


A New Dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis from Phaselis

Nihal TÜNER ÖNEN

 0000-0002-1098-028X

Murat ARSLAN

 0000-0003-1132-7423



The entire contents of this journal, *Libri: Journal of Epigraphy, Translation and Review* is open to users and it is an 'open access' journal. Users are able to read the full texts, to download, to copy, print and distribute without obtaining the permission of the editor and author(s). However, all references to the articles published in the e-journal *Libri* are to indicate through reference the source of the citation from this journal.

Libri, is a peer-reviewed journal and the articles which have had their peer reviewing process completed will be published on the web-site (journal.phaselis.org) in the year of the journal's issue (e.g. Issue IX: January-December 2023). At the end of December 2023 the year's issue is completed.

Responsibility for the articles published in this journal remains with the authors.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Citation Tüner Önen N. & Arslan M. 2023, "A New Dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis from Phaselis ". *Libri* IX, 119-130. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.10431101

Received Date: 15.12.2023 | Acceptance Date: 21.12.2023

Online Publication Date: 25.12.2023

Article Type: Research Article

Editing: Phaselis Research Project
www.libridergi.org



A New Dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis from Phaselis

Phaselis'ten Sarapis, Isis ve Anoubis'e Yeni Bir Adak

Nihal TÜNER ÖNEN * Murat ARSLAN **

Abstract: This article introduces a votive inscription unearthed among the ruins of one of the building groups, dated 1st century BC – 1st century AD in the light of the findings and located in the pronaos of the Doric temple called the Hellenistic Temple, during 2023 excavations in the city of Phaselis. This inscription was dedicated by Krotos, the son of Agathion, to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis. Since the name Krotos is documented in various papyrus texts, it has been suggested that the person who made the dedication may have been one of the merchants from Egypt as supported by the similar votive inscriptions from Delos. In this context, the worship to these gods in the Hellenistic period was revealed, especially by examining the examples found in the port cities of the Aegean islands and the southwestern Anatolian coast. At the same time, based on the epigraphic, papyrological, numismatic and archaeological evidence obtained from both the Phaselis and Egypt, the interaction of the city of Phaselis with Egypt since its foundation and continuing throughout the Hellenistic period is mentioned.

Keywords: Phaselis, Hellenistic Temple, Dedication, Sarapis, Isis, Anubis

Öz: Burada ele alınan makalede Phaselis kentinde 2023 yılı kazı çalışmaları sırasında, Hellenistik Tapınak olarak da adlandırılan Dor düzenindeki tapınağın pronaosunda, ele geçen buluntular ışığında MÖ I – MS I. yüzyıllar arasına tarihlendirilen yapı gruplarından birinin duvar çöküntüsünde ele geçen bir adak yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır. Yazıtı göre söz konusu adağı Agathion oğlu Krotos Sarapis, Isis ve Anubis için (adamıştır) yazdırmıştır. Krotos isminin çok sayıda papirüs metninde belgelenmesi dolayısıyla söz konusu adağı yapan kişinin, Delos'taki benzer adak yazıtlarının da desteklediği gibi, Mısır'dan gelen tüccarlardan biri olabileceği öne sürülmüştür. Bu bağlamda söz konusu tanrıların özellikle Ege Adaları ve Güneybatı Anadolu sahilindeki liman kentlerinden ele geçen örnekleri ele alınarak Hellenistik Dönem'deki tapınım durumu aydınlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunu yaparken aynı zamanda hem Phaselis'ten hem de Mısır'dan ele geçen epigrafik, papyrolojik, nümizmatik ve arkeolojik kanıtlardan yola çıkarak antik kentinin kuruluşundan itibaren ve Hellenistik Dönem boyunca Mısır'la süregelen ticari ve sosyo-kültürel ilişkisi ile etkileşim sürecine değinilmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Phaselis, Helenistik Tapınak, Adak Yazıtı, Sarapis, Isis, Anubis

The inscription introduced here was uncovered during the excavations carried out in the 2023 season in the Hellenistic temple located on the southern slope of the Hellenistic Acropolis (Fig. 1). The temple complex, including the temenos and its rear area, was among the one of the most magnificent and monumental structures in the city, measuring 50 x 100 metres. The temple, planned in the Doric order with 6 x 11 columns is dated to the IVth century BC in the light of the interdisciplinary work systematic as the significance of its original architectural/plastic remains and plan unearthed, as well as epigraphic documents, ceramics (black figure vessel fragments, figurines and amphora ruins measured in

* Assoc. Dr., Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Ancient Languages and Cultures, Antalya. nihaltuner@akdeniz.edu.tr | 0000-0002-1098-028X

** Prof. Dr., Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Department of History, Antalya. marslan@akdeniz.edu.tr
 0000-0003-1132-7423

thousands), and numismatic finds. The sectoral-based excavations carried out around the temple area in the 2019-20 season revealed thousands of terracotta materials, defective production amphorae, production waste, amorphous, slag and clay balls indicating that the temple area was probably used for different functions such as ceramic workshops and ateliers in later periods¹. In later periods (in Late Antiquity), the southern temenos of the temple was terraced using building materials and column drums belonging to the temple and was used for agricultural purposes. There is a group of buildings in the Pronaos section, constructed using the reused materials (most probably blocks taken from the temple and its temenos) and dating back to the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD, according to the material unearthed.



Fig. 1. Aerial photograph showing where the votive stele was found

The Dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis

The marble votive stele in question here was found among the wall debris excavated in grid C5-1B, which belongs to the ruins of the building unearthed in the north-eastern corner of the area, in front of the pronaos area of the Hellenistic temple. Whether it is in situ or not is not clear. It can be seen that the upper and lower parts of the stele, whose lower right corner is broken and missing, have been neatly worked, while the right and left sides have been roughly worked. The back is left rough. The inscription is engraved in semi-stoichedon.

Dimensions: Length: 14.5 cm; Width: 15.5 cm; Height (apparent): 5.5 cm; L.H.: 1-1.8 cm.

Date: IIIrd-IInd century BC (according to lettering).



¹ Orhan 2023, 34-35.

Σαράπει,	<i>Krotos,</i>
Ἰσει, Ἀνούβει	<i>son of Agathion,</i>
^{vv} Κρότος ^{vv}	<i>dedicated it</i>
Ἀγαθίωνος	<i>to Sarapis,</i>
^{vv} εὐχά[ν]. ^{vv}	<i>Isis and Anubis.</i>

Line 1-2: In the first two lines, the names of the gods Sarapis, Isis and Anubis are engraved in the dative case. The nouns of all three gods can be declined both with stem endings in iota (Σαράπι/Σαράπει; Ἰσι/Ἰσει; Ἀνύβι/Ἀνούβει)² and in dental (Σαράπιδι; Ἰσίδι; Ἀνούβιδι)³. While Sarapis is almost invariably seen with the stem of Σαρ- in the inscriptions and papyrus of the III-II century BC, the use of Σέραπις with the stem of Σερ- has become widespread since the Roman period⁴. In an inscription from the imperial period discovered at Phaselis, the noun Σεραπίων, derived from the god Serapis, is documented as the personal name of a father and son⁵.

Line 3: This line records the name of the person who dedicated the inscription to the gods. Κρότος, is mentioned in mythology as the name of the son of Pan and Eupheme. It is said that Krotos, who lived on Mount Helicon with the Muses whom his mother had nursed, applauded the Muses when he listened to them and was the first man to use applause⁶. The word krotos literally means the beat of feet in dancing, the clapping of hands in applause, the snapping of fingers, and the noise of men under arms and the clash of weapons⁷. It is therefore used for coordinated or repeated sounds and noises. Over time, it was also used to describe the stroke of an oar in the water⁸. The name Krotos, which can be explained in terms of Greek vocabulary, is not recorded as a Hellenic name by Pape-Benseler or Bechtel. The name in question has only been documented epigraphically in two inscriptions in the western world to date. The first of these is a funerary inscription found in Epidamnus Dyrrachium in Illyria and dated to the Ist century AD. The name is documented here in Latin as the name of a liberated physician (Sesteri 1943, 93-94 nr. 70; AE 1978, n. 749: "...Crotus pater Luciferi lib(ertus) medicus) ...". The other record is mentioned as the father's name in an inscription belonging to a list of names discovered in the ancient city of Amyzon in Caria dating from the IInd century BC⁹. On the other hand, this name is documented in many papyri from the III century BC¹⁰. Among these, Krotos stands out, who is mentioned as Zenon's agent and served for his affairs in Syria and Palestine in the documents and official records kept by Zenon, commercial agent and private secretary of Apollonios, Dioiketes of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, between c. 263-229 BC, which are the earliest Greek written texts from the Ptolemaic period in Egypt¹¹. Given the gods recorded in the inscription and the

² Cf. IG IX,1 195; IG XI,4 1231, 1257; IG XII,3 443.

³ For examples, see IPriene 193-195; SEG 15, 706.

⁴ Liddell & Scott 1940, s.v. Σάραπις, ιδος, ὀ.

⁵ Tüner Önen 2015, 34 nr. 6: Σεραπίων δις Φασηλείτης | τὴν οἰκίαν κατεσκεύασα | ἀπὸ θεμελίων μετὰ καὶ τοῦ | γενομένου πατρός μου | Σεραπίωνος.

⁶ Stoll 1894, 1575.

⁷ Liddell & Scott 1940, s.v. κρότος, ὀ.

⁸ For the usage and examples of the word in the form of *monokrotos*, *dikrotos* and *trikrotos* in connection with oared warships, see. Morrison 1989, 50-51.

⁹ Robert 1983, 228 nr. 29. Also see, LGPN VB s.v.

¹⁰ For the papyri in which the name Krotos is mentioned, see. Foraboschi D. 1967-1971, 173. Also see, <https://www.trismegistos.org/namvar/2310>

¹¹ For the letter of Krotos to Zenon, see. Rostovtzeff 1922, 33. For texts in which Krotos is mentioned, cf. P. Cair. Zen. I 59093; II 59176; III 59429; IV 59775, col. 2, 10; V 59804. For Krotos son of Krotos, see P. Cair. Zen. III 59429, 3 (ὧν ἔχει Κρότος Κρότου). For the maritime trade between Egypt and Syria in the IIIrd century BC and Krotos' representation there, see Harper 1928, 1-35; Terpstra 2019, 99-102, 107, 119-120.

name of the man who dedicates it, it can be argued that Krotos was a Greek of Levantine or Egyptian origin, and that he was in Phaselis for trading purposes. The Egyptian names Κάνωπος and Καμ[ῖς?] are also documented in Phaselis¹².

Line 4: The name of Krotos's father, Ἀγαθίων, is a name frequently documented in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Cf. *LGPN* I 2; II 3; IIIA 3; IIIB 2; VA 2; VB 3; VC 3. For names documented in Egypt for the Hellenistic period, cf. I. Syr. 290, 1; I. Hermoupolis 5, 178 and 248.

Line 5: εὐχάν (=εὐχήν) is given in the Doric dialect¹³.

Sarapis-Isis and Anubis in the Dedications of the Islands and South-Western Anatolia in the Hellenistic Period

It is known that the cult belongs to Sarapis, one of the three gods was founded by Ptolemy I¹⁴. The union of Sarapis with Isis came to the fore as a continuation of the Osiris-Isis couple, on the occasion of the identification of the god with Osiris-Apis¹⁵. So that during the reign of Ptolemy III, the cult of Isis-Serapis merged with the cult of the ruler and the gods became the deities of the oaths¹⁶; During the reign of Ptolemy IV (222/221 -204 BC), Sarapis and Isis were referred to as "saviour gods" (theoi soterai)¹⁷ and the two gods were depicted on coins for the first time¹⁸. In the inscription discussed here, Anubis is seen alongside Sarapis and Isis. This god, the ancient Egyptian god of funeral ceremonies and mummification, has been documented as the protector of the dead since the New Kingdom period¹⁹. In this respect, he is identified with Horus and Osiris²⁰. Although Anubis was worshipped throughout Egypt, the main cult of the site is designated as the 17th Upper Egyptian Gau²¹. From the IIIrd century BC, he spread in a Hellenised form with Isis and Serapis²².

The Ptolemaic rule passed over Egypt and took control of the Mediterranean and the Aegean, where it remained for a hundred years, on this occasion of which the Egyptian cults spread from Egypt to the islands and other coastal regions of the Mediterranean world during the period between the end of the IVth century BC and the IInd century BC²³. This spreading began with Ptolemy

¹² Blackman 1981, 145, 149 fn. 12.

¹³ For examples of the Doric dialect documented in the Archaic-Classical-Hellenistic inscriptions found at Phaselis, see Adak & Tüner Önen & Şahin 2005, 18; Tüner Önen & Yılmaz 2015, 121.

¹⁴ Huss 2001, 244-245. For the reasons why Ptolemy I created such a cult and the existing interpretations and new suggestions regarding the emergence of the cult, see Wilcken 1927, 83-83; Hornbostel 1973, 16-31; Bergman 2010, 109-131.

¹⁵ Fraser 1972, 259-60.

¹⁶ Fraser 1960, 18. For votive offerings to Isis and Sarapis and to the Ptolemaic king and queen in the first two centuries of the Ptolemaic period, cf. Pfeiffer 2008, 400-403; Fassa 2015, 133-153.

¹⁷ Bricault 1999, 337-338; Hölbl 2001, 94.

¹⁸ Mørkholm 1991, 109, Taf. 20, 317.

¹⁹ Altenmüller 1975, 328; Koch 1993, 78, 83. For the role of protector of the dead, see Abitz 1984, 125, 131-132. For the accompaniment of the dead and his analogy to Hermes in this respect, see Koch 1993, 580; Grieshammer 1996, 819.

²⁰ Quaegebeur 1977, 121. For the connection with Sarapis through the hellhound, see Koch 1993, 495.

²¹ Doxey 2001, 98; Grieshammer 1996, 819. On the worship of Anubis outside Egypt at Meroe, a Nubian city in the Kingdom of Kush, see Yellin 1978.

²² Koch 1993, 497 and 593. On the role of Anubis as a member of the "Isak Family" (= Isis-Osiris, Sarapis-Horus/Harpocrates-Anubis) in Hellenistic and Roman times, see Gasparro 2018, 529-548.

²³ For the attribution of the success of Egyptian cults both inside and outside Egypt to the political genius and 'imperial theory' of the early Ptolemies, see Cumont 1929, 145; P. M. Fraser (1960, 1-54) challenged this imperial theory and argued that the cult spread spontaneously through trade with merchants without any direct intervention by the Ptolemies. Subsequent research has argued that this was due to many factors - commercial, economic, military, political and social, see Dunand 1980, 71-148; Bricault 2004, 548-556. Re-

I Soter's capture of Phaselis in 309 BC and his march into Lycia, where he took Xanthus and then Caunus and Myndus in Caria and the island of Cos²⁴, and continued during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus²⁵ and continued with Ptolemy III Euergetes' conquest of the entire south-west coast of Asia Minor from Pamphylia to Hellespont²⁶.

Epigraphic evidence from the Hellenistic period and beyond explains the spread of Egyptian influence in south-west Asia Minor and neighbouring islands in the IIIrd century BC and reveals its continued influence throughout the Roman Imperial period²⁷. Many votive inscriptions to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis from the Hellenistic period have been discovered on the islands and coastal towns of western Anatolia. Among these, Delos, which became an important economic and religious centre in the Hellenistic period, stands out as the place with the highest number of votive inscriptions dedicated to Egyptian gods outside Egypt. There are three sanctuaries on the island dedicated to Egyptian gods (Isis, Serapis, Anubis, Harpocrates, Osiris, Bubastis). In the north of the most important area, called Sarapieion C, there were temples dedicated to Isis, Sarapis and Anubis²⁸. It is likely that the merchants who constantly used the island as a trading centre, and probably migrated there for economic reasons, dedicated the inscriptions in question to these gods, mostly as a gift of gratitude and to have their prayers heard²⁹. An inscription from the island of Thera, dated to the IIIrd century BC, gives information about a treasury building (ὁ θησαυρός) dedicated to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis³⁰. An inscription from the island of Karpathos, dating from the IInd century BC, also shows a common dedication as a gift of gratitude to the gods³¹. The votive inscriptions from the IInd century BC have also been found on the Aegean islands of Tenos, Amorgus and Euboia³². The gods were documented as σύνναοι θεοί (temple sharing gods) in an inscription dedicated by command at Ephesus, dated to the first half of the IIIrd century BC³³. A Priene inscription from the IIIrd century BC also mentions the three gods together³⁴. An inscription from the Heraclea of Latmos was dedicated to the gods Sarapis, Isis and Anubis by Nestor and members of Thiasos³⁵.

In some dedications, Sarapis, Isis and Anubis are accompanied by Harpocrates. In the distri-

cent studies have taken an interdisciplinary approach to the spread of these cults outside Egypt, focusing on verifying and elaborating the multifactorial view of influence using spatial network analysis methods, and enriching it with the new possibilities offered by the coding of archaeological and historical data with GIS. On this topic see Glomb *et al.* 2018; Glomb *et al.* 2020.

²⁴ Diod. XX. 27 and XXXVII. 1.

²⁵ For Ptolemy II Philadelphos' rule over "all the Pamphylians and the spear-bearing Cilicians, Lycians, Carians, the warlike and the Cyclades" see Theocritus XVII. 88. On this topic see Magie 1953, 163-164; Hölbl 2001, 37-38; Meadows, 117-118; Grabowski 2019, 32-34.

²⁶ Pol. V. 34. 7. 3. For the Egyptian sovereignty over the Lycian cities of Telmessus, Lissa and Xanthus in decrees dating from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, see Telmessus: *TAM II I* (240 B.C.) Segre 1938, 183 (ca. 258-256 BC.); Lissa: *TAM II* 158, 159, and 160 (277, 275/4, and 245 B.C.); Xanthus: *TAM II* 262 (256 B.C.). Also see Bagnall 1976, 159-175; Hölbl 2001, 48-52; Grabowski 2019, 34-36.

²⁷ Magie 1953, 170-180.

²⁸ Parker 2017, 154-172.

²⁹ *IG XI*, 4 1216-17; 1220-21, 1226-28, 1260, 1267 ... *etc.*

³⁰ *IG XII*, 3, 443: Διοκλῆς καὶ οἱ βασι[λ]ισταὶ τὸν | θησαυρὸν Σαράπι | Ἰσι Ἀνούβι. For another two inscriptions found on the island, see *IG XII*, 3 1388-89.

³¹ Segre 1933, 580, 2: ΔΕΙ.....λίσιου | τιμα[θει]ς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοι|νοῦ τῶν ἀλειφομένων | Σαράπι καὶ Ἰσει καὶ | Ἀνούβι χαριστήριον.

³² *IG XII*, 5 969 (Tenos); *IG XII*, 7 255 and 429 (Amorgus); *IG XII*, 9 926-29 (Euboia).

³³ *IEphesos* 1231; Vidman 1969 nr. 296: Σαράπ[ιδι] Ἰσιδι, | Ἀνούβιδι | θεοῖς συννάοις | ὑπὲρ Μανίτου | τοῦ Κορράγου | τὴν [ἀ]πο[β]άσμωνιν | κεφάλων | κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

³⁴ *IPriene* 193; Vidman 1969 nr. 290; Bricault 2005b, 440, 304/0801: Ἰσιδος | Σαράπιδος | Ἀνούβιδος.

³⁵ *SEG* 13, 496: Σαράπει, Ἰσι, Ἀνούβ[ιδι] | Νέστωρ [—] καὶ οἱ θιασίται [—].

bution of these inscriptions, the island of Delos again takes the lead³⁶. Apart from Delos, an inscription from the island of Cos, dated to the IInd century BC, documents a dedication by command to the aforementioned gods as temple sharing gods³⁷.

Interaction between Phaselis and Egypt

The inscription presented in this article is the first documented epigraphic record of Egyptian deities at Phaselis. However, both ancient sources and papyri, numismatic and epigraphic documents, as well as archaeological evidence, leave no doubt that the city of Phaselis was actively interacting with Egypt from its foundation. So much so that Herodotus (II. 178) reports that Phaselis was one of the 12 cities that participated in the founding of the Hellenion in the Egyptian trading city of Naucratis. An Aramaic customs papyrus from Persian Egypt, found on Elephantine Island in Egypt in 1911 and dated to the mid-Vth century BC, also supports this³⁸. From the Ahiqar Scroll, recorded by a customs officer, we learn of the export materials carried by ships (6 Phoenician/36 Phaselite) from the Phoenician cities of Gadara and Phaselis (ywyn psl^d ršy) to Egypt (probably Naucratis)³⁹. These texts clearly indicate the ships that sailed from Phaselis to Egypt, when they arrived, the names of the captains and the products they carried⁴⁰. According to this, 36 Phaselis ships, which were seen to enter and leave an Egyptian port for ten months, exported to Egypt materials such as empty amphorae, timber, ship fittings, kaolin clay, bronze, iron and cedar wood (beams and planks), mainly olive oil and wine⁴¹. It is also reported that iron and natron (sodium carbonate) were loaded from this port to ships unloading their cargo⁴².

It can be said that Phaselis became particularly important as a gateway from the East to the West and from the West to the East, especially after the Peace of Callias. As is clear from Diodorus' account (XII. 4, 5) of the Peace of Callias signed between the Persians and the Athenians, the Chelidoniae Insulae and Phaselis were accepted as the border between the Persians and the Athenians. According to this agreement, no warship (ναῦς μακρά) was to sail between Phaselis and Cyanea. Although this is a warship mentioned by Diodoros, it can be suggested that Phaselis gained in importance during this period as an intermediate station and marketplace for security reasons; it can be assumed the ships coming from the east and west had to land their cargo there first. The date of the treaty in question is disputed, with some evidence pointing to 449/8 BC, but other items point to the 460s, which could mean that the 449 treaty was a renewal⁴³. If the 460s are accepted, then it becomes clear why only the Phoenician and the Phaselite ships are men-

³⁶ *IDelos* 2050, 2054, 2076-78, 2081, 2121, 2128, 2130, 2150, 2174, 2184, 2194; *IG* XI, 4 1260 ... etc.

³⁷ *IG* XII, 4 2:552 (Kos); Samos 246.

³⁸ Yardeni 1994, 68.

³⁹ Yardeni 1994, 67-68; Briant & Descat 1998, 59-66; Atilla 2018, 68; Orhan 2023, 20-23.

⁴⁰ For ship captains, see Briant & Descat 1998, 65-66.

⁴¹ Yardeni 1994, 68-76; Briant & Descat 1998, 62-63; Kuhrt 2007, 680-700, AR1-DV3; Malkin 2011, 71-71; cf. Orhan 2023, 22-23.

⁴² Yardeni 1994, 69-73; Briant & Descat 1998, 62; Bresson 2016, 293; Atilla 2018, 69. In addition to these products, it is known that grain, flax for clothing and sails, and papyrus were imported from Egypt to the West. Casson 1954, 168-187; Austin 1970, 35-36; Casson 1984, 23.

⁴³ Some modern scholars argue that the peace was signed after the Battle of Salamis in Cyprus, i.e. in 449/448, because of the passage in VII. 151 where Herodotus describes the arrival of Kallias as an Athenian envoy to Artaxerxes (Meister 1982, 23 fn. 48). However, what should be taken into account in this passage is that at the same time as Kallias, envoys from Argos also appeared before the king. They had come to ask the king whether the treaty of alliance they had signed during the reign of his father Xerxes was still in force. Therefore, the Argives' visit to the king for such a purpose may indicate the year of his accession to the throne, i.e. 465/464. They would have felt the need to ask such a question only because of the change of government (Meister 1982, 23-24, For the ancient sources referring to the peace in question, see also 30 fn. 57). For the dating of this peace to the 460s, see Walsh 1981, 30-41, 57-59; Badian 1993, 1-72; cf. Keen 1998, 118-119 fn. 53.

tioned among the merchant ships coming to Egypt as recorded on the Ahiqar scroll. This is because the introduction to these papyri states that they were written in the '11th year' of a Persian king. According to these years of reign, it is suggested that the Persian king in the question could have been Xerxes (486-465 BC) or Artaxerxes I (465-425 BC), and therefore this text should be dated to 475 BC or 454 BC⁴⁴. Although the year 454 BC is viewed with scepticism due to the political instability in Egypt⁴⁵, it can be re-evaluated considering Phaselis' status as the border between east and west in the Peace of Callias.

Although Herodotus' report and the papyrus texts in question clearly reveal Phaselis' commercial relations with Egypt, the presence of the Phaselitai in Naucratis and the region (apart from coins) has not been proven archaeologically⁴⁶. However, as recorded in the Elephantine Papyrus, the empty amphorae and the amphorae containing wine and olive oil exported to Egypt on Phaselis ships may have belonged to Phaselis itself. The fact that no archaeological evidence (other than coins) belonging to Phaselis has yet been found in the region is not related to the fact that this material has not actually been found there⁴⁷, but to the fact that the types of amphorae produced in Phaselis and identified as belonging to Phaselis were not known until 2022. A doctoral thesis published on the amphorae discovered at Phaselis shows that four main types of amphorae were produced at Phaselis⁴⁸. As a matter of fact, studies of the ceramology on the material found at Phaselis have shown that Phaselis-type amphorae have similar forms to those found at Naucratis⁴⁹. For example, a group of amphorae found at Tell el-Herr on the Sinai Peninsula in northern Egypt were labelled Mende. However, comparisons showed that these amphorae belonged to Phaselis type-2⁵⁰. Since this situation will be taken into consideration in future studies, the commercial activities of Phaselis in the Mediterranean and Aegean world can be revealed archaeologically. In addition, four Egyptian amphorae were found during the underwater surveys conducted in the southern harbour basin of Phaselis⁵¹.

The commercial relationship of Phaselis with Egypt can also be seen in the coin hoards recovered from Egypt. The hoards from Damanhur, Benha el-Asl, Asyut and Zagazig in the region also contain Archaic period coins from Phaselis⁵². Based on the coin hoards in question, it is thought that the trade route from Athens to Egypt continued through the Aegean islands to Ionia and Rhodos, passed through Rhodos to Phaselis, and reached Egypt via Cyprus and Phoenicia⁵³. At the

⁴⁴ Yardeni 1994, 68; Briant & Descat 1998, 61-62; Kuhrt 2007, 700, fn. 1; Atilla 2018, 68.

⁴⁵ Briant & Descat 1998, 61-62; Kuhrt 2007, 700, fn. 1; Atilla 2018, 68-69.

⁴⁶ Möller 2000, 202.

⁴⁷ When we look at the finds and artefacts identified in the archaeological studies carried out at in Naucratis and its surroundings; there is no group of archaeological finds (except coins) directly pointing to Phaselis, see Leonard 1997. However, studies of the ceramology on materials found at Phaselis have revealed that it has similar find groups to Naucratis, cf. Leonard 1997, 151-219, 201, fig. 6.26; Orhan 2020a, 75-86.

⁴⁸ Orhan 2023, 69-81.

⁴⁹ Cf. Leonard 1997, 151-219, 201, fig. 6.26; Orhan 2020, 75-86; Orhan 2023, 123.

⁵⁰ Orhan 2023, 78 fn. 764.

⁵¹ Orhan 2023, 112-115.

⁵² Damanhur (IGCH 1637), Benha el-Asl (IGCH 1640), Asyut (IGCH 1644), Zagazig (IGCH 1645). The Damanhur hoard was buried ca. 485 BC and the Phaselis coin here dates to 500 BC. The Benha el-Asl hoard contains one Phaselis coin and was buried in 485 BC. The 11 Phaselis coins from the Asyut hoard, buried between 475-460 BC, date to the end of the 6th century BC. The Zagazig hoard includes a single Phaselis coin and dates to the 6th century BC. Cf. Heipp-Tamer 1993, 25-47.

⁵³ Dressel & Regling 1927, 26 fn. 2; Casson 1979, 179; Heipp-Tamer 1993, 18, 32-33, 52. Chr. Heipp-Tamer, who has studied the Hellenistic coins of the city, points out that since the coin hoards of the Archaic period in Egypt, Syria, Rhodos and Jordan are dominated by large coins such as staters, tetradrachms and decadrachms, the naukleros of Phaselis must have been a merchant who bought goods and paid for them with silver coins, not a sailor who spent small coins in port cities. Accordingly, the naukleros of Phaselis who

same time, merchant ships sailing from Syria to the Egyptian coast did not make a direct route, but first stopped by at the ports of Cilicia and Lycia (Phaselis?) to pick up new goods, and then sailed to Rhodos, where they partially unloaded their goods before sailing on to Egypt⁵⁴.

The presence of the people of Phaselis in Egypt is also supported by epigraphic data. An inscription has been found in Philae, the city of Egypt, dated 9 July 116 BC. A man named Nestor from Phaselis mentioned on this inscription, who was appointed to very important positions in the southern part of Thebes and supervised the security of regions such as Syene, Elephantine and Philae, made a votive offering to Isis, Serapis and Horos for Ptolemy VIII, his wife and children⁵⁵. A Hellenistic graffiti in the temple of Seti I at Abydos mentions the name of Neon of Phaselis⁵⁶. Euktemon of Phaselis also visited the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. He engraved his name on the wall of the tomb of Rameses IV and said that he came here, saw this and was amazed⁵⁷. Lykon of Phaselis had likewise visited the tombs of Rameses IV and VI⁵⁸. Another Phaselis named Mnasimakchos had similarly visited the tomb of Ramses IV⁵⁹. The visits of the people of Phaselis to the famous Valley of the Kings at Thebe, all mentioned in inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, can be linked to their military or commercial travels⁶⁰.

As a trading port, Phaselis was probably under Ptolemaic rule, or at least Ptolemaic influence, for a very long time after its capture by Ptolemy I, if not always⁶¹. The Ptolemies, who always tried to keep Phaselis under their control, had a great interest in the port here and allowed Phaselis to mint silver coins for free during this period⁶². The eagle and thunderbolt attributes on some of these coins indicate Ptolemaic influence at Phaselis⁶³. In addition, the depictions of Isis (crown of Isis and torch) also clearly show Ptolemaic influence⁶⁴. On three of the coins found at Phaselis appear Portraits of a Ptolemaic royal couple⁶⁵.

In conclusion, the votive inscription dedicated to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, which was discovered in the rubble of the building constructed after the temple, in front of the pronaos area of the Hellenistic temple, gains in importance as a document supporting the interaction between Phaselis-Egyptian interaction in the Hellenistic period, as clearly demonstrated by the numerous epigraphic, numismatic and papyrological documents and archaeological data presented above. It is unclear whether the dedicator was a man from Phaselis or not, and whether he was identified

came to Egypt paid for his cargo with his local silver coin. At the same time, Phaselis coins may have reached Egypt through merchants who used the city as a stopover and exchanged some of their goods for Phaselis money.

⁵⁴ Heipp-Tamer 1993, 14 fn. 18, 52.

⁵⁵ Roccati 1978, 993-996, nr. 4a; cf. Mooren 1980, 262-270: (ἔτους) νδ', Παννὶ κβ' | βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ | βασιλίῳ Κλεοπάτρῃ τῇ | ἀδελφῇ καὶ βασιλίῳ Κλεοπάτρῃ | τῇ γυναικὶ θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις, καὶ τοῖς | τούτων τέκνοις Ἰσιδι, Σαράπιδι, Ὡρωι | καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀβάτῳ θεοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίου | [τ]οῦ συγγενοῦς [κ]αὶ σ[τ]ρατηγοῦ [τοῦ] περὶ Ἑλε[φ]αντίνην Νέστῳ [ρ] Μελανίπ[ι]ου Φασηλίτης | τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων ὁ καθεσταμένος | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ φρουρ[α]ρχίᾳ Συήνης καὶ | Ἑλεφαντίνης καὶ Φιλῶν καὶ γερροφυλακίαι | καὶ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ.

⁵⁶ Masson 1976, 309 nr. 4: Νέων Φασηλίτης.

⁵⁷ Baillet 1926, nr. 615: Εὐκτῆμῳ | Φα[ση]λίτης | [ε]ἶδεν [καὶ] | [ἐθαύμασεν].

⁵⁸ Baillet 1926, nr. 276 and 1214: Λύκων Φασηλίτης.

⁵⁹ Baillet 1926, nr. 265: Μνασίμαχος | Φασηλίτας.

⁶⁰ For the fact that in antiquity many foreigners visited the tombs of the kings at Thebe and, in addition to their touristic curiosity, made pilgrimages to these sacred sites full of hieroglyphs and paintings in order to learn about the afterlife and the ascent of the soul, cf. Préaux 1928-9, 142.

⁶¹ For the Ptolemaic rule in Phaselis, see Tüner Önen 2008, 121-129.

⁶² Phaselis' Hellenistic period 4 coin series are included in this group. Heipp-Tamer 1993, 46-84.

⁶³ Heipp-Tamer 1993, 60 plate 8 nr. 140-142.

⁶⁴ SNG Lockett 3015; SNG von Aulock 4438.

⁶⁵ Heipp-Tamer 1993, 60 plate 9 nr. 156-158.

with a man named Krotos of Egyptian. Given the record of the name in question in the papyri, it is likely that Krotos was an Egyptian merchant. Moreover, just as Hellenic merchants and officials/tourists visiting Naucratis for one reason or another made offerings to their own gods in the Hellenion from the Archaic period onwards, it is not unusual for Egyptian merchants and government officials visiting Phaselis in the course of their duties to make offerings to their own gods. Although this assumption is a hypothesis, considering that the level of economic, political and socio-cultural relations of Phaselis with Egypt increased in the Hellenistic period, especially in the IIIrd century BC, with the dominance of the Ptolemaic kingdom over Phaselis and the eastern Mediterranean, it is highly probable that the Egyptian Krotos came to Phaselis and made offering to his local gods Sarapis, Isis and Anubis in the sanctuary now called the Hellenistic Temple (it is not yet clear to which god the temple was dedicated).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abitz F. 1984, *König und Gott. Die Götterszenen in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern von Thutmosis IV. bis Ramses III.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 40). Wiesbaden.
- Adak M., N. Tüner & S. Şahin 2005, "Neue Inschriften aus Phaselis I". *Gephyra* 2, 1-20.
- Altenmüller B. 1975, "Art. Anubis". *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Bd. I. Wiesbaden, 327-333.
- Atilla B. D. 2018, *Akdeniz'de Roma Devlet Arazilerinin (Ager Publicus) Dağıtım ve Organizasyon Sistemi*. Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Akdeniz Üniversitesi. Antalya.
- Austin M. M. 1970, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*. Cambridge.
- Badian E. 1993, *From Plataea to Potidaea: Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentacontaetia*. Baltimore/London.
- Bagnall R. S. 1976, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*. Leiden.
- Baillet M. J. 1926, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes*. Kairo.
- Bergman M. 2010, "Sarapis im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.". Ed. G. Weber, *Alexandria und das ptolemäische Ägypten: Kulturbegrenzungen in hellenistischer Zeit*. Berlin, 109-135.
- Blackman D. J. 1981, "The Inscriptions". Ed. J. Schäfer, *Phaselis: Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen*, (Ist. Mitt. Beiheft 24). Tübingen, 138-163.
- Bresson A. 2016, *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy: Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City States*. Princeton/Oxford.
- Briant P. & Descat R. 1998, "Un registre douanier de la satrapie d'Égypte à l'époque achéménide (TAD C3, 7)". Eds. N. Grimal & B. Menu, *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*. Cairo, 59-104.
- Bricault L. 1999, "Sarapis et Isis, sauveurs de Ptolémée IV à Raphia". *CdE* 74, 334-343.
- Bricault L. 2004, "La diffusion isiaque: une esquisse". *Städte Jahrbuch* 19, 548-556.
- Bricault L. 2005a, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques*. Vol. I. Paris.
- Bricault L. 2005b, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques*. Vol. II. Paris.
- Casson L. 1954, "Grain Trade of Hellenistic World". *TAPA* 85, 168-187.
- Casson L. 1979, *Die Seefahrer in der Antike*. München.
- Casson L. 1984, *Ancient Trade and Society*. Detroit.
- Cumont F. 1929, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme Romain*. Paris.
- Doxey D. M. 2001, "Art. Anubis". *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. Bd. I. New York, 97-98.
- Dressel v. H. & K. Regling 1927, "Zwei ägyptische Funde altgriechischer Silbermünzen". *ZfN* 37, 1-138 & Tf. 1-6.
- Dunand F. 1980, "Cultes égyptiens hors d'Égypte, essai d'analyse des conditions de leur diffusion". Ed. P. Briant, *Religions, pouvoir, rapports sociaux*. Paris. 71-148.
- Fassa E. 2015, "Sarapis, Isis, and the Ptolemies in Private Dedications". *Kernos* 28, 133-153.
- Foraboschi D. 1967-1971, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum: Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 16. Milano.
- Fraser P. M. 1960, "Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World". *OpAth* 3, 1-54.
- Fraser P. M. 1972, *Ptolemaic Alexandria I*. Oxford.
- Gasparro G. S. 2018, "Anubis in the 'Isiac Family' in the Hellenistic and Roman World". *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58.1, 529-548.
- Glomb T., A. Mertel & Z. Pospíšil. 2020, "Ptolemaic Political Activities on the West Coast of Hellenistic Asia Minor had a Significant Impact on the Local Spread of the Isiac Cults: A Spatial Network Analysis". *PLoS One* 15(4): e0230733.10.1371/journal.pone.0230733.
- Glomb T., A. Mertel, Z. Pospíšil, Z. Stachoň & A. Chalupa. 2018, "Ptolemaic Military Operations were a Dominant Factor in the Spread of Egyptian Cults across the Early Hellenistic Aegean Sea". *PLoS One* 13: e0193786.10.1371/journal.pone.0193786.
- Grabowski T. 2019, "Küçük Asya'da Ptolemaioslar Hanedanı". Ed. O. Tekin, *Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemlerinde Anadolu: Krallar, İmparatorlar, Kent Devletleri*. İstanbul, 28-49.
- Grieshammer R. 1996, "Art. Anubis". *DNP* 1, Stuttgart / Weimar, 819.
- Harper G. M. 1928, "A Study in the Commercial Relations between Egypt and Syria in the Third Century before Christ". *AJP* XLIX, 1-35.

- Heipp-Tamer C. 1993, *Die Münzprägung der lykischen Stadt Phaselis in griechischer Zeit*. (Saarbrücker Studienzur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte VI). Saarbrücken.
- Helck W. 1964, "Art: Anubis". *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*, Bd. 1. Stuttgart, 416.
- Hornbostel W. 1973, *Sarapis: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, der Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*. Leiden.
- Hölbl G. A. 2001, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*. New York.
- Huss W. 2001, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit: 332-30 v. Chr.* München.
- IDelos Roussel P. & M. Launey. 1937, *Inscriptions de Délos*. vol. 4 [6]. nos. 1497-2219. Paris.
- IGCH Thompson M, O. Mørkholm & C. M. Kraay 1973, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York.
- Keen A. G. 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians & Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545 – 362 BC*. Leiden-Boston-Köln.
- Koch K. 1993, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion: Von den Pyramiden bis zu den Mysterien der Isis*. Stuttgart.
- Kraay C. M. 1976, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. Londra.
- Kuhrt A. 2007, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. London.
- Leonard A. 1997, *Ancient Naukratis: Excavations at a Greek Emporium in Egypt. The Excavations at Kom Ge'if* (American Schools of Oriental Research 54).
- Liddell H. G. & Scott R. 1940, *A Greek and English Lexicon*. Oxford.
- Magie D. 1953, "Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and on Coins". *American Journal of Archaeology* 57.3, 163-187.
- Malkin I. 2011, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. New York.
- Masson O. 1976, "Nouveaux graffites grecs d'Abydos et de Bouhen". *CE* 51, 305-313.
- Meadows A. 2012, "Deditio in Fidem: The Ptolemaic Conquest of Asia Minor". Eds. C. Smith & L. Mariah Yarrow, *Imperialism, Cultural Politics, and Polybius*. Oxford. 113-133.
- Meister K. 1982, *Die Ungeschichtlichkeit des Kalliasfriedens und deren historische Folgen*. Wiesbaden [Palingenesia 18].
- Mooren L. 1980, "The Strategos Athenaios, his Subordinate Nestor, and the Administrative Organization of the Southern Thebaid". *CE* 55, 262-270.
- Mørkholm O. 1991, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*. Cambridge.
- Morrison J. S. 1989, "Names and Things in Greek Maritime Contexts". *Mediterranean Language Review* 4-5, 47-61.
- Möller A. 2000, *Naukratis Trade in Archaic Greece*. Oxford.
- Orhan U. 2020, "Phaselis' Hellenistic Temple (?) Entrance Slope and Terracotta Finds: A Preliminary Study". *Phaselis VI*, 75-86.
- Orhan U. 2023, *Amphora Buluntuları Işığında Phaselis'in Akdeniz Ticaretindeki Yeri*. Phaselis Disiplinlerarası Akdeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi Ekyayın Dizisi I, Antalya: Elektronik Yayın.
- Parker R. 2017, *Greek Gods Abroad: Names, Natures, and Transformations*. California.
- Pfeiffer S. 2008, "The God Sarapis, his Cult and the Beginnings of the Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt". Eds. P. McKechnie & Ph. Guillaume, *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*. Leiden, 387-408.
- Préaux C. 1928-9, "Les touristes en Égypte dans l'antiquité". *CE* 4, 139-143.
- Quaegebeur J. 1977, "Anubis, fils d'Osiris, le vacher". *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3, 119-130.
- Robert J. & L. 1983, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I: exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*. Paris.
- Roccati A. 1978, "Nuove epigrafi greche e latine da File". Eds. M. B. De Boer & T. A. Edridge, *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, EPRO 68-III. Leiden, 988-996.
- Rostovtzeff M. A. 1922. *Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* Madison.
- Segre M. 1933, "Iscrizione di Scarpanto". *Historia* VII, 577-588
- Segre M. 1938, "Iscrizioni di Licia". *Clara Rhodos* 9, 181-209.
- Sestieri P.C. 1943, *Nenshkrime latine te. Shqipnisé* (Iscrizioni latine d'Albania), *Stu dime e tekste* (Studi e testi), *Dega II* (Serie II), *Arkeologjike* (Archeologia) nr. 1, Instituti Mbretneri Studimevet Shqiptare. Roma.
- SNG Lockett 1949, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Britain. The R.C. Lockett Collection, part V (Lesbos to*

- Cyrenaica*). London-Oxford.
- SNG von Aulock *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Die Sammlung Hans von Aulock*, Hef 10 (Lykien). Berlin.
- Sokolowski F. 1974, "Propagation of the Cult of Sarapis and Isis in Greece". *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15, 441-48.
- Stoll H. W. 1894, "Krotos". Ed. W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Band II.1, Leipzig, 1575.
- Takács S. A. 1999, "Isis and Sarapis in Ephesos". Eds. H. Friesinger & F. Krinzinger *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten Des Symposions Wien 1995. Archäologische Forschungen 1. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 269-274.
- Terpstra T. 2019, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean: Private Order and Public Institutions*. Princeton-Oxford.
- Tüner Önen N. & Yılmaz F. 2015, "A New Athena Polias Votive Inscription from the Phaselis' Acropolis". *Adalya* 18, 121-131.
- Tüner Önen N. 2008, *Phaselis Antik Kenti ve Teritoryumu*. Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Akdeniz Üniversitesi. Antalya.
- Tüner Önen N. 2015, "Yeni Buluntular Işığında Phaselis Epigrafi Çalışmaları". *Phaselis I*, 19-38.
- Vidman L. 1969, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*. Berlin.
- Walsh J. 1981, "The Authenticity and the Dates of the Peace of Callias and the Congress Decree". *Chiron* 11, 31-63.
- Yardeni A. 1994, "Maritime Trade and Royal Accountancy in an Erased Customs Account from 475 B.C.E. on the Ahiqar Scroll from Elephantine". *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 293, 67-78.
- Yellin J. W. 1978, *The Role and Iconography of Anubis in Meroitic Religion*. Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University. Waltham (Mass).