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New Dedications from Phaselis to Apollon Epidamos, Artemis Pergaia and Hephaistos

Phaselis'ten Apollon Epidamos, Artemis Pergaia ve Hephaistos için Yeni Adak Yazıtları

Murat ARSLAN * Nihal TÜNER ÖNEN **

Abstract: This article presents three new votive inscriptions from Phaselis. The first inscription was carved on a pedestal that had been reused as spolia in repairs made in Late Antiquity on the main street of the city, which descends to the Central Harbour. It is dedicated to Apollon Epidamos. Since the epithet Epidamos was first documented for Apollon at Phaselis, the present study firstly focuses on the meaning of the epithet and its usage for Demeter, and then tries to analyse the connection of the epithet with Apollon and Phaselis. The second inscription is a votive stele dedicated to Artemis Pergaia by a foreign couple (*metoikoi*) living in Phaselis, which was found in front of pier no. A9 during the excavations carried out at the piers of the Phaselis aqueducts. The final inscription is dedicated to Hephaistos and was recovered as a surface find between the Tetragonal Agora and the south wall of the Great Bath. The votive inscription of Hephaistos, documented for the first time at Phaselis has been analysed in a multifaceted way in relation to the settlements and the hinterland where the god was worshipped, and the god's connection with the city of Phaselis is evaluated.

Keywords: Phaselis, Votive Inscriptions, Apollon Epidamos, Artemis Pergaia, Hephaistos

Öz: Bu makalede Phaselis kentinden ele geçmiş üç yeni adak yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır. Yazıtlardan ilki kentin Merkezi Liman'a inen ana caddesinde Geç Antikçağ onarımlarında devşirme malzeme olarak kullanılmış bir kaideye kazınmış olup Apollon Epidamos'a adanmıştır. Epidamos sıfatı Apollon için ilk kez Phaselis'te belgelendiğinden bu çalışmada öncelikle epithetin anlamı ve Demeter'e ait kullanımları üzerinde durulmuş ardından söz konusu lakabın Apollon ve Phaselis'le bağlantısı analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. İkinci yazıt ise Phaselis su kemerlerinin ayaklarında gerçekleştirilen kazı çalışmalarında A9 no'lu ayağın önlerinde bulunmuş ve Phaselis açısından ünik bir örnek teşkil eden, Phaselis'te ikamet eden yabancı (*metoikoi*) bir çiftin Artemis Pergaia'ya adanmış bir adak stelidir. Son yazıt Hephaistos'a adanmış olup Tetragonal Agora ile Büyük Hamam'ın güney duvarı arasında yüzey buluntusu olarak ele geçmiştir. Phaselis'te ilk defa belgelenen Hephaistos'a ilişkin bu adak yazıtı tanrının tapınım gördüğü yerleşimler ve hinterlandları üzerine çok yönlü bir şekilde ele alınmış ve tanrının Phaselis kenti ile olan bağlantısı değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Phaselis, Adak Yazıtı, Apollon Epidamos, Artemis Pergaia, Hephaistos

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Dedication to the Apollon Epidamos

During excavation and conservation work carried out in 2023 at Phaselis, on the section of the main road leading to the central harbour, a votive stone of high quality limestone was discovered, which was reused as secondary material in later repairs (Fig. 1). The front is broken and incomplete, the upper left part measuring 24 cm high, 20 cm wide and 12 cm deep. The lower right corner is also broken and incomplete. On the upper surface, on the left side, there is a cavity 10 cm in diameter containing a piece of a bronze statue. On the same axis, to the right, there is another similar indentation, 13 cm deep and 9.5 cm in diameter. The area around these cavities is deeply and widely broken. The edges of the base are smoothed, while the upper and lower surfaces are left rough. On the left rear side there is a cut and shaped impression measuring 50 cm long, 10 cm high and 24 cm deep. The base bears a two-line inscription in ancient Greek (Fig. 2).

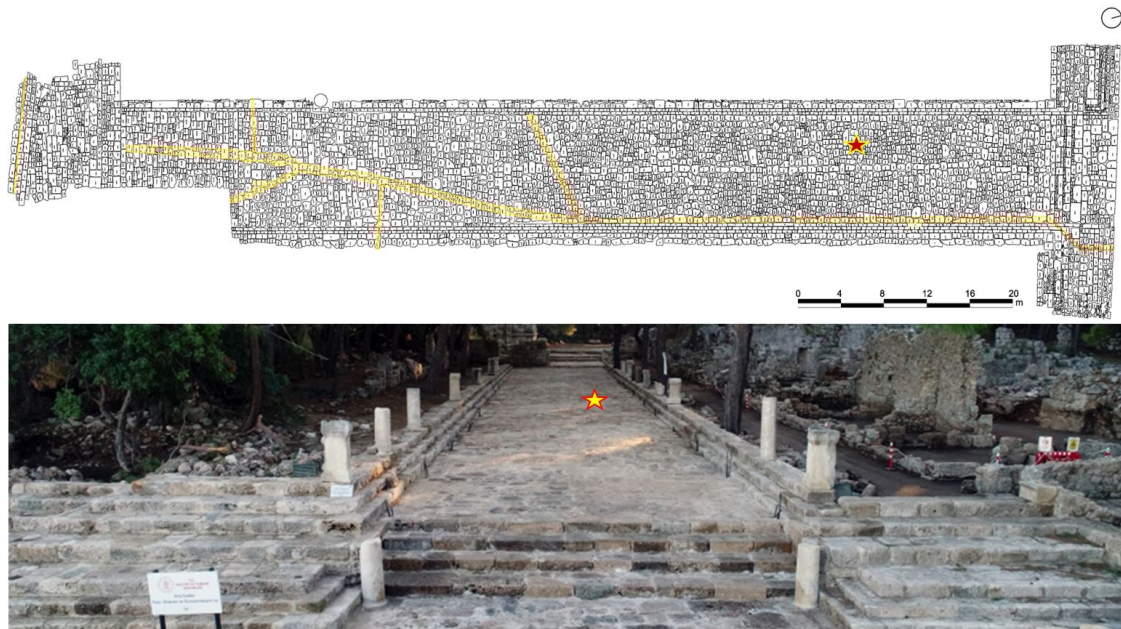


Fig. 1. Location of the inscription (drawn by Tolga Karahan)

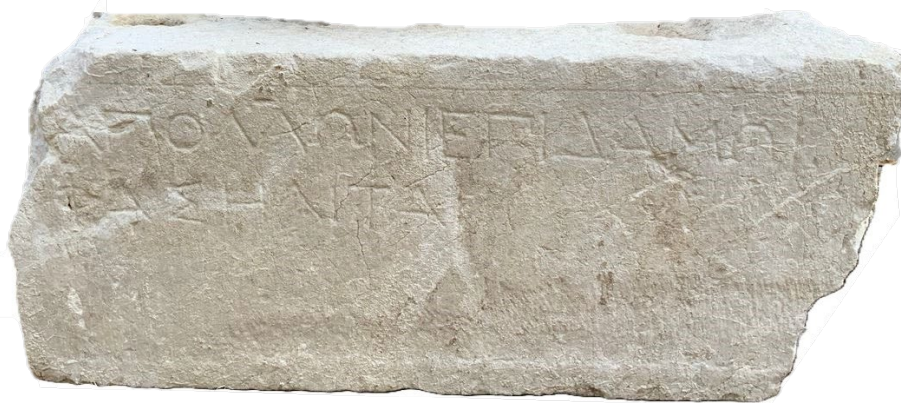


Fig. 1. Dedication to Apollon Epidamos

Dimensions: L.: 0.50 m; W.: 1.175 m; D.: 0.56 m; L.H.: 0.05 m (omicron)–0.07 m (phi).

Date: Vth century B.C. (according to lettering).

<p>Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπιδάμῳ 2 Φασηλίται ^{vaz.}</p>	<p><i>The people of Phaselis (dedicated) to the Apollon Epidamos.</i></p>
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The pedestal in question, reused as spolia during the late repair and renovation to the Main Street, bears a votive inscription dedicated to the god Apollon by the people of Phaselis. This inscription, which can be dated to the Late Archaic–Early Classical Period based on its letter characteristics, can be associated with the votive inscription of Apollon Iatros, which was previously identified and published from the acropolis of the city¹. Here the epithet Ἐπίδαμος is attested for the first time with Apollon. The primary meaning of this term, derived from the adjective ἐπίδημος, ον, used in the Doric dialect, is ‘staying at home, residing,’ or ‘inhabiting’. Another meaning, given as ‘epidemic disease = epidemic,’ refers to something that is ‘circulating among the people’ or ‘spreading’². A votive inscription thought to have been recovered from the Boiotian city of Koroneia shows that the goddess Demeter received this epithet in the same Doric dialect³. A. Schachter, in his work on the cults of Boiotia, adopts Krisaia as a geographical designation, interpreting the combination of the dual epithets (Δαμάθερις Κρισίη Ἐπιδάμου) as signifying ‘the Demeter from Krisa who sojourns amongst us’. He further asserts that the cult established in Koroneia by the Krisaian(s) adopted the epithet Epidamos to emphasise their residence in the settlement. This interpretation is further substantiated by the nouns derived from the same adjective used in two inscriptions from the island of Rhodes for ‘right of residence’ (ἐπιδαμία; *IG XII 1, 43*) and ‘foreigners with the privilege of residence’ (συνθυτᾶν Ῥοδιαστᾶν ἐπιδαμιαστᾶν; *IG XII 1, 157*)⁴. The adjective ἐπιδήμιος, ον, which is considered equivalent to ἐπίδημος in the dictionary, appears as an epithet of Zeus in a votive inscription dedicated to the god, recovered from the Paphlagonian city of Kaisareia/Hadrianopolis⁵. It appears that that votive inscription was made for the benefit of the dedicatee’s offspring and livestock. G. F. Chiai observes that the epithet is used to convey meanings such as ‘present’ and ‘residing’, thus imbuing the text with a strong personal dimension and emphasizing the deity’s deep local affiliation. The deity was widely regarded as being particularly present within the region and the lives of its followers, a perception further reinforced by the numerous miracles attributed to him⁶. In Callimachus’ (*Dian. 226*) hymn to Artemis, the term is employed to denote the notion that the goddess resided in Miletus (πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε πολύπτολι χάρε Χιτώνη

¹ Adak *et al.* 2006, 4 ff. no. 2: [...]γένης, | [Κλ]εόμβροτος, | Κλέανδρος, | παῖδες Κόπριος, ||⁺ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἴατρῶι.

² Liddell & Scott 1940 *sv.* ἐπίδημος.

³ *IG VII 3213*: Σαυμείλα Πούθωνος Δαμάθερι | Κρισίη Ἐπιδάμου ἀνέθεικε.

⁴ Schachter 1981, 155.

⁵ Marek 1993, 193 no. 19 (= *SEG XLIV 1000*); French 1994, 116 no. 2 (with addendum and corrigendum): ἀγαθῆ τύχη. | Διὶ Ἐπιδημίῳ | Κλαυδίου Σεύηρου, | Ὁ φελίων οἶκοι⁴ νόμος κέ Ἥλιος | ὑπὲρ τέκνων | κέ τῶν βοῶν | εὐχῆς χάριν ||⁸ ἀνεστήσαμεν.

⁶ Chiai 2019, 116.

Μιλήτωι ἐπίδημε).

The employment of this epithet in the dedication by the people of Phaselis may have been to emphasise the notion of Apollon residing within the city. The depiction of the head of Apollon adorned with a laurel wreath is observable on the obverse of the city's silver coins dating from the second century B.C.⁷ In contrast, the meaning of the word in regard to epidemics has not been thoroughly evaluated. Hippocrates clearly used this adjective in the sense of an epidemic disease⁸. In the case of jaundice (ἵκτερος), he once more employed the adjective ἐπίδημιος in an epidemic sense⁹. In consideration of the established association between the deity Apollon and epidemics, it is imperative to acknowledge the possibility of interpreting the phenomenon in the context of the present inquiry. According to the extant corpus of ancient Greek literature, the initial arrows of the plague¹⁰ were discharged by the god Apollon (Hom. *Il.* I. 42–53), and subsequent events indicate that this was not an isolated occurrence¹¹. The sudden and unexpected arrival of the disease from outside has been recognised in many cultures as an indication of the divine wrath of Apollon the archer¹².

Historically, harbours were believed to be the primary entry point for plagues, with rats

⁷ Heipp–Tamer 1993, 80–83.

⁸ Hp. *Epid.* I. 3. 14: ἐν τῇ καταστάσει ταύτῃ κατὰ χειμῶνα μὲν ἤρξαντο παραπληγίαι καὶ πολλοῖσιν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἔθνησκον διὰ ταχέων· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως τὸ νόσημα ἐπίδημιον ἦν. Books on epidemics are also given this title (Pall. in Hp. *Fract.* 12. 271C).

⁹ Hp. *Int.* 37: Ἄλλος ἵκτερος· ἐπίδημιος οὗτος καλεῖται, διότι πᾶσαν ὥρην ἐπιλαμβάνει· Prior to the identification of the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*, the causative agent of the plague, by Alexandre Yersin in 1894, the terms ‘epidemic’ and ‘plague’ were used interchangeably. Horstmannshoff 1992, 45. See in detail Arslan 2024, 543ff.

¹⁰ In antiquity, the term plague was used to describe all epidemics, whether they were plague or not. This was because plague could not be clearly diagnosed. See also Wiechmann 2012, 66; Kılıç 2017, 118.

¹¹ The poet recounts how Apollon, incensed by Agamemnon's haughty demeanour towards his priest, who had arrived at the Achaean encampment to ransom his daughter, unleashed a plague upon the army as retribution. A comparable sequence of events is delineated in Sophocles' tragedy “Oedipus Rex”. In this work, Sophocles recounts how certain unfavourable events in the city of Thebes incensed the gods, compelling Apollon to disseminate the plague to the city and inflict a great tragedy upon the populace. For further elucidation, please refer to the relevant examples and the comprehensive analysis provided by Demir (2021, 461–479). Thucydides, while deliberately eschewing any presumptions concerning the etiology of the disease, reports that the Athenians held the belief that the god Apollon had been dispatched to assist the Lacedaemonians in accordance with the prophecy, given that the epidemic commenced immediately following the Peloponnesian War (Thuk. I. 118; II. 54). See also Kallet 2013, 355–382.

¹² In the Archaic and Early Classical periods, during epidemics, oracles were the primary source of consultation, rather than physicians. This phenomenon is exemplified by the extensive collection of nearly seventy sayings concerning epidemics from the Oracle of Delphi. The responses received from the oracle typically addressed the underlying cause of divine retribution, which was often attributed to the defilement (μίαισμα) of a deity or hero by humans, resulting from violations committed against these figures. According to Horstmannshoff (1992, 46–50), the offended deity or hero would then proceed to unleash a plague, famine, or other form of divine retribution upon the offenders. Celsus (*Med.* Proem. 4) further elaborates on this notion, stating that during this era, diseases were commonly attributed to the wrath of the gods, particularly Apollon. The identification of the cause of the god's anger was achieved through divination, and it was believed that the divination would result in the eventual appeasement of the god and the alleviation of the illness (Longrigg 2000, 55ff.). For epidemics in antiquity and their effects on society, see also Norrie 2016; Kılıç 2017, 117–159; Demir 2021, 457–479; Turgut 2022, 92–107.

being identified as the primary carriers of disease¹³. The dissemination of infectious diseases within urban centres is facilitated by maritime trade, which facilitates the transportation of infected rodents. Subsequent to the outbreak of epidemics, the establishment of cults devoted to deities is observed to occur in a number of polis¹⁴. Phaselis was a busy harbour city with a high level of international mobility, which rendered it susceptible to the introduction and subsequent spread of infectious diseases. The city's geographical characteristics, including its high temperatures throughout most of the year, also create conditions conducive to the rapid transmission of diseases. The votive inscription related to Apollon Iatros, previously recovered from the Acropolis of the city, also demonstrates the local population's belief in the healing power of the god¹⁵. This was due to the prevailing belief that deities possessed the ability to not only propagate diseases but also to prevent their dissemination and facilitate the healing of those afflicted (ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται)¹⁶. In Lindos, which is believed to be the mother

¹³ Thucydides (II. 48) recounts that the plague which afflicted Athens during the Peloponnesian Wars emanated from Ethiopia, subsequently spreading to Egypt, Libya and the majority of the kingdom's territory before abruptly striking Athens. The ancient Greek word σμίνθος signifies 'mouse', and the iconography of the statue of the god described in Strabo (XIII. 48) suggests that temples dedicated to Apollon Smintheus, who is understood as the god of mice, were located near the harbour in order to seek protection from the god against epidemics brought by ships. According to Strabo (XIII. 46-48), there were numerous sanctuaries dedicated to this deity, particularly in Troas and the nearby regions of Imbros, Parion, Larissa, and the island of Rhodes. The most prominent of these sanctuaries was the Smintheion, situated in proximity to the village of Gülpınar in Çanakkale.

¹⁴ As stated by Livy (IV. 25. 3-4), this was also the case in the aftermath of the plague outbreak in Rome in 433 B.C., which led to the establishment of the cult of Apollon Medicus within the city. Furthermore, Pausanias (VIII. 41. 7-9.) documents the construction of a temple at Bassai in Arcadia, dedicated to Apollon Epikourios, following a plague in 430 B.C.

¹⁵ For this inscription, see above, fn. 1. The god takes the epithet *Ietros* (= *Iatros*, Doric dialect) from the IVth century B.C. onwards, predominantly in the Black Sea colonies of Ionia (Graf 2008, 70; Ustinova 2009, 245-298). In nearly all of the colonial cities in this region, Apollon is depicted as the god of health and in many of them he is considered the chief deity. N. Ehrhardt (1989, 115-122) posits that this cult originated in Ionia and was disseminated by the colonists to the Aegean Islands and the Black Sea. The cult of Apollon Ietros was venerated as a healer and restorer, particularly prior to the widespread cult of Asklepios. Following the great epidemic disaster in Athens, when people's prayers to their gods proved futile, they gravitated towards novel beliefs. Accordingly, the cult of Asklepios, who was a local god of medicine and health until the epidemic, was introduced to Athens in 420 or 419 B.C. The construction of two temples dedicated to the deity was initiated on the southern slope of the Acropolis and in Piraeus. The dissemination of the cult of Asklepios in Rome was initiated by a senate decision due to the epidemic in 293 B.C. (Perlstadt 2016, 1048, cf. Turgut 2022, 96).

¹⁶ Horstmanshoff 1992 (44 fn. 3) identifies the deity in question as synonymous with Paiwon/Paian (cf. Graf 2008, 66-68), a figure referenced in Linear B inscriptions as the god responsible for bestowing health and protecting against epidemics (cf. Graf 2008, 66-68). Homer (*Il.* I. 42; 456) also mentions this deity as one who both initiates and remedies plagues. After the defeat of the Parthian army by Roman troops under the command of Lucius Verus around 166 A.D., the army retreated westward through Syria. The god's response to the cities seeking the oracle of Apollon Klarios due to the epidemic spreading across Asia Minor aligns with the understanding of "he who wounds will heal" as seen in his earlier oracle to Telephus. Akar Tanriver (2009, 484-487, K4; 489-492, K8; 492-495, K9) notes that the god instructed the three cities to erect statues of Phoibos armed with his bow at their city gates to protect them from the plague. For further discussion of this, see Oesterheld 2014, 212ff. The god, associated with warding off epidemics with his arrows, bears the epithet Propylaios. This epithet is also depicted on the reverse of Roman Imperial Period coins from Kremna, a city in Pisidia, where Apollon is shown

city of Phaselis, the god Apollon was worshipped in two forms: as Oulios, who was associated with health, and as Loimios, who was believed to protect against plague¹⁷. The word λοιμός, like ‘plague’ and ‘epidemic’, referred to a disease that was ‘common to all’¹⁸. In his commentary to Hippocrates’ “Epidemics”, Galenus distinguishes between *epidemos* and *loimos*, defining the former as a condition that differs from any disease, and the latter as an infectious disease that occurs in many people in a certain place at the same time. Galenus further asserts that if the disease in question is responsible for a high mortality rate, it should be defined as “loimos”¹⁹. Therefore, the god here receives the same epithet (λοιμός) as both the bringer of the plague and the protector from it. The same applies to Apollon Smintheus. Polemon of Iliion, a writer of the IInd century B.C., depicts Apollon Smintheus both as the bearer of the plague and destroyer of crops, and as the lord of rats and protector against rats²⁰.

Drawing upon the extant literature concerning cult examples, it can be posited that the cult of Apollon Epidamos at Phaselis may be associated with epidemics. Furthermore, given the secondary use of the inscription on the Main Street leading down to the Central Harbour, it may be surmised that the temple or sanctuary of the god may be sought in the vicinity of the harbour.

Dedication to Artemis Pergaia

In 2023, during excavations in front of the piers of the aqueducts, a marble votive stele (Fig. 3) was unearthed near pillar A9. The inscription-bearing stele was discovered in two fragments. It is fractured at the upper and lower edges and corners, displaying surface cracks. The other sides are smooth-cut but rough. The stele features a seven-line inscription (Fig. 4).

Dimensions: L.: 0.23 m; W.: 0.45 m; D.: 0.95 m; L.H.: 0.015 – 0.02 m.

Date: Hellenistic Period (according to lettering).

with a stretched bow. The legends on these coins further document this association. For a deeper analysis of the cult of Apollon Propylaios on Pisidian coins, see Akgönül & Köker 2024, 53-71. Pausanias (XII. 4) makes reference to a statue of Apollon in the agora in front of the temple of Apollon, made by Kalamis, which was named Aleksikakos because, according to a prophecy, it had eradicated the plague that struck Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

¹⁷ Macr. *Sat.* I. 17. Graf 2008, 68.

¹⁸ Liddell & Scott 1940 *s.v.* λοιμός, ὁ. Hp. *De flatibus* VI, 6. 97: ὁ μὲν κοινὸς ἅπασι καλεόμενος λοιμός.

¹⁹ Gal. *In Hipp. Epid.* III comm. III. 21: οὐ γὰρ δὴ νοσήματος τινος ὄνομά ἐστιν ἐπίδημον ἢ λοιμῶδες, ἀλλ’ ὅτιπερ ἂν ἅμα πολλοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ γένηται (χρόνω τε καὶ) χωρίῳ, τοῦτ’ ἐπίδημον ὀνομάζεται. Προσελθόντος δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ πολλοῦ ἀναρῆναι, λοιμὸς γίγνεται.

²⁰ *FHG* III fr. 31: τούτῳ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγροῖς μύας, οἵτινες τοὺς καρποὺς ἐλυμαίνοντο. Βουληθεὶς δὲ ποτε ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καταλλαγήναι πρὸς Ὀρδην τὸν ἀρχιθουκόλον αὐτοῦ παρεγένετο, παρ’ ᾧ ξενισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ὑπέσχετο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξιν, καὶ δὴ παραχρῆμα τοξεύσας τοὺς μῦς διέφθειρεν. For a comparison of this myth with the iconography on the coins of Alexandria Troas, see Çizmeli Ögün 2009, 117-120.



Fig. 2. Find spot of the Artemis Pergaia inscription

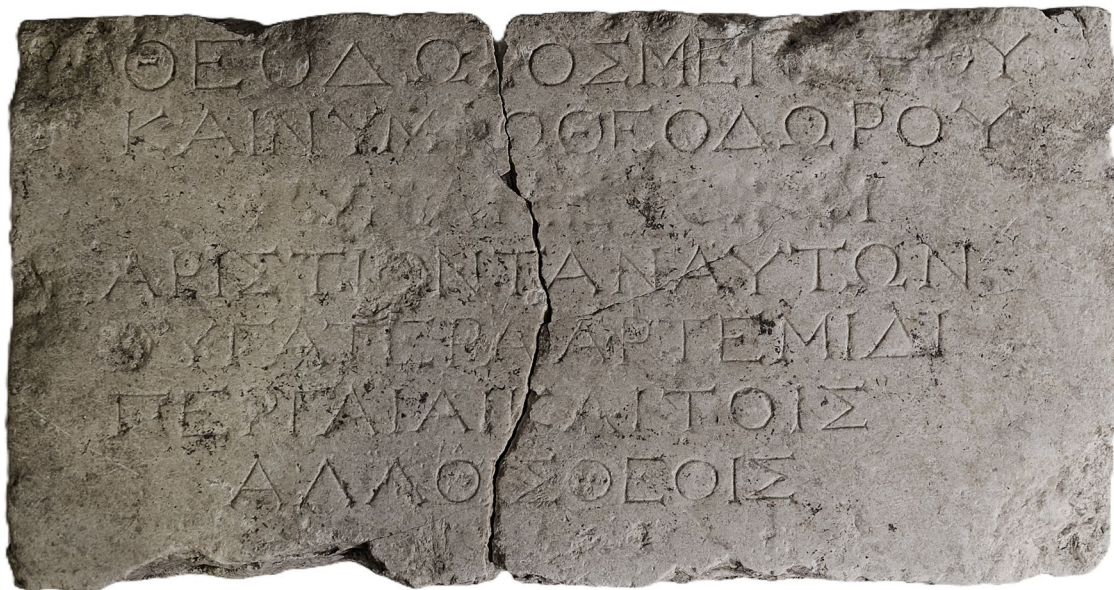


Fig. 3. Dedication to Artemis Pergaia

Θεόδωρος Μεν[ίππ]ου
 2 καὶ Νυμφῶ Θεοδώρου
 γυνῶ, μέτοικοι *vac.*
 4 Ἀρίστιον, τὰν αὐτῶν
 θυγατέρα, Ἀρτέμιδι
 6 Περγαία καὶ τοῖς
vac. ἄλλοις θεοῖς. *vac.*

*Theodoros, son of Menippos, and
 Theodoros' wife Nympho, the metics,
 (dedicated?) their daughter Aristion to
 Artemis Pergaia and other deities.*

The inscription in question, written in the Doric dialect, contains a votive dedication by the parents, who were metics in Phaselis, offering a statue of their daughter to Artemis Pergaia and other gods²¹. The votive inscriptions include terms such as ἄγαλμα (=statue), ἀπαρχή (=first offering, votive), ἀκροθίνιον (=first products of the earth offered to the gods), εὐχή (=prayer, offering), χαριστήριον (=gratitude offering), or δεκάτη (=one-tenth share). In this context, it is often believed that an agreement was made with the gods based on the principle of *do ut des* (“I give so that you may give”), which is also interpreted as a theology of reciprocal bribery²².

L. 1-3: The votive offerings are attributed to Theodoros, son of Menippos, and his wife Nympho²³. These names are documented for the first time at Phaselis. Theodoros and Menippos are frequently encountered names, while Nympho is rarely documented²⁴. γυνά=γυνή (Dor dialect).

L. 3: The third line of the inscription is significantly worn and appears to have been deliberately scratched, suggesting damage or removal of the original text. This line provides insight into the identity of the dedicatees, who are identified as metics. However, metics inscriptions typically also denote the individuals' ethnicons/place of origin²⁵. In this case, however, no mention of ethnicity is found. The definition of metic is well-defined in ancient sources, offering a clear reference point for interpretation. Harpocrates defines this status as ‘a person who resides from one city to another, who does not visit for a short time as a foreigner, but resides there’²⁶. Aristophanes of Byzantion, on the other hand, states that foreigners who resided in the city were referred to as visitors for many days and did not pay taxes, but if they exceeded the specified period, they became *metoikos* and were subject to taxation²⁷. In summary, while every *metoikos* was a *ksenos*, not every *ksenos* was a *metoikos*. From the IVth century B.C. onwards, the granting of *metoikos* status to foreigners became a routine matter and was largely bureaucratized²⁸. Although the concept of *metoikos* was most

²¹ For similar examples of dedicating statues of daughters to the goddess Artemis, see. Hicks 1890, 119-120 no. 3a; *IDidyma* 138; *SEG XXV* 542 and *IG VII* 565 (Artemis Aulideia); *IG VII* 1872 (Artemis Eileithyia); *IG IX,1* 600 (Artemis Oritais).

²² Van Straten 1981, 73; Czech-Schneider 1998, 123; Akar Tanriver 2009, 115.

²³ For similar examples of grammatical usage indicating that Nympho was the wife of Theodoros, see *SEG XXV* 662 Θιαν[ώ] | Ἀσχεΐμου | γυνά. *SEG XLIII* 277: Σιμυλις Εὐβιλοτεία γυνά; *I.Knidos* I 133: Ἄδιννα Σωπόλιος θυγάτηρ, Πολυχάρεις γυνά; *I.Knidos* I 136: [Δάματρι καὶ Κο]ύραι Πλαθαινίς, Πλάτωνος γυνά.

²⁴ See also, *LGPNVA* 340; VB 322; VC 322.

²⁵ For similar examples in Anatolia see *IRhodosche Peraia* 110 (Rhodian Peraia); *SEG XIX* 698 (Kolophon); *TAM II* 168 (Hippokome); *TAM II* 432 (Patara).

²⁶ Harpok. s.v. μετοίκιον: μέτοικος μὲν ἔστιν ὁ ἐξ ἑτέρας πόλεως μετοικῶν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον ὡς ξένος ἐπιδημῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκισιν αὐτόθι καταστησάμενος. ἐδίδοντο δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος δραχμαὶ ἰβ’, ὅπερ ὠνόμαστο μετοίκιον.

²⁷ Aristoph. Byz. *Frg.* 38 (Nauck): μέτοικος δὲ ἔστιν ὁπότεν τις ἀπὸ ξένης ἑλθὼν ἐνοικῆ τῇ πόλει, τέλος τελῶν εἰς ἀποτεταγμένας τινὰς χρείας τῆς πόλεως· ἕως μὲν οὖν ποσῶν ἡμερῶν παρεπίδημος καλεῖται καὶ ἀτελής ἔστιν, ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερβῆ τὸν ὄρισμένον χρόνον, μέτοικος ἤδη γίνεται καὶ ὑποτελής· παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἰσοτελής.

²⁸ Cartledge 2000, 105.

prominently attested in Athens, it was not confined to that city²⁹.

Citizens with a similar status under different names – such as *epoikos*, *katoikos*, *paroikos*, and *synoikos* – have been documented in various regions of the ancient world³⁰. In Anatolia, this concept is primarily found in Rhodian Perea, Caria, and Ionia, though it is extremely rare for individuals to be described as metic in Lycian inscriptions. However, in the list of donors from an inscription at Hippokome, dating to the IInd–Ist century B.C., two individuals with this identity are mentioned³¹. Epaphroditos, the son of Isidoros, is clearly documented as a μέτοικος in a funerary inscription from a similar period in Patara³². In Xanthus, references to these citizens appear starting from the late Hellenistic Period. In an inscription dated to the Late Hellenistic period and honouring a citizen named Apollonides, it is clearly stated that πολῖται and πάροικοι as well as μέτοικοι benefited from the grain distributed in the city³³. Two inscriptions from the city also refer to προστάται (protectors) attached to two residents of the Carian city of Laodikeia, thus confirming that they were metics³⁴. In an imperial inscription from Letoon, μέτοικοι is again mentioned together with πολῖται³⁵. Two other inscriptions documenting the metics in Lycia have been recovered from Trysa and Arykanda, respectively, but due to the poor state of preservation, they offer only limited information³⁶.

L.4: The name of Aristion, for whom the statue was dedicated, is also documented for the first time in Phaselis. This name is one of the few names documented in Anatolia³⁷. τάν = τήν (Dor dialect).

L.5–7: The final lines of the inscription offer a commemoration of the deities to whom sacrifices were offered, with the primary deity being Artemis Pergaia, the Artemis of the Pamphylian city of Perge. It is noteworthy that no prior votive inscription dedicated to Artemis Pergaia has been recorded at Phaselis, indicating the significance of this discovery. Notably, the name of the goddess is also documented for the first time in the city, marking a

²⁹ For the *metics* in Athens and their contributions to the city, see also Adak 2003.

³⁰ Cartledge 2000, 107. For the equivalence with the more common *paroikoi*, see *F.Xanthos* VII, p. 211 fn. 284; Wörle 1978, 242; 1988, 144 fn. 382; For the possibility that the *paroikoi* documented in Termessos and Sillyon can be identified with the *metoikoi*, see Brandt 1992, 130 fn. 1131. However, a new inscription found in Xanthus clearly reveals that these two statuses (πάροικοι and μέτοικοι) are not legally equivalent, although they refer to groups that are somewhat similar, they indicate different groups (Baker & Thériault 2018, 320–322).

³¹ *TAM* II 168 Col. A ll. 56–59.

³² *TAM* II 432.

³³ Baker & Thériault 2018, 302 no 2009–1 l. 13–14: αἴτιον γεγονότα τοῦ σειτομετρεῖσθαι τούς τε | πολείτας καὶ παροίκους καὶ μετοίκους.

³⁴ *TAM* II 283 and 389. Suda (*s.v.* ἀποστασίου), clearly states that each *metoikos* had a *prostates*, a protector and guardian from among the citizens, through whom they paid their taxes: τῶν μετοίκων ἕκαστος προστάτην ἔχουσι κατὰ νόμον ἓνα τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τό τε μετοίκιον τίθεται κατὰ ἔτος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διοικεῖται. See also, Sosin 2016, 2–3 fn. 10–11.

³⁵ *F.Xanthos* VII 67, l. 36–40: ἔδωκεν | τῆι μὲν βουλῆι καὶ γερουσίαι [κ]αὶ τοῖς | σιτομετρούμενοις ἀνά | χρ[υσο]ῦν ἀ' | τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πολείται[ς κ]αὶ μετοίκους ἀνά (δραχμὰς) ἑ'.

³⁶ Petersen & Luschan 1889, 11 no. 19i, l. 2; *I.Arykanda* 71.

³⁷ See also, *LGPVVA* 62; VB 53.

significant cultural and religious development. The cult of Artemis Pergaia appears to have transcended the geographical confines of the city of Perge in antiquity, as evidenced by the discovery of inscriptions related to the goddess at various locations, including Halicarnassus, Limyra, Attaleia, Rhodes, Lindos, Thera, Cos, Ambrakia, Fayyum and Naukratis³⁸.

In addition to Artemis Pergaia, the dedication is also directed towards ‘other gods’ (τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς). The identity of these deities remains uncertain³⁹. This expression is also found in another inscription dated to the IVth century B.C., which was previously discovered and published in the city and dedicated to the god Helios and all other gods by a citizen named Sotas⁴⁰.

Dedication to Hephaistos

In February 2024, a limestone pedestal (Fig. 5-6) was discovered in the vicinity of the Tetragonal agora and the Great Bath, situated in front of the south wall of the bath. The inscription surface has been thoroughly preserved, exhibiting signs of full preservation, with the exception of the bottom left corner, which has signs of wear. The back, right, and left sides of the pedestal are characterised by a rough texture, while the front exhibits a flat surface. The five-line-inscription is written centrally with a two-line-high sapling (?) decoration in the lower right. Sigma is as angular C, omega as W.

Dimensions: L.: 0.555 m; W.: 0.34 m; D.: 0.38 m; L.H.: 0.05 m.

Date: Late Roman Period (according to lettering).



Fig. 4. Location of the Hephaistos inscription

³⁸ *CIG* 2656 (Halicarnassus); Bernand 1970, no. 746, 8. (Naukratis); 1981, 199 (Fayyum); *IG XII*¹ 66 (Rhodes); *IG XII*⁴ 2.526 (Cos); *IG XII*³ 494, 1350 (Thera); *SEG XXV* 693 (Ambrakia); *SEG XXVII* (Oinoanda); *SEG XLIII* 979 and *XLIX* 1915 (Limyra); *SEG LIII* 1242 (Loryma); Akdoğu Arca & Gökalp 2009, 269 no. 9-10 (Attaleia?/Antalya Museum). For more on the cult of Artemis in Perge and its spread in the ancient world, see Wernicke 1895, 1397; Pace 1923, 311; Robert 1948, 64-69; Onurkan 1969, 303-305; Robert 1987, 237 fn. 21; Leibovici 1993, 51-54.

³⁹ For the use of the concept ἄλλοι θεοί (=other gods), typically added to the name of one or more individual gods, in many literary texts from Homer onwards, as well as in epigraphic documents from the Archaic and Classical periods, see Versnel 2011, 501-507.

⁴⁰ Adak *et al.* 2006, no. 1: Σωτᾶς Ἐλλοκράτεος Ἀλίωι | καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι | ἱερητεύσας Ἄλιου.

Θεῶ
 Ἡφαί-
 3 στῶ
 εὐ-
 χήν.

(N.N), to the god Hephaistos in fulfillment
 of a vow.

This inscription is dedicated to the god Hephaistos. The individual or individuals responsible for the offering are not specified; instead, emphasis is placed on the nature of the offering, which is characterised as a prayer or offering ἡ εὐχή (=prayer, offering)⁴¹. Hephaistos is the chief deity of Olympos, the southern neighbour of Phaselis⁴². The continuously burning fire of Chimaera, which is accepted as the house and workshop of the god, and the fact that the grave punishments were directed to the god's coffers make this situation clear. However, prior to the establishment of Olympos, the conflagration within the Chimaera was associated with the city of Phaselis. Ktesias, who lived in the Vth-IVth centuries B.C., stated that Chimaera was located near Phaselis and that the fire here was ignited by water and extinguished by fire⁴³. Scylax, who provides maritime itineraries (*periplus*) from the IVth century B.C., enumerates the temple of Hephaistos, situated on the mountain rising above the harbour he designates Siderus, in immediate proximity to the city of Phaselis⁴⁴. Antigonus Paradox, a IIIrd century B.C. writer, cites Callimachus of Cyrene's compilation of miracles in the ancient world and confirms this information by referring to what Ctesias says about Chimaera⁴⁵. In the section of Pliny's work on volcanoes that attributes the information to Ktesias, the writer recounts that the fires of the mount Chimaera near Phaselis burned both day and night. Intriguingly, these fires were not extinguished by water, but rather by soil. Pliny also draws attention to the fact that similar fires burned in the Hephaistos mountains of



Fig. 5. Dedication to Hephaistos

⁴¹ During archaeological/epigraphical surveys conducted in Alaşehir (Philadelphia) in 2013, a ἡ εὐχή dedicated to the god Hephaistos by someone from Philadelphia was documented (*SEG* LXIV 1186).

⁴² Brommer 1974, 141 fn. 7.

⁴³ Ktesias, *Fragmenta* 42. 141: καὶ ὅτι πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς Φασελίδος ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀθάνατον καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ καίεται ἐπὶ πέτρας καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ὕδατι οὐ σβέννυται, ἀλλὰ ἀναφλέγει, φαρυτῶ δὲ σβέννυται. Cf. Phot. *Bib.* 72. 46a 34.

⁴⁴ Ps. Scylax, *Periplus* 100: Ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἡφαίστου ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ὑτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς καίεται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννυται. Καὶ ἐὰν προέλθῃς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀνώτερον, ἔστι Φασηλὶς πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο κόλπος).

⁴⁵ Antig. Parad. *Hist. Mirab.* Coll.166: περὶ δὲ πυρὸς Κτησιᾶν φησὶν ἰστορεῖν, ὅτι περὶ τὴν τῶν Φασηλιτῶν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς Χιμαίρας ὄρους ἐστὶν τὸ καλούμενον ἀθάνατον πῦρ· τοῦτο δέ, ἐὰν μὲν τις ὕδωρ ἐμβάλῃ, καίεσθαι βελτίον, ἐὰν δὲ φορυτὸν ἐπιβαλὼν πήξῃ τις, σβέννυσθαι. Cf. Kallim. *Philol. Frag. gram.* 407. 142-146.

Lycia⁴⁶. As demonstrated by the aforementioned citations, Phaselis was the closest city to Chimaera before the establishment of Olympos, a geographical definition that was later adopted by subsequent writers. Indeed, as evidenced by Pliny's account, there was an erroneous search for another fiery mountain in Lycia⁴⁷. It is evident that, despite the preponderance of epigraphic and numismatic sources dating to the Roman Imperial Period, the existence of the cult of Hephaistos in the Chimaera region of Lycia during the Late Classical Period is indisputable.

In comparison with other deities, there is a lack of epigraphic data and votive inscriptions for Hephaistos⁴⁸. The region of Asia Minor in which the most substantial evidence for Hephaistos has been identified is the ancient city of Olympos, particularly due to the fact that the god's treasury (ταμείον) was utilised in the execution of grave punishments⁴⁹. It is evident that festivals in honour of the deity were held regularly in the city, at least in the IInd century A.D.⁵⁰. The present document concerns a *hierodulos*, that is to say, a sacred servant, of the god⁵¹. However, the extant evidence from the city has been dated to no earlier than the Imperial Period. Evidence suggests that Chimaera was associated with Phaselis in earlier periods, and that the people of Phaselis were not unconcerned about this natural phenomenon on their southern borders. There is also evidence that the deity was honoured in their own

⁴⁶ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* II 236: "flagrat in Phaselitis mons Chimaera, et quidem immortalibus diebus ac noctibus flamma; ignem eius accendi aqua, extingui vero terra aut fimo Cnidius Ctesias tradit. eadem in Lycia Hephaesti montes taeda flam-mante tacti flagrant, ...".

⁴⁷ For further information about the Chimaera, see Malten 1912a, 318-319; 1912b, 235-237.

⁴⁸ L. Malten suggests that the cult of Hephaistos, which was particularly concentrated in the regions of Caria and Lycia, spread from there elsewhere in Asia Minor. He attempts to demonstrate the spread of the god's cult by citing personal names derived from Hephaistos, coins minted in cities, and inscriptions (Malten 1912a, 311-327, for Lycia see 317-319; 1912b, 237-242). F. Brommer, in his work discussing the cult and distribution of Hephaistos in Asia Minor, critically engages with Malten's studies, questioning the accuracy of the theory that the Hephaistos cult originated in the Caria-Lycia region and spread from there. Brommer critiques this theory, arguing that most of the evidence Malten presents for Hephaistos' presence in Asia Minor is from later periods and is insufficient (Brommer 1974, 139-145). For coins of Hephaistos in Asia Minor, see Brommer 1972, 531-544. In the mentioned coins, the story of Hephaistos crafting the shield for Achilles is frequently featured as a prominent theme. Brommer, considering the mythological context of this iconography, suggests that it was depicted on the coins as a trend of the period. However, the discovery of an inscription from Mylasa in 1947, dated to the IIIrd-IInd centuries B.C. (*SEG* XXIX 1078), complicates this claim, as it documents the priesthood of Hephaistos in the city that minted similar coins. A similar situation can be observed in Perge. The same depiction appears on the city's coins, and the *phyle* of Hephaistos is documented in the city (*I. Perge* I, 115). An inscription from Aphrodisias, published in 2004 and dated to the IInd century B.C. (*SEG* LIV 1041), documents the cult of the god in the city along with the coins. For further information on Hephaistos coins and cult, see Lalagüe-Dulac 2007, 297-314.

⁴⁹ *TAM* II 956, 963, 967, 969, 972, 973, 976, 978, 979, 982, 989, 997, 1004, 1005, 1007, 1008, 1010, 1014, 1018, 1019, 1026, 1028, 1031, 1032, 1034, 1036, 1039, 1040, 1050, 1058, 1059, 1062, 1072, 1076, 1078, 1082, 1086, 1087, 1093, 1094, 1100, 1103, 1112, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1128, 1131, 1132, 1136, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1146, 1150, 1164.

⁵⁰ Three decrees from the city of Rhodiapolis, found in honor of Opramoas by the Lycians (*TAM* II 905 XIII D, l. 47-48, XIV F, l. 58-63, and XIX A, l. 91-93), date the related festivals to A.D. 149 or earlier, see Farrington 1995, 147 table 19.

⁵¹ *TAM* II 1062.

city, as indicated by the new votive inscription recovered from Phaselis (although no evidence from an earlier period has been found to date). Indeed, an inscription from the Late Imperial Period, unearthed in the city of Idyros in the Phaselis territory, states that the treasury of Hephaistos and Athena were designated as the site for punishment for crimes committed against the tomb. This finding is of considerable significance, as it provides evidence for the existence of a temple dedicated to the god Hephaistos within the territory of Phaselis⁵².

It is evident that, in addition to the geographical location in question, Hephaistos was held in high esteem as the deity associated with blacksmiths and artisans. Consequently, it can be deduced that any community with a long-standing tradition of metalworking would be expected to have a cult dedicated to the god of fire, practised by blacksmiths and metalworkers⁵³. However, as far as can be ascertained, no written evidence of blacksmithing or metalworking has been found at Phaselis to the present day, with the exception of the metal workshop discovered in the newly excavated metal atelier during the 2023 season (in preparation for publication). Nevertheless, silver mines discovered during field observations in the mountains north of the Alakır Stream and near the village of Söğütçuması suggest that the city may have mined and processed its own silver⁵⁴.

In conclusion, the new inscriptions presented here document three key points. Firstly, it is proved that there was a cult of Apollon Epidamos in Phaselis from the Archaic Period onwards. Secondly, it is demonstrated that the Artemis of Perge was venerated in Phaselis in the Hellenistic Period. Finally, it is established that the god Hephaistos, whose sanctuary at Chimaera was known from the Hellenistic Period and associated with Phaselis before the foundation of Olympos, was still venerated at Phaselis in the Late Roman Period.

⁵² The research on this new inscription is currently ongoing.

⁵³ Nollé 1995, 66, a funerary epigram from the Late Imperial Period found in the city of Konana (modern Gönen) in Pisidia documents a blacksmith dedicated to the smithing god Hephaistos (*SEG XXXI 1284*). The inscription reveals that an unnamed blacksmith was honored by the entire city as “Hephaistos’ craftsman” (Ἡφαίστοιο τεχνεῖτην) for mastering the “difficult art of metalworking”. For further information on the cult of Hephaistos in Pisidia, see Talloen 2015, 184, 331.

⁵⁴ Borchhardt & Şişmanoğlu 1999, 278 fn. 15 and 280 fn. 20.

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* Abbreviations of epigraphical editions and reference works follow the "Liste des abréviations des éditions et ouvrages de référence pour l'épigraphie grecque alphabétique (GrEpiAbbr – Version 02, Janvier 2022)" developed by the *Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*.

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