

## THE SANCTUARIES AND THE CULT OF APOLLO IN SOUTHERN PISIDIA

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**Key Words:** *Pisidia • Apollo • Alphabetic Oracle • Dice Oracle • Apollo Clarios*

**Abstract:** The study concentrates on some of the not very well known Apollo sanctuaries in southern Pisidia. The cult practises of Apollo in the region are examined under the three basic topics with selected examples. The open-air sanctuaries are exemplified with settlements like Pednelissos, Melli and Perminus. Two very different types of Pisidian sites, Sagalassos and Arpalıktepe, show the roots and importance of Apollo cult practices in the region. An exceptional example from Melli, “House with the sanctuary,” presents the long tradition of the Clarian Oracle around the region. Additionally, the very common existence of the dice and alphabetic oracle inscriptions in the region are examined in their historical context.

### GÜNEY PİSİDİA'DA APOLLON KÜTSAL ALANLARI VE APOLLON KÜLTÜ

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Pisidia • Apollon • Alfabetik Kehanet • Zar Kehaneti • Apollon Klarios*

**Öz:** Sunulan çalışma güney Pisidia'da çok da fazla tanınmayan Apollon kutsal alanlarını daha yakından tanıtmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bölgede Apollon kültürüne ilişkin pratikler üç ana başlık altında toplanmış ve bunların uygulamalarına ilişkin lokasyonlar örneklerle anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Açık hava kutsal alanları için Pednelissos, Melli ve Perminus gibi merkezler seçilmiştir. İki çok farklı Pisidia yerleşimi olan Sagalassos ve Arpalıktepe, bölgedeki Apollon tapınımının önemi ve kökenine dair verileri ortaya koyuyor olmaları sebebiyle çalışmada ele alınmaları uygun olmuştur. Melli'den istisnai bir örnek olan “Kutsal Alanlı Ev” ise bölgedeki uzun süreli “Klaros Kehanet” geleneğine farklı bir bakış açısı getirmesiyle dikkate değerdir. Öte yandan bölgede yaygın varlıkları epigrafik verilerle anlaşılabilir zar ve alfabetik kehanet geleneği de konu bütünlüğü içinde aktarılmaya çalışılacaktır.

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## Introduction

This paper focuses on some lesser known Apollo sanctuaries, and/or settlements with devotees of the cult of Apollo in Southern Pisidia. The geographical area of this study is centered on the south of Karadağ and Bozburun Mountains where they extend to the south of the western Taurus Mountains in southern Pisidia. Melli<sup>1</sup>, Pednelissos<sup>2</sup>, Kremna<sup>3</sup> and Yumaklar/Arpalıktepe<sup>4</sup> in Pisidia will be the main concerns of this study (Fig. 1).

The Apollo cult practises in the region are examined focusing on three basic topics:

### I. Open Air Apollo Sanctuaries

Perminus (Kızılkaya)

Pednelissos (Kozan Bodrumkaya)

Melli/Kocçaliler

### II. Temples and House with Sanctuary (An exceptional example from Melli)

Melli/Kocçaliler: House with Sanctuary, Complex E Clarian (monotheistic) Oracle

Arpalık Tepe: (Temple/well hole) Apollo (Mamblasenos) and Mother Goddess

Sagalassos: Apollo Clarios

### III. Oracle Inscriptions Related to Apollo

Dice/Astragal Oracle: Termessos, Cremna, Adada, Takina, Sagalassos, Selge  
Alphabetic Oracles: Melli/Pednelissos, Adada, Timbriada

## I. Open Air Sanctuaries

### Sanctuary of Apollo at Perminus:

The sanctuary is situated at Deliktaş within Kızılağaç village of Kızılkaya-Bucak town. It is located on the western face of a calcareous rock formation. Horsley and Kearsley first mentioned this place in 1995-1998 while they were working on the collection of inscriptions in the Burdur Museum<sup>5</sup>. A group of inscriptions from the museum imply that they were found at the sanctuary of the Apollo of Perminoundeis. In 2000 Horsley and Mitchell discovered the correct toponym of the site: Perminus<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 2).

The sanctuary consists of triangular, rectangular and arched formed niches with four inscriptions on the north side. In the northwest corner of the sanctuary there is a rock formation resembling an *omphalos* found by Stephen Mitchell. This rock has three votive niches carved in it (Fig. 3). In the southeast there is a rock cut staircase, giving way to the entrance of the sanctuary. In the middle of the area there is a flat platform. According to Mitchell this platform was probably a setting for an altar<sup>7</sup>.

The inscriptions found on the rock façade and on votive steles in the Museum of Burdur are dated to the second or third century CE<sup>8</sup>. However, the pottery shards in the dumps opened by illegal diggers observed by Mitchell just before 2000 and during my visit in

<sup>1</sup> Vandeput *et al.* 2001, 257-270, Fig. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Işın 1998, 117-118, Fig. 16-17; Vandeput – Köse 2004, 345-360; Vandeput – Köse 2003, 315-328.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Işın 2006, 125-135.

<sup>5</sup> Horsley 2007, vii.

<sup>6</sup> Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 103-110.

<sup>7</sup> Horsley – Mitchell 2000, 103.

<sup>8</sup> Horsley 2007, 16-20, Nr. 10-17.

the summer of 2010, dates to a much earlier time, beginning in the Hellenistic period. This group of finds can easily be read as evidence of votive offerings to the god. The steles related with the sanctuary are a homogeneous group depicting a rider figure with a short-sleeved chiton and chlamys clasped on his right shoulder. He wears boots (Fig. 4).

Besides the dedication of Apollo some other inscriptions were also found from the site mentioning the name of the God Sozon and implying association with Helios. Sozon is widely attested across southwest Anatolia in Lycia Kibyrtis and Pisidia<sup>9</sup>. It is well known that by Hellenistic times Apollo had become closely connected with the sun in cult. His epithet Phoibos "shining", drawn from Helios, was later also applied by Latin poets to the sun-god Sol<sup>10</sup>.

Sanctuary of Apollo at Pednelissos:

The city of Pednelissos in southern Pisidia amazingly presents many well-preserved monumental buildings<sup>11</sup>. Amongst one of them was the sanctuary of Apollo, which is located on the southwest end of the city.

The sanctuary lies just below and outside of the south city wall. The encircled sanctuary area by a temenos wall, which also serves as terrace wall, is about 40m to 25m. The temenos wall of the sanctuary is hammer-faced, almost isodomic ashlar masonry with the stone

faces roughly pulvinated at some points. Almost in the middle of the area there is a rock mass about 3m high, which is carved with the figure of Apollo<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 5).

The frontal representation of Apollo is c. 1.20m high (Fig. 6). He wears a short thin chiton and a thick chlamys, holds a *patera* in his right hand and grasps a laurel branch in his left hand. This very unusual image of the god Apollo, which was already mentioned during the 2005 Apollo Symposium in Izmir<sup>13</sup>, has an old tradition seen on the *staters* of Side, dating to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. However the stylistic feature of the relief of Pednelissos Apollo is in parallel with the Claudian coin image of Side and Lyrbē. The Apollo relief at Pednelissos dates to the late Hellenistic/early Roman period when imitations of the specific Classical models were commonly used. While the numismatic research gives some clue as to the existence of the cult of Apollo in Pednelissos, up to now, known inscriptions from the site did not mention anything about Apollo. Among the highly-distributed coin collection of Pednelissos, the earliest coins can be dated to the period of Emperor Trajan; and the figure of the god Apollo is mostly observed on the coinage of Emperor Marcus Aurelius<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Horsley 2007, 101-103.

<sup>10</sup> Ferguson 1970, 44-47; Horsley 2007, 103, Nr. 181.

<sup>11</sup> Işın 1998, 111-129.

<sup>12</sup> The area was highly damaged during the last 10 years, the rock mass with the relief of Apollo attracted smugglers, and just underneath it a ditch, about 3m deep was opened; unfortunately in my last visit I have seen that some of the architectural elements which were documented in our 2002/3 surveys have disappeared as well.

<sup>13</sup> Işın 2008, 107-115.

<sup>14</sup> Imhoof – Blumer 1974, 388, Nr. 2; Hill 1964, 234, Pl. 37.5.

Although all of the visible architectural elements were drawn and documented in 2003, we cannot yet be certain of the overall layout. On the other hand, the irregular votive niches for the small votive objects carved in the rock facade offer some evidence of cultic activities.

*Sanctuary of Apollo at Melli:*

The Pisidian survey team headed by Lutgarde Vandeput<sup>15</sup>, concentrated on the ancient site of Melli in Bucak Kocaaliler between 1998 and 2000.

The rock-cut relief in Melli, is located north-west of the settlement (Fig. 7). It is engraved on about 6m high rocks. The central relief is framed by what must be the remains of a shrine<sup>16</sup>. The beam holes which opened into the rock to carry a wooden construction in front of the relief can easily be observed; however the irregular traces of the beam holes are not enough to propose an exact reconstruction for the wooden construction. The current condition of the relief is sufficient to see the similarities between the relief at Melli and that at Pednelissos. Similar to the Pednelissos relief it is also set in an *aedicule* with *akroteri*, and they are also similar in size to the standing Apollo figure at ca. 1.2 m high. Even though the relief is badly preserved, the general outlines of the figure with its feet, the branch-like traces left of them, part of its chlamys and the contours of the head can still be seen. The contours of the body

and head of the Melli figure, prove that it was also worked on with a block like front view just as in Pednelissos. Compared to the Pednelissos relief the poorer quality of workmanship of the Melli relief is seen on both the *aedicula* and the figure. Nonetheless, given the general stylistic features of the Melli relief, it is probable that the two examples are contemporary.

The relief in Melli is not the only evidence supporting the existence of the cult of Apollo at the site. A votive text to ‘the gods and goddesses’ set up according to the interpretation of a Clarian Oracle is one of the most significant discoveries showing the beginning of the transition period from pagan belief to the monotheistic cult in the name of god Apollo.

## **II. House with Sanctuary and Temples**

*House with Sanctuary, Complex E from Melli/Kocaaliler:*

Amidst the several newfound inscriptions from Melli revealed by the Pisidian survey team, Stephan Mitchell published the most significant discovery in 2003<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 8). It is the first identified Greek copy of a votive text to “*the gods and goddesses*”, set up “*according to the interpretation of an oracle of Clarian Apollo*”. The nine Latin versions of this text were already recorded in widely diverse find spots in the western parts of the Roman Empire<sup>18</sup>. The inscription was found at the top of a cistern in the courtyards of a large house towards the south end of the

<sup>15</sup> Vandeput *et al.* 2001, 257-270; Vandeput – Köse 2002, 145-152.

<sup>16</sup> Vandeput *et al.* 2001, 261-262; Işın 2008, 109 Fig. 5-6.

<sup>17</sup> Mitchell 2003, 151-155.

<sup>18</sup> Merkelbach – Stäuber 1996, 40.

site. The text was carved on a block which was probably originally set into a wall below a niche. The fitting holes on the upper surface of the inscribed block show that this had been the base for small bronze statuette, presumably depicting the Clarian Apollo (Fig. 9).

Considering the place it was found, the inscription appears to be associated with a cult room in a domestic building. The apsed room where the text was displayed should be the cult place. According to Mitchell<sup>19</sup>, this cult place was not a pagan temple for the traditional gods, but a sanctuary which was originally designed for monotheistic purposes, probably the worship of *theos hypsistos*; similar to the inscription of the Clarian monotheistic oracle at Oinoanda<sup>20</sup> in Lycia which was simply identified as *theos hypsistos*, the highest god.

The text is well known with its famous paragraph particularly indicating the highest go: "Born of itself, untaught, without a mother, unshakeable, not contained in a name, having many names, dwelling in fire, this is god. To you who ask this about god, what his nature is, he/ Apollo has pronounced that god is all seeing Aether, on which you should gaze and pray at dawn looking towards the sun rise"<sup>21</sup>.

Although chronologically it is not easy to follow, this "one God" theory reminds us of a poet/philosopher from a neighbouring city of Claros, Xenophanes

of Colophon<sup>22</sup>. He developed the concept of a "one god greatest among gods and men" who is abstract, universal, unchanging, immobile and always present. Xenophanes is often seen as one of the first monotheists in the Western philosophy of religion.

In competition with the growing influence of Christianity various forms of pagan monotheism emerged after the mid second century and into late antiquity. Particularly during the third century CE the oracle at Claros in Asia Minor propounded the view that there was a single God in Heaven known from many inscriptions as *Theos Hypsistos* (Highest God), to whom other divine beings, including the Olympian divinities, were subordinate.

According to Mitchell again, the explanatory oracle on display provided reassurance that this brand of monotheism-- "soft monotheism" as it is helpfully called in recent discussion by Dillon in 1999<sup>23</sup>-- did not in this instance entail complete denial of the traditional deities. The Clarian oracle for the gods and goddesses should not be seen as a defiant proclamation of pagan polytheism against monotheistic developments, but a compromise formula designed to reconcile increasingly popular monotheism with the concerns of traditional religion.

Finally as Pierre Chuvin mentioned in the first Symposium of Apollo<sup>24</sup>, the Melli inscription provides new evidence

<sup>19</sup> Mitchell 2003, 155.

<sup>20</sup> Milner 2000, 145.

<sup>21</sup> Mitchell 2003, 154.

<sup>22</sup> Leshner 1992, 78-91.

<sup>23</sup> Dillon 1999, 69.

<sup>24</sup> Chuvin 2008, 37-41.

to help interpret “the perception of the Clarian Oracles in the Christian world.”

*Temple with votive well at Arpalıktepe:*

In 1998 another important sanctuary of the region was discovered in Arpalıktepe, 20 km. in a direct line from Selge and Pednelissos and 53 km northeast of Antalya. It is on top of a 650 m. hill overlooking the Pamphylian plain. Following the confiscation of a group of archaeological materials by the Antalya Police Department in 1997/98, the Antalya Museum conducted a rescue excavation for a week at the Yumaklar/Arpalıktepe site in Antalya. Through these operations a total of 60 pieces of archaeological votive objects dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE through to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE were added to the inventory of the Antalya Museum<sup>25</sup>. Among the finds, altars dedicated to Apollo and the Mother Goddess, a marble statute of Apollo, about fourteen pieces of terracotta figurines, three bronze adorant figurines, and about 500 coins are documented.

The most remarkable objects are the terracotta figurines dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>26</sup>. On the basis of the survey results of the area, which still continue by the above-mentioned Pisidian survey team, up to now it has not been possible to find even a single object dating before the early Hellenistic Period. However, the finds dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE from Arpalık Tepe are

evidence of one of the earliest cult places in the Pednelissos territory.

The main building with the Doric architectural elements and the enclosure wall that was identified as a *temenos*, together with the ground plan indicate that this building was a temple<sup>27</sup>. The temple measures 9 by 6 m. and rises from a *krepidoma* of 3 steps; there is no trace of the column on the stylobate. At the *naos* of the temple, lying beneath the looted architectural pieces, an entrance to a cavitation in the form of a well hole built from dry rubble was found. In 2000 we were able to follow this narrow passage that looks like a well, for 50 m. towards the northwest, beyond this we were unable to precede because the walls of the tunnel had collapsed. It was understood that there is a tunnel that connects to the cavitations under the temple. The smugglers were able to dig to a depth of 2 m. and exposed finds from this level. The Antalya Museum excavation team dug a further 4 m. and exposed finds untouched by the illegal excavations. Our studies led us to conclude that the natural cavitations' entrance was firstly used as a votive offering well, was enclosed with a rectangular *temenos* during the second phase, and finally the temple rising on a *krepidoma* was constructed in the third phase or it was built during the second phase with the construction of the *temenos*<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> The museum directorate kindly let me work on the finds see, Işın 2006, 125-135.

<sup>26</sup> Işın 2006, Fig. 4-5.

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<sup>27</sup> Işın 2006, Fig. 1-3.

<sup>28</sup> However, during my last visit to the site in September 2010, I witnessed the continuing illegal excavations; the tunnel reaching to the temple now is totally destroyed and the plan of the temple is now hardly understandable.

Amongst the finds a standing god statue, which is about 85 cm in height is particularly important<sup>29</sup>. It bears chlamys on his shoulders and exposes his naked body. He holds the laurel branch in his partly- extended right hand. His left arm is resting on a pillar forming the support, which has evidence of ancient repairs with iron drift and lock pins. His right leg is resting on a tree trunk while the left leg is set somewhat backwards. His hair, lightly curled, flows in ringlets down his neck and rises to the summit of his cranium with a double flaring knot, reminiscent of the *lampadion*<sup>30</sup> hairstyle.

On the inscribed base of this statue we read: “Pauleinos dedicated (it) to the Great God Mamblasenos.” According to this inscription the statue was sculpted as a votive to the great god Mamblasenos which sounds absolutely native in its phonetic. However the typological features of the Arpalık Tepe statue definitely identify the god Apollo. In spite of the different posture of his left arm and the absence of the quiver, the so-called *lampadion* knot hair type, the clasped *chlamys* of his right shoulder and his general stature strongly remind us of the typology of the famous Apollo Belvedere with the difference of a laurel branch that he holds in his right hand.

The type of votive objects and inscribed votive altars especially imply that this sanctuary served both the god

Apollo and the Great Mother goddess. The inscriptions with the names of the deities are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE, most of the found ex-voto figurines however are dated before the Roman Imperial Period and they indicate the earlier usage of the site. As previously mentioned, the name of the god is seen both in its local form, Mamblasenos, and in its Hellenic form, Apollo, on the late second and early third century votive inscriptions.

Offering a suggestion for the exact name of the cult in the sanctuary, for example for the Classical and Hellenistic period or even for the Roman Period, does not seem very correct, because it is not clear for us if this locally named god Mamblasenos, with the iconography of Apollo or Helios/Apollo, had the similar features, rituals or attributes of the Hellenic Apollo.

From my point of view, if nothing survived as a local name or an epithet from the inscriptions, almost the same speculation can be made for the Great Mother Goddess as well; because, through to the pregnant figurines found from the site, we may easily offer the cult of Cybele, Artemis, Demeter or even Eileutheia as well.

On the basis of the discovered finds and the architecture, the Arpalık Tepe sanctuary may well be explicated as one of the very important cult sites in Pamphylia and Pisidia, which was in continuous use from the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE until the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

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Amongst the largely destroyed illegal excavations there is a building that can be identified as a church, with its apsidal ending wall frescoes and cross relief as well.

<sup>29</sup> Işın 2008, 110, Fig. 9.

<sup>30</sup> About the *lampadion* coiffeur see Thompson 1963, 42-43.

*The Temple of Apollo Clarios in Sagalassos:*

Although geographically the location of Sagalassos is further to the north of the presented research area to underline the importance of the Apollo Clarios cult around the region, the temple at Sagalassos should be very briefly taken into consideration. The temple was named after an inscription on the architrave of the temple's façade restoration in 103/4 CE. The first line of the inscription contains the dedication to Apollo Clarios and the divine Augusti. According to the architectural fragments found in the area, the original temple was a small peripteros with 6 by 11 columns on top a temple podium. The temple was surrounded by a temenos wall - enclosing an area of nearly 60 by 50 m - with several gates, which gave access to the sanctuary from different directions. The main gates were situated on the north and east sides. Near the northwest corner of the sanctuary, there is another propylon, with an exterior of the Doric order. The metopes of its frieze were decorated with alternating ivy wreaths referring to the Claria. The games connected to this temple and mentioned in several inscriptions and with bows and arrows, were clearly symbols of the god himself. Based on the architectural decoration of certain architectural elements, its original layout, consisting of the *cella* and the temenos wall, could be dated to the reign of the emperor Augustus<sup>31</sup>.

According to Marc Waelkens, the cult of Apollo was officially promoted as

representative of the virtues (*pietas*) and values of the old Greek and Roman civilization, as opposed to the debauchery of Mark Antony and the East, symbolized by Dionysos. Therefore, the construction of this temple may have represented an implicit imperial worship, which later on, during the reign of Vespasian, resulted in the establishment of a real imperial cult at Sagalassos in this very sanctuary<sup>32</sup>.

The remains of this sanctuary indicate that it was changed several times throughout its existence. The conversion of the temple into a church is now tentatively dated to the first half of the 5th century.

### **III. Oracle Inscriptions Related to Apollo**

*Dice / astragal and alphabetic oracles around the region:*

Oracles played an extremely important role in public and private life of the duties of the eastern Roman Empire in the second and third centuries CE<sup>33</sup>. Most famous oracular shrines were in Ionia at Claros and Didyma and attracted wealthy clients from far afield. However, not everyone was wealthy, as Stephen Mitchell explains with the very apt words "the common man or indeed city magistrates were also in need of routine guidance from oracles which were more cheaply and easily available. The dice or alphabetical oracle offered this service". In Pisidia, Pamphylia, Kibyrtis and eastern Lycia, reading the

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<sup>31</sup> Vandeput 1997, 55-57.

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<sup>32</sup> Waelkens 2005, see <http://www.archaeology.org/interactive/sagalassos/field06/apollo1.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Mitchell 1995, 66-67.



dice or alphabetical oracle texts was very common<sup>34</sup>. These texts have been recorded throughout Pisidia<sup>35</sup> in Cremna<sup>36</sup>, Selge<sup>37</sup>, Sagalassos, Adada, Termessos, Melli, Takina, Timbriada<sup>38</sup> and Prostanna as well. They were also distributed across Lycia, for example, in Kitanaura<sup>39</sup>, Oineoanda, Olympos<sup>40</sup>, Cibyra<sup>41</sup> and in Pamphylia<sup>42</sup> at Perge, Aspendos<sup>43</sup> and Attaleia.

Dedicated to the gods, particularly to Apollo god of prophecy the oracles, and Hermes, god of enterprise, journey and good fortune, were believed to reveal the divine will through the random fall of a handful of dice.

For the dice/astragal oracle, those who wished to consult the oracle five dice, or rather the four-sided neck bones astragali of an animal, had to throw. Fifty-six combinations were available from the four numbered sides and a verse appropriate to each combination was carved on the oracle stone itself.

<sup>34</sup> The dice and alphabetic oracle inscriptions were collected and studied concerning the general oracle tradition in Asia Minor by Nollé. Attaleia, Perge, İncik, Kitanaura, Cremna, Prostanna, Sagalassos, Selge, Takina, Termessos are the places where the astragal oracle texts were found. Adada, Aspendos, Kibyra, Oinoanda, Olympos, Pednelissos, Side and Timbriada are listed under the sites of where alphabetic oracle was done around the region. See Nollé 2007; see also Ismaelli 2009, 159-177.

<sup>35</sup> For the Pisidian astragal oracle inscription and detailed bibliography see, Nollé 2007, 52-84.

<sup>36</sup> Mitchell 1995, 66-67.

<sup>37</sup> Nollé – Schindler 1991, 78, Nr. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Brixhe – Hodot 1988, 140-148.

<sup>39</sup> Nollé 2007, 84-91.

<sup>40</sup> Nollé 2007, 239-243, 248-253.

<sup>41</sup> Corsten 1997, 42-43 Pl. 8; Nollé 2007, 244-245.

<sup>42</sup> For the Pamphylian astragal oracle inscription and detailed bibliography see Nollé 2007, 91-104.

<sup>43</sup> Brixhe – Hodot 1988, 135-139.

For the alphabetic oracle on the other hand, the believer had to draw one piece from a sack, full with a set of twenty-four stones or potsherds (pottery fragments), each inscribed or painted with a letter of the alphabet. Each letter of the alphabet has a corresponding oracle, and the first word of the oracle (in Greek) begins with that letter. The user had to read the lines to which the dice or drawn piece referred him. The advice was clear from the mediums or prophets of the famous oracles of antiquity.

Although epigraphic evidence has not yet been found in Arpalıktepe, I hesitantly offer to construe the two interesting archaeological finds from the sanctuary as the evidence of the possible existence of an alphabetic oracle around the site. These are the two little inscribed stones, which were first considered as the simple stone weights or playing counters (Fig. 10). The Arpalıktepe finds, however, distinguish themselves from their simple parallels with their carved letters.<sup>44</sup> I would like to offer a new suggestion to explain these two little inscribed stones as the pieces of a set of 24 stones for the alphabetic oracle.

### Conclusion

It is obvious that having a judgement without any concrete document is not easy, however the general archaeological and epigraphic facts for Melli and Pednelissos make clear that the cult

<sup>44</sup> The parallels of that kind of material are for instance known from Corinth, and they were mostly commented as the playing counters, however the parallels that I could find do not have carved letter on them, see, Davidson 1952, 217-222.

image of Apollo reaches to the area of the Pamphylian harbours. The fourth century BCE Side coins are the earliest confirmations of this argument. We see two different images of Side Apollo: one is pure Hellenic with his naked posture, and the other one is local with the short chiton and chlamys.

On the other hand, use of the local name of Mamblasenos still in the late second century CE for the Hellenic Apollo image in Arpalıktepe probably tries to tell us something about the hardly penetrable location of the region. According to the evidences it can be said that once this cultural penetration process started, the local male god cult, which probably already had similar features, interlaced with the cult of Apollo and this Hellenic image used for the local male god cult.

The cult place in Perminus/Kızılkaya. However, expresses the unusual local perception of the god Apollo. Around the Kızılkaya area mostly second third century dated steles represents the god of Apollo as a rider god combined with Helios-Sozon, but again in almost the same costume as he was already seen in Pednelissos and Melli.

It can be said that during the first, but particularly in the second and third centuries CE, the cult of Apollo in the region became much more popular, may be because of the fame of the Clarian Oracle. Building of an independent Apollo Clarios temple in Sagalassos proves the increased interest in the god. In the meantime, as mentioned above,

dice and alphabetic oracles are the cheapest and most easily available ways of having contact with Apollo around the region.

Finally, on the way from pagan to monotheist beliefs, the Melli inscription offers new evidence to interpret the perception of the Clarian Oracles in the Christian world.

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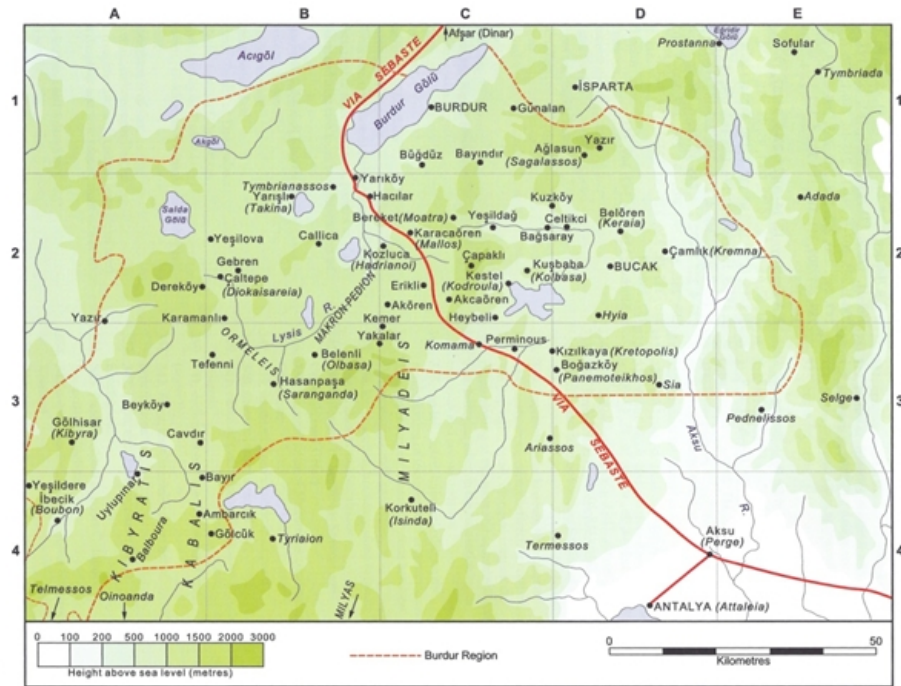
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Map of Burdur province and adjoining regions (M Roach)

Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



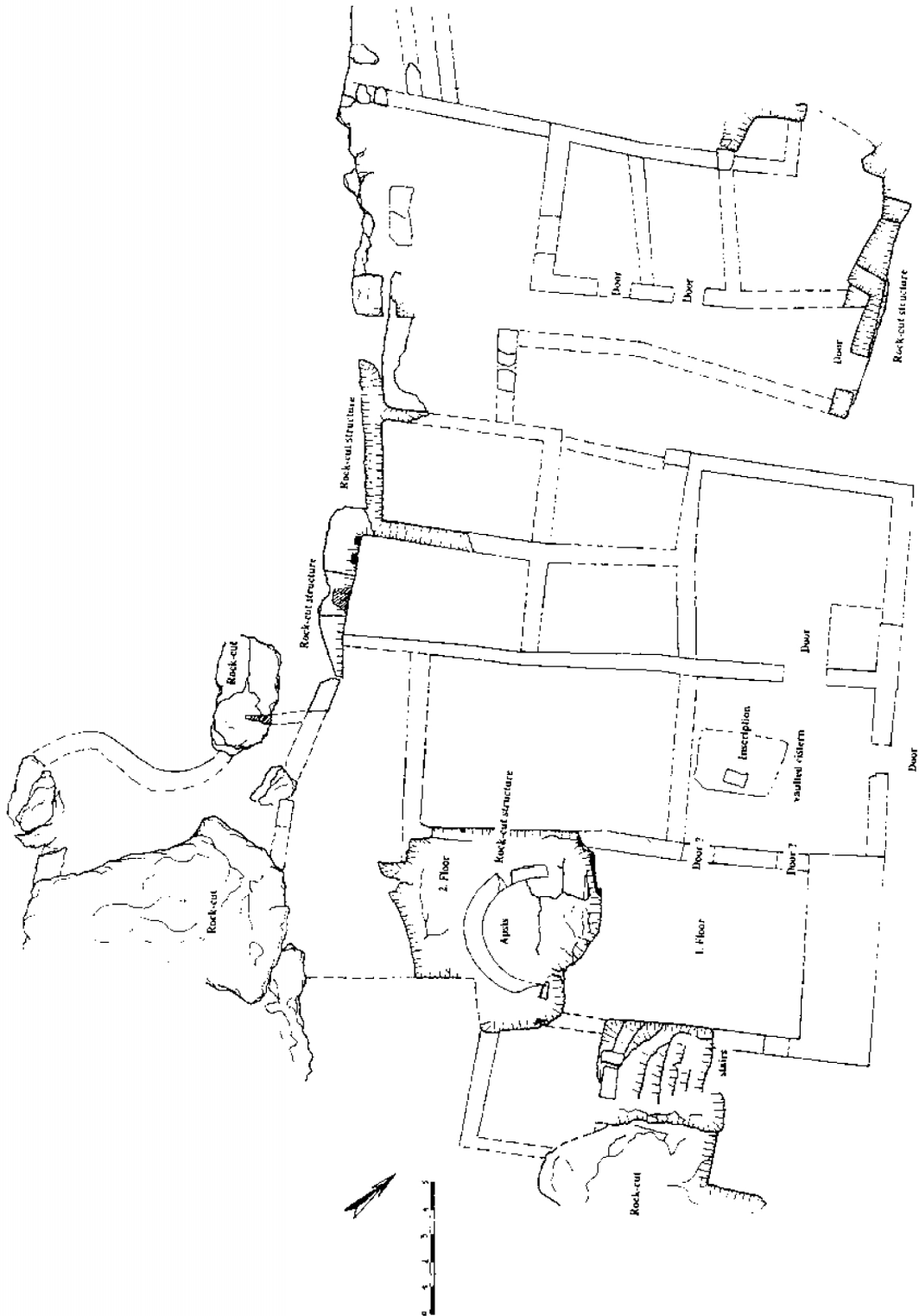


Figure 8

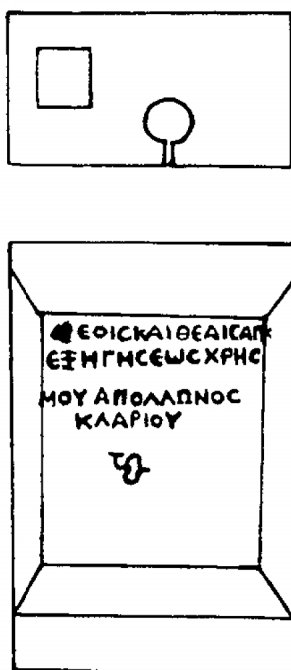


Figure 9



Figure 10