

APOLLON AT PHASELIS: CULT AND IDENTITY IN THE LIGHT OF NEW FINDS

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Abstract

This article examines the lesser-known Apollon cult in Phaselis in light of new archaeological and epigraphic findings obtained during excavations around the Central Harbour in 2024. Although the study takes its starting point from an altar and related artefacts located next to the military harbour containing offerings from the Archaic Period that were rearranged in the Hellenistic Period, this article evaluates them within the framework of general spatial-ritual approaches, since the excavations around the altar are ongoing, and the publication of its architecture and artefacts is in preparation. The altar is surrounded by a temenos wall and forms part of a multi-layered urban and ritual space comprising different building phases. In terms of its spatial location, it is comparable to coastal altars dedicated to Apollon in the eastern Mediterranean. The altar reflects the same ideological and ritual logic as similar sanctuaries, particularly with regard to marking the threshold spaces between the city and the sea, and forming a symbolic border in the transition from sea to land.

The article analyses inscriptions associated with Apollon in the city, presenting new insights into the cult of Apollon at Phaselis. The first inscription shows that Apollon was referred to with the epithet *epidamos*, meaning 'present among the people/living among us'. The same inscription states that the Apollon priest who performed the dedication also served Dionysos and Aphrodite. This epigraphically documents the presence of these gods at Phaselis for the first time.

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The second inscription labels Apollon as *medeon*, meaning ‘protector’, while the third inscription, an example that has been published before but is considered in a new context in this study, presents him as *iatros* (‘healer’). The combination of these three designations, and their absence in Rhodes or neighbouring regions, suggests that Apollon acquired a locally shaped, partly Ionian-influenced, urban, multifunctional divine persona at Phaselis. The fact that Phaselis was originally a colonial settlement and the structural characteristics of harbour cities are considered to be among the main factors guiding this process. In conclusion, this study aims to demonstrate how Apollon was indigenised at Phaselis, while also being integrated into the wider tradition of coastal altars in the Mediterranean, through an analysis of spatial layout, epigraphic terminology and divine functions.

Keywords: Phaselis, Apollon, *epidamos*, *medeon*, *iatros*, cult, inscriptions, harbour, coastal altar, Dionysos, Aphrodite.

Introduction

The foundation of Phaselis by settlers from Lindos, traditionally dated to the early seventh century BC, marks the earliest instance of Rhodian colonisation on the eastern coast of the peninsula. According to the Lindian Chronicle, their arrival entailed a clash with the Solymians, the region’s presumed pre-Greek inhabitants, culminating in the dedication of captured arms, presumably after a Lindian victory¹. The early establishment of the cult of Athena Polias reflects the settlers’ attribution of success and protection to their tutelary goddess. Her prominence at Phaselis, deeply tied to its foundation and civic identity, mirrors her central role in Lindos, as in other cities along the coast between Rhodia Polis and Tenedos, where Rhodian influence is documented through literary and epigraphic sources². This continuity suggests a deliberate transplantation of cult, reinforcing the cultural and ideological bond between metropolis and colony.

At Phaselis, Athena Polias functioned not merely as a guardian deity but also as a symbol of urban and political identity, much as she did on Rhodes and at Athens. Athena’s significance at Phaselis is well attested in the epigraphic record: several inscriptions from the city refer to her by name, either in religious dedications or in the context of civic decrees, honours and funerary penalties³. Although the physical remains of her sanctuary have not been conclusively iden-

1 I.Lindos 2 col. C.6–10 (XXIV): Φασηλίται κράνη καὶ δρέπανα, ἐφ’ ὧν ἐπεγέγραπτο· “Φασηλίται ἀπὸ Σολύμων τῆι Ἀθαναίαι τῆι Λινδίαι, Λακίου τοῦ οἰκιστῆ ἀγευμένου,” (ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῆι α’ τῆς χρονικῆς συντάξις (“Phaselitans, helmets and sickle-swords, on which was inscribed ‘Phaselitans, from the Solymoί, to Athena Lindia, when the colonizer Lakios was the leader’”, as Xenagoras shows in Book 1 of his *Chronical Compilation*). Cf. Higbie 2003, 104, 228.

2 For a detailed account on the Rhodian influence in this coastline see Onur 2025, 7-14; see also Tüner Önen 2012, 206-208.

3 TAM II 1184 (early Classical period; see also Blackman 1981, 139): τῆι Ἀθαναίαι τῆι Πολιάδι; Tüner Önen – Yılmaz 2015 (Late Classical period): Ἀθαναίαι Πολιάδι; TAM II 1200 (Roman period): ἱερα]||τεύσαντα τῆς προκαθηγέτ[ι]||δος τῆς πόλεος θεᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς | Πολιάδος καὶ τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν. There was an annual sport festival called Palladeios organized in honour of Athena Polias and established in 3rd century AD, see TAM II 1206 and Adak et al. 2005, 9-10 No. 6; Tüner Önen – Gürel 2022, 36-38 no. 4 (the fine for tomb violation was paid to Athena Polias).

tified, archaeological and topographical considerations strongly suggest that her temple was located on the acropolis of Phaselis⁴, commanding a view over both land and sea approaches. Such a placement would be consistent with her role as a polis-protecting deity, visually and symbolically overseeing the community.

At Lindos, the parent city of Phaselis, the priest of Athena Lindia held the highest rank, and from the third century onwards, the priest of Apollon Pythios regularly occupied the second position amongst *synhierieis*.⁵ A comparable hierarchy is observable at Phaselis, where Athena Polias was the principal deity, and Apollon emerged as another major divine figure, albeit in a complementary and protective role. His presence is attested both in the city's coinage⁶ (see e. g. Fig. 1–Fig. 2) and in epigraphic evidence (below). This enduring role was further confirmed by the discovery of an altar near the military harbour during the 2024 excavations, where significant artefacts were uncovered. The altar not only provides tangible proof of Apollon's early worship at Phaselis but also underscores his association with the city's maritime and military infrastructure while simultaneously highlighting his role in safeguarding civic security.

I. The Recent Excavations around the Central Harbour

The Central Harbour—one of those mentioned by Strabo⁷ and situated in a natural cove on the northern side of the peninsula that houses the acropolis (Fig. 3)—was among the main foci of the 2024 excavations. Its entrance, measuring 17.5 m in width, is flanked to the north and south by two breakwaters that continue the city wall, representing it as a *limen kleistos* (closed harbour), a term that is used to denote the harbours with narrow or narrowed entrances that could be closed.⁸ Strategically enclosed and positioned beneath the acropolis, it likely served both commercial and military purposes, enabling controlled access and defensive surveillance over the maritime approaches.⁹ In late 2023 and throughout 2024, excavation and restoration activities were conducted in this harbour,

4 Tüner Önen – Yılmaz 2015, 125.

5 I.Lindos 70, 131, 229, 248, 293, 344, 349 and 378; see also Morelli 1959, 108; Dignas 2003, 43–44; for the most recent discussion on priestly hierarchy in Rhodes see Zachhuber 2024, 275–282.

6 Heipp-Tamer 1993, 80–84, 99–100, 156.

7 Strab. 14.3.9: εἶτα Φάσηλις τρεῖς ἔχουσα λιμένας, πόλις ἀξιόλογος καὶ λίμνη (“the next is Phaselis, which has three harbours, a notable city and a lake”)

8 However, this feature of Phaselis was not mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax § 100: Καὶ ἐὰν προέλθῃς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀνώτερον, ἔστι Φασηλῖς πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο κόλπος), namely (after Olympos) “and if you sail further up from the sea, there is Phaselis city harbour (this is a gulf)”, although he provided this detail for several harbours, e.g. § 29 Kerkyra, § 47 Phalasarna, § 47 Kydonia, § 58 Paros, § 67 Thasos, § 88 Genetes, § 98 Samos and § 98 Priene. For the discussion on the term λιμὴν κλειστός see Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 65–74; von Gerkan 1924, 110–114; Rougé 1966, 116–117; Moreschini 1997, 344; Blackman 2008, 654–655; Raban 1995, 163; Büyüközer 2023, 34. For a most recent through discussion see Mauro – Gambash 2020, who basically conclude that the term λιμὴν κλειστός most likely referred to harbours with narrow entrances—whether natural or artificial—connecting them to the open sea, rather than to military harbours, intra muros facilities, or those closed by chains. On comparable harbour architecture, see Knoblauch 1969; 1972 concerning Aegina, where the so-called “war harbour” was nearly sealed off by a large stone mole continuing the city wall, leaving only a narrow-controlled entrance.

9 Blackman 1973, 360; Aslan – Baybo 2015; Aslan 2016; Aslan et al. 2022, 486–487; Orhan 2023, 46–48, figs. 54–67.

including the breakwater, tower, quay, and adjacent structures. The work extended to the East Portico of the North Main Street and the series of rooms immediately east of it, all directly connected with the harbour (Fig. 4-Fig. 5). The East Portico, approximately 77 metres long and 3.5 metres wide, begins at the street's northern steps and stretches southward to the latrine. Its eastern edge is defined by the western walls of rectangular rooms, and the western side is bordered by a colonnaded stylobate accessible via steps from the street. Doorways of varying widths, framed by orthostatic jambs and stone thresholds, provide access to the rooms on the east. While northern doorways open onto no preserved structures, the southern ones lead into partially preserved rooms. At the northern end of these eastern rooms, a rectangular altar enclosed by a temenos wall was uncovered. Positioned on the western slope of the acropolis, just south of the harbour and northeast of the East Portico, this altar marks the nucleus of a sacred zone. Excavation in this area revealed four stratified occupation phases between +4.64 m and +1.53 m. The most recent, Phase IV, includes a compacted, lime-tempered earthen floor, formed by elevating earlier thresholds by 0.72 m to facilitate access to Late Antique rooms. Beneath this, Phase III lies at +3.92 m, featuring a similar compacted earth surface. Phase II, at +1.77 m, comprises a very hard sloped soil layer deliberately inclined toward the entrance of the walled sacred space and likely contemporary with the rubble-built temenos wall, which includes a doorway framed by two upright blocks. Phase I lies 0.47 m below the +2.00 m threshold and consists of large quadrangular paving blocks at +1.53 m, supporting the altar. The sanctuary, oriented northeast–southwest, measures 7.30 × 7.33 m and is enclosed by an apsidal wall. Entry is through a doorway marked by two orthostatic blocks. A crepidoma of two steps leads up from the paving blocks to a stylobate, on which the altar stands. Behind and partially flanking the altar is a raised platform of larger rectangular blocks, placed adjacent to its structure. The altar itself is quadrangular, oriented north–south, and measures 5.18 × 2.07 m externally, with an internal chamber of 4.45 × 1.20 m. Constructed of reused and profiled blocks, it features a facade with two vertically set corner blocks symmetrically projecting forward. The lower parts of these, along with the front-facing blocks, are moulded. The moulding above the deep gap between stylobate and facade begins with a horizontal band, transitions into a thin profile, and continues into a concave moulding. Similar decorative profiles appear on the upper row of blocks in reversed sequence.

Southwest of the altar, an inscribed stele base (No. 1) is seated in a shallow socket cut into the second step. Although a symmetrical socket exists, the corresponding stele and base are missing. Adjacent to this, a statue base is embedded in the ground. Also, on the altar's southwest facade rests a full-size limestone lion of Cypriot-Achaic type. In front of it, leaning against the stylobate, a marble kouros of Achaic date was discovered. A bothros located within the altar, aligned with the lion's hip, contained numerous limestone and terracotta figurines—human, animal, and mythological—also dated to the Achaic period. These finds confirm that the northern end of the East Portico formed a sanctuary. Original blocks are preserved on the altar's front, while the sides and rear consist of spolia. The associated finds date to the Achaic period, while the Hellenistic stele base (No. 1) indicates a later phase of reuse or repair. South of the East Portico, a se-

quence of side-by-side or back-to-back rooms opens onto the portico. In Room 2, a reused inscribed statue base fragment (No. 2) was found embedded in fill at +4.00 m. Another inscribed limestone block was found in spolia use on a second-phase wall facing the sanctuary. Together, these finds affirm the long-standing cultic and architectural significance of this harbour-facing sacred area.

II. A Preliminary Assessment of the Apollon Altar

A detailed publication of the altar and associated finds at Phaselis is currently in preparation by the excavation team. While definitive conclusions must await that work, a preliminary assessment can still situate the new discovery within broader cultic patterns. For now, the following observations and comparisons should be considered a tentative, general approach. Altars located at city gates, harbour entrances, or territorial frontiers often marked the transition between spaces—e. g. sacred/profane, civic/foreign, safe/dangerous. Sacrifices performed at these points were acts of ritual purification and appeasement, aimed at securing safe entry or departure. Seaside altars dedicated to Apollon are a well-attested phenomenon across the eastern Mediterranean, where the god was invoked not only as a healer and oracular figure, but also as a protector of cities, travellers, and sacred transitions at the maritime edge. The most well-known of these is probably the Delphinion, the sanctuary of Apollon Delphinios in Miletus. Located adjacent to the harbour, the old altar of this sanctuary was placed directly on the beach. The march of the Molpoi procession to Didyma started at this altar, which highlighted Apollon Delphinios as the guardian of urban identity and the naturalisation of young men. In this respect, the altar functioned as both a public and a religious centre, symbolically expressing the god's role as protector of the city and as guardian of the sacred crossing point between land and sea¹⁰. Literary sources attest to other coastal sanctuaries, such as those at Krisa, Thynis, and Delos, where altars of Apollon stood at the shoreline, functioning as points of departure, protection, and ritual legitimation.¹¹ In his interpretation of the Homeric Hymn to Apollon, Malkin argues that the altar of Apollon Delphinios at Krisa symbolised the founding of a new civic and sacred order, where the god's presence and the lighting of a sacred fire marked the divinely sanctioned beginning of a colonial settlement, while also presenting Apollon as the protector of seafarers and ships, the god of shores and beaches, and of the blessed landing.¹² This is echoed in Thucydides' account of the Chalkidian colonisation of Naxos in Sicily, where the colonists established an altar of Apollon Archegetes on the shore—likely at their point of landfall¹³—and where sacred envoys (theoroi) continued to perform departure sacrifices long after the city's foundation.¹⁴ This spatial logic is

10 Herda 2005, 246-249, 258, 290-291; 2006, 430; Chaniotis 2010; Herda 2011; Faraone 2018, 17.

11 Hom. Od. 6.162-5 (Delos; for more about this altar, "keraton", in ancient literary sources see Marks 2016); H. Hom. Apol. 87-88 (Delos); Apoll. Rhod. 2.669-713 (for Thynis); H. Hom. Apol. 490-501 (Krisa, Delphinios); cf. Faraone 2018, 23-28.

12 Malkin 2000, 69-77

13 Malkin 1986, 959; 2000, 72-76.

14 Thuc. 6.3.1-2: Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξον ᾤκισαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀρχηγέτου βωμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἰδρύσαντο, ἐρ' ᾧ, ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσιν (*The Chalkidi-*

closely mirrored at Phaselis, where the newly uncovered altar of Apollon, beside the military harbour, similarly demarcated the threshold between land and sea, civic space and sacred domain.

The altar of Apollon at Phaselis built on archaic foundations—if the finds were not relocated there—reorganised in the Hellenistic period, exemplifies a ritual logic shared with other harbour cults across Greece and Asia Minor. Across the eastern Mediterranean, such seaside altars consistently served not only religious purposes but also ideological and spatial functions, mediating between civic space and the maritime frontier that shaped the identity and security of the polis. The Phaselis altar functioned not merely as a place of worship but as a ritualised threshold where maritime movement intersected with civic-religious identity—spaces where acts such as departure sacrifices articulated the community's relationship to divine oversight. At Phaselis, this ideology is embodied by the cult of Apollon, whose epithets—epidamos ('present among the people'), iatros ('healer'), and medeon ('protector')—construct a divine persona of immanence, care, and civic guardianship; the significance of these titles is examined in detail below. Together, these attributes reflect Apollon's wider role as a tutelary deity who ensures safe passage, ritual legitimacy, and public order.

III. The Inscriptions

1. Apollon Epidamos

The pedestal was found in situ on the right side in front of the altar mentioned above. Its condition is generally good, apart from some damage to the top profile and side faces. It features a simple but large rectangular socket (36 × 15 cm) at the top—rather than dowel holes for statue feet—suggesting that it did not support a statue, but rather a relief or painted work on a stele. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the back of the base is positioned so close to the original altar stone that it could only have been viewed from the front. The dedication does not appear to have been part of the altar's original design, but was added later, in the Hellenistic period. Fig. 6-Fig. 9.

Inv. No.: PHA24.Y-7

Area / Grid: North Street East Portico,
Trench 6

Material: Limestone

H: 45 cm; **W:** 65 cm; **D:** 41 cm; **Lh:** 1,9 cm

Date found: 31.10.2024

Structural Relation: Altar of Apollon

Find Context: in situ

Dating: ca. late 3rd - 2nd century BC

Μῆνις Σκαμανδρίου
Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπιδάμωι
ἱερητεύσας Ἀπόλλωνος

4 Διούσου
Ἀφροδίτας

*Mēnis, son of Skamandrios,
who served as priest of
Apollōn, Dionysos and Aphro-
ditā, (dedicated/offered this) to
Apollōn Epidāmos*

ans, the first group of the Greeks sailing from Euboa together with their oikist Thoukles, founded Naxos, and set up an altar to Apollon Archegetes, which still stands outside the city today, and upon it, whenever sacred envoys sail from Sicily, they first offer sacrifice). For a textual analysis see Murray 2014, 457-459.

This dedication clearly identifies the excavated altar as belonging to Apollon, and it aligns well with a votive relief or painted stele dedicated by Menis, possibly in recognition of his earlier role as priest of Apollon, as well as Dionysos and Aphrodite. It is also known that the altars could have been divided in parts for different cults or heroes.¹⁵ But there is no indication to such a use of this altar. The location of the inscription—set directly on the steps in front of the altar—underscores the high religious and civic status of the dedicator, suggesting a formal, possibly public act of devotion. Several small votive deposits buried within the altar structure itself attest to its archaic foundations, while architectural modifications and renovations in later periods indicate its long-standing ritual significance. The newly found inscription appears to be the latest in the sequence of interventions, suggesting that the altar remained an active cultic locus for several centuries, continuously adapted and reused across changing civic and religious contexts.

The dedication probably dates to ca. late 3rd - 2nd century BC, based on the letter forms especially with the horizontal bars of the sigma parallel to each other (Σ), the lower ends of the loop of the omega closer to each other with their horizontal bars slightly protruding beyond the loop (Ω), the narrower pi with a slightly longer right arm (Π) and, most importantly, with their apices, which rarely appear in inscriptions earlier than the late 3rd century BC.

l. 1: The dedicator's name, Μῆνις, was quite common in antiquity, with a particularly high frequency in Kibyrtis-Kabalis, though this inscription provides the first attestation elsewhere in Lycia. By contrast, his father's name, Σκαμάνδριος, is much rarer, occurring primarily in Attica and the Troad.¹⁶

l. 3: It is peculiar that the Ionic form ἔρητεύω was used, whereas the Doric forms Ἐπιδάμωι (line 2) and Ἀφροδίτας were retained. A similar form already existed in the 4th century BC in a dedication to Halios from Phaselis (see fn. 35 below). Although this may point to an Ionic dialectal influence, this may also be a linguistic feature specific to Phaselis, as it appears only in this verb.

Apollon Epidamos is not known from elsewhere, although the epithet *epidamos*, which primarily means “residing; sojourning in; dwelling; present” with the equation to ἐπιδήμιος, is known to have been used for Demeter, Zeus and Artemis¹⁷. Epidamos reflects the ongoing, stabilising presence of the god within

15 Paus. 1.34.2-3 reads about the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus, which featured an altar divided into five sections, each dedicated to different deities including Olympian gods, healing figures, heroes, and nature spirits.

16 See the volumes of LGPN s.v.

17 IG VII 3213 | SEG 31 402 (Koroneia?, Boiotia): Σαυμεῖλα Πούθωνος Δαμάτερι | Κρισηῖ Ἐπιδάμῳ ἀνέθηκε. Schachter 1981, 155 considers that the cult may have been founded “in Koroneia or Orchomenos either by a Krisaian (or Krisaians) or in deference to a Krisaian (or Krisa)”; Marek 1993, 193 no. 19 | French 1994, 116 no. 2 | SEG 44 1000 (Karacadağ/Gerede, Paphlagonia): ἀγαθῆ τύχη. | Διὶ Ἐπιδημίῳ | Κλαυδίου Σευήρου | Ὀφελίων οἰκο|νόμος κέ Ἥλιος | ὑπὲρ τέκνων | κέ τῶν βοῶν | εὐχῆς χάριν | ἀνεστήσα|μεν. With regard to the latter, Chiaï 2019, 116 notes that the epithet ἐπιδήμιος, in its literal meaning of ‘present’ or ‘dwelling’, underlines the deeply localised nature of this deity, who was considered to be particularly present both in the territory and in the lives of his worshippers; For Artemis, Call. Dian. 225-226: πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύποτλι, χαῖρε, Χιτώνη | Μιλήτω ἐπίδημε· For a comment on the epithet

the civic sphere, and is more consistent with Apollon's broader role at Phaselis as a resident and ever-present deity. Therefore, the epithet *epidamos* should be interpreted as expressing Apollon's immanence and constant vigilance over the city.

A large pedestal of a lost bronze statue dedicated to Apollon Epidamos had already been found some 15-20m south-west of the altar with the inscription Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπιδάμῳ | Φασηλίται (Fig. 10-Fig. 12)¹⁸. The quadrangular limestone pedestal shows fractures and losses on the right and left portions of its front face and along the upper and lower edges of the lateral faces. The top surface preserves two cylindrical dowel sockets, each c. 14 cm deep and 9 cm in diameter, one near the front left corner and the other near the rear right. The first socket is comparatively intact and still contains a bronze fragment whose perimeter was lined with lead; the second has been badly damaged, its bronze and lead completely removed. Except for the roughly worked upper and lower surfaces, all faces are smoothly finished. A 5 cm-wide moulding runs the full width of the upper and lower margins of the front face. Although this face is generally smooth, the lower right corner has clearly been chiselled away. It is not clear whether this was done to erase an inscription, perhaps the sculptor's signature, as no traces of letters are discernible. In the back left corner, visible from both rear and side, a rectangular recess measuring 50 cm (L) × 25 cm (D) × 11 cm (H) is cut; immediately above it lies a smaller rectangular slot, 12 cm (L) × 8 cm (W) × 2 cm (D). Beneath the right side a further dowel socket, 12 cm deep and 7 cm in diameter, is preserved in a heavily damaged state. The extreme placement of the two upper dowel sockets suggests either that the pedestal once supported a colossal statue or that it formed part of a larger monument comprising several blocks and figures. The lower dowel and the rectangular recess confirm that this block originally rested upon another. Dense calcareous accretions cover five of the six faces; only the rear face, which also differs in colour, is free of them. As the inscribed pedestal was discovered in an earlier excavation season, its exact find-condition is uncertain. The traces on the block indicate that it either toppled from its original position and lay face-down in the soil, exposed to moisture, or—if reused—was positioned so that its rear face remained exposed to daylight. This statue base certainly belonged to the precinct of the Apollon Altar and suggests that, if it was originally erected in the same area, the temenos may have extended further to the southwest, later overbuilt by the main street. The editors dated the inscription to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period, although the inscription does not look earlier than the 4th century, as the letter forms, especially the open-bar sigma (Σ)

ἐπίδημος here, see Chaniotis 2011, 174 with n. 68 and Adorjani 2021, 314-315. Although the word later came to be associated with the spread of disease (*epidemia* in medical texts), this is a secondary and context-specific usage, as it was merely an adjective used to describe a condition (e.g. plaque, idea, tainting, heresy etc.) that spread through the population, see LSJ s.v. ἐπιδήμιος and ἐπιδήμιος, cf. CGL and Gemoll s.v. ἐπιδήμιος and ἐπιδήμιος, which does not give the “epidemic” meaning. Cf. Arslan – Tüner Önen 2024, 116-118. In its original sense, *epidamos* simply denotes presence among the people and does not refer to illness. There is no evidence from the ancient Greek world of a deity bearing the epithet *epidamos* being specifically associated with epidemic prevention, nor of a sanctuary dedicated to such a purpose. The more appropriate parallel for such a function would be Apollon Loimios, i.e. “plague averter”, known from Lindos (Macr. Sat. I. 17), as the word λοιμός (“plague; pestilence”) is more ancient and explicit reference to disease.

18 Arslan – Tüner Önen 2024, 114-118.

and the simple omega with flat feet (Ω) and broad pi with a short right arm (Π), represent a stereotypical feature of the period, as can be seen in other inscriptions of the same period of Lycia¹⁹.

The new inscription names Menis as priest not only of Apollon, but also of Dionysos and Aphrodite, providing the first epigraphic attestation of the latter two deities at Phaselis. Their inclusion within the same priesthood may indicate an integrated or closely associated cultic framework.²⁰ Attributes of Dionysos, such as the grape and the amphora, are attested on Phaselitan coins of the fourth century BC (see, for example, Fig. 13)²¹. In the case of Aphrodite, prior to this inscription, the only known evidence of her cult at Phaselis came from a coin of Gordian III, which features a cult statue of Aphrodite veiled and flanked by two Erotes (Fig. 14). The new inscription, therefore, pushes the epigraphic evidence for her worship back to the Hellenistic period, indicating a deeper and earlier presence than previously known.

2. Apollon as the protector (*medeon*) of the city

The fragmentary dedicatory statue base was found about 45 m south of the altar of Apollon, in one of the shops along the eastern portico of the main street. It is highly probable that it was moved to this location. It was perhaps originally displayed near the altar of Apollon together with its statuette—as indicated by

19 For the funerary epigrams at Gagai see Onur 2025; For Limyran examples see Wörrle 2024, 10 Fig. 10, 12 Fig. 12-13; For Letoon trilingual, see F.Xanthos VI, p. 33-34 and pl. XIII; see also the letters on the coin in Fig. 13 below.

20 Although the mention of all three deities under the purview of a single priest may suggest that their cults may have been conducted within the same sanctuary complex or shared ritual space, as θεοὶ σύνναοι (“sharing the same temple”), ἐντεμένιοι (“in the same temenos”) or less likely σύμβωμοι (sharing the same altar”), it was not necessarily the case that Dionysos and Aphrodite were sharing a sanctuary with Apollon. However, a possible co-worship of Serapis, Isis and Anubis at Phaselis may be indicated by a Hellenistic dedication found to the south of the Hellenistic temple on the southern slope of the Acropolis, see Tüner Önen – Arslan 2023: Σαράπει, | Ἰσεί, Ἀνούβει | Κρότος | Ἀγαθίωνος | εὐχά[v]. The stele must have been erected no earlier than the 3rd century BC, when the Sarapis cult began to spread shortly after its creation. By this time, Phaselis already had strong ties with Egypt (see Tüner 2008, 121–29; Tüner Önen – Arslan 2023, 124–27). However, it is unclear whether the temple in question was dedicated to these gods, as the presence of a votive stele does not necessarily imply the existence of organised cults in the city, particularly in the absence of supporting evidence. Nevertheless, it does attest to their worship—albeit on an individual level—as indicated by a new unpublished fragmentary inscription on a 3rd/2nd-century BC base found near the southern harbour, far from this temple. This may also have been a temple where several gods were revered together, and such a configuration would align with patterns observed elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, for examples see CGRN 129 (Patara; 3rd century BC), SEG 41, 1371 (Khoma), SEG 44, 1204 (Oinoanda) and RICIS 314/0701 (Side), where the multi-deity sanctuaries most probably emerged in response to practical and ideological factors such as shared civic functions, ritual complementarity and spatial constraints.

21 Heipp-Tamer 1993, 60, 115 n. 317 reports the existence of the attributes of Dionysos, grape and amphora, on the coins of Phaselis; cf. also Kaya et al. 2022 which describes *smilax* reliefs in Phaselis in connection with Dionysos. An inscription previously cited as evidence for a Dionysiac agon at Phaselis (Adak et al. 2005, 5–6 no. 3; SEG 55, 1466) was mistakenly included among the Phaselis texts; subsequent research has clarified that the stone in fact originates from Teos, the Ionian city well known for its Dionysiac associations (see Ma 2007, 232–245; SEG 57, 1137). It appears that some records of S. Şahin from Teos and Phaselis were probably mixed. This inscription is therefore not relevant to the cultic landscape of Phaselis.

the damaged, foot-shaped recess on its top—presumably representing Apollon. Less than half of the stone on the left side is broken and missing. Fig. 15-Fig. 17.

Inv. No: PHA24.Y-9

Area / Grid: North Street East Portico, Trench 8

Material: Limestone

H: 35 cm; **W:** 27,5 cm; **D:** 33 cm;

Lh: 1 cm

Date found: 28.10.2024

Structural Relation: Room 2

Find Context: spolium; in context

Dating: ca. 3rd – 2nd century BC

The *sigma* is with flat cross bars and its middle strokes do not reach far to the right (Σ). *Pi* has short right stroke and horizontal bar protrudes beyond the vertical stroke (Π). *Omega* is inscribed plain, but the ends of the circle are fairly close to each other, and bottom lines protrude beyond the loop. The middle bar of *theta* does not touch to the circle and is short (Θ). The *apices* are carefully carved. These letters indicate a date around 2nd century BC.

The text appears to have been visually centred, which gives an idea of how much is lost at the beginning of the lines, although the number of letters and the kerning between them can be varied to achieve visual equality in both halves, as the size of the space (especially horizontally) occupied by each letter is different. The most certain restoration is that of l. 5, which consists of 31 letters, and on the basis of this line the other lines can be suggested as follows, although the stone may of course have been much wider, making the lines longer in the original form:

-----ca. 15-----ΣΟΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΑ
 --ca. 7--ΥΓΕΡΤΟΥΡΑΤΡΟΣ
 ΤΟΥΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
 ΦΑΣΗΛΙΔΟΣΜΕΔΕΟΝΤΟΣ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΆΛΛΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΓΑΣΙΝ
 -----ca. 11-----ΣΜΑΝΤΙΟΥΑΡΚΑΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

[-----]ς οἱ Ἀπολλωνίδα
 [--- ὑπὲρ] τοῦ πατρός
 [τοῦ ἱερέως διὰ] βίου Ἀπόλλωνος
 [Φασήλιδος] μεδέοντος
 [Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσιν
 [-----]ς Μαντίου Ἀρκὰς ἐποίει.

[PNs of children] of Apollōnidās, [son of ...], (dedicated this) [for] their father, life[long priest] of Apollōn protector [of Phaselis], to [Apollōn] and all the other gods.

[PN]-s, Arcadian, son of Mantias made (this).

ll. 1-2: The beginnings of the first two lines should have included the names of children and father of Apollonidas, for whom it was dedicated.

l. 2: Since it was Apollonidas' children who fulfilled the dedication, the word preceding τοῦ πατρός must be restored as ὑπὲρ. The phrase suggests that the offering was made for reasons connected to their father's health, well-being, or possibly even his memory. At the same time, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός may also be understood as "on behalf of (their) father," if the children organised, supervised, and

perhaps even financed the dedication, but performed it in their father's name.

l. 3: The words *ἱερατεύσαντος* or *ἱερασαμένου* could also be suggested for restoration, but these words exceed the calculated space.

l. 4: *Φασήλιδος* is preferred, as the place names are given in some other similar cases (see fn. 23 below). However, [*τᾶς πόλιος*] may also be possible. *μεδέων* is participial substantive form from *μέδω*, which was used by Homer only as *μέδων* meaning “lord”, “ruler”, “guardian” etc. for Zeus, while it was also used by other gods and goddesses²². It is usually used in the sense of “protector of the city”, also with the toponyms directly, and even together with the epithet *iatros* in Olbia of Black Sea (see also below and fn. 27)²³.

l. 5: It is clear that Apollon was the main god to whom it was dedicated. However, it is not possible to know with certainty whether it was without epithets or whether other gods were named, so there is a possibility that the restoration of the line is incomplete, which would affect all restored lines.

l. 6: The origin of the artisan, Arcadia, points to a migration background, as was supported by the name of his father, *Μαντίας*²⁴, that is unknown in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, while it is quite common in mainland Greece. The common Arcadian identity, as appears in the form of *Ἀρκάας*, seems to have been used after ca. 370 BC.²⁵ However, there is also the name *Ἀρκάας* attested in Asia Minor at Alexandria (Troas), Ephesos, Miletos and Halikarnassos²⁶.

3. Apollon Iatros

At Phaselis, Apollon was also worshipped as *Iatros* (Ion. *Iētros*), as an inscription from Phaselis indicates (Fig. 18-Fig. 19). The small limestone altar, inscribed in a form resembling stoichedon, was found within the remains of a Byzantine structure on the residential mound to the south of the city, approximately 200 meters south of the so-called “Temple of Zeus Boulaios”. Evidence suggests that the artefact was transported to this location for utilisation as a construction material, perhaps from the area encompassing Main Street, specifically the vicinity between the theatre and the altar of Apollon. The base features two small foot-shaped recesses and likely supported a statuette, presumably of Apollon. Based on the letter forms, the altar is dated to the 4th century BC by the editors..

Ed.: Adak et al. 2005, 4-5 no. 2; SEG LV 1477.

H: 30; W: 36; D: 24; Lh: 1,5 cm.

22 *μεδέων* and *μεδέουσα* date back to the Archaic period and are not exclusive to Zeus and Athena. Derived from *μέδω* (‘to protect, to rule over’), these epithets express both authority and protection, and typically have a genitive to indicate their sphere of influence, cf. Jim 2022, 49 and LSJ s.v. *μέδων* and *μεδέων*; Hom. Il. 3.276, 16.234. For the other gods and goddesses (as *μεδέουσα*) see e.g. Hymn. Hom. 4.2 (Hermes), 10.4 (Aphrodite); Hes. Theog. 54 (Mnemosyne); Pind. fr. 95 (Pan); Syll.³ 1044.8 (Apollon); CIRB 22 (Hecate), 971 (Aphrodite).

23 LSAM 72 (Halikarnassos) ll.7-8: *Ἀπόλλωνα Τελε|μεσσοῦ μεδέοντα*, ll. 36-37: *Ἀπόλλωνι | Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντι*; I.dial. Olbia Pont 58: *Ξάνθος Πό[σιος] | Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρ[ῶι] | Ἴστρῶ μεδέοντι[ι] | Ὀλβιοπολίτης*, see also nos. 48, 49, 57; IG XII,4 2:532 (Kalymna): *Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[α]λίῳ Καλύμνας | μεδέοντι ...* see also nos. 5:4067, 4069, 4078.

24 LGPN s.v. *Μαντίας*.

25 For a detailed account on the development of Arcadian identity see Pretzler 2009.

26 LGPN s.v. *Ἀρκάας*.

	[...]γένης,	[...]genes, [Kl]eombrotos,
2	[Κλ]εόμβροτος,	<i>Kleandros, Children</i>
	Κλέανδρος,	<i>of Kopris, (dedicated this)</i>
4	παῖδες Κόπριος,	<i>to Apollōn Iātros.</i>
	Ἀπόλλωνι Ἴατρῶι	

Apollon Iatros is known predominantly from numerous inscriptions from the Milesian colonies around the Black Sea²⁷. It is recognised that there is a paucity of information regarding the provenance of this epithet for Apollon. Nilsson and Ehrhardt both locate the origins of the cult of Apollon Iatros in Ionia—whether in centres such as Miletos/Didyma or Magnesia—arguing that it spread from there to the Black Sea colonies, where it persisted even after experiencing an early decline in its Ionian heartland.²⁸ Nevertheless, their studies predate the publication of the inscription from Phaselis. By contrast, Ustinova and Andreeva emphasise the formative impact of local traditions in the Black Sea region: Ustinova—unaware of the evidence from Phaselis—underscores the interplay between Apollon’s established healing functions and Thracian–Scythian notions of immortality and occult wisdom, whereas Andreeva proposes that both the name and character of the cult may derive from an indigenous, possibly Thracian, deity, thus reflecting the profound regional influence on its development.²⁹ The epithet “Ὀλιος (Ion. Οὐλιος), meaning “the healer” and semantically equivalent to *iatros*, is attested for Apollon at Lindos, as well as in Kos, Miletos, and Delos³⁰. This broader distribution suggests that Phaselis’ use of *iatros* may align more closely with the healing traditions of the Aegean and western Asia Minor.

27 Apollonia/Sozopol: IGBulg I² 399 (after 19 AD), 400, (1st/2nd c. AD); 403.

Hermonassa/Taman: CIRB 1037 (389-348 BC), 1044 (ca. 150-125 BC?).

Istros: I.Histria I 1 (ca. mid-3rd c. BC), 18 (3rd/2nd c. BC), 54 (ca. mid-1st c. BC), 63 (3rd c. BC), 104 (4th/3rd c. BC), 144 (4th c. BC), 169 (ca. 400-350 BC), 314A (4th c. BC). For the most recent archaeological investigations on the cult of Apollon Iētros in Istros see Achim – Bottez 2024.

Myrmekion: SEG 48:1006,1 (ca. 500-465 BC).

Olbia: I I.dial. Olbia Pont 54 (ca. 600-575 BC), 55 (6th c. BC), 56 (ca. 575-550 BC), 57 (ca. 550-500 BC), 58 (ca. 475-450 BC). IosPE I² 164/ SEG 42:712/2 (ca. 475-450 BC); I.Olbia 65A (ca. 350-300 BC); SEG 32:769 (6th-2nd c. BC).

Patrasys/Garkusha: SEG 43:509,30 (ca. 575-550 BC).

Pantikapaion: CIRB 6 (389-348 BC), 10 (349-310 BC), 24 (284-ca. 245 BC).

Phanagoria: CIRB 974 (304-283 BC).

28 Nilsson 1967, 540; Ehrhardt 1989.

29 Ustinova 2009; Andreeva 2021 (although she refers to the inscription from Phaselis, Andreeva does so solely in terms of its use of the Doric form ἱατρός).

30 I.Lindos 131c, 282, 294, 308, 317, 347, 349, 350, 378, 398 and 420; Str. 14.1.6: Οὐλιον δ’ Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι τινα καὶ Μιλήσιοι καὶ Δήλιοι, οἷον ὑγιαστικὸν καὶ παιωνικόν: τὸ γὰρ οὐλεῖν ὑγιαίνειν, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ οὐλή καὶ τὸ ‘οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε.’ ἱατρικὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων (“Milesians and the Delians invoke a (god) Apollon Oulios as a healer and bringer of health: for ‘oulein’ means ‘to be healthy’, from which derive the words ‘oule’ (‘scar’) and the phrase ‘oule (‘be healthy’) and rejoice greatly!’ For Apollon is a god of healing.”); SEG 18, 328 (Kos). For the Ionian origin of the god see Masson 1988.

The name *Kopris*, found in the Phaselis inscription, etymologically derived from *κόπρος* (“manure” or “dung”), is attested only rarely and in a limited number of sites, such as Melos, Sparta, Eretria, Vathia (Euboiia), Aigina, and Korinthos, which may suggest a foreign origin of the family. Conversely, the names of the other dedicators in the same inscription are more widespread within the Ionian–Dorian cultural sphere, particularly in the Aegean and western Anatolia³¹. In the absence of clear evidence for a northern (Pontic) origin of the cult at Phaselis, it is more plausible to assume that the worship of Apollon Iatros was introduced from Ionia, rather than from the Black Sea colonies, where the cult of Apollon Iatros is more frequently attested epigraphically.

Conclusion

The cultic landscape of Phaselis reveals a nuanced interplay between colonial heritage and local religious innovation. While Athena Polias retained her role as the ancestral goddess—transferred from Lindos as part of Rhodian colonial identity and civic structure, and revered as a protective deity against enemies and external threats³²—Apollon’s cult followed a markedly different trajectory. Recently uncovered inscriptions and associated archaeological contexts indicate that Apollon was venerated under the epithets *epidamos*, *iatros*, and *medeon*—none of which are attested in Rhodian cultic tradition. Although Apollon was widely worshipped on Rhodes, particularly under titles such as *Pythaeus/Pythios*, *Olios*, *Karneios* or *Erethimios*³³, the epithets recorded at Phaselis neither derive from Rhodian practice nor mirror its religious formulations.

The religious life of Phaselis was far from monolithic. Apart from the Egyptian gods Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, who appear on a Hellenistic dedicatory stele at Phaselis (see fn. 20 above), an early Hellenistic inscription from Phaselis records a dedication to Hestia and Hermes reflecting a ritual expression of civic order and transition, aligning with Vernant’s interpretation of Hestia and Hermes as complementary symbols of stability and movement.³⁴ The Halios cult, attested in a fourth-century BC dedication naming his priest³⁵, operated independently of Apollon and reflects the city’s pluralistic sacred landscape. Positioned between Zeus and Gaia (inscribed as Ga), Halios appears among the deities invoked in the treaty between Mausollos and the Phaselitans (367–353 BC)³⁶, while Athena

31 See references in Adak et al. 2005, 5, SEG XLV 1477 and LGPN s.vv. *Κόπρις*, *Κλεόμβροτος* and *Κλέανδρος*.

32 Cf. Jim 2022, 47–50 (esp. 49) notes that the epithets *Πολιεύς* and *Πολιάς*, derived from *πόλις*, originally referred to Zeus and Athena as protectors of the acropolis, symbolising strength and defence. Its broader meaning of ‘city’ emerged later; cf. also Tüner Önen – Yılmaz 2015, 123.

33 For the epithets of Apollon in the entire island see Morelli 1959, 21–28; for Apollon in the pantheons of the Rhodian cities see Lala 2023, Zachhuber 2024, 165–167 (Ialysos), 170–173 (Lindos) and 188–190 (Kamiroi).

34 TAM II 1185: [Ἀρ]ιστοκράτεια καὶ Νικάρης | ὑπὲρ Ἀθανίωνος τοῦ πατρὸς | δαμιουργήσαντος | Ἑστία καὶ Ἑρμᾶι. For an analysis of the symbolic and ritual complementarity of Hestia and Hermes, and of their functional and ritual roles within the Greek religious system, see Vernant 1963.

35 Adak et al. 2005, 3 no. 1: Σωτᾶς Ἐλλοκράτεος Ἀλίωι | καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι | ἱερητεύσας Ἀλίου.

36 TAM II 1183: [ὀμόσ]αντες Δία καὶ Ἄλιον καὶ Γᾶν καὶ | [βασιλέως Τύχαν].

and Apollon are notably absent. Though Pindar already referred to Halios as the ancestral god of Rhodes—a tradition later confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, who noted that the Rhodians eventually placed him above all other gods—it was only after the synoecism that created the unified Rhodian polis at the end of the 5th century BC that his status as the principal deity of the state cult, embodying the island's ideological and civic identity, became firmly and comprehensively consolidated.³⁷ His presence at Phaselis likely reflects the official Rhodian state tradition rather than a specifically Lindian legacy. In contrast, the figure of Apollon developed locally, likely shaped by Ionian religious dynamics and expressed through the unique or rare epithets mentioned above. Two further dedications found at Phaselis add to our knowledge of the multifaceted religious life of the city: one is dedicated to Artemis Pergaia by a metic father, mother and daughter in the Hellenistic period (probably the 2nd–1st century BC), and the other is dedicated to Hephaistos in the Late Roman period.³⁸ Currently, there is no evidence showing how the cult of Apollon developed at Phaselis during the Roman period. However, a 1st–2nd century AD inscription from Phaselis refers to Zeus Boulaios³⁹, who is not mentioned in earlier evidence from Phaselis and was associated with the city council (*boule*) and consequently the *bouleuterion*. This highlights the integration of Zeus' divine presence with civic institutions during the Imperial period.

Although Apollon was the chief deity of Lycia and held federal importance⁴⁰, no comparable epithets are found elsewhere in the region. Phaselis, however, was only permanently incorporated into the Lycian League after the Caesarian *foedus* of 46 BC⁴¹, and its earlier civic and cultic development followed a distinct path more aligned with Rhodian colonisation and a likely Ionian influence than Lycian religious structures. The same applies to Pamphylia, where Apollon's cult, though present, never attained such institutional and regional prominence.⁴² The lack of parallels for the Phaselitan epithets in either region suggests that Apollon at Phaselis was not a regional variant of Lycian or Pamphylian worship, but rather a uniquely civic and protective deity shaped by the city's position at the cultural

37 Pindar O. 7.54-60; Diodorus 5.56; For the choice of Helios as the patron deity of the new Polis of Rhodes and as a pan-Rhodian deity after the synoecism of 408/7 BC see Morelli 1959, 95–97; Lippolis 2016, 157–59; Monaco 2023, 129–32; Kollia 2023, 179-182; Carboni – Cruccas 2023, 232; Zachuber 2024, 40-44, 125-127.

38 Arslan – Tüner Önen 2024, 118-125. The authors suggest that the origin of the cult of Hephaistos in the region was initially connected with Phaselis, based on its proximity to the Chimaira and references in ancient literary sources. They propose that the centre of the cult later shifted to Olympos as that city rose in prominence. However, the newly discovered inscription only attests to the worship of Hephaistos at Phaselis during the Late Roman period. Although a new, as yet unpublished, small dedication to Hephaistos has recently been uncovered in the excavations near the northern main street, there is, as the authors themselves emphasise, no concrete evidence to indicate the existence of an established cult in the city at an earlier date.

39 Blackman 1981, 143-144 No. 1; Berges 1986, 166; SEG 31, 1302.

40 See for instance Taşlıkioğlu 1963, 93-117; Parke 1985, 185-194; Bryce 1986, 182-185; Frei 1990, 1744-1765; Graf 2009, 122-123; Farnell 2010, 229-231 and 406-407 (notes).

41 It was mentioned as one of the cities given to Lycia in the Caesarian *foedus*, see Mitchell 2005, 169 l. 54, 227-228. However, Phaselis seems to have issued coins as a member of the Lycian League, see Troxell 1982, 68, 98; Brandt 2013.

42 Apollon of Side was one of prominent gods, who was believed to have established the city, see Nollé 1990, 253; 1993, 40, 112-113; Alanyalı 2005, 90; 2010, 85; 2011, 76-78.

and geographical margins of both regions.

Each of Apollon's designations at Phaselis reflects a particular aspect of his urban function. As *epidamos*, he was an ever-present deity in everyday life; as *iatros*, he was a healer; and as *medeon*, a Homeric term, he symbolised divine oversight and urban security through his protective qualities. Together, these three attributes formed a divine personality that was consistent with Phaselis' identity as a harbour city. The fact that the altar of Apollon is located right next to the military harbour and has continued to function for centuries demonstrates the deep integration of the cult into public life, showing that Apollon was one of the founding elements of the city's social identity. The epigraphic evidence suggesting that the same priest also served Dionysos and Aphrodite indicates that the religious structure of Phaselis became more diverse in the Hellenistic period. It also suggests that these deities may have shared a ritual or structural affinity. The worship of these two deities at Phaselis can be seen as an example of wider cultural trends witnessed throughout the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period.

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Öz

Phaselis'te Apollon: Yeni Buluntular Işığında Kült ve Kimlik

Bu makale, 2024 yılında Phaselis'in Merkezi Limanı çevresinde yürütülen kazı çalışmaları sırasında elde edilen yeni arkeolojik ve epigrafik bulgular ışığında, kenttin az bilinen Apollon kültürünü incelemektedir. Çalışmanın hareket noktası, askeri limanın hemen yanında yer alan ve Arkaik Dönem'e ait adakların bulunduğu, Hellenistik Dönem'de yeniden düzenlenmiş bir sunak ve ilgili buluntular oluştursa da, bu sunak etrafında kazılar devam ettiği ve hem mimarisinin hem de buluntuların yayını hazırlık halinde olduğu için, bu makalede genel mekânsal-ritüel yaklaşımlar çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Bu sunak, bir temenos duvarıyla çevrelenmiş olup, farklı yapı evrelerine sahip çok katmanlı bir kentsel ve ritüel alanın parçasıdır. Mekânsal konumu itibarıyla, Doğu Akdeniz'de Apollon'a adanmış kıyı sunaklarıyla benzerlik gösterir. Özellikle kent ile deniz arasındaki eşik mekânları işaretlemesi ve denizden karaya geçişte sembolik bir sınır oluşturması yönüyle, bu sunak benzer kutsal alanlarla ortak bir ideolojik ve ritüel mantığı yansıtmaktadır.

Makalede kentteki Apollon ile ilişkili yazıtlar incelenmekte ve Apollon'un Phaselis'teki kültürü hakkında yeni bilgiler ve yaklaşımlar ortaya konmaktadır. İlk yazıt, Apollon'un "halk içinde mevcut olan/aramızda yaşayan" anlamındaki epidamos sıfatıyla anıldığını göstermektedir. Aynı yazıtta, adamayı yapan Apollon rahibinin Dionysos ve Aphrodite'ye de hizmet ettiği belirtilmekte, böylece bu tanrıların Phaselis'teki varlığı epigrafik olarak ilk kez belgelenmektedir. İkinci yazıt, Apollon'u "koruyucu" anlamına gelen medeōn olarak adlandırırken; üçüncü yazıt ise, daha önce yayımlanmış ancak bu çalışmada bağlamsal olarak yeniden değerlendirilen bir örnek olup, onu iatros ("şifacı") olarak nitelendirmektedir. Bu üç sıfatın bir arada kullanılması ve bu sıfatların Rodos'ta veya komşu bölgelerde benzerlerinin bulunmaması, Apollon'un Phaselis'te, olasılıkla İyon etkisinin de rol oynadığı bir süreçte yerel olarak şekillenmiş, kentsel ve çok işlevli bir tanrısal kişilik kazandığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca kökende bir koloni yerleşimi olması ve liman kentlerinin yapısal özellikleri bu süreci yönlendiren temel faktörler arasında değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak çalışma, mekânsal yerleşim, epigrafik terminoloji ve tanrısal işlevler üzerinden, Apollon'un Phaselis'te nasıl özgünleştirildiğini ve aynı zamanda Akdeniz'deki daha geniş kıyı sunakları geleneğiyle nasıl bütünleştiğini göstermeyi hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Phaselis, Apollon, epidamos, medeōn, iatros, kült, yazıtlar, liman, kıyı sunağı, Dionysos, Aphrodite.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

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Fig. 1. Phaselis, Lycia AR Stater. ca 167-130 BC. Laureate head of Apollon right / Athena Promachos standing right on prow of galley. Heipp-Tamer Phaselis 359 var (no serpent before Athena).



Fig. 2. Phaselis, Lycia. AR stater. 167-130 BC. 26mm, 11.33 g. Magistrate Ekatodoros. Laureate head of Apol-lon right / Φ ΕΚΑΤΟΔΩΡΟΣ, Athena standing right on prow right, holding aegis and thunderbolt. Heipp-Tamer 332 (this coin)

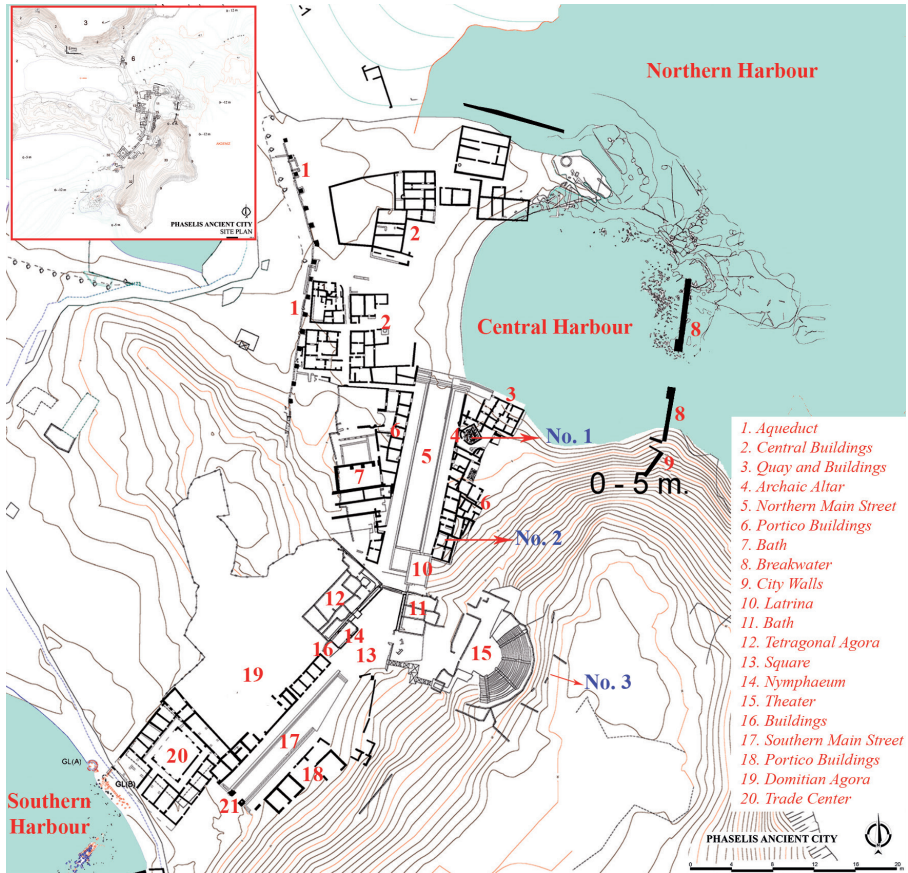


Fig. 3. Central City plan of Phaselis



Fig. 4. North Main Street East Portico Aerial Photograph

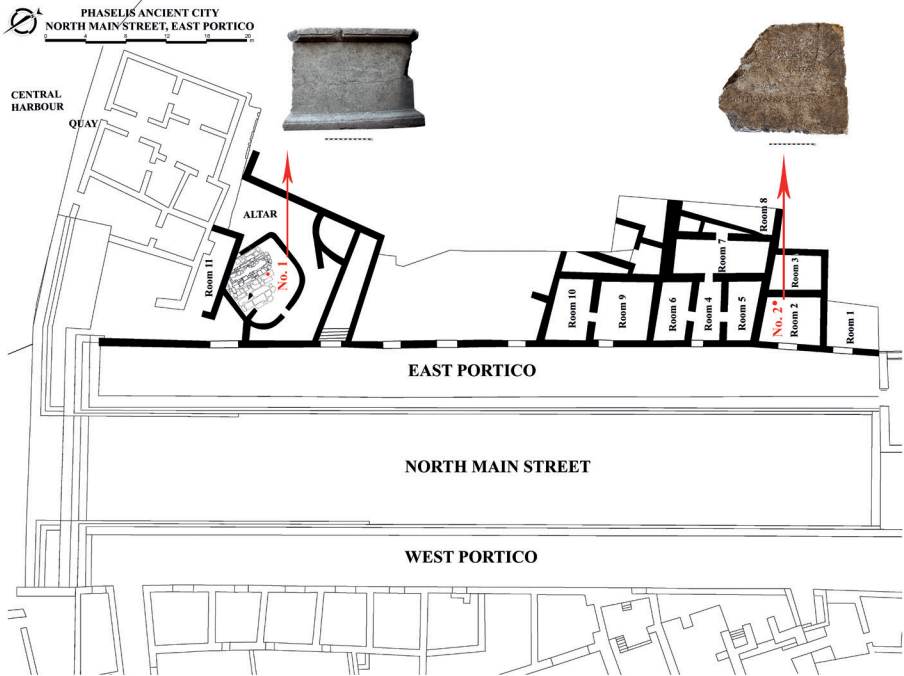


Fig. 5. North Main Street East Portico Plan



Fig. 6. Front face



Fig. 7. Top view



Fig. 8. Back and perspective view

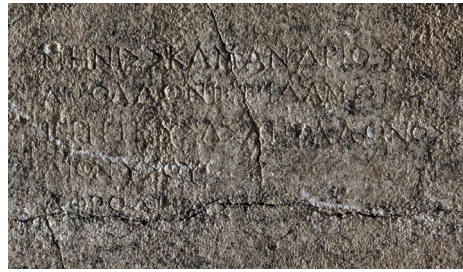


Fig. 9. The inscription

Dedication to Apollon Epidamos by Phaselitans view



Fig. 10. Front view



Fig. 11 Perspective view



Fig. 12. Top view



Fig. 13. CNG 99, Lot 275. 4th century BC.
(Bunch of grapes on the obverse)



Fig. 14. BMC 22; Von Aulock 267; Imhoof Nomisma VIII, 57. Gordianus III.
Aphrodite of Phaselis on the Reverse

Dedication to Apollon Medeon



Fig. 15. Front view



Fig. 16. Top view



Fig. 17 Perspective view

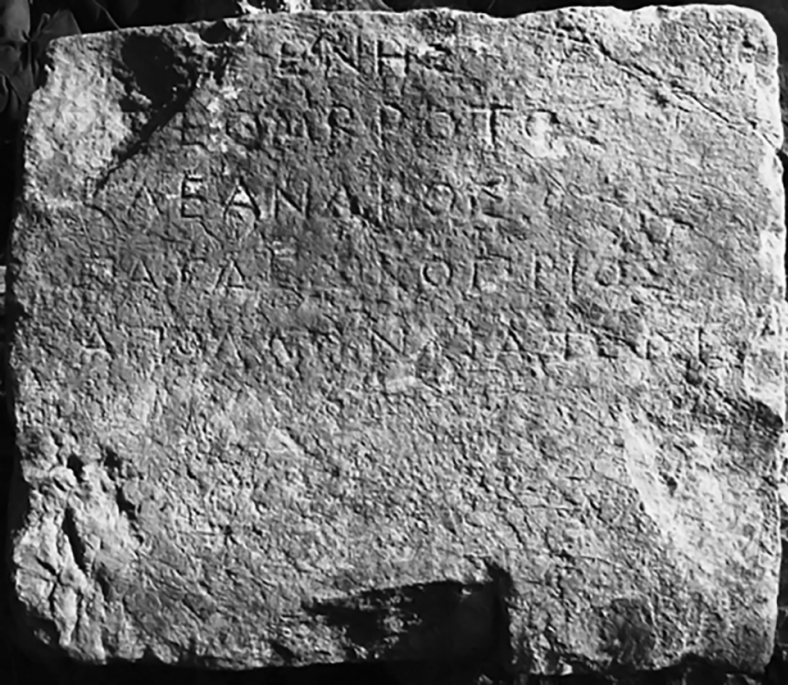


Fig. 18. Front view (Adak et al. 2005, 5).



Fig. 19. Top view (Photo: N. Tüner Önen)