths of Hellenistic and Roman Cities", in *Attitudes toward the Past in Antiquity. Creating Identities*, eds. B. Alroth and C. Scheffer, Stockholm, Stockholm University, 113-121.
- Schmidt, M. 1861. ed. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, Vol. 3 (Λ–P), Berlin, de Gruyter.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. 1991. "Eine Severische Priesterin aus Syrien in Perge", *IstMitt* 41: 439-445.
- Schuchhardt, W. H. 1977. *Alkamenes*, Berlin, De Gruyter.
- Schultze, V. 1926. *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften. II. Kleinasien*, Gütersloh.
- Seeher, J. 2001. "Die Ausgrabungen in Bogazköy-Hattusa 2000", *AA* 3: 341-62.
- Sekunda, N. 2014. "The Cult of Men Tiamou, Preliminary Remarks", *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* 15. 3: 149-156.
- Sharp-Joukowsky, 1996. *Early Turkey: Anatolian Archaeology from Prehistory through the Lydian Period*, Dubuque, Kendall-Hunt.
- Shiple, G. J. 2012. "Pseudo-Skylax and the Natural Philosophers", *JHS* 132: 121-138.
- Siebert, G. 1990. "Hermes" *LIMC* V-1 1990, pp. 285- 387.
- Sina, A. 2009. "İlkçağ Tarih Yazımının Batı Anadolu Öncüleri: IV-Lesboslu Hellanikos" *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*: 107-157.
- Skelton, C. 2017. "Greek-Anatolian Language Contact and the Settlement of Pamphylia", *Classical Antiquity* 36.1: 104-129.

- Slawisch, A, Wilkinson, C.T. 2018. "Processions, Propaganda, and Pixels: Reconstructing the Sacred Way Between Miletos and Didyma", *AJA* 122.1: 101-143.
- Sokolowski, F. 1964. "Aphrodite as Guardian of Greek Magistrates," *Harvard Theological Review* 57: 1-8.
- Sokolowski, F. 1968. "Sur l'oracle de Claros destiné à la ville de Syédra", *BCH* 92.2: 519-522.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1993. "Early sanctuaries, the eighth century and ritual space: fragments of a discourse" in *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, eds. N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, London and New York, Routledge, 1-17.
- Smardz, E. K. 1979. *The Sacred Tree in Ancient Greek Religion*. Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to McMaster University, Canada.
- Smith, T.J. 1997. "Votive Reliefs from Balboura and Its Environs", *AnatSt* 47: 3-49.
- Smith, S. M. 2014. "Athart in Late Bronze Age Syrian Texts", in *Transformation of a Goddess. Ishtar-Astarte-Aphrodite*, ed. D.T.Sugimoto, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 263: 33-87.
- Smith, D.S. 2014. *Man and Animal in Several Rome. The Literary Imagination of Claudius Aelianus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- SNG von Aulock Pamphylien. 1965. Deutschland. Sammlung Hans von Aulock, Heft 11: Pamphylien.
- SNG von Aulock, Pisidien. Aulock. H. von. 1977. Münze und Städte Pisidiens, I (Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Beiheft 19) Tübingen.
- SNG von Aulock, Pisidien. Aulock. H. von. 1977 Aulock, H. von. 1979. Münze und Städte Pisidiens, II (Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Beiheft 22) Tübingen.
- SNG Levante Cilicia, Levante, E. 1986. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Switzerland I. Levante-Cilicia. Zurich.
- SNG Levante Cilicia, Levante Cilicia Supplementum I, E. Levante, 1993, *Numismatica Ars Classica*.
- SNG France 2. 1993. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum France 2, Cabinet de Médailles, Cilicie*, Ed. E. Levante, *Numismatica Ars Classica*, Paris.
- SNG France 3. 1994. *Cabinet de Médailles, Pamphylie Pisidie Lycaonie Galatie*, ed. E. Levante, *Numismatica Ars Classica*, Zürich.
- SNG *The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Lycia-Pamphylia*. Copenhagen 1955.
- SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen, Band 4, Pamphylien, Nr. 1- 960, München, 1993.
- SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen, Band 5, Pisidien und Lykaonien, Nr.1 - 586, München, 1999.
- SNG Pfalzer Privatsammlungen, Band 6, Isaurien und Kilikien, Nr.1 - 1486, München, 2001.

- Snodgrass, A. 1986. "Interaction by Design: The Greek City-State." in *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, eds. C. Renfrew and J. F. Cherry, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Soykal-Alanyalı, F. 2003. "Terrakotta figürinler ışığında Felsspaltempel-Yarıkkaya Tapınağı", *III. Uluslararası Eskişehir Pişmiş Toprak Sempozyumu*, Eskişehir Tepebaşı Belediyesi, 173-181.
- Soykal-Alanyalı, F. 2016. "Side Dionysos (?) Tapınağı Işığında Tiyatro ile Çevresinin Kentsel Değişimi ve Dönüşümü", *Olba XIV*: 419-450.
- Soykal-Alanyalı, F. 2018. "Side'de Büyük ve Kutsal Gerusia" *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi VIII. Kazı ve Araştırmalar Sempozyumu*, Proceedings Abstract, 4.
- Spence, I. 2016. "Pergamene Inscription", in *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome: The Definitive Political, Social, and Military Encyclopedia*, eds by Iain Spence et.al, vol. 2, ABC-CLIO, 612-614.
- Sokolowski, F. 1955. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure: LSAM*, Paris, École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants 9.
- Solima, I. 2014. "The Perpetuation of Memory in the Myths and Cults of Artemis in the Peloponnese", in *Memory and Religious Experience in the Greco-Roman World*, eds N. Cusumano et al. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 55-61.
- Spencer, D. 2010. *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Sporn, K. 2013. "Mapping Greek Sacred Caves: Sources, Features, Cults", in *Stable Places and Changing Perceptions: Cave Archaeology in Greece*, eds. F. Mavridis and J.T.Jensen, *BAR* 2558, 202-216.
- Stafford, E. 2013. "The People to the goddess Livia. Attic Nemesis and the Roman imperial cult", *Kernos* 26: 205-238.
- Stamper, J. W. 2005. *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Stehle, E. 2012. "Women and Religion in Greece", in *The Blackwell Companion to Women in the Ancient World* eds. S.L.James and S. Dillon, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 191-204.
- Stowers, S. 1998. "A Cult from Philadelphia: Oikos Religion or Cultic Association?", in *The Early Church in Its Context. Essays in Honor of Everett Ferguson*, ed. A. Malherbe et al. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 90, Leiden, Brill, 287-301.
- Strasser, J.Y. 2003. "Inscriptions agonistiques de Sidé", *EpigAnat* 35: 63-76.
- Stravrapoulos, D.S. 1986. "Epigraphai Angeion ek Boiotias", *AE*: 243-247.
- Strelan, R. Paul. 1996. *Artemis and the Jews in Ephesus*, Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- Stroud, R. 1984. "An Argive Decree from Nemea Concerning Aspendos", *Hesperia* 53.2: 193-216.

- Strubbe, J. 1984-1986. "Gründer Kleinasiatischer STADte, Fiktion und Realität", *AncSoc* 15-17: 253-304.
- Strutynski, U 1980. "Ares. A reflex of the Indo- European war god", *Arethusa* 13.2: 217-231.
- Şahin, E. 2018. *Aspendos'un Aphrodite Kastnietis Kültü*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Ankara University, Ankara.
- Şahin, H. 2007. "Doğu Dağlık Kilikia: Polis-Khora İlişkileri Üzerine İlk Düşünceler", *CollAn* 6: 115-179.
- Şahin, H. 2009. "Doğu Dağlık Kilikia Kentlerinin Territoriumları, Yerleşme Türleri ve Değişimler", *CollAn* 8: 257-289.
- Şahin, H.2012. "Korykion Antron'daki Tapınak Zeus Tapınağı mıdır?", *Adalya* 15: 65-79.
- Şahin, H, Özdzibay, A. 2014. "Dağlık Kilikia Kurşun Kalesi Tapınağı ve Stoasına İlişkin Yeni Öneriler", *Adalya* 17: 85-121.
- Şahin, N. 2001. *Zeus'un Anadolu Kültleri*, Antalya, Suna ve İnan Kıracı Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Şahin, S. 1991a. "Bemerkungen zu Lykischen und Pamphylishen Inschriften", *EpigAnat* 17:113-139.
- Şahin, S. 1991b. "Meter Oreia von Karain/Antalya: Eine Grottengöttin in Südkleinasien Bemerkungen zu den lykischen und pamphylishen Inschriften", *EpigAnat* 17: 126-132.
- Şahin, S. 1992. "Statthalter der Provinzen Pamphylia-Lycia und Bithynia-Pontus in der Zeit Statusänderung beider Provinzen unter Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus", *EpigAnat* 20: 77-90.
- Şahin, S.1996. "Perge Kentinin Kurucuları ve Plancia Magna", *Adalya* 1:45-52.
- Şahin, S.1999a. *Die Inschriften von Perge I*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 54, Bonn, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Şahin, S.1999b. "Perge Territoriumundaki Antik Varsak Yerleşimi: Lyrboton Kome-Elaibarıs", in *Çağlar Boyunca Anadolu'da Konut, Çağlar Boyunca Anadolu'da Konut Sempozyumu 5-7 Haziran 1996*, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 437-445.
- Şahin, S. 2003. "Die Inschriften" in *Die Akropolis von Perge: Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997, Band I*, eds. H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 167-174.
- Şahin, S. 2004. *Die Inschriften von Perge II*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 61, Bonn, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Şahin, S, Adak, M. 2007. *Stadiasmus patarensis: itinera romana provinciae Lyciae*. Monographien zur Gephyra, 1, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları.
- Şahin, M. 2017. "Das Apollon Archegetes Heiligtum auf der Asar Insel bei Myndos" in *Cityscapes and Monuments of Western Asia Minor* eds. by E. Mortensen and B. Poulsen, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 179-187.
- Séchan, L, Lévêque, P. 1996. *Les grandes divinités de la Grèce*, 2e éd., Paris, A. Colin

- Takmer, B, Gökalp, N. 2005. "Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of MHTHP ΘΕΩΝ ΟΥΕΓΕΙΝΟΣ at Zindan Mağarası ", *Gephyra* 2:103-113.
- Takmer, B, Tüner-Önen, N. 2007. *Via Sebaste: Anadolu'nun En İyi Korunmuş Roma Yolu'nun Varsak'tan Geçen Güzergahı*, Antalya, Varsak Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları 2.
- Taşlıkılıoğlu, Z. 1963. *Anadolu'da Apollon Kültü ile İlgili Kaynaklar*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Talloe, P. 2001. "The Egyptian Connection, The Cult of Nilotic Deities at Sagalassos", *Ancient Society* 31: 289-327.
- Talloe, P, Vercauteren, L. 2011. "The Fate of Temples in Late Antique Anatolia" in *The Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, eds. L. Lavan and M. Mulyran, Leiden, Boston, Brill Late Antique Archaeology 7, 347-387.
- Talloe, P. 2015. *Cult in Pisidia. Religious Practice in Southwestern Asia Minor from Alexander the Great to the Rise of Christianity*. Turnhout, Belgium.
- Talloe, P. 2019. "Asia Minor", in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Archaeology*" eds. W. Caraher et al., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 495-513.
- Taracha, P. 2009. *Religions of Second Millenium Anatolia*, Wiesbaden, Harrossowitz.
- Taylor, L. R. 1975. *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, USA, Porcupine Press.
- Tek, A. T. 2009. "1971-2002 Yılları Arasında Arykanda Kazılarında Bulunan Pamphylia Bölgesine Ait Sikkeler, in *Ancient History, Numismatics and Epigraphy in the Mediterranean World. Studies in memory of Clemens E. Bosch and Sabahat Atlan and in honour of Nezahat Baydur*. İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 345-355.
- Tek, A. T. 2015. "Side Sikke Buluntuları Işığında MS 622/3'de Pamphylia'ya "Olası" Bir Sasani Saldırısı", *CollAn* 14: 123- 136.
- Tekin, O. 1991. *Aspendos Sikkeleri*, Unpublished PhD Thesis to İstanbul University, İstanbul.
- Tekin, O. 1997. *Antik Nümismatik ve Anadolu (Arkaik ve Klasik Çağlar)*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Tekin, O. 2000. "Aspendian 'Wrestlers': an iconographic approach", in *Mécanismes et innovations monétaires dans l'Anatolie achéménide*. ed. O. Cassabonne, Numismatique et Histoire, Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 22-23 mai 1997. İstanbul, Varia Anatolica 13:159-169.
- Tekoğlu, R. 1999-2000. "Pamphylia Halkları ve Dilleri", *Adalya* 4: 49- 58.
- Tekoğlu, R. 2006. "Antalya ve Side Müzelerinde Bulunan Pamfliya Lehçesi, Sidece ve Pisidce Yazıtlar Korpusu Projesi: 2005", *ANMED* 4: 75-81.
- Temür, A. 2014. *Grek Sanatında Karışık Yaratıklar*, İstanbul, Gece Kitaplığı.
- Texier, C. 1849. *Description de l'Asie Mineure* 3, Paris, Firmin-Didot.
- Téxier, C, Pullan, R.P. 1964. *Byzantine Architecture, illustrated by examples of edifices erected in the East during the earliest ages of Christianity, with historical and archaeological descriptions*, London, Day&Son.

- Thompson, P. 1994. "Dismantling the Master's House: A Hestian/Hermean Deconstruction of Classic Texts." *Hypatia* 9. 4: 38-56.
- Thonemann, P. 2011. *The Maeander Valley. A Historical Geography From Antiquity to Byzantium*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Thurston, J. H. 1990. *Butler's Lives of the Saints Complete Edition (Vol II)*. Westminster, Maryland.
- Tobin, A. V. 1991. "Isis and Demeter: Symbols of Divine Motherhood", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 28: 187-200.
- Tomaschitz, K. 1998. *Unpublizierte Inschriften Westkilikiens Aus Dem Nachlass Terence B. Mitfords*, Ergänzungsbande Zu Den Tituli Asia Minoris No. 21, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Tomlinson, R. A. 1969. "Some Notes on the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous", *AJA* 73.2: 185-192.
- Torrance, I. C. 2014. "The oaths of the gods" in *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, eds. A. Sommerstein and I.C. Torrance, Berlin, Boston, de Gruyter, 195-213.
- Tran Tam Tinh, V. et al. 1988. "Harpocrates", *LIMC* IV.1: 415-445.
- Tran Tam Tinh, V. 1990. "Isis", *LIMC* V.1: 761-796.
- Trever, B. 2004. *Life and Society in the Hittite World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Trinkl, E. 2004. "Zum Wirkungskreis einer kleinasiatischen Matrona anhand ausgewählter funde aus dem Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 73: 281-303.
- Tulunay, E.T. 1986. "Anadolu'da Artemis ile Aphrodite Arasındaki Benzerlikler", *Türk Tarih Kongresi* 10.1: 415 – 421.
- Turak, Ö. 2013. "Perge'nin Kuzey-Güney Doğrultulu Sütunlu Caddesinden İdeal bir Kadın Başı", *Adalya* 16: 85-93.
- Turak, Ö. 2018. "Boğa ve Trident: Poseidon'un Kökeni Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *MASROP* 12.1: 35-48.
- Turcan, R. 1996. *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Tüner-Önen, N. 2008a. *Phaselis Antik Kenti ve Teritoryumu*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Antalya.
- Tüner-Önen, N. 2008b. "Römische Bürger in Sillyon", *Gephyra* 5:67-72.
- Tüner-Önen, N. Yılmaz, F. 2015. "A New Athena Polias Votive Inscription from the Phaselis' Acropolis", *Adalya* 18:121-131.
- Tüner-Önen, N. 2016. "Phaselis'ten İmparator Lucius Verus İçin Yeni Bir Adak Yazıtı", in *Vir Doctus Anaticus. Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, eds. M. Adak et al., İstanbul, Kabcacı Yayınevi, Philia Supplements 1: 874-882.
- Tüner-Önen, N. 2018. "Perge'den Yeni Yazıtlar: Titus Flavius Clemens Pelopidianus'un Sunduğu Yazıtlı İki Heykel Adağı /New Inscriptions from Perge: Two Sculptura with Inscription Dedicated by Titus Flavius Clemens Pelopidianus", in *Arkeoloji, Tarih ve*



*Epigrafi'nin Arasında: Prof. Dr. Vedat Çelgin'in 68. Doğum Günü Onuruna Makaleler*, eds. M. Arslan and F. Baz, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 903-912.

Tüner-Önen, N, Arslan, M. 2019. "Perge Kentinden Yeni Onurlandırma Yazıtları", *Libri* 5, 323-334.

Türkan, A. 2012. "Men, Mensis, Moon / Ay Tanrı Men, Özellikleri ve Kültü", in *Ömer Çapar'a Armağan*, eds. T. Yiğit et al. Ankara, Hel Yayıncılık, 333-349.

Türkmen, M. 2007. *Pamphylia ve Kilikia'da Severuslar Dönemi Mimari Bezemesi*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to İstanbul University, İstanbul.

Türkmen, M. 2008. "Perge Aşağı Şehir Surları", in *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag.*, eds. İ. Delemen et al, İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 1187-1201.

Tybout, R. A. 2013. "Sale of an Orchard and Its Donation to the Priests of Zeus. A Deed of Sale from Roman Pamphylia", *ZPE* 185:161-170.

Uytterhoeven, I (in press). "Creating Private Space. Living Areas in the Late Antique Cities of Asia Minor", in N. Kontogiannis and T. Uyar (eds.) Vehbi Koç Foundation & Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies – GABAM, Fifth International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium. Byzantine Anatolia: Space and Communities, İstanbul.

van Bremen R. 1994. "A Family from Sillyon", *ZPE* 104: 43-56.

Vandeput, L. 2002. "Frühkaiserzeitliche Tempel in Pisidien", in *Patris und Imperium. Kulturelle und politische Identität in den Städten der römischen Provinzen Kleinasiens in der frühen Kaiserzeit*, eds. C. Berns et al, Kolloquium Köln 19-21 November 1998, Babesch Supplement 8, Leuven, 205-215.

Van der Host, W. 1992. "A New Altar of a Godfearer?" *JJS* 43.1: 32-37.

Van der Ploeg, G. 2018. *The Impact of the Roman Empire on the Cult of Asclepius*, Leiden, Boston, Brill.

Van Neer, W. et al., 2000. "Results of the 1996 survey of the fish fauna of the Aksu River and some lakes in southwestern Anatolia, and the implications for trade at Sagalassos", in *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, eds. M. Waelkens and L. Loots, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 11/B*, Leuven University Press, 828-842.

Van Wyk, K. 2014. "Pig Taboos in the Ancient Near East", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4.13: 111-134.

Vedder, U. 2015. *Der Koloss von Rhodos. Archäologie, Herstellung und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines antiken Weltwunders*, Mainz, Nünnerich Asmus Verlag & Media.

Vermaseren, M.J. 1977. *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult*, London, Thames and Hudson.

Vermaseren, M. J. 1987. *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque: CCCA, Asia Minor I*, E.J. Leiden, Brill.

- Vermeule, C.C. 1968. *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press
- Vernant, J. P. 1974. "Hestia - Hermès. Sur l'expression religieuse de l'espace et du mouvement chez les Grecs", in *Jean-Pierre Vernant, Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, Paris, Étude de psychologie historique 2:155-201.
- Viale, V. 1925-1926. "Relazione sull'attività della Missione Archeologica di Adalia", in *Annuario VIII-IX*:357-392.
- Von Aulock, S.H. 1965. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Pamphylien*. Vol. 11, (4477-4893). Berlin.
- Von Aulock, H. 1974. *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, IstMitt Beiheft 11, Tübingen.
- Wallensten, J. A. 2003. *Study of Dedications to Aphrodite from Greek Magistrates*, Lund, Lund University.
- Wallensten, J. 2008. "Personal Protection and tailor-made deities: The Use of Individual Epithets", *Kernos* 21: 821-95.
- Waelkens, M. 2011. "Indigenous versus Greek identity in Hellenistic Pisidia: myth or reality?", in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 2008. Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Bolletino di Archeologia Online. Volume speciale, 19-54.
- Wamser-Krasznai, W. 2017. "Katalog ausgewählter tier- und menschengestaltiger Figurinen", in *Die Akropolis von Perge. Die Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1998 - 2004 und 2008*, eds. W. Martini et al. Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 427-454.
- Ward, C. 2003. "Pomegranates in Eastern Mediterranean contexts during the Late Bronze Age", *World Archaeology* 34,3:529-541.
- Wathelet, P. 1992. "Ares chez Homère ou le dieu mal aimé," *Les Etudes Classiques* 60: 112- 128.
- Webb, J. M. 1999. *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, Jonsered, P. Aströms.
- Wecowski, M. 2014. *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Wesenberg, B. 1971. *Kapitelle und Basen: Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der griechischen Säulenformen*, Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Rheinischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege im Landschaftsverband Rheinland und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Beihefte 32, Düsseldorf, Rheinland-Verlag.
- Weiss, P. 1981. "Ein Agonistisches Bema und die Isopythischen spiele von Side", *Chiron* 11: 315-349.

- Weiss, P. 1984. "Lebendiger Mythos, Gründerheroen und städtische Gründungstraditionen im griechisch-römischen Osten", *WürzbJb* 10:179-207.
- Weiss, P. 1991. "Aukse Perge. Beobachtungen zu einem bemerkenswerten städtischen Dokument des späten 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.", *Chiron* 21: 353-392.
- Weiss, P. 1992. "Pisidien: Eine historische Landschaft im Licht ihrer Münzprägung", in *Forschungen in Pisidien*, ed. E. Schwertheim, *AMS* 6: 143-165, Bonn.
- Weiss, P. 1997. "Leonteos", *LIMC* VIII: 773-774.
- Weiss, P. 2004. "Städtische Münzprägung und zweite Sophistik", in *Paideia: The World of Second Sophistic*, ed. B.E. Borg, De Gruyter, Berlin, 179-197.
- Weiss, P. 2007. "Militär diplome und Reichsgeschichte: Der Konsulat des L. Neratius Proculus und die Vorgeschichte des Partherkrieges unter Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus", in *Herrschen und Verwalten. Der Alltag der römischen Administration in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, eds. R. Haensch – J. Heinrichs, Köln, Böhlau, 160–172.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. 1956. *Der Glaube der Hellenen*. I. Darmstadt, Wiss. Buchges.
- Willers, D. 1967. "Zum Hermes Propylaios des Alkamenes" *JdI* 82: 37-109.
- Williams, K. C. 1986. "Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite", in *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, ed. M. A. Del Chiaro and W. R. Biers, Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 13-24.
- Williamson, G.C. 2012. *City and Sanctuary in Hellenistic Asia Minor*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to Groningen University, Groningen.
- Williamson, C. 2014. "Power of Place: Ruler, Landscape and Ritual Space at The Sanctuaries of Labraunda and Mamurt Kale in Asia Minor", in *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion*, eds. C. Moser and C. Feldman, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 87–110.
- Willms, L. B. 2010. "On the IE Etymology of Greek (w)anax", *Glotta* 86: 232-271.
- Wilson, M. 2009. "The Route of Paul's First Journey to Pisidian Antioch", *New Test. Stud.* 55: 471-483.
- Wilson, M. 2016. "Saint-Paul in Pamphylia: Intention, Arrival, Departure", *Adalya* 19: 229-250.
- Winter, F. 1904. "Zum Hermes des Alkamenes", *AM* 29: 208-211
- Wiseman, J. 2015. "Agonistic festivals, Victors, and officials in the time of Nero: an inscribed herm from the gymnasium area of Corinth", in *Bridge of the Untiring Sea*, eds. E. Gebhard and T. Gregory, Princeton, New Jersey The American School of Classical Studies at Athens:193-246.
- Witczak, K.T, Zadka, M. 2014a "Ancient Greek Σίδη as a Borrowing from a Pre-Greek Substratum, *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 19:113-126.
- Witczak, K.T, Zadka, M. 2014b. "On The Anatolian Origin Of Ancient Greek Σίδη", *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 19.2: 131-139.

- Wittenberg, T. 2014. *Kult bei der Arena. Nemesis-Heiligtümer im Kontext römischer Amphitheater*, Oxford, BAR International Series 2615.
- Wright, J. C. 1994. "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion", in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, eds. Susan Alcock and Robin Osborne, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 37-78.
- Ulbrich, A. 2010. "Images of Cypriot Aphrodite", in *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, eds. A.C. Smith and S. Pickup, Leiden, Boston, Brill.
- Umurtak, G. 1998. "Observations on a Group of Pottery Finds from the EBA Levels at Bademağacı Höyük", *Adalya* 3: 1-12.
- Umurtak, G. 2010. "A Short Report on a Group of Prehistoric Pottery", in *Die Akropolis von Perge, I. Survey und Sondagen 1994-1997*, eds H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, Mainz, Verlag von Zabern, 81-85.
- Ustinova, Y. 1999. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom. Celestial Aphrodite and The Most High God*, Leiden, Brill.
- Ustinova, Y. 2009. *Caves and the Ancient Greek Mind: Descending Underground in the Search for Ultimate Truth*, Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Ustinova, Y. 2009. "Apollo Iatros: A Greek God of Pontic Origin", *Eikon* 9: 245-299.
- Uytterhoeven, I. 2009, "Know your Classics! Manifestations of 'classical culture' in Late Antique Domestic Contexts", in *Faces of Hellenism. Studies in the History of the eastern Mediterranean (4th century B.C.-5th century A.D.)*, ed. P. Van Nuffelen, *Studia Hellenistica* 48: 321-342, Leuven, Peeters.
- Uzunaslın, A. 2008. "Side'de Agonistik Festivaller", *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 11.1: 117-128.
- Ünal, E. 2018. "Bronze Coinage of Magydos", in *Second International Congress on the History of Money and Numismatics in the Mediterranean World*, ed. O. Tekin, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kırac Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi, 2:277-305.
- Üreten, H. 2004. "Helenistik Dönem Pergamon Kenti Tanrı ve Kültleri", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* XXII.25: 185-214.
- Üreten, H. 2010. *Neşredilmiş Yazıtlar Işığında Hellenistik Dönem'de Pergamon Kenti Tanrı ve Kültleri*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Villard, L. 1007. "Tyche", *LIMC* VIII. 1: 115-125.
- Woodward, A. M. 1909-1910. "Journey in South-Western Asia Minor", *ABSA* 16: 76-136.
- Woodward, A. M. 1910-1911. "Inscriptions fro Western Pisidia", *ABSA* 17: 205-214.
- Woodward, A. M. 1956. "The cistophoric series and its place in the Roman coinage", in *Essays in Roman coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, ed. R.A.G Carson, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 158-160.
- Yalçınkaya, I. 1986. "Batı Toroslarda Paleolitik Çağ Yüzey Araştırmaları", *KST* III: 429-447.

- Yalçınkaya, I. 1989. *Alt ve Orta Paleolitik Yontmataş Endüstrileri Biçimsel Tipolojisi ve Karain Mağarası*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Yalçınkaya, I. et al., 1993. "The excavations at Karain cave, South-western Turkey: An interim report", in *The Paleolithic Prehistory of the Zagros-Taurus*, eds. D. L. Olszewski and H. L. Dibble, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, University Museum Monograph 83:101-117.
- Yalçınkaya, I. 1995. "Anadolu İskân Tarihinde Katran Dağı", *1994 yılı Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları*, Ankara, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, 55-76.
- Yalçınkaya, I. et al., 1999. "1997 yılı Öküzini Kazıları", *KST* 20/1:39-55.
- Yalouris, N. 1990. "Helios", *LIMC* V, 1005-1034.
- Yamagata, N. 1997. "Anaks and Basileus in Homer", *The Classical Quarterly* 47-1: 1-14.
- Yener, A, Atvur, O. 2012. "Antalya Düzlüğünde Bir Tepecik: Gökhöyük", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi*, 24.08:13-20.
- Yıldırım, N. 2016. "Pamphylia'dan Yeni bir Yapı Örneği: Nektareion", *TÜBA-AR* 19: 281-291.
- Yıldırım, Ş. 2013. *Side Antik Kentinin Bizans Dönemi Dini Mimarisi*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to Anadolu University, Eskişehir.
- Yıldızturan, M. 2003. *Side*, Ankara, Side Müzesi Yayınları 1.
- Yurtsever, A, 2012. *Side'de Romanizasyon Sürecinde Gladyatörler ve Agonlar*, Unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Anadolu University, Eskişehir.
- Yurtsever, A. 2015. "Neokoros Düşüncesinin Kökeni ve Gelişimi: Tanrı, Kutsal Krallık ve Yönetici İlişkisi", *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15.2: 1-16.
- Yurtsever, A. 2018. "Yeni Araştırmalar Işığında "M Yapısı" in *Uluslararası Genç Bilimciler Buluşması II 2015*, Antalya, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi, 889-907.
- Zanker, G. 2004. *Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Zeyrek, T. H. 2002. *Perge Doğu Konut Alanı 1989-1998 Kazılarında Ortaya Çıkarılan Evler, Mimari Açından bir Değerlendirme*, Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to Istanbul University, İstanbul.
- Ziegler, R. 1985. *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserzeitliche Politik. Studien Zum Festwesen in ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert. n Chr.* Düsseldorf, Bouvier Verlag.
- Zuiderhoek, A. 2009. *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire Citizens, Elites, and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

### Electronic Sources

Asia Minor coins  
[www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com)

CGRN (Collection of Greek Rituals Norms)  
<http://cgrn.philo.ulg.ac.be/file/188/>, 14.01.2019.

IGCH: Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards. Online source. <http://coinhoards.org/>

Roman Provincial Coins  
<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>

Tay Project online source  
<http://www.tayproject.org>

Tarihsel Depremler Katalođu, AFAD  
<https://depem.afad.gov.tr/tarihseldepremler>

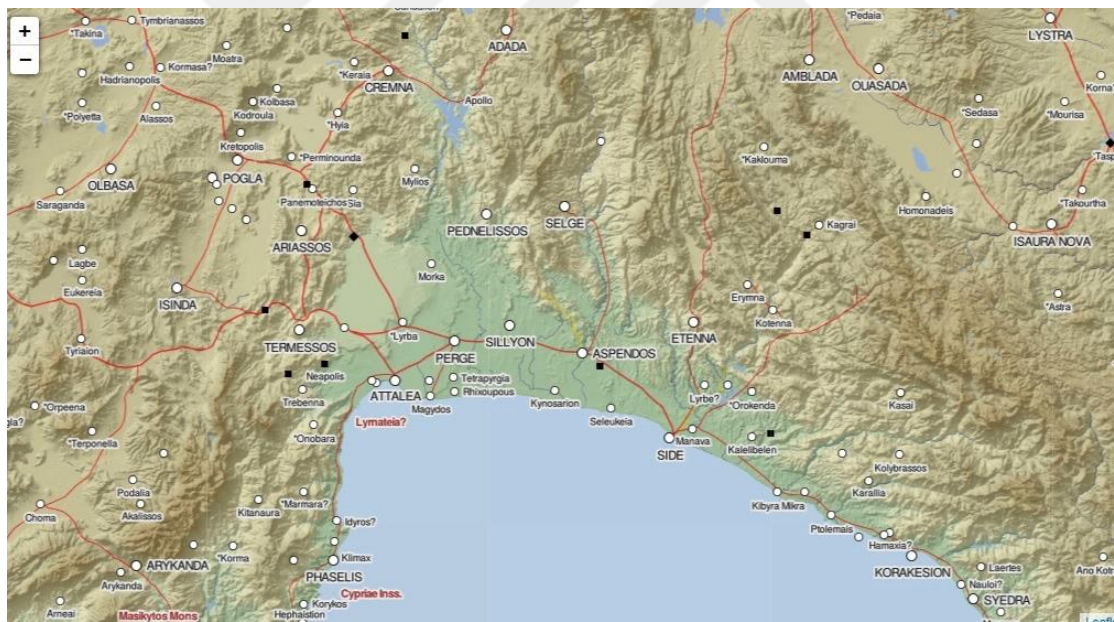




**FIGURES**



2.1: Pamphylia (Barrington Atlas).

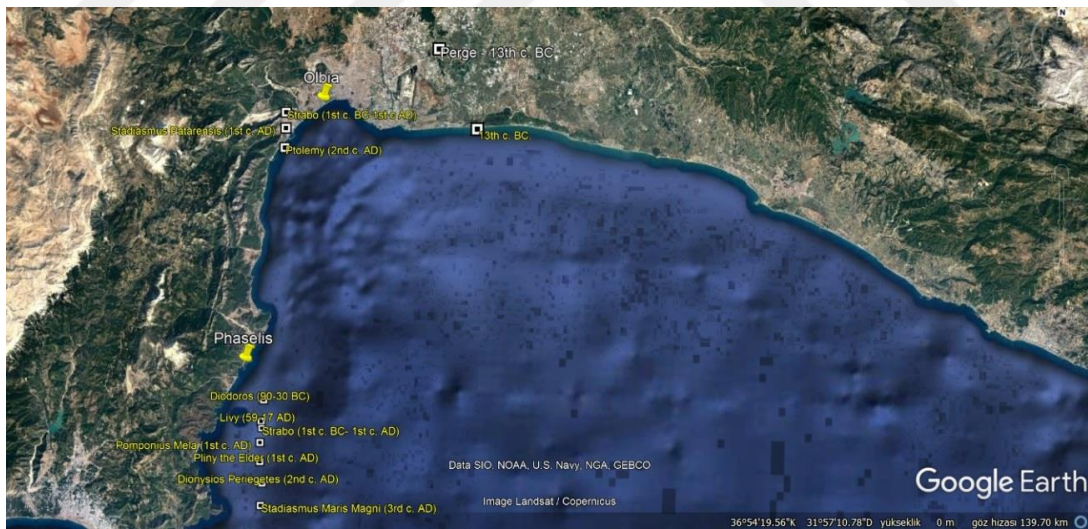


2.2: Pamphylia and its cities (Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire <https://dh.gu.se/dare/>).





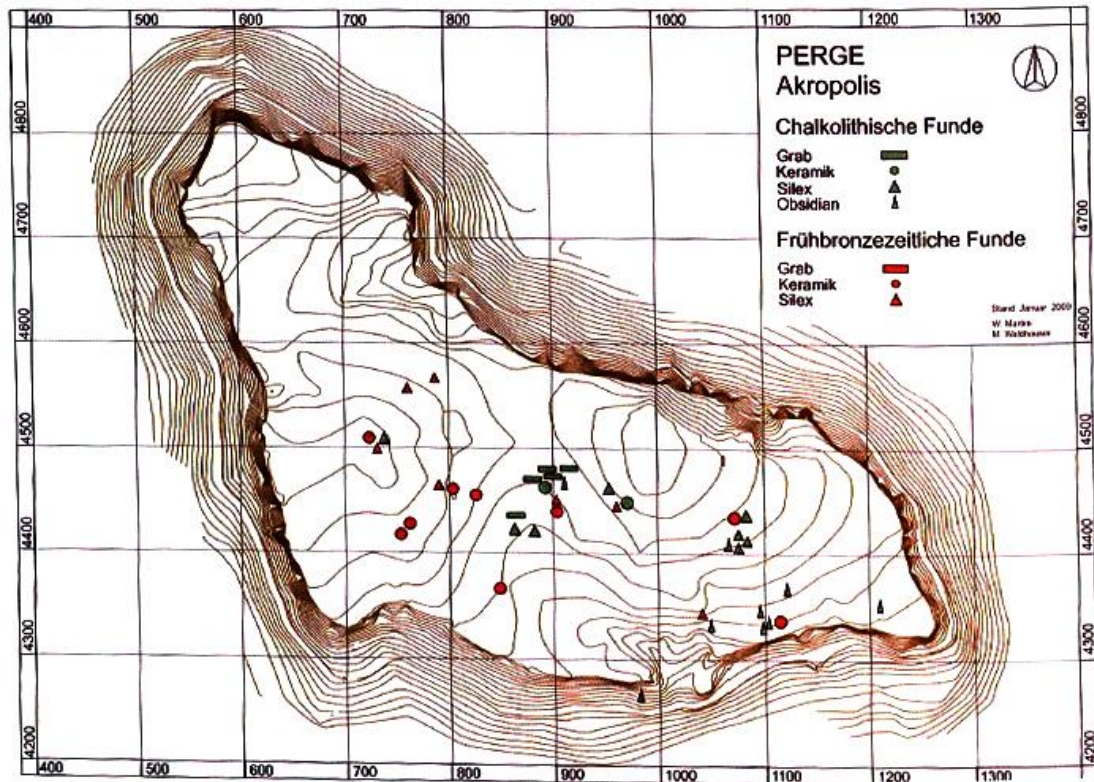
2.3: Tarhuntaša (Dinçol et al. 2000).



2.4: Western border of Pamphylia based on ancient sources (Google Earth).

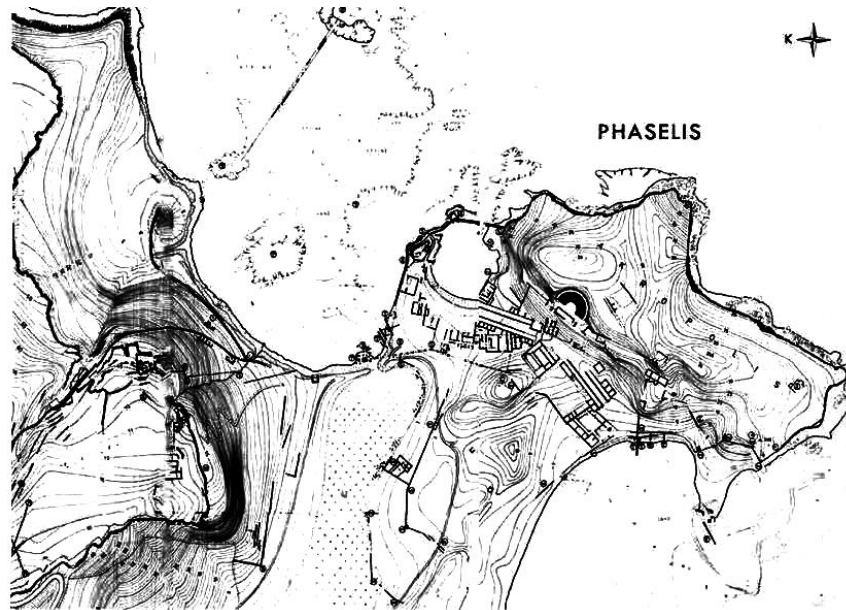


2.5: Eastern border of Pamphylia based on ancient sources (Google Earth).

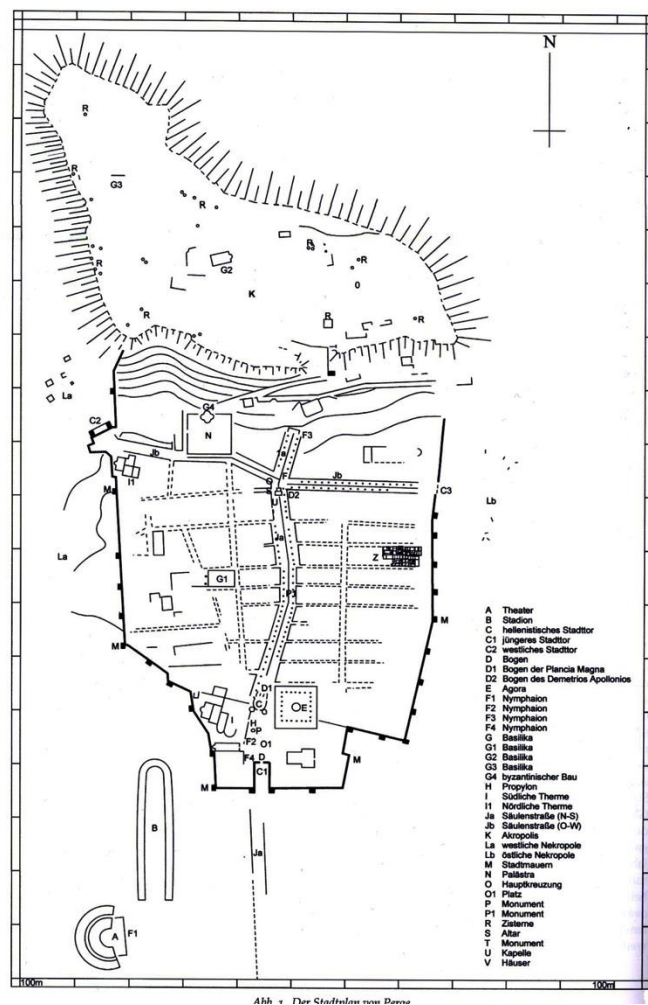


2.6: The Acropolis of Perge in the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age (Martini 2017).





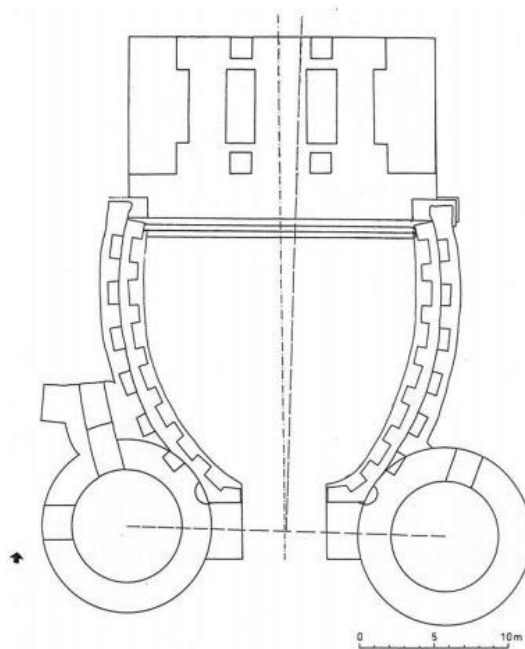
3.1: Phaselis. The upper and lower cities with the three surrounding harbors (Arslan-Tüner Önen 2016).



3.2: Perge. The upper and lower cities (Perge Excavation Archive).



3.3: Perge. Aerial photo of the southern city gate with its round towers. To the left, the the southern baths. To the right, the *macellum* (Perge Excavation Archive).

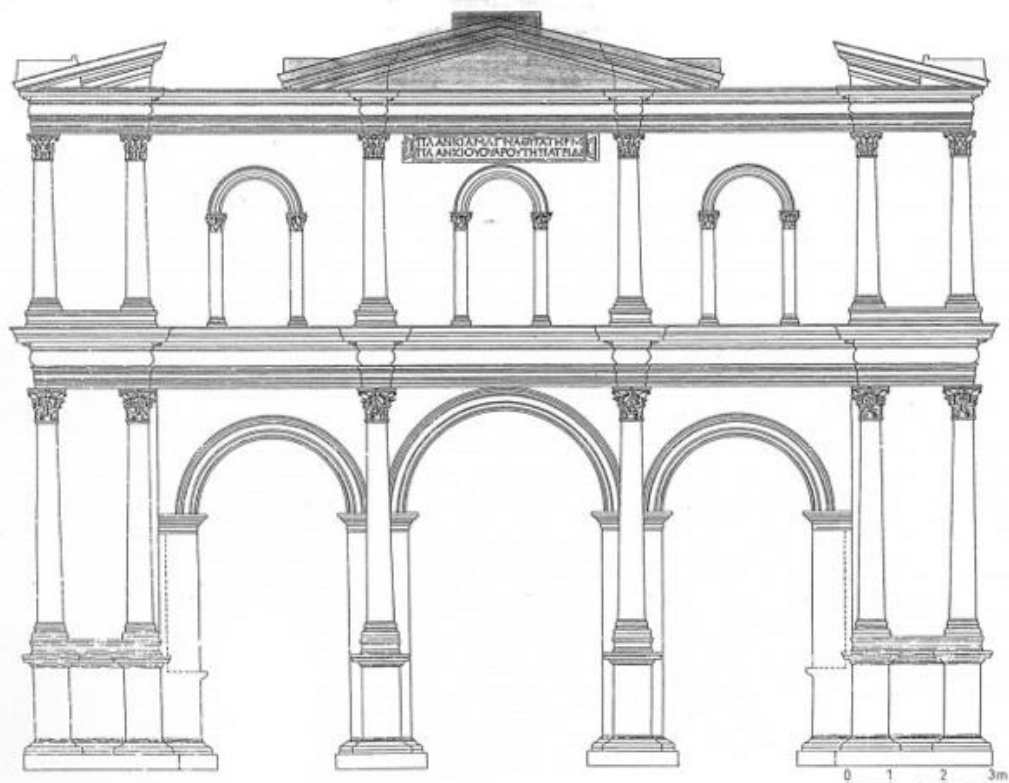


3.4: The Hellenistic southern gate of Perge based on the plan of Bulgurlu 1999 (Özdizbay 2008).





3.5: Perge. The eastern tower of the Hellenistic city gate with the niches in which the statue bases are visible (Perge Excavation Archive).



3.6: Perge. Reconstruction of the Hadrianic Arch at the northern side of the southern gate (Özdizbay 2008).



3.7: Perge. Base of Kalchas (<http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html>).



3.8: Perge. Base of Leonteus (<http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html>).



3.9: Perge. Base of Rhixos (Perge Excavation Archive/İ. Dağlı Dinçer).





3.10: Perge. Base of Minyas (<http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html>).



3.11: Perge. Base of Machaon (<http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html>).



3.12: Perge. Base of Mopsos (Perge Excavation Archive).

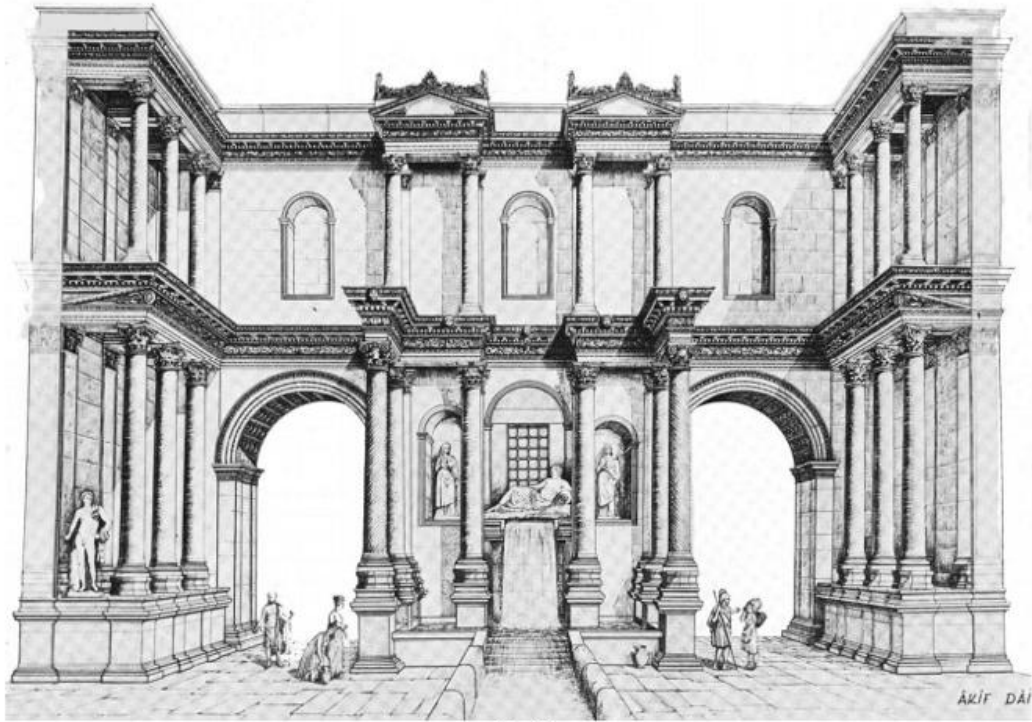


3.13: Perge. Base of Labos (<http://arkeogezi.blogspot.com/2019/03/perge.html>).

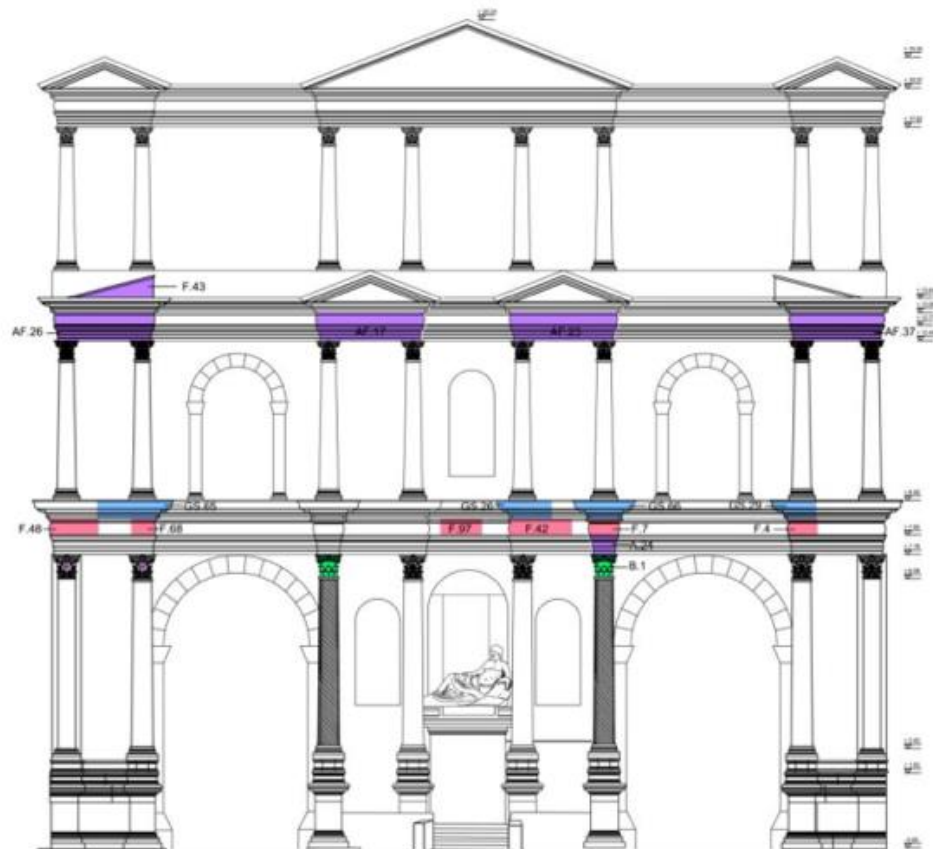


3.14: Perge. Monumental fountain in the north (F3) (Perge Excavation Archive).





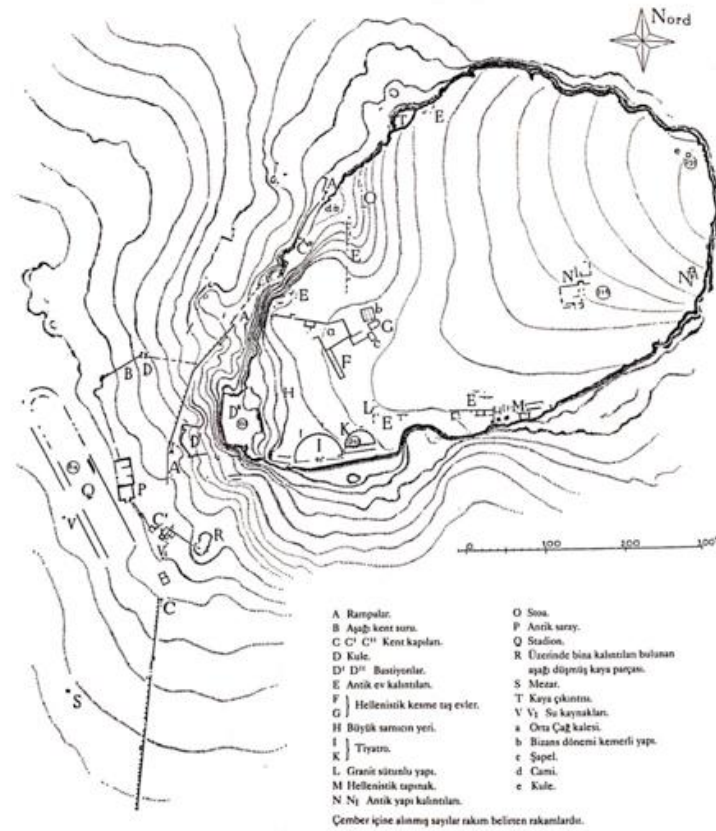
3.15: Perge. Reconstruction of Fountain F3 by A. Dai (Özdizbay 2018).



3.16: Perge. Reconstruction of Fountain F3 by D. Aksoy (Aksoy 2016).



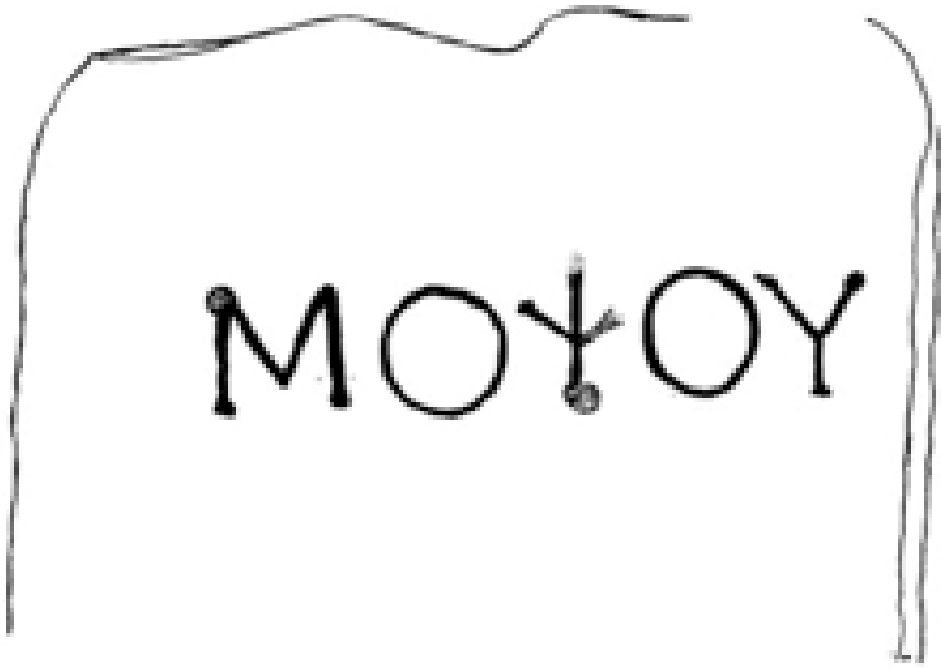
3.17: Perge. Statue of Apollo(?)/Machaon(?) found in Fountain F3 (Özgür 1996).



Kilgün & gen. & G. Nispet

Res. 51. Silyon'un planı.

3.18: Silyon (Lanckoronki 2005).



3.19: Base of Mopsos from Sillyon, used as *spolia* in the Byzantine walls (Hereward 1958).



3.20: Coin of Sillyon, possibly depicting Leonteus from the period of Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6206).



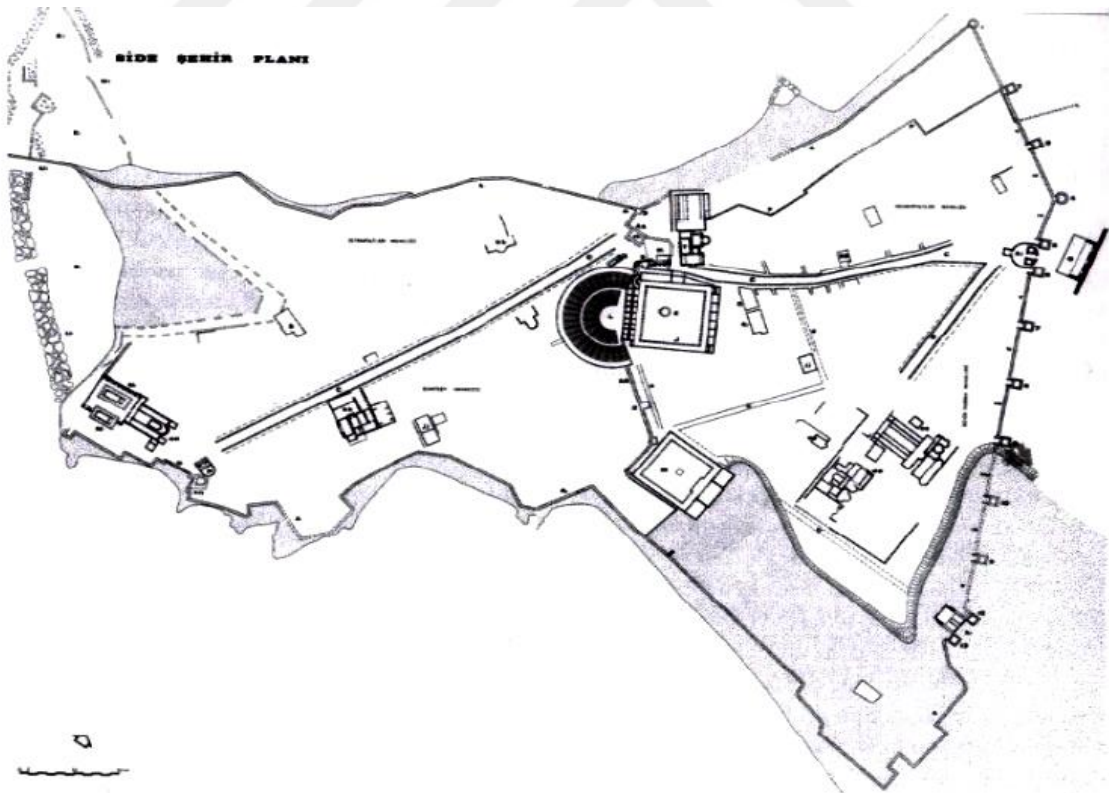
3.21: Aspendos (Köse 2017).



3.22: Coin of Aspendos, Mopsos and the boar-hunt, 375/6 BC  
([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID #6914).

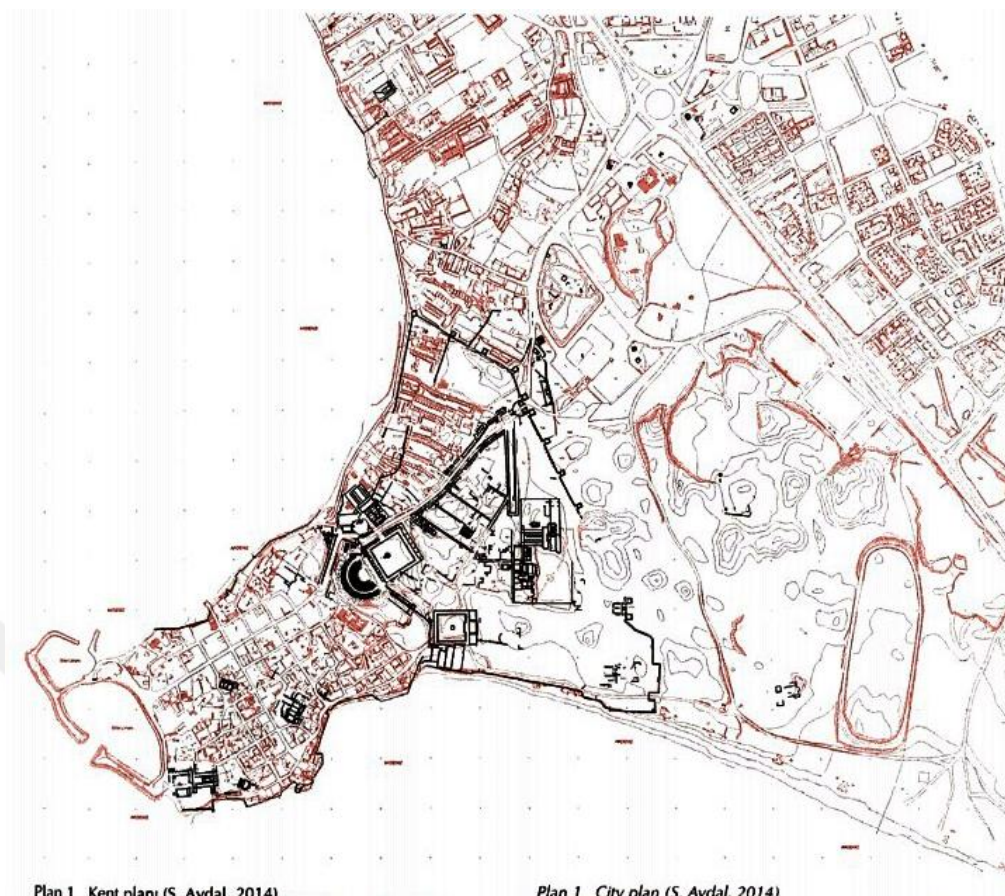


3.23: Coin of Aspendos, Polypoietes and Leonteus on the reverse, Severus Alexander  
(222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6288).



3.24: Plan of Side (Mansel 1978).





Plan 1 Kent planı (S. Aydal, 2014)

Plan 1 City plan (S. Aydal, 2014)

3.25: Plan of side by S. Aydal (Alanyalı 2015).



4.1: Coin of Phaselis, Athena Promachos on a galley on the obverse, 230-190 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #8412).



4.2: Coin of Phaselis Athena Promachos on the reverse, Gordianus III (238-244 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID #10664).



4.3: Coin of Side, a pomegranate on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse, 490-470 BC (Atlan 1967).



4.4: Coin of Side, a pomegranate and a dolphin on the obverse and the head of Athena on the reverse, ca.460 BC ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID #1016).



4.5: Coin of Side, a pomegranate on the obverse and the head of Athena on the reverse, ca. 445-425 BC ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID #1018).



4.6: Coin of Side, Athena on the obverse and Apollo on the reverse, ca. 400-380 BC ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID #1024).





4.7: Late Hittite artefact found in Side (Perge Excavation Archive).

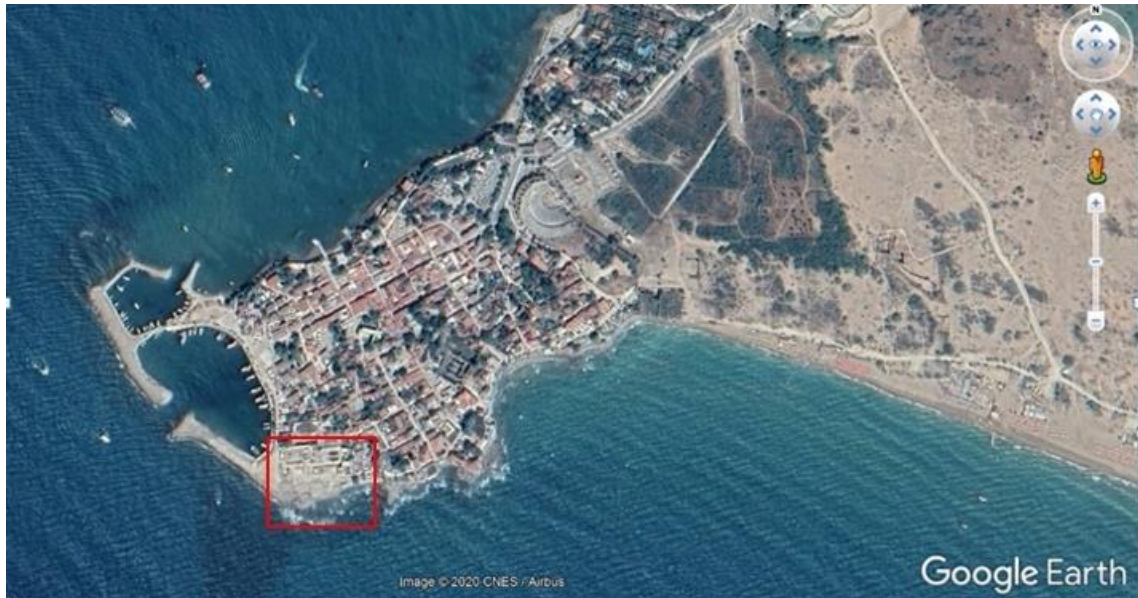


4.8: Kubaba relief from Kargamış, 9<sup>th</sup> century BC (Roller 1999).

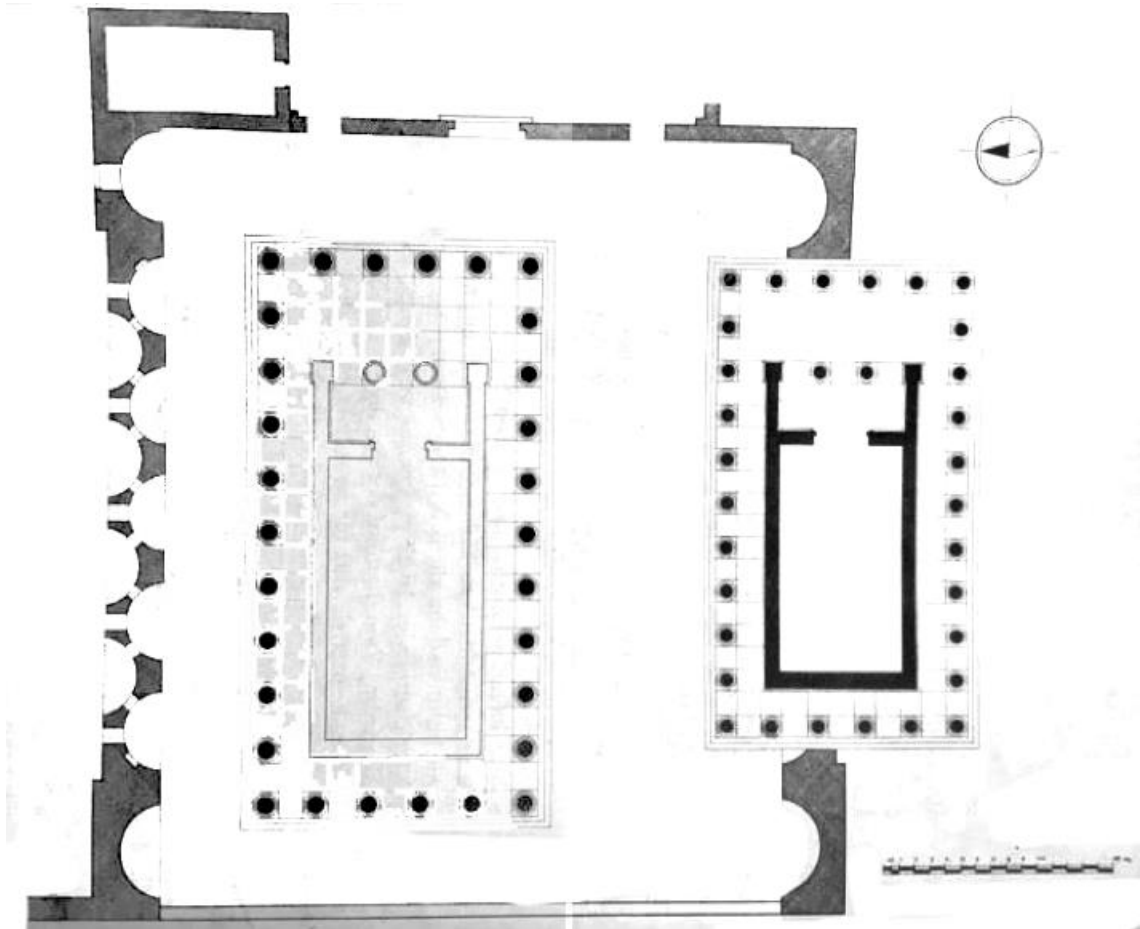




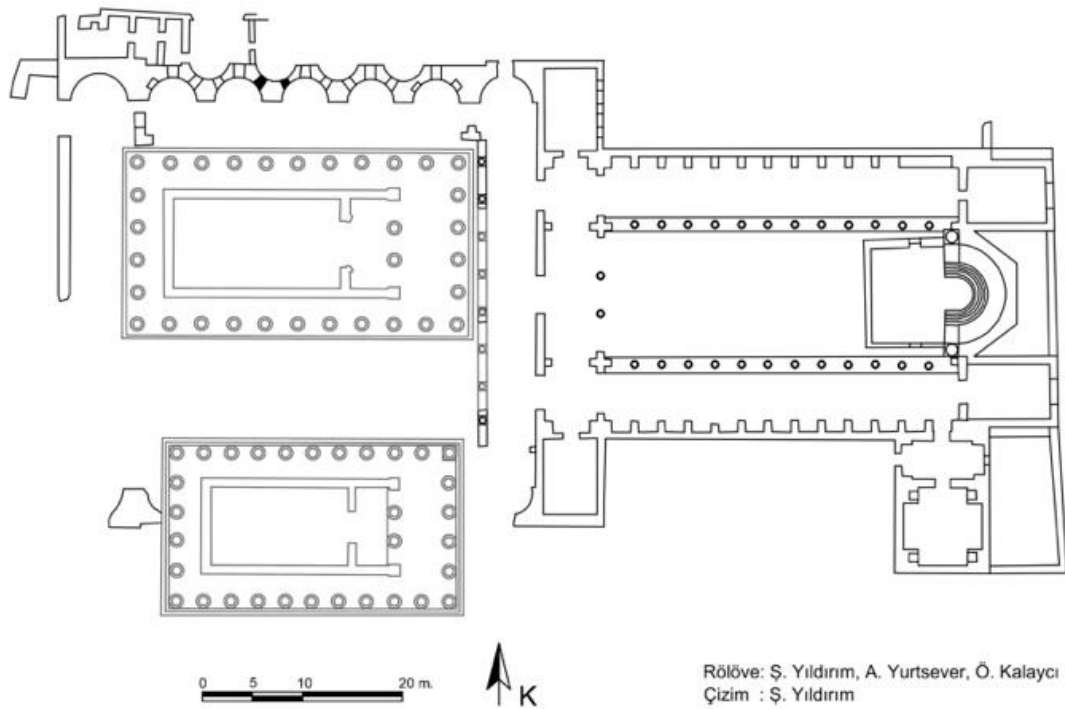
4.9: Kubaba relief from the Büyükkale Citadel, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Darga 2011).



4.10: Location of the temples of Athena and Apollo in Side (Google Earth).



4.11: Temple of Athena (N2) to the North and Apollo (N1) to the South (Mansel 1978).



Rölöve: Ş. Yıldırım, A. Yurtsever, Ö. Kalaycı  
Çizim : Ş. Yıldırım

4.12: Side. Temples of Athena and Apollo, and the later built basilica (Yıldırım 2013).



4.13: Side. Medusa frieze of the southern temple (Alanyalı 2011).



4.14: Side. Frieze of the northern temple decorated with a tripod (Alanyalı 2011).



4.15: Coin of Side, seated Athena holding a Nike and a ship's prow on the reverse, Domitianus (81-96 AD) (RPC III, 1523).



4.16: Coin of Side, standing Athena crowning a trophy on a tree on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2730).



4.17: Coin of Side, Athena in a distyle temple, holding Nike on her hand on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6377).



4.18: Coin of Side, Athena holding a model of a distyle temple, with the legend of *Neokoron*, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Burrell 2004, no.144).





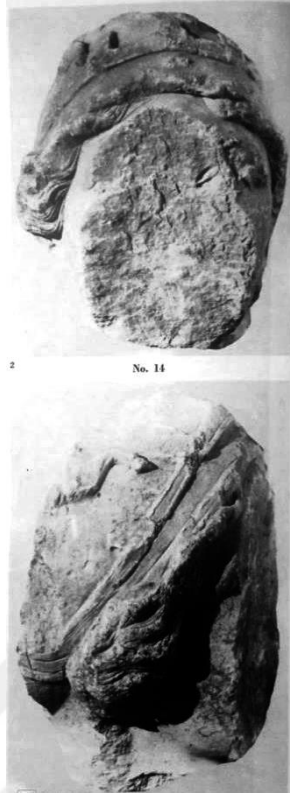
4.19: Parapet of the fountain outside Side. Athena is depicted as making a libation on an altar with a ship on the background, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Mansel 1978).



4.20: Drawing of the relief on the parapet (Lanckoronski 2005).



4.21: Athena statue from Side, findspot unknown (İnan 1975).



4.22: Head of Athena from Side, found in the colonnaded street in front of the theater (Inan 1975).



4.23: Athena statue from Side, found in the monumental fountain outside the city gate (Inan 1975).



4.24: Head of Athena from Side, findspot unknown (İnan 1975).



4.25: Head of Athena from Side, findspot unknown (İnan 1975).

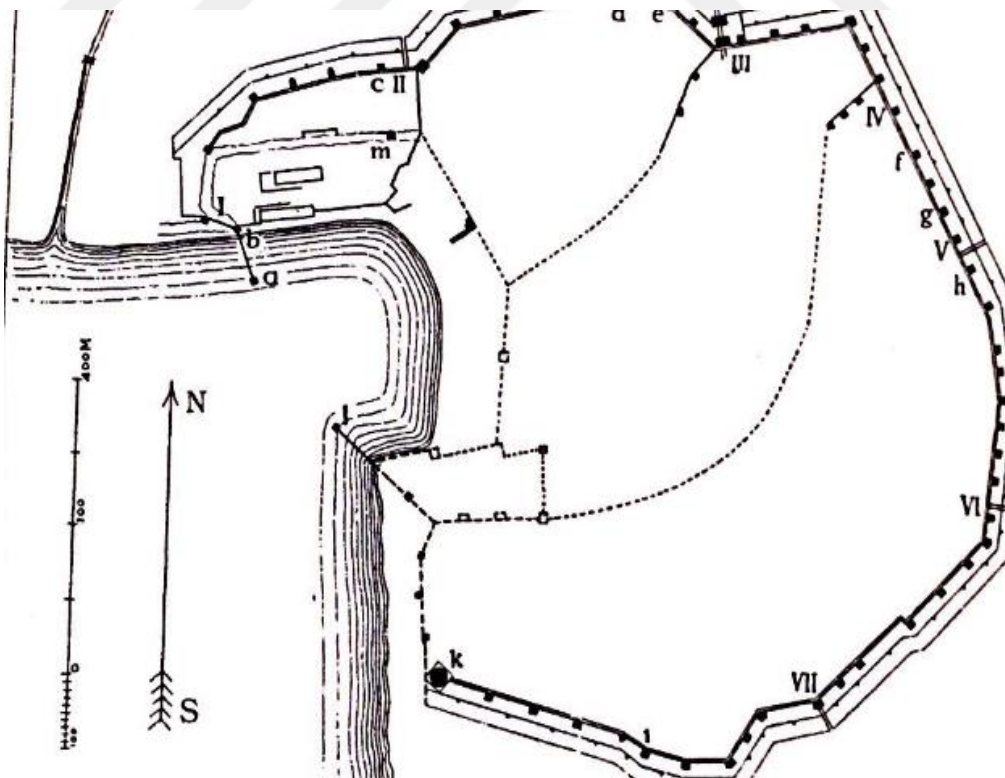




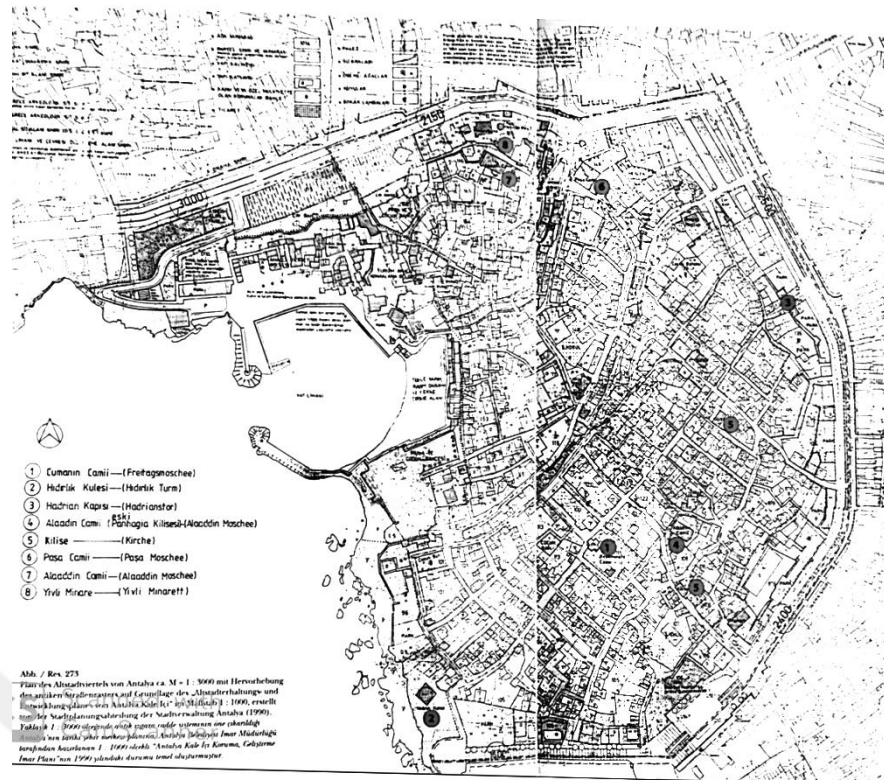
4.26: Coin of Aspendos, *gorgoneion* on the obverse and helmeted head of Athena on the reverse, ca. 420-360 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#3930).



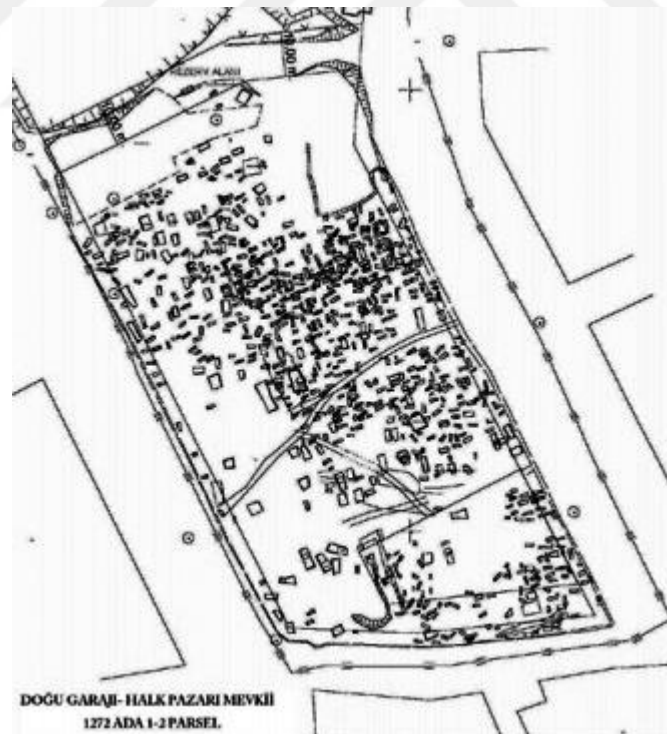
4.27: Coin of Aspendos, wrestlers on the obverse and a standing armed Athena on a cylindrical base next to a slinger figure on the reverse, ca. 400-370 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID# 4384).



4.28: Plan of the fortifications of Attaleia (Lanckoronski 2005).



4.29: Attaleia (Kaymak 2009).



4.30: Necropolis of Attaleia, so-called Eastern Garage (Akman-Tosun 2011).



4.31: Coin of Attaleia, helmeted head of Athena on the reverse, Nero (54-68 AD) (RPC IX, 1086).



4.32: Coin of Attaleia, Athena with a shield and spear and Nike on her right hand on the reverse, Decius (249-251 AD) (RPC IX, 1086).



4.33: Coin of Attaleia, Athena in a distyle temple on the obverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV, 11019).



4.34: Coin of Attaleia, Athena in a tetrastyle temple on the obverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV, 4075).



Image of specimen #1

4.35: Coin of Attaleia, Athena in a hexastyle temple on the obverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV, 4076).



Image of specimen #1

4.36: Coin of Magydos, armed Athena holding Nike on her right hand on the obverse, Tiberius (14-37 AD) (RPC I, 3367A).



4.37: Coin of Perge, *Homonoia* between Perge and Side. Perge is represented by Artemis on the left and Side is represented by Athena on the right, Gordianus III (238-244 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#10327).





4.38: Statue of Athena found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.39: Statue of Athena found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.40: Head of Athena found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.41: Statue of Athena found in the southern façade of the *Palaestra* of Cornutus at Perge (Orhan 2017).



4.42: Statue of Athena found in the southern façade of the *Palaestra* of Cornutus at Perge (Orhan 2017).



4.43: Coin of Side, Apollo with a *chlamys*, holding a laurel branch with a crow on his feet on the obverse, ca. 400-350 BC ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com))



4.44: Coin of Side, Apollo with a *chlamys*, making a libation to an altar, crow on his feet on the reverse, ca. 375-333 BC ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



4.45: Apollo on the ceiling coffers of the theater of Side (Alanyalı 2011).



4.46: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes making a libation to an altar on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



4.47: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes with a pomegranate on the reverse, Nero (54-68 AD) (RPC I, 3400).





Image of specimen #7

4.48: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes with a tripod on the reverse, Lucius Verus (161-169 AD) (RPC IV.3, 10450).



4.49: Coin of Side, Apollo Sidetes with Athena, between them an altar on the reverse, Julia Paula (RPC VI, 6390).



4.50: Coin of Side, Apollo in a hexastyle temple on the reverse, Annia Aurelia Faustina (Augusta) (RPC VI, 6384).



4.51: *Homonoia* coin between Side and Delphi. Both cities are represented by Apollo on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



Image of specimen #1

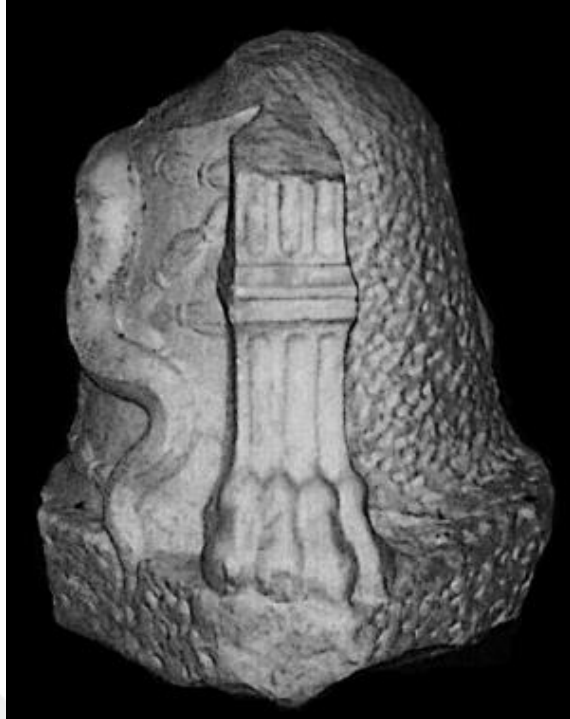
4.52: Coin of Side, depiction of the foundation myth of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi on the reverse, Decius (249-251 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



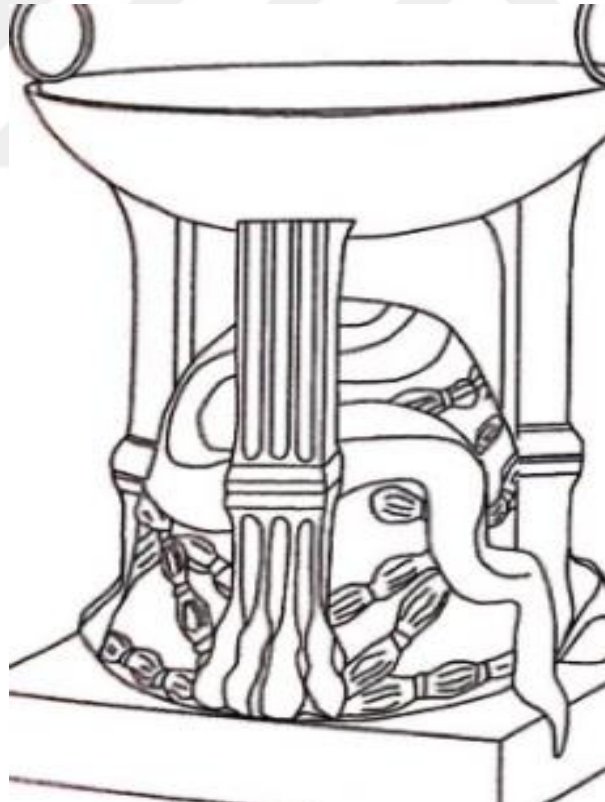
4.53: Marble base of the gilded altar in Side (Yurtsever 2012).



4.54: Marble base of the gilded altar in Side (Yurtsever 2012).



4.55: Fragment of a marble *omphalos* found in the Large Baths of Side (Özhanlı 2014).

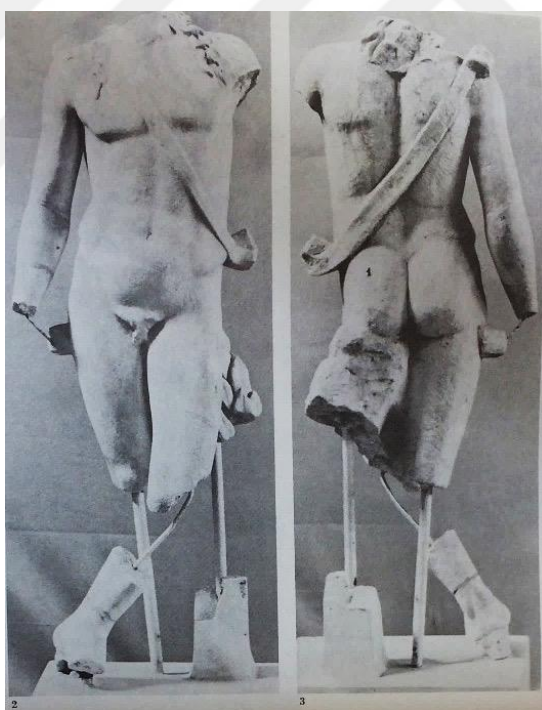


4.56: Restitution drawing of a marble *omphalos* found in the Large Baths of Side (Özhanlı 2014).

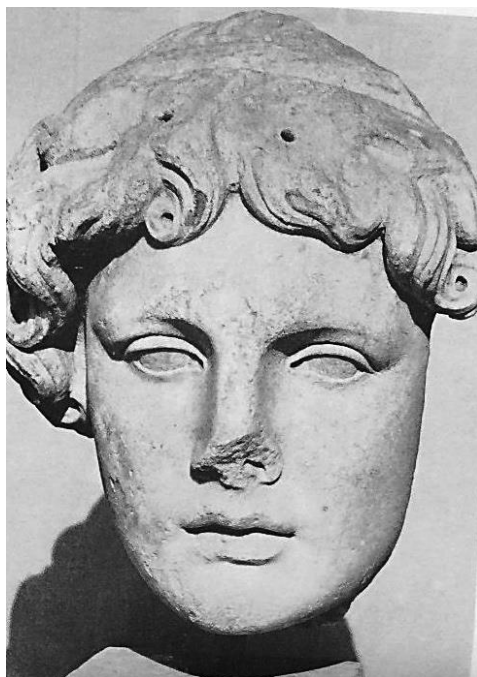




4.57: Torso of Apollo found in the theater of Side (İnan 1975).



4.58: Statue of Apollo Kithairodos found between “Building P” and the Late Roman Fountain (İnan 1975).



4.59: Head of Apollo found in “Building M” in Side (İnan 1975).



4.60: Head of Apollo retrieved from the sea (İnan 1975).



4.61: Coin of Lyrbe, Apollo Sidetes on the reverse, Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1177).



4.62: Relief of Apollo Sidetes in Pednelissos (Işın 2008).



4.63: Detail from the relief (Işın 2008).





4.64: Apollo Sanctuary in Melli and rock-cut niche (Işın 2014).



4.65: Coin of Sillyon, laureate Apollo on the obverse and Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse, ca.300-100 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#6913).



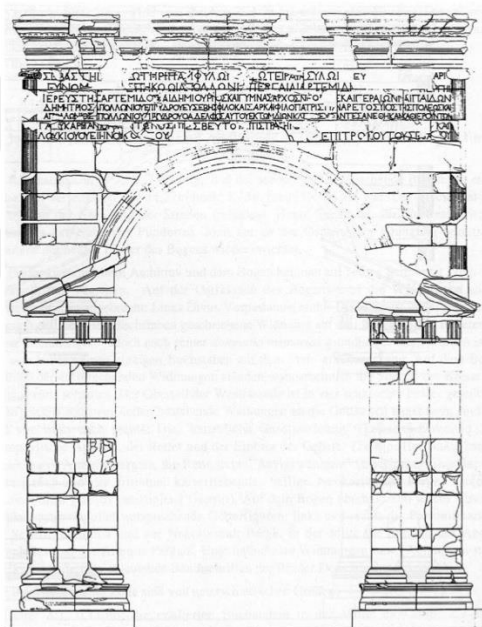
4.66: Coin of Sillyon, Apollo next to sane coiled tripod, Commodus (180-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 5726).



4.67: Coin of Attaleia, Apollo leaning on a pedestal while holding a *lyra* on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV, 4604).



4.68: Aerial photograph of the intersection and the pylons of the arch in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).

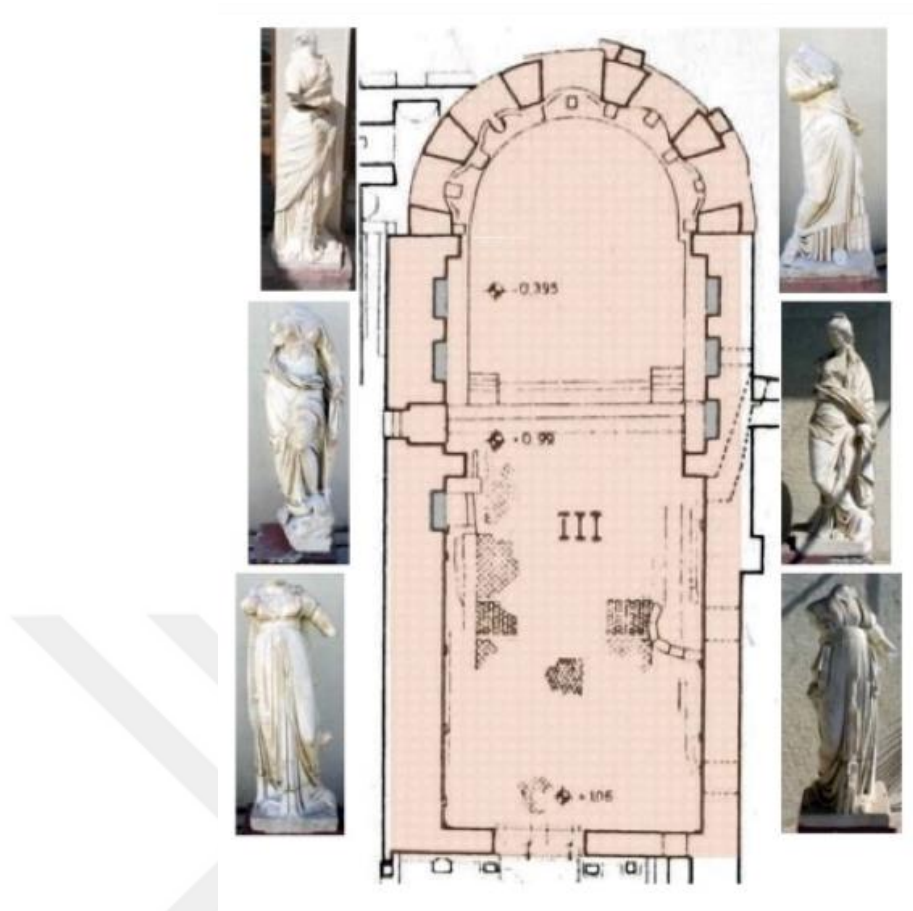


4.69: Restitution of the western side of the arch with the inscription (Özdizbay 2008).

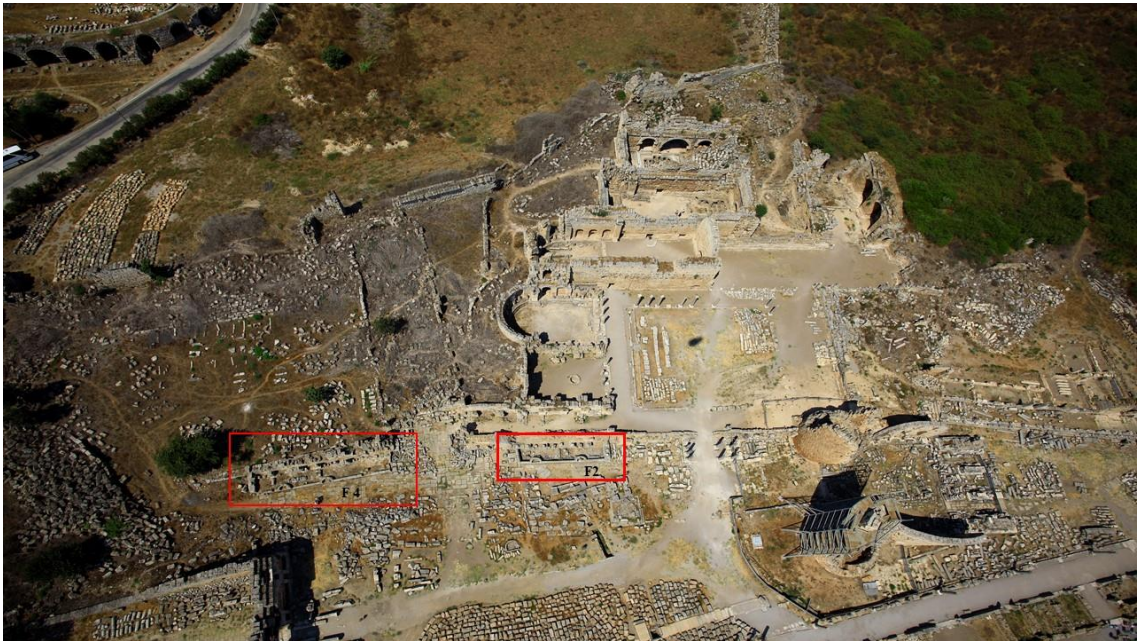


4.70: *Homonoia* coin between Perge and Delphi depicting Artemis Pergaia and Apollo, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (Erol-Özdizbay 2012).





4.71: Statues of the Mousai found in the *frigidarium* of the Southern Baths of Perge (Akçay 2007).



4.72: Aerial photograph of Fountains F2 and F4 in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.73: Pediment of Fountain F4 in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.74: Group of Marsyas, Muse and Apollo Kithairodos found in the so-called gallery of Claudius Peison in the Southern Baths of Perge (Akçay 2007).





4.75: Statue of the so-called priest of Apollo (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.76: Tower of "Arete" in Lyrboton Kome (Erdoğan 2018).



4.77: Coin of Aspendos, Apollo between a *lyra* and a tripod containing a laurel branch on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV, 5707).



4.78: Coin of Aspendos, Apollo on the reverse holding a crown next to a *lyra*, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 11017).



4.79: Statue of Apollo found in the excavation of the Roman basilica in Aspendos ([www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr](http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr)).



4.80: Dialect inscription found in Fountain F4 in Perge, 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.81: Coin of Perge, head of Artemis on the obverse and Artemis holding a wreath and scepter next to a deer on the reverse, ca. 260-230 BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#2033).



4.82: Coin of Perge, jugate heads of Artemis and Apollo on the obverse and Artemis resting on a scepter with a crown in her right hand on the reverse, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (SNG 3, no.340).





4.83: Coin of Perge, sphinx on the obverse and Artemis on the reverse with wreath and scepter, legend in the Pamphylian dialect, 3rd-2nd centuries BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#3837).



4.84: Coin of Perge, distyle temple with aniconic cult image of Artemis on the obverse, quiver on the reverse, 3rd-1st centuries BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#6041).



4.85: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple on the reverse, Traianus (98-117 AD) (RPC III, 2686).



4.86: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple with sphinxes on both sides on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2690).



4.87: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple with a star and crescent on the reverse, Elgabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC IV, 6117).



4.88: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple with torches on both sides, Gallienus (253-268 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#5886).



4.89: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia on the hand of seated Tyche on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6156).



4.90: Cult image of Artemis Pergaia found in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).

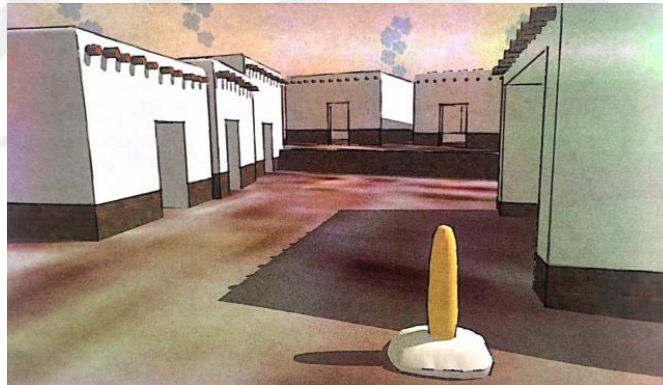


4.91: Cult image of Artemis Pergaia on the hand of Tyche, from the sacrificial frieze of the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.92: Cult image of Artemis Pergaia found in Kremna (Fleischer 1973).



4.93: Restitution of the sacred stone (shown in yellow) at the Acropolis of Perge in the Middle Iron Age (Martini 2017).



4.94: Pillar erected in the rocky area below the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).



4.95: Restitution of the pillar erected in the rocky area below the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).

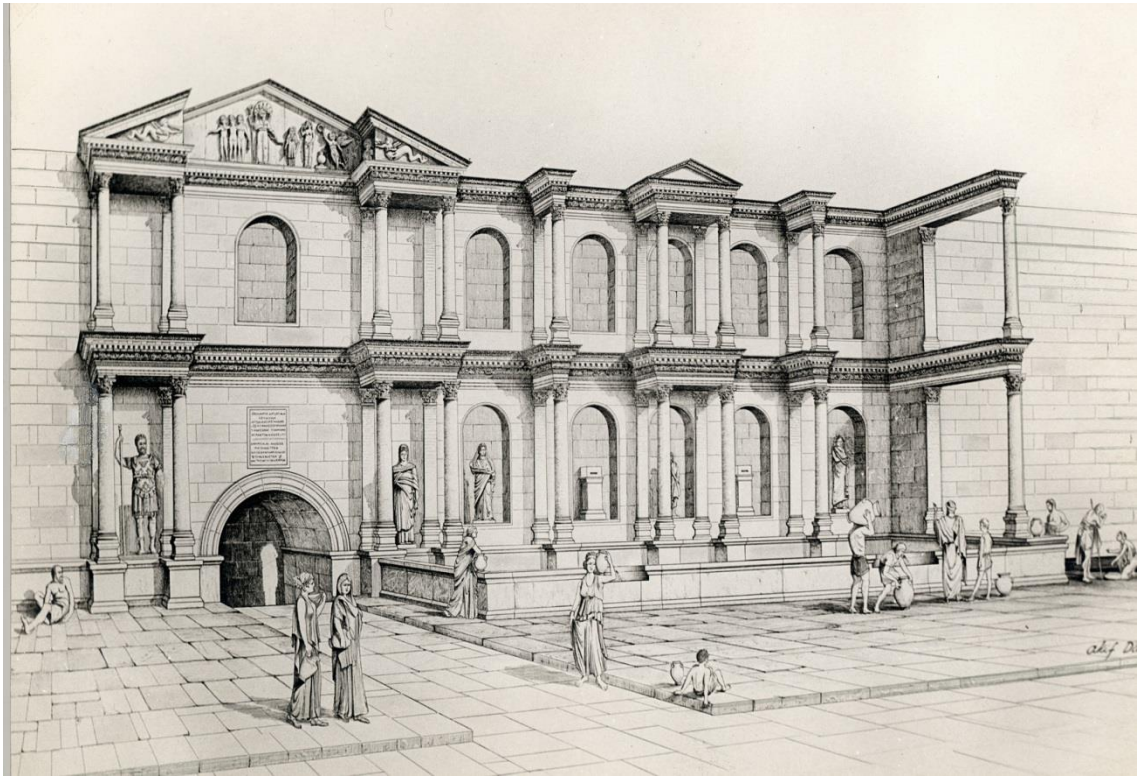


4.96: Coin of Perge, Artemis Pergaia carrying a bow and torch on the reverse, Tiberius (14-37 AD) (RPC I, 3369).



4.97: Coin of Perge, aniconic cult image of Artemis Pergaia flanked by two torches on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#5886)





4.98: Drawing of Fountain F2 in Perge by A.Dai (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.99: Pediment of Fountain F2, Charites and Artemis Pergaia with a bow and torch, Severan Period (195-204 AD) (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.100: Pediment of Fountain F2, priestess of Artemis, Aphrodite and Eros, Severan Period (195-204 AD) (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.101: Relief of Artemis Pergaia on a column in the eastern gallery of the north-south colonnaded street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.102: Sphinx found in the theater of Perge (Recke 2008).



4.103: Sphinx found in the theater of Perge (Recke 2008).



4.104: Sphinxes on the *polos* of Artemis Ephesia (Fleischer 1973).



4.105: Statue of Artemis found in the Late Roman Gate of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.106: Statue of Artemis found in the *natatio* of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.107: Statue of Artemis found in Fountain F3 in the north of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.108: Relief of Artemis on the pediment of Fountain F4 in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.109: Detail of Fountain F4 (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.110: Coin of Perge, Artemis Pergaia with crescent above her head on the obverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6184).



4.111: Coin of Perge, Artemis Pergaia with a radiate crown and crescent above her shoulders on the reverse, Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1118).



4.112: Zodiac disc found on the slopes of İyilikbelen Hill, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.113: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a distyle temple on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2690).



4.114: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a tetrastyle temple, on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2705A).



4.115: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a hexastyle temple on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2706).

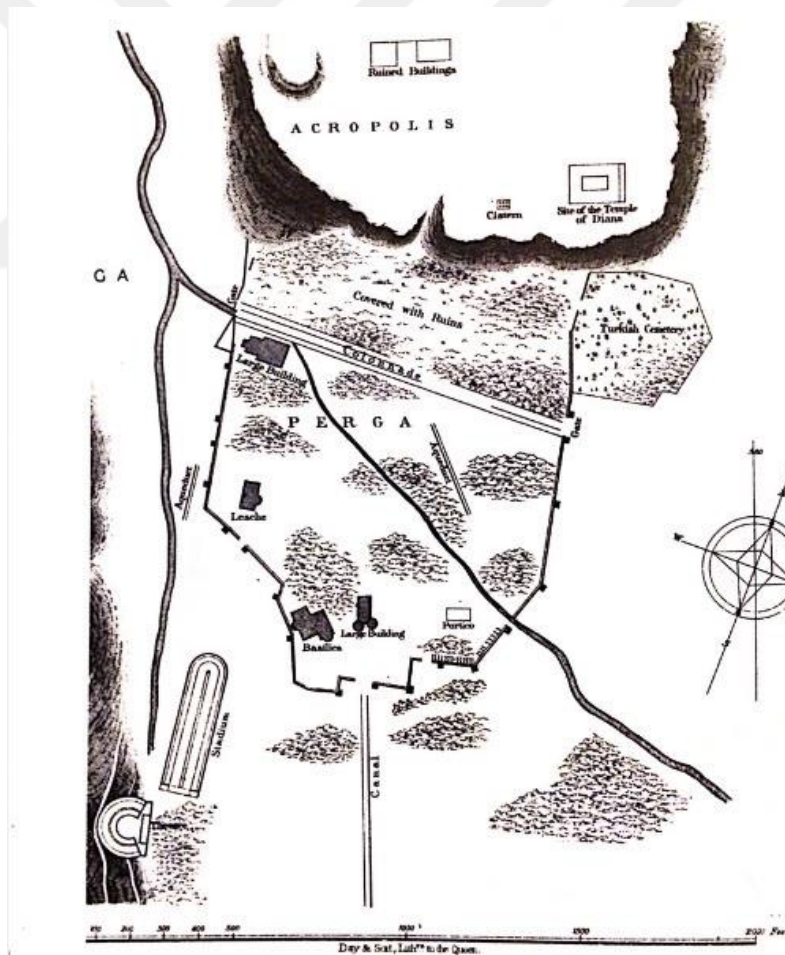


4.116: Coin of Perge, cult image of Artemis Pergaia in a tetrastyle temple on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6158).

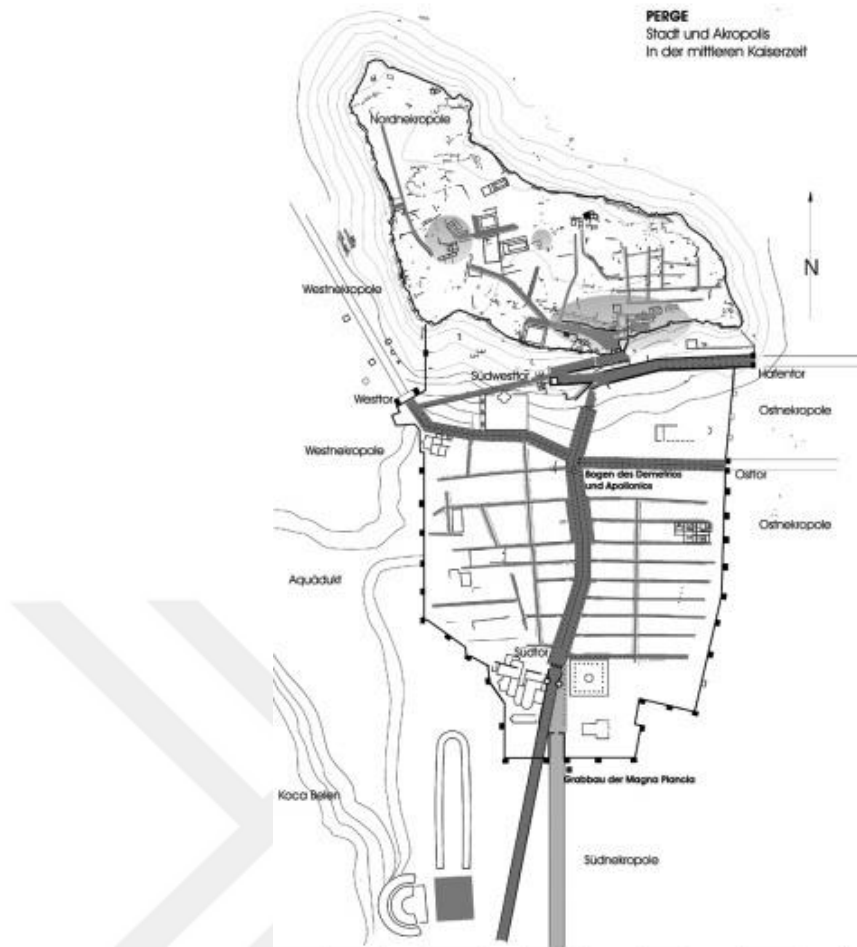




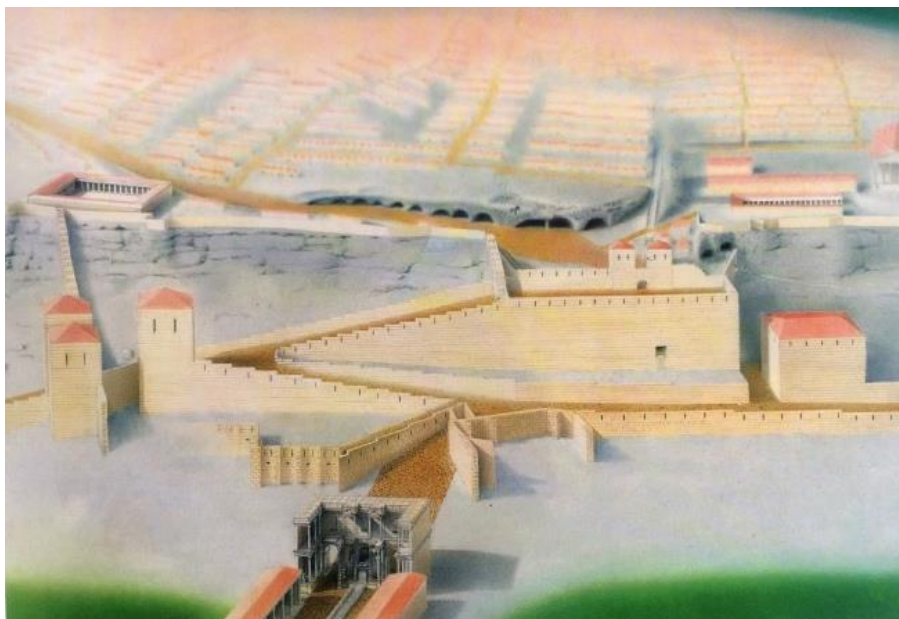
4.117: Columns initially thought to belong to the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia, Acropolis of Perge (Recke 2007).



4.118: Plan of Perge by T exier and Pullan. The sanctuary of Artemis is marked on the Acropolis (Recke 2007).

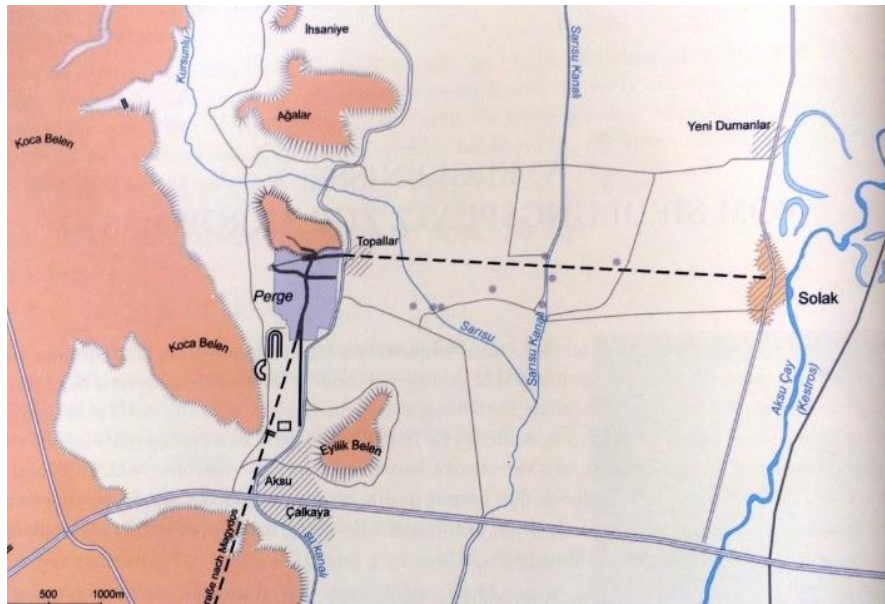


4.119: Location of the temple of Artemis Pergaia on the Acropolis and its connection with the lower city (Martini 2017).

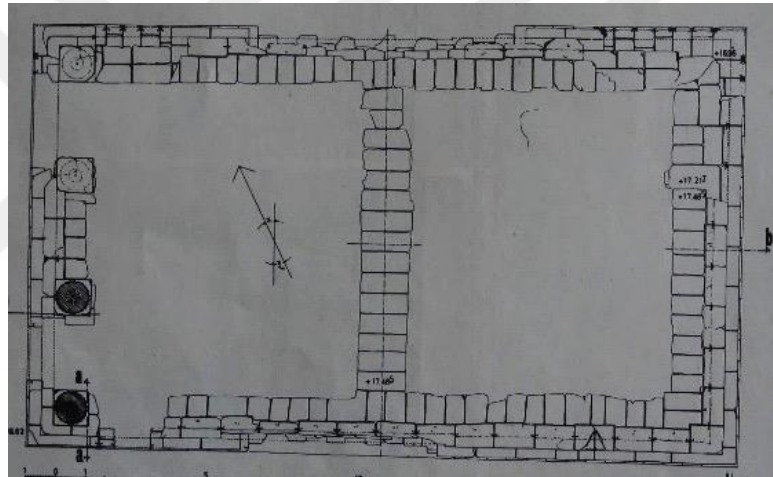


4.120: Reconstruction of the possible sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia next to the rock formations and the fortifications of the Acropolis (Martini 2017).





4.121: Perge and its river port of Kestros (modern Solak) (Martini 2017).



4.122: Perge. Plan of the Doric temple (Mansel 1970).



4.123: Perge. Three stepped *krepis* (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.124: Perge. Doric columns of the temple (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.125: *Cistophorus* of Rome, distyle temple of Artemis Pergaia on the reverse, Trajanus (98-117 AD) ([www.coinsarchive.com](http://www.coinsarchive.com), Auction 29, Lot number: 2271).



4.126: Coin of Perge, distyle temple of Artemis Pergaia on the reverse with the legend of *asylos* on the pediment, Herennius Etruscus (251 AD) (RPC IX, 1104A).



4.127: Perge. Statue of a priestess of Artemis Pergaia (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.128a: Perge. Priestess of Artemis on the pediment of Fountain F2 (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.128b: Perge. Priestess of Artemis Pergaia on the pediment of Fountain F4 (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.129: Sacrificial frieze found in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.130: Detail from the sacrificial frieze, Tyche with the cult image of Artemis Pergaia (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.131: Detail from the sacrificial frieze, servants preparing the sacrifices (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.132: Detail from the sacrificial frieze, elders with the sacrifices (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.133: *Temenos* of Artemidoros on Thera (commons.wikimedia.org).



4.134: Relief of the head of Artemis Pergaia on the *temenos* of Artemidoros (commons.wikimedia.org)



4.135: Coin of Pogla, distyle temple on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 7710).





4.136: Coin of Andeda, distyle temple on the reverse, Faustina II (RPC IV.3, 7291).



4.137: Coin of Pednelissos, distyle temple on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV3, 7706).



4.138: Coin of Selge, distyle temple on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC I, 3381).



4.139: Coin of Aspendos, cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides, Augustus (27 BC-14AD) (RPC I, 3381).



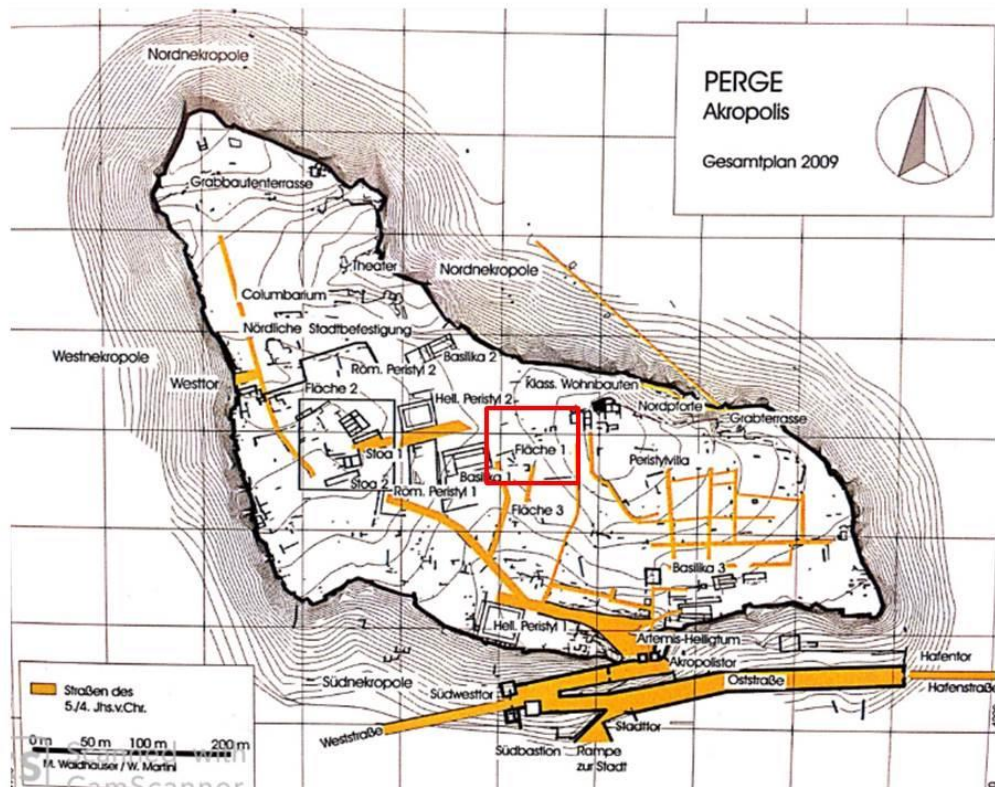
4.140: Coin of Aspendos, cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides, Gallienus (253-260 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



4.141: Coin of Aspendos, Eurymedon holding cult statues of Aphroditai Kasstnietides on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC IV, 6286).



4.142: Coin of Aspendos, cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietitides inside a distyle temple on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2718).

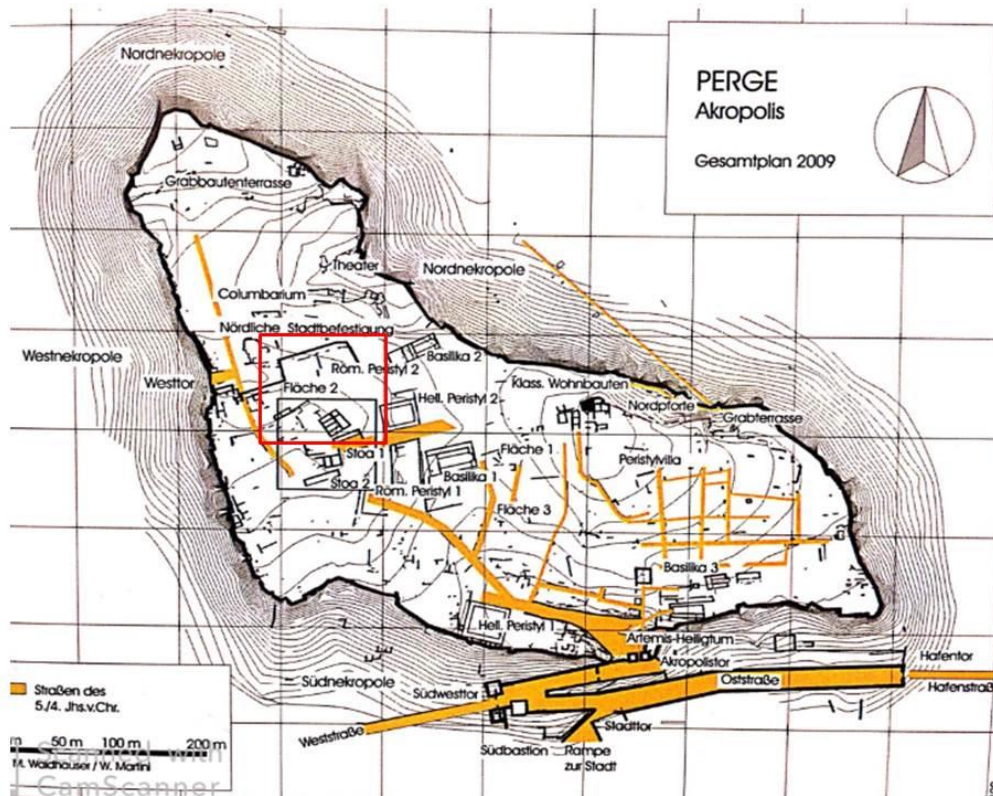


4.143: Acropolis of Perge, “Area 1” (Martini 2017).



4.144: Figurines found in the *bothros* in “Area 1”, 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Martini 2017).





4.145: Acropolis of Perge, “Area 2” (Martini 2017).



4.146: Development of the cultic buildings in “Area 2” of the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).



4.147: Lead figurine of Aphrodite found in “Area 2” (Martini 2017).



4.148: Statue of Aphrodite of the Syrakusai type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.149: Statue of Aphrodite of the Capitoline type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).

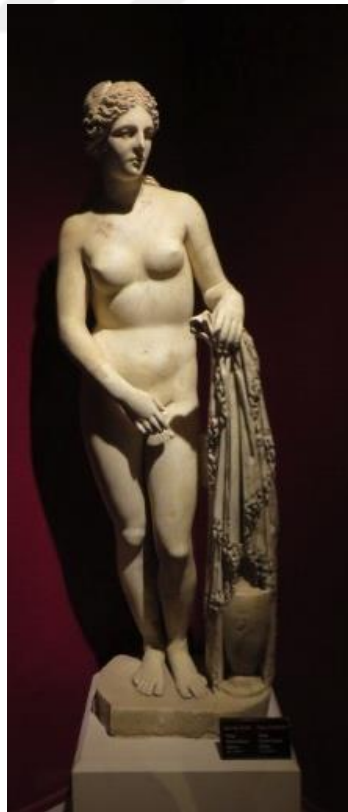


4.150: Statue of Aphrodite of the Capua type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.151: Statue of Aphrodite of the Pontia-Euploia type found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.152: Statue of Aphrodite of the Capua type found in the western colonnaded street of Perge (photo taken by I. Uytterhoeven).



4.153: Statue of Aphrodite of the Venus Genetrix type found in the so-called Palaistra of Cornutus (Orhan 2017).



4.154: Coin of Magydos, Aphrodite on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6103).



4.155: Coin of Sillyon, Zeus Aetophoros on the reverse, 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (www.asiaminorcoins, Coin ID#6913).



4.156: Coin of Sillyon, Capitoline triad on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 10217).



4.157: Coin of Attaleia, Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse, 2nd-1st century BC (www.asiaminorcoins, Coin ID#15656).



4.158: Coin of Attaleia, Zeus on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 3960).



4.159: Inscription from Perge dedicated to Zeus Soter (Kileci 2019).



4.160: Statue of Zeus found in Fountain F3 in the north of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.161: Coin of Aspendos, heads of Zeus and Hera on the reverse, Vespasianus (69-79 AD) (RPC I, 1520B).



4.162: Coin of Aspendos, Zeus and Hera, sitting on thrones face to face with an eagle between them on the reverse, Maximinius (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6312).

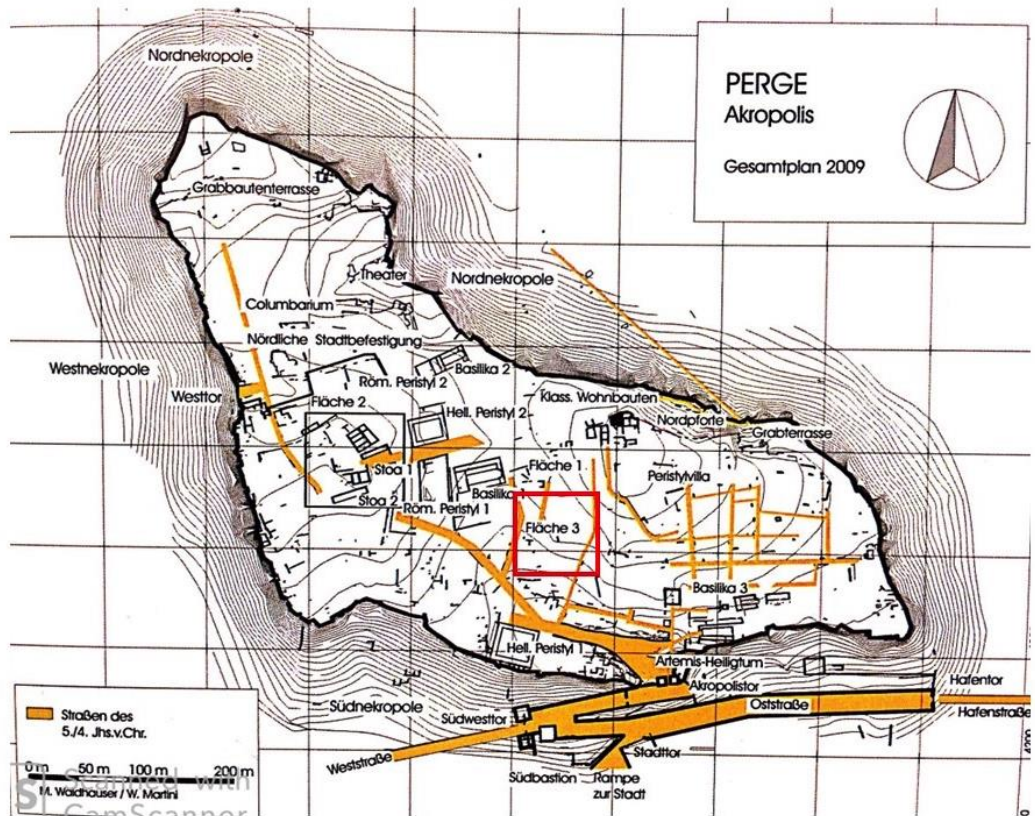


Image of specimen #4

4.163: Coin of Side, Amatheia and Zeus with the Kuretes on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6440).



4.164: Metal tablet with inscription concerning the sale of an orchard (Tybout 2013).

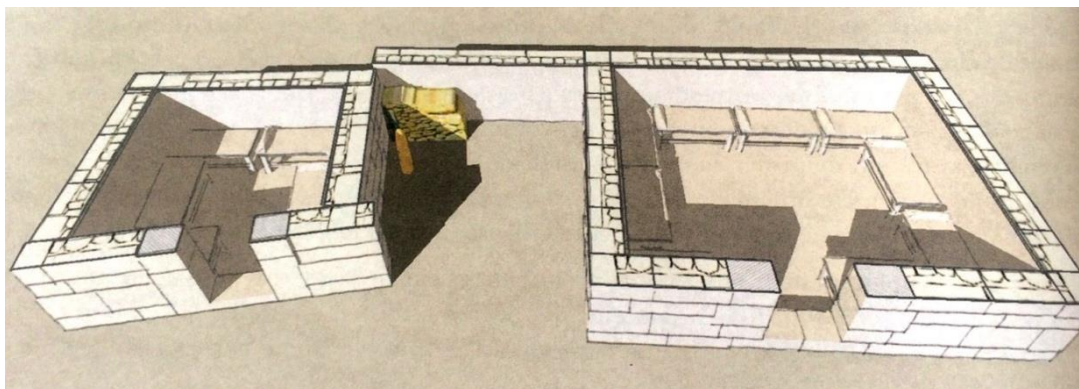


4.165: Acropolis of Perge, “Area 3” (Martini 2017).



4.166: Hearth in “Area 3” (Martini 2017).





4.167: Restitution of the *hestiatoria* in “Area 1 (Martini 2017).



4.168: Coin of Magydos, Hermes with a purse and *kerykeion* on the reverse, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (Ünal 2008).



4.169: Coin of Aspendos, Hermes, sitting on a rock with a purse and *kerykeion* on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6304).



4.170: Coin of Perge, Herakles with a club and Hermes with a purse on the reverse, Salonina (253-260 AD) (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#4147).



4.171: Coin of Syedra, the judgement of Ares with Hermes and Dike on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV.3, 9366).



4.172: Statue of Hermes found in the Hellenistic Gate in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.173: Statue of Hermes found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.174: The "Sandal-tying" Hermes found in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



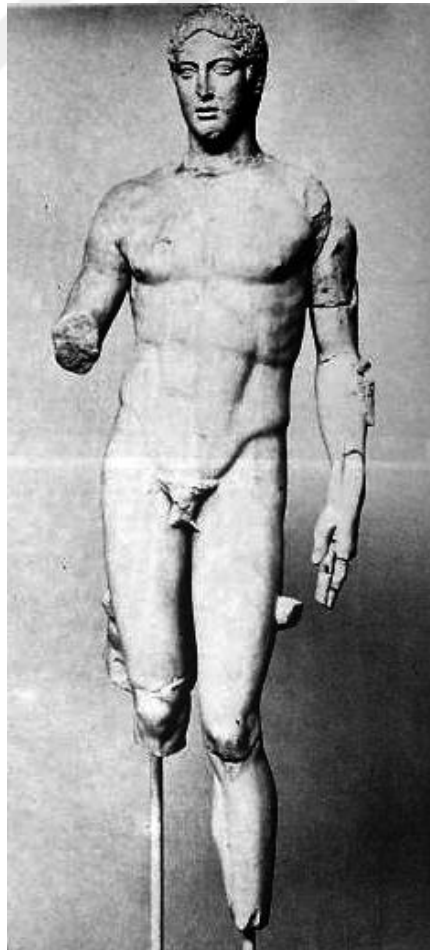
4.175: Colossal Hermes statue found in the Theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.176: Fragment of a herm found in the north-south colonnaded street of Perge (Delemen 2013).



4. 177: Herms in the parapet walls separating the cavea from the orchestra in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.178: Statue of Hermes found in “Building M” in Side (İnan 1975).

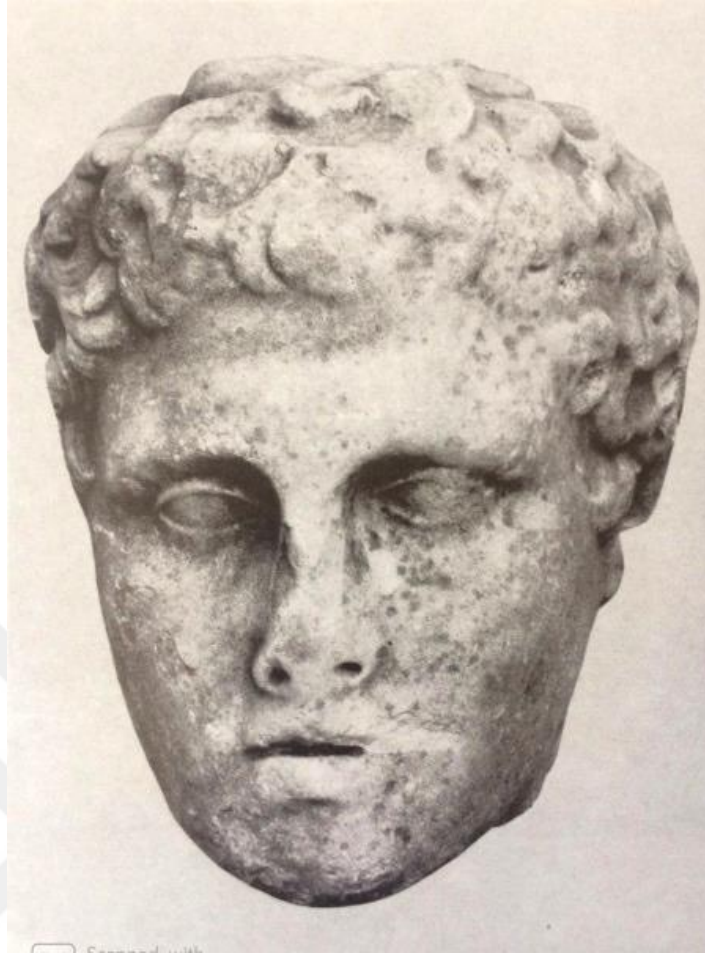




4.179: Statue of Hermes found in the Fountain outside the City Gate of Side (photo taken by I. Uytterhoeven).



4.180: Head of Hermes found in the Fountain outside the City Gate of Side (photo taken by I. Uytterhoeven).



4.181: Head of Hermes found in the area of “Temples N1-N2” at Side (İnan 1975).



4.182: Temple of Hermes at Çatiören in Rough Cilicia (photo taken by A.Özdizbay).



4.183: Coin of Phaselis, crown of Isis with *lyra* and torch on the reverse, 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#1388).



4.184: Coin of Attaleia, head of Sarapis with *kalathos* on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 4051).



Image of specimen #1

4.185: Coin of Aspendos, Sarapis in *quadriga* on the reverse, below Eurymedon, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC IV, 6283).



4.186: Coin of Aspendos, Sarapis inside a hexastyle temple on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC IV, 6289).





4.187: Coin of Aspendos, Sarapis on the reverse, sitting on a throne, Isis in front of him holding a *sistrum*, behind him Demeter, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6265).



4.188: Lamp and relief from Alexandria, Egypt (Hornbostel 1973).



4.189: Statue of Isis found in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.190: Statue of Isis found in Perge (Delemen 2013b).



4.191: Statue of Sarapis found in Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.192: Statue of Harpokrates found in Perge (Perge Exvacation Archive).



4.193: Coin of Sillyon, helmeted and bearded head of Ares on the obverse, 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#6912).



4.194: Coin of Aspendos, warrior with helmet, shield and spear on the obverse, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (www.wildwinds.com).



4.195: Inscription used as *spolia* in the Late Building in Syedra (photo taken by A. Özdizbay).



4.196: Coin of Side, armed Ares before a statue of Caracalla on the reverse (198-211 AD) ([www.mfa.org](http://www.mfa.org)).



4.197: Coin of Attaleia, Dionysos and Ariadne in a *biga* drawn by panthers, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV, 4061).





4.198: Dionysos herm found in the excavation of “Building P” in Side (İnan 1975).



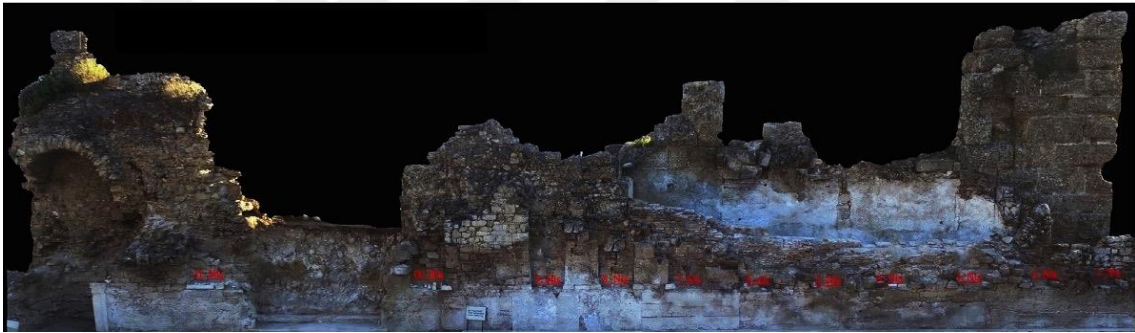
4.199: Location of the Theater in Side (Google Earth).



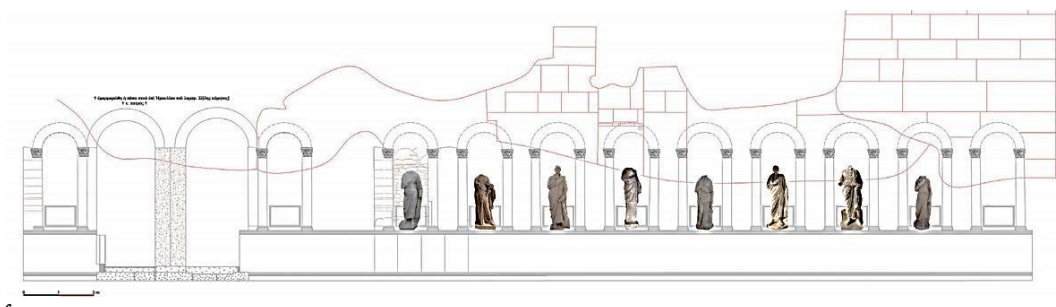
4.200: Theater of Side (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.201: Relief of Dionysos with different attributes on the ceiling coffers of the theater of Side (Alanyalı 2011).



4.202: Southern stoa of “Building M” with niches in Side (Alanyalı-Erkoç 2018).

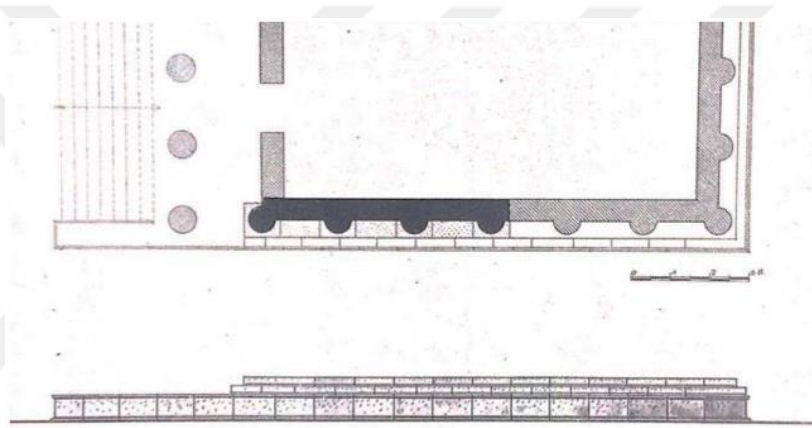


4.203: Reconstruction of the Southern Stoa of “Building M” in Side (Alanyalı-Erkoç 2018, model made by A.Yurtsever).

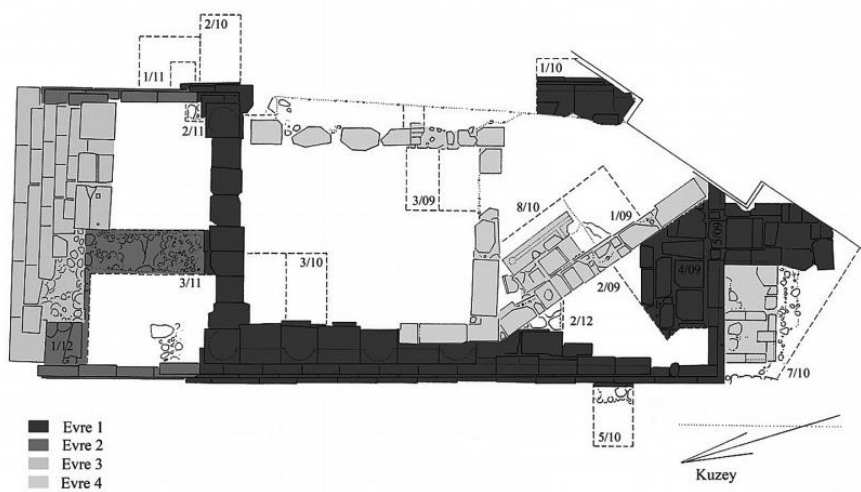




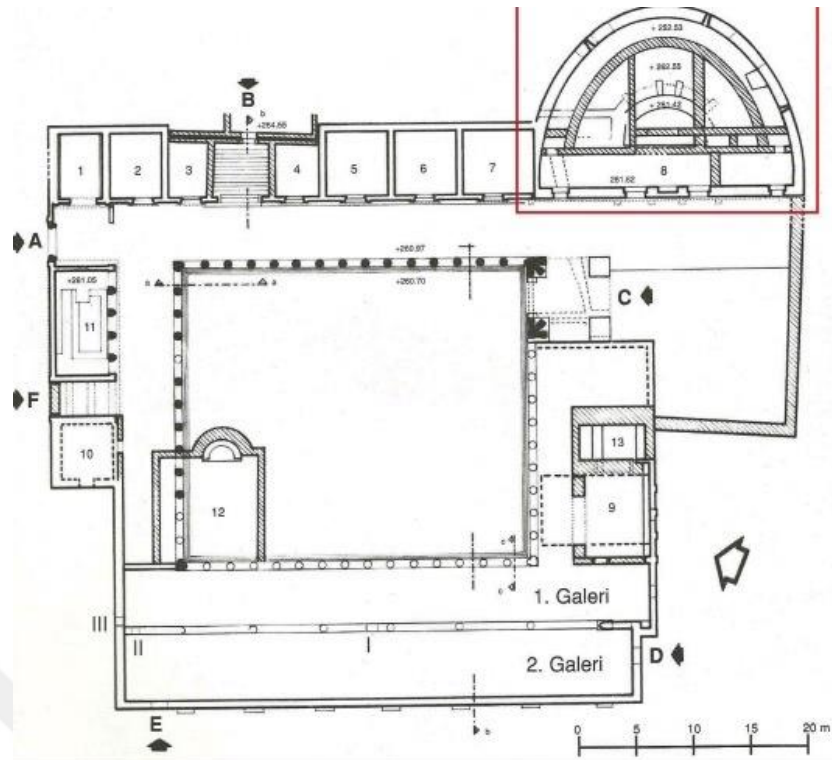
4.204: Aerial photo of the so-called Temple of Dionysos and the wall of the theater in Side (Soykal Alanyalı, 2016).



4.205: Plan of the so-called Temple of Dionysos taken from Mansel 1978.



4.206: Different building phases of the so-called Temple of Dionysos in Side (Soykal Alanyalı, 2016).



4.207: Stoa of Lyrbe and the Nektareion on the upper right (Yıldırım 2016).



4.208: Inner façade of the *Nektareion* (Yıldırım 2016).





4.209: Theater of Perge and the Dionysiac frieze on the stage building (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.210: Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, birth of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.211. Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, childhood of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.212. Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, childhood of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.213. Scene from the Dionysiac Frieze, *thiasos* of Dionysos (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.214. Scene from the Dionysiac frieze, discovery of Ariadne (Perge Excavation Archive).





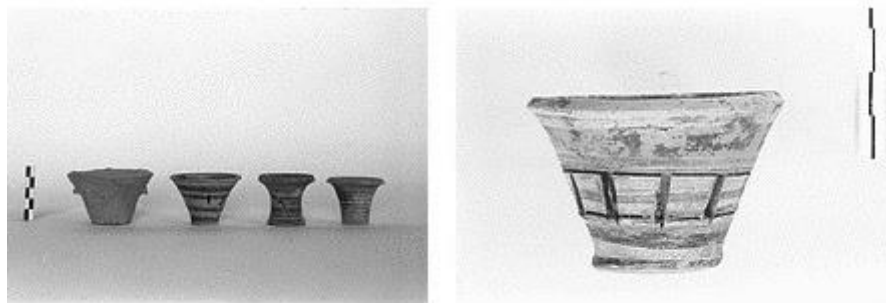
4.215: Colossal Statue of Dionysos, found in the theater of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.216: Coin of Magydos, Demeter inside a *biga* on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6085).



4.217: Coin of Magydos, seated Demeter on the reverse holding a poppy and ears of corn, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 3944).



4.218: *Kalathiskoi* found in the excavations of the Acrocorinth Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth ([www.corinth.asca.net](http://www.corinth.asca.net)).



4.219: Coin of Magydos, Demeter on the reverse with torchs in both hands, before a lighted altar, *cista* with a serpent behind, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6094).



4.220. Coin of Alexandria, Sarapis, Isis and Demeter in a galley on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 5995).



4.221: Coin of Lyrbe, Helios with a *cornucopia* on the reverse, Gordianus (238-244 AD) (Erten 2007).



Image of specimen #1

4.222: Coin of Perge, Helios holding a whip on the reverse, Maximinus (235-238 AD) (RPC VI, 6162).



4.223: Frieze with Hermes with a radiate crown from Fountain F3 of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.224: Soffite with head of Helios with radiate crown from the Propylon of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.225: Column with relief of Helios riding a *biga*, western gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.226: Statue of Helios found in Fountain F5 in the southern part of the Western Colonnaded Street of Perge (Kara 2015).



4.227: Coin of Attaleia, Helios with a radiate crown, riding a *biga* on the reverse, Caracalla (198-217 AD) (Baydur 1984).



4.228: Coin of Side, Tyche, seated on a throne holding a *cornucopia* and a prow on the reverse, Domitianus (81-96 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#8014).



4.229: Coin of Side, Tyche, standing while holding a *cornucopia* and rudder on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



4.230. Coin of Side, Tyche, standing while holding a *cornucopia* and rudder on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



4.231: Coin of Side, Tyche sitting on a rock with Melas under her feet on the reverse, Orbiane (225-227 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).

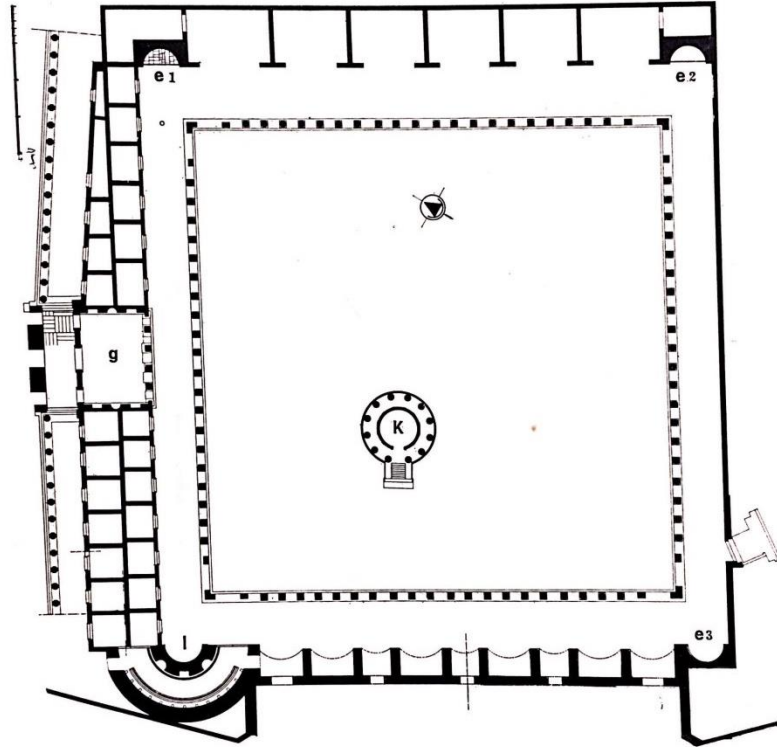


4.232: Coin of Side, Tyche inside a building with an arched pediment identified as the *Tholos* of Side on the reverse, Salonina (253-268 AD) ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).

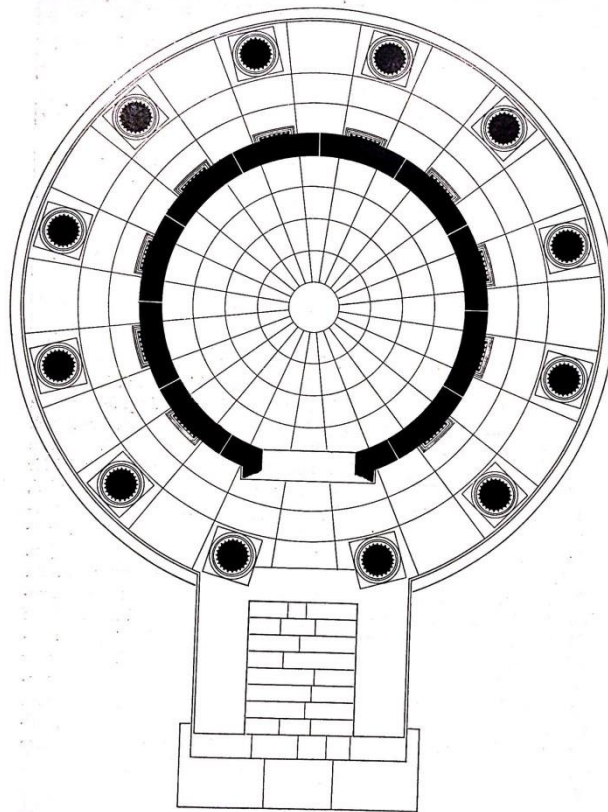


4.233: Stairs and cella of the *Tholos* of Side (Yürük 2017).





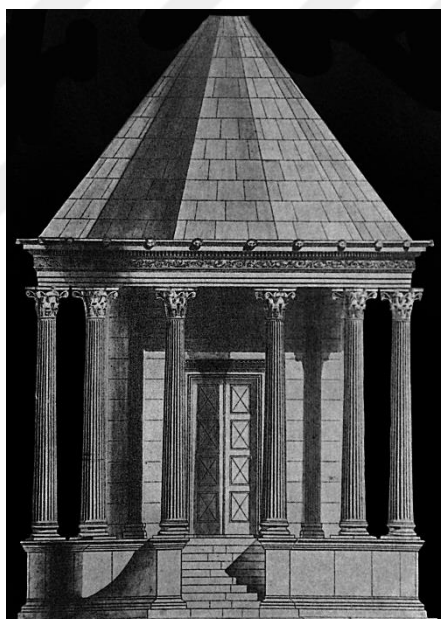
4.234: Agora of Side and its *Tholos* (Mansel 1978).



4.235: *Tholos* of Side (Mansel 1978).



4.236: *Tholos* of Side after partial restoration (Yürük 2017).



4.237: Hypothetical reconstruction of the *Tholos* (Mansel 1978).



4.238: Coin of Perge, Tyche with a mural crown on the reverse, Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1128).





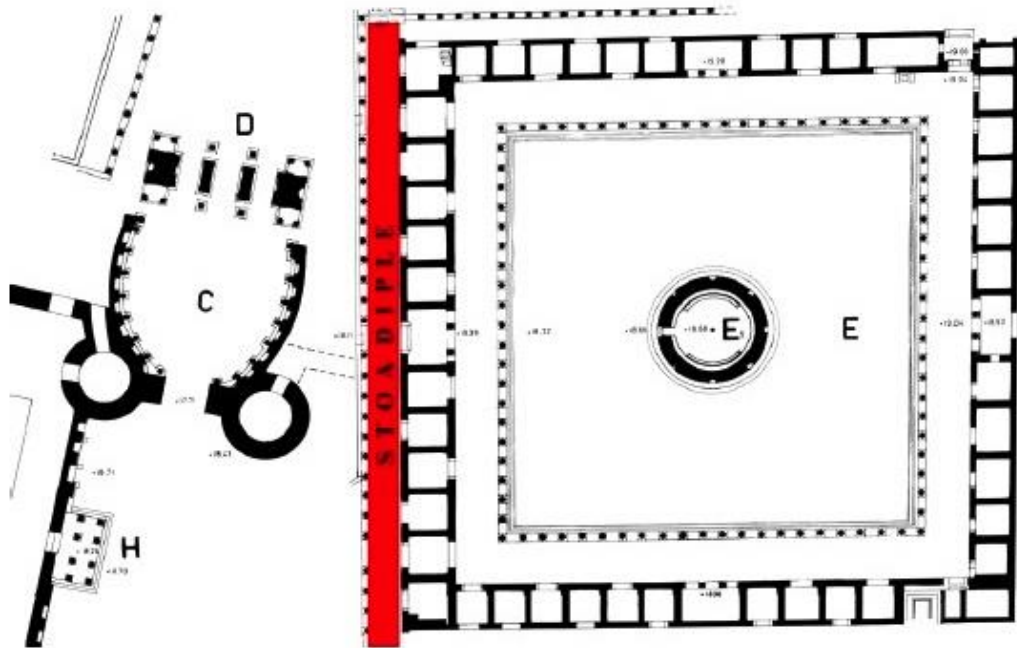
4.239: Statue of Tyche found in the Oval Courtyard of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.240: Statue of Tyche from Perge, now in Belgium ([www.hurriyet.com](http://www.hurriyet.com)).



4.241: Agora/Macellum of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).

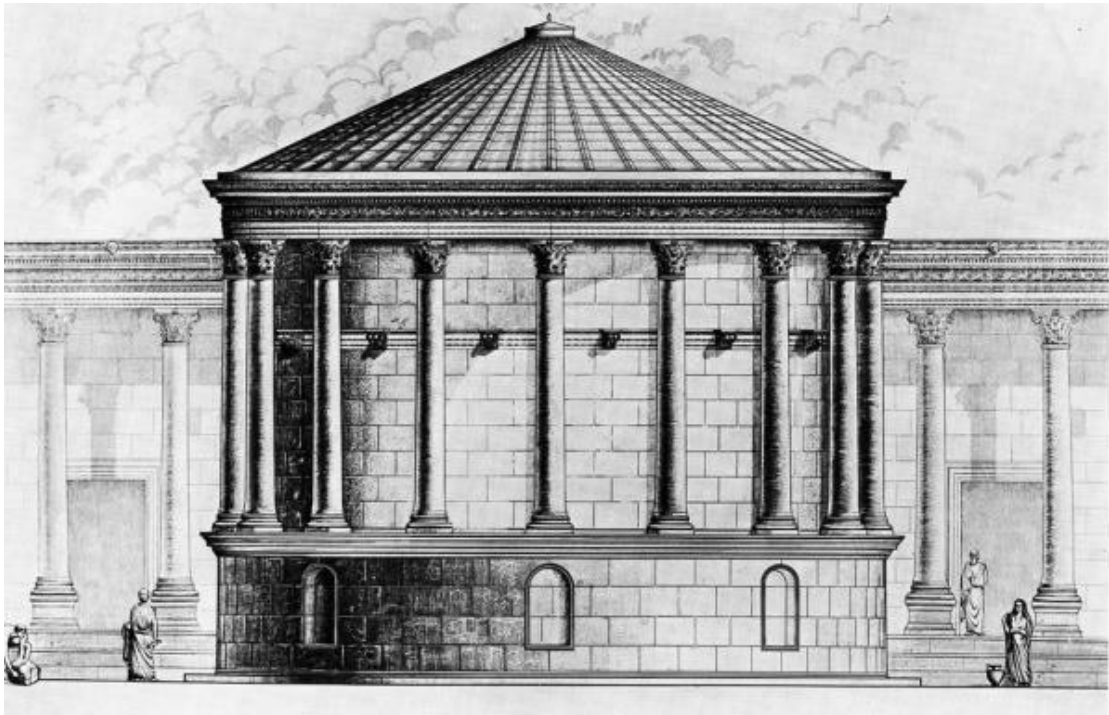


4.242: Round towers and Agora/Macellum of Perge (Özdizbay 2008).





4.243: Remains from the *Tholos* of Perge (Özdizbay 2008).



4.244: Hypothetical restitution of the *Tholos* of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.245: Coin of Perge, Tyche in a distyle temple on the reverse, Valerianus I (253-260 AD) (SNG 3, no.547).



4.246: Coin of Aspendos, Tyche holding a rudder and a *cornucopia* on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3, 4948).



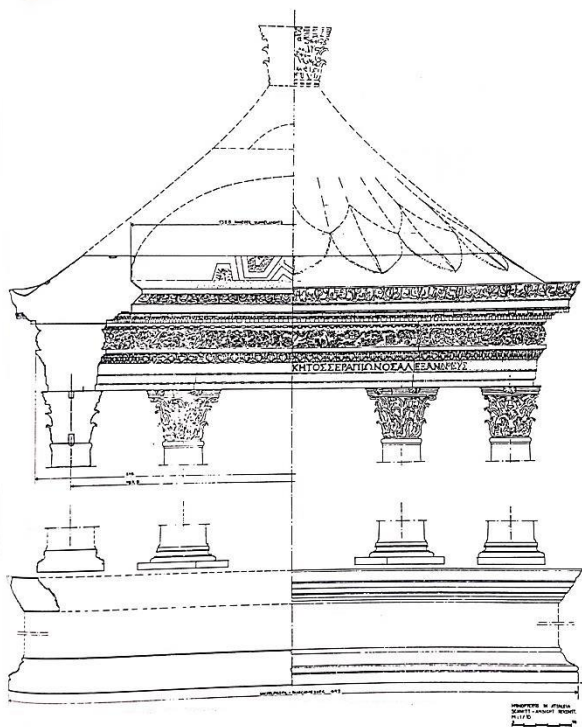
4.247: Coin of Aspendos, Tyche sitting on a throne and dropping a pebble into a voting urn on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 4949).



4.248: Coin of Aspendos, Tyche on the reverse, Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) (RPC IV.3.5706).



4.249: Coin of Magydos, Tyche on the reverse, Crispina (178-191 AD) (Ünal 2008).



4.250: Restitution of the *Tholos* in Attaleia (Kaymak 2009).



4.251: Coin of Attaleia, bearded Poseidon on the obverse, dolphin with an anchor on the reverse, 2nd century BC (www.asiaminorcoins.com, Coin ID#13361).





4.252: Coin of Attaleia, bearded Poseidon on the obverse, standing Poseidon with trident and *phiale* on the reverse, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



4.253: Coin of Attaleia, head of Poseidon with trident on the obverse, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC ([www.wildwinds.com](http://www.wildwinds.com)).



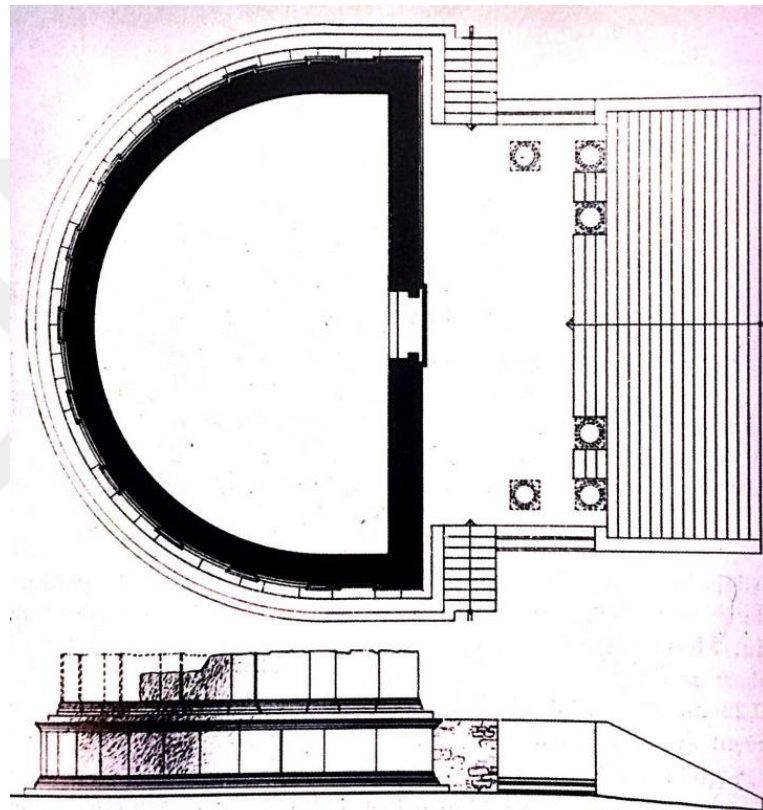
4.254: Coin of Sillyon, Men on horseback with a crescent behind his shoulders on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6193).



4.255: Coin of Sillyon, Men standing while holding a pine cone and scepter on the reverse, Caracalla (198-211 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#6193).



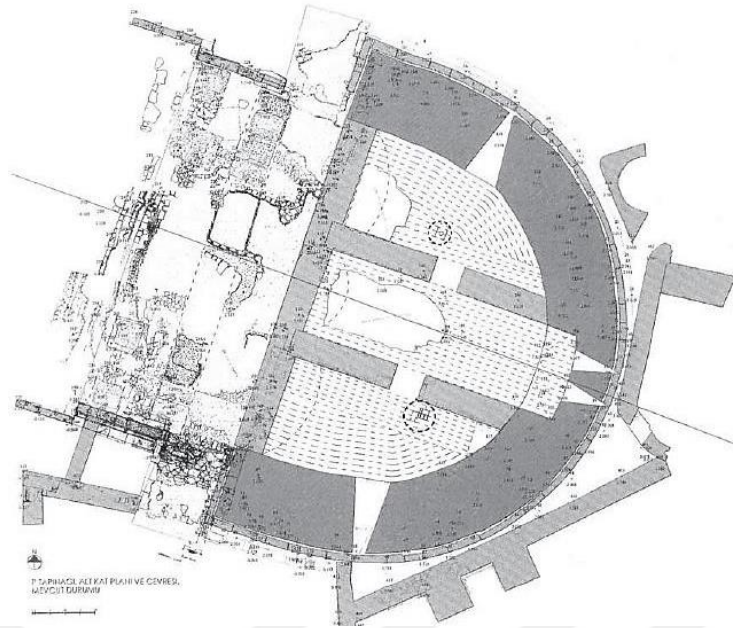
4.256: Coin of Sillyon, bust of Men with a Phrygian cap and a crescent behind his shoulder on the reverse, Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD) (RPC IX, 1139).



4.257: "Building P", so-called temple of Men in Side (Mansel 1978).



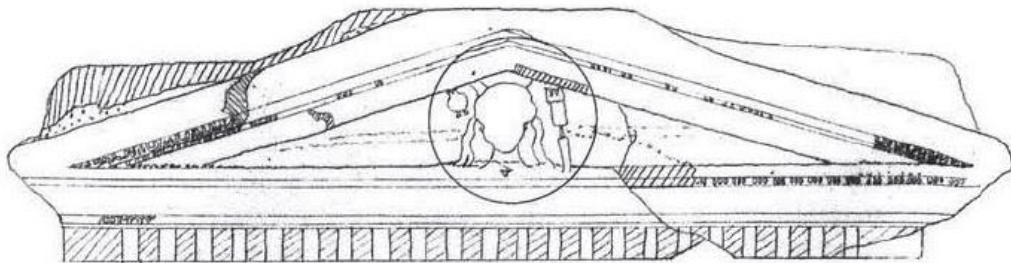
4.258: Coin of Side, depiction of three temples on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Mansel 1978).



4.259: "Building P" of Side (Kaymak 2015).



4.260. Possible depiction of Demeter on the pediment of "Building P" in Side (Kaymak 2015).



4.261: Drawing of the possible depiction of Demeter on the pediment of "Building P" in Side (Kaymak 2015).





4.262: Coin of Perge, Asklepios with snake entwined scepter on the reverse, Elagabalus (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6116).



4.263: Statue of Asklepios found in the *natatio* of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.264: Statue of Hygieia found in the *natatio* of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.265: Statue of Hygieia found in the Gallery of Claudius Piso in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.266: Fragment of a statue of Asklepios with Telesphoros found in Room VIII in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.267: Statue of Asklepios from the Late Roman Gate of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.268: Statue head of Asklepios found in the Western Gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.269: Coin of Side, Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV.3, 11031).



4.270: Coin of Side, Asklepios with legend of *Neokoros* on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#9864).



4.271: Coin of Side, Asklepios with legend *Neokoros* on the reverse, Aurelianus (270-275 AD) (Burrell 2004).

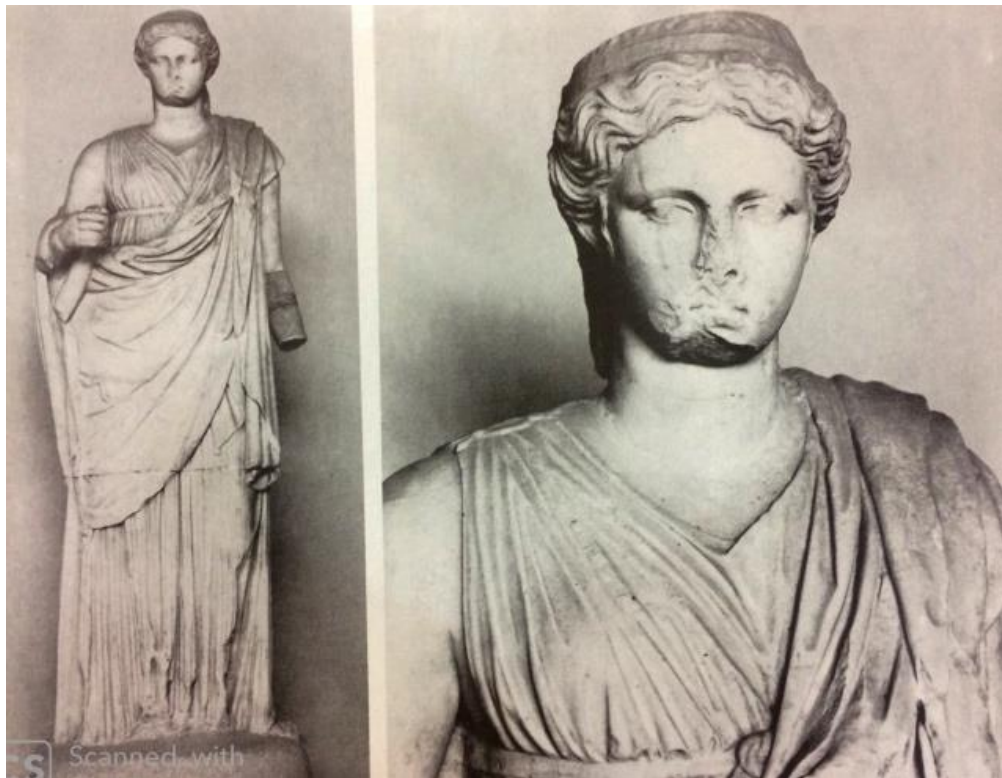


4.272: Coin of Attaleia, Asklepios on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#4824).





4.273: Statue of Asklepios found in Side (İnan 1975).



4.274: Statue of Hygieia found in Side (İnan 1975).



4.275: Coin of Aspendos, Nemesis holding a cubit over a griffon on the reverse, Commodus (177-192 AD) (RPC IV.3, 8642).



4.276: Coin of Aspendos, Nemesis holding a cubit over a griffon on the reverse, Iulia Maesa (218-222 AD) (RPC VI, 6271).



4.277: Coin of Attaleia, winged Nemesis holding a cubit over a griffon on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6081).



4.278: *Homonoia* coin between Side and Attaleia, Attaleia is represented by a winged Nemesis, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Baydur 1975).



4.279: Statue of Nemesis from the Late Roman Gate of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.280: Statue of Nemesis from the *natatio* of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.281: Statue of Nemesis from the *natatio* of the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.282: Statue of Nemesis from the so-called gallery of Claudius Piso of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





4.283: Grave Monument "M2" from Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



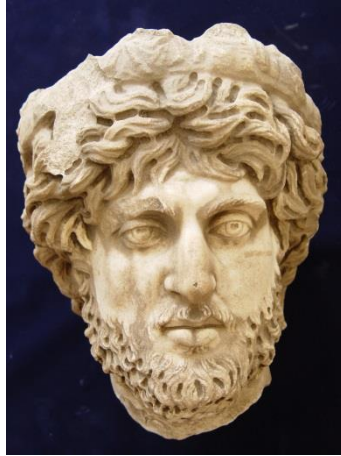
4.284: Votive relief, Hekate Triformis on horseback, Roman Imperial Period (Delemen 1999).



4.285: Inscription erected on the Tacitus Street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.286: Inscription erected on the Tacitus Street of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.287: Statue of a priest of the Imperial cult found in the Western Gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street at Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.288: Statue of a priestess of the Imperial cult found in the Western Gallery of the North-South Colonnaded Street at Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



4.289: Statue of a priest of the Imperial Cult found in the Agora/*Macellum* of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).





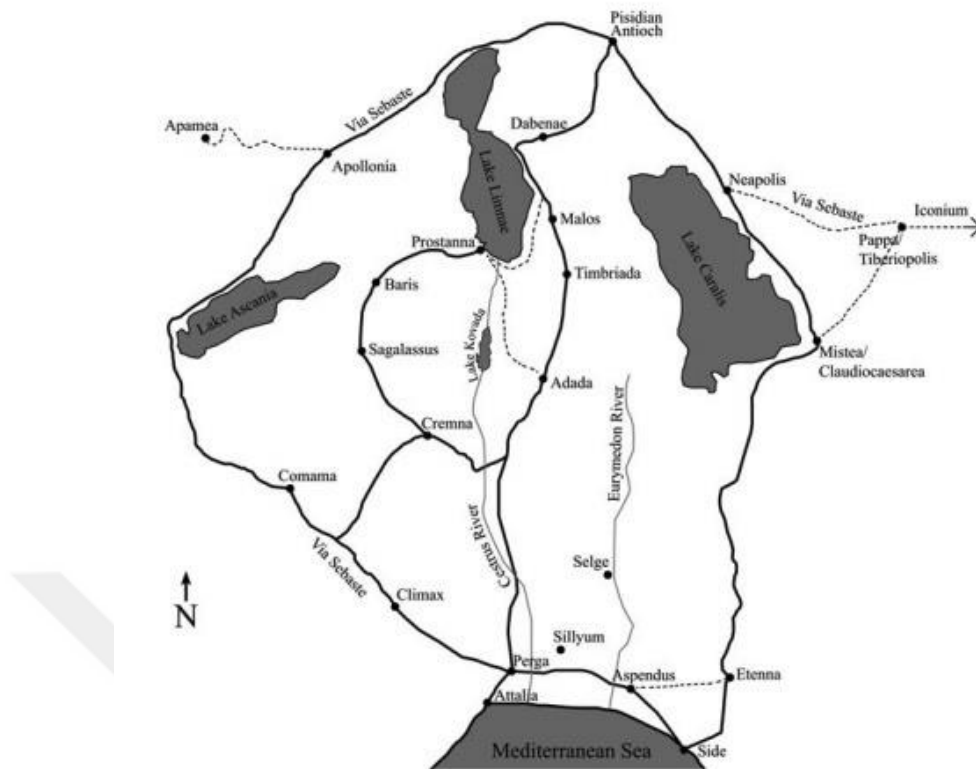
4.290: Northern portico of the *palaestra* in the Southern Baths of Perge (Perge Excavation Archive).



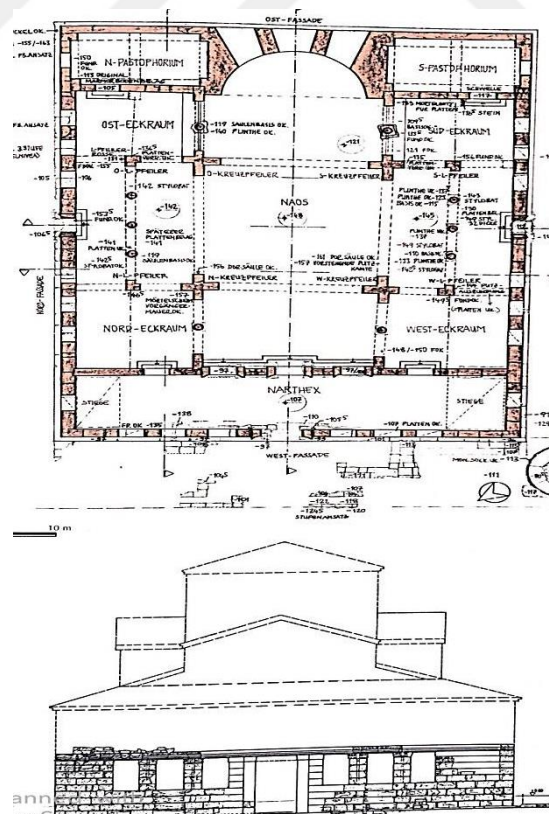
4.291: Coin of Side, Athena and Apollo Sidetes with the legend *Neokoros* on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Büyükyörük 2018).



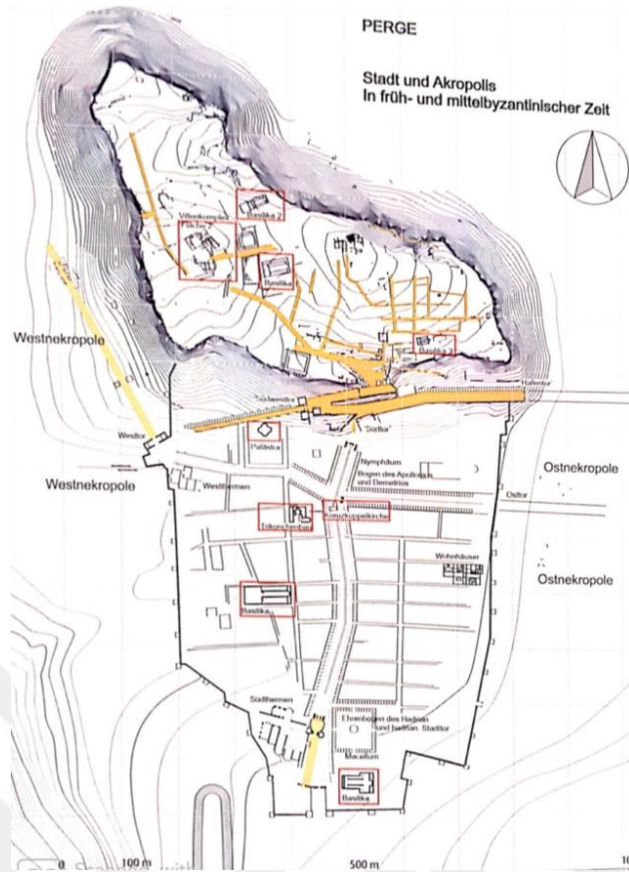
4.292: Coin of Aspendos, legend of *Neokoros* inside a distyle temple on the reverse, Gallienus (253-268 AD) (Burrell 2004).



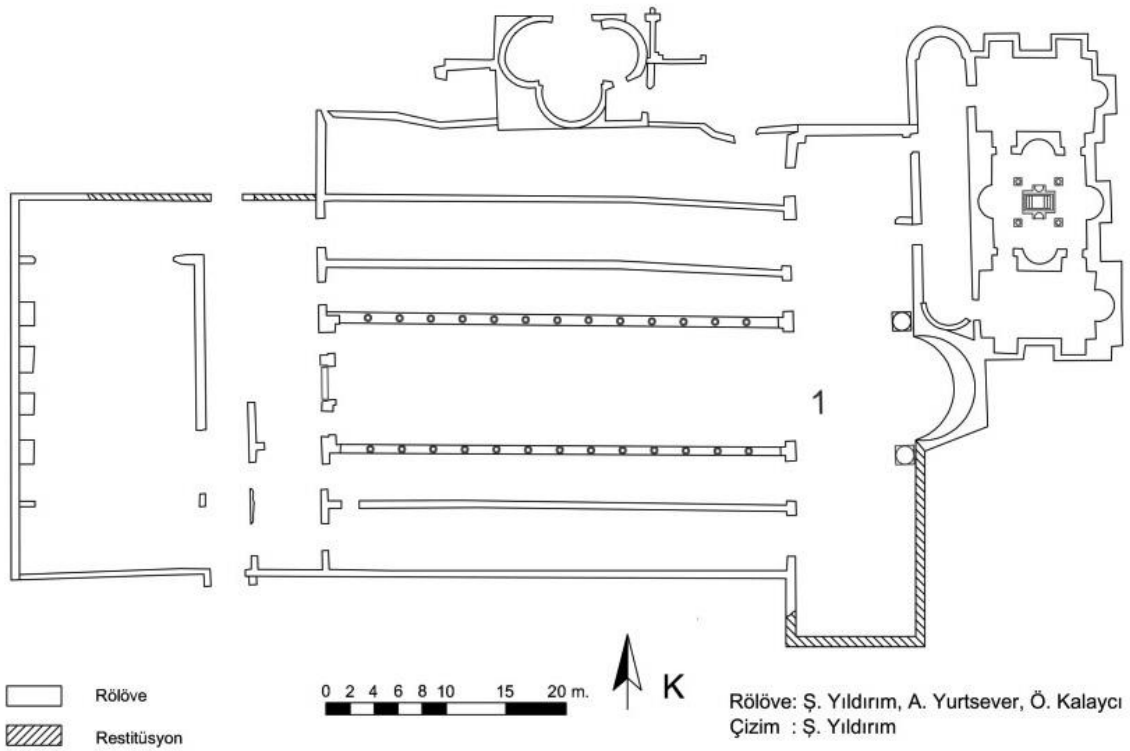
4.293: Possible routes between Pamphylia and Pisidia taken by St. Paul (Wilson 2009).



4.294: Plan of the Basilica which later turned into a mosque, first phase (Kaymak 2009).



4.295: Location of Late Antique/Byzantine Buildings in Perge (Martini 2017).



4.296: Christian Complex in Side (Yıldırım 2013).





5.1: Location of the Karain Cave (map taken from [pleiades.stoa.org](http://pleiades.stoa.org)).



5.2: Entrance of the Karain Cave ([www.tayproject.org](http://www.tayproject.org)).



5.3: Interior of the Karain Cave ([www.tayproject.org](http://www.tayproject.org)).



5.4: Inscription on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık).





5.5: Niche and inscription on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık).



5.6: Niche and inscription on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık).



5.7: Niche and inscription above it on the wall of the Karain cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık).



5.8: Inscription and niche on the wall of the Karain Cave (photo taken by Ö. Cırık).



5.9: Drawing of the inscription and the niche on the wall of the Karain Cave (Şahin 1985).



5.10: Coin of Traianus (98-117 AD) found in the Karain Cave (Çizmeli-Öğün 2011).





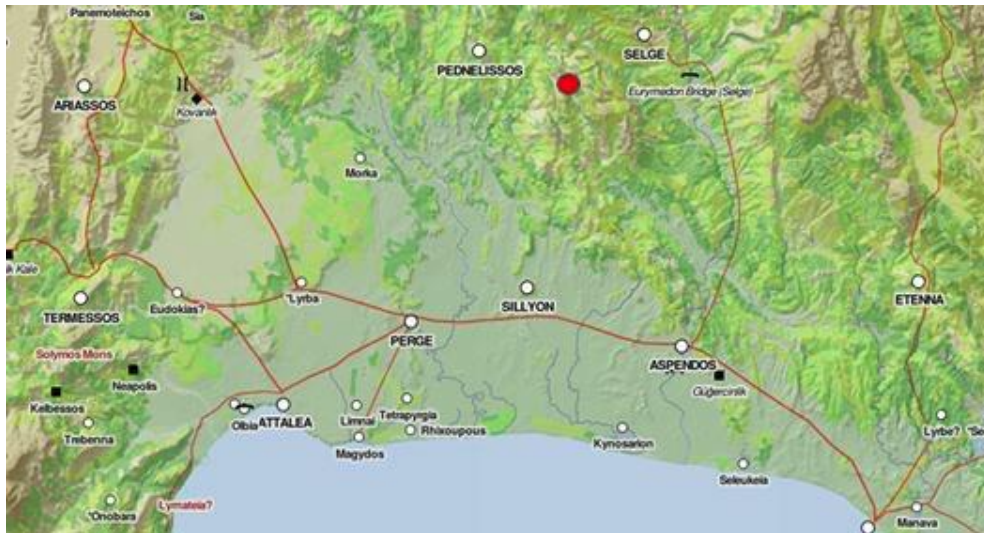
5.11: Location of the Gurma Cave (map taken from [pleiades.stoa.org](http://pleiades.stoa.org))



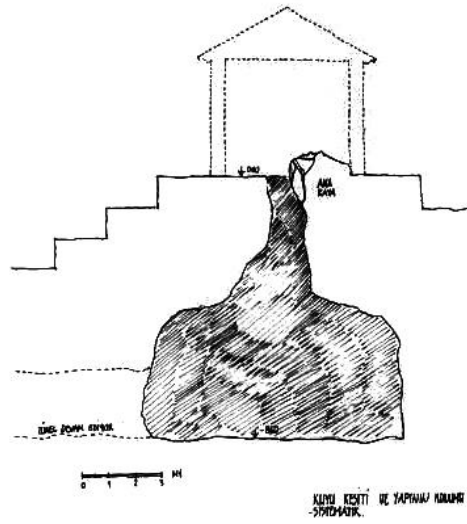
5.12: Entrance of the Gurma Cave ([www.tayproject.org](http://www.tayproject.org)).



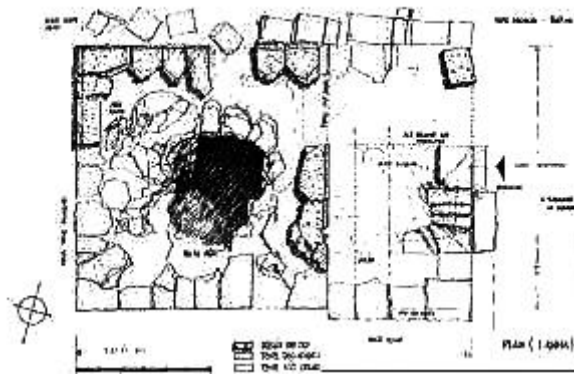
5.13: Stele with possible depiction of Meter (Metzger 1952).



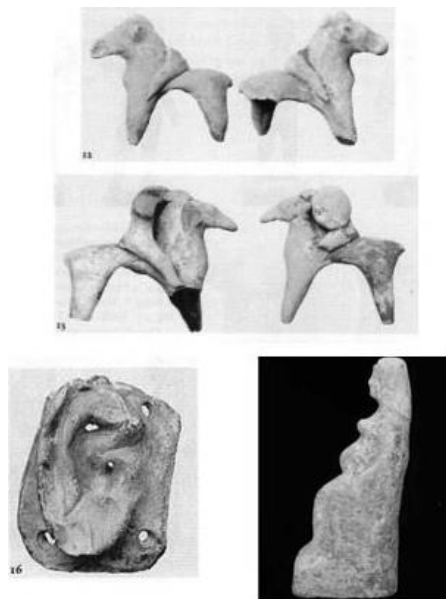
5.14: Location of the Arpalık/Yumaklar Cave (map taken from pleiades.stoa.org)



5.15: Section of the Yumaklar/Arpalık Tepe sanctuary (Işın 2005).



5.16: Plan of the Yumaklar/Arpalık Tepe temple (Işın 2005).



5.17: Some terracotta votives found in the Yumaklar/Arpalık Cave (Işın 2015).



5.18: Altars dedicated to Meter and Apollo from the Yumaklar/Arpalık Cave (Işın 2010).

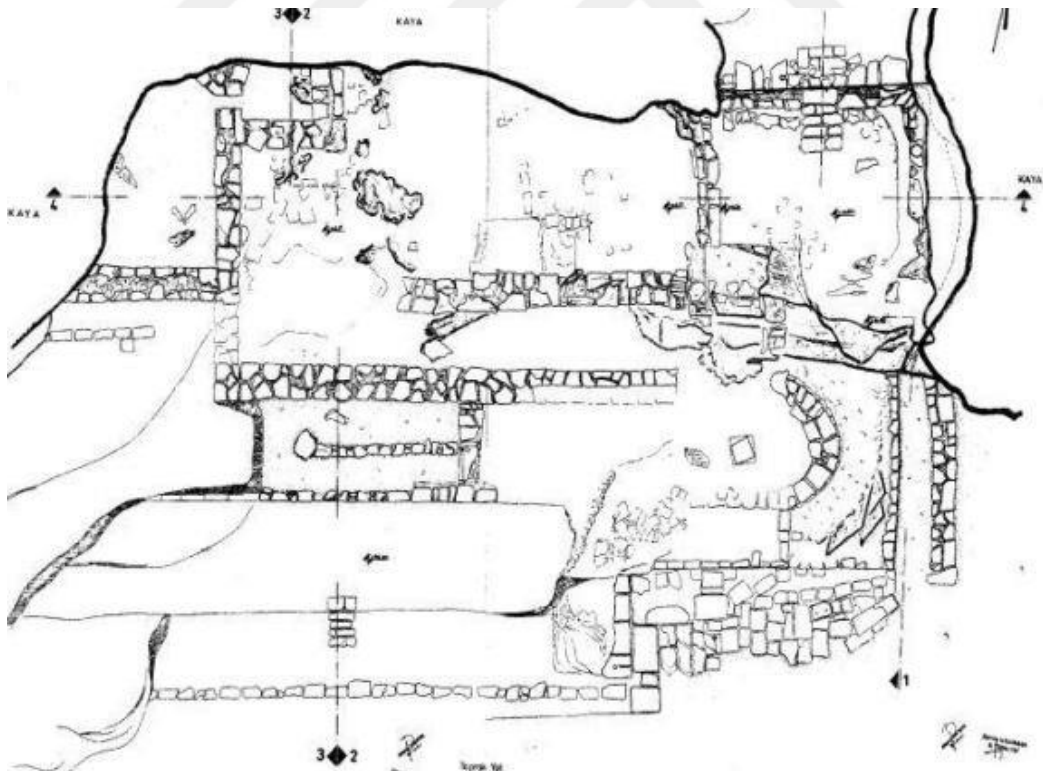


5.19: Statuette of the Great God Mamblasenos/Apollo from the Yumaklar/Arpalık Cave (Işın 2010).





5.20: Entrance of the Zindan Cave in the territory of Timbriada (Demirci 2016).



5.21: Plan of the remains dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (Demirci 2016).





5.22: Ancient city of Perge and the Kızılyapı Hill to the North (Google Maps).



5.23: Entrance of the *Mithraeum* at Perge (photo taken by O. Çakmak).





5.24: Building remains in the vicinity of the *Mithraeum* at Perge (photo taken by O. Çakmak).



5.25: Rectangular niche in the rear wall of the *Mithraeum* at Perge (photo taken by O. Çakmak).



5.26: Stele found in the vicinity of the *Mithraeum* at Perge (Şahin 1999a).



5.27: General view of the Varsak Doline (youtube.com)





5.28: Gallery inside the Varsak Doline with the carved names of pilgrims (Takmer and Tüner-Önen 2007).



5.29: Inscription with names of pilgrims (Takmer and Tüner-Önen 2007).





5.30: General view of the Acropolis of Perge (Google Earth).



5.31: Spring-house on the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).



5.32: General view of the Southeastern Hill of the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).



5.33: Caves above the Southeastern Hill of the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).





5.34: Niches and stairs, possibly used for votive offerings, on the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).



5.35: Damaged relief, possibly dating to the Hellenistic period, on the Acropolis of Perge (Martini 2017).



5.36: Relief of Zeus at Hurma (Çevik 1995).



5.37: Coin of Magydos, Katarraktes holding a reed and *cornucopia* on the reverse, Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) (RPC IV.3,10739).



5.38: Coin of Perge, Kestros holding a reed and *cornucopia* on the reverse, Caracalla (198-217 AD) ([www.asiaminorcoins.com](http://www.asiaminorcoins.com), Coin ID#10669).



5.39: Panel from the theater of Perge showing the Kestros River and the personification of the city (Perge Excavation Archive).





5.40: Coin of Sillyon, Kestros resting on a rock, holding a reed on the reverse, Hadrianus (117-138 AD) (RPC III, 2711).



5.41: Coin of Side, Melas at the feet of Tyche seated on a rock on the reverse, Orbiane (225-227 AD) (RPC VI, 6419).



5.42: Coin of Aspendos, Eurymedon holding the cult statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides in a distyle temple on the reverse, Severus Alexander (222-235 AD) (RPC VI, 6286).



## APPENDIX 1: SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions are taken from: <https://inscriptions.packhum.org>.

1. Temple inventory of the *Artemision*.

City: Perge.

Findspot: Slopes of the İyilikbelen Hill.

Description: Rectangular limestone block.

Dimensions: Height: 0, 69 m; width: 0,335-0,48 m.

Date: Hellenistic period.

Bibliography: Şahin 1999a, 7-12, no. 10.

[. . . .]ΑΣΣΕΔ[— —]

[— — — —]ΓΟΣ[— —]Τ[— —]

[ήμιωβ]έλιον [— —]

[. . . .]ΟΙΤΕ[. .]Ο[— — — —]ΠΙΟ[— —]

5 [— —]Ε[. .]ΝΟ[— — — —]ΟΙ[— —]

[— — — —]ΟΣΔΕ[— — ανάθεμα ιε]-

[ρεί]ας Ἀρτέμιδος. π. [Ἀ]ρτεμι[δ]<ώ>[ρας]

[γυν]αικὸς Μεν[ν]έου [Σ]ιδήτου, ἄγον [όλ]-

[κῆν] ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [— — — πέ]ντε [— —]

10 [. . χ]αλκον Νικα[— — —]ο[— — ἀν]άθ[ε]μα Νε[— —]

[. . .]αιος Κοίντου ο[— — — —]η[— —]

[όλκ]ῆν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ χρυσοῦν [— —]

[. . . .]ον ὀβολοῦ[ς δύο] ήμιω[β]έλιον

[. . .]ε δύο, ἀνάθεμα [. . .]ουα[. . .] Ἄσπεν-

15 [δίο]υ ἄγον ὀλκῆν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν χρω-

[ματ]ισμῶ τῶι ἐνόγ[τι. ]ΥΤ[. . .] χρυσοῦ<ν>

[ὀβο]λοῦς δύο· τύπω[. . .]ρα[. .]ωπὸν ἔ-

[χο]ν ἄγκιστρον, ἐν ᾧ ἔνεστι Νικίδιον,

[ἀνά]θεμα Μανία<ς> Ἀπολλωνίου Ἄσπεν-

20 [δί]ας, ἄγον ὀλκῆν χρυσοῦν ὀβολοῦς δύο·

- [. . .]συσ Ἀττάλου Ἀνα<ξίων>ος Ἥλιον ἀκτε[ι]-  
 [νω]τὸν ἔχ<ο>ν ἄγκιστρον, ἀνάθεμα Δη-  
 [μη]<τ>ρίου Εὐμήλου {N} Ἀσπενδίου, ἄγον  
 [όλκ]ήν χρυσοῦς τέσσαρας κ[αὶ] τέταρ[τον]
- 25 [. . .] ΠΑΜΜΑ ἐν <ῶ>ι ἔνεστιν λιθάριον  
 [καὶ] περόναι χαλκαὶ δύο, ἀνάθεμα Ῥα[— —]  
 [. . .]γας Ἐρυμνέως Ἀσ[πενδί]ας, ἄγον  
 [όλ<κ>]ήν σὺν λιθαρίωι κα[ὶ περ]όναις χρυ-  
 [σοῦς] τέσσαρας ἡμίχρυσΑΡ· ἀσπιδίς-
- 30 [κην] χρυσῆν ἔχουσ[α]ν ἄγκιστρον  
 [ἐν ἧ]ι ἐνὶ πρόσωπον [Ἀρτέμ]ιδος, ἀνά-  
 [θε]μα Κλεοπάτρα[ς]Ἰ[. . .]ίου Ἀσπεν-  
 [δία]ς ἄγον ὀλκὴν χρυσ[οῦ]ς τέσσαρα[ς]  
 [. . .] Ἥλιον ἀκτείν[ω]τὸν χρυσ[οῦ]ν, ἔ<χ>[οντα]
- 35 [ἄγκ]ιστρον, ἀνάθεμα [— — —]  
 Β.36 [. . .]α[— — —]  
 [. . .]πον[— — —]  
 [. . .]θα[. . .]ο[— — —]  
 [. . .]ενδα[— — —]
- 40 [κ]αὶ ἡμίχρυσον [— — —]  
 [. . .]τεπον[. . .] ἀνά[θεμα — — —]  
 [Σ]ελγέως ἄγον ὀλκὴν χρυσοῦς [— — —]  
 Ἥλιον ἀκτείνωτὸν ἔ[χ]ο[ν]τ[α] ἄγκιστρον, ἀνάθεμα]  
 Διογένου[ς] ΑΥ. ΗΧρυσοῦ Σιδ<ή>του· <Ἥ>λιον [ἔχοντα γλυ]-
- 45 φὴν Ἐρ<μ>[οῦ], Α[— — —]Α[— — —]Τ[— — —]καὶ ἄγον [ὀλκὴν χρυσοῦς]  
 τέσσαρα[ς — — —]Π[— — —]  
 Ἀρτέμιδος [— — —]ονιο[— — — — — — —]Σ[— — — ἀνάθεμα — — —]  
 Ἐρ<μ>ᾶ Τ<α>ρσέως Οἰ[— — —]Ο[— — —]  
 καὶ ἡμίχρυσον· Ἥ<λι>[ον ἀκτείνω]τὸν ἔ[χοντα — — — γλυ]-
- 50 φὴν Ἀρτέμιδος Ε[— — —]Α[— — —]ολ[— — —]ανε[— — —]  
 ἄγον ὀλκὴν χρυσοῦς δύο περημ[— — —] ἄγον [ὀλκὴν]  
 [— — —]ΕΗΝερέως Μίδου [— — —]



[ἐπὶ] πρυτανείας τῆς μετὰ Μενεκλεῦς τοῦ Φορμίωνος,  
 [γρ]αμματεῦντος Διοδότου τοῦ Φιλονίκου, ἔδοξεν  
 [τῆ βουλ]ῆ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ, γνώμη πρυτάνεων· ὁ πριάμε-  
 5 [νο]ς [τ]ὴν ἱερητείαν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Περγαίας πα[ρ]-  
 [έξ]εται ἱέρειαν ἀστὴν ἐξ ἀστῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ  
 [τρε]ῖς γενεὰς γεγενημένην καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς  
 [μη]τρός, ἢ δὲ πριαμένη ἱεράσεται ἐπὶ [ζ]ωῆς τῆς αὐτῆς  
 καὶ θύσει τὰ ἱερά τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὰ ιδιωτικὰ καὶ λήψε- 10 ται τῶν θυομένων δημοσίου  
 ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἱερείου κω-  
 λῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω[λ]ῆι νεμόμενα καὶ τεταρτημορί-  
 δα σπλάγγων καὶ τὰ δέρματα, τῶν δὲ ιδιωτι-  
 κῶν [λ]ήψεται κω[λ]ῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω[λ]ῆι νεμόμενα  
 καὶ τεταρτημορίδα σπλάγγων· τοὺς δὲ ταμ[ί]-  
 15 ας διδόναι τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν εἰς τ[ῆ]ν θυσίαν  
 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐντελε(ῖ)ς δραχμὰς τριάκον-  
 τα, «π»αρασκευάζειν δὲ τὴν θυσίαν τὰς γυναῖκας  
 τὰς τῶν πρυτάνεων λαβούσας τὸ ἐκ τ[ῆς] πό[λ]εως  
 διδόμενον τῶν πρυτανευόντων τὸμ μῆνα τὸν  
 20 Ἡράκ[λ]ειον, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν συντε[λ]εῖτω μηνὸς Ἡρα-  
 κλείου δωδεκάτη· ἔστω δὲ [ἦ] [ἰ]έρεια ἰσόμοιρος ἐν  
 ταῖς γυναῖξιν τῶν πρυτάνεων τῶν θυομένων  
 δημοσίου· ποιείσθω δὲ ἡ ἱέρεια καθ' ἑκάστην νου-  
 μηνίαν ἐπικουρίαν ὑπὲρ πόλεως λαμβάνουσα  
 25 δρακμὴν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως· [έ]ν ᾧ [δ]ὲ μηνὶ ἡ θυσία  
 [σ]υντε[λ]εῖται ἢ δημοτελῆς ἀγειρέτω πρὸ [τ]ῆς θυ[σί]-  
 ας ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπ' οἰκίαν μὴ πορ[ε]υομένη, ὁ δὲ ἀ-  
 γερμὸς ἔστω τῆς ἱερείας· κατ[α]σκευᾶται [δ]ὲ ἡ ἱέ-  
 ρεια [κ]αὶ τὸ ἱερόν, οὔ ἂν βούληται, κατασκευασάτω  
 30 δὲ καὶ θησαυρὸν τῆι [θ]εῶι, ἐνβαλ[λ]έτωσαν δὲ οἱ  
 θύοντες ἐπὶ μὲν τῶ(ι) τελείῳ ὀβολοὺς δύο, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ γαλαθεινῶι ὀβολόν, ἀνοιγόντων δὲ οἱ ἐξε-  
 τασταὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτ[ὸ]ν τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ δι«δ»όν-  
 των τῆι ἱερείᾳ εἷς τε τὴν ἐπικουρίαν κ«α»ὶ «ε»ἰς ἰ-

ματισμὸν<sup>35</sup> {καὶ εἰς ἱματισμὸν} καὶ εἰς Σ+++++

KMA+++++

*vacat*

### 3.Base of Kalchas

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0,60 m; width: 0, 65 m; depth:0,57 m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Mansel 1956b, 109; Merkelbach and Şahin 1988, 117, no. 24; Şahin 1999a, no. 101.

κτίστης

Κάλχας Θέστορος

Ἀργεῖος

### 4.Base of Leonteus

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0,49 m; width: 0, 56-0, 63 m; depth: 0, 43m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Mansel 1956b, 109; Merkelbach and Şahin 1988, 117, no. 25; Şahin 1999a, no. 103.

κτίστης

[Λ]εοντεὺς Κορ[ώνου]

Λαπίθης.

### 5.Base of Rhixos

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0, 59 m; width: 0, 76; depth: 0, 52 m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Mansel, 1956b, 109, Abb. 61; Merkelbach and Şahin 1988, 119, no. 27a; Şahin 1999a, no. 107.

κτίστης

Ῥιξος Λύκου τοῦ Παν-

δείονος Ἀθηναῖος

ἀφ' οὗ Ῥιξου Πούς.

#### 6.Base of Minyas

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0, 60 m; width: 0, 77 m; depth: 0, 62 m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Mansel 1956, 109; Weiss 1984, 181; Merkelbach and Şahin 1988, 118, no. 26; Şahin 1999a, no. 105.

κτ[ί]στης

[Μι]νύας Ἰαλμενο[ῦ]

τοῦ Ἄρεως

Ὀρχομένιος.

#### 7.Base of Machaon

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0, 60 m; width: 0, 62 m; depth: 0, 53 m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Mansel 1956b, 109; Weiss 1984, 181; Merkelbach and Şahin, 1988, 118, no. 25a; Şahin 1999a, no. 104.

[κτίσ]της  
 [Μαχ]άων Ἀσκλη-  
 [πιού] Θεσσαλὸ[ς]  
 [ἀ]φ' οὗ ἱερὸν Διὸς  
 Μαχαονίου ἐν τῇ  
 ἀκροπόλει.

#### 8. Base of Mopsos

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0, 60 m; width: 0, 64 m; depth: 0,47 m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Mansel 1956b, 109, Abb. 60; Weiss 1984, 181; Merkelbach and Şahin 1988, 118, no. 27; Şahin 1999a, no. 106.

[κτίστης]  
 Μόψος  
 Ἀπόλλωνος  
 Δελφός.

#### 9. Base of Labos

City: Perge.

Findspot: Oval Courtyard.

Description: Rectangular marble base with dowel holes on top.

Dimensions: Height: 0, 77 m; width: 0, 81 m; depth: 0, 51 m.

Date: Hadrianic Period (117-138 AD).

Bibliography: Şahin 1999a, 136-37, no. 102.

κ[τ]ίσι[τ]ης

Λαβος Δαε[ . . . Δ]ελφός

ἀφ' οὗ Λα[ . . . ].

10. Inscription on the wall of the Karain cave

City: -

Findspot: On the wall of the cave.

Date: Roman Imperial Period

Bibliography: SEG 6:718

1 [τ]ῆ Μητρι

θεᾷ ἐπηκόω Ὀρεία

τὸ ἀναδιτήριον {sic?} κα-

τεσκεύασεν θίασος

5 αὐτῆς, ὑπογεγραμέ-

νοι ἀρχιθιασείτης Σά-

μος Ἀ<ρ>τεί<μ>ου Σάμου

δὶς Μο<λ>έους Μα<λ>ά-

χου . . . . ον Μολέου[ς]

10 Λητ[οῖ] Ἀρτεμίειδι ΕΚΑ-

ΛΑΥΗ, Κενδέας ΟΥΕΝ,

Μολῆς Ἀρτεμάνου,

Ἀπολλώνιος

ΚΟΗΔΙΟΣ, Τροκόν-

15 δας ΜΟΝΟΣΧΟΝΟ

ΠΑΡΑΚΕΡΔΙΟΣ

[Ἄρ]τε[ῖ]μος(?) ΛΗ[— — —]-

ΤΟ <Ἄλ>φείδης

Ε. . . Μουσαί-

20 ου, Μᾶρκος

Κοκκή-

ος Τρούλ-

λος, Θεω[— — —]

[— — — κατε]σκεύασαν



25 ἐκ τῶν

[i]<δί>ων·

Σάμος Ἀρτείου

Σά[μο]υ δις Μο-

λέ[ου]ς Μαλάκου

30 ἀρχιμύστη[ς] Μη-

τρὶ Ὀ<ρ>[εῖα] ὑπὲρ

σωτηρίας ἐπι-

κόφ εὐχή



**APPENDIX 2:**

**TABLE 1: CITIES AND DEITIES (A)**

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Phaselis	Athena		Athena	Athena Apollo Zeus Hestia Hermes  Helios Tyche	Athena   Hermes  Helios	Athena Apollo  Hermes Egyptian Deities Helios	Athena	Athena  Zeus	Athena  Zeus	Athena        Tyche
Attaleia						Athena Apollo	Athena Apollo	Athena	Athena Apollo Artemis	Athena

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
						Zeus Hermes	Zeus Hermes		Zeus  Egyptian Deities Ares Dionysos Demeter	Zeus Hermes  Egyptian Deities  Demeter Helios Tyche
						Dionysos	Dionysos			
						Poseidon	Poseidon	Poseidon	Tyche Poseidon Men Asclepios /Hygieia Nemesis	Tyche Demeter Helios Men Asclepios /Hygieia Nemesis
								Thea Roma Ruler Cult	Ruler Cult	

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
								Tiber		
Magydos						Athena Apollo	Athena Apollo	Athena	Athena Aphrodite Zeus	Athena Aphrodite Zeus Hermes Dionysos Demeter Tyche
Sillyon				Apollo Apelona Pythion Zeus Ares	Apollo Zeus Ares			Apollo	Apollo Zeus Ares(?) Dionysos	Apollo Hermes Ares (?) Dionysos

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
				Wanassa Diwia					Demeter Tyche Men	Demeter Tyche Men
Perge			Wanassa Preiia	Wanassa Preiia  Aphrodite (?)	Wanassa Preiia Artemis  Aphrodite(?)  Zeus Hestia	Apollo Wanassa Preiia Artemis  Aphrodite(?)	Apollo Wanassa Preiia Artemis Athena  Zeus  Hermes	Apollo  Artemis Athena Aphrodite  Zeus  Hermes  Demeter	Apollo  Artemis Aphrodite  Zeus  Hermes Egyptian Deities  Dionysos Demeter	Apollo  Artemis Aphrodite  Zeus  Hermes Egyptian Deities Ares Dionysos Demeter

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
								Asclepios /Hygieia	Mithras/Helios Tyche Asclepios /Hygieia	Helios Tyche Asclepios /Hygieia
								Nemesis Ruler Cult	Nemesis Ruler Cult	Ruler Cult
Aspendos			Athena  Aphrodite	Athena  Aphrodite Wanassa Akrou	Wanassa Akrou	Artemis  Wanassa Akrou	Aphrodite	Aphrodite	Apollo  Aphrodite  Zeus Hermes	Athena Apollo  Aphrodite  Zeus Hermes

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
			Ares (?)					Ares (RIP)	Egyptian Deities Ares (RIP)  Helios (RIP) Tyche  Ruler Cult	Egyptian Deities  Dionysos Demeter  Tyche Nemesis
Side			Athena Apollo	Athena Apollo	Athena  Zeus	Athena  Zeus	Athena Apollo  Aphrodite  Zeus	Athena Apollo  Aphrodite  Zeus	Athena Apollo Artemis Aphrodite (High Imperial) Zeus	Athena Apollo  Zeus

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
					Ruler Cult		Tyche	Tyche	Hestia Hermes Egyptian Deities Dionysos Demeter Helios Tyche Poseidon Asclepios /Hygieia Nemesis	Egyptian Deities Ares Dionysos Demeter Helios Tyche Poseidon Asclepios /Hygieia Nemesis



	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
						Ruler Cult Thea Roma	Thea Roma	Thea Roma	Thea Roma	Thea Roma
Lyrbe								Dionysos (?)	Egyptian Deities Ares	Athena Apollo Artemis Hermes Egyptian Deities Ares Dionysos Demeter

	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
										Helios Tyche
Lyrbaton Kome									Apollo	Zeus
Syedra							Hermes	Ares Demeter	Athena Apollo Artemis Zeus Hermes Ares Demeter	Athena Artemis Zeus Hermes Ares Dionysos Demeter Tyche
Coracesion								Demeter	Athena Apollo Zeus Demeter Tyche	Athena Zeus Tyche





**APPENDIX 4:**

**TABLE 3: VARIOUS EPITHETS**

Deity	City	Epithet	Period
Athena	Phaselis	Polias	Archaic-Classical / 2 <sup>nd</sup> century
Athena	Attaleia	Polias	AD
Athena	Side	Prokathezomene Theos	Roman Imperial Period 3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Apollo	Silyon	Apelona Pythia	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Apollo	Phaselis	Apollo Iatros	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Apollo	Attaleia	Arkhegetes	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Apollo	Perge	Soter, Epekoos, Pamphylos	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD
Apollo	Perge	Pythios	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Apollo	Perge	Mousagetes	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Apollo	Perge	Kerykios	Roman Imperial Period
Apollo	Lyrboton Kome	Lyrboton	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD
Apollo	Lyrboton Kome(?)	Elaibaris	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD

Apollo	Side	Theos Patroos Ktistes	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Artemis	Perge	Wanassa Preiia	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC -1 <sup>st</sup> century BC
Artemis	Perge	Artemis Pergaia	3 <sup>rd</sup> century BC-3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Artemis	Perge	Asylos	1 <sup>st</sup> century AD
Artemis	Perge	Asylos Epiphanes	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Artemis	Attaleia	Elaphebolos	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Aphrodite	Aspendos	Kastnietis/Kastnietides	4 <sup>th</sup> century BC onwards
Aphrodite	Perge	Epekoos	Roman Imperial Period
Zeus	Phaselis	Boulaios	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> centuries AD
Zeus	Sillyon	Soter	Roman Imperial Period (?)
Zeus	Attaleia	Tropaioukhos	Roman Imperial Period
Zeus	Perge	Polioukhos	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.
Zeus	Perge	Makhaonios	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Zeus	Aspendos	Dios Megalos	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC
Zeus	Side	Nikator	3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC
Zeus	Side	Barybremetai	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC- 1 <sup>st</sup> century AD
Zeus	Side	Anakti Theon	1 <sup>st</sup> century BC- 1 <sup>st</sup> century AD
Zeus	Side	Aspidios	Early Imperial Period

Zeus	Side	Norites	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Zeus	Side	Halonites	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Zeus	Side	Helios Megalos Sarapis	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Zeus	Lyrboton Kome	Drymon	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Hermes	Perge	Astragalomanteia	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Ares	Perge	Epekoos	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Dionysos	Attaleia	Theos Megas	Roman Imperial Period
Demeter	Side	Anarsitike	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> centuries AD
Tyche	Perge	Tyche tes poleos Genio Civitatis	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Poseidon	Side	Asphaleios	Roman Imperial Period
Men	Sillyon	Asylos	3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Asclepios	Perge	Epekoos Soter	2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Asclepios /Hygieia	Side	Epekoos	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD
Nemesis	Perge	Epekoos	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
Nemesis	Perge	Ennodia	2 <sup>nd</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century AD