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New Middle Paleolithic Finds from the Lake District

Ralf BECKS – Betül FINDIK*

Abstract

Recent surveys in different parts of the Lake District in southwestern Anatolia have revealed a number of lithic finds that were prepared with the Levallois technique and thus can be assigned to the Middle Paleolithic period. In the Bucak-Korkuteli region, single finds were encountered at two sites. Two other sites in the same area have revealed flint nodules and artifacts indicating their use as atelier sites for the procurement of raw material and the preparation of tools on the spot. At a newly discovered cave site near Gelendost, a Mousterian point was revealed. The high density of Middle Paleolithic find spots, especially in the Bucak-Korkuteli region, is probably to be connected with the cave site of Karain, which lies in close proximity and was the major habitation site of this period in this region. It can be assumed that Neanderthal men repeatedly visited the highlands of the Taurus Mountains and especially the region of the Lake District for the exploitation and extraction of natural resources.

Keywords: Lake District, Middle Paleolithic, Mousterian, Levallois, Silex Resources

Öz

Güneybatı Anadolu'da, Göller Bölgesi'nin farklı yerlerinde yapılan son araştırmalarla, Orta Paleolitik Dönem'e atfedilebilecek, *levallois* tekniğiyle hazırlanmış çok sayıda yontmataş buluntu elde edilmiştir. Bucak-Korkuteli bölgesindeki iki buluntu alanında da Orta Paleolitik Dönem'e tarihlenen bazı tekil buluntulara rastlanmıştır. Aynı bölgedeki diğer iki buluntu alanından elde edilen çakmaktaşı yumruları ve yontmataş buluntular, söz konusu buluntu alanlarının hammadde temini ve yongalama işleminin gerçekleştirilmesi için atölye olarak kullanılmış olabileceğini göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, Isparta-Gelendost yakınlarında yeni keşfedilen bir mağarada da bir adet *Moustérien* uç bulunmuştur. Özellikle Bucak-Korkuteli bölgesindeki Orta Paleolitik buluntuların yoğunluğu, bu bölgenin, yakınlarda bulunan ve Paleolitik Çağ'ın bölgedeki en önemli yerleşim yeri olan Karain Mağarası ile bağlantılı olabileceğini göstermektedir. Neanderthal insanların, doğal kaynaklardan faydalanmak için Toros Dağları'nın yaylalarını ve özellikle Göller Bölgesi'ni zaman zaman ziyaret ettiği varsayılabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göller Bölgesi, Orta Paleolitik, *Moustérien*, *Levallois*, Çakmaktaşı Hammadde Kaynakları

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Introduction and Previous Works

With its many pluvial lakes and basins in the intra-mountainous region on the northern side of the Taurus, the Lake District of southwestern Anatolia offered good natural preconditions for human occupation, especially during warmer climatic phases. During the glacial phases of the Pleistocene, the highland regions were very cold and rather unattractive to humans.¹ Apart from the limited geomorphological and paleo-climatic research into the Paleolithic period of this region, archaeological research still lags behind. The first Paleolithic site was discovered in 1937 by H. Louis, who collected microliths from the surface of a low sandy mound named Baradiz near Gönen, Isparta. This open-air site was briefly excavated in 1944 by Ş.A. Kansu, who revealed more microliths and dated them to the Mesolithic period.² According to M. Kartal, in the 1940s the use of the designations Mesolithic, Epi-Paleolithic, and also Upper Paleolithic was rather imprecise. Moreover, the findings from Baradiz—which are kept in the study collection of the Department of Prehistory at the Faculty of Language, History and Geography at Ankara University—have been studied by M. Kartal, who identified only one microlith in the material. The other findings from Baradiz are lost and thus indeterminable.³ Another site discovered by Kansu near Isparta is the cave site of Kapalıin. The finds retrieved from the brief excavations here were assigned by Kansu to the Aurignacien, thus dating this site to the Upper Paleolithic period.⁴

In 1995, S. Mitchell and his team discovered some silex artifacts in the course of their survey at the village of Boğazköy in the province of Burdur (fig. 1). Amongst the finds is one flake which could be a Levallois flake of Middle Paleolithic date, and a few more which could belong to the same period.⁵ Another important prehistoric study carried out within the province of Burdur was the excavations at the cave of Dereköy Karain. The cave site is located about 13 km southeast of Ağlasun. The findings retrieved from the excavations conducted here in 1997 have been assigned to the Late Pleistocene/Tardiglacial.⁶ They are said to be contemporary with the sites of Karain, Öküzini, and Beldibi further to the south in the province of Antalya. Since the Dereköy Karain material did not include the characteristic tools and microliths known from the other cave sites, the chronological connection with Karain and Öküzini is based on rather weak grounds. Nonetheless, the presence of some pyramidal cores—which appear to be similar to those from Öküzini, Strata IV-II—suggest a date in the 13th to 12th millennia BC.⁷

After the excavations at Dereköy Karain, about 20 years went by until new findings from the Paleolithic period were discovered in the Burdur region. In 2016, in the course of the Sagalassos Archaeological Survey Project, quite a large number of silex artifacts were found at a site about 3.5 km southwest of the Dereköy Karain cave (fig. 1).⁸ The artifacts were assigned to the Middle Paleolithic period and consist mainly of flakes and a few tools like scrapers and blades, as well as one core, all of which were prepared with the Levallois

¹ For an overview of the natural preconditions of this part of southwestern Anatolia during the Pleistocene and the limitations of paleo-climatic reconstructions due to restricted research, see Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 1998.

² Kansu 1945, 280.

³ Kartal 2003, 37.

⁴ Kansu 1945, 283.

⁵ Aydal, Mitchell, Robinson and Vandeput 1997, 143, fig. 2.1–3.

⁶ Waelkens et al. 1999, 284.

⁷ Vermeersch et al. 2000. For the datings of the strata at Öküzini Cave, see Otte et al. 2003.

⁸ Vandam, Willet and Poblome 2017, 227–29, fig. 2.

technique.⁹ So far, 11 Paleolithic sites have been discovered in the research area, including previous works. The silex artifacts assigned to the Middle Paleolithic period consist mainly of single finds. The described Middle Paleolithic artifacts generally show the characteristics of the Levallois preparation technique and consist mainly of blades.

The closest Paleolithic site that has produced Middle Paleolithic finds from stratified contexts is the cave site of Karain near Antalya (fig. 1). This is also the only site that has produced skeletal remains of Neanderthal men in Anatolia.¹⁰ The Middle Paleolithic deposits consist of two sub-periods: Mousterian and Charentien. The Karain Mousterian period contains artifacts produced with the Levallois technique and has been dated to between 160/200 ka. and 60 ka. BP.¹¹ The deposits of the Charentien period have no findings made with the Levallois technique and have been dated to between 350 ka. and 300 ka. BP.¹² Surveys in the surroundings of Karain have produced some open-air sites with Middle Paleolithic material. At the site of Kocapınar near Elmalı (fig. 1), some Mousterian artifacts were discovered that show some elements of the Levallois technique.¹³ The hill of Arapburnu Tepesi and the area around the fossil lake near Karain have produced Middle Paleolithic finds.¹⁴

Due to prehistoric surveys in west-central Anatolia, the number of Middle Paleolithic sites has greatly increased in recent years. In 2014, a new survey project was started to the north of Burdur in the province of Denizli. During the course of this prehistoric survey, finds characteristic of the Middle Paleolithic period, including some Levallois cores, were found.¹⁵ In 2016, rescue excavations at the site of Banaz-Sürmecik in the province of Uşak produced a large quantity of Middle Paleolithic artifacts.¹⁶ In 2012, during the course of a survey within the territory of the antique city of Aizanoi near Kütahya, an open-air tool production site containing many artifacts produced with the Levallois technique was discovered on the ridge of Omartepe south of Çavdarhisar.¹⁷ In 2013 and 2014, 22 Middle Paleolithic find spots of a total of 24 Paleolithic sites were discovered there.¹⁸ In 2014, in the course of a prehistoric survey in Kütahya in the vicinity of the Kureyşler Dam Reservoir, altogether 21 Middle Paleolithic sites were discovered. In this area, located about 24 km south of Aizanoi, the Levallois technique was less frequently used and thus differs from the former area.¹⁹

New Middle Paleolithic Finds from the Lake District

The chipped stone assemblage that was collected in 2017 in the course of the Şeref Höyük/Komama and Environs Survey shows mainly techno-typological characteristics of the Holocene period. The only exceptions of Pleistocene date are a Levallois flake found at Kör Höyük and a flake with Middle Paleolithic characteristics from Büyükköy Höyük.

⁹ Vandam, Willet and Poblome 2017, 227–28, fig. 3.

¹⁰ Taşkiran 2015, 116.

¹¹ Yalçinkaya 1995, 10; Yalçinkaya et al. 1997, 3; Yalçinkaya and Özçelik 2012, 4; Yaman 2015, 5–6, fig. 22.

¹² Yalçinkaya et al. 1997, 3; Yalçinkaya and Özçelik 2012, 4; Yaman 2015, 5–6.

¹³ Minzoni-Déroche 1987, 363.

¹⁴ Yalçinkaya 1986, 435; Yalçinkaya and Özçelik 2012, 2.

¹⁵ Özçelik, Kartal and Fındık 2016, 381–83.

¹⁶ Özçelik 2017, 530; Polat 2018, 315–16.

¹⁷ Dinçer, Türkcan and Erikan 2014, 4.

¹⁸ Dinçer 2016, 51.

¹⁹ Dinçer 2016, 51.

Kör Höyük is located in the plain about 1 km south of the village of Ürkütlü in the district of Bucak (fig. 1). The low mound measures about 100 m in diameter and 2 m in height (fig. 3). A large number of artifacts made of flint and obsidian were collected here in 2017.²⁰ Additionally, ceramic sherds belonging to the Early Bronze Age and burnt mudbrick fragments have been encountered at the top of the mound. The majority of the stone artifacts show features characteristic of the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, as also revealed at other sites in this region, like Bademağacı and Kuruçay.

The Levallois flake from Kör Höyük is made of reddish-brown radiolarite (fig. 2.1). The butt of the flake was prepared with small removals as a faceted type. In the process of flaking, and due to the heavy percussion, bulbar scars are clearly visible on the bulb. On the dorsal face, traces of the preparation of the Levallois core in the form of centripetal removals are visible. The Levallois flake was chipped off as a large part or completely from the dorsal face of the prepared core. The left side of the flake shows a semi-abrupt retouch, which is not regular and continuous. The retouched sides are reduced and worn off from use.

Despite being a surface find, the flake was not much displaced. Except for some small breaks on the ventral face and the border of the butt, the form of the flake and its making have not been altered. Since there are no obvious differences of the patina, these small breaks could well have occurred during use. The flake measures 47 mm in length, 45 mm in width, and 7 mm in thickness.

The other artifact discovered during the survey of 2017 is also a flake bearing Middle Paleolithic characteristics. It was found on the mound of Büyükköy Höyük, which lies about 1 km east of Büyükköy village in the district of Korkuteli (fig. 1). The mound is in fact a natural hill that was terraced for settlement on the top (fig. 4). The collected ceramics mainly date to Archaic and Late Hellenistic times. The distal end of the flake is broken, but there are some use marks visible on the break (fig. 2.2). There are alternating retouches on both sides of the flake. The flake has a large bulb of percussion and its butt is wide and plain. The flake was taken from greenish-yellow flint, and the thick patina displays a strong loss of water. In its broken state the flake measures 43 mm in length, 30 mm in width, and 9 mm in thickness.

The continued work of the Şeref Höyük/Komama and Environs Survey Project in 2018 revealed flint artifacts of the Paleolithic period from two more sites in the district of Korkuteli. The site of Güneyköy lies about 3 km northeast of Bozova (fig. 1). On the western foothills of the Babain Tepe are located several rock-shelters facing west and southwest (fig. 5). The rather shallow rock-shelters did not contain any cultural deposits, but on the slopes in front of them many silex artifacts were discovered. The calcareous rock contains thin layers of flint. The artifact scatter indicates that this site was used for extraction of the raw flint and the preparation of tools on the spot. Amongst the artifacts is a recurrent Levallois core made of radiolarite (fig. 2.3). The core was prepared with few removals, and the cortex is partly preserved on the flaking surface. The negatives of two flakes struck from the same direction and one struck diagonally are visible on the core. One of the striking platforms was prepared plain, the other natural. The core measures 33 mm in length, 35 mm in width, and 21 mm in thickness.

The other site discovered in 2018 is located about 4 km southwest of Küçükköy on the eastern slope of Gürbelen Tepe (fig. 1), where Middle Paleolithic cores and tools are abundant. The raw material consists exclusively of flint. The artifacts are thickly covered with a white

²⁰ Fındık, Becks and Polat Becks 2019.

and cream-coloured patina. As a result, the colour of the flint is hard to define, but apparently brownish tones prevail. Amongst the finds are 21 cores. Four examples are lineal and five are recurrent Levallois cores (fig. 2.4–5). Other artifacts include two prismatic blade cores and one bladelet core; three unipolar, one bipolar, and one centripetal flake core; and four amorphous cores. The other finds consist mainly of flakes with different techno-typological features.

At the site of Gürbelen Tepe, a large scatter of smaller and larger nodules was encountered all over the hill (fig. 6). The actual artifacts, however, were concentrated on the eastern flank of the hill, covering an area of about 100 x 150 m. It appears to be an atelier site that was visited and used at various times, as the techno-typological differences among the artifacts indicate.

In the course of another survey in the northern part of the Lake District in the province of Isparta, a Mousterian point was discovered at the cave site of Kabız İni, located about 3 km east of the village of Balcı in the district of Gelendost (fig. 1).²¹ The cave is situated on the eastern side of a deep gorge and is largely filled with debris (figs. 7–8). The point is made of flint (fig. 2.6), and the surface is partly covered with a white patina. It has a plain butt and the bulb of percussion is visible. Both sides are prepared with a stepped retouch, and the distal end of the point is slightly broken. The artifact measures 44 mm in length and 27 mm in width.

Results and Discussion

An increase in archaeological research, including investigations of the Paleolithic periods, has revealed several new sites in the area of the Lake District, thereby filling the void of Paleolithic find spots in southwestern Anatolia. The majority of finds discovered in the course of various surveys in different parts of the Lake District consist of artifacts prepared with the Levallois technique and dating to the Middle Paleolithic period. It can hardly be a coincidence that this period is one of the major habitation periods at Karain. With its long stratigraphical sequence covering nearly all Paleolithic periods, along with its well-established chronology of early human history, the cave site of Karain serves as a reference site for Paleolithic research in this region. With the new findings of Middle Paleolithic artifacts, the presence of Neanderthal men has been attested in several parts of the Lake District. The types of find spots include both isolated artifacts and atelier sites where the raw material silex was extracted and tools were prepared on the spot. The density of Middle Paleolithic find spots encountered in the Bucak-Korkuteli region is not surprising, owing to their close proximity to the long-term habitation site of Karain (fig. 1). In fact, many more sites in the vicinity around Karain and especially in the highland areas are to be expected. The geographic situation of the two atelier sites of Güneyköy and Gürbelen Tepe on the flanks of the hills confirms the hypothesis about the locations of Paleolithic sites as proposed by Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens for this region.²² In addition to the single find spots and raw material extraction sites, the Kabız İni cave with its high accumulation of debris bears potential as a possible site for a long-term Paleolithic habitation site. The finds presented here demonstrate that the Lake District clearly has the potential for further Paleolithic research.

²¹ We would like to thank Prof. Dr. M. Özhanlı for his kind permission to study and publish this find.

²² Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 1998, 14.

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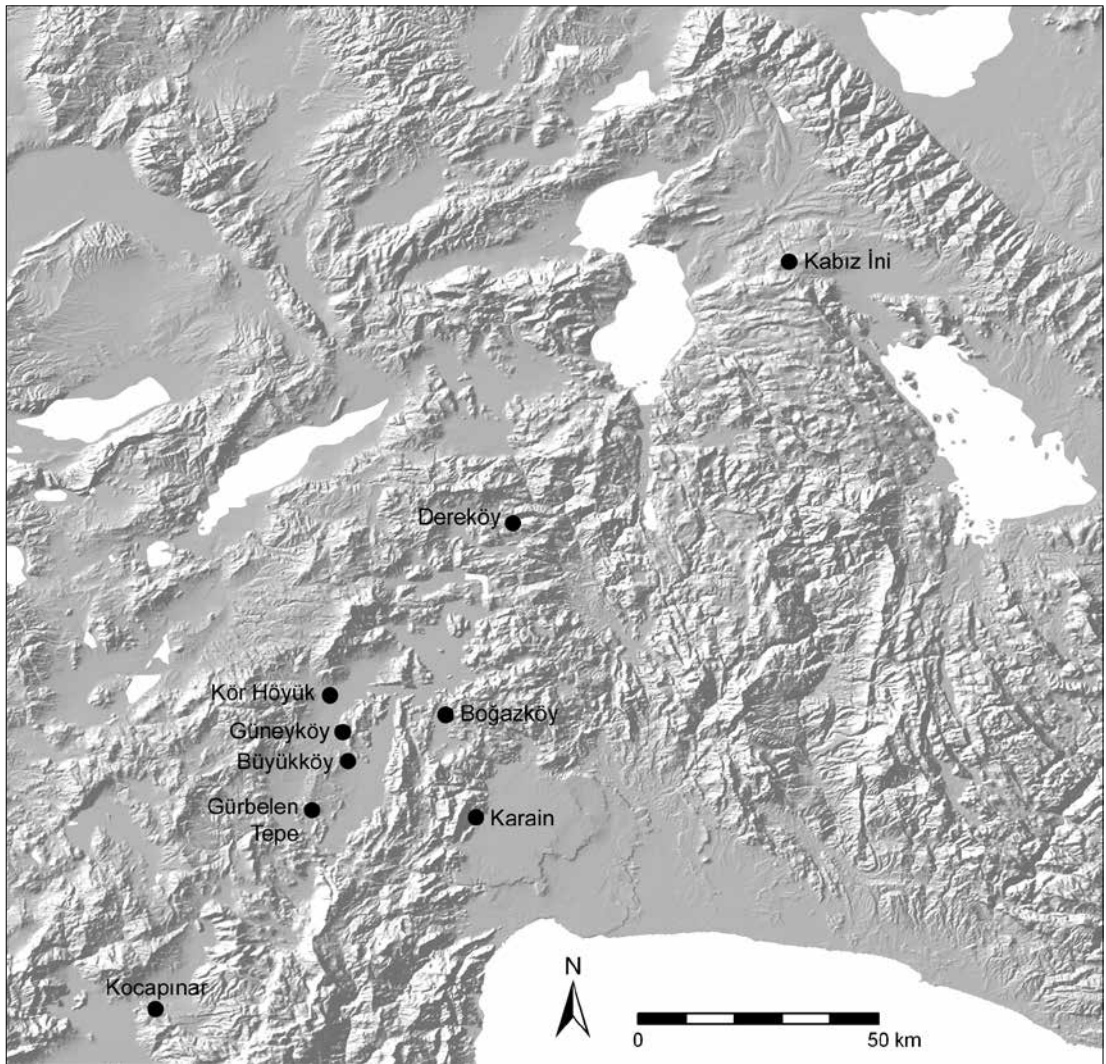


Fig. 1 Middle Paleolithic sites and find spots in the Lake District and Antalya region.

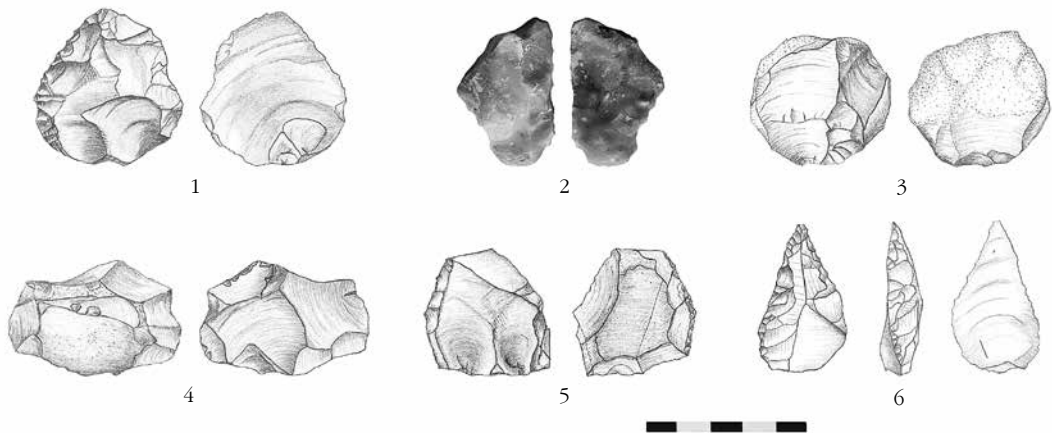


Fig. 2 Middle Paleolithic artifacts: 1 Kör Höyük, 2 Büyükköy Höyük, 3 Güneyköy, 4-5 Gürbelen Tepe, 6 Kabız İni.



Fig. 3
Kör Höyük,
view from northeast.



Fig. 4
Büyükköy Höyük,
view from north.



Fig. 5
Güneyköy,
view from south.



Fig. 6
Gürbelen Tepe,
view towards
north.



Fig. 7
Börü Delik
Gorge with the
cave of Kabız
İni to the left,
view from
northwest.



Fig. 8
Kabız İni cave,
view from west.

Prehistoric Paintings in the Keçe Cave (Kahramanmaraş-Elbistan)

İrfan Deniz YAMAN*

Abstract

The Keçe Cave is located about 40 km north of the district of Kahramanmaraş/Elbistan. One of the most important features of this cave is that it contains traces of life belonging to different archaeological periods. The Paleolithic chipped-stone tools and other archaeological data uncovered around the cave revealed that this cave was a place where excavations should be carried out. The paintings found on the interior walls of one of the small caves are of great significance. All of these images are made by painting technique, and they describe a life story. There are various figures of human depictions, symbols, and signs in the paintings between the dotted bands. The color of the paint used in the paintings usually belongs to different shades of red, which is in shades of ocher. A small number of paintings feature different colors similar to purple and black. In this study, firstly the Keçe Cave will be mentioned, and then the emergence and types of the concept of art will be explained. Secondly, examples of the paintings identified in Anatolia will be mentioned. In the last section, the general features of the pictures in Keçe Cave will be explained.

Keywords: Keçe Cave, Painting, Prehistoric Art, Elbistan-Kahramanmaraş.

Öz

Keçe Mağarası, Kahramanmaraş İli, Elbistan İlçesi'nin yak. 40 km kuzeyinde yer almaktadır. Bu mağarayı önemli kılan unsurların başında, farklı arkeolojik dönemlere ait yaşam izlerini barındırması gelmektedir. Çevresinde ele geçen Paleolitik yontmataş alet topluluğu ve diğer arkeolojik veriler, bu mağaranın kazı çalışmaları yapılması gereken bir yer olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu alanın önemli özelliklerinden bir diğeri de, küçük boyutlu mağaralardan birinin iç duvarlarında tespit edilen resimlerdir. Bu resimlerin tamamı boyama tekniği ile yapılmış olup, bir hayat öyküsünü anlatmaktadır. Boyalarla oluşturulan noktalı iki bant arasında yer alan resimlerde, çeşitli insan figürleri, semboller ve işaretler yer almaktadır. Resimlerin yapımında kullanılan boya rengi, genellikle aşı boyası tonlarında olan kırmızı ve bu rengin değişik tonlarına aittir. Az sayıda boyalı resim örnekleri ise mor ve siyah rengi andıran daha farklı bir görünümde dirler. Çalışmada öncelikle Keçe Mağarası'ndan bahsedilecek, daha sonra sanat olgusunun ortaya çıkışı ve türleri açıklanacaktır. İkinci bölümde, Anadolu'da tespit edilen resim örneklerine değinilecektir. Son bölümde ise Keçe Mağarası'nda yer alan resimlerin genel özellikleri anlatılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Keçe Mağarası, Boyalı Resim, Prehistorik Sanat, Elbistan-Kahramanmaraş.

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The Keçe Cave is located near a small village about 40 km north of the district of Elbistan. The cave was first visited in 1959 during İ.K. Kökten's surveys in and around Maraş.¹ Subsequently, there was no research about the cave for a long time prior to the survey conducted under the direction of C.M. Ereğ in 2012, when the cave was visited again.² The Paleolithic stone tool finds uncovered in the immediate vicinity are evidence of the potential of this cave. Another feature that makes the Keçe Cave important is that it features not only Paleolithic Age finds, but also settlement traces dating to between the Early Bronze Age and Rome. During the survey, it was understood from the translation of an inscription found near the cave that this was an area where a military unit had been located during the Roman period. On the hill at the eastern part of the Keçe Cave, there are architectural traces and small finds belonging to the Early Bronze Age settlement. Excavations in the cave were started in 2015 and are still continuing. In the cave and the terrace section of the cave, finds from different archaeological periods were identified. With the excavations to be carried out in subsequent years, the cultural deposits that will allow for period separation can be determined. Because the excavation work has not yet reached sufficient depth, a mixed group of finds has been found in general.

The Keçe Cave consists of a large space. Because of the collapse of the ceiling at the entrance of this large space, it looks to have once been much smaller than it is now. In addition to the main section in the cave, there are other small caves below the terrace section. These caves were used by local people as an animal shelter before the excavations, and some of them are still used for this purpose. The caves consist of four small spaces side by side and natural chimneys on the ceiling. It is thought that the intense water flow that occurred in the interglacial periods of the Pleistocene served as the main force in shaping these caves. It was observed that there are various paintings on the cave wall in the space located in the southernmost section of the caves facing east (fig. 1). Thanks to this discovery, which took place in 2012, the area where the paintings are located was investigated in more detail.

Before discussing the details of the Keçe paintings, this article will first present general information about the emergence and types of this variety of art.

Pleistocene art is represented by a large and varied corpus of paintings and engravings on the walls, floors, and ceilings of various caves and rock shelters throughout regions of Australia, Africa, and Europe that predate the Holocene. Also among the artwork of this period are beads, pendants, bracelets, rings, and engraved and incised stones, bones, and antlers, all of which can be considered personal adornments. Human and animal sculptures made of ivory, and more rarely of clay, are also important examples of this era's art. There are many caves, rock shelters, and open-air settlement deposits related to this art. In earlier studies, it was thought that the first examples of such artwork arose in Western Europe. However, with discoveries made in such disparate parts of the world as South Africa and Australia, the previous opinion that this art emerged from a particular center has changed.³

One of the biggest problems in Paleolithic art is the dating of these works.⁴ Although there are several examples of art dating back to previous periods,⁵ it is known that examples of

¹ Kökten 1960, 46.

² I am grateful to C.M. Ereğ for allowing me to study the paintings of the Keçe Cave.

³ Nowell 2006, 239–40; Conkey 1995, 49–64; White 2003; Chazine 2005, 219–30.

⁴ Bahn and Vertut 1988.

⁵ Barnard 2014, 29–30.

true works of art date from the Upper Paleolithic period.⁶ In the Franco-Cantabrian region in northern Spain and southern France, the producers of the art were the *Cro-Magnon* type of modern *Homo sapiens*, but there are other examples of the art in Europe, Africa, and many other parts of the world.⁷ The first artwork produced by *Homo sapiens* in Europe dates back approximately 40 thousand years. This date corresponds to the beginning of the Aurignacian in Europe. This cultural phase was followed by the Gravettian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian, in turn.⁸ In all these Paleolithic culture periods, art was produced and has been found.

In studies on Paleolithic art, it is observed that in the older literature, the artwork was mainly divided into two principal forms: engraved and sculptured objects. This distinction arose as a result of studies carried out in more than one hundred caves in Spain and France, as well as discoveries in excavation areas scattered from the Urals to the Atlantic coast. There are also those who argue that the material and spiritual aspects of the art produced by Paleolithic artists should be considered together with their subheadings as a whole.⁹ Paleolithic art is divided into various subgroups by different experts. Işın Yalçınkaya, in her classification, examined the art under three techniques: painting, engraving, and sculpture.¹⁰ Some researchers have criticized such classifications of Paleolithic art as being both incomplete and incorrect.¹¹

There are quite different opinions about the earliest emergence of art. Despite such differences of opinion, however, researchers agree that the first artwork was made by hunter-gatherers.¹² In the twentieth century, certain hypotheses were proposed about cave paintings, which had been discovered in large quantities. These hypotheses focus on hunting magic, increasing fertility and abundance, and ceremonies like shamanic rituals.¹³ In these studies, the data of ethnoarchaeological studies were taken into consideration and the hypotheses were extended to all Paleolithic artwork. In addition to those researchers who argue that art was produced for specific purposes, there are also those who argue that these works were produced with completely aesthetic concerns in mind.¹⁴ Moreover, there are also ecological approaches that attribute the creation of the artwork to environmental conditions.¹⁵ In fact, the thousands of Paleolithic paintings and works such as engraved figurines and incised paintings are not thought to have a single meaning. Furthermore, it is very important that from the 1980s prehistoric art began to be considered from a more global perspective, because, instead of interpreting the art belonging to a single region, interpreting different examples produced in different places during the same period brought a new approach to the art.¹⁶

The most common group of examples in the field of Paleolithic art are wall paintings. These paintings can be located at the entrance, in the central parts, or in the deeper areas of caves. Scenes with animals are the most frequently depicted subject, as, for example, the large-scale paintings in the Lascaux Cave in France and the Altamira Caves in Spain. Human forms

⁶ Pike et al. 2012, 1409; Leroi-Gourhan 1968, 59; Valladas et al. 2001.

⁷ Halverson 1992, 389.

⁸ Pike et al. 2012, 1409–10.

⁹ Leroi-Gourhan 1968, 59.

¹⁰ Yalçınkaya 1979, 69.

¹¹ Bahn 1995, 231; Forge 1991; Lorblanchet 1992, 13.

¹² Bahn and Vertut 1997; Moro Abadía 2006.

¹³ Bahn and Vertut 1997.

¹⁴ Halverson et al. 1987, 63–89; Heyd and Clegg, 2005.

¹⁵ Mithen 1991, 103–14.

¹⁶ Conkey 1987, 414–15.

are depicted in the wall paintings as well. The most commonly depicted animal species are bison, wild cattle, horses, deer, mountain goats, mammoths, rhinoceroses, lions, and bears. In terms of human and animal figures together, analytical studies have noted that in more than eighty percent of the wall paintings of female figures, depictions of bison and wild cattle are observed together.¹⁷

Paleolithic art, which is the starting point of known human art, has different interpretations in different regions of the world. It has also been observed that art production continued at the end of the Paleolithic Age as a continuation of its early examples. Many finds in Turkey can be considered examples of such art. Among the first identified rock images in Turkey were introduced to the academic world by İsmail Kılıç Kökten. The images in question are located on the borders of Camuşlu village in the Kağızman district of Kars. These works, called the “Yazılıkaya Rock Images,” are composed of two panels. These images feature human figures in addition to various animal figures, such as deer and mountain goats. Kökten states that these images belong to the end of the Upper Paleolithic period.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the date of the paintings has not been precisely determined. Kökten visited the same area again in 1969, when he found engravings made with a different technique than the Yazılıkaya engravings and located in the Kurbanağa Cave to the southwest of Camuşlu village. These images do not belong to the Paleolithic Age.¹⁹ Other examples of engravings discovered by Kökten in Kars are located in the Borluk Valley. The first scientific research in the Borluk Valley was made by Kökten in 1942.²⁰ Another study made in this valley was by Oktay Belli, who discovered about 200 rock engravings during his visits to the area.²¹

Kökten mentions the artwork uncovered in 1957 during the excavations in the Karain Cave, section B (known as Chamber B). Before examining these works, Kökten discussed various rock images and portable artwork previously discovered in Europe, emphasizing that such works are the finest examples of prehistoric art. He states that, at the beginning in 1947, he tried to compare some striped engravings in Karain with the human and horse head, but did not focus much on the subject since the similarity seemed very doubtful. He reports that studies in the cave continued for about 10 years, covering the entire space of the cave. It was in 1957 that he first discovered works of art, two of them in that year and the other in 1958. The first of these works is a pebble stone with an engraving of a human wielding a spear. The human body on the pebble stone is described as having a rectangular shape, with the feet, head, and arms depicted laterally. Although made with simple incised lines, the spear-throwing process is done in a manner that is very natural and anatomically suitable. Kökten mentions how humans are generally depicted with arrows in prehistoric hunting and ritual scenes in Europe and Africa. The second work is a broken animal rib with an embossed human head at the epiphyseal end. Kökten emphasizes how, in this work, the head, mouth, and nose are beautiful and there is a beard that attracts attention. He also mentions that closely observed characteristics, such as eyes and eyebrows, are imprecise, as in contemporary examples from Europe and Africa. In the excavations of 1958, a broken pebble stone with mixed, thin, deep, short, parallel lines was recovered from Chamber B. All these works were found in the Aurignacian

¹⁷ Leroi-Gourhan 1968, 60–1.

¹⁸ Kökten 1948, 194–204.

¹⁹ Kökten 1975, 95–104.

²⁰ Kökten 1948.

²¹ Belli 2007.

level, in the Upper Paleolithic deposits.²² Another important Paleolithic artwork discovered by Kökten is located in the Öküzini Cave. The ox image discovered on the wall of this cave in studies carried out in 1960–1961 is described as engraved and slightly embossed. Kökten comments how the artwork identified in both the Karain Cave and the Öküzini Cave were documents of Paleolithic art. At the same time, though, he also mentions the special importance of Karain and the surrounding caves, including Öküzini, in connection with human and animal paleontology, various industrial and artistic works, Pleistocene fauna and flora, and a certain Paleolithic chronology.²³ The Öküzini image is also important in that it gives its name to the cave.

O. Belli's study on the cave paintings in Put village in the Güzelsu district of Van province is noteworthy. Belli states that he carried out studies in this area in 1971 on the advice of the local primary school teacher, and he reports on the paintings, which feature various human and animal figures in more than one cave, in detail. Perhaps the most remarkable part of his study is the general evaluation of the paintings in the conclusion, where Belli states that it would be inappropriate to take up the issue of dating, especially because of the insufficiency of studies related to the prehistory of this region. It is thought that the local Yedisalkım Caves were used as a cult site by nomadic societies engaged in animal husbandry from the earliest periods. The differences in style and subject observed in the rock engravings reflect different stages and dates. Belli also emphasizes how this situation applies not only to this area, but also to images found on the Tırşın-Gevaruk plateau.²⁴

Among the most interesting examples of archaeological studies and discoveries in Anatolia is Çatalhöyük in the Çumra district of Konya. Many of the wall paintings identified in this Neolithic center provide clues about the daily life of the people of the period. In those works that are done in the style of small figurines, it is mostly female forms that are used, while in the wall paintings, it is mostly male hunter figures that are observed.²⁵

Another set of examples of early art in Anatolia comes from Göbekli Tepe, a center that not only hosts quite important work, but also changes some of the known and established facts regarding hunter-gatherer communities. The most important elements of this cult area place are the T-shaped stones. These stones, which weigh tons, were assembled over a circular area with a diameter of 10 to 20 meters, with 10 to 12 pillars arranged side by side. The stones feature paintings of animals such as wild predators, bulls, wild boar, foxes, ducks, birds, gazelles, wild asses, snakes, spiders, and scorpions. It is noteworthy that the mammals depicted are male. There is some question as to whether the forms depicted in this relief style are a sign or symbol of the stones or part of a mythological cycle. These animal reliefs are realistic and compatible with the fauna of the period.²⁶

The rock paintings in the area known as the Beşparmak Mountains are among the most important rock paintings identified in Anatolia. In these paintings, human beings serve as the main theme, including socially oriented scenes representing relationships between men and women, family, and the continuation of the family. The area where the paintings were discovered was interpreted as a cult center by researchers. One of the most important aspects of

²² Kökten 1959, 10–6.

²³ Kökten 1962, 41, Plate XXXI.

²⁴ Belli 1975, 1–40.

²⁵ Hodder 2004, 82.

²⁶ Schmidt 2010, 239–56.

these paintings is that there are absolute dating results, indicating that the rock paintings of Latmos belong to the period between 6000 and 5000 BC. These results indicate that, during this time, the people who made the paintings were engaged in farming and animal husbandry. The paintings have also been interpreted as symbols associated with the belief systems of a settled society.²⁷

It is possible to give more examples of wall paintings in Anatolia. These include prehistoric cave paintings in the Tavabaşı Cave²⁸ near the ancient city of Tlos (Muğla, Seydikemer) and the Gülnar Akyapı Cave in Mersin.²⁹ Another example of rock paintings was found during surveys in the vicinity of Balıkesir. These paintings, found in 2015, are located in the cave called Baltalıin as well as the İnkaya Cave. In the latter, it is reported that those in the southwest section are about life, while those in the north section are about death. In the former, on the other hand, hunting scenes are primarily observed. When the two caves were evaluated, one was interpreted as being used for hunting rituals and the other for rituals related to beliefs. These caves are said to be a planned cult center serving different functions. The similarities of the paintings to the paintings of Çatalhöyük are notable, and were probable contemporary considering the similarities in the belief structure, featuring scenes of a death cult, and the drawing, which has the same expression and style. Currently, the Late Neolithic period is recommended as the creation phase of these paintings.³⁰

Kızların Cave is located 76 km southeast of the province of Van. The canyon where the caves with paintings are located starts at the end of a village called Yedisalkım, with the caves being labeled Cave I and Cave II. The paintings in the Cave I are scattered over a 5-meter area, and all of the figures are red. Ten of the 30–35 images here have been erased through erosion (snow, rain, etc.). The remaining images include stylized human figures, prey trapping scenes, goddess figures, a god figure standing on a deer, and a large number of male mountain goats and deer. Approximately 60 figures were found in Cave II. The pictures in this cave are light red and dark brown. The four male figures in the cave are depicted with exaggeratedly large sexual organs and their arms are held in the air as if the figures were dancing. There are no details such as hands, faces, or feet. It is thought that these four male figures are related to a fertility cult and hunting magic. The other figures in this cave consist of a large number of goddesses, mountain goats, sun motifs, and unidentified animal figures.³¹

Deraser Cave is located in the province of Batman near the Tigris River. There are no precise dating results for the cave paintings, but an approximate dating to the Neolithic Period can be given based on the depictions of festivals and celebrations, which are considered part of collective settlement and agricultural culture and bear similarities to the paintings of Çatalhöyük. The Deraser Cave paintings were made with red and black paint.³²

Sinek Çayı is a rock shelter located in the district of Çermik in Diyarbakır. On the surface of the rock, 16 animals and 11 humans can be identified. Different techniques were used in drawing these figures. The main subject in these rock paintings is hunting animals and human

²⁷ Peschlow-Bindokat 2006.

²⁸ Korkut et al. 2016, 37–49.

²⁹ Girginer and Durukan 2017, 1–15.

³⁰ Yalçıklı 2017, 417–34.

³¹ Belli 1979.

³² Soydan and Korkmaz 2013, 665–67.

figures hunting these animals with bow and arrow. These pictures are thought to belong to the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic period.³³

Prehistoric wall images, of which some of the Anatolian examples have been listed above, are generally made on cave interiors and rock surfaces. The only exception to this is the Çatalhöyük settlement, where the paintings appear on the interior walls of houses.

The Keçe Cave, located near the Elbistan district of Kahramanmaraş province, is another center where prehistoric paintings are observed (fig. 2). In the cave, which has a diameter of about 4 meters and an oval shape, the paintings describe the life stories of a group of people and are bordered by dotted lines. Located opposite the cave entrance, they cover the cave walls in a semicircle from north to south. The fact that the paintings are at a height that can be reached by a person of normal height shows that there is not too much deposit in the layers inside the cave. The rock tomb in the area to the north of the cave's entrance section shows that this area was used in different periods.

The dotted outer frame is not visible in some parts of the painting sequence. In addition to some clearly distinguishable figures, there are also some figures that have started to fade under the effects of time. In general, the forms are drawn in light brown and red tones, and only rarely in shades of pale black and purple. Some other areas that use brown and red tones in Turkey are the Kızların Cave, Deraser Cave, Beldibi Rock Shelter, Çatalhöyük, Latmos, Akyapı Cave, Baltalı Cave, and İnkaya Cave. Places in Turkey that use the less common darker colors include Beldibi, Deraser, and Çatalhöyük. The paintings that can be seen as human figures in Keçe Cave are often depicted as long t-shaped lines. The arms and legs can be distinguished, though the head and other bodily details are not clearly depicted. Similar examples of such human figures are abundant in Turkey, such as at Beldibi, Deraser, and Latmos. In some of the human figures, the presence of a phallus distinguishing gender is noteworthy, such as a male figure depicted with an exaggeratedly large phallus (fig. 3). Male figures in this style can also be seen in the Kızların Cave, Latmos, and Deraser. There are no specific traits related to the female gender. The other paintings considered to be human figures are depicted with a kind of clothing hanging down from their arms in addition to being t-shaped (fig. 4). This recalls shamanic clothing used in religious ceremonies, and the different appearance, which is not observed in the other human figures, also emphasizes how such figures may have had different characteristics and functions within society. The paintings in the southern part of the cave show a three human figures stretching their arms towards one another's shoulders. It can be said that these figures depict members of the society performing a celebration or feast. Similar examples of such figures have been found in the Deraser Yazılı Cave.

Apart from the human figures, animal figures are also observed. Some of these have features indicating their species, while others present only a very general view (fig. 5). In one example that can be considered a rare example of its type, it is very difficult to understand to what species the four-legged animal depicted belongs. In the Keçe Cave, there are no depictions of animal hunting scenes such as can be observed in other prehistoric paintings. Furthermore, due to the small number of animal drawings, it is impossible to distinguish between domesticated or wild animal species. Another group of paintings in the cave consists of various signs and symbols. While these symbols can sometimes be understood and interpreted and there are similar examples, here it is difficult to understand the meaning of some of them. One of the most remarkable symbols among the wall paintings of the Keçe Cave is the one

³³ Belli 2005.

showing an eye or the sun. In this, a total of three symbols were drawn in close proximity to each other in the middle, consisting of a pupil-like dot in the center and seven dots around it (fig. 6). These clearly had a symbolic meaning for the people who made the paintings. The surrounding dots may reflect the time cycle associated with a particular subject. Another interesting symbol is a square shape with four dots inside (fig. 7). It is difficult to say exactly what this highly geometric symbol might represent. There are also other, similar signs and symbols that are equally difficult to understand and interpret.

Overall, the most important detail in the wall paintings of the Keçe Cave is their depiction of the life story through symbols. Symbols that are different from the others and have distinct features might be interpreted with the help of similar examples. However, there is still doubt concerning what some of the symbols, similar examples of which have not been seen before, mean. It is necessary to proceed cautiously in making inferences about the depicted human life. Although it is certainly not exactly clear in what period this life story was depicted or what period it was meant to depict, it can be said that the triangular painting is like a kind of tent. This raises the question as to why these people might have needed a tent when near a rather large cave like the Keçe Cave. Perhaps the groups of people living here would move away from this cave at different periods of the year and built such temporary shelters in other areas. This would accord with the phenomenon of movement within certain time cycles that serves as the basis of nomadic life. Another possibility for the triangular shape is that it may represent a trap. In prehistoric paintings, roof- or tent-like shapes are generally interpreted as traps. Overall, it might be said that, even though no definitive comment can be made about the period in which the paintings were made, they belonged to nomadic people.

Conclusion and Discussion

In archaeological studies, it is more difficult to understand the lives of the people studied, especially in prehistoric times. The interpretation of the material and spiritual cultural remains of these people is nonetheless of great importance in understanding the period in question. In the absence of writing, people's lifestyles, subsistence economies, burial rituals, and everyday tools can only be understood with the help of excavations. But for the thought structures of prehistoric peoples, the works of art produced by the people of the period can be considered the most important data in that they reflect such structures relatively clearly. Among these works of art, the group that best reflects the daily life of the people of the period are images, symbols, and portable art objects. Although the earliest such works date to earlier periods, we can say that real diversity only emerged in the art from the Upper Paleolithic period on. In particular, the interpretation of prehistoric images has helped to clarify issues that could not be detected by excavations. At this point, however, an important question emerges: to what extent can we, as "modern" people, be successful in interpreting images made in prehistoric times? We necessarily evaluate the images drawn by people who lived thousands or even tens of thousands of years ago through today's conditions and perception. Lines that sometimes seem to be just simple symbols and shapes may have had very different meanings for the people of the period. Interpretations made with such issues in mind are more open to possibilities.

Interpretations of the figures, symbols, and signs in the images are usually made by comparison with similar examples. At the very start of this interpretive process, personal evaluations come to the fore. For example, we interpret the t-shaped lines observed in prehistoric paintings as human figures, since they are often compared to human beings. However, in some situations it is very difficult to understand what these depictions signify. Among the most

common subjects of images during these periods are a hunting group of people, prey animals, and various symbols associated with nature. In the paintings found in the Keçe Cave, a life story belonging to the people of the period is thought to be depicted. The paintings are arranged in a band defined by dot sequences and made up of various different depictions. The drawings considered to represent human figures were done in a stylized manner and contain little detail. Only one figure depicts a person standing with an erect phallus, and in this sense it might be said that there is no drawing of a woman. One of the human depictions is a painting representing three people standing side by side. These people are shown performing a kind of dance, stretching their arms out towards each other's shoulders. This may depict a celebration belonging to the people of the period. In the animal forms at the Keçe Cave, only two can be distinguished. Possible misinterpretation of doubtful drawings has been scrupulously avoided. Perhaps one of the most special sections among the Keçe wall paintings is that containing sun-shaped depictions. The common feature of these symbols, which are all close to each other, is that there are seven dots around a circular shape with a dot in the center. It is clear that these seven dots are no coincidence, and must have had a special meaning. Unfortunately, some of the images could not be interpreted because they have faded. In the images, the color of ocher (shades of red) is the one most frequently observed, though there are also a few examples done in darker shades. The possibility that the wall paintings were produced in different periods should not be ignored.

Considering other wall paintings found in Anatolia, it can be said that those of the Keçe Cave belong to prehistoric periods. The stylistic similarity to Chalcolithic and Neolithic paintings is noteworthy. However, it should not be forgotten that this evaluation is only a relative approach. All of the Keçe Cave images were painted on the surface; there is no trace of the pecking and engraving technique. Although the figures and symbols in the Keçe Cave are very important, their dating remains controversial. For this reason, comparisons in terms of both technique and the figures and symbols used should serve as aids in the dating process. Other local prehistoric paintings in Turkey include the Beldibi Rock Shelter, Yedisalkım (Van), Latmos (Beşparmak Mountains), Tavabaşı (Muğla), Gülnar Akyapı (Mersin), Baltaini and İnkaya Caves (Balıkesir), Kızların Cave (Van), and Deraser Yazılı Cave (Batman). The oldest of these examples is Epipaleolithic, while the latest is dated to the Chalcolithic. It is thus thought that the paintings of the Keçe Cave may belong to the Epipaleolithic at the earliest and the Chalcolithic at the latest. The fact that the paintings were found in a small cave in an isolated place away from the cave where the excavations were carried out indicates that the paintings were accorded a special value by their producers. Moreover, the rock tomb located to the north of the cave entrance indicates that the cave where the paintings are located was seen as a sacred area in later periods. Perhaps the wall paintings of the Keçe Cave also served as a cult place where a kind of ceremony was performed.

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Fig. 1 General view of the Keçe Cave



Fig. 2 General view of the cave



Fig. 3 Human depiction and detail drawing



Fig. 4 Human depiction and detail drawing



Fig. 5 Animal depiction and detail drawing

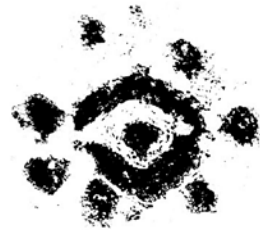


Fig. 6 General view and detail drawing of sun-shaped symbols



Fig. 7 Geometric shape and detail drawing

Pre-Classical Habitation at Tlos, Lycia

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Abstract

In this paper we present the results of analysis of pre-Classical finds recently discovered during archaeological excavations in the area of the stadium on the eastern outskirts of the acropolis of Tlos in Lycia. These excavations have helped us identify at least two cultural layers pre-dating the Early Iron Age layer beneath the remains of the Hellenistic stadium: the first layer dates to the early phase of the Middle Chalcolithic sometime around the early fifth millennium BC, while the other represents the Late Bronze Age. Recovery of finds representing the Late Bronze Age at Tlos now complements studies aiming to prove that the lands of the Lukka were not void of habitation during this period. This evidence could also be used in favor of theories equating the Dalawa/Talawa mentioned in Hittite records with Tlos (Lycian Tlawa). The prominent position of Tlos overlooking the northern part of the Xanthus River valley, a natural route between the Lycian coast and its hinterland, was an important factor that made the site favorable for habitation for millennia.

Keywords: Southwestern Anatolia, Lycia, Tlos, Chalcolithic, Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Lukka, Historical Geography

Öz

Bu çalışmada Lykia Bölgesi'nin önemli yerleşimlerinden olan Tlos Antik Kenti akropolü doğu eteğindeki stadyum düzlüğünde yapılan arkeolojik kazılarda ortaya çıkarılan erken buluntular değerlendirilmiştir. Söz konusu arkeolojik kazı çalışmaları Hellenistik Dönem'de inşa edilen stadyum yapısı kalıntılarının örtüğü Erken Demir Çağ kültür katmanı altında, birisi MÖ 5. binyılın başına tarihlenen Orta Kalkolitik Dönem'in erken evresine ait, diğeri Geç Bronz Çağ'ı temsil eden iki ayrı kültür katmanının varlığını ortaya koymuştur. Tlos kazılarında ortaya çıkarılan Geç Tunç Çağ'ına tarihlenebilecek buluntular bu dönemde Lukka Ülkesi'nin iskân gördüğünü kanıtlamaya çalışan araştırmalara destek olmaktadır. Tlos'ta ele geçen bu buluntular aynı zamanda Hitit metinlerinde adı geçen Dalawa/Talawa yerleşiminin Tlos (Likçe "Tlawa") ile eşleştirilmesi gerektiği yönündeki teorileri de destekler niteliktedir. Tlos'un Lykia sahili ile iç bölgeler arası geçişi sağlayan Xanthos nehir vadisinin kuzey bölümüne hâkim önemli bir noktada yer alması burasını binlerce yıl boyunca iskân için çok tercih edilebilir bir yer yapmış olmalıydı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güney Batı Anadolu, Lykia, Tlos, Kalkolitik, Geç Tunç Çağı, Erken Demir Çağı, Lukka, Tarihi Coğrafya

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Recent archaeological investigations conducted as part of the Tlos Excavations Project at sites such as Girmeler Cave and the lower and upper caves at Tavabaşı have already shown that this part of Lycia actually witnessed human activity from as early as the late ninth millennium BC to the mid-fifth millennium BC (fig. 1).¹ These two sites, both located in the territory of Tlos, provide us with significant new information regarding pre-Classical habitation in the region. This once again proves that the Xanthus (Eşen) River basin provided optimal conditions that attracted settlers to this area. New data from the archaeological excavations conducted in the course of the years 2009–2018 in the area of the Hellenistic stadium—located on flat ground about 463 m above sea level on the eastern outskirts of the acropolis of Tlos (fig. 2)—greatly contribute to our knowledge. The present study was conducted in the heart of the Lycian city of Tlos and reveals evidence stretching back to the early phase of the Middle Chalcolithic period around the beginning of the fifth millennium BC.² As far as can be deduced from the limited excavations, the stadium area was re-occupied during the early stages of the Late Bronze Age in the fifteenth century BC and continued to be settled throughout the Iron Age.

At Tlos, Middle Chalcolithic finds were retrieved from different depths during several trial trenches dug beneath the remains of the stadium. These trenches demonstrate that the Middle Chalcolithic settlement was founded at the outset on sloping ground undulating sharply eastward. Geophysical examination of the Hellenistic stadium also confirmed the steep sloping nature of the ground at the bottom of the eastern slope of the acropolis.³ Construction of this Hellenistic stadium and subsequent use of the area during Roman and Byzantine times caused considerable destruction to the prehistoric remains, due in part to the leveling of the ground and the digging of foundations for new buildings. In the course of the 2015 field season, two trial trenches were opened on an east-west axis to determine the nature of the sloping ground on which the settlement was founded. The Middle Chalcolithic finds were identified at a depth of 0.5 m in the first sounding close to the acropolis, and the second sounding 15 m to the east yielded Middle Chalcolithic finds as well, this time at a depth of 4 m. Additional trenches were also opened during the following 2016 and 2017 seasons in order to better define aspects of the prehistoric settlement (e.g., fig. 3). One bone sample was taken from this layer for radiocarbon dating. The AMS radiocarbon determination of this bone (Beta - 445402) gave a 2-sigma range for this layer from 5200 to 4850 cal BC (95% probability). This single radiocarbon date from the soundings indicates that the remains from this layer could be placed within the early phase of Middle Chalcolithic, which probably spanned a period between ca. 5000/4900 and 4300 BC. No finds that could be attributed to the preceding Early Chalcolithic period (ca. 5700/5600–5000/4900 BC) have so far been recorded here, although such a period might be expected at Tlos considering the existence of a transition from the Early to the Middle Chalcolithic period at certain other sites in western Anatolia.⁴ It should also be mentioned that evidence from the late phase of the Middle Chalcolithic period, dated to the middle of the fifth millennium BC, exists at the nearby Girmeler Cave and Tavabaşı Lower Cave, as well as at the sites of Kızılbel and Lower Bağbaşı on the Elmalı Plain.⁵ Archaeological evidence regarding

¹ Takaoğlu et al. 2014; Korkut et al. 2015; Korkut 2016; Korkut et al. 2018.

² Korkut 2013, 333–34.

³ Hoşkan et al. 2014.

⁴ For a brief discussion, see Takaoğlu and Özdemir 2018.

⁵ Işın et al. 2015, fig. 4; Korkut et al. 2018; fig. 56.6; Eslick 1988 and 1992.

the Middle Chalcolithic period in the neighboring Burdur region is strikingly limited when one considers the systematic investigations conducted there.⁶

The Middle Chalcolithic settlers were no doubt attracted by the natural advantages of this locality, which is rich in water sources and has small plots of arable land on the gently sloping grounds nearby, thus allowing settlers to pursue small-scale farming to support their subsistence base. The location of the acropolis is particularly significant, as it possesses a panoramic view over the northern part of the Xanthus River valley. The extent of the Middle Chalcolithic layer cannot be estimated, but the settlement may at the outset have included the top of the acropolis, as indicated by the causal finds, such as flint artifacts, found there.⁷ What is certain from the trial trenches is that the first settlers built their houses on or near bedrock (fig. 3) at the bottom of the slope of the acropolis. Parts of disturbed walls made of rude stones were identified during the opening of trial trenches in the stadium. These walls may have supported an upper structure made of ephemeral building materials such as mud and wood. No chronological subdivisions could be distinguished in terms of architecture, because only small areas were excavated, and most architectural remains representing this period were considerably disrupted during the leveling of the ground for construction of the stadium.

The Middle Chalcolithic pottery identified in this layer is quite homogeneous in character (fig. 4). The fabric of the handmade pottery includes small particles of sand and stones, though some of the sherds include chaff or chopped straw. Although the pottery is monochrome, there is considerable variation in surface color, which ranges from reddish-brown to various shades of gray-brown.⁸ Most of the pots were smoothed and coated with an orangish-red slip before firing, while certain pots were additionally finely smoothed and even burnished. The variation observed in the surface color of these pots, ranging from gray-brown to reddish-brown, must have derived from the uncontrolled temperature of the firing. The most characteristic pottery type is a large open bowl with a diameter at the mouth of between 25 cm and 35 cm (fig. 4.1–5 and fig. 5.1–13). Such bowls, with either straight or convex sides, often have a flat base. Knob-like projections frequently appear on top of the rims or just below the rim on the exterior. In certain cases, vertically pierced lugs are also attested on the exterior of this type of bowl.

Open-mouthed jars with in-turned walls constitute the second most common vessel type. These open-mouthed deep jars also have flat bases (fig. 5.14–16). Closed jars with upright or slightly inwardly sloping collar necks are also common. This type of jar has an almost ovoid body, with the neck differentiated from the shoulder (fig. 5.17–22). The vertical handles vary in shape on this type of closed jar. They often have a pair of small vertical strap handles set on the belly symmetrically with the body. Vertical handles joining the collar neck to the shoulder represent another common variety. It seems that the application of a knob-like projection placed on top of these vertical handles for functional reasons was also the case at Tlos. The pottery overall could temporally be placed in the advanced stage of the Early Chalcolithic period, slightly before the beginning of Middle Chalcolithic.

⁶ Vandam 2015; Vandam et al. 2019, 11.

⁷ For early finds uncovered during work conducted in the acropolis, see Korkut 2012, 459, fig. 7.

⁸ The surface colors of the Middle Chalcolithic pot sherd according to the Munsell color chart are as follows: 5 YR 3/2 Dark Reddish Brown; 2.5 YR 5/6 Red; 5 YR 4/3 Brown; 10 YR 4/2 Dark Grayish Brown; and 2.5 YR 3/2 Very Dark Grayish Brown.

The Middle Chalcolithic layer at Tlos also yielded a small assemblage of ground stone tools attesting to daily activities at the site. Among this assemblage, four examples of saddle querns made of local andesite could easily be related to the tasks of food preparation and craft production at the site, including grinding grain for flour, grinding substances such as salt and spices, and the sharpening and smoothing of celts, shells, and bone implements (fig. 6). These saddle querns are represented by fragments that are mostly broken in the middle. In size the saddle querns average nearly 35 cm at their greatest dimension, and are mainly ovate in outline and plano-convex in cross section. The grinding (ventral) surfaces are often polished over the entire area by extensive abrasive use-wear, resulting in a concave grinding surface curving upwards at each end. Sixteen stone tools, which could be called hand stones or rubber stones, were also retrieved from the Middle Chalcolithic layer. These small round hand stones were probably used as upper stones paired with the saddle querns, since they are roughly of a size that will fit the hand. They present more than one perfectly smoothed small surface on them. Besides grinding grain for flour, they could have been used in tasks such as tanning hides and crushing substances like salt, spices, or pigments. These ground stone tools will be subjected to archaeometric studies in the future to determine with more confidence their function during the time of the settlement's use.

The ground stone assemblage at Middle Chalcolithic Tlos also includes two polished stone axes (fig. 7). These two axes, both measuring 6 cm in length, are elongated in shape with an elliptical horizontal section. Both faces of the cutting edges are beveled and polished, though they both bear small work scars on their cutting edges. Such stone axes were manufactured from rocks such as diabase, basalt, serpentine, and nephrite in prehistoric times in western Anatolia.⁹ The closest parallels for the stone axes from Tlos come from nearby Girmeler Cave, where such axes were ubiquitous during both the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. Polished stone axes comparable to the ones from Tlos previously found in Lycian sites were once occasionally considered objects of the second millennium BC due to the lack of knowledge regarding the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods of the region. Because most polished stone axes in western Anatolia come from contexts with dates ranging from the initial Neolithic period to the end of the Early Bronze Age, there may have been a notable decline in the use of such stone axes in the late third and the second millennium BC. The rise in the use of metal axes may have been one reason for such a decline. The polished stone axes from Tlos in this sense could well be categorized in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic polished axe tradition of western Anatolia in general on the basis of comparable finds from such sites as Ulucak, Ege Gübre, Uğurlu, and Gülpınar.

Nearly two dozen obsidian tools were also encountered along with the pottery and ground stone tools in the Middle Chalcolithic layer at Tlos (fig. 8). Although no trace-element analysis was undertaken, it seems clear that the obsidian was imported from Melos and central Anatolian sources. Most of the transparent obsidian pieces display the characteristics of Göllüdağ, though pieces of Nenezi obsidian are also attested. This would indicate that the Middle Chalcolithic settlers of Tlos also managed to procure obsidian artifacts in the form of blades and flakes from both the Aegean island of Melos and from central Anatolian sources. The appearance of obsidian from two different sources at Tlos is clearly related to the suitable location of the settlement, which lay along the land-based route following the Xanthus River basin connecting the Lycian coast of Anatolia with the hinterland. A similar pattern has

⁹ Çilingiroğlu et al. 2012, fig. 16; Sağlamtimur 2012, fig 28; Erdoğan 2013, fig. 22; Bamyacı (forthcoming, 141).

previously been attested at the Girmeler Cave during the Neolithic period.¹⁰ The obsidian artifacts were probably valued for their exotic status at the site, as is observed elsewhere.¹¹

Apart from obsidian, a number of other raw materials of various colors and textures are present in the chipped stone tool assemblage, including flint, jasper, radiolarite, and chalcedony. The most dominant raw material is honey-brown colored flints with white spots. These could have been acquired from the river beds around the site in the form of pebbles or cobbles with water-worn surfaces. No unworked lumps of flint were found at the site, but blades and flakes with traces of cortex on one surface were found in small numbers, which could be used in favor of the argument that this raw material was easily obtained. Regular parallel-sided blades are rare among tools made of honey-brown flint. However, reasonably parallel-sided blades with a length measuring as much as 7 cm are recorded for this raw material. These type of blades from Tlos often have a dorsal surface with a single ridge, making them triangular in section. These complete and fragmented blades in general do not appear to have been frequently modified by retouching, and there are cases in which only one side of the blade shows signs of modification by retouching. Several examples of artifacts like blades and scrapers manufactured from the honey-brown colored flint at Tlos are illustrated in fig. 9. Flakes constitute the most numerous group among the flint artifacts.

Archaeological excavations in the stadium area have also begun to yield glimpses of finds showing that Tlos was also the scene of a settlement during the Late Bronze Age. Although the area thus far uncovered is relatively small, there is no reason not to believe that Tlos was an important settlement during the Late Bronze Age, due to its prominent position commanding the entire northern part of the Xanthus River valley. Because the acropolis is surrounded by perpendicular precipices and deep ravines on three sides, the top and eastern slopes of the acropolis may have been one of the strongholds that controlled the Xanthus River valley during this period. As is well known, the city of Tlos (Lycian Tlawā) has long been equated with the town of Dalawa/Talawa mentioned in Hittite sources. Dalawa is counted among the towns of the Lukka lands in the text mentioning the activities of Madduwatta,¹² who was a disloyal vassal ruler of the mountainous land of Zippašla somewhere in or near the land of Arzawa during the late fifteenth century BC. According to this source, Dalawa was subjected to the Hittite king until it, along with its neighbor Hinduwa (Kandyba?), joined in a rebellion against Hittite rule during the reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliya II. Madduwatta proposed to the Hittite general Kišnapili to conduct a joint military operation against these rebel towns.¹³ But Madduwatta subsequently deceived the Hittites by forming an alliance with the peoples of Dalawa and Hinduwa in order to ambush the Hittite army. Madduwatta apparently detached the people of Dalawa from Hittite control and made the city subject to himself after this event. The so-called “Madduwatta Text” in this sense remains an important literary testimony to the strength of Dalawa during the Late Bronze Age. The Yalburt inscription mentioning the invasion of Lycia by the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV is another historical record that mentions Dalawa as one of the major settlements in the Lukka lands.¹⁴

¹⁰ Takaoglu 2016, 650–51.

¹¹ Perlès et al. 2011; Takaoglu 2016, 650.

¹² Götze 1928; Beckman 1999, 153–60.

¹³ Bryce 1986, 10; Bryce 2015.

¹⁴ Poetto 1993, 75–84; Otten 1993; Lebrun 1995; Gander 2014.

It was before the recognition of Dalawa in the Hittite records that artifacts attesting to a Late Bronze Age settlement were reported from Tlos. Three tin-bronze objects—namely, half of a double axe, a flat adze, and a flat dagger blade—were allegedly bought by H.O. Ormerod in 1911 during his travels in southwest Turkey and then donated to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. These have long been viewed as the archaeological manifestation of a Late Bronze Age settlement at Tlos. Although their provenance is not certain, these three well-known tin-bronze objects, tentatively assigned to the fifteenth or fourteenth centuries BC, have often been thought to have come from Tlos. Most scholars now agree that they are indeed artifacts representing the Late Bronze Age past of Tlos.¹⁵ N. Momigliano and B. Aksoy have also introduced other finds to show that Lycia was not so scarcely populated during the second millennium BC. When Hittite activity in the area is taken into the account, archaeological evidence for Late Bronze Age habitation could be expected at other major Lycian cities, such as Patara, Oinoanda, Pınara, and Xanthus. At Tlos, it would be reasonable to encounter archaeological finds that could be related to the days when this city was called Dalawa.

Material remains dating to the Late Bronze Age have been found at a depth of 3.6 m below the surface of the stadium in Trench 35. The remains of two storage vessels or *pithoi* have been noted on the Late Bronze Age surface identified below the Early Iron Age level (fig. 10). One charcoal sample taken from this Late Bronze Age layer was subjected to radiocarbon determination. The AMS radiocarbon dating of this sample (Beta - 421422) gave a 2-sigma range for this layer from 1505 to 1415 cal BC (95% probability), falling roughly within the earliest stages of the Late Bronze Age. In light of the area so far excavated, it is difficult to state explicitly whether or not the Late Bronze sequences defined at Beycesultan (levels III-I in the chronology of Seton Lloyd and James Mellaart¹⁶) developed in parallel at Tlos during the Late Bronze Age. Certain vessel shapes from Tlos find parallels among the Beycesultan pottery repertoire of this period. A cultural layer representing the transition from the Middle Bronze to the Late Bronze Age, such as Level IVa of Beycesultan (ca. 1550–1450 BC), may also have existed at Tlos. The presence of certain pottery elements found at Tlos recall those of Level IVa, such as the beak-spouted jugs and carinated bowls. These rare finds, however, are more likely intrusive. New excavations initiated at Beycesultan resulted in the revision of the older chronology developed previously by Lloyd and Mellaart when the site was first excavated. Levels I and II of Lloyd and Mellaart's excavations have now been renamed as Layer 4 and Layer 5 respectively. Layer 5 is dated to 1830–1635 BC, while the succeeding Layer 4 is dated to 1530–1410 BC, thus pushing Lloyd and Mellaart's dates back nearly 250–300 years.¹⁷ The layer from which a single radiocarbon date was obtained at Tlos in this context may roughly be synchronized with Layer 4 at Beycesultan, although finds from fills mixed in later deposits point to a longer occupation than a single one at the site. In order to have a better picture of Late Bronze Age at Tlos, there is definitely a need to excavate large areas there, following the removal of some of the the classical remains.

In this Late Bronze Age layer at Tlos, besides the remains of two storage vessels found on the surface of the layer, fragments of additional *pithoi* decorated with incised chevrons (fig. 11.1–2), bands applied in relief with incised parallel diagonal lines (fig. 11.3), impressed

¹⁵ For discussions, see Przeworski 1939, 30–49, pl. 9.8–10; Moorey and Schweizer 1974, 115; Mellink 1995, 39; Momigliano and Aksoy 2015, 542, note 9.

¹⁶ Mellaart 1970, 57; 1979, 77.

¹⁷ Dedeoğlu and Abay 2014, 2.

circles (fig. 11.4–5), and rope ornaments (fig. 11.6–7) have also been found. *Pithoi* with such ornamentation were previously reported from Late Bronze Age Level II at Beycesultan.¹⁸ This resemblance is not a coincidence, since similarities are also observed between the fine ware category of Tlos and those of Beycesultan. Indeed, the fine ware that characterizes the Late Bronze Age layer(s) at Tlos is dominated by shapes such as pedestalled bowls with plain incurved rims or carinated sides (chalices, goblets, fruit stands), as well as bowls with handles set either upon or just below the rim.¹⁹ High pedestalled bowls could have either inward leaning plain rim (e.g., figs. 12.1, 13.1) or carinated sides (figs. 12.15–30, 13.15–30). The pedestals were decorated either by matt paint in the form of horizontal band, or by molds in reliefs (figs. 12.2–14, 13.2–14). This category of vessels was made in both fine and semi-fine fabrics from local clay.²⁰ The color of the fabric is generally reddish-yellow (5 YR 6/6; 5 YR 7/6; 7.5 R 7/6), but light red (2.5 YR 4/6) and pink (5 YR 8/4) clays were also utilized. These vessels were mainly red-slipped (10 R 4/6 or 10 R 5/6), although dark gray (5 YR 7/6), black (7.5 YR 2.5/1), brown (7.5 YR 4/4), and reddish-brown (2.5 YR 5/4) slips are also attested, albeit in small numbers. There are also cases in which vessels show no sign of a slip. In terms of decoration, parallel horizontal lines applied in brown or black paint on the surface also appear in this category, albeit rarely, among the Late Bronze Age pottery repertoire at Tlos. It is reasonable to argue from the pottery evidence that Tlos was also a part of the same Late Bronze cultural zone of southwest Anatolia that is best represented by sites like Beycesultan, Aphrodisias, and Bademağacı. For instance, a recent meticulous study of chalices recovered from Late Bronze Age layers at Beycesultan demonstrated that this distinctive type of drinking cup was very common in the Upper Meander River basin.²¹ The chalice fragments from Tlos may represent the western extension of this local tradition of the Upper Meander River basin.

One of the most significant contributions of the excavations in the stadium area is the information gathered regarding the Iron Age, Geometric, and Archaic occupations of Tlos, dating roughly between 1150 and 550 BC. Here, the architectural remains and pottery evidence recovered from excavated areas shed new light on a poorly understood period of Lycian history. On the basis of stratigraphy and architecture, the pottery recovered from the stadium area can be categorized under three different periods; namely the Early Iron Age, the Geometric period, and the Archaic period. The settlement from this area was evidently abandoned during the Classical period, when the number of buildings on the acropolis began to rise rapidly. This clearly points to a westward shift of settlement from the stadium area to the top of the acropolis. However, little can be said about the Early Iron Age pottery found in relation to architecture (fig. 14). Previously, systematic surveys carried out at the site of Çaltılar has demonstrated the archaeological potential of the northern parts of the Xanthus River basin for revealing evidence of the Early Iron Age.²² At Tlos, pot sherds representing the Early Iron Age were found in relation to architecture in stratigraphic contexts revealed in trial trenches.

The most common Early Iron Age vessels attested at Tlos are bowls with three loop legs (figs. 15.1–2, 16.1–2), *kraters* with outward leaning flat-topped rims (figs. 15.3–7, 16.3–7),

¹⁸ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 24.

¹⁹ Sezgin 2017, 25–48.

²⁰ In terms of fabric and shape, this category of ware at Tlos finds parallels in excavated contexts at Beycesultan Aphrodisias, and Bademağacı, as well as among the surface assemblage of Çaltılar. See Mellaart and Murray 1995; Jukowsky 1986, 685; Umurtak 2003; Momigliano et al. 2011; and Dedeoğlu and Konakçı 2015.

²¹ Dedeoğlu 2016, 15.

²² Momigliano et al. 2011, 85–97; Momigliano and Aksoy 2015.

carinated bowls (figs. 15.8–13, 16.8–13), and jars with convex necks (figs. 15.14–16, 16.14–6). The fabric used in the manufacture of vessels during this period is quite homogeneous. The color of the fabric in general is reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6; 5 YR 6/8; 5 YR 7/8), although pink fabric has also been causally attested (7.5 YR 7/14). Both the interiors and the exteriors of open vessels were often entirely slipped, with occasional use of different slips on interiors and exteriors. They were mainly red slipped (2.5 YR 5/8; 10 R 5/6), but reddish-brown (5 YR 4/3), dark reddish-brown (5 YR 3/2), and reddish gray (5 YR 4/2; 2.5 Y 3/1) slips were also used. The matt red paint (2.5 YR 4/6) was used to make simple geometric decorations such as bands, cross-hatched triangles, zigzags, and concentric circles over the exteriors of the vessels, though reddish-brown (5 YR 4/3) and dark gray (2.5 Y 3/1) paints were also occasionally used.

Analysis of recent data from Tlos has revealed several new pieces of evidence that contribute to our growing knowledge of pre-Classical Lycia. The trenches opened in the area of the stadium to the east of the acropolis show that the site was the scene of human occupation as early as the early phase of the Middle Chalcolithic period sometime in the early fifth millennium BC. In southwestern Anatolian archaeology, the Middle Chalcolithic period became a focus of interest particularly after the discovery of finds at Kızılbél and Lower Bağbaşı in the Elmalı region, which helped to define the cultural break between the latest Early Chalcolithic occupation at Hacılar (Level I) and the Late Chalcolithic period represented to a great extent by the sequences at Beycesultan (Levels XL–XX).²³ Recent archaeological studies indicate that the Middle Chalcolithic was a long period that lasted from around 5000/4900 BC to 4300 BC in western Anatolia and that can be further sub-divided into two main phases.²⁴ The Middle Chalcolithic period has so far been attested at numerous sites in the western Anatolian littoral from the Troad to Lycia. Girmeler Cave and Tavabaşı Lower Cave are two major pre-historic Lycian sites demonstrating that caves could also be expected during this period, in addition to sites located on the alluvial plains and the slopes surrounding them. The Middle Chalcolithic evidence from Tlos shows that the settlements of this period could also have existed in mountainous areas far from the plains. Another recent archaeological study on the Middle Chalcolithic period shows that settlements may have also existed on high elevations far from the alluvial plains, since flat settlements with short-term occupations have also been attested during this period.²⁵ These dates all indicate that archaeologists should not search for evidence of the Middle Chalcolithic in the form of mound-type archaeological sites. This may be one reason for the lack of data regarding the Middle Chalcolithic period during the systematic surface investigation conducted in the mountainous landscape of the Burdur region. The small-scale, short-lived flat settlements that one might expect to find during the Middle Chalcolithic period, however, are frequently attested during the succeeding periods, along with large sites such as Kuruçay in this region.²⁶

Tlos was re-settled during the Late Bronze Age when the cities of the Lukka lands appeared in Hittite records in areas around the Xanthus River basin. Because settlements occupying highly defensible positions controlling the main land-based routes may have been favorable places during the Late Bronze Age, a settlement could well have flourished at Tlos during the Late Bronze Age, since the site was located on a place that could have controlled the

²³ Eslick 1988 and 1992.

²⁴ Takaoğlu and Özdemir 2018, 481.

²⁵ Takaoğlu 2017, 6.

²⁶ De Cupere et al. 2017, 7; Vandam 2015; Vandam et al. 2019, 11.

land-based route following the northern part of the Xanthus River. Such may well also have been the case in both earlier and later periods. Pot sherds retrieved from Trench 35 have expanded the small number of Late Bronze Age sites in Lycia. The absence of finds belonging to the period between the Middle Chalcolithic and Late Bronze Age layer(s), on the other hand, poses a problem. Further work will surely be done to better understand the site formation processes in the stadium area, which apparently witnessed considerable changes throughout the period of its use.

The discovery of finds post-dating the Late Bronze Age in the stadium area is another important contribution of the Tlos excavations. This is because the cultural stages were not previously documented in secure archaeological contexts in Lycia. This may mean that the concept of the “Dark Age” may be re-examined in Lycia when excavations continue in this part of Tlos. The presence of a cultural sequence from the Protogeometric to the end of the Archaic period without any noticeable break at the stadium area of Tlos may ultimately be of great archaeological significance for Lycian archaeology. Much will surely be said about the period of Lycian history between 1050 and 550 BC when the results of the ongoing analysis of the stratigraphically documented new material from the stadium area at Tlos are published in an excavation monograph in the near future. Nonetheless, there is no reason at this point of research not to state that Tlos was one of the Lycian sites where there was a continuous occupation for centuries following the end of the Late Bronze Age.

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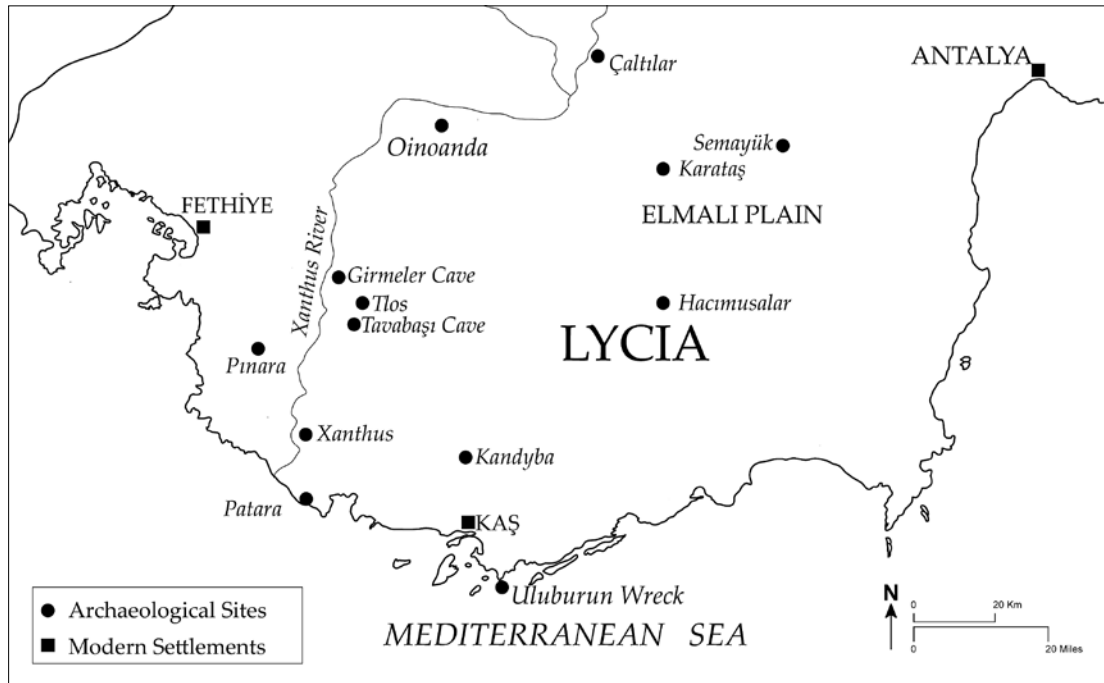


Fig. 1 Map showing Tlos and other major sites mentioned in the text



Fig. 2 Aerial view of the acropolis of Tlos from the east, showing pre-Classical remains in the area of the Hellenistic stadium. Note Xanthus River basin in background



Fig. 3 View of trial trench attesting to Middle Chalcolithic settlement on the eastern outskirts of the Tlos acropolis

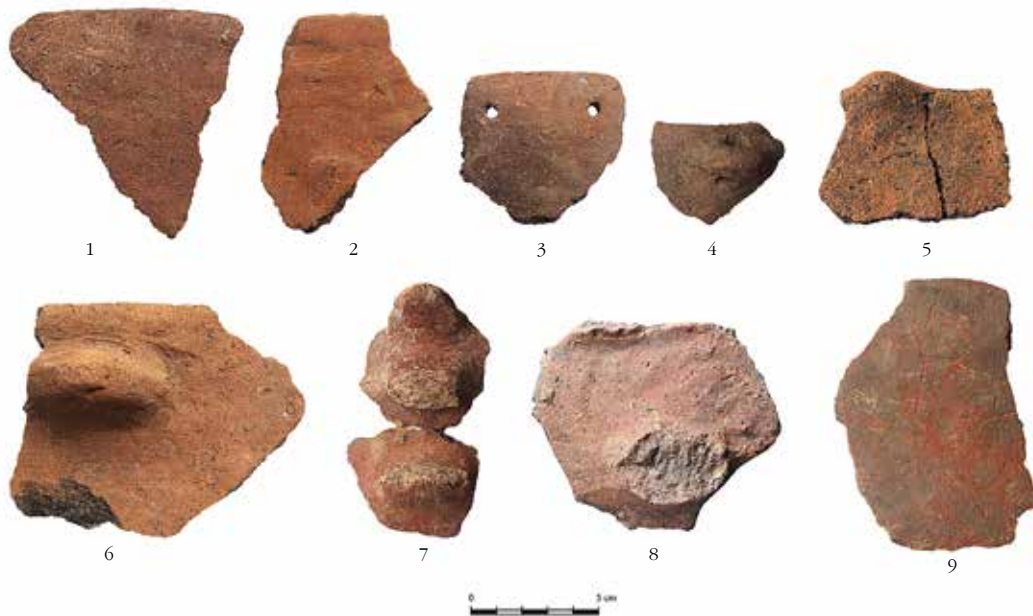


Fig. 4 Selected diagnostic Middle Chalcolithic pot sherds with dark reddish-brown surfaces recovered from trial trenches dug in stadium area

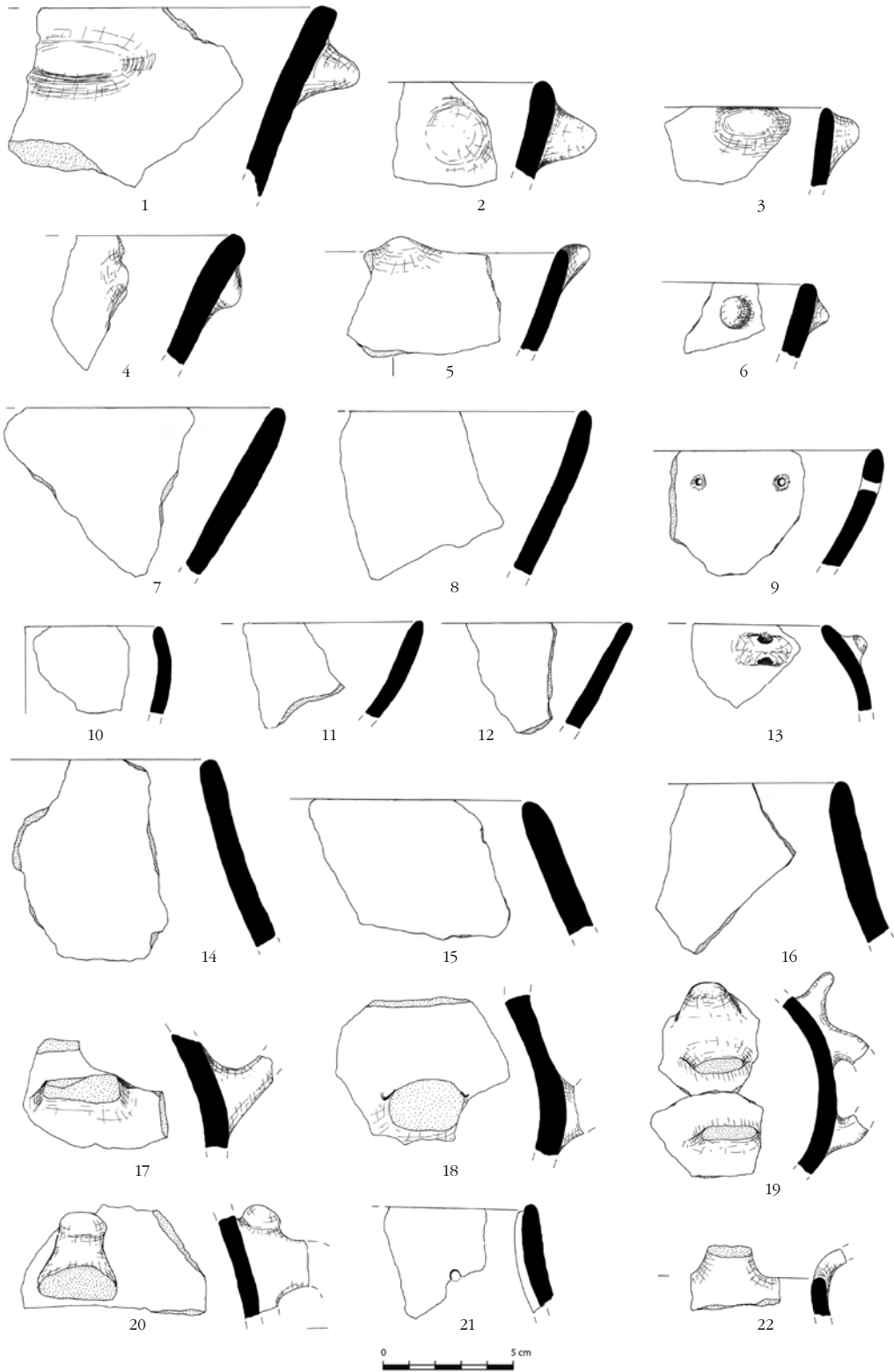


Fig. 5 Line drawing of diagnostic Middle Chalcolithic pot sherds recovered from trial trenches dug in area of stadium

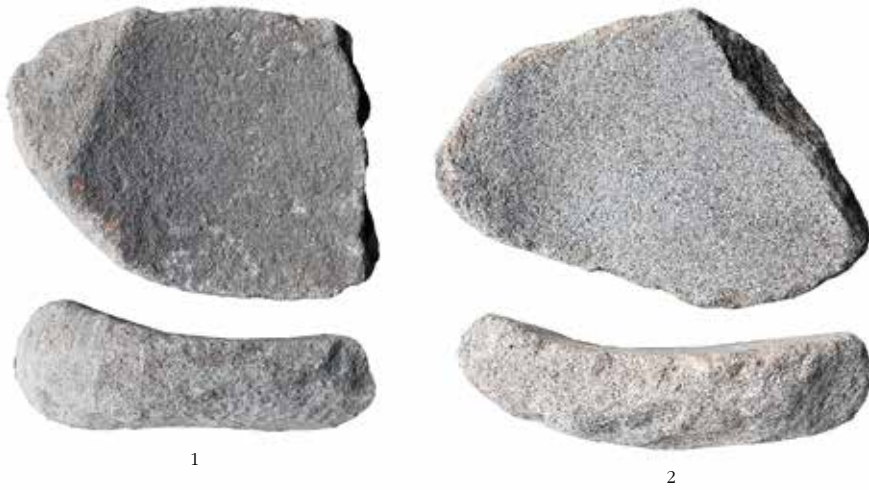


Fig. 6
Saddle quern
fragments
recovered from
habitational
debris of Middle
Chalcolithic layer

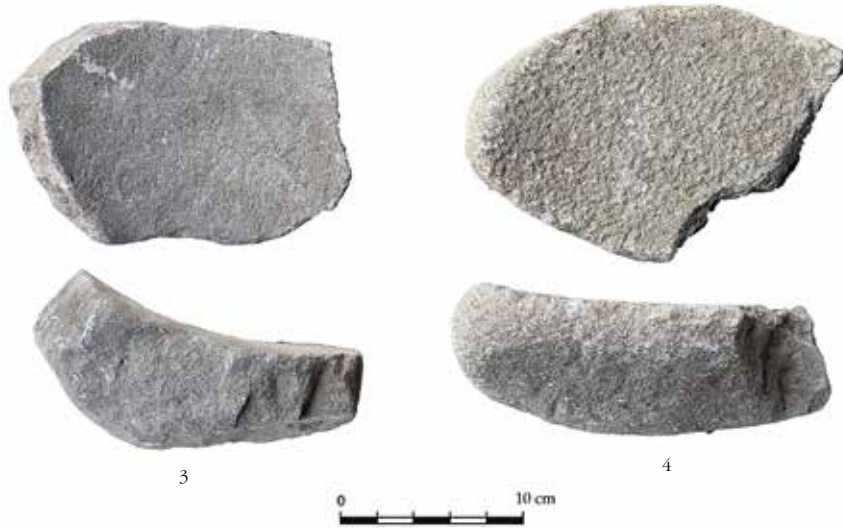


Fig. 7
Two polished stone
axes: 1 is from
habitational debris of
Middle Chalcolithic
layer; 2 is from fills
of trench opened
on eastern slope
of acropolis



Fig. 8
Obsidian artifacts
of central Anatolian
origin recovered
from habitational
debris of Middle
Chalcolithic layer



Fig. 9
Flint artifacts
recovered from
habitational
debris of Middle
Chalcolithic
layer



Fig. 10
Bottom of
Trench 35,
showing remains
of two Late
Bronze Age
storage vessels



Fig. 11
Fragments of
Late Bronze Age
storage vessels
with decorated
surfaces. 1–2) incised
chevrons; 3) incised
diagonal parallel
lines; 4–5) impressed
circles; 6–7) rope
decoration



Fig. 12 Selected Late Bronze Age pots representing pedestalled bowls

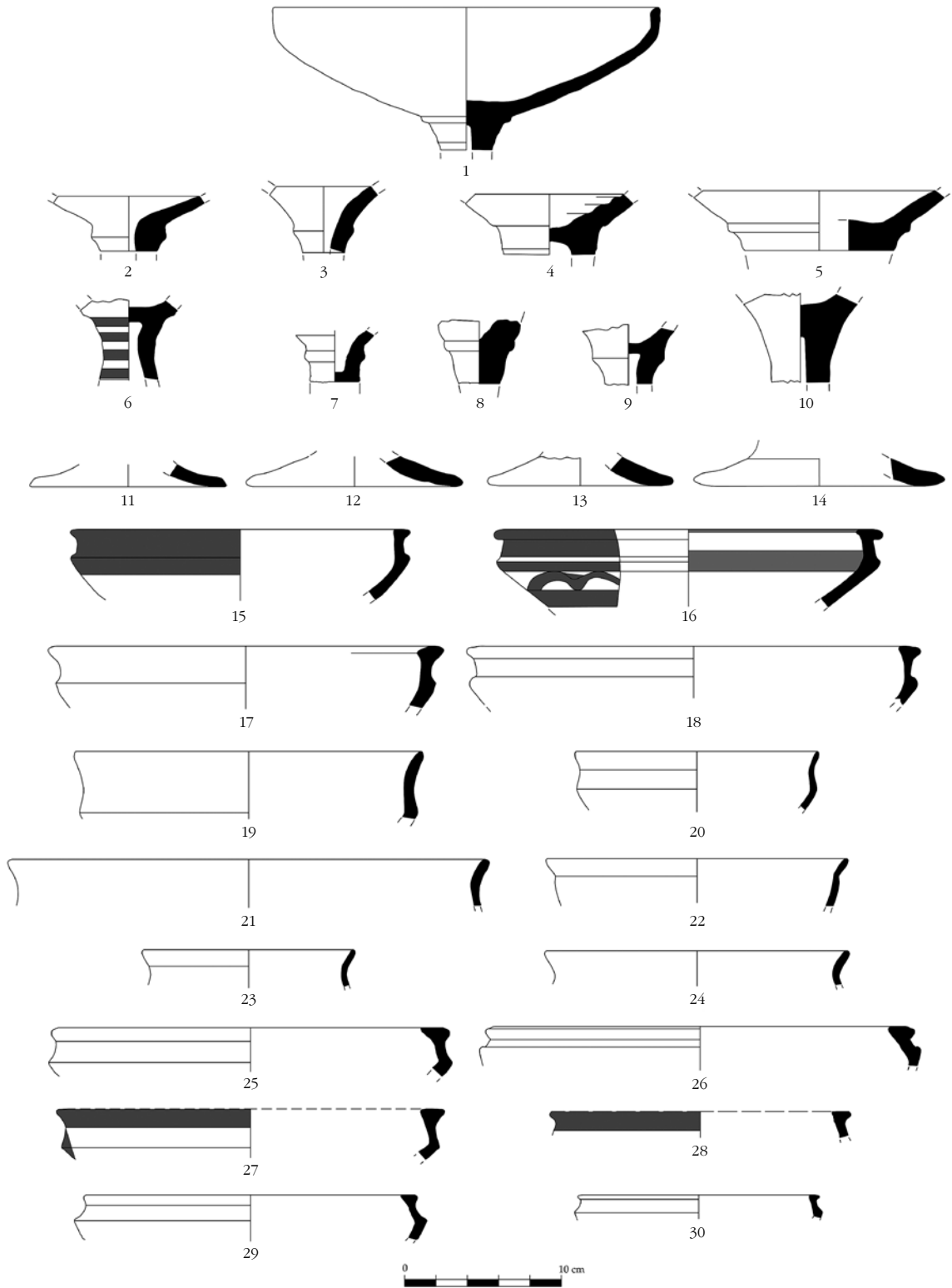


Fig. 13 Line drawings of selected Late Bronze Age pot sherds representing pedestalled bowls



Fig. 14 View of Trench 34 in the stadium area, showing Early Iron Age remains beneath Geometric period walls



Fig. 15 Selected Early Iron Age pot sherds from trial trenches in the stadium area

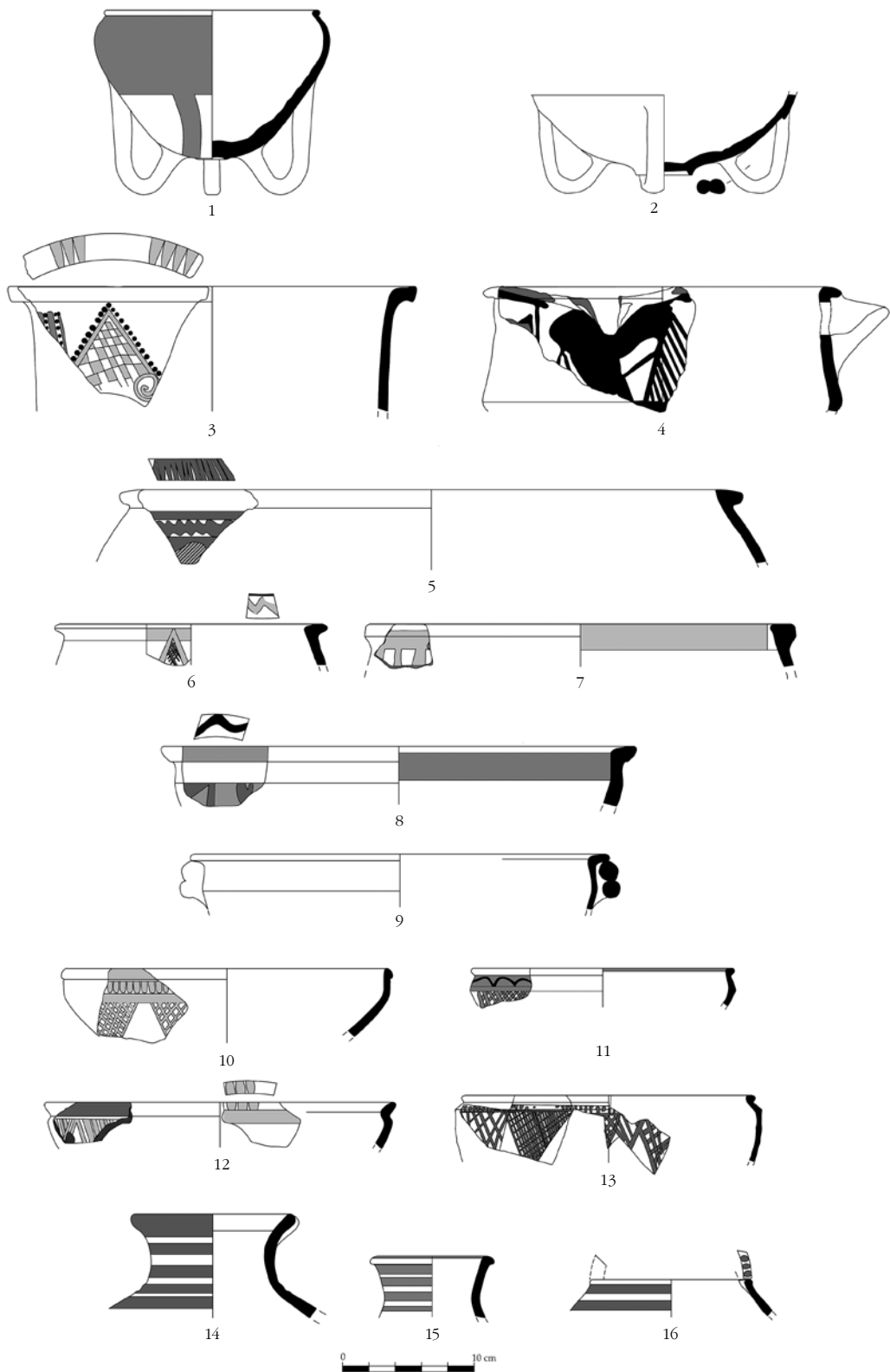


Fig. 16 Line drawings of selected Early Iron Age pot sherds from trial trenches in the stadium area

Post-Akkadian and Ur III Features on Cylinder Seals from Kültepe-Kanesh: An Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis

Güzel ÖZTÜRK*

Abstract

The cylinder seals uncovered at Kültepe-Kanesh, which date to the last quarter of the Early Bronze Age, are completely foreign to Anatolian sealing practices in terms of both their form and the style of depiction they utilize. These foreign characteristics point to a new and important aspect of the cross-border relations of Anatolia. Cylinder seals, which are known to have been used for the first time in the Uruk period from the second half of the 4th millennium BC in the Near East, represent a lesser known type for Anatolian geography in the 3rd millennium BC. Examples of cylinder seals dating to the 3rd millennium BC apart from Kültepe are known from the excavations of Troy, Alişar, Gordion, and Seyitömer in the northern part of the Taurus Mountains and the inner and western parts of Anatolia. The Kültepe cylinder seals not only contribute to our knowledge about the extent of cylinder seal usage in Anatolia in the 3rd millennium BC, but also add a new dimension to Anatolian sealing practices via the stylistic features of their compositions and the descriptions on them.

Keywords: Anatolian Sealing Tradition, 3rd Millennium, Kültepe-Kanesh, Seals of Post-Akkadian and Ur III Period, Cross-Border Interactions

Öz

Kültepe-Kaniş kazılarında açığa çıkartılan ve Erken Tunç Çağı'nın son çeyreğine tarihlenen silindir mühürler hem mühür formu hem de üzerlerindeki tasvirlerin işleniş stilleri açısından tamamen Anadolu mühürcülüğüne yabancısıdır ve bu özelliği ile de Anadolu'nun sınır ötesi ilişkilerine yeni ve önemli bir boyut kazandırmıştır. Önasya'da ilk kez Uruk dönemi yani MÖ 4. binyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren kullanılmaya başlandığı bilinen silindir mühürler, MÖ 3. binyılda Anadolu coğrafyası için az bilinen bir tipi temsil eder. MÖ 3. binyıla tarihlenen silindir mühür örnekleri, Toros Dağları'nın kuzeyinde yani Anadolu'nun iç ve batı kısımlarında Kültepe dışında, Troia, Alişar, Gordion ve son yıllarda kazısı yapılan Seyitömer kazılarında ele geçen örneklerden bilinir. Kültepe buluntuları, Anadolu'da MÖ 3. binyılda silindir mühür kullanımının ne boyutta olduğuna ilişkin bilgilerimize yeni katkılar sağlamakla kalmaz aynı zamanda üzerlerindeki kompozisyon konuları ve tasvirlerin stil özellikleriyle de Anadolu mühürcülüğüne yeni bir boyut kazandırır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anadolu Mühür Geleneği, MÖ 3. binyıl, Kültepe-Kaniş, Post-Akad ve III. Ur Dönemi Mühürleri, Sınır Ötesi Etkileşimler

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Introduction¹

Seals and seal impressions of the Ancient Near East inform us not only about the artistic values, but also about the religious beliefs, worldviews, culture, iconography, mythology, daily life, and even technologies of the societies that produced them. Furthermore, they provide important clues about cultural and artistic interactions between societies.

The archaeological materials unearthed at Kültepe through continuous systematic excavations since 1948, along with different groups of artefacts purchased by museums, have contributed greatly to Near Eastern archaeology. The artefacts obtained from different centres of Early Bronze Age Anatolia, and imported from surrounding lands, have confirmed that Anatolia had relations with neighbouring regions such as Syria and Mesopotamia. The Kültepe cylinder seals, dating to the last quarter of the 3rd millennium BC, provide new and crucial insights into Anatolia's cross-border relations.

The great majority of the collection of seals and seal impressions found during the Kültepe-Kanesh excavations are dated to the Assyrian Colony Period. The lack of evidence from the preceding period relating to the use of cylinder seals, particularly in central Anatolia, has shown scholars that the roots of these types of seals need to be sought outside of Anatolia.

Cylinder seals first began to be used in the Near East from the second half of the 4th millennium BC onwards.² The use of this type of seal by the people of Anatolia became possible as a result of foreign traders who came to Anatolia during the Assyrian Colony Period.³ Before the arrival of Assyrians in the region and the widespread use of cylinder seals, the stamp seal was in use in Anatolia.⁴ Before the Assyrian Colony Period in Anatolia, the majority of both stamp and cylinder seals used geometric designs or animal depictions engraved in a basic way in the centre of the seal.

In the 3rd millennium BC, the Taurus Mountains formed a natural border, and in this period southeastern Anatolia, Çukurova, and the Amuq Plain remained inside the Syro-Mesopotamian culture region.⁵ In the Early Bronze Age, Anatolian seal repertoire cylinder seals and impressions with geometric and botanical motifs are represented by a small number of examples

¹ Since 2009, I have had the opportunity to observe firsthand the architecture and archaeological material of the Kültepe Early Bronze Age as a member of the Kültepe-Kanesh excavation committee. For this opportunity and for his support for my study of the archaeological material in this paper, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. F. Kulakoğlu, director of the Kültepe-Kanesh excavations. I am also grateful to Dr. A. Wisti Lassen, Associate Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, whose comments and advice broadened my views on glyptic art during my ten months in the Yale Babylonian Collection during my PhD dissertation research. Seven of the artefacts studied within the scope of my dissertation on Kültepe seals and sealings, dated to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, are examined in this study, and I would therefore like to thank the following institutions, who supported my work at different stages, allowing me to study artefacts from different museums and collections abroad: 2016–2017: “The Earliest International Trade Center in Central Anatolia in the 3rd Millennium B.C. and Evidence of Trade: Seals and Sealing Practices in Kültepe”, TÜBİTAK (Project No. 059B1415008451), Yale University (USA); 2016–2018: “MÖ. 3. Binyıl Mühür ve Mühür Baskıları Işığında Anadolu-Mezopotamya ve Suriye İlişkileri”, Ankara University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (Project No. 16L0649003); 2018–2019: “The Analysis and Artistic-Functional Properties of Kültepe Sealing Practices through 2500–2000 BC”, Ilse Hanfmann, George Hanfmann and Machteld J. Mellink Scholarship, (ARIT), Copenhagen University, Centre for Textile Research, SAXO-Institute.

² Pittman 2001, 420.

³ Erkanal 1993.

⁴ Larsen and Lassen 2014, 186.

⁵ The reflection of this situation in glyptic art is seen in the weight of the cylinder seal artefacts uncovered in these regions or in the foreignness to Anatolian glyptic art of the style and subject of the scenes engraved on the seals.

Kültepe-Kanesh Early Bronze Age III Levels Mound	3rd Millenium BC Mesopotamian Style		Mesopotamian Chronology	Dates (Middle Chronology ± 30)	
13	A. Geometric Design	B. Figurative Design		Early Dynastic IIIb	2400-2300 BC
	Seal 1			Akkadian	2324-2142 BC
12				Post Akkadian/Gutian	2192-2112 BC
11a-b		B. 1. Post- Akkadian Style Seal 2; Seal 3; Seal 4; Seal 7	B. 2. Ur III Style Seal 5 Seal 6	Ur III	2110/2112- 2004/2003 BC

Fig. 1 Table of Early Bronze Age Kültepe-Kanesh cylinder seals according to 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamian chronology and style.

found at centres such as Kültepe,⁶ Alişar,⁷ Gordion,⁸ and Troy.⁹ Cylinder seals on which the subjects of composition are made up of figurative elements foreign to Anatolian glyptic are only known from examples found at the Kültepe¹⁰ and Seyitömer¹¹ excavations.

The subject of this study consists of seven artefacts that have been found at Kültepe and were made in the cylinder seal form known to be foreign to Anatolia. The study presents the first artistic critique of the seals in question. Four of these cylinder seals¹² (figs. 3-4 and 7-8) were purchased by the Kayseri Museum in 1934 and registered as “of Kültepe origin” in the museum’s inventory, while one (fig. 5) was unearthed during excavations conducted at the mound area in 1953.¹³ Two of the seals evaluated in the article were brought to light during the 2010 and 2012 excavations at Kültepe. The first of these was found in a simple earth grave (fig. 6; seal 5), while the other came from the excavations of the 13th level (fig. 2). While one of the seals in question has geometric decoration, in the other there are scenes of presentation and contest. The earliest of the artefacts is dated to the 13th level, while the others are dated to the 12th and 11th levels (see fig. 1). At Kültepe, the levels in question date to the late phase of

⁶ See Kt. 14 t. 1156.

⁷ von der Osten 1937, fig. 186.

⁸ Dusinger 2005, 33, fig. 11a-b. This seal was obtained from a Middle-Late Bronze Age fill at Gordion. Based on the depictions on the seal, similarities with Jemdet Nasr in Mesopotamia were observed, and therefore it was dated to the early Early Bronze Age.

⁹ Schlieman 1881, 500-3; Schmidt 1902: 8868; Bittel 1941, Abb. 1.

¹⁰ Bittel 1941, Abb. 4-5; Özgüç 1986, figs. 3, 42-43.

¹¹ Bilgen 2015, 142, 148-49, figs. 162-63.

¹² Kt. 82 t. 246; Kt. 82 t. 247; Kt. 82 t. 248; Kt. 82 t. 224.

¹³ Kt e/t 180; Balkan 1957, fig. 12.

the Early Bronze Age III period of Anatolia—that is, to 2400–2000 BC—which is paralleled by the Akkadian, Post-Akkadian/Gutian, and Ur III in Mesopotamia (see fig. 1).

The artefacts evaluated within the scope of this study have been grouped primarily according to the quality of the representations on them (geometric or figurative) and the variety of composition subjects displayed. In addition, the periods whose artistic characteristics are reflected by the artefacts were examined by focusing on the subjects of the seals with figurative scenes and the characteristics of the style of the figures. In this way, emphasis has been placed on the similarities and differences between the cylinder seals that are the subject of the study by comparing them with other Near Eastern examples of artefacts that show parallels in terms of subject and style.

2. Archaeological Material: Cylinder Seals of Kültepe-Kanesh

The earliest (see fig. 1) cylinder seal of the group (fig. 2) was unearthed at the mound in the 2012 excavation campaign. During this campaign, a monumental building of 70 m on the north-south axis by 55 m on the east-west axis was found. This building has not yet been excavated fully, but it has been observed that in some parts the thick mudbrick walls of the structure are preserved to a height of 3 m.¹⁴ The building has a plan of wide rooms placed consecutively. The exterior of the structure's northern wall was supported by 1-m wide buttresses placed at 7-m intervals. This monumental building probably had official or administrative functions apart from daily use. The building dates to Kültepe layer 13 and is the largest monumental building of the period unearthed so far in Anatolia¹⁵ (fig. 9).

Since the 2010 campaign, excavations have been conducted to uncover the structure's complete plan. The 2012 campaign yielded a steatite cylinder seal inside one of the building's rooms, from Kültepe layer 13, dated to Early Bronze Age III. Apart from being the earliest cylinder seal found at Kültepe, this seal is important because it is the first cylinder seal with geometric decorations among Kültepe's Early Bronze Age seals (fig. 2).

The second cylinder seal that was discovered *in situ* (fig. 6) was found in a layer underneath Temple 1 of the buildings known as the Anitta temples at the mound. The mound excavations, conducted under the direction of Kulakoğlu, yielded a simple earth grave framed with small stones (fig. 10) beneath the remains of Temple 1. The well-preserved grave contained a male skeleton and burial gifts such as bronze vessels, weapons, and a precious lapis lazuli cylinder seal (fig. 6).¹⁶ Based on the rich and high-quality burial gifts found in the grave, it seems that it was not an ordinary person buried here: he must have been either a merchant or a rich person. The grave belongs to layer 11b of Kültepe, dated to the end of Early Bronze Age III.

The first of the cylinder seals that will be examined in this study is numbered Kt. 82 t. 246 (fig. 3). In the presentation scene of the seal, there is a main figure seated on a throne and there is a worshipper who is led by a leading goddess in the presence of the main figure. At the top of the scene is a crescent. The height of the artefact is 1.9 cm and the diameter is 1.2 cm.

¹⁴ Kulakoğlu and Öztürk 2015, fig. 2; Kulakoğlu 2017.

¹⁵ Kulakoğlu et al. 2013, 49; Kulakoğlu 2017.

¹⁶ For detailed information on the dating of iconographical and stylistic characteristics of depictions on the seal, see section 3, seal 5.

The composition of the seal, Kt. 82 t. 247 (fig. 4), which is in the Kayseri Museum, is depicted as the scene of the previous seal. On this seal, between the god and the other figures is an offering table on which is shown a tray with bread/pitta depicted by two lines. At the top of the scene are positioned an eight-pointed star and a crescent. The height of the piece is 1.9 cm and the diameter is 1.1 cm.

The seal with accession number Kt e/t 180 (fig. 5), which was found in the 1953 excavation at Kültepe and is now held at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, was published by K. Balkan in 1957 on account of its inscription¹⁷. Apart from the fact that the artefact came from the base of the levels characterised as dating to the Old Hittite Period and came to light mixed among Alişar III artefacts, no other information about the item was shared. The scene on the seal consists of a god sitting on a throne with an offering table in front of him. The scene is delimited by a four-line legend in a frame, and at the top there is an eight-pointed star. The artefact's height is 2.4 cm and the diameter is 1.3 cm.

An artefact (fig. 7) located by the author during the course of inventory work carried out at Kayseri Museum in 2017, and examined here for the first time, is recorded by Kayseri Museum with the inventory number Kt. 82 t. 224. On the seal there is a scene of a worshipper brought to the presence of Utu/Shamash in the company of a protecting god. At the end of the scene is a two-line inscription. The height of the artefact is 2.1 cm and the diameter is 1 cm.

The last piece to be examined in this study is artefact number Kt. 82 t. 248 (fig. 8), which is held at Kayseri Museum.¹⁸ On the seal there is a contest scene of a lion on each side of which is a naked hero. The height of the artefact is 2.5 cm and the diameter is 0.85 cm.

3. Analysis of Iconography and Style

3.1. Geometric Design

Seal 1: Kt. 14 t. 1156

Geometrically decorated cylinder seals are represented by a single example at Kültepe, dating to Early Bronze Age III and found in layer 13. Broken at the edge, the seal bears three parallel and consecutive rows of chevron motifs (fig. 2).

In geometrically decorated cylinder seals, the most frequently employed motif was the line motif, which can be observed from the earliest examples onwards. This motif, and its variations, is attested both as a single motif and accompanied by different geometric motifs.

From 3500–3000 BC onwards, Mesopotamian cylinder seals began to feature geometric and vegetal motifs.¹⁹ These seals were used only rarely in the Late Uruk period, and it was not until the Jemdet Nasr period that they began to be commonly used in the region of Diyala and in the northern Syrian cities.²⁰

A close parallel to the seal from Kültepe has been uncovered at Habuba Kabira. This artefact, exhibited at Aleppo Museum, has been dated to 3500–3000 BC.²¹ Another clay seal found at Norşuntepe has a chevron motif consisting of five parallel and consecutive rows of zigzag

¹⁷ Balkan 1957.

¹⁸ Bittel 1941, Abb. 4–5.

¹⁹ Pittman 2001, 420.

²⁰ See Frankford 1955; Teissier 1984.

²¹ Hammade 1994, 37, cat. no. 310.

lines. This artefact, dated to Early Bronze Age I, differs from the Kültepe example by featuring a star at the corner of the motif. Two cylinder seals of faience from Gözlü Kule in Tarsus have been dated to Early Bronze Age III and bear chevron decorations.²² A seal making similar use to that seen in this Gözlü Kule example was found in the Early Bronze Age III levels at Oylum Höyük.²³ These differ from the Kültepe seal in that the surfaces of the seal are divided into three sections and the chevrons have horizontal ends.

The use of cylinder seals designed with geometric motifs witnesses a severe decline at cities in both Mesopotamia and Syria after the Jemdet Nasr period. Despite this decline, evidence regarding the employment of the chevron motif on cylinder seals continues until the Middle Assyrian period, dated to 1350–1000 BC in northern Mesopotamia.²⁴ One of the latest cylinder seals with the chevron motif comes from the Mitanni layer of the Tell al-Rimah settlement's C area.²⁵

3.2. Figurative Design

Seal 2: Kt. 82 t. 246

This seal, dated to the Post-Akkadian period, has a presentation scene consisting of a worshipper accompanied by a leading goddess presenting the worshipper to a deity enthroned under a crescent that is positioned above. The carving styles of the figures' bodies, with the hips emphasized, implies that all are females (fig. 3).²⁶

The main figure, seated on a box-shaped throne with a short backrest, is shown from the right, while the other figures are depicted in left profile. The main figure's right arm is bent at the elbow and close to the body, while the left hand is depicted as if greeting the figures in its presence. In Near Eastern glyptic, depictions of hands in this style first emerge in the Akkadian period and continue in the Post-Akkadian period. The leading goddess between the worshipper and the enthroned figure holds the worshipper with her left hand while holding a short-branched plant in her raised right hand. The worshipper, at the end of the scene, holds a *situla* hanging down from her right hand.

Between the enthroned figure and the leading goddess is an offering table with a flat surface and spread legs. This table differs from other offering tables seen on the Kültepe seals in its lack of flat breads and the presence of three vertically parallel lines emerging from a corner. This table type shows similarities with the flaming altar/offering table model first seen in Near Eastern glyptic during the Akkadian period. The seat of the enthroned goddess is an exact copy of the box-shaped throne with short backrest seen in seal 2, where Utu/Shamash is seated.

All the figures wear flat dresses extending down to their ankles. None of the figures, including the enthroned goddess, wear horned headdresses. In the Akkadian and Post-Akkadian periods, goddesses were depicted without headdresses, though this situation changed in the Ur III period.²⁷ All of the figures have hairstyles that sharply bend up from the neck before falling down.

²² Goldman 1956, 238, fig. 393, 20–1.

²³ Özgen, Helwing and Tekin 1997, Abb. 27: 1.

²⁴ See Doumet 1992, 73, cat. no. 131–3.

²⁵ Parker 1975, Pl. X, 4.

²⁶ For parallels, see von der Osten 1934, Pl. XI, 114, 6.

²⁷ Collon 1982, 30; for Akkadian examples, see Porada 1948, Pl. XXXIX, 252.

Continuations of certain Akkadian elements are observed in the scene of this Kültepe seal. For example, in Post-Akkadian and Ur III seals with presentation scenes, the leading goddess bringing the worshipper to the deity do not hold plants in their hands. Also, in Post-Akkadian and Ur III presentation scenes, the worshipper figures do not often carry *situlae* or bucket-type objects; in fact, only two seals from the Post-Akkadian period feature figures carrying a *situla*.²⁸ A worshipper carrying a *situla* or bucket is a more frequent element in the Akkadian period.²⁹

It is possible to claim that the flaming altar model seen on Kültepe seals first appeared in seals of the Akkadian period.³⁰ Even though the flaming altar models seen on Near Eastern seals are not exactly similar to the altar on the Kültepe seal in terms of typology, it might nonetheless be claimed that this seal's engraver was impressed by art of the Akkadian period. Apart from the Kültepe seal, there is no other evidence for use of the flaming altar motif in the Post-Akkadian/Ur III period.

The period known as Post-Akkadian or Gutian³¹ refers to the interval between the death of the Akkadian King Sharkalishari (ca. 2205–2181 BC) and the beginning of the reign of Ur-Namma (ca. 2110 BC), the first king of the Ur III Dynasty.³²

It has been claimed that the quality of glyptic, and of Akkadian art in general, witnessed a fall in the Gutian period.³³ In contrast to the well-documented glyptic examples of the early Akkadian period, seal evidence from this period is very limited. Due to such problems, experts have not yet been able to develop a common terminology for the glyptic art of this transitional period. When the period's artistic characteristics are examined, it becomes clear that artefacts were usually carved with styles and subjects that present elements of the transitional phase between Akkadian and Ur III. In addition to these data, there is also no definite evidence either of exactly when the Gutian period started nor of its geographical extent,³⁴ which means that the use of the term "Post-Akkadian" for the dating of the seals in this study is more feasible.

Using the term "Post-Akkadian" for the period in question was first suggested by Porada.³⁵ Buchanan also preferred this term in his studies of the seals of the period.³⁶ While Collon usually uses the terms "Post-Akkadian" and "Ur III" interchangeably,³⁷ Boehmer classifies the period as "Post-Akkadian A-B" and as the "Urbau-Urningirsu Group."³⁸

²⁸ See Porada 1948, Pl. XL, 259; Collon 1982, Pl. XL, 309.

²⁹ von der Osten 1934, Pl. XI, 115; Frankfort 1955, Pl. 63, 669; Collon 1982, Pls. XXX, 212; XXXII, 221.

³⁰ For flaming altar depictions, see Moortgat 1940, Taf. 32, 236; Porada 1948, Pl. XXXIX: 245–46; Frankfort 1955, Pl. 58: 616; Boehmer 1965, Taf. XLIX, 574, 8–81, 5; Collon 1982, Pl. XXVII, 186–88; Collon 2003, cat. no. 132.

³¹ Reade 2001, 11; Frankfort 1955, 10.

³² Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 113.

³³ Porada 1948, 31; Collon 2003, 6.

³⁴ Due to the Akkadian Kingdom's loss of power after Naram-Sin and the dissolving of central authority in southern Mesopotamia towards the end of the Sharkalishari Kingdom, cities in remote regions drew apart from the Akkadian administration. In this political environment, kings of the important cities of Lagash, Uruk, and Kish in southern Mesopotamia, along with the king of strategically important Susa in today's Iran, proclaimed their independence. In parallel with these developments, Gutians from the Zagros mountains reached the Diyala region. See Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015.

³⁵ Porada 1948, 31; Collon 2003, 6.

³⁶ Buchanan 1966, 71 ff; 1981, 189–98.

³⁷ Collon 1987, 35; 2003, 5.

³⁸ Boehmer 1966, 375.

Seal 3: Kt. 82 t. 247

This artefact bears a classical three-figure presentation with an enthroned figure under a star and a crescent, with other figures moving towards her (fig. 4).

The deity sits on a simple, box-shaped throne with no backrest and greets the figures before her in a classical manner. Her schematically carved face has a large, triangle-profiled nose covering the whole face, in accordance with the artistic style of the period.

The goddess wears a double-horned headdress with a flat end on top. The hair falling down the headdress goes directly upwards without being tied at the neck. The same hairstyle, but without the horned headdress, is seen on both the leading goddess and the worshipper figure, with the latter's hair being shown slightly shorter than that of the former. The altar table between the goddess and the other figures, as well as the eight-pointed star above the scene, are of the same style and significance as those seen on seal 4.

Seal 4: Kt. e/t. 180

The scene on this seal was engraved in the standard standing style of presentation scenes, with an enthroned god and an altar in front. At the end of the scene is a four-line legend and an eight-pointed star (fig. 5).

The god wears a flat dress covering the whole body and extending down to the ankle. His double-horned headdress has a small triangular bulge in the middle. The long horns of the headdress bend upwards. Headdresses of this type appear from the Akkadian period onwards.³⁹

In accordance with the art of the period, the hairstyles are standardized. On artefacts of the period, gods and goddesses wear their hair in such a manner that it emerges from under horned headdresses, is tied at the neck, and ends in upward curls. In exceptions where this hairstyle was not preferred, the hair is either bent directly upwards with no knots at the neck⁴⁰ or else extends down from the back of the head with an upward curl at the end.⁴¹

In terms of facial physiognomy, the large and triangle-profiled nose covering the face and bulging lips are stylistic characteristics of the period.

The god's raised hand was carved as visibly larger than his other hand and his body proportions in general. In the art of the period, the thumb is frequently shown separate, with the remaining four fingers joined. In some other seals of the period that feature parallel presentation scenes, the enthroned figure and leading goddesses have hands shown larger than normal. Such large hands are first seen on Akkadian period seals and continue in the Ur III period.⁴²

The flat-surfaced table with spread legs in front of the god bears an object shown with four layers of lines. Osten states that altars of this type first appear in Sumerian-Akkadian seals, and he interprets the object on the altar as flat bread.⁴³ One parallel of this type of altar is attested

³⁹ See Haussperger 1991, 295.

⁴⁰ Collon 1982, Pl. XLV, 379; XLVI, 396–97.

⁴¹ For hairstyles, see Buchanan 1981, 208, fig. 538.

⁴² For similar examples, see Speleers 1917, 129, figs. 438–39; Collon 1982, Pl. XXXVIII, 292; Pittman – Aruz 1987, fig. 22; Delaporte 1923, Pl. 75, 3, 12, 28.

⁴³ von der Osten 1934, 116, fig. 11: altar type no. 122.

on a seal obtained from the settlement of Khafajah in the Diyala region, an artefact that has been stylistically dated to the Akkadian period.⁴⁴ Similar parallels are a serpentine seal from the Yale Babylonian Collection; seals from the Louvre Museum, British Museum, Michel Chiha Collection, Newell Collection, and the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium; and seals from the Ur excavations.⁴⁵ Parallels of this offering table can also be seen on seals featuring contest scenes.⁴⁶ All of these artefacts date to the Post-Akkadian and Ur III periods.

Matthews, addressing the presence of some 3rd millennium BC elements in Old Syrian or Proto-Syrian glyptic in the early 2nd millennium BC, mentions the table type seen on the Kültepe seal among these elements. He states that the earliest examples of this table type are known from a purchased seal from the Aleppo region and some seals with feast scenes dated⁴⁷ to the Early Dynastic Period in Syria.⁴⁸ The appearance of this table type in Syria has been attributed to the Post-Akkadian style. The table type shown with flat bread that is indicated via horizontal lines continues to appear on seals in feast scenes of the Old Syrian style dated to the early 2nd millennium BC.⁴⁹

On top of the table in front of the god are a vase added to the empty area and a ball and staff, neither of which are organically connected with the scene. It is generally accepted that these motifs were employed on seals as filling motifs, after completion of the main scene.

The eight-pointed star at the top of the scene symbolizes the sun and appears on artefacts by the Akkadian period. The star form used on the Kültepe seal is a frequently employed motif for worship scenes of the period. Apart from worshipping and feasting scenes, a single star placed at the top of the scene is also frequently observed in scenes depicting Shamash.⁵⁰ This use continued in the Post-Akkadian period.⁵¹

Use of the star motif is not limited to glyptic. One of the most beautiful works of Akkadian art, the artefact known as the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin in the archaeological literature, has a similar star/sun depiction on top.⁵²

Balkan, reading the four-line legend on this seal, states that the name “*Abu-ah̄i*” is a parallel to the name “*Abum-ilum*” observed in the Ur III period. Additionally, he emphasizes that the prefix *ah̄u* was employed as an adjective for deities. Moreover, he also claims that the SANGA sign on the fourth line is the same as RA. The written form AN-ŠÛR^{ki} on the fourth line corresponds to the city Assur. This is the earliest example of that city name in this form.⁵³

⁴⁴ Frankfort 1955, Pl. 41, 438.

⁴⁵ See Speleers 1917, 129, fig. 438; Delaporte 1923, Pl. 74, 12, 14; von der Osten 1934, Pl. XII, 122; Buchanan 1981, fig. 545; Collon 1982, Pl. XLVII, 415; XLVIII, 428; Legrain 1951, Pl. 19: 280–83; Doumet 1992, 53, fig. 97.

⁴⁶ See Porada 1948, Pl. XLII, 268E. This contest scene engraved on a steatite seal shows a bull man and a nude hero fighting a griffin, and has an offering table of this type used as a filling motif between the bull man and the griffin.

⁴⁷ Matthews 1997, 148. For the mentioned artefacts, see Buchanan 1966, Pl. 50, 775; Pl. 54, 838; this seal is classified as Syrian provincial style, and the figures were implemented in wide and flat forms; therefore, even though it was included in the Levant group, the period could not be determined with certainty.

⁴⁸ Buchanan 1966, 143.

⁴⁹ Porada 1948, Pl. CXLIII, 944E, 946E; Buchanan 1966, Pl. 55, 855–56, 9; Porada 1966, Pl. XVII, d. This type of table depiction can be observed on artefacts from Anatolia studied under the Syria-Cappadocia style, dated to the same period, Porada 1992, 443, fig. 8.

⁵⁰ See Porada 1948, Pl. XXVIII, 181; XXIX, 192, 189; XXXII, 205; Pl. XXXVIII, 239E, 245. Use of a star on top of a scene in the Akkadian period is a characteristic of Ea, the water god; see Porada 1948, Pl. XXXI, 203; XXXII, 205.

⁵¹ See Porada 1948, Pl. XL, 255–56.

⁵² Moortgat 1969, fig. 155.

⁵³ Balkan 1957, 2.

Along with the altar, parallels of the throne depicted as a four-cornered empty frame, the lower platform of which reaches below the feet of the deity, can be observed in Akkadian, Post-Akkadian, and Ur III period examples with worshipping scenes.⁵⁴

Based on parallel finds from the Near East, such a scene is expected to have a composition wherein a worshipper is presented by a leading deity. On the basis of analogous finds in the Near East, it would be expected that the scene on the seal would have a composition in which the worshipper in the presence of the god on the throne is introduced while being held by the hand. It is conceivable that the greatest factor in the scene being done here in such a truncated manner might have resulted from the covering of a large portion of the seal's surface with the inscription behind the god, thus leaving no available space for the other figures. Many Post-Akkadian seals lack inscriptions; however, the case is different for their re-use. Therefore, it is believed that seals of this type may have been used by more than one generation; i.e., they were owned by more than one person.⁵⁵ In light of this information, it can be hypothesized that this seal from Kültepe had at least two owners, and that the inscription was added in the second use by erasing the scene.

Seal 5: Kt. 10 t. 24

The scene, simply and shallowly engraved, shows the sun god Utu/Shamash seated on a throne with a short backrest and holding a saw in his raised right hand, and a leading god a worshipper (fig. 6).

All the figures wear flat dresses that cover the whole body and extend down to the ankles. The seated god and leading god wear flat headdresses with double horns. The worshipper has no headdress.

The facial physiognomy of the gods and worshipper features long noses that begin from the forehead and cover the face, and large eye sockets created by the nose have been carved in the style of the period. The upper and lower lips are shown as bulges for both the worshipper and the seated deity. All the figures are clean-shaven, including Utu/Shamash.

This seal, dated to the Ur III period, shows Utu/Shamash, the sun god of Mesopotamian mythology, holding one of his attribute weapons, a saw. Depictions of Utu/Shamash are frequently seen in Near Eastern glyptic from the Akkadian period onwards.⁵⁶ In depictions of

⁵⁴ For the Akkadian period, see Speleers 1917, 129, fig. 438–39; for the Post-Akkadian period, see Porada 1948, Pl. XL: 255–7; Collon 1982, Pl. XXXVIII, 289, 92–3, 301–2, 305, 7, 9, 11, 2. For Ur III period examples, see von der Osten 1934, Pl. XIII, 135; Pl. XV, 186; Porada 1948, Pl. XLIV, 280; Buchanan 1981, figs. 545, 555, 557, 560; Collon 1982, Pl. XLIV, 369, 72–4, XLVI, 396–97.

⁵⁵ Collon 1982, 110.

⁵⁶ The god Utu/Shamash is usually depicted on Akkadian period seals as standing between mountains, stepping on a mountain with his raised right foot, and holding a saw. Standing Utu/Shamash figures are usually seen holding a saw in one hand and an upside-down staff/mace in the other. See Porada 1948, Pl. XXIX, 185, 6; Frankfort 1955, Pl. 56, 591. There is also a group where the god stands on two human-faced bulls (*kusarikku* in Akkadian or *gud-alim* in Sumerian) standing back to back. See Amiet 1980, fig. II - 9; Hansen 2003, 231, fig. 157b. In these scenes, the *kusarikku* are physically related to the sun rising from the east. In Akkadian period seals, when Utu/Shamash is worshipped by other gods, he is shown enthroned, saluting the gods with his raised hand holding the saw while the staff/mace in his other hand rests on his shoulder. See Frankfort 1955, Pl. 58, 617. Depictions of the god in this period include Utu/Shamash shown seated inside a boat with a human-shaped rudder and a snake-like body deck ending with a snake's head. See Frankfort 1939, XIX f, Frankfort 1955, Pl. 59, 621. In light of the current evidence, it is possible to claim that the sun god and the boat figure began to be used together from the Akkadian period onwards. See Sedlacek 2015, 205–6. Frankfort suggests that such depictions of Shamash could be related to agricultural activities. See Frankfort 1939, 109.

the seated Utu/Shamash in worshipping scenes, the god usually sits on a simple box-shaped throne or a mountain and holds a saw in his raised hand while greeting the figures moving towards him.⁵⁷ In such scenes, the god wears a pleated dress in layers that leaves one of his shoulders naked, or else a pleated skirt tightly fastened by a belt at his waist. Shown in profile, the god wears a double-horned headdress, and his face is usually shown with a beard to emphasize his gender.⁵⁸ Sun rays emanating from his shoulders are seen in both seated and standing depictions of Utu/Shamash. Hair emerging from under the horned headdress is usually shown with two knots on top of each other or else short and curling upwards.

Based on the information provided above, the Utu/Shamash on the Kültepe cylinder seal, who is depicted without a beard or rays emanating from his shoulders and has a different hairstyle and manner of dress, represents a rare example. Utu/Shamash depictions similar to the Kültepe seal are attested in examples from Tell Asmar (Eshnunna),⁵⁹ the Ur excavations, and the Marcopoli Collection.⁶⁰

Seal 6: Kt. 82 t. 224

This seal is dated to the Ur III period. It depicts the bringing of a worshipper carrying a goat in their lap and guided by a protecting god into the presence of the sun god Utu/Shamash, who is positioned on top of a mountain. There is a two-line inscription at the end of the scene (fig. 7).

In comparison to the Post-Akkadian period, Ur III seals are higher quality in terms of their technique and artistic style, while comparison with Akkadian seals reveals a relative lack of action and energy. However, the actual depictions and subjects shown on the seals are continuations from the Akkadian and Post-Akkadian periods. Examination of the compositions on published Ur III seal impressions shows that the variety of subject matter is very limited. The largest group consists of presentation scenes, followed by seals featuring contest scenes, which are lower in number.

Ur III worship scenes in Mesopotamian iconography were implemented according to the same standard rules, without exceptions. Therefore, Ur III period presentation scenes usually consisted of an enthroned deity and a worshipper led by a leading god/goddess, just as had been the case in the Post-Akkadian period.⁶¹ In these scenes, the secondary deities are either in front of or behind the worshipper as leading figures.⁶² Sometimes, the worshipper figure is depicted directly in the presence of the god, with no intercession.⁶³ Most of the time, both the worshipper and the leading figures are depicted as goddesses, though on rare occasions they are gods. These figures are usually depicted underneath a crescent, a star-disk inside a crescent, or a star.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ For Utu/Shamash seated on a mountain, see Porada 1948, Pl. XXIX: 190.

⁵⁸ For Utu/Shamash depictions on Akkadian period seals, see Delaporte 1923, Pls. 71, 72, 1–2; Porada 1948, Pls. XXIX, 188–89, 190–94.

⁵⁹ Frankfort 1955, 10.

⁶⁰ Legrain 1951, Pl. 20, 302; Frankfort 1955, Pl. 64: 690; Teissier 1984, cat. no. 135, 91.

⁶¹ Porada 1948, 35.

⁶² Buchanan 1981, Collon 2003, cat. no. 151.

⁶³ Porada 1948, Pl. XLV, 291, 4.

⁶⁴ Porada 1948, Pl. XLV, 291–94; Collon 1987, figs. 118, 121, 122.

The sun god Utu/Shamash depicted on the Kültepe seal is shown with his left foot planted on the ground while his right foot is raised to step on top of a mountain. He holds his saw in his raised right hand, while his left arm is bent at the elbow to be placed on his waist. The right hand of the leading deity before the sun god holds the hand of the worshipper figure behind, while the left hand hangs at rest around the waist. The standard between the leading deity and the worshipper has been damaged by erosion. The worshipper figure at the end of the scene carries a kid while moving towards the sun god.

Utu/Shamash, the main god in the composition, wears a long, plain dress with a slit that leaves his right leg uncovered. The leading deity and worshipper figure wear similarly long and plain dresses, though their dresses do not have slits.

The sun god and leading deity wear similar headdresses with double horns, while the worshipper has no headdress.

The god Utu/Shamash's hair ends in double knots around the neck, the leading deity's hair bends upwards from the neck, and the worshipper figure's head is shaven.

This seal has a parallel for its compositional scheme and stylistic attributes in Porada's corpus of Post-Akkadian seals.⁶⁵ This seal differs from the Kültepe example in small details, such as a tree motif in place of the inscription.

The legend of the Kültepe seal reads:

Ur-^dnu-muš-da : Ur - Numušta⁶⁶

Porada states that the implementation of depictions on seals of the Ur III period are better than those of the Post-Akkadian period.⁶⁷ On seals of the Ur III period, even the objects held or used by the depicted figures were engraved in a very delicate and elaborate manner. Furthermore, these seals were personalized through inscriptions that named their owners.⁶⁸ It is therefore possible to attach these artefacts to individuals by learning the names of the seal owners via the seal inscriptions made under the artistic influence of this period.⁶⁹ In this context, we can say that the name inscribed on a Kültepe seal represents that of the owner of the seal.

In terms of dimensions, seals of the Ur III period are smaller than Akkadian period seals. In terms of material, serpentine and steatite were generally preferred. Also, when seals for officials were carved, lapis lazuli was employed, as had also been the case previously, though hematite was used as the basic seal material both in this period and subsequent periods.⁷⁰

Seal 7: Kt. 82 t. 248

A contest scene is visible on one of the Kültepe seals dated to the Post-Akkadian period. This scene consists of a lion flanked by two nude heroes. The hero on the left holds the upside-down lion by its hind leg. The hero on the right steps on the lion's head with his right foot and holds a hind leg with his right hand while holding the animal's tail with his left hand (fig. 8).

⁶⁵ Porada 1948, Pl. XL, 254.

⁶⁶ The legend on the seal has been translated by Dr. A. Wisti Lassen, Associate Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, and S. Tang, PhD student in Assyriology at Yale University. I am grateful for their assistance.

⁶⁷ Porada 1948, 33.

⁶⁸ Teissier 1984, 19.

⁶⁹ Teissier 1984, 19.

⁷⁰ Porada 1948, 34.

There are differences in the iconographies of the heroes' heads and faces. The figure on the right has short hair and a long beard, and his face is long, with a triangular eye socket created by the lines of the large nose, and he has bulging lips. The hero on the left, on the other hand, is depicted without hair and beard. The arms of the figures are roughly done, long and thin, and lack details on the hands, in accordance with the style of the period. The Kültepe seal lacks one of the common features of Post-Akkadian contest scenes; namely, a double-banded belt on the waist of the nude heroes. This must have been caused by erosion of the seal surface.

There are no details visible on the head of the lion, which is shown with open mouth in an attacking position. The lion's curled tail was rendered in harmony with the animal's stance. The lion's mane is implied by three lines on the neck area.

In Post-Akkadian contest scenes, the lion is usually depicted standing on its hind legs.⁷¹ A lion flanked by a bull man, nude hero, or two nude heroes has an invariant style of depiction.

There are examples with similar compositions and stylistic elements in Near Eastern glyptic art. A seal from the British Museum dated to the Post-Akkadian period features a contest scene consisting of an upside-down lion standing on its forelegs and flanked by two nude heroes.⁷² The application of the figures, as well as their stances, offer complete parallels to what is seen on the Kültepe seal. The position of the lion's head, its open mouth, and the style of the rendering of its mane are all exactly similar to those on the Kültepe seal, though the depiction of its paws and the stylization of its muscles are different. Another seal in the Newell Collection dated to the same period shows similarities with the Kültepe seal in terms of both the stylistic application of the figures and the compositional scheme.⁷³

It is clear that the lion and hero contest seen on the Kültepe seal bears certain artistic characteristics of the Akkadian period. For example, in classical contest scenes of the Post-Akkadian period, the lion between the heroes is depicted standing on its hind legs in a pouncing position, but the lion depicted upside-down, standing on its forelegs as a hero steps on its head is a characteristic of the Akkadian period.⁷⁴ Moreover, the nude heroes of the Post-Akkadian and Ur III periods are usually beardless, while a nude, beardless hero is a rarity in the Akkadian period.

Conclusions

The seven cylinder seals examined within the scope of this study divide into two basic groups from the perspective of their style of decoration; namely, geometric and figurative. The geometrically decorated cylinder seal, represented by a single example (fig. 2), is the earliest cylinder seal found at Kültepe.

The other six cylinder seals in the study feature a figurative decoration technique (figs. 3–8). These seals bear two different compositional schemes; namely, presentation scenes and contest scenes. The manner in which the subjects of the compositions that make up the

⁷¹ See von der Osten 1934, Pl. XI, 104; Frankfort 1955, Pl. 67, 722; Pl. 69, 754; Collon 1987, fig. 111; Collon 2003, figs. 152–53.

⁷² Collon 1982, Pl. XXXV, 249

⁷³ See von der Osten 1934, Pl. XI: 104, 07.

⁷⁴ See Boehmer 1965, Taf. VII, 73 (Akkadian Ib); Taf. XI, 124 (Akkadian Ic); Taf. XIV, 154–55 (Akkadian II); Taf. XX, 222–24 (Akkadian III); Collon 1982, Pl. XVII, 119, 122–23.

scenes on the cylinder seals are constituted, as well as the stylistic characteristics of the figures, contain elements that are completely foreign to the glyptic art of Anatolia in the 3rd millennium BC. As such, the Near Eastern seals that present analogous characteristics to the Kültepe artefacts in terms of composition and style must serve as the primary reference source for the dating of these pieces. From the perspective of both scene and style, the stylistic elements of four of the examined Kültepe seals reflect the seal style of the Post-Akkadian period (figs. 3–5 and 8). Apart from these, two seal (figs. 6–7), on which a legend is found, can be dated slightly later, specifically to the Ur III period, because it contains the same motifs, symbols, and deity characteristics as presentation scenes known to have originated in Mesopotamia.

The largest group of Kültepe seals is made up of seals with presentation scenes. These were worked within the same rules as those often encountered on contemporary Near Eastern examples, without deviating from the clear standard: a worshipper is brought by a leading god/goddess into the presence of the divine figure, who is seated on a throne.⁷⁵ It is notable that in Mesopotamian glyptic from the Post-Akkadian period onwards, the presentation scene was often portrayed in a plainer style from the Early Dynastic period. Presentation scenes enriched by various additions and changes gained an important position in the Mesopotamian seal tradition from the first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC.

The engraving of contest scenes featuring bull men, nude heroes, and animals became part of glyptic art from the Early Dynastic period onwards. While on Akkadian period seals these scenes feature only a hero and an animal fighting as a pair, in the Post-Akkadian and Ur III periods this scene—as also seen on the Kültepe seal—came to depict a central animal attacked on both sides by generally nude heroes and sometimes a bull man.⁷⁶

Among the Kültepe cylinder seals examined within the scope of this study, one seal found in a grave (fig. 6) is important from the point of view of the artefact's situation. This seal, which was found together with other grave gifts left beside the deceased, displays elements that are foreign to Anatolia both in terms of being made from lapis lazuli and in terms of the working of the composition. This shows that the owner of the grave was an individual foreign to Anatolia. In other respects—and based on the fact that, just as in earlier periods, in the Ur III period as well lapis lazuli was used in the production of the seals of officials—it can be said that the person who used this seal had an important status.

The legend carved onto one seal examined in this study and reading as the name Ur-Numušda (fig. 7) is dated to the Ur III period and originated in Mesopotamia. If this seal carrying the individual's name, which was without archaeological level, did not see secondary use in later periods, then it serves as a significant historical document in being the oldest known example in Anatolia to carry the name of a Mesopotamian individual.

The archaeological evidence indicates that raw materials, technology, commodities of various qualities, art, and ideas were exchanged between Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, and the Aegean from 2500 BC onwards, as well as that a long-distance and extensive trade network was established between these areas.⁷⁷ However, this system did not continue for especially long periods. There are solid archaeological findings and paleoclimatic evidence for disruption of the system, which sharply reformed the societies and cultural structures of the Near East

⁷⁵ Porada 1948, 35.

⁷⁶ See Buchanan 1981, figs. 511–30.

⁷⁷ Mellaart 1982; Şahoğlu 2005; Efe 2007; Beaujard 2011.

at ca. 4.2 ka BP, and the system was revived in approximately 2000–1950/1900 BC.⁷⁸ Around 2200–2000 BC, there were significant changes and regressions in the settlement structures of centers like Leilan, Beydar, Chuera, Selankahiye, Ebla, and Hammam et-Türkmen in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, and at Tiriş Höyük in southeastern Anatolia.⁷⁹ However, the presence of monumental structures along with local and imported goods of various qualities from contemporary contexts in Kültepe, layers 12 and 11a–b, demonstrate that the site witnessed little or no cultural or political decline during this period.

Apart from archaeological finds and paleoclimatic evidence, our knowledge of the 3rd millennium BC rests largely on Mesopotamian written sources. There are references to a kingdom named *kā-ni-šu*, which is also mentioned several times in the Ebla archives from the 3rd millennium BC. It is generally accepted that the *kā-ni-šu* kingdom refers to the Kültepe-Kanesh settlement. The Ebla archives also provide evidence for trade relations between Anatolia and Assur in the 2300s BC, before the Trade Colonies Period.⁸⁰

Another document dated to the 3rd millennium BC comes from the archives of Lagash/Girsu. This archive, covering the period from Classic Sargonic to Late Akkad, contains more than 3,800 documents and mentions a settlement of *ga-ga-ni-šum^{ki}* or Gaganishum, which has been interpreted by scholars as a possible reference to the Kültepe-Kanesh settlement.⁸¹ Moreover, from later written sources we learn that two important kings of the Akkadian period, Sargon and his grandson Naram-Sin, passed the Tigris and Euphrates to reach first Cilicia and then central Anatolia, winning a military victory over the Buruṣhattum kingdom.⁸²

When we consider cross-border interactions or relations in the later phase of the Early Bronze Age based on seals or seal impressions, the distribution of finds presents important information regarding the socio-political structure of the period. For example, the interregional distribution of Ur III period seals demonstrates a difference from the Akkadian period. Contrary to seals of the Akkadian period, seals in the style of Ur III are known from numerous finds from the cities of southern Mesopotamia. However, a number of carved seals or seal impressions in this style have very a very low rate of recovery in cities north of the Euphrates.⁸³ Moreover, there are almost no examples from Mari and Tell Brak (Nagar), one of the most important trade cities of Syria in the 3rd millennium BC.⁸⁴ Most of these finds were obtained from centers such as Assur, Mari, Byblos, and Kültepe, which were all active elements in the long-distance international trade known to have been established across Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Syria at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC—parallel to the Assyrian Colony Period in central Anatolian chronology—rather than in the late Early Bronze Age.

In addition to the šakkanakku seals⁸⁵ known from Mari (Tell Hariri) that have been found

⁷⁸ Weiss et al. 1993; Smith 2005; Wossink 2009; Massa and Şahoğlu 2015.

⁷⁹ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

⁸⁰ see Larsen 1977, 120; Bachhuber 2012.

⁸¹ Westenholz 1998, 11; Schrakamp 2015, 237, 81.

⁸² see KBo III 9=2BoTU 1, von Güterbock 1938, 45; Westenholz 1997; 246–51; van De Mieroop 2000, 138–39; Veenhof and Eidem 2008, 122.

⁸³ Matthews 1997.

⁸⁴ Matthews 1997, 147. Only one artefact in Ur III style has been obtained from Tell Brak; Matthews 1997, 191.

⁸⁵ Administrators of late 3rd millennium BC Mari employed the title šakkanakku. These administrators were of high military rank and directly dependent upon the king. These types of seal known from examples obtained at Mari have scenes with characteristic iconographies. Even though some of the scenes on these seals were affected by Old Babylonian subjects, they were mostly produced under the influence of the Akkadian and Ur III periods. On

at Kültepe and Assur, another group of seals uncovered from an early Assyrian Colony Period layer at Kültepe informs us about the cultural transfer occurring during the transition from the Early Bronze Age to the Assyrian Colony Period; i.e., from the 3rd millennium BC to the 2nd millennium BC. These finds are secondary uses of Ur III-style seals in the Assyrian Colony Period: they were initially used in the Ur III period and were later transferred to the Assyrian Colony Period, either in their original forms or with some alterations.⁸⁶

In addition to these finds, important discoveries have also been made in connection with 3rd millennium BC Anatolia thanks to the increased number of surveys and excavations conducted in the region so as to provide a better understanding of Early Bronze Age cultures. Fortified monumental structures found at Acmhöyük and Yassihöyük, in addition to Kültepe, prove once more that the strong, centrally governed cities seen in the Assyrian Colony Period were in fact established even earlier, in the 3rd millennium BC. Moreover, Post-Akkadian seals found *in situ* at the Seyitömer settlement in central Anatolia, north of the Taurus Mountains, demonstrate that the long-distance trade system established between Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Syria in the 2nd millennium BC should be regarded as having been initiated in the 3rd millennium BC. The fact that the transition from the 3rd to the 2nd millennium BC witnessed a strong cultural continuation rather than an interruption has been proven by the excavations of the aforementioned settlements, in addition to Kültepe, where this transition had been apparent since the early excavations.

şakkanakku seals, libation and worshipper scenes were usually employed with depictions of enthroned deities with different attributes (see Beyer 1985, no. 16, fig. B). One common element on the Kültepe seal and an example from Mari is the cuneiform signs placed between the seated deity and worshipping figure in worship scenes. Teisser 1990, 651.

⁸⁶ see Özgüç and Özgüç 1953, 98–9, figs. 662–63, 5 (without alteration). figs. 664, 666–70, 693.

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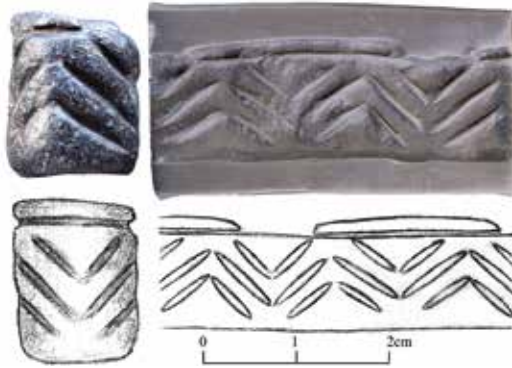


Fig. 2
Seal 1: Steatite cylinder seal with geometric decorations, from level 13 of Kültepe. Kültepe Study Collection Storeroom, Inventory no. Kt. 14 t. 1156 (photo, impression, and drawing by G. Öztürk)

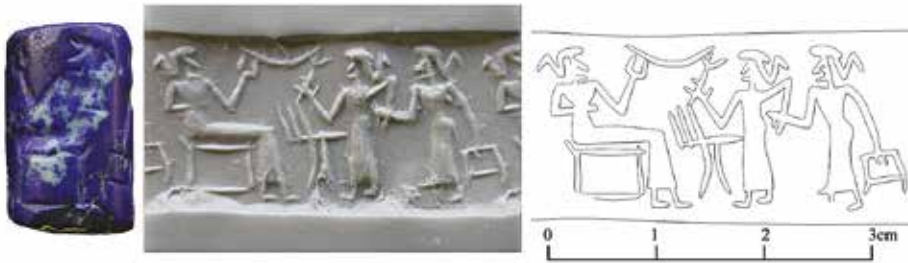


Fig. 3 Seal 2: Lapis lazuli cylinder seal from Kültepe, purchased. Kayseri Museum, Inventory no. Kt. 82 t. 246. Presentation scene (photo, impression, and drawing by G. Öztürk)



Fig. 4 Seal 3: Lapis lazuli cylinder seal from Kültepe, purchased. Kayseri Museum, Inventory no. Kt. 82 t. 247. Presentation scene (image and drawing by G. Öztürk)

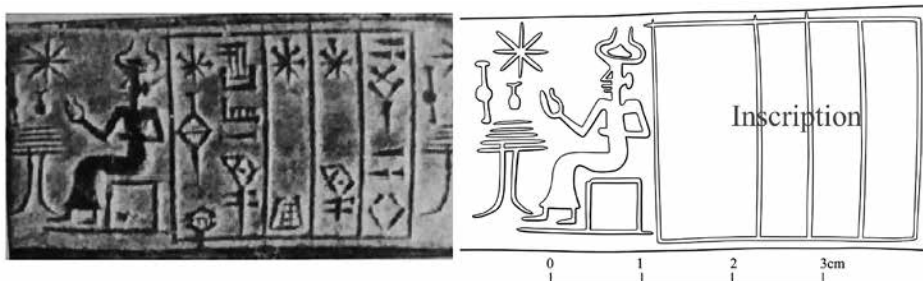


Fig. 5 Seal 4: Lapis lazuli cylinder seal obtained from Kültepe excavations of 1953. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Inventory no. Kt e/t 180. Presentation scene (image from Balkan 1957, ill. 12; drawing by G. Öztürk)

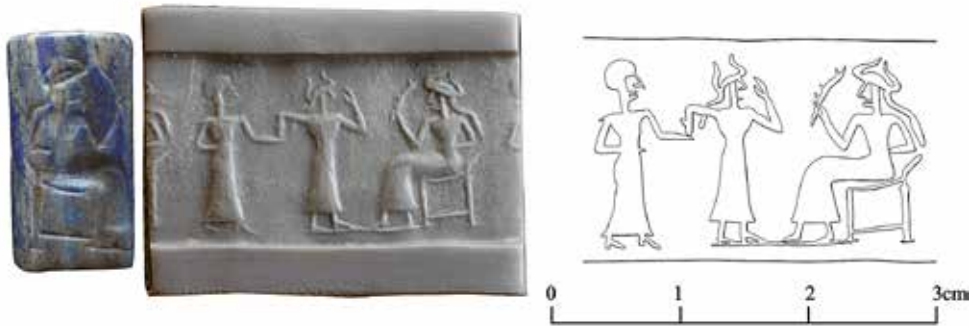


Fig. 6 Seal 5: Lapis lazuli cylinder seal obtained from the grave dated to level 11b of Kültepe. Kayseri Museum, Inventory no. Kt. 10 t. 24. Presentation scene (photo, impression, and drawing by G. Öztürk)

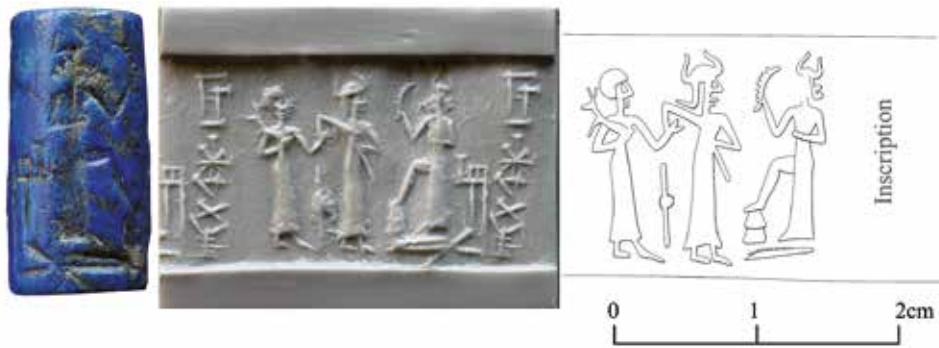


Fig. 7 Seal 6: Lapis lazuli cylinder seal from Kültepe, purchased. Kayseri Museum, Inventory no. Kt. 82 t. 224. Presentation scene (photo, impression, and drawing by G. Öztürk)

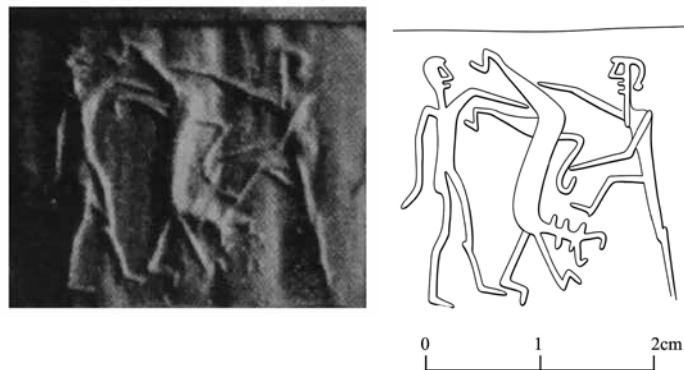


Fig. 8 Seal 7: Lapis lazuli cylinder seal from Kültepe, purchased. Kayseri Museum, Inventory no. Kt. 82 t. 248. Contest scene (image Bittel 1941, Abb. 5; drawing by G. Öztürk)

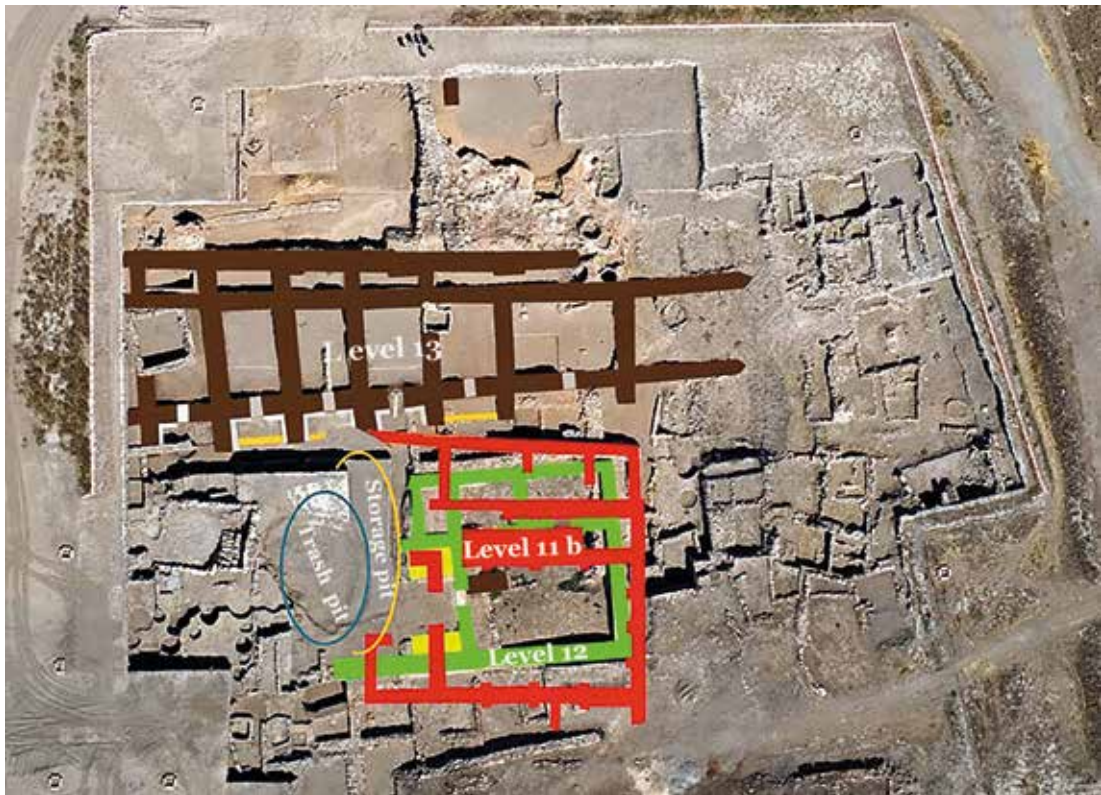


Fig. 9 Aerial photo of Kültepe, showing the Early Bronze Age monumental structures, the storage pit, and the trash pit (photo courtesy of F. Kulakoğlu)



Fig. 10 Grave dated to level 11b of Kültepe (photo courtesy of F. Kulakoğlu)

Kilise Tepe in Rough Cilicia before the Late Bronze Age: An Overview of the Architecture, Pottery Traditions, and Cultural Contacts

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Abstract

Kilise Tepe is the only ancient settlement with pre-Hellenistic levels in Göksu Valley in southern Turkey that has been excavated. The archaeological work conducted at the site has produced valuable data about the local culture and its links with the neighbouring areas during the Bronze and Iron Ages. This article presents the preliminary results of the excavations of the Early and Middle Bronze Age levels conducted in 2007 and in 2011, with a general evaluation of the stratigraphy and related ceramics, followed by a brief discussion focusing on the destruction at Kilise Tepe at the end of the Early Bronze Age II period and the cultural changes that occurred subsequently. It is argued that, although the inhabitants of the settlement and the valley had developed cultural ties with the surrounding regions earlier, only during the Early Bronze Age III period the area became substantially integrated into the regional trade network.

Keywords: Kilise Tepe, Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age, Göksu Valley, Mersin, Rough Cilicia, Cilicia Tracheia

Öz

Kilise Tepe, Türkiye'nin güneyinde Göksu Vadisi'nde, Hellenistik Dönem öncesi katmanlara sahip kazısı yapılmış tek eski yerleşimdir. Yerleşimdeki arkeolojik çalışmalar Tunç ve Demir çağlarında yerel kültür ve bunun komşu bölgelerle olan bağlantıları hakkında paha biçilmez veriler sunmuştur. Bu makalede 2007 ve 2011 yıllarında Erken ve Orta Tunç Çağı katmanlarında gerçekleştirilen kazıların ön sonuçları stratigrafi ve ilgili seramiklerin genel bir değerlendirmesiyle birlikte sunulmuş olup bunu Erken Tunç Çağı II Dönemi sonunda Kilise Tepe'de gerçekleşen yıkım ve sonrasındaki kültürel değişimlere odaklanan kısa bir tartışma takip etmektedir. Çalışmada yerleşim ve vadi sakinleri daha önceden çevre bölgelerle kültürel bağlar geliştirmiş olsalar da alanın bölgesel ticaret ağına daha ziyade Erken Tunç Çağı III Dönemi'nde büyük ölçüde entegre edildiği savunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kilise Tepe, Erken Tunç Çağı, Orta Tunç Çağı, Göksu Vadisi, Mersin, Dağlık Kilikya, Kilikia Tracheia

The mound of Kilise Tepe, which is located in the Göksu Valley and on the main route connecting the modern towns of Silifke and Mut, was first excavated between 1994 and 1997 under the directorship of Professor J.N. Postgate.¹ The excavations were resumed in 2007 and

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¹ Hansen and Postgate 2007. The Early and Middle Bronze Age excavations at Kilise Tepe were funded by Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, and the post-excavation analyses were conducted with a grant provided by

continued until 2013.² The Early and Middle Bronze Age levels of Kilise Tepe were investigated at the steep northwestern edge of the mound in 2007 and 2011. The excavations conducted at squares G19, G20, and H19 allowed us to identify two Middle Bronze Age and eight Early Bronze Age phases, documenting an unbroken stratigraphic sequence starting with the end of Early Bronze Age II and ending with the earliest Late Bronze Age phases.

After the earliest investigations in this part of the mound in the 1990s, the excavations in the area recommenced in 2007 with a Konya Selçuk University team headed by Professor H. Bahar, who was assisted by Dr. H.G. Küçükbezci and Dr. S. Kaymakçı. However, these excavations at quadrants G19c, G19d, G20a, and G20b were stopped before the end of the season and the excavated material was not studied afterwards.

In 2010 I took over the responsibility of studying the 2007 excavation results and managed to determine the stratigraphic phases that had been excavated and then analysed the pottery and the small finds in detail.³ These studies have shown that the Konya Selçuk team had been able to identify four Early Bronze Age phases during their excavations, of which two belonged to the Early Bronze Age III period (levels Vf and Ve) and two to the end of the Early Bronze Age II period. My studies allowed me to identify these phases by studying the trench sections and comparing their elevations with the phases excavated in H20c in 1996. The clear change in pottery traditions between phases two and three also helped me to identify these with more certainty.

In 2011 I decided to enlarge the excavated area in order to test the results of my studies on the excavations conducted in 2007. It was also clear that the new excavations would provide a safer stratigraphic sequence. For these reasons, the excavated area was enlarged to include the 2 m baulk left by the Konya team at the eastern side of the trench, as well as going into quadrants G20c and G20d. Quadrant H19a was also partially excavated during this season in order to observe the Early Bronze to Middle Bronze Age transition.

The End of Early Bronze Age II: Level Vg

This level—which was buried under a very thick destruction debris consisting of ash, a dark red soil, and mudbrick pieces—was the earliest archaeological phase reached during the excavations in 2007 and 2011 (fig. 1). The destruction debris here was so deep that initially the occupation layer below it was thought to be level Vj, but later this was understood not to be the case.

The well-preserved Room 69 just in between G19b and G20d, whose northeastern wall had been destroyed by a robber pit, had wall W8001 at its southwestern side, wall W8016 at its northwestern side, and wall W8005 at its southeastern side (fig. 2). Wall W8106, which had a mudbrick upper structure, was approximately 0.5 m high, whereas walls W8001 and W8005 were still standing almost 1.5 m high. The unusual heights of these stone walls relative to Kilise

the Mediterranean Archaeological Trust (MAT), to both of which I am very grateful. I would like to thank the Kilise Tepe project director, Professor J.N. Postgate, for allowing this work to begin in the first place as well as for his continuous support, and to all our Kilise Tepe team members and workers, with whom it was a great pleasure to work. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to N. Evrim Şerifoğlu, who made all the pottery and small finds drawings and assisted me during the pottery analyses; to Dr. C. Colantoni for drafting and designing the architectural plans; and to B. Miller, who beautifully photographed all our finds.

² Bouthillier et al. 2014; Jackson, Postgate, and Şerifoğlu 2015.

³ Şerifoğlu 2012.

Tepe architectural traditions, as well as how the general appearance of the Vg house gives a sense that it had almost been placed within walls already there at that point, can be seen as indications that these high walls were initially built here for some other reason, like stopping soil erosion or defending the settlement.

The walls and the floor of the room were plastered in a yellowish brown clay with red pigments visible on various parts of the floor. A line of small stones was placed along the base of the walls, and these were also plastered so as to form 10-cm high and 10-cm thick small platforms leaning on the walls. A door socket and a large mud brick functioning as a step, which were found at the northwestern corner of the room, together with wall W8016 making a northward turn at this corner, show that the entrance to the room was most probably located here.

The room had a hearth (FI11/20) with a pit just to its north and the depression of a large storage vessel just to its south. It is assumed that this depression had been left here by a partially surviving large jar that had been found in this area during the excavations and that has a simple rim, a pointed base, and a lug on its shoulder. A number of postholes were observed along wall W8001, and a northwest-southeast aligned division wall was found attached to wall W8005.

Another level Vg room was also unearthed here, this time on the other side of wall W8001; however, this room (Room 68) had been mostly destroyed by a robber trench and by soil erosion. Several *in situ* vessels—including two small bowls (G19/86–87), of which one had a handle; one globular (G19/94a) and one small elongated jar (G19/97), both with handles; a small jug (G19/95); and a ceramic tray (G19/88)—were found in the destruction debris in this room, just to the north of wall W8003 (fig. 3). Unfortunately, time did not allow us to unearth other Vg rooms, but it is quite clear that walls W8002, W8006, W8007, and W8008 all belonged to these.

Level Vg had come to an end through a large, destructive fire, but the inhabitants appear to have been lucky enough to find the time to empty their houses before the buildings collapsed. The inhabitants of the following level apparently decided not to remove the destruction debris, but to simply collect and pile up the remains of level Vg in order to form a flat surface for their new buildings. Many sherds and a few small finds—including a copper pin (G20/28), two shell beads (G19/444, G20/060), and one stone bead (G20/040)—were found in this destruction debris.

Recovery from the Great Fire: Level Vf

As mentioned above, the thick reddish brown level Vg destruction debris was not removed by the inhabitants of the mound, but rather was levelled and then covered with a thick light brown plaster. A new line of stones, which includes a door socket out of context, was placed above the southeastern edge of wall W8001 in order to form a levelled surface in that area. A large circular fire installation (FI11/14), which seems to be an oven, was built just above the former southwestern corner of Vg Room 69 during the earliest level Vf phase (phase 4). A complete one-handed cup with a flaring rim (G20/54) and half of a large red-cross bowl (G19/442) were found lying on the floor in the area surrounding the oven, which clearly shows that this open space was actively used in this period (fig. 4).

A new building was constructed in this area during this first Early Bronze Age III phase, just about a meter south of the oven (fig. 5). The northwest-southeast aligned wall W8000, which was partially unearthed in 2007 and was found to be connected to the northeast-southwest

aligned walls W8014 and W8015, formed the northern side of the building. This wall, together with walls W8011 and W8013 in G19c, formed Room 57 on the northwest and Room 58 on the southeast side of G19d. There might be another room formed by walls W8000 and W8015, just to the southeast of the open space with the oven, but this area could not be excavated due to a lack of time. Wall W8010, located further to the southwest, might belong to another structure with a slightly different orientation.

The northern corner of Room 57, which may have had a fire installation in the past judging from the burnt patches on the floor, had an *in situ* jar (G19/59) that was lying just near wall W8000. A copper earring (G19/139) and a pin (G19/046) were also found inside this room, which was heavily damaged owing to erosion at this edge of the mound.

A clay storage vessel with an approximate height of 50 cm and a diameter of 70 cm was placed just to the north of wall W8000, abutting the wall outside the building. The Middle Bronze Age level IVa yielded similar vessels during the excavations in the 1990s, and this Early Bronze Age version can be seen as an indication of this tradition having begun earlier.⁴ In this same area, approximately 1.5 m south of the oven and at the southern edge of the open space working area, a complete double-spouted jug (G19/432; fig. 28) was also found lying on the floor.

After this area was abandoned at the end of Phase 4 of level Vf, it appears as if this part of the mound was only used for waste disposal until nearly the end of the Early Bronze Age. Pit P11/4 was dug here during Phase 3 with this purpose apparently in mind, which destroyed an important part of wall W8000, and pit P11/40 was dug further to the north later on in Phase 1. Unfortunately, the steep slope of the mound allowed us to investigate the top three phases of level Vf only in a limited area within trench G19.

The End of the Early Bronze Age: Level Ve

The excavated area was still only used as a dumping ground during this first half of level Ve (Phase 2). Pit P11/29, which was dug deep into level Vf during this phase, cut into the earlier walls W8011 and W8013.

The inhabitants continued digging pits into this area during the second half of level Ve (Phase 1), but after a very long time the area also came to be used for other purposes (fig. 6). Pits dug here include P11/22, P11/26, P11/35, and P11/36, but these were accompanied by a fire installation (FI11/5), which was a hearth built in the space between pits P11/36 and P11/22.

A thick division wall (W8012) was built to separate the hearth and its surroundings from the area to the north, which contained most of the pits. An almost complete storage vessel with crescentic handles (G19/489), which closely resembles a Middle Bronze Age vessel found at the site in the 1990s,⁵ was found just to the south of the hearth (fig. 7). A basalt mortar thrown into P11/22, together with the hearth and the vessel, can be seen as evidence suggesting that this small area was used for food processing and for cooking during this period. In addition, since the majority of spindle whorls found during the excavations in this area were recovered from this level, it can be suggested that there was a textile workshop somewhere close by,

⁴ Symington 2007a, 319.

⁵ Symington 2007a, 320, fig. 231.

and therefore that this food preparation facility may well have been a part of this workshop complex.

A complete smeared wash ware jar (G19/488) thrown into pit P11/36 during this period is also worth mentioning, as this vessel type is well known from northern Syria and Cilicia Pedias (fig. 8). One might think that this jar had been imported to Kilise Tepe together with its contents, but the pottery ware indicates that it was produced locally, and thus represents a local imitation of this pottery type. In any case, this jar is good evidence of this area developing stronger ties with the Cilician Plain and the area beyond at the end of the Early Bronze Age.

Other interesting finds from this level include a bronze needle (G19/288) from pit P11/29 and a pomegranate-shaped bronze ornament (G19/251) from pit P11/26. Like the spindle whorls, the majority of stone slingshots found in this area were from Phase 2 of this level, and based on this it can be suggested that the inhabitants of the site started to have serious security concerns at the very end of the Early Bronze Age, around the time when the textile industry was on the rise.

The Middle Bronze Age: Levels IVa and IVb

The way the excavated area was used did not change during the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (level IVa). One pit (P11/20) was dug just above P11/22 and another one (P11/21) was dug just to the northeast of the Early Bronze Age pit P11/36 (fig. 9). The level Ve division wall (W8012) was used as the foundation of a new mudbrick division wall, this time separating the area around a circular hearth with a clay- and sherd-lined wall and a base of small stones and sherds (FI11/3) from the rest of the area. A large flat stone, which may have been used to stand cooking vessels on, was placed on the ground just to the southwest of the hearth, and three partially surviving pots, which were firmly fixed on the floor, were found between the hearth and pit P11/21.

In the 1990s, level IVa architectural remains had been encountered in quadrant H19a, located slightly to the northeast of where we excavated in 2011. Therefore, it may be claimed that the area in between these remains and the newly exposed hearth was an open space area. In addition, clusters of postholes found in the area to the northeast of P11/21 can be seen as a sign that most of this area had been covered over.

A large fire that swept through the site at the end of level IVa resulted in the abandonment of this area altogether. No architectural remains or features were found while excavating level IVb, but even in this abandoned open space the remains of the second large fire that destroyed this part of the settlement could be observed. Thus, in general terms, it can be said that the Middle Bronze Age at Kilise Tepe experienced a succession of major fires and destruction.

The Middle Bronze Age was followed by a short transitional period before the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The area was not built on during this phase, and all that could be found were three pit-like shallow depressions on the surface. The area was finally resettled in level IIIa, when a new structure was built at this northwestern corner of the mound. Only the damaged western edge of this building, represented by wall W8009, was found within the area we excavated.

The Early Bronze Age II Pottery

The pottery recovered from level Vg strictly followed the typical Early Bronze Age II traditions of this part of Anatolia.⁶ These examples were all handmade, and as compared to later periods a much greater variety of wares and forms is evident. The main pottery types include red and black burnished ware, scored ware, metallic ware, reddish yellow ware, and light brown ware.

The most common pottery type is the red and black burnished ware (fig. 10). The sherds of bowls and small pots belonging to this group typically have a light grey soft paste, a thick slip, and a lustre burnish.⁷ The external colour is usually red or brown, but in a few cases black was preferred. Some examples are also incised with horizontal or vertical wavy lines or decorated with triangles and vertical lines applied by burnishing.

The scored ware forms the second most common pottery type of the Kilise Tepe Early Bronze Age II repertoire. The large and medium-sized pots and bowls of this type have shallow striation marks on their surfaces. This pottery type was commonly used at various Konya Plain sites, at Tarsus in Cilicia Pedias,⁸ and even in Troy I and IIa–d in northwestern Anatolia.⁹

The examples of the Kilise Tepe metallic ware—which are typically well fired, with thin walls and a white grit temper—show great similarities to the examples reported from various Konya Plain and Cilician sites¹⁰ (fig. 10). These pots, trefoil jugs, and bowls with a red or brown slip and a grey section usually bear no decoration, but one example from 2011 has incised straight lines, while several examples from the 1990s have white or red painted bands on them.¹¹ An almost complete red slipped metallic ware bowl (G19/86), which was mentioned earlier, is a particularly interesting example as it bears what may be a potter's mark.

The reddish yellow ware platters and bowls, which have a white or grey grit-tempered fine fabric, are usually red slipped, and in some cases these were also burnished (fig. 10). On the other hand, the light brown ware pottery, of which good examples were recovered during the excavations in the 1990s, were both slipped and burnished so as to obtain a pale brown, brown, reddish brown, or red surface.¹² The plates, bowls, flasks, jugs, and juglets manufactured using the latter ware all have a white or grey grit-tempered fine fabric. Amongst the complete or almost complete vessels mentioned earlier, G19/97 (a flask with a reddish brown slip), G19/95 (a juglet with a reddish brown slip), and G19/87 (a shallow bowl with a red slip) are all examples of this pottery group.

Two other Early Bronze Age II groups that need to be mentioned are made up of cooking pots and large storage vessels. Most of the cooking pots have crude-looking dark grey surfaces, but examples with various shades of brown were also recovered. For instance, G19/94a, which was mentioned earlier, has a pale brown surface. The grey fabric of some of the cooking pots has high amounts of white, cream, or grey grit along with crushed shell pieces, and large voids in the section show that vegetal temper was also commonly used. Unfortunately, apart from one double-handled (albeit only one handle has survived) light brown globular pot,

⁶ Symington 2007b, 297–306.

⁷ Symington 2007b, 297.

⁸ Mellaart 1963, 224 ff., fig. 7; Mellink 1965, 136 ff.; and Mellink 1967, 161.

⁹ Blegen et al. 1950, 53 ff., figs. 252, 409–10.

¹⁰ Garstang 1953, fig. 122; Goldman 1956, fig. 247; Mellaart 1963, 228 ff., figs. 6, 14–7; and Özten 1989, 409 ff.

¹¹ Symington 2007b, 297–98, fig. 221.

¹² Symington 2007b, 299.

which has a simple rim with a shallow groove on the top, no cooking pots providing a profile could be recorded (fig. 11).

The storage jars from this level have either yellowish brown or reddish grey sections, which are filled with medium-sized black, grey, cream, and white grit and grog, and they are brown slipped. Most of the examples were found in Room 69 and in the destruction debris filling it. One storage jar from this room (G19/481–482), which has a reddish brown slip at its upper and a grey slip at its lower part, is a special example (fig. 12). This jar with a simple rim flattened on the top and a lug on its shoulder has a long pointed base, which may have been responsible for the depression in the floor at the southwestern corner of this room.

The Early Bronze Age III Pottery

New pottery types, which appeared as if suddenly at the beginning of level Vf, along with the common use of the potter's wheel, allow us to easily differentiate the Early Bronze Age II archaeological material from the Early Bronze Age III material at Kilise Tepe. However, it should be noted that some of the Early Bronze Age II pottery types were still in use at the beginning of this new period, only losing their popularity with time and thus disappearing gradually.

The major Early Bronze Age II pottery type that survived into this period is the red and black burnished ware. The only difference shown by the Early Bronze Age III examples is a less shiny surface, which became even duller with time. Although this pottery type was quite uncommon during this period, it did not fully disappear from the pottery repertoire until the very end of the Early Bronze Age.

The new Early Bronze Age III pottery groups include orange ware, yellowish brown ware and its smeared wash ware variation, red ware that first appears at the beginning of level Vf, and pale yellow ware that began to be manufactured during the earlier phase of level Ve.

The most common group amongst these was the orange ware¹³ (figs. 13–14). The majority of these examples were wheel-made. Fine grit-tempered and well-fired bowls with a simple straight or simple incurving rim, or more commonly with an S-shaped profile, small to large pots, jugs, and juglets as well as large and medium-sized pots, usually with flaring rims, were manufactured using this ware, and although the large examples were usually left with a plain surface, most have a red, yellowish red, reddish brown, light brown, or pale brown slip. The pale or light brown slipped examples usually have a brown, reddish brown, or red coating or paint, which also covers the rim on the unpainted side. Some small pots belonging to this group have vertical fluting on their shoulders, while other vessel types sometimes have horizontal grooves just below their rims.¹⁴

During the earlier phase of level Ve some bowls started to have rims flattened on the top, some S-shaped profile bowls now had handles added on two sides, and ring bases started to become more common. Plastic decorations also became more common during this phase, and there are interesting examples featuring geometric designs including horizontal bands, triangles, "L"s, and swastikas incised on a vessel with a yellowish white slip (G19/473); a conical protrusion applied to the neck of a jug (G19/472); and a spiral design applied inside a bowl with three feet (G19/469) (fig. 15). With the second half of level Ve, S-shaped profiles became less common, jars and large pots with out-turned rims and deep bowls with externally

¹³ Symington 2007b, 307.

¹⁴ Symington 2007b, 315–16.

thickened rims became widely used, and flat, string-cut bases became the general standard for the orange ware pottery.

The second group that needs to be mentioned is the yellowish brown ware (fig. 16). Like the orange ware pottery, these were covered with a red, yellowish red, reddish brown, light brown, or pale brown slip, though in some cases they were left plain. Some examples have a slip on the rim and the exterior with a different colour from the slip on the interior surface. During the first half of level Ve, a pale brown variation of this began to be produced as well, and examples of these were either left plain or have a yellowish red slip applied to the rim. The plain surface cups and bowls manufactured using these two related wares during the second half of level Ve at the very end of the Early Bronze Age III may well represent the earliest examples of Middle Bronze Age light clay ware.

Common forms include bowls with a simple incurving rim; bowls with an S-shaped profile and a flaring rim; jars with externally thickened or flaring rims; platters; and small and medium-sized pots, which are usually coated brown on the exterior and sometimes have grooves and incised geometric decorations like triangles on their shoulders. Cups, jugs, hole-mouth carinated pots with a horizontal groove under the rim, and vessels with rims flattened on the top were also added to the repertoire during the second half of level Ve.

In fact, except for these pots, yellowish brown ware vessels were rarely decorated. Some yellowish brown ware pottery has double handles and twisting handles, which could also be used for orange ware vessels, and this decorative element was commonly used in different parts of Anatolia during the Early Bronze Age. One small yellowish brown ware sherd from the first half of level Ve (G19/487), which was incised with wavy and horizontal lines, is a unique example (fig. 17). It should also be mentioned that few vessels manufactured using this ware were actually lustre burnished like the popular Early Bronze Age II pottery, and they usually have a red or reddish brown surface.

Another variation of the yellowish brown ware is the smeared wash ware, which made its first appearance at Kilise Tepe at the beginning of Early Bronze Age III. Vessels of this type were smeared with a slip, but the surface colour varies slightly from dark brown to reddish brown because the slip has different thicknesses on different parts of the surface. Common forms for this ware are bowls, platters, and large and medium-sized pots. One complete example of this ware is a jar found in pit P11/36, which is from the second half of level Ve (fig. 8; G19/488).

Smeared wash ware is one of the main markers of the Early Bronze Age IV period in northern Syria, which is more or less contemporary with Anatolian Early Bronze Age III, and was also in use in Cilicia Pedias during this same period, as shown by examples from Tarsus.¹⁵ The smeared wash ware examples from Kilise Tepe may be local imitations of this ware, or they may be imports—or possibly both. Even though there are only a few examples, during the early half of level Ve, orange ware and the pale brown variation of the yellowish brown ware also started to be used to manufacture smeared wash pottery, which can be seen as a sign that this pottery type was being produced locally. On the other hand, the form of the neck and shoulder of a pale brown ware smeared wash amphora, which is quite unusual for the Kilise Tepe repertoire, can be seen as evidence for this vessel being imported (fig. 18; G19/464).

¹⁵ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 244; Braidwood and Braidwood 1960, 415–17, 447–50; Goldman 1956, 145; Kühne 1976, 95–7; Mazzoni 1985, 9; Rova 1989.

One final important Early Bronze Age III pottery type of Kilise Tepe is the red ware (fig. 16). Almost all the examples of this grit-tempered and well-fired pottery group are red slipped and well burnished, like the red lustre burnished pottery of the earlier period, except for the large storage jars. An almost complete jar from the earlier half of level Ve (G19/53a) is a good example featuring a plain surface (fig. 19), but even jars began to be slipped during the latter half of level Ve.

In any case, it can be claimed that, as far as surface treatment is concerned, the red ware pottery tradition represents a continuation of the Early Bronze Age II red lustre burnished pottery tradition. The most common forms are shallow bowls and platters, but small pots were also added to the repertoire starting with level Ve. The red ware pottery is usually not decorated, but storage jars sometimes have a wavy line relief decoration, and there is one isolated example of a shallow bowl with an S-shaped profile and coated with a yellowish red slip that is painted red on its rim.

The red ware pottery tradition became less common towards the end of the Early Bronze Age, and by the time of the second phase of level Ve it was only used to manufacture large or medium-sized vessels, like storage jars and cooking pots. These vessels, which were well fired, usually have a flaring neck and medium-sized grit inclusions.

The only pottery group that began to be manufactured not at the beginning of Early Bronze Age III but slightly later, during the earlier phase of level Ve, is the pale yellow ware. The most common forms of this very fine grit-tempered pottery group—which was manufactured using well levigated clay—are jars, pots and bowls. These were slipped with the clay used to produce them (“self-slipped”) and were not decorated. One isolated example is a sherd decorated with incised triangles (G19/461).

The earliest examples of red-cross bowls, which were very common in western Anatolia and Cilicia at the end of the Early Bronze Age, were found at level Vf at Kilise Tepe, and these remained quite common until the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age.¹⁶ These bowls, which were usually manufactured using the orange ware, have their rims painted in red and a cross painted on their interior surface, all applied on a yellowish red slip. Red-cross bowls could also be produced using the yellowish brown ware. Two good examples from level Vf have a reddish brown cross painted on a pale brown slip, and a half complete example (G19/466) was also found at level Ve (fig. 20).

The cooking pots of level Vf—which occasionally have simple incurving but mostly flaring or externally thickened rims—usually have a reddish brown surface and a reddish brown or grey fabric (fig. 16). It should be noted that the handles of most of these level Vf vessels were manufactured separately and attached just before firing. With level Ve, these pots started to be coated with a reddish brown, red, or yellowish red slip, and some also started to feature rims whose upper surface was flattened. Cooking pots, which seem to have been mostly handmade, were almost never decorated, so one sherd with incised triangles and another with cross-hatchings and a horizontal line are unique but isolated examples (G19/462–463).

Almost all the complete or partially complete vessels from the Early Bronze Age III levels were found in level Vf. These include a one-handled cup (G20/054), which resembles an

¹⁶ Lamb 1937, 17, fig. 6, 1a–c; Goldman 1956, figs. 273, 445; Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 236, fig. P.64:23, 26; Korfmann 1983, 292; Easton 2002, 324; and Symington 2007b, 308.

example found in the 1990s at this level;¹⁷ a double-spouted jug, which has no comparable examples from Kilise Tepe (G19/432); a double-handled jar with a flaring rim (G19/59); and one half of a red-cross bowl with a horizontal groove on its exterior surface (G19/442).

Most of the pottery from this period was not decorated apart from the usual application of a differently coloured wash to the external and internal surfaces. It should be noted that bur-nishing became more common towards the end of the period. Some vessels have horizontal grooves, and one orange ware and one yellowish brown ware sherd from the end of the period was incised with linear decorations (fig. 21).

A small number of vessels were also decorated with a combed design in the form of horizontal or wavy lines (fig. 22). This type of decoration is known to have become very common during the Middle Bronze Age, but it clearly had its beginnings in this period, and the Early Bronze Age examples may even be seen as representing a phase in between the scored and the combed ware traditions, as the technique looks similar.¹⁸

Another decorative tradition—one that seems to have had its beginnings in the Early Bronze Age and became common during the Middle Bronze Age—is the usage of crescentic handles. An almost complete red ware storage jar with two crescentic handles from the second half of level Ve (G19/489) resembles a Middle Bronze Age (level IVa) ovoid storage jar that was excavated in the neighbouring H19 area in the 1990s¹⁹ (fig. 7). An orange ware bowl (G19/490) from the same level was also understood to have had a handle of this type attached to its side. Vessels with crescentic handles were excavated at the late Early Bronze Age levels of Beycesultan, but this tradition seems to have spread into the Cilician Plain only during the Middle Bronze Age.²⁰

The Middle Bronze Age Pottery

The archaeological evidence shows that there was no clear break between the late Early Bronze Age and the early Middle Bronze Age pottery traditions of Kilise Tepe. Fine grit-tempered orange ware slipped bowls with flaring, simple incurving or externally thickened rims, along with large grit-tempered orange ware jars with flaring or out-turned rims, were quite common, especially during the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (fig. 23). Some orange ware bowls have horizontal handles rising slightly above the rim. One orange ware sherd from this phase may belong to a red-cross bowl, and a small number of smeared wash ware sherds were also found. The sherd of a bowl with an internally thickened rim from the second half of the Middle Bronze Age is especially worth mentioning insofar as it represents the early beginnings of a pottery form that became very popular in the Late Bronze Age.

Red ware cooking pots and storage vessels were still in production during the first half of the Middle Bronze Age, but it should be noted that both orange ware and red ware gradually lost their popularity during this period (fig. 23). It seems as if the red ware was slowly absorbed into the orange ware tradition, finally disappearing from the repertoire during the second half of the Middle Bronze Age.

¹⁷ Symington 2007b, 312, fig. 226.

¹⁸ Symington 2007b, 313 and Postgate and Thomas 2007, fig. 337.396.

¹⁹ Symington 2007a, 320, fig. 231.

²⁰ Fitzgerald 1939–40, Pl. 69:8; Goldman 1956, fig. 299:926; and Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, fig. P.61:1–2, 5.

Yellowish brown ware became the most common pottery type at Kilise Tepe during the Middle Bronze Age (fig. 23). Although few in number, smeared washed pots with slightly out-turned rims and bowls with simple or slightly flaring rims are good examples of continuing Early Bronze Age traditions, alongside lustre burnished bowls, small flasks, and small hole-mouth pots. The sherd of a shallow bowl with an internally thickened rim and a flat top represents another early example of this pottery form, which became common during the subsequent period.

Common yellowish brown ware examples include bowls with slightly thickened, incurving simple rims and s-shaped profiles, which were usually slipped; large pots and jars with flaring rims; small to medium-sized pots with flaring rims or externally thickened rims sometimes with a groove below the rim; and hole-mouth jars with externally thickened rims, which were mostly not slipped or burnished (fig. 23). One sherd belonging to a large vessel with a trefoil mouth and horizontal grooves below the rim is a unique example (G19/552), although one orange ware sherd of a vessel with a similar rim was also found during the excavations.

Only a few sherds belonging to the very fine grit-tempered “light clay ware” variation of the yellowish brown ware, which became more common during the second half of the Middle Bronze Age, were found during the excavations (fig. 23). The available examples are mostly bowls with externally thickened rims, larger bowls with slightly thickened simple round rims, reddish brown slipped small pots with externally thickened round rims, and pots with slightly out-turned rims.

Most of the early Middle Bronze Age pottery bore no decorations, though there are a few examples with horizontal grooves, deep horizontal incisions, and round protrusions, and some with combed decorations were recorded as well (fig. 24). Also worth noting are one sherd with distinct linear decorations incised on its surface, including horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines; and another with deep vertical incisions and a hole on its rim.

Middle Bronze Age ceramic vessels with combed decoration, which can also be defined as combed ware pottery, were usually red, pale brown, and reddish brown slipped pots and jars. This ware was already in use at Tarsus in the Early Bronze Age II period, whereas at Mersin-Yumuktepe it seems to have first emerged as a dominant group during the Middle Bronze Age.²¹

Although no vessels with crescentic handles were found in contexts dated to the first half of the Middle Bronze Age, pieces belonging to one orange ware jar, one red ware jar, and one yellowish brown ware bowl with crescentic handles from the second half of the Middle Bronze Age show that this tradition did continue during this period. This was also supported by evidence from the excavations conducted in the 1990s.²²

The majority of the Middle Bronze Age vessels excavated in 2011 have simple cylindrical handles or slightly elongated handles with a longitudinal shallow groove on the top part. It should be noted that handles with grooves are common at south-central and western Anatolian sites like Konya-Karahöyük and Beycesultan during the Middle Bronze Age, although they are uncommon at Cilician sites²³ (fig. 25).

²¹ Fitzgerald 1939–40, Pl. 69:14 and Goldman 1956, figs. 372, 922.

²² Symington 2007a, 320.

²³ Lloyd and Mellaart 1965, figs. P17:5, P20:8, 11 and Symington 2007a, 326.

While many examples of jugs dated to the second half of the Middle Bronze Age were excavated in the 1990s, only one orange and one yellowish brown ware sherd belonging to jugs were found in 2011.²⁴ This difference in quantity must be related to the functions of the excavated areas, as the area excavated in 2011 was an open space workshop area, whereas the area excavated in the 1990s seems to have been a residential area. In addition, the Middle Bronze Age jugs recorded in the 1990s typically had handles with grooves, as mentioned above.²⁵ Thus, based on the evidence, it can be claimed that bowls at Kilise Tepe usually had regular round handles, with grooved handles being preferred for jugs and pots.

The Middle Bronze Age pottery of Kilise Tepe is typically monochrome. One yellowish brown ware body sherd dated to the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (G19/507) and featuring reddish brown crosshatching painted on a brown slip is one of the exceptions, and this may well be a Syro-Cilician painted ware sherd, like the two yellowish brown ware sherds from the second half of the Middle Bronze Age that were found at the site in the 1990s²⁶ (fig. 26). However, none of these examples were manufactured using the typical light clay ware, and therefore they might actually belong to a different painted pottery tradition, or alternatively they may be local imitations. In any case, it is now possible to say that, if these are indeed to be identified as examples of Syro-Cilician painted ware pottery, then this pottery tradition was evidently not popular during the Middle Bronze Age, as it was in the Cilician Plain, but even so very small quantities were still imported from Cilicia Pedias or north Syria, or else were manufactured locally.

In addition to two sherds found in the 1990s, a single orange ware sherd (G19/511) with a reddish brown band painted on its pale brown slipped exterior surface is the only example of a piece belonging to a Middle Bronze Age red-cross bowl from the site.²⁷ Red-cross bowls were no longer painted on the interior, but instead started to be painted on the exterior during the Middle Bronze Age, and examples of these have been found at various sites in western Anatolia and Cilicia.²⁸ However, it is quite clear that the Middle Bronze Age version of this pottery type was not at all popular at Kilise Tepe.

The Middle Bronze Age–Late Bronze Age Transitional Pottery

The pottery from the archaeological contexts dating to between the final Middle Bronze Age (IVb) and the earliest Late Bronze Age (IIIa) levels have a transitional character, though the Middle Bronze Age traditions remain dominant. The orange and the yellowish brown wares, together with their new derivatives, form the pottery repertoire.

The typical orange ware pottery, which now has a fabric slightly more yellowish than before, was coated with a yellowish red, pale brown, or pale red slip. The common forms for this ware are pots with flaring rims, as well as jugs and bowls with simple round rims sometimes internally or externally thickened at the tip (fig. 27). A reddish, gritty variant of this ware also started to be manufactured during this period. Jars and cooking pots with straight or slightly out-turned rims, which were produced using this ware, were either coated with a reddish brown slip or left plain.

²⁴ Symington 2007a, 325–26.

²⁵ Symington 2007a, 326.

²⁶ Symington 2007a, 326, figs. 386, 566.

²⁷ Symington 2007a, 326, figs. 386, 564–65.

²⁸ Blegen, Caskey, and Rawson 1951, 250 ff., fig. 204 and Goldman 1956, figs. 290:811–2, 291:820–2.

The yellowish brown ware bowls and jugs of this period were either pale brown, yellowish brown, or yellow slipped, or else red or reddish brown slipped and burnished (fig. 27). Bowls with a slightly carinated form with their rims bending inwards or internally thickened, along with red slipped and burnished bowls with a deep groove and a sharp carination below it, resemble both certain pottery forms known from Late Bronze Age contexts²⁹ as well as some earlier forms mentioned above. Jugs with flaring rims, together with small pots with carinated forms—which were usually red or reddish brown slipped and burnished—were also manufactured using this ware. In addition, the grittier variant of the ware was used to produce jars, cooking pots, and even larger storage jars with externally thickened rims.

Light clay ware, which was never common at Kilise Tepe, was still in use during this transitional period. All the sherds from this period belong to shallow bowls with thin walls. These bowls, which have simple rims rounded or made slightly thinner at the top, all have a yellowish brown or a pale brown slip, and some also have the typical yellowish red slip on the rim.

No painted pottery was found at this level. Some vessels were decorated with horizontal grooves, and there were also one yellowish brown ware sherd with a combed decoration and one yellowish brown ware smeared wash sherd, which represent the only decorated pottery examples from this phase. The combed and smeared wash ware traditions seem to have survived into this period, but are obviously beginning to disappear. Similarly, the Middle Bronze Age tradition of applying longitudinal shallow grooves on top of handles also came to an end during this period, as only one isolated example was found.

Some Observations

It can be understood from the available archaeological evidence that at the end of the Early Bronze Age II period, the inhabitants of Kilise Tepe, and therefore of the Göksu Valley, were already in contact with the populations of Cilicia Pedias, central Anatolia, and even western Anatolia. However, based on the abundance of red and black burnished pottery examples, it is possible to claim that the Kilise Tepe pottery traditions most closely resemble south-central Anatolian pottery traditions, thus indicating the existence of closer relations with that region.³⁰ In addition, scored ware pottery, which has parallels with central Anatolia but also with Cilicia Pedias and even with Troy in northwestern Anatolia, and metallic ware pottery, which we also know from both central Anatolia and the Cilician Plain, show that cultural and economic connections were definitely not limited to south-central Anatolia.

Following the large-scale destruction seen at the end of the Early Bronze Age II period, important cultural changes occurred in the region, but this did not sever the relations the populations of the Göksu Valley had with their neighbours. A number of new pottery types emerged almost suddenly, and the red and black burnished pottery tradition lost its earlier popularity. Some of the pottery types that appeared at Kilise Tepe during this period are well known from other parts of Anatolia. Amongst these, the red-cross bowls, which were mostly manufactured using the new orange ware, point to connections with Cilicia Pedias and western Anatolia, while the smeared wash pottery, mostly produced using yellowish brown ware, points to connections with not only Cilicia Pedias but also with northern Syria. Besides these, the usage of

²⁹ Hansen and Postgate 2007, 332, 334–35.

³⁰ Küçükbezi 2012.

twisting handles shows that the populations of the region also followed certain cultural trends which had become popular throughout Anatolia in this period.

The end of the Early Bronze Age also witnessed the emergence of a number of pottery traditions at Kilise Tepe that would only become popular during the Middle Bronze Age. These include the usage of combed decorations, crescentic handles, and the appearance of light clay ware as a variation of the yellowish brown ware. These clearly show that the Göksu Valley was never isolated from the cultural developments occurring in surrounding areas, and thus that the societies of the area also contributed to the development of regional cultural trends.

It is difficult to see a clear cultural break between the Early and Middle Bronze Ages as far as the archaeological evidence from Kilise Tepe is concerned. The Early Bronze Age pottery wares continued to be produced, but yellowish brown ware became the dominant type while orange and red wares lost their popularity. Combed ware decorations and crescentic handles became popular during this period. It should also be noted that some pottery forms that became common during the Late Bronze Age made their first appearance towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age.

One new Middle Bronze Age trend is the application of longitudinal shallow grooves on top of the handles of jugs and pots. This was uncommon in Cilicia, but is well known from Beycesultan and Konya-Karahöyük, and thus it represents a trend that the area shares with south-central and western Anatolia.

There are only a few sherds belonging to red-cross bowls from this period, but in any case these can be seen as evidence for close connections with the rest of Anatolia. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that red-cross bowls were also in use in the Levant during this period.³¹ Although the Levantine examples have the cross painted on the interior and not the exterior, as is the case with the Middle Bronze Age Kilise Tepe examples, red-cross bowls can still be seen as artifacts of a much wider regional trend. Even though Kilise Tepe has yielded only a few sherds of Syro-Cilician painted pottery—which may well have been produced locally, since they were manufactured using the yellowish brown ware—both these painted sherds and the red-cross bowls of the period are indicators of close contacts with Cilicia Pedias and the eastern Mediterranean world beyond it.

Finally, during the Middle Bronze to Late Bronze Age transitional period, the Late Bronze Age pottery forms started to become more popular. All the earlier wares were still in use, but they started to develop variations, indicating a gradual change in pottery traditions. Although few in number, the last examples of combed ware, smeared wash pottery, and handles with longitudinal grooves were unearthed at this level of Kilise Tepe.

Conclusion

Although Kilise Tepe was destroyed by fire and rebuilt several times, and even though there were major changes in cultural trends over time as far as the period between the end of the Early Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age is concerned, the inhabitants of the settlement (and probably of the whole Göksu Valley) nonetheless never seem to have lost contact with neighbouring regions. That is to say, the valley remained an integral part of the wider socio-economic and cultural network. The archaeological material from the periods in

³¹ Amiran 1969, 91–2; Beck 1975, 80; and Redmount 1995, 187.

question consistently bears certain cultural and artistic elements and influences from the neighbouring areas, which can be seen as a reflection of the intensity of cultural interactions and economic ties.

The current evidence suggests that the valley was more connected to south-central Anatolia until the end of the Early Bronze Age II period, but starting with Early Bronze Age III it also developed close ties with Cilicia Pedias, and probably with northern Syria and western Anatolia as well. The major destruction at Kilise Tepe at the end of Early Bronze Age II resulted not only in a change in pottery traditions, but also in a change in the general alignment of buildings, which suggests an overall change in lifestyle and cultural traits at the site, which may well be related to the arrival of new groups at the site, although this is open to dispute. If this was the case, however, the new inhabitants of Kilise Tepe clearly meant to integrate the settlement and the valley into the wider Eastern Mediterranean trade system.

In this respect, Göksu Valley may well have been an important part of the possible “Great Caravan Route,” which Efe claimed to have linked Syria and Mesopotamia to the Aegean world through Anatolia at the end of the Early Bronze Age.³² The close contacts that Kilise Tepe had with both Cilicia Pedias and the parts of Anatolia to its north and west can be seen as an indication of this. On the other hand, the layers of destruction and sudden changes in cultural trends at Kilise Tepe may well be related to political events taking place in the greater region, military campaigns related to these, and even to the climatic changes that are believed to have affected the entire region at the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, together with their socio-economic consequences.³³

Based on a number of statistical analyses using settlement locations and sizes, Bikoulis has suggested that Göksu Valley did not function as a major route linking the Mediterranean coast to south-central Anatolia, but instead probably functioned as a secondary route serving the local communities by allowing them to access and communicate with neighbouring areas.³⁴ One can neither fully disprove nor agree with this theory until other sites along the valley have also been excavated to gather more evidence, but it is difficult to explain why the inhabitants of Kilise Tepe shared cultural trends not only with the people of the Cilician Plain and south-central Anatolia, but also with the inhabitants of western Anatolia and even northern Syria, if this was indeed the case. The results of the Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project, which was conducted from 2013 to 2017, have also shown that the inhabitants of the valley had already formed cultural and socio-economic ties with the neighbouring areas during the Chalcolithic period, and their relations with the neighbouring areas and the regions beyond were intensified during the Bronze Age.³⁵

To enhance this discussion, the complete double-spouted jug (G19/432) found at the first phase of the earliest Early Bronze III level (Vf) of Kilise Tepe should also be taken into account (fig. 28). Vessels of this type were reported from Beycesultan and the Yortan cemetery, both located in an area between west-central Anatolia and the Aegean coast,³⁶ as well as from Troy.³⁷ Besides these, a triple-spouted jug was unearthed at Karataş-Semayük in southwestern

³² Efe 2007.

³³ Weiss 1997 and Şerifoğlu 2017b.

³⁴ Bikoulis 2012.

³⁵ Şerifoğlu, Mac Sweeney, and Colantoni 2015; Mac Sweeney and Şerifoğlu 2017; Şerifoğlu 2017b.

³⁶ Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 242, fig. P.67 and Kâmil 1982, 48, 105.

³⁷ Schliemann 1880, No. 351, 358.

Anatolia,³⁸ and some Early and even Middle Bronze Age double-spouted vessels were found in Cyprus.³⁹ Although the function and cultural importance of this multi-spouted vessel type needs to be evaluated in more detail, and indeed should form the subject of a separate article, the example from Kilise Tepe can be seen as an indication of the high level of involvement of Göksu Valley in the regional exchange of ideas and goods during the period concerned.

Whether Göksu Valley was a primary or secondary route within the regional socio-economic network, the archaeological material presented here indicates that—especially starting with the Early Bronze Age III period and continuing in subsequent periods—the valley certainly linked the Mediterranean coast and Cilicia Pedias to south-central Anatolia and the regions beyond.⁴⁰ Another study focusing on the local topography and the location of major archaeological sites has clearly demonstrated that the valley became a major route, especially in the Bronze Age.⁴¹ The valley may have also served as the main route linking Cyprus to central Anatolia owing to its close proximity to the island, but the current evidence of this is limited to the double-spouted jug from Kilise Tepe. It is clear that more detailed research into the cultural connections of Cyprus and Rough Cilicia, along with further fieldwork in Rough Cilicia to identify any currently unknown Bronze Age sites, are needed in order to better understand and explain the function of Göksu Valley as a regional route and the importance of Kilise Tepe as a possible regional trade hub and a cultural centre.

³⁸ Mellink 1969, Pl. 73, fig. 10.

³⁹ Spiteris 1970, 34–5, 42–3, 46–7, 56–7.

⁴⁰ For discussions of the socio-economic and cultural relations of Göksu Valley and Kilise Tepe with the surrounding regions during the Late Bronze Age, see Symington 2001; Postgate 2007; and Kozal 2015.

⁴¹ Newhard, Levine, and Rutherford 2008.

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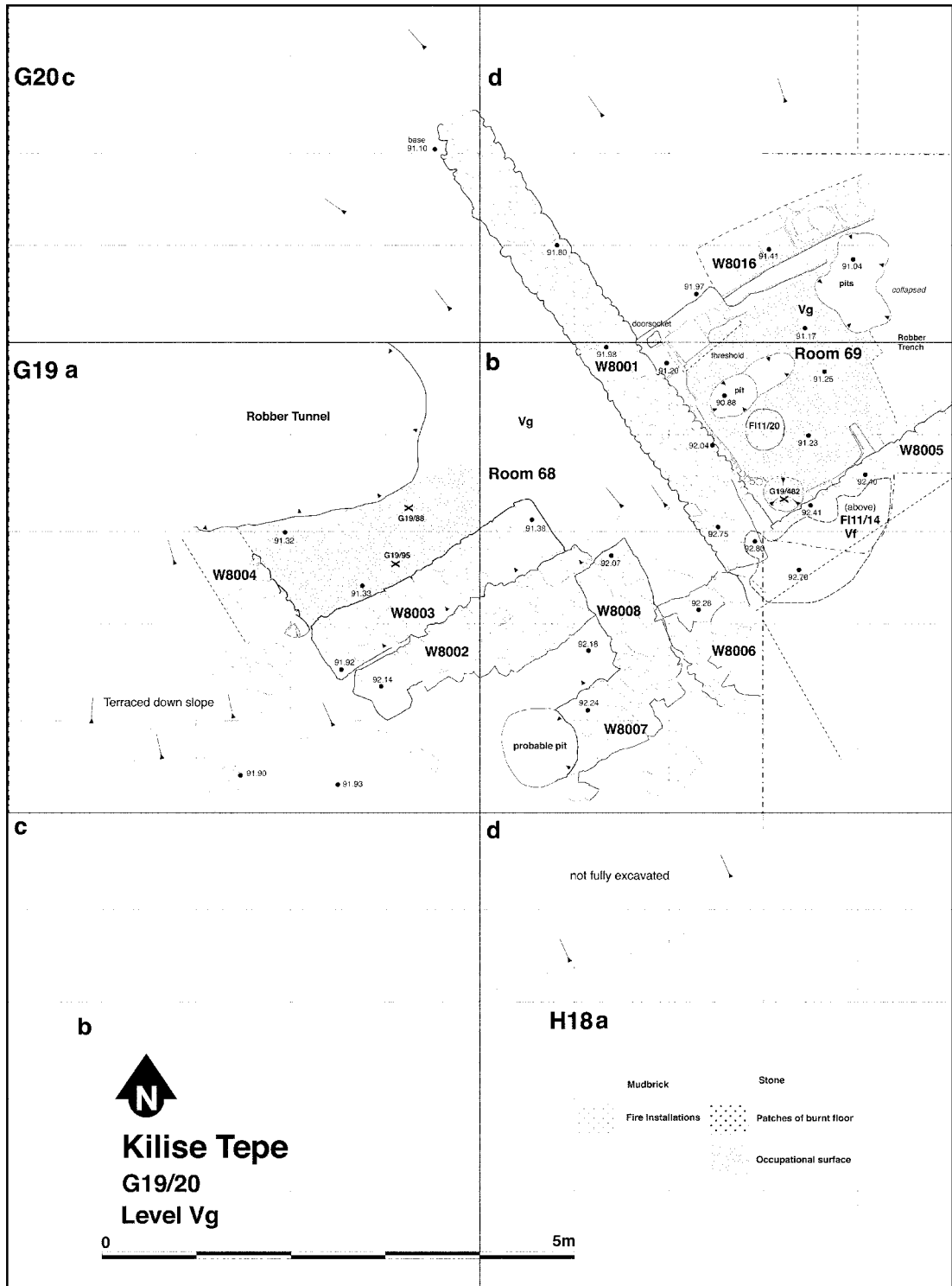


Fig. 1 Architectural plan of level Vg (Early Bronze Age II) (Plan by C. Colantoni)



Fig. 2 View of Room 69 of level Vg (Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 3 A group of pottery from level Vg (Photo by B. Miller)

Fig. 4 Cup (G20/054) from level Vf, phase 4 (Photo by B. Miller)

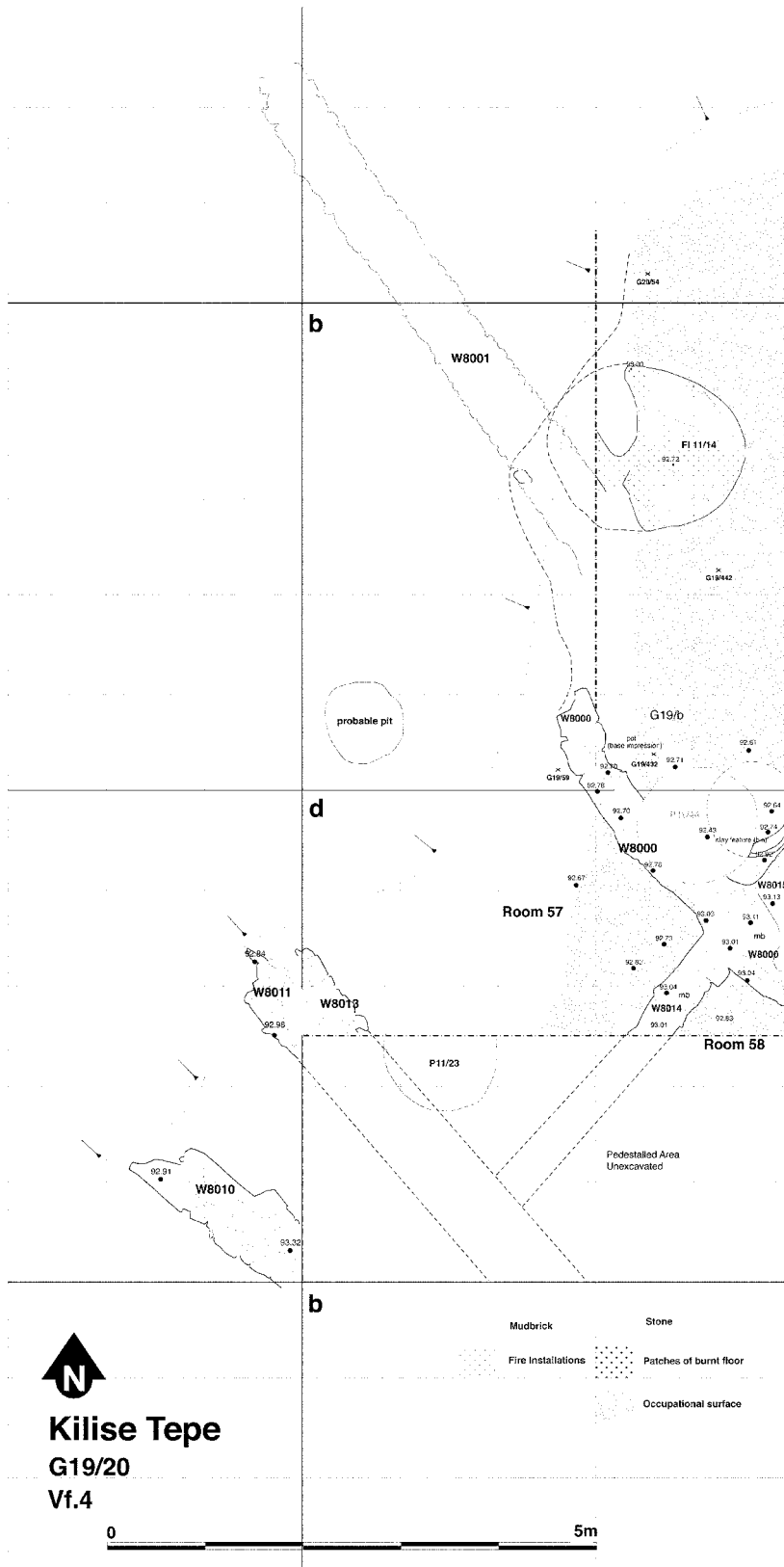


Fig. 5
 Architectural plan
 of level Vf, phase 4
 (beginning of Early
 Bronze Age III)
 (Plan by C. Colantoni)

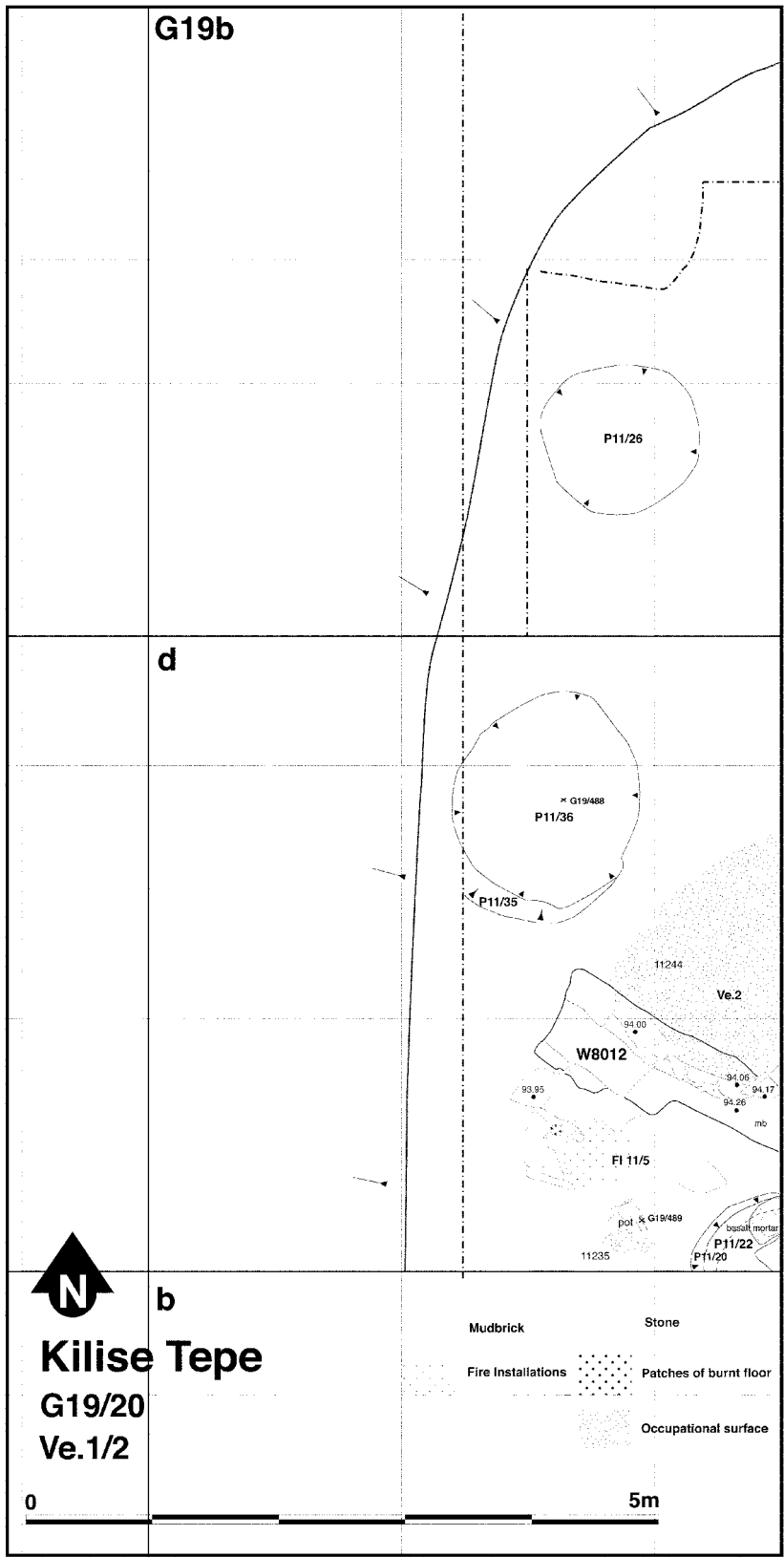


Fig. 6
Architectural plan of level Ve, phase 1 (end of Early Bronze Age III) (Plan by C. Colantoni)



Fig. 7
Storage vessel with
crescentic handles from the
end of Early Bronze Age III
(Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 8
Smeared wash ware
jar from the end of
Early Bronze Age III
(Photo by B. Miller)

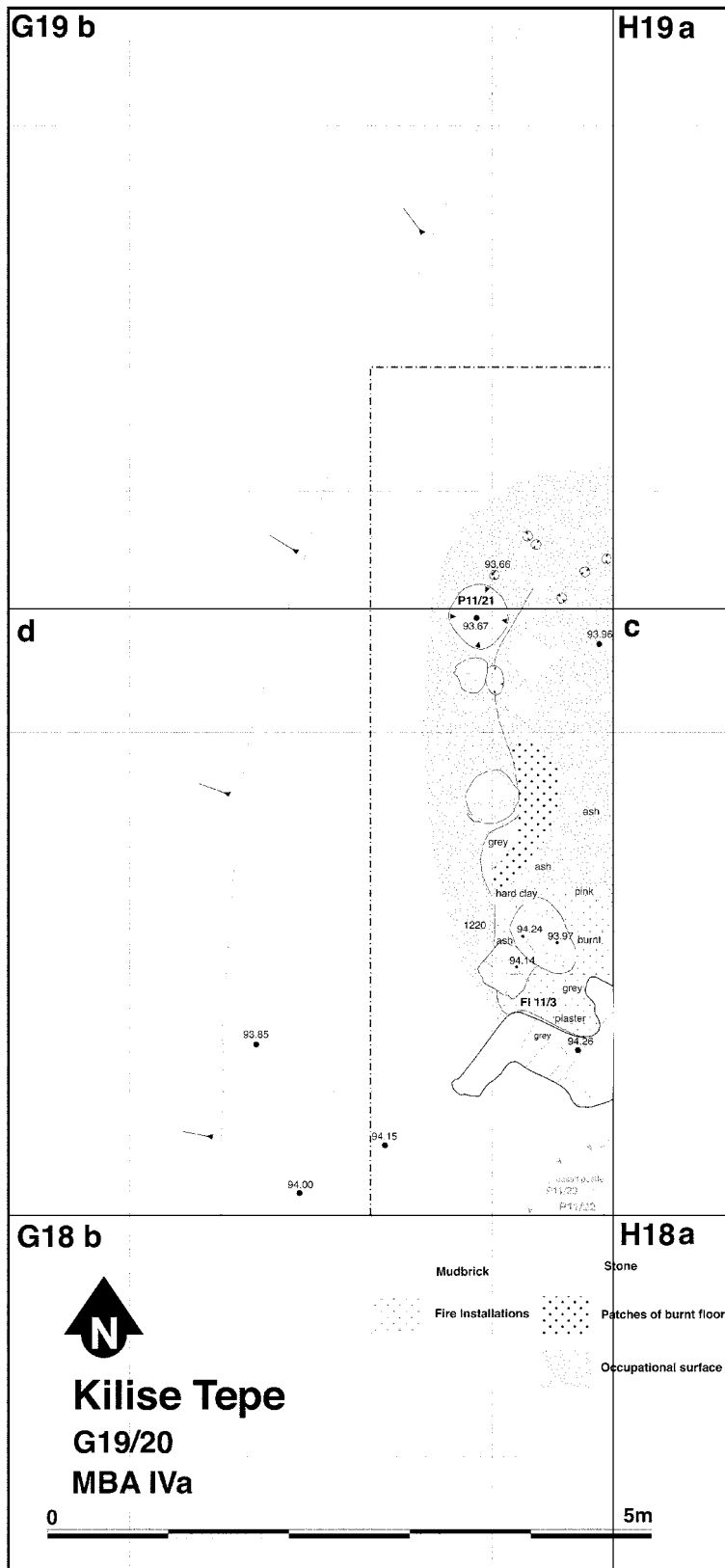


Fig. 9
 Architectural plan of level IVa (first half of Middle Bronze Age)
 (Plan by C. Colantoni)

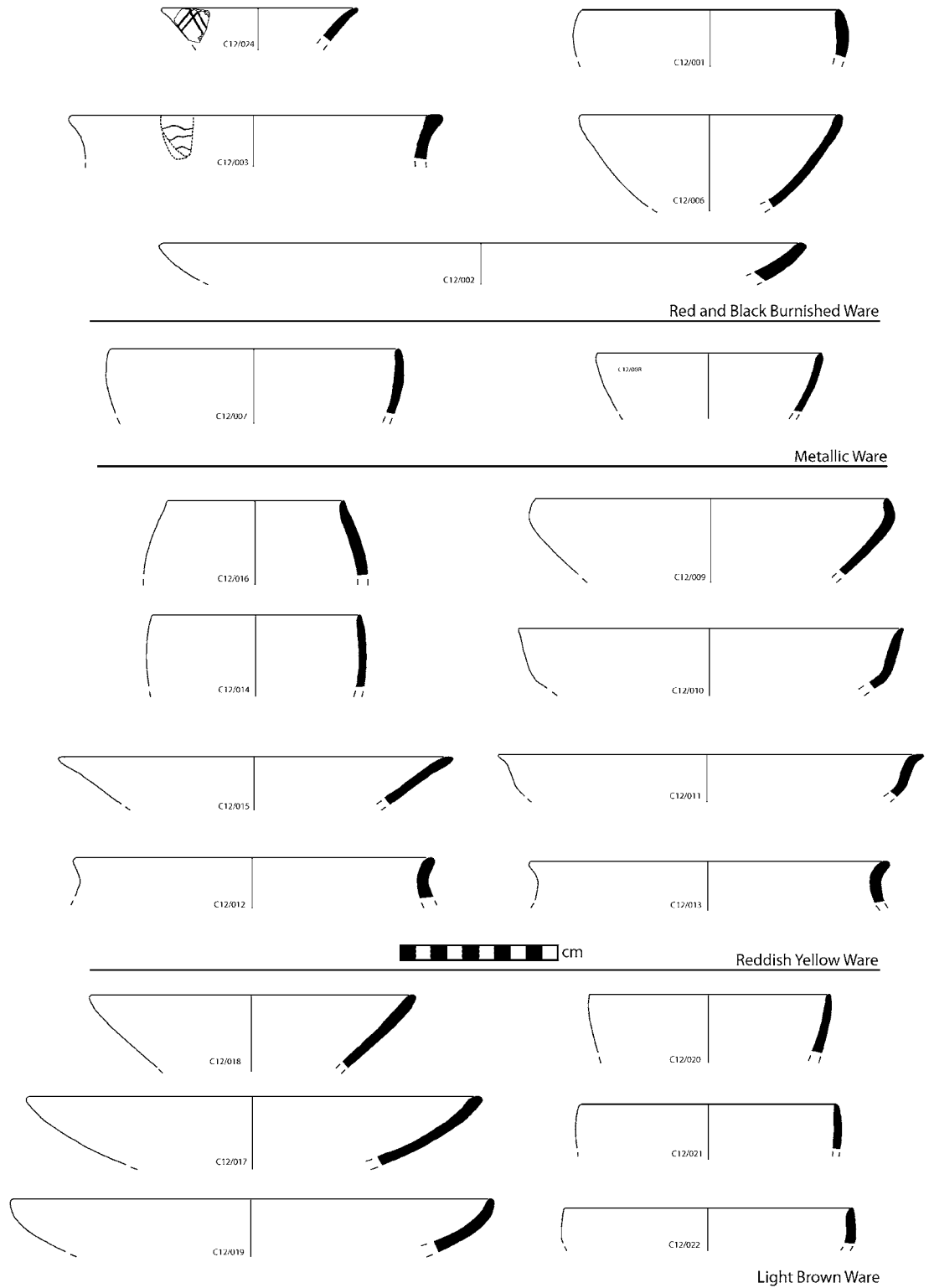


Fig. 10 Typical examples of Early Bronze Age II pottery types from Kilise Tepe
(Illustrations by N.E. Şerifoğlu)



Fig. 11 Part of an Early Bronze Age II cooking pot (G19/479) from level Vg (Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 12 Top part of an Early Bronze Age II storage jar (G19/481-482) from level Vg (Photo by B. Miller)

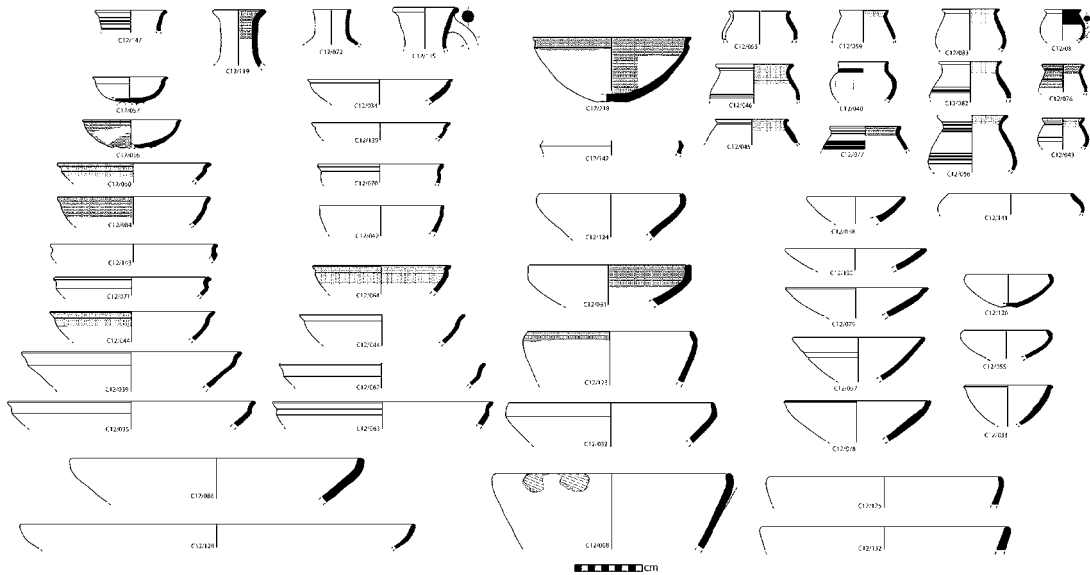


Fig. 13 Early Bronze Age III orange ware pottery examples from Kilise Tepe (Illustrations by N.E. Şerifoğlu)

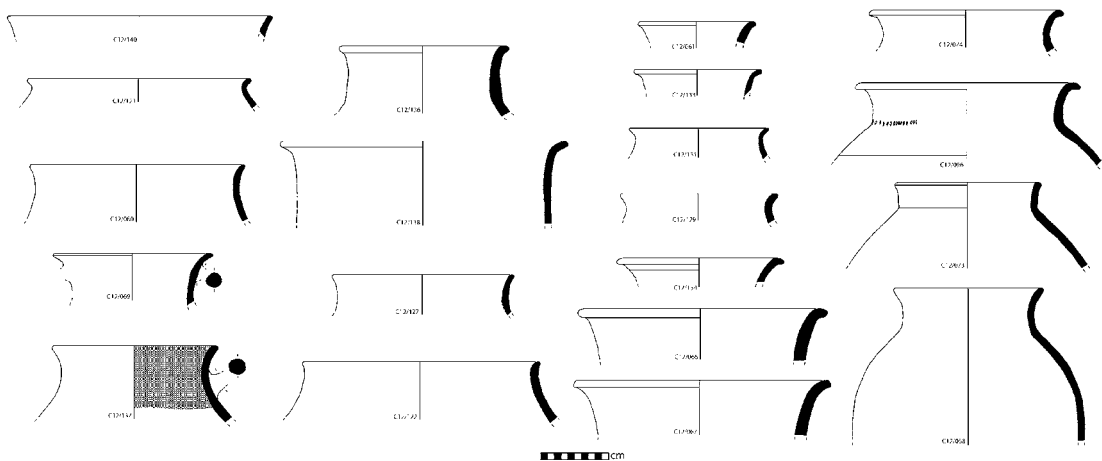


Fig. 14 Early Bronze Age III orange ware pottery examples from Kilise Tepe (large vessels) (Illustrations by N.E. Şerifoğlu)



Fig. 15 Examples of decorations on Late Bronze Age III orange ware pottery (Photo by B. Miller)

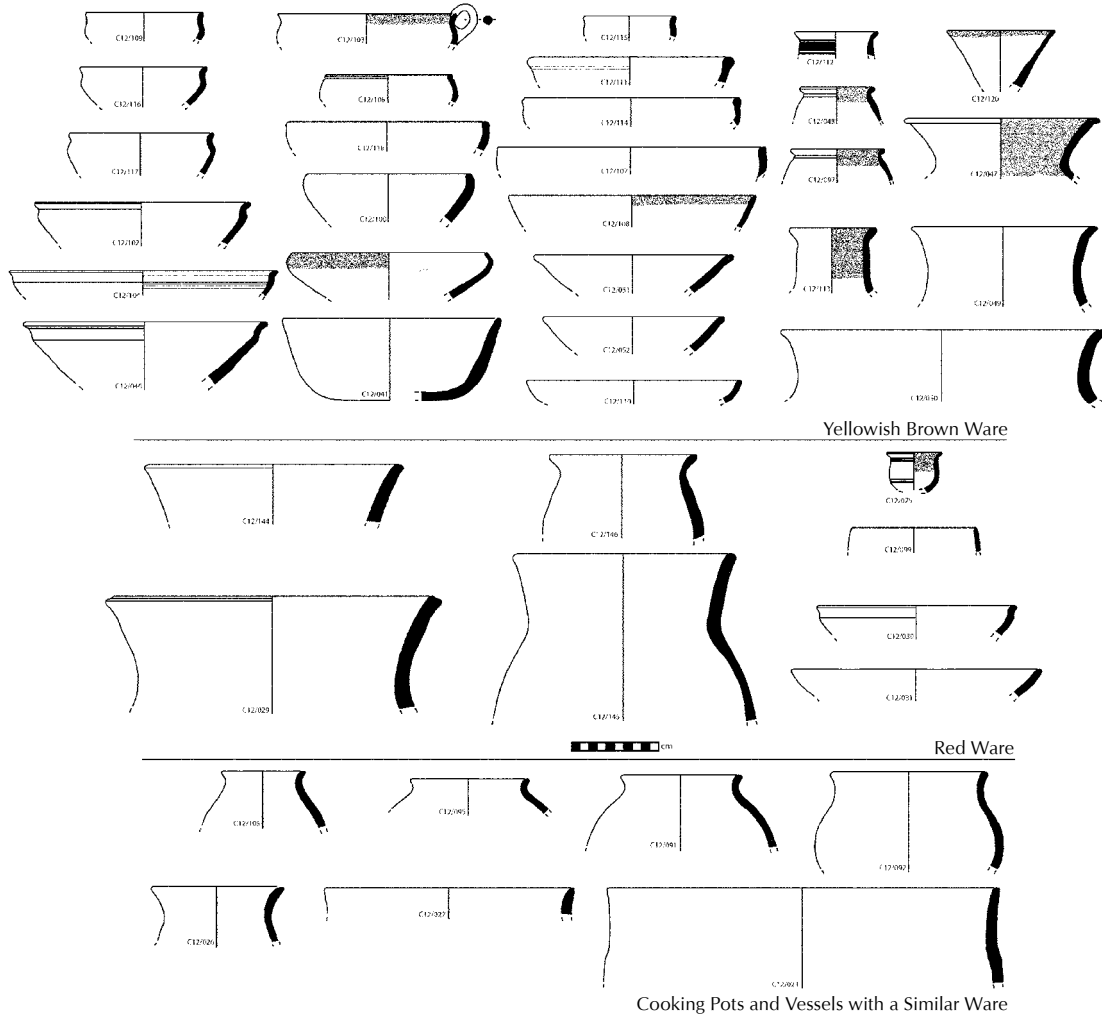


Fig. 16 Early Bronze Age III pottery examples from Kilise Tepe, manufactured using wares other than orange ware (Illustrations by N.E. Şerifoğlu)



Fig. 17
Early Bronze
Age III yellowish
brown ware sherd
with incised wavy
and horizontal
lines (G19/487)
(Photo by
B. Miller)



Fig. 18 Top part of an Early Bronze Age III pale brown ware smeared wash amphora (G19/464)
(Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 19 Early Bronze Age III red ware jar without slip (G19/53a) (Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 20 Early Bronze Age III red-cross bowl from Level Ve (G19/466) (Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 21
Examples of
Early Bronze Age
III sherds with
grooved or incised
decorations
(Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 22 Early Bronze Age III combed ware sherd (Photo by B. Miller)

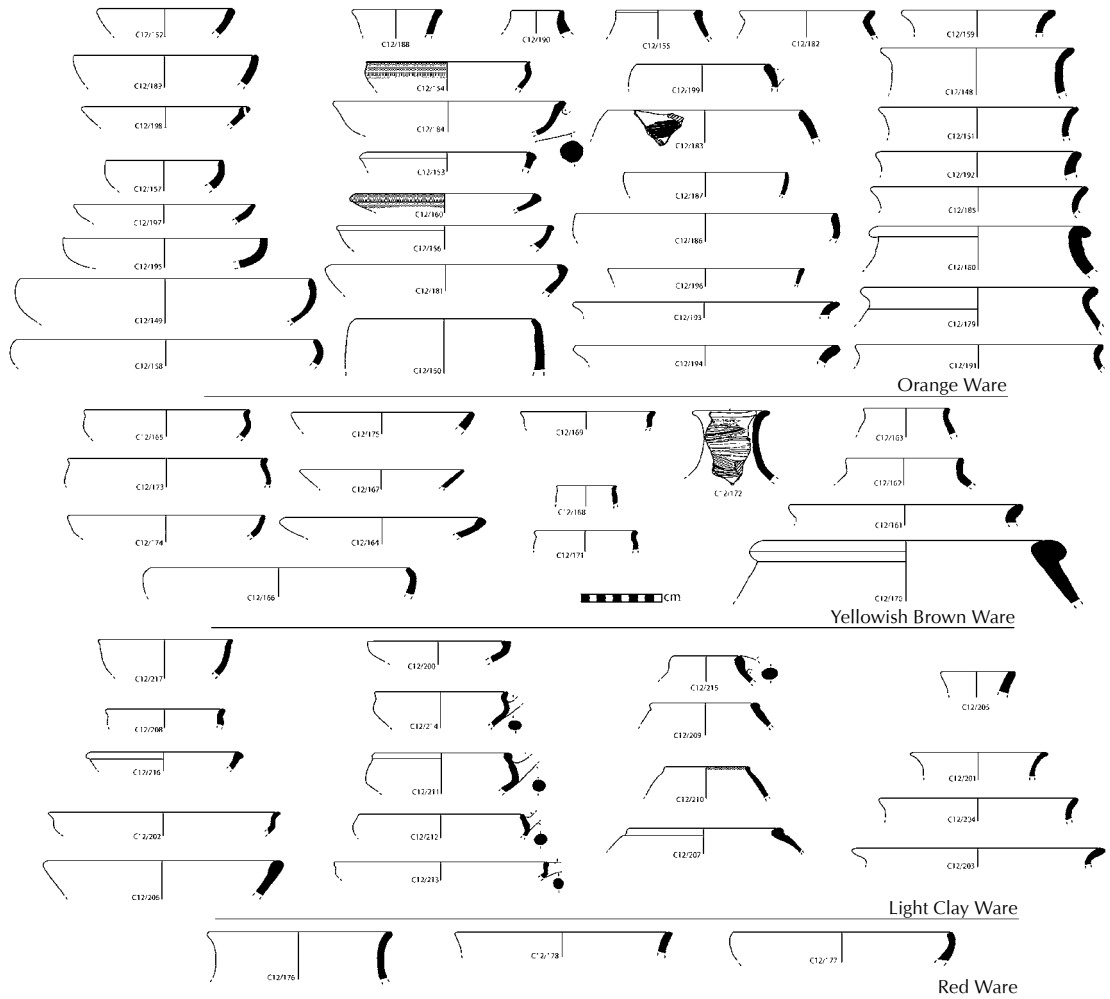


Fig. 23 Typical examples of Middle Bronze Age pottery types from Kilise Tepe (Illustrations by N.E. Şerifoğlu)

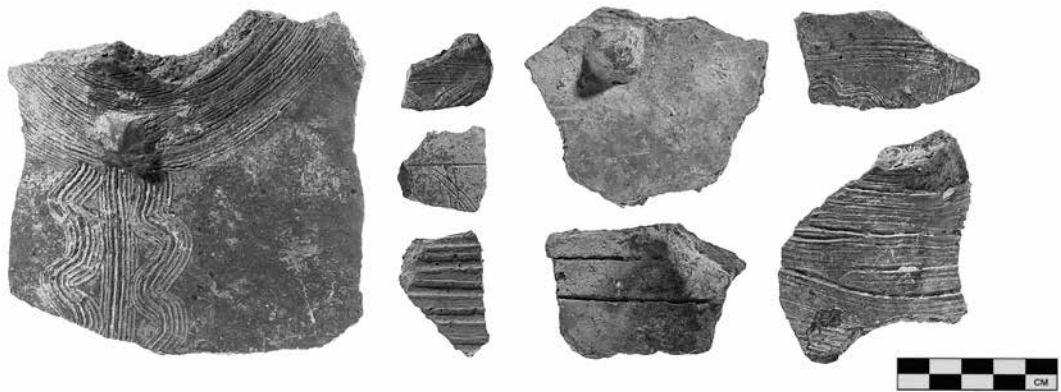


Fig. 24 Examples of Middle Bronze Age sherds with decorations from Kilise Tepe (Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 25 Examples of Middle Bronze Age handles with longitudinal groove (Photo by B. Miller)



Fig. 26 Sherd, possibly belonging to a Syro-Cilician painted ware vessel (Photo by B. Miller)

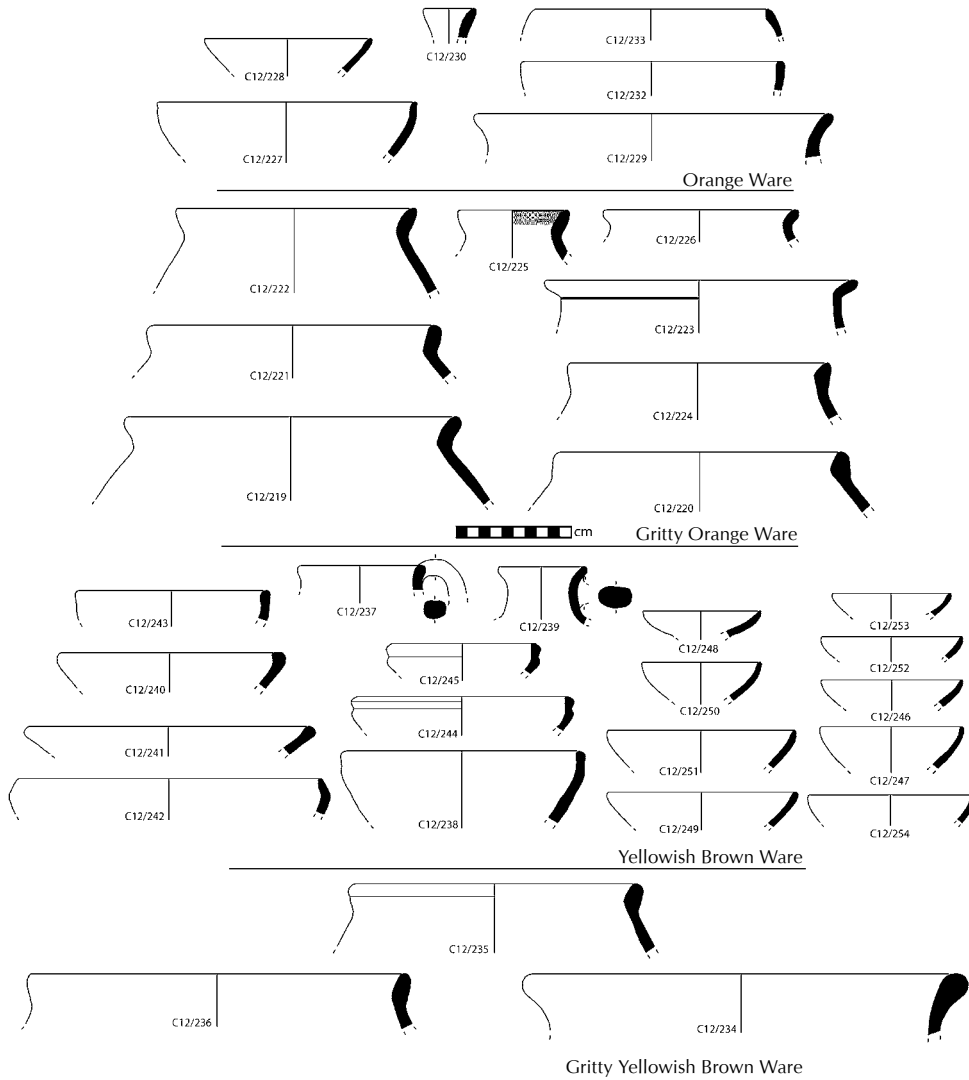


Fig. 27 Typical examples of Middle Bronze Age-Late Bronze Age transitional pottery types from Kilise Tepe (Illustrations by N.E. Şerifoğlu)

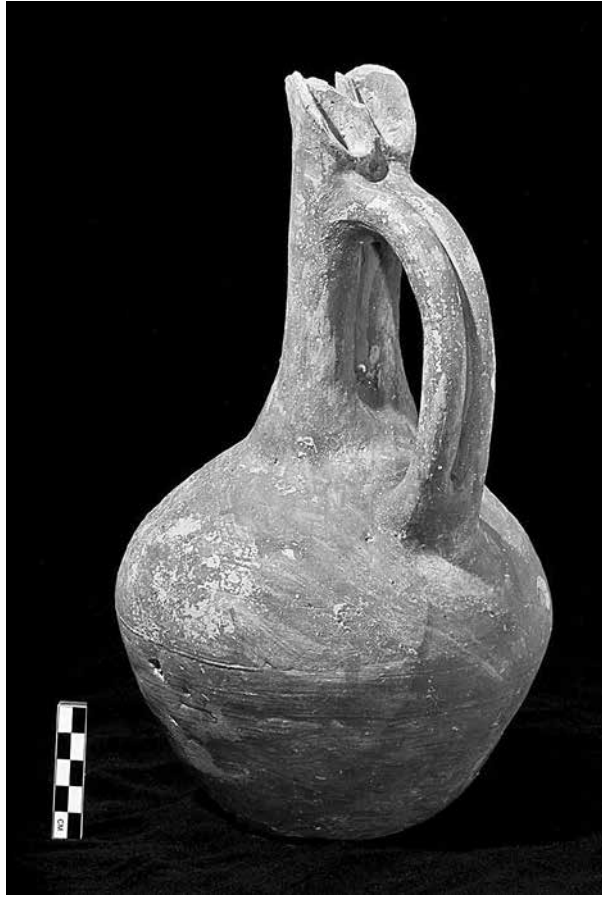


Fig. 28 Double-spouted jug from the beginning of Early Bronze Age III (G19/432) (Photo by B. Miller)

New Assessments of the Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery Recovered in the First Excavation Period at Tilmen Höyük

Aslıhan Yurtsever BEYAZIT*

Abstract

This article presents the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery of Tilmen Höyük unearthed during the first excavation season. The pottery is classified in 15 different groups based on surface colour and temper of clay, with eight groups belonging to the Middle Bronze Age and the remaining seven to the Late Bronze Age. Focusing on various aspects of pottery at Tilmen Höyük and its neighbouring contemporaneous settlements, the study expands our knowledge of the second millennium BC ceramic assemblages and traditions. The pottery repertoire of Tilmen Höyük finds its closest typological parallels in the adjacent settlements of northern Syria. The existence of prominent structures at Tilmen Höyük, represented by a strongly fortified palace and temple, highlights the settlement as a significant city that may have served as the centre of a kingdom.

Keywords: Tilmen, Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Pottery

Öz

Bu çalışmada, Tilmen Höyük 1. Dönem kazıları sırasında Orta Tunç Çağı ve Geç Tunç Çağı tabakalarında ele geçen çanak çömlek tanıtılacaktır. Malzeme, yüzey renklerine ve hamurun içindeki katkı maddelerine göre Orta Tunç Çağı'nda sekiz, Geç Tunç Çağı'nda yedi olmak üzere on beş mal grubundan oluşmaktadır. Tilmen Höyük ve komşu merkezlerden ele geçen malzemenin incelenmesiyle, MÖ 2. binyıl çanak çömlek geleneği hakkındaki bilgiler artmaktadır. Çalışmış olduğumuz malzemenin tipolojik açıdan benzerlerine yakın çevrede ve komşu bölgelerde özellikle Kuzey Suriye'de birçok yerleşmede rastlanmıştır. Yerleşmede, MÖ 2. binyıla tarihlenen etrafı çok güçlü sur sistemi ile çevrili saray, tapınak gibi gösterişli yapıların bulunması, Tilmen'in çok önemli bir kent ve bir krallık merkezi niteliği taşıdığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tilmen, Orta Tunç Çağı, Geç Tunç Çağı, Çanak çömlek

The first excavations at Tilmen Höyük (fig. 1), which is situated 10 km to the east of the Islahiye district of Gaziantep, were conducted under the leadership of Dr. U. Bahadır Alkım between 1959 and 1964 and between 1969 and 1972.¹ Three decades after the excavations ended, in 2002, Prof. Dr. R. Duru carried out a project entitled "The Tilmen Höyük Restoration and Environmental Improvement Project".² The second excavation period of Tilmen Höyük

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¹ Alkım 1960, 7–9; Alkım 1962, 447–66; Alkım 1963, 19–28; Alkım 1964, 5–7.

² Duru 2003, Duru 2013, 11–2.

was conducted under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Nicolò Marchetti of Bologna University between 2003 and 2007.³

This study covers the assessments made in the light of fresh information that has emerged regarding the pottery recovered from the Middle and Late Bronze Age levels during the first-period excavations at Tilmen Höyük.⁴

Ware Groups

The material was split up into 15 ware groups, (eight from the Middle Bronze Age, seven from the Late Bronze Age), according to the tempers, surface colors, and surface processes in the clay.

The Middle Bronze Age I–II

1. Beige Ware Group: This group continued from the Early Bronze Age (fig. 22/1–2). The clay contains a fine mineral additive that produced pinkish beige, cream, and dark beige shades (Munsell 10YR 6/6). While the vessels are generally non-slipped, some specimens indicate they were dipped in slip. Burnish was almost never applied. It is observed that the vessels were well baked, and paint decoration and fluted and grooved ornamentation is seen. All the pottery was crafted entirely by wheel.

2. Grey Ware Group: The color of the clay varies from a greyish-brown to dark grey (10 YR 6/4). The clay contains fine mineral tempers. Slip was rarely used. These wheelmade vessels were fired at a moderate temperature. Although the vessels in this ware group are generally of the non-decorative type, a few specimens with grooved and fluted ornamentation have been encountered (fig. 22/13).

3. Brown Ware Group: Following the orange-colored group, this group is made up of the second largest number of pieces amongst the Middle Bronze Age ware groups. While its colors are dark brown and reddish-brown (10 YR 3/2), the clay contains moderate mineral and fine plant tempers. No burnish or slip was applied to this ware group, which was fired at moderate temperatures. Except for a couple of paint-ornamented specimens, no decoration has been encountered with this ware group. All vessels were made by wheel.

4. Camel color / Light Brown ware group: With colors various ranging from light brown to yellowish-beige, the clay used in this group contains added minerals and pieces of stone (7.5 YR 5/6). From the concentrated additive traces, it is understood that the clay of some of the vessels did not harden well (fig. 22/14–15). The specimens were made from matte-finished, slipped clay on a wheel, and were fired at a moderate temperature. Painted decorations constitute the most commonly seen type of ornamentation in this ware group. While the outer

³ Marchetti 2008, 389–402; Bonomo 2008. The pottery of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages uncovered during the second period excavations (2003–2007) conducted by Prof. Dr. N. Marchetti have been studied for a PhD dissertation: Bonomo 2008.

⁴ Some of the material examined here was previously taken up in a master's thesis done at Istanbul University. The pottery belonging to Tilmen Höyük's Middle and Late Bronze Ages was reassessed and the whole material classified according to the ware groups; their drawings and typological distinctions are made in the light of new information that has emerged over the past two decades. I thank my instructor Prof. Dr. R. Duru, who encouraged me to work on this material, as well as my teacher Prof. Dr. G. Umurtak, who guided me with her valuable opinions on this study. I also would like to thank the illustrator, B. Gülkan, for his drawings, and S. Kline for the English translation of the article.

surface of the specimens is generally decorated with geometric elements in brown and dark red paint, these decorations are sloppily applied and have been erased in places.

5. Red / Orange Ware Group: The clay varies in tone from orange to brick red (2.5 YR 4/8). While the clay of the small vessels contains fine minerals, coarse specimens contain moderate mineral and fine plant tempers. With the exception of the large vessels, all the pottery in this group was made by wheel and fired at high temperatures. The vessels are slipped in the color of the clay. The most common ornamentation type of this ware group is burnish.

6. Pink / Beige Ware Group: While the beige is comprised of orange and dark brick tones, the dough contains fine mineral tempers (7.5 YR 7/6). The vessels are generally matte finished and fired at moderate temperatures. All pottery in this ware group is wheel made. The most common decoration type in this group is paint decoration, the color of which is usually reddish brown. Bands and groove decoration are the most common of all the decorative elements.

7. Orange Ware Group: This group constitutes the largest number of artefacts dated to the 2nd millennium BC recovered at the Tilmen Höyük site (fig. 22/8–10). The clay tones vary from dark pink to dark orange (5 YR 6/6), and contain fine mineral tempers. Some of the coarse specimens have a notable amount of fine stone added to them. The clay of this group is generally quite clean and hardened. The majority of the vessels are primed in clay tones, with burnish rarely applied. The pottery was generally fired at high temperatures and was wheelmade. Grooved decoration is the most common type of ornamentation in this group of ware.

8. Brick-Colored Ware Group: The clay colors of this group are dark red and brick (5 YR 3/4). It is a very clean and homogeneous ware group with fine mineral tempers (fig. 22/6–7). Slip and burnish were not applied. The vessels were made on a wheel and fired at high temperatures. Other than grooved decoration, no decorative specimens have been found within this ware group.

The Late Bronze Age

1. Beige Ware Group: Having emerged during the Early Bronze Age, this group continued, albeit in diminished numbers, into the Late Bronze Age. The clay contains a fine mineral additive (fig. 22/16–18) that produced beige and light orange tones (Munsell 10YR 6/6). The vessels are generally slipped in the clay color and are not burnished. The vessels which were wheelmade were fired at high temperatures. Except for a couple of paint-ornamented specimens, no decoration has been encountered with this ware group.

2. Pink / Beige Ware Group: Determined to be widespread throughout the Middle Bronze Age, this group continued with the same technical characteristics in the Late Bronze Age. The orange and beige clay contains moderate mineral tempers (7.5 YR 7/6). Slip is seen on almost all the vessels. The wheelmade vessels were generally fired at high temperatures. Specimens decorated with dark brown paint are seen in this group.

3. Orange Ware Group: This group constitutes the largest number of artefacts, demonstrating continuity since the Middle Bronze Age (fig. 22/3–5). While the clay tones vary from pinkish beige to various orange tones (5 YR 6/6), it also contains fine mineral and plant tempers. Slip and burnish were rarely applied. The wheelmade vessels were generally fired at high temperatures. Grooved and fluted decoration comprises the most widespread type of decoration in this ware group.

4. Grey Ware Group: This ware group is the rarest of all the Late Bronze Age pottery that has been brought to light (fig. 22/11–12). The clay color varies among grey, beige, and brick-red tones (10 YR 6/4). The clay contains a fine mineral additive and was hardened well. The vessels were slipped in dark grey and greyish beige tones and were not burnished. Grooved ornamentation was the most commonly applied decorative type of this ware group.

5. Camel Color / Light Brown Ware Group: Following the orange-colored group, this group is made up of the second largest number of pieces amongst the Late Bronze Age ware groups. With colors ranging among beige, pinkish-beige, camel, and cream tones, the clay also contains added minerals (7.5 YR 5/6). The specimens were wheelmade and fired at moderate temperatures. The outer and inner surfaces of the vessels are generally decorated with geometric elements in brown and dark red paint.

6. Brown Ware Group: Following the orange-colored ware group, this group is made up of the second largest number of pieces to demonstrate continuation since the Middle Bronze Age. Containing fine plant, moderate mineral, and a bit of mica tempers, the clay was of grey and dark beige tones (10 YR 3/2). No burnishing was applied to this ware group, which was fired at low temperatures. Relief and fluted ornamentation was applied with this ware group.

7. Reddish-Brown Ware Group: Continuing from the Middle Bronze Age, this group is represented in the Late Bronze Age by only a few specimens. The clay, ranging from dark brown to reddish brown, contains coarse added minerals (2.5 YR 4/6). None of the vessels are slipped or burnished. They were fired at moderate temperatures. With the exception of a couple of specimens with relief decorations, no decorations were applied in this ware group.

Forms

The Middle Bronze Age I (building levels IIIb–IIIa)

The Middle Bronze Age I is comprised of five main forms (fig. 23–28), including pottery: plates, bowls, miniature jars, jars, and bottles.

1. Plates: Oval and semi-spherical body made up of two main types.

Semi-spherical Body: There are two main types in this group: one with an outward opening rim and inner thickened lip (fig. 2/1), and one with a rim that rises straight up (fig. 2/2).

Oval-bodied: This group is made up of specimens with rims that open out, thickened lips (fig. 2/4), lips that curl in (fig. 2/5–7), and vertical edges that open out (fig. 2/3).

2. Bowls: These are seen in four main types: oval-bodied, bell-shaped, carinated, and spherical-bodied.

Oval-bodied: This group is made up of bowls that open out with a rim that closes in (fig. 3/1). There are four subtypes of specimens with rims that open out: those with thickened lips (fig. 2/8), lips that slant out (fig. 2/10), straight risers (fig. 2/11, 16–17), and lips that thicken on the inside and outside (fig. 2/19–20). Some of the specimens feature horizontal groove decorations on their bodies (fig. 2/17).

Bell-shaped: This type of bowl with rims that open out is made up of specimens with vertical edges (fig. 2/12–13, 15), and slightly thickened lips (fig. 2/14). The most important feature of bowls of this type is the decorative horizontal groove that starts from the exterior surface rim and runs parallel along the entire body (fig. 2/15). A horizontal band painted on the

outside in brown on the shoulder is featured on one specimen (fig. 2/13). Moreover, the bell-shaped specimens are notably smaller in size than the other types of bowls.

Carinated: There are two types of bowl in this group: those with shoulders, and those with abdomens. Shoulder-section carinated specimens are broken down into three subtypes: those with lips that thicken on the inside and outside (fig. 2/18), those with lips that thicken on the outside (fig. 3/2–4), and those with lips that slant out (fig. 3/5). As for the abdomen-section carinated jars, they are made up of two subtypes: those with lips that thicken on the outside (fig. 3/6), and those with lips that thicken on the inside and outside (fig. 3/7).

Spherical-bodied: Spherical-bodied jars with rims that close slightly in are made up of those with simple rimmed edges (fig. 3/10, 12), those with lips that thicken outward (fig. 3/9, 11, 13), and those with lips that thicken inward (fig. 3/14). Some of these spherical-bodied jars feature a parallel horizontal groove decoration on the outer surface, from the rim to the abdomen (fig. 3/9).

3. Miniature Jars: The miniature jars are made up of spherical-bodied, S-profiled, and carinated specimens.

Spherical-bodied: These feature spherical bodies and lips that thicken on the outside (fig. 3/16). The outer surface of one specimen of this type is decorated with a horizontal channel that starts from the rim edge and runs the length of the body (fig. 3/15).

S-profiled: One specimen with a rim that opens out, an S profile, and a vertical handle has been brought to light (fig. 3/17). Said specimen features a band decoration fashioned with dark brown paint on the outer surface and over the handle.

Carinated: These miniature jars, which are sharply carinated from the body section and feature a bulging abdomen, are made up of specimens with lips that thicken on the outside (fig. 3/18) and lips that slant out (fig. 3/19–20).

4. Jars: The jars are made up of five main types: neckless, short-necked, wide-necked with a rim that opens out, narrow-necked, and those with constricted necks.

Neckless Jars: This group is observed to have the following subtypes: spherical-bodied with outward-angled rims (fig. 4/1); those with lips that thicken out (fig. 4/2–5); and those with thickened lips, a rim that closes in, and a horizontal handle on the rim (fig. 4/6). Some of these vessels have dark brown paint on the bodies and vertical lines positioned between two horizontal bands parallel to each other (fig. 4/1, 4). Some specimens feature embossed horizontal band decoration (fig. 4/2–3, 5).

Short-necked: These specimens feature an outer thickened lip, a grooved lip, and a spherical body, and are adorned with a brown painted horizontal band beneath the lip over the body (fig. 4/7–8).

Wide-necked with Rim that Opens out: This group features types with outward rims, spherical bodies (figs. 4/9, 5/1), and lips that thicken outward (fig. 5/1–3). Almost all specimens of this group feature rows of triangles over the shoulder and a vertical band decoration that runs from the triangle rows towards the bottom (fig. 5/1).

Narrow-necked: The oval-bodied jars with narrow necks are divided into the following subtypes: those with rims that slant out, oval bodies, and vertical handles (fig. 5/6); those with outer thickened, grooved lips (fig. 5/5); and those with an outer thickened lip and a thin horizontal embossed band over the neck (fig. 5/7).

Constricted Neck: Given a concave appearance by constricting the neck, the rims of this type of vessel are inverted outwards. The group is made up of two subtypes: those with narrow constricted necks (fig. 5/8), and those with wide constricted necks (fig. 5/9).

5. Bottles: A bottle providing a profile was uncovered from the Middle Bronze Age I period. It features an outer thickened lip and a narrow neck (fig. 5/4).

Base and Amorphous Pieces: A flat base piece decorated with a vertical band on top (fig. 5/12), as well as two body parts found with horizontal band decorations, were brought to light (fig. 5/10–11).

Middle Bronze Age II (building levels IIb–IIc)

The Middle Bronze Age II specimens are made up of 13 main forms (figs. 23–28), including pottery: plates, bowls, miniature jars, jars, *pitboi*, bottles, pitchers, flasks, teapots, vases, cups, and mugs.

1. Plates: This group is made up of oval- and semi-spherical bodied specimens.

Oval-bodied: Plates with a slightly thickened lip and flat raised rim (fig. 6/9), as well as those with a rim that opens out perpendicularly and has a slightly thickened outer lip (fig. 6/5).

Semi-spherical bodied: These plate specimens feature those with thickened inner lips (fig. 6/6–8); those with inner thickened, curved lips, with a flat base (fig. 6/10); and those with lips that close in, with a ring-shaped base (fig. 7/2).

2. Bowls: Two main types have been ascertained: oval-bodied and carinated.

Oval-bodied: There are a great variety of subtypes in this bowl group, including those with rims that open out and have perpendicular edges (figs. 6/3–4; 10/1–3); those with straight-rising rims (fig. 6/1); those with thickened inner lips (figs. 6/11–12; 7/1, 4); those with inner and outer thickened lips (figs. 6/13–15; 7/3; 9/4); those with lips that turn in and are oval-bodied with ring-based crocks (figs. 7/7; 10/10); those with rims that slant out and lips that thicken outward (fig. 8/9); those dulled over lips that thicken in and out (fig. 9/2); and those with beaded rims and lips that thicken in and out (fig. 9/5). Some of the vertical-edged specimens have horizontal grooved decorations over the shoulder (fig. 6/3–4), while some specimens are quite deep (fig. 10/5, 6).

Carinated: These are made up of two subtypes: shoulder- and abdomen-carinated. This group is the most common type of bowl from Middle Bronze Age II. These are divided into seven groups: those with the shoulder portion carinated and perpendicular edges (figs. 6/2; 8/2); those with lips that thicken outward and rims facing in (fig. 7/5–6); those with lips that thicken in and out (figs. 7/9; 9/1); those with lips that thicken outward (figs. 7/13; 10/9, 11, 15); those with rims that open out and lips that slant out (figs. 7/10; 10/8, 12–14, 16); those with perpendicular edges and beaded rims (fig. 7/14); and those with slightly inverted rims and thick walls (fig. 9/3). The carinate of the abdomen is extremely curved. These are made up of the following specimens: those with lips that thicken outward (fig. 7/12); those with rims that open out and lips that thicken slightly (fig. 8/1); those with flat rising edges (fig. 8/3); those with flat rising edges and lips that thicken (fig. 8/4–8); those with beaded rims (fig. 9/6); those with an inner groove over the lip (fig. 9/7–8); and those with inverted rims (fig. 11/1–2). Bowls of this type are carinated towards the base with a rim that opens out. Grooved decorations are found on the entire surface of the vessel (fig. 10/7).

3. Miniature jars: The miniature jar group is represented by pear-shaped (fig. 11/3), outer-thickened lip and spherical-bodied (fig. 11/5–7), and bulging abdomen (fig. 11/4) jars. The majority of this group is decorated with dark red and brown paint. Of the ornamental elements, inner combed triangles (fig. 11/5, 7) and bands (fig. 11/3–4, 6) constitute the most applied motifs.

4. Jars: The jars are made up of five types: neckless, short-necked, upright-necked, wide-necked with rims that open out, and narrow-necked.

Neckless: Specimens of this group features lips that thicken outward, spherical bodies (fig. 11/8), and beaded lips (fig. 11/9).

Short-necked: Specimens of this type feature lips that slant out, with a bulging abdomen (fig. 11/10). This pottery is decorated with vertical short bands on the outside of the rim, while the bands start from the neck and extend towards the body in the manner of a sun motif.

Upright-necked: Specimens of this type feature a spherical body and a lip that thickens out. Some of these vessels have fluted and button-embossed decoration (fig. 12/1). One specimen has fluted decorations on the neck and body (fig. 12/3).

Narrow-necked: This group is made up of two subtypes: those with an inverted rim, a lip that thickens out, and a short neck (fig. 12/4); and those with rims that open out, lips that thicken outward, and a long neck (fig. 12/6). Both subtypes feature vertical handles. The neck of the long narrow-necked specimen has grooved decorations.

Wide-necked Rim that Opens out: This features a rim that opens slightly out, with a thick embossed band on the lip and a fluted decoration on the body (fig. 12/2).

5. *Pithoi*: The *pithoi* are made up of three types: the first type features lips that slant out, a groove with a lip, a long and steep neck, a spherical body, and a flat base (fig. 12/5); the second type has lips that slant out, a grooved lip, a short neck, a bulging abdomen, and a brown painted band and geometric decoration (fig. 12/7); and the third type has a flattened lip that thickens out, a wide and short neck, and a spherical body (fig. 12/8). Embossed horizontal band decorations are found just below the neck.

6. Bottles: This group is made up of four types. The first bottle type features an open rim, a short neck, and is pear-shaped with a rounded base (fig. 13/1). The second type features a rim that opens out, a thickened lip, an oval body, and a pointed base (fig. 13/2). Bottles of the third type feature a rim that opens out, embossed bands on the neck, a bulging abdomen, and a ringed base (fig. 13/3–6). One specimen of this group features a horizontal band decorated with dark red paint (fig. 13/4). The fourth bottle type features a wide neck, spherical body, vertical handles, and a rounded base (fig. 13/7).

7. Mugs: Two types of mug have been uncovered: those with broad rims, and those with clover rims.

Broad-rimmed: A fully intact specimen of this group that was brought to light features a lip that slants out, a concave neck, a spherical body, a flat base, and a single vertical handle (fig. 13/12). It also features decorations engraved on the handle and body. There are two other types of wide-rimmed mug. The first is S-shaped, with vertical handles (fig. 13/8), while the second type has a straight rim, narrow neck, bulging abdomen, vertical handle, and flat bottom (fig. 13/9).

Trefoil-rimmed: This features a clover-shaped rim, a sharp abdomen, a flat base, and vertical handles (fig. 13/11).

8. Teapot: This features a narrowing rim, bulging abdomen, flat base, vertical handle, and spout (fig. 13/10).

9. Pitchers: These constitute two types: those with rounded rims, and those with trefoil rims.

Rounded Rims: There are two subtypes: spherical bodies and egg-shaped bodies. The spherical bodies feature lips that thicken outward, a bulging spherical body, a ringed base, and a vertical handle on the shoulder (fig. 14/1). The horizontal band on the body is decorated in paint. The other specimen in this group features a squat spherical body, a long neck, a ringed base, and a single vertical handle that connects the shoulder to the rim (fig. 14/2). The second type features a lip that thickens outward, a narrow neck, an egg-shaped body, and a ringed base (fig. 14/3).

Trefoil-rimmed: This group is made up of two subtypes. The first features a trefoil, a short and broad neck, a spherical body, and a flat base (fig. 14/6). The neck-embossed band is decorated with a line over the shoulder. The second type is decorated with a trefoil, a long neck, a vertical handle, and a decoration painted in the shape of a horizontal band (fig. 14/4).

10. Flasks: This group features double handles on the shoulders on either sides of the flask, with a bulging pilgrim body and a short cylindrical neck. The smaller specimen has a thickened lip and flattened body (fig. 14/5). There are intertwining circle motifs crafted with brown paint on the body. The body of the second and larger flasks is decorated with symmetrical and intertwining concentric circle decorations in dark brown paint (fig. 14/7).

11. Cup: One miniature cup was brought to light. It features a rim that opens outward, an oval body, and double vertical handles (fig. 10/4).

12. Vases: This group is made up of those with short necks and bulging abdomens (fig. 15/1), as well as those with long, narrow necks (fig. 15/2–3).

13. Goblets: Three types of goblets have been uncovered. The first type features a rim that opens out, a lip that thickens outward, and a wide belly with a base (fig. 15/4). The second type has a rim that closes inward, a lip that thickens outward, an oval body, and a pedestal (fig. 15/5). The third type has a lip that slants out, is angular towards the base, and a high pedestal (fig. 15/6).

Base and Amorphous Pieces: Specimens that have been uncovered include pedestals (figs. 15/11, 13–14) and flat (fig. 15/8–9) and ring-shaped bases (figs. 15/10, 12; 15/7).

The Late Bronze Age

Bowls constitute the majority of the container repertoire from this period. Other forms encountered include plates, jars, *pitthoi*, pitchers, bottles, vases, and fruit stands. Moreover, lids and stands are also among the artefacts brought to light from this period (figs. 23–28). Compared to the Middle Bronze Age, a more limited variety of vessels are found from the Late Bronze Age.

1. Plates: Three types of plates—rectangular, oval-bodied, and carinated—are seen from the Late Bronze Age.

Rectangular: The specimens of plates with rims that open outward and have vertical edges include those with inner thickened lips (fig. 16/1); outward inverting rims, a ringed base, and grooved decoration (fig. 16/2); lips that thicken outward (fig. 16/3); and beaded rims (fig. 16/4).

Oval-bodied: This group is made up of two subtypes: those with rims that open outward (fig. 16/5–6), and those with rims that close inward (fig. 16/7–9). A portion of those with rims

that open outward feature lips that thicken inward, have a grooved decoration on the lip, and have a ringed base (fig. 16/6).

Carinated: With the exception of one that curves slightly towards the base (fig. 16/10), the majority of these specimens feature a carinated shoulder section (fig. 16/11, 12). These feature rims that open outward and have a thickened lip on the outside. The one fully intact carinated plate recovered features a ringed base (fig. 16/11).

2. Bowls: Five bowl types have been observed: oval-bodied, spherical-bodied, carinated, S-profiled, and steep-edged.

Oval-bodied: The subtypes observed in this group include: those that are flute-lipped, with the lip overflowing outward (fig. 16/13); those with an inner grooved lip (fig. 16/14); those with a thickened lip on the inside and outside (fig. 16/15); those with a thickened lip on the inside (fig. 16/16); those with a rim that opens outward and protrusions over the inner rim (fig. 16/17); and those with a lip thickened in the manner of a thick band forming on the outside and have deep bowls (fig. 17/10).

Spherical-bodied: These have a rim that closes inward and a spherical body (fig. 16/18).

Carinated: The subtypes of this group are divided as follows: those with rims that close inward and those that have a partially carinated abdomen, the latter of which two specimens were recovered (fig. 16/19). The majority of bowls in this group are made up of specimens with sharp carinated and outward-opening rims. These have three subtypes: those with lips that thicken on the outside (fig. 17/1–4, 7, 10); those with lips that slant outside (fig. 17/5–6, 8); and those with lips that thicken on the inside and outside and have grooved decorations on the body (fig. 17/11). Some of the carinated bowls with lips slanting outside have grooves on the lip (fig. 17/8). A horizontal handle is found on the rim edge of a bowl with a lip that thickens on the outside (fig. 17/1).

S-profiled: A specimen of this group of a deep bowl with a lip slanting outward (fig. 17/9) has been brought to light.

Steep-edged: Specimens of this type are seen with beaded rims (fig. 17/12) and with lips that thicken inside (fig. 17/13).

3. Jars: This group is made up of five types: wide-necked with rims that open outward, short-necked, concave-necked, narrow-necked, and cylindrical-necked.

Wide-necked with Outward-opening Rims: The lip of a portion of this type of jar protrudes inward (fig. 18/2, 4). There are some specimens with embossed protrusions on both the inside and outside (fig. 18/3). One specimen in this group that was brought to light is decorated on its rim in a linear manner on the inside, with droplets engraved on the outer neck part (fig. 18/5).

Short-necked: Besides the type with rims that open outward, short-necked (fig. 18/1) specimens have also been brought to light. This type also includes: pottery with lips that thicken outside, spherical bodies, and vertical handles (fig. 20/5); those with lips that slant outward, have lips with inner and upper protrusions, and feature overhanging, embossed bands on the neck portion (fig. 19/6); and those with lips that thicken outside and feature engraved and embossed etching decoration on the neck portion (fig. 19/7).

Narrow-necked: This group features subtypes such as: those with rims that open outward and have lips that thicken outside and long, narrowing necks (fig. 19/2–3); those with upright rims (fig. 19/4); and those with protrusions inside the lips. This type of pottery is mostly

decorated. Among the ornamental elements are grooved (fig. 19/2), painted drops (fig. 19/4), and embossed band decorations (fig. 19/5).

Concave-necked: There are embossed bands (fig. 20/1, 4) on all of the vessels with rims that open outward, concave necks, and spherical bodies. One concave-necked specimen features a rim that opens slightly outward and has a sharp abdomen (fig. 19/1).

Cylindrical-necked: Jars with long, cylindrical necks and spherical bodies are made up of two subtypes: those with lips that thicken outside, with a grooved neck and decorations on the abdomen (fig. 20/2); and those with vertically rising rims (fig. 20/3).

4. *Pithoi*: The *pithoi* are short, narrow-necked, and have lips that thicken on the outside and a spherical body. The shoulder portion of some specimens is decorated with embossed strips (fig. 20/6).

5. Bottles: Three types of bottles have been uncovered. The first type features a rim that opens outwards and an inner thickened lip, a short neck, a bulging abdomen, and a ringed base (fig. 21/1, 4). The second type has a round rim and a narrow long neck (fig. 21/2). The third type is decorated with a rim and an embossed band on the neck (fig. 21/3). One specimen has a wheat stalk motif that is engraved from the edge of the rim and continues along the entire body (fig. 21/2).

6. Pitchers: This group is comprised of two types: those with rounded rims and those with trefoil rims.

Rounded Rims: Two subtypes of this type have been uncovered: long-necked and concave-necked. The long-necked pitcher features a rim that opens slightly outward and a vertical handle (fig. 21/6–7). One specimen has the lip portion slanting outward (fig. 21/8). Some specimens feature embossed band decorations (fig. 21/9).

Trefoil Rims: Only one intact pitcher of this group has been uncovered. This specimen features a wide trefoil rim, a vertical handle, a squat and spherical body, and a ringed base. The body is ornamented with a band painted in brown (fig. 21/11). Others are mostly rim pieces (fig. 21/10).

7. Vases: The specimens uncovered in this group are decorated with rims opening outward, and have lips thickened on the outside, narrow necks, and an embossed band on the neck (fig. 21/5).

8. Fruit stands: These feature a rim that turns slightly inward, a sharp curve at the shoulder, and a high pedestal (fig. 21/15).

Lids: The first of two types of lids brought to light has a simple edge and a lower part that opens outward and a conical shape with a handle (fig. 21/12). The other type features a lip that overflows outward on the lower part, a conical-shaped handle, and a string hole handle (fig. 21/13).

Stand: The upper and base part overflows outward and has a cylindrical body (fig. 21/14).

Evaluation and Conclusion

Tilmen Höyük is one of the important centers where the pottery is well defined due to the architectural stratification in the region. In terms of ware groups, it is possible to say that the pink-beige and orange ware groups constitute the highest number of artefacts from the Middle Bronze Age (MBA). While MBA I constitutes the main forms—including pottery, plates, bowls,

jars, miniature jars, bottles, and pitchers—we also see the continuation of these forms in MBA II, along with the emergence of new forms such as flasks, mugs, cups, teapots, and goblets. Amongst the MBA II pottery forms, we notice the pottery acquiring characteristics such as carination, thickened lips, bowls with grooved decoration, and *pitboi* with inverted rims. The grooved and painted decoration in MBA I and II constitute the two main decoration types. Other types of decoration are notches, fluting, channeling, and embossing. Generally seen on upright-edged bowls, grooved decoration began from the rim and was applied horizontally down to the middle of the body, and was used most heavily in the orange ware group. Painted ornamentation, crafted in the form of band and geometric compositions with indistinct brown paint over a beige or pink slip, was applied mostly on the pink-beige ware group.

Apart from the fact that some new types appeared in the Late Bronze Age (LBA), it is rather difficult to make a clear distinction between MBA and LBA pottery forms. As for ware groups, it is understood that the red/orange and brick-red ware disappeared during the LBA, though all the others continued on from the MBA. It is notable that in this period there is a higher concentration of orange and brown groups. Compared to the MBA, there is also an increased amount of pottery with thickened lips and lips that curve inward. Containers and goblets with upper lip protrusions make up the most characteristic forms of this period. Protrusions over the rim, or two or three rows of grooved decoration over the container rims, are innovations that emerged for the first time during the LBA. The flask form disappeared, while the use of paint as decoration diminished during this period. Sloppily painted specimens featuring simple bands are also seen. Some of the most important features distinguishing the LBA from the MBA are the increased use of a matte finish, along with semi-finished ware. Moreover, the use of handles decreased considerably during the LBA.

I have already discussed the aforementioned post-graduate study on the MBA and LBA pottery uncovered during the Tilmen Höyük second period excavations (see footnote 3). One cannot expect that the materials brought to light and studies conducted by different people at the same site would overlap with each other in every aspect. It is thus inevitable for there to be differences among the groups of ware identified by A. Bonomo and the groups we have categorized. Considering that typological distinctions would provide more concrete results, I have determined the common types based on the aforementioned study and the material examined. Bowls with inner thickening lips,⁵ bowls with inner and outer thickening lips,⁶ bowls with grooves in the inside of the lip and sharp carination,⁷ *pitboi* with inverted rims that open outward,⁸ *pitboi* decorated with outer embossed bands,⁹ vases,¹⁰ bowls with inner thickening lips from the LBA;¹¹ and bowls with lips curved inward,¹² bowls with grooves and carination over the lip,¹³ and concave-necked *pitboi* decorated with embossed bands¹⁴ from MBA I and II constitute the common forms of the two studies.

⁵ Bonomo 2008, Tav. XI/1–2.

⁶ *ibid.*, Tav. XI/3.

⁷ *ibid.*, Tav. XIX/2.

⁸ *ibid.*, Tav. Tav. V/7.

⁹ *ibid.*, Tav. XV/4–5.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, Tav. XI/6–7.

¹¹ *ibid.*, Tav. XX/3–4.

¹² *ibid.*, Tav. XX/1, 7.

¹³ *ibid.*, Tav. XXIV/35–6.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, Tav. XXXIV/19–20.

Through examination of the material form types, similarities have been identified in the vicinity and neighboring regions, especially in northern Syria. Amongst the plate forms, the nearest similarities to those with rims that open outward and upright edges (figs. 2/3; 16/1) were brought to light at Tell Atchana.¹⁵ The closest specimens of bowls with inward curving lips (figs. 2/5; 6/4) were brought to light at Şaraga Höyük in the Gaziantep region,¹⁶ Qatna¹⁷ (MBA, Phase G8b), Tell Hadidi,¹⁸ Tell Rifa'at,¹⁹ and Tell Bia/Tutul in Syria.²⁰ Bowls with outer thickening lips and sharp carinate (figs. 3/6–7; 7/10–12; 10/12; 17/5–6) are encountered in the vicinity of Gedikli-Karahöyük,²¹ at Yumuktepe in southern Anatolia,²² at Tell Atchana,²³ and at Tell Mardikh/Ebla in Syria (IIIA Layer);²⁴ oval-bodied bowls with inner and outer thickening lips (fig. 2/20) are found at Tell Atchana (IX–VIII Levels),²⁵ Amuk (O Phase),²⁶ and at Tell Mardikh/Ebla²⁷; oval-bodied bowls with lips that slant outwards (fig. 2/10) have emerged at Şaraga,²⁸ Lidar Höyük (Phase 5a),²⁹ Şavi Höyük (Phase 9),³⁰ Tell Atchana (VIII Level),³¹ and at Tell Mardikh/Ebla³² (IIIA and IIIB); bowls with rims slanting outward and thickening on the outside (figs. 8/9; 10/15) have been found at Lidar (Phase 4),³³ Tilbeşar,³⁴ Tell Atchana (VIII Level),³⁵ Tell Mardikh/Ebla (IIIB),³⁶ and Hammam et-Turkman (VIIB)³⁷; the most similar bowls to those with flattened upper lips and inner and outer thickening lips (fig. 9/2) have been found at Şaraga,³⁸ Hammam et-Turkman,³⁹ (VIIB), and Haradum;⁴⁰ and the closest parallels to the shoulder-carinated bowls with outer thickening lips have been found at Tarsus-Gözlükule⁴¹ and Amuk K Phase.⁴²

¹⁵ Heinz 1992, Taf. 33/4.

¹⁶ Ezer 2008, 38, Çan. 1c.

¹⁷ Pfälzner 2007, 39/1.

¹⁸ Domemann 1979, 135, fig. 23:9.

¹⁹ Matthers 1981, fig. 220/20.

²⁰ Einwag 2002, fig. 10:3, 152.

²¹ Alkim 1979, Pan. 93/33.

²² Garstang 1953, fig. 144/23.

²³ Heinz 1992, Taf. 39/61–3.

²⁴ Matthiae 1980, 140, fig. 33.

²⁵ Woolley 1955, fig. CX/14b.

²⁶ Swift 1958, 219/fig. 33.

²⁷ Matthiae 1980, 141, fig. 34.

²⁸ Ezer 2008, 38, Çan. 1b.

²⁹ Kaschau 1999, Taf. 130:10.

³⁰ Bucak and Ditmann 2004, 171, tab. 9:6.

³¹ Heinz 1992, Taf. 25/51.

³² Matthiae 1980, 146, fig. 39; Nigro 2002, 325, fig. 31/10, 12.

³³ Kaschau 1999, Taf. 119/4.

³⁴ Kepinski-Lecomte and Ergeç 1998, 171, fig. VII/9.

³⁵ Heinz 1992, Taf. 25/51.

³⁶ Matthiae 1980, 147, fig. 40.

³⁷ van Loon 1988, fig. 20:7027.

³⁸ Ezer 2008, Pan.11/3.

³⁹ van Loon 1988, 135, fig. 20/7017.

⁴⁰ Kepinski-Lecomte 1992, 287, fig. 110/3.

⁴¹ Goldman 1956, fig. 368/4.

⁴² Swift 1958, 206/fig. 1.

Similar jar forms are found in practically all the aforementioned settlements. It has been ascertained that the closest similarities of material in terms of both form and decoration are found in Tell Atchana and Tell Mardikh/Ebla. In particular, the jar with embossed bands over the outer rim edge (fig. 11/9) and the narrow-necked jars with thickened lips on the outside (fig. 12/2, 4) have had parallels brought to light at Tell Mardikh/Ebla;⁴³ while the neckless jar with thickened lips on the outside (fig. 4/3–4) as well as those with concave necks and bulging abdomens and rims that open outward (fig. 20/1) have had similar specimens found at Tell Atchana (IX–VII levels).⁴⁴ The horizontal embossed band decoration seen on the jar in both settlements, as well as the grooved decoration, constitute other common elements in the jar tradition.

The form type that I have defined as a ‘vase’ is observed in a wide region encompassing southeastern Anatolia and Syria. Spherical-bodied vases with outer thickening lips and embossed band decorations above the lip (fig. 15/1) have been brought to light at Kurban Höyük,⁴⁵ Tell Atchana (X–IV Levels),⁴⁶ Hammam et-Turkman (VIIB),⁴⁷ and Hama (H Periode);⁴⁸ long-necked, carinated vases (fig. 15/3) have also been uncovered at Lidar (Phase 5),⁴⁹ Tilbeşar,⁵⁰ Horum Höyük (EBA/MBA transition),⁵¹ Tell Atchana (IX–IV Levels),⁵² Tell Mardikh/Ebla (IIIb),⁵³ Hammam et-Turkman (VIIB),⁵⁴ and Haradum.⁵⁵

Specimens nearly the same as the pottery with protrusions over the rim seen in the LBA have been uncovered at Tell Hadidi’s MBA IIB and LBA I Levels.⁵⁶ Moreover, bowls with inward curved rims, which continued from MBA II onwards (fig. 16/8–9), have been brought to light at Tell Atchana VI Level,⁵⁷ Tell Hadidi’s LBA IA level,⁵⁸ and Ugarit;⁵⁹ bowls with a semi-spherical body were found at Tell Atchana (VI–V Levels);⁶⁰ bowls similar to those with inner thickening lips (fig. 16/6, 15, 16) as well as bowls with inner and outer thickening lips were also found at Tell Hadidi⁶¹ LBA Ia’. The type of carinated bowls that began to be seen from MBA II (fig. 17/3–7) were also uncovered at Tell Atchana (VI and V Levels).⁶²

⁴³ Matthiae 1980, 142, fig. 35; p. 143/fig. 36.

⁴⁴ Heinz 1992, Taf. 4/17; Taf. 42/79.

⁴⁵ Algaze 1990, fig. 104:F.

⁴⁶ McClellan 1989, 203, fig. 3/21c.

⁴⁷ van Loon 1988, 137, fig. 22/7057.

⁴⁸ Fugmann 1958, 90, fig. 110.

⁴⁹ Kaschau 1999, Taf. 268/1.

⁵⁰ Kepinski-Lecomte and Ergeç 1999, 250, fig. 4/2.

⁵¹ Marro, Tibet and Bulgan 2000, 275, fig. VII/10.

⁵² McClellan 1989, 203, fig. 33/106b.

⁵³ Matthiae 1980, 148, fig. 41.

⁵⁴ van Loon 1988, 137, fig. 22/7058.

⁵⁵ Kepinski-Lecomte 1992, 271, fig. 102/10.

⁵⁶ Dornemann 1981, 29–47.

⁵⁷ Gates 1976, 33.

⁵⁸ Dornemann 1981, fig. 13, 23–32.

⁵⁹ Monchambert 2004, 64, 8–9, 11.

⁶⁰ Gates 1981, 13, fig. 2d.

⁶¹ Dornemann 1981, 43, fig. 13, 30–32; 44, fig. 14, 18–19, 21.

⁶² Gates 1981, 13, fig. 2a.

In the material examined, we see six different types of decoration, including embossed bands and paint, grooves, notches, and channeled and grooved decoration. While embossed bands, grooves, notches, and channeled decoration are seen at all Tilmen 2nd millennium levels, painted decoration was applied very frequently during MBA I and II but waned until it disappeared during the LBA. Amongst the pottery decorated with paint, two different traditions stand out. The first and most common are pinkish-beige, camel brown paint on brown slip, and thin rows of vertical and horizontal bands of decorative elements (figs. 4/1, 4, 7; 5/1, 10–12; 11/3–4, 6; 15/8). In looking at the relationship between decoration and form, it is understood that it was applied mostly on *pitthoi* and amphoras. This type of decoration is encountered in Anatolia, and particularly in Cilicia and the Amik Plain, as well as in northern Syria and the hinterlands. The closest equivalents to this painted pottery are found at Tell Atchana⁶³ between Levels IX and VII. The other type of decoration seen at Tilmen are rows of thick horizontal bands crafted in dark brown paint on a light background (figs. 5/10–11; 13/4; 14/1, 4). The tradition of this type of decoration shows similarities with a group that is known as ‘Habur Ware’⁶⁴ in the archaeology literature and is commonly seen in northern Mesopotamia in association with the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. However, due to the fact the material we have obtained is not of a quality allowing for definition as true ‘Habur Ware’, and as there are very few specimens of Habur-type decorations, it would not be right to refer to the said decorated pottery as ‘Habur Ware.’

Beyond the southeastern Anatolian settlements, the horizontal grooved decoration seen mostly on bowls at Tilmen is also seen used in settlements such as Terqa,⁶⁵ the Cezire region in Tell Chuera, Tell Brak, Tell Mohammed Diyab, Tell Al Rimah, and Tell Leilan.⁶⁶

As a result of the increasing excavations conducted at Tilmen Höyük and neighboring regions in recent years, more detailed information has been gleaned about the pottery traditions of the 2nd millennium BC. As one of the most well-defined centers of pottery due to the architectural stratification in the region, Tilmen has a rich repertoire of pottery in these traditions. In this context, in terms of both form and decorative elements, it is possible to say that Tilmen had a close relationship with Amik Plain and the northern portion near Anatolia, apart from its own region. Surrounded by a very strong fortification system dating from the 2nd millennium BC, monumental structures such as a palace and temple show that Tilmen bore the qualities of a very important city and the center of a kingdom.⁶⁷ The preferences seen in the production and utilization of pottery at the Tilmen settlement in the 2nd millennium BC should not be considered separately from the political structure of the region.

⁶³ Woolley 1955, fig. LXXXIV–LXXXV, XC–XCIII; Heinz 1992, Taf. 72, 75, 82–5; Yener 2006, fig. 7; Yener 2011, Ill. 2a–b.

⁶⁴ This group, which was discovered in the centers of the Habur Valley from the late 3rd millennium BC through the first half of the 13th century BC and was first described by M. Mallowan as ‘Habur Ware’ (Mallowan 1937, 103 ff.), was generally known as walled and large containers.

⁶⁵ Buccellati and Shelby 2007, 127–51.

⁶⁶ For the said settlements, see Al-Maqdissi, Matoian and Nicolle 2007.

⁶⁷ Duru 2013, 46–50.

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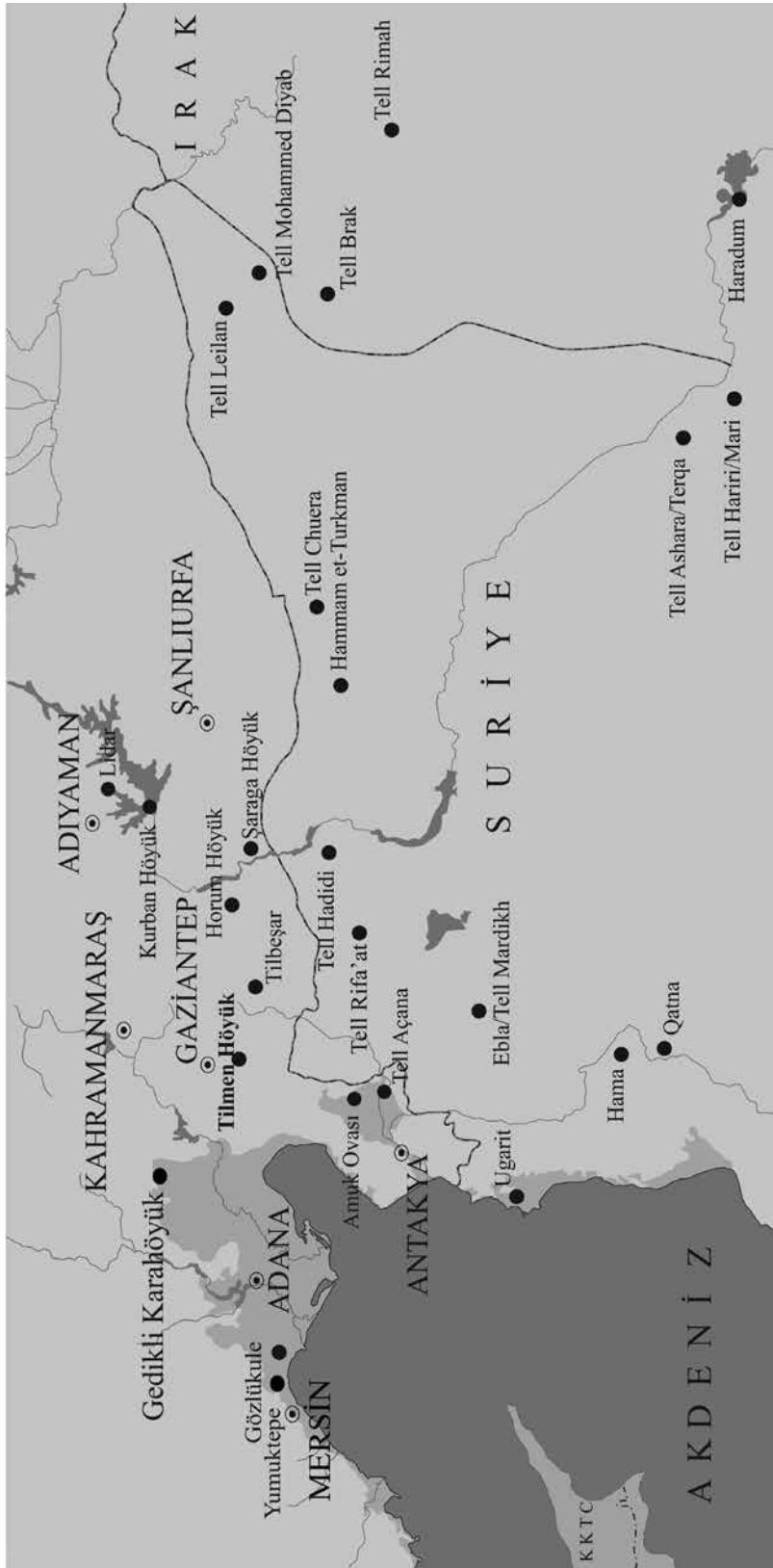


Fig. 1 Tilmen Höyük and Surrounding Settlements.

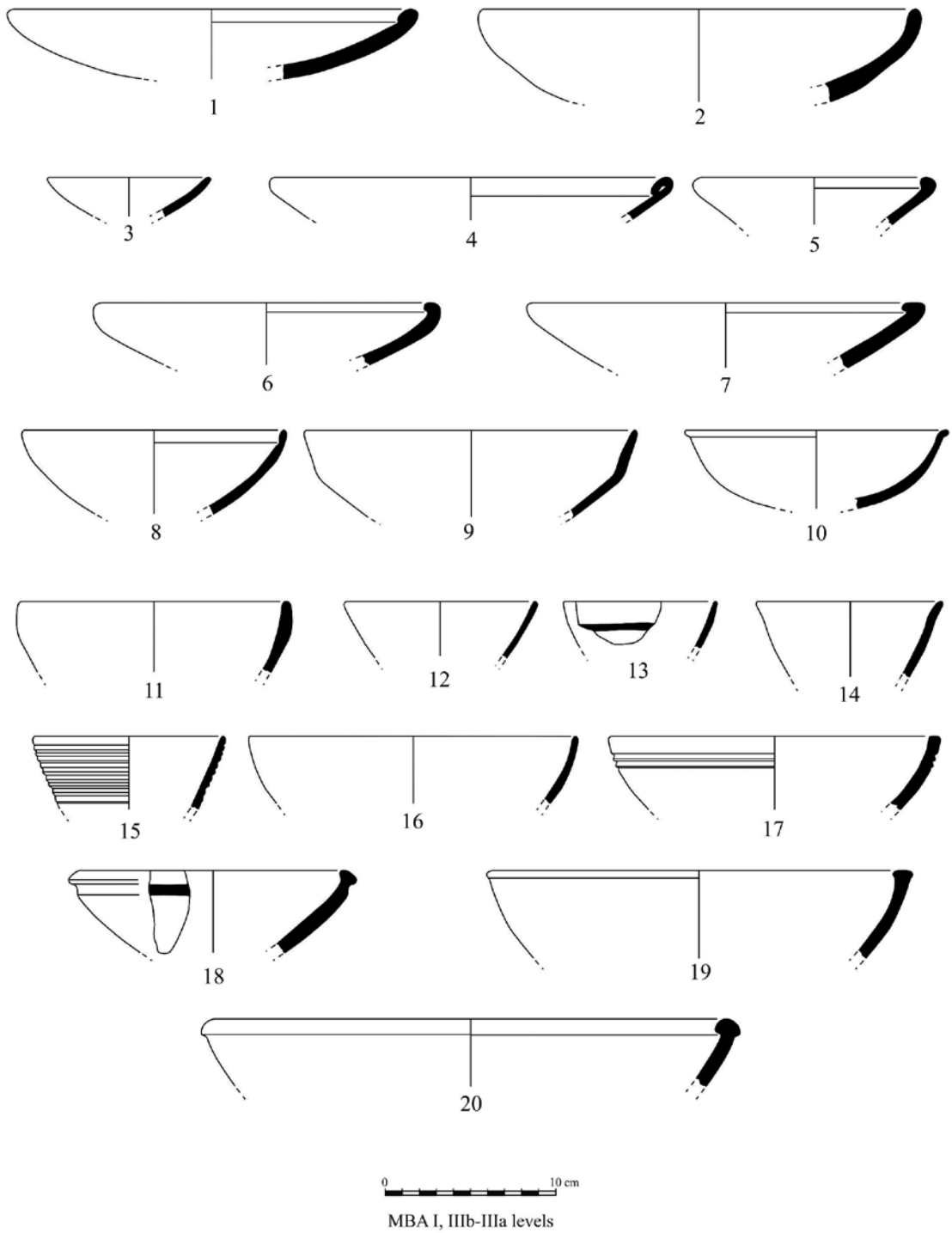


Fig. 2 Middle Bronze Age I, IIIb-IIIa levels, Plates and Bowls.

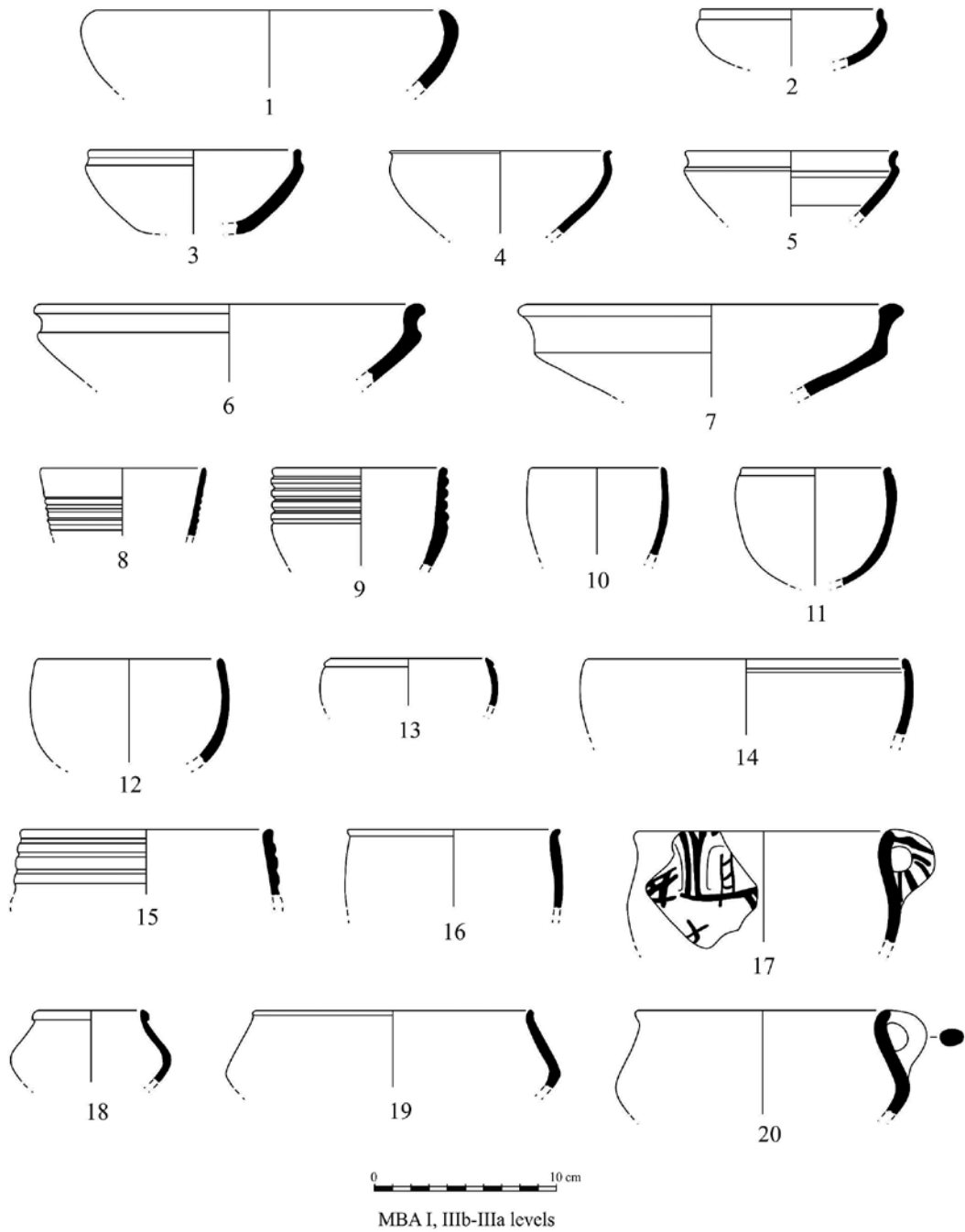


Fig. 3 Middle Bronze Age I, IIIb-IIIa levels, Bowls.

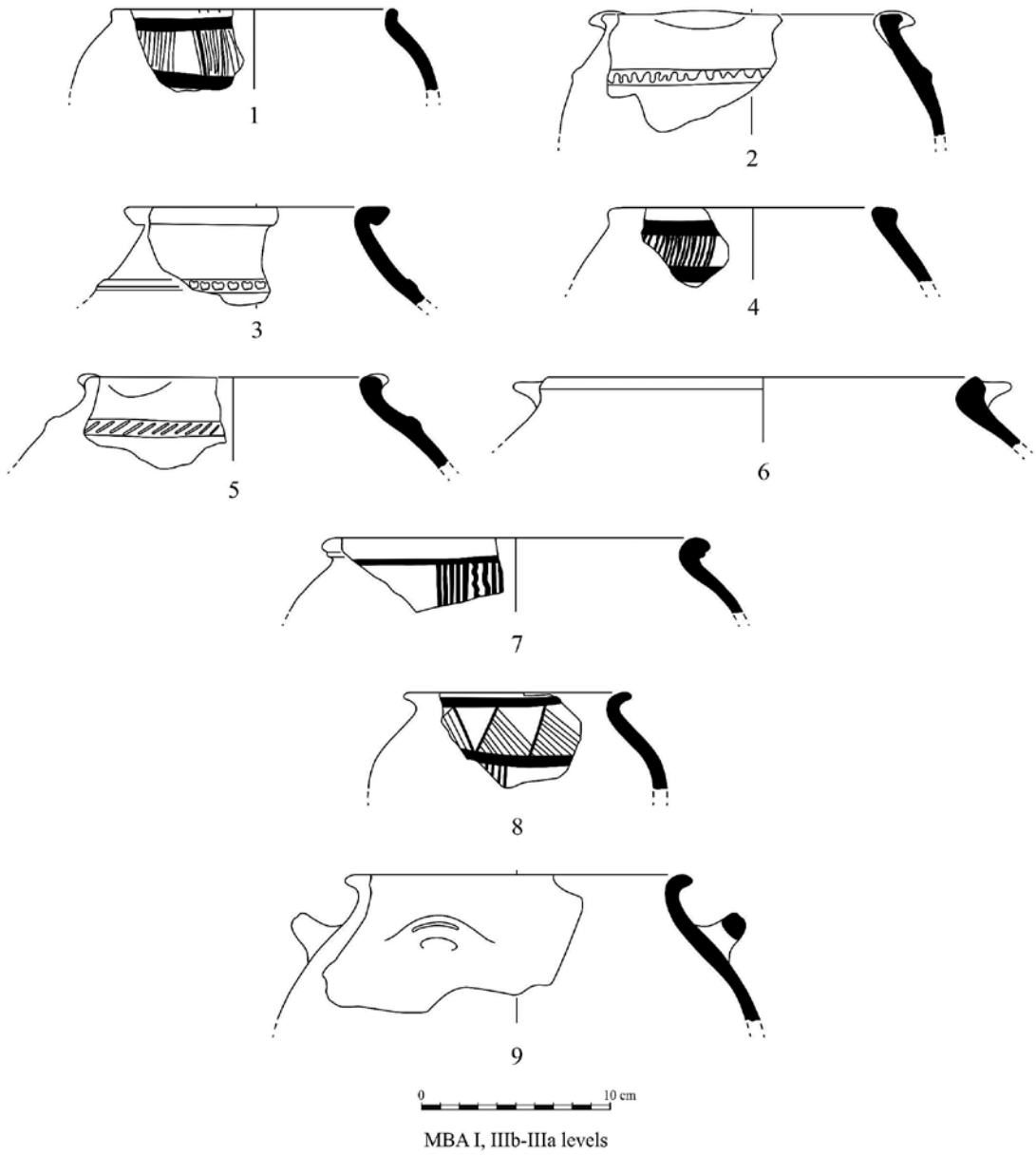


Fig. 4 Middle Bronze Age I, IIIb-IIIa levels, Jars.

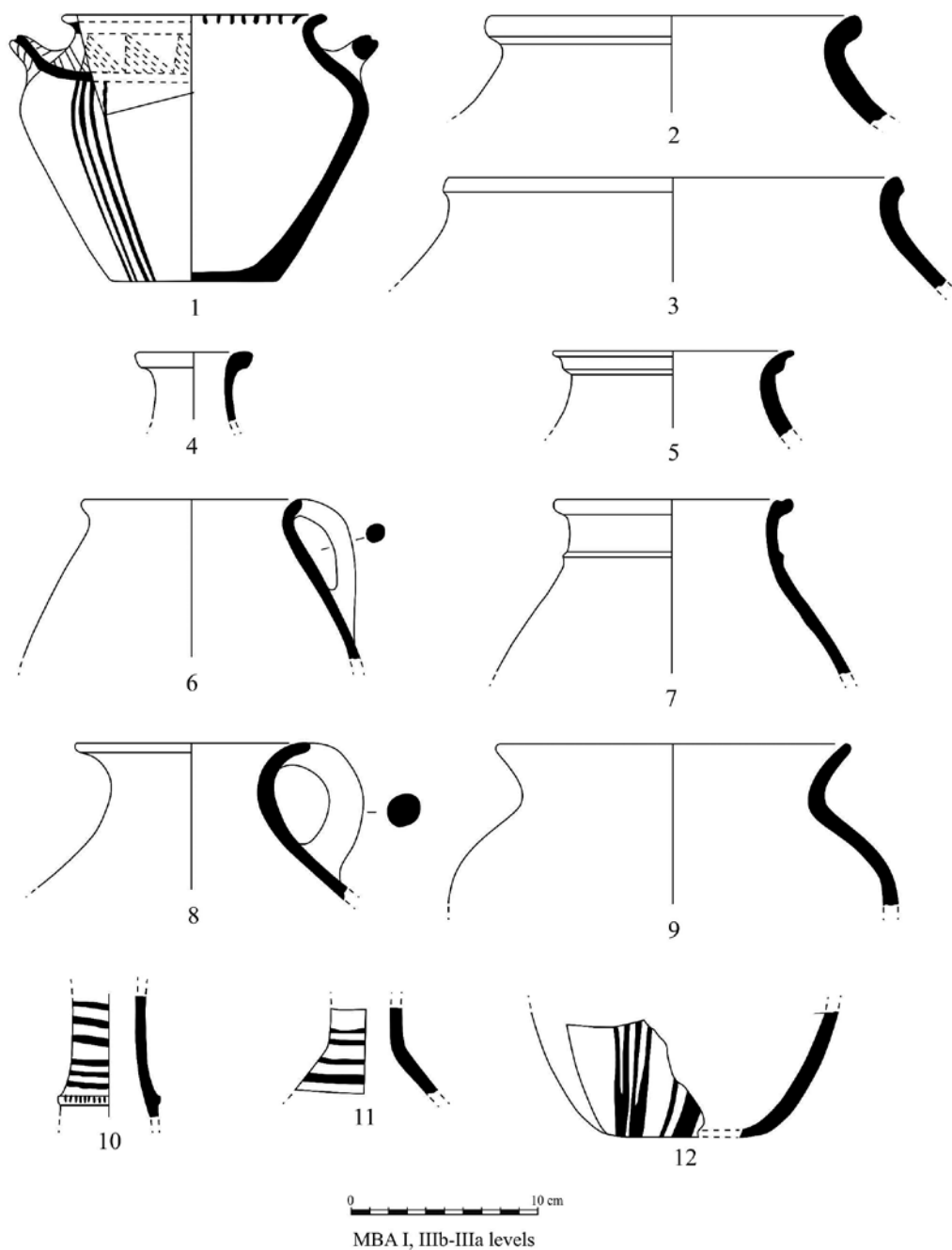


Fig. 5 Middle Bronze Age I, IIIb–IIIa levels, 1–3, 5–9 Jars; 4 Bottle; 10–12 Base and Amorphous Pieces.

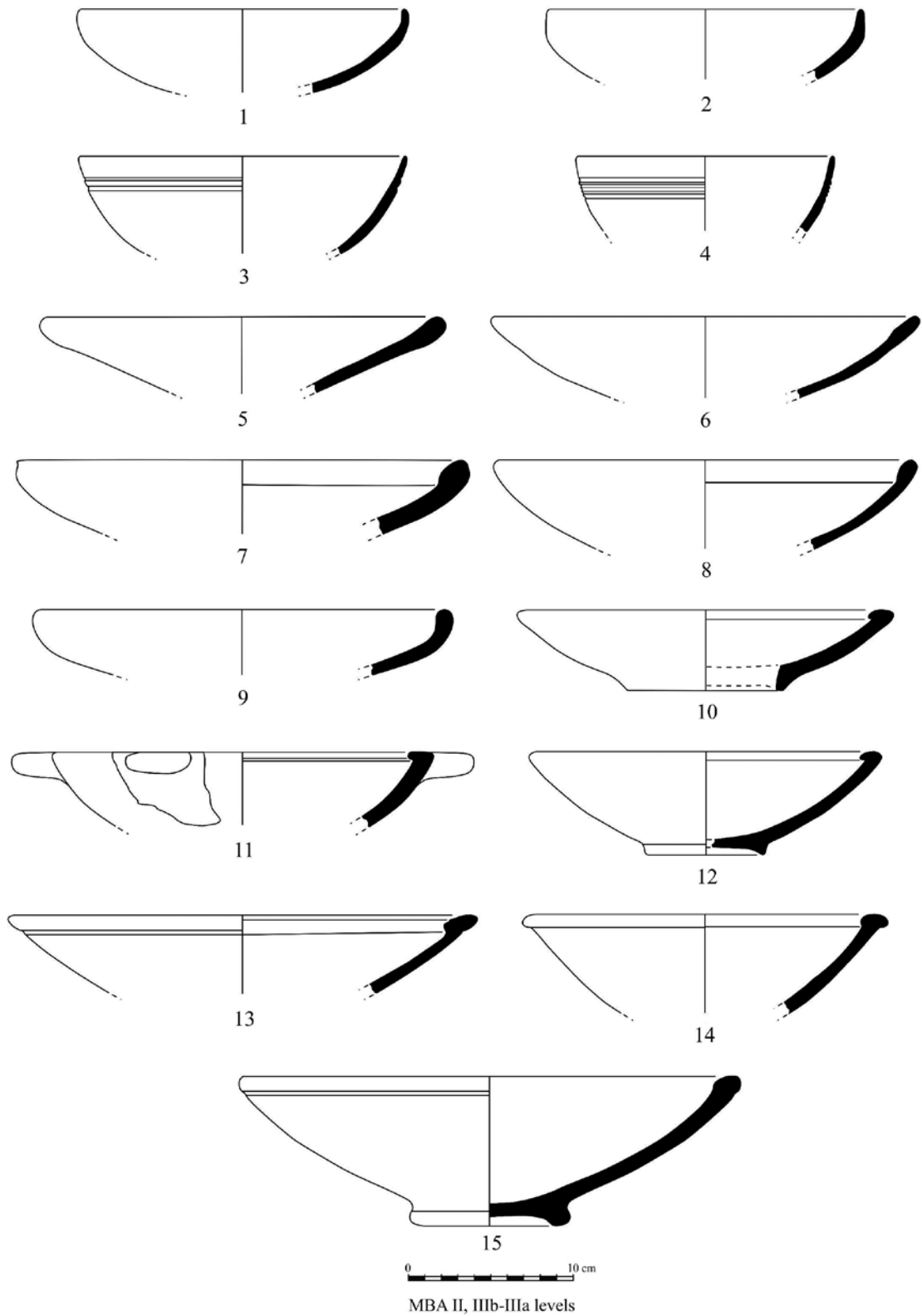


Fig. 6 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, 1-4, 11-15 Bowls; 5-10 Plates.

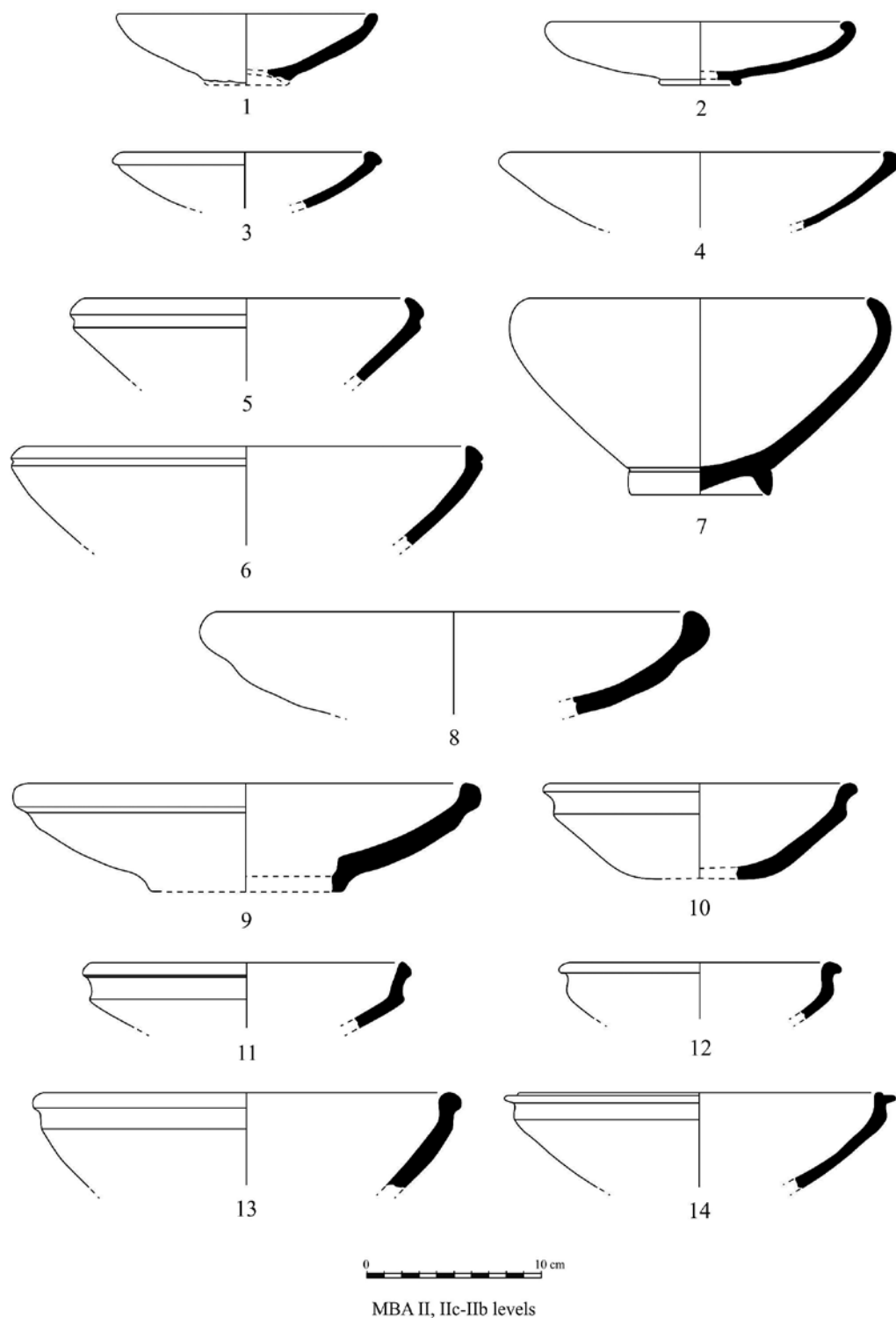


Fig. 7 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, 1, 3-14 Bowls; 2 Plate.

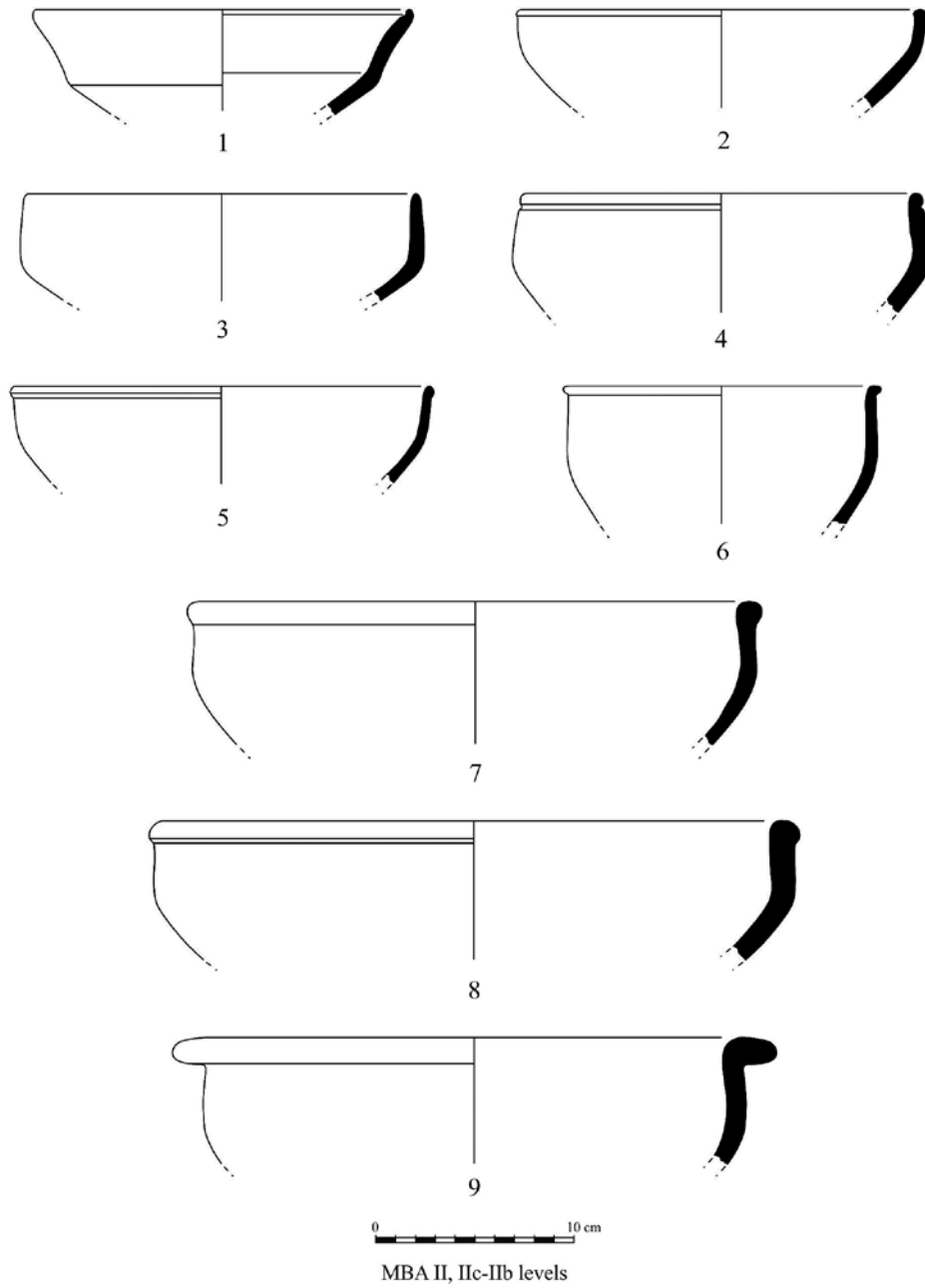


Fig. 8 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, Bowls.

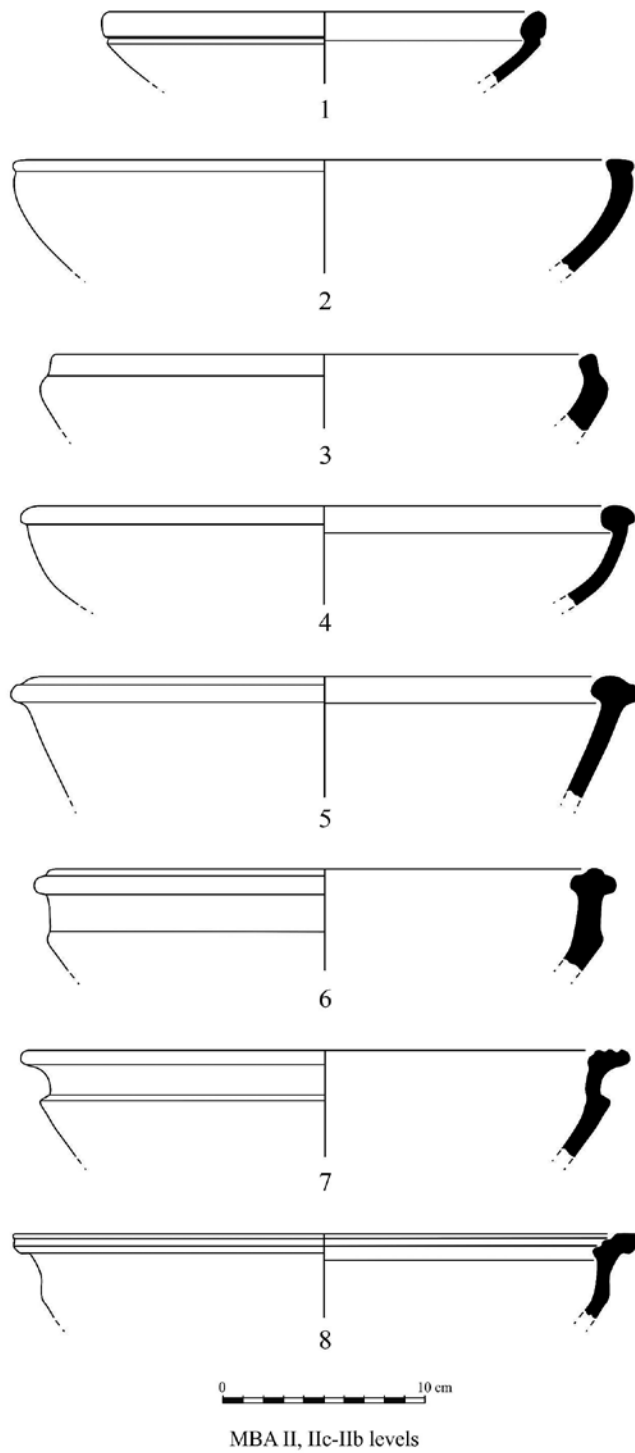


Fig. 9 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, Bowls.

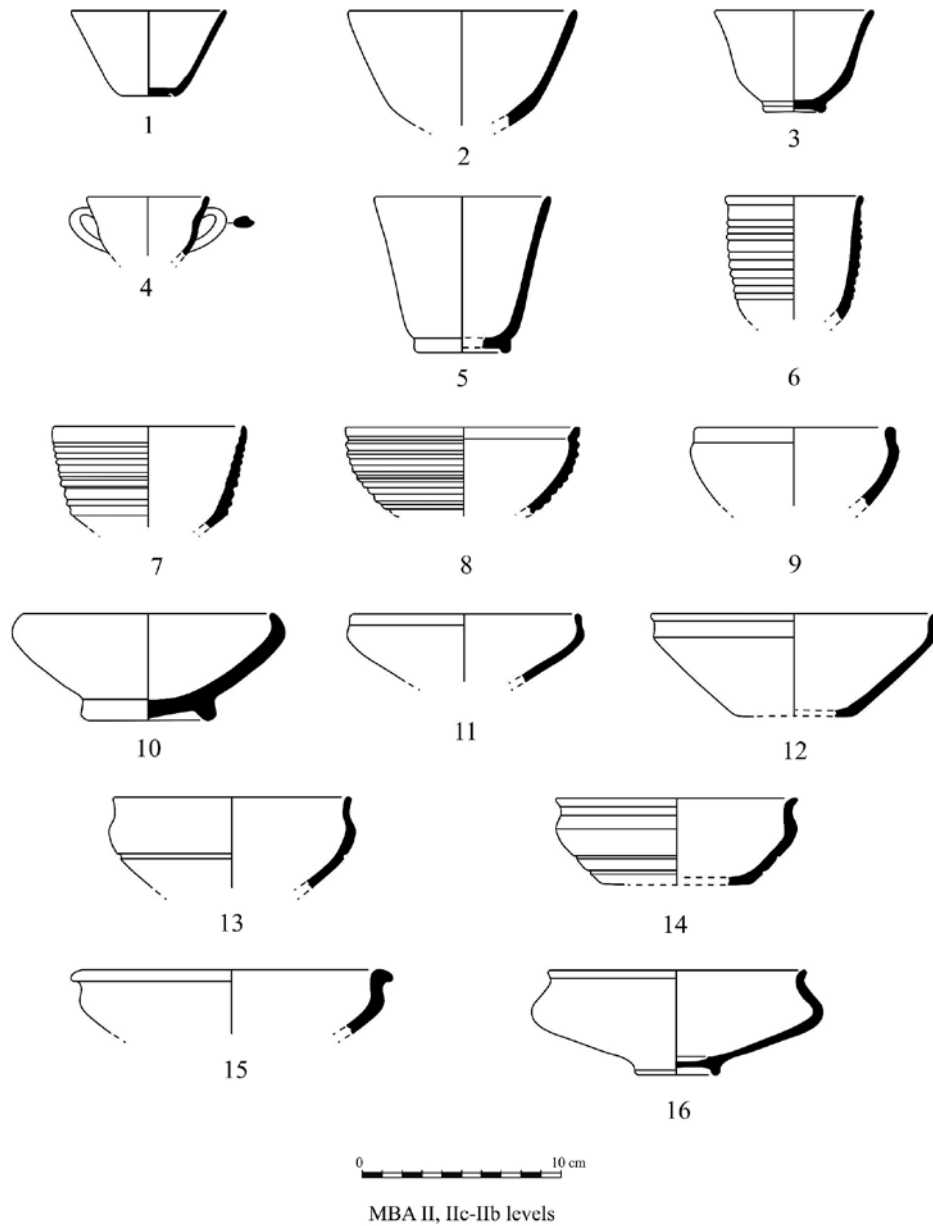


Fig. 10 Middle Bronze Age II, IIC-IIb levels, 1-3; 5-16 Bowls; 4 Cup.

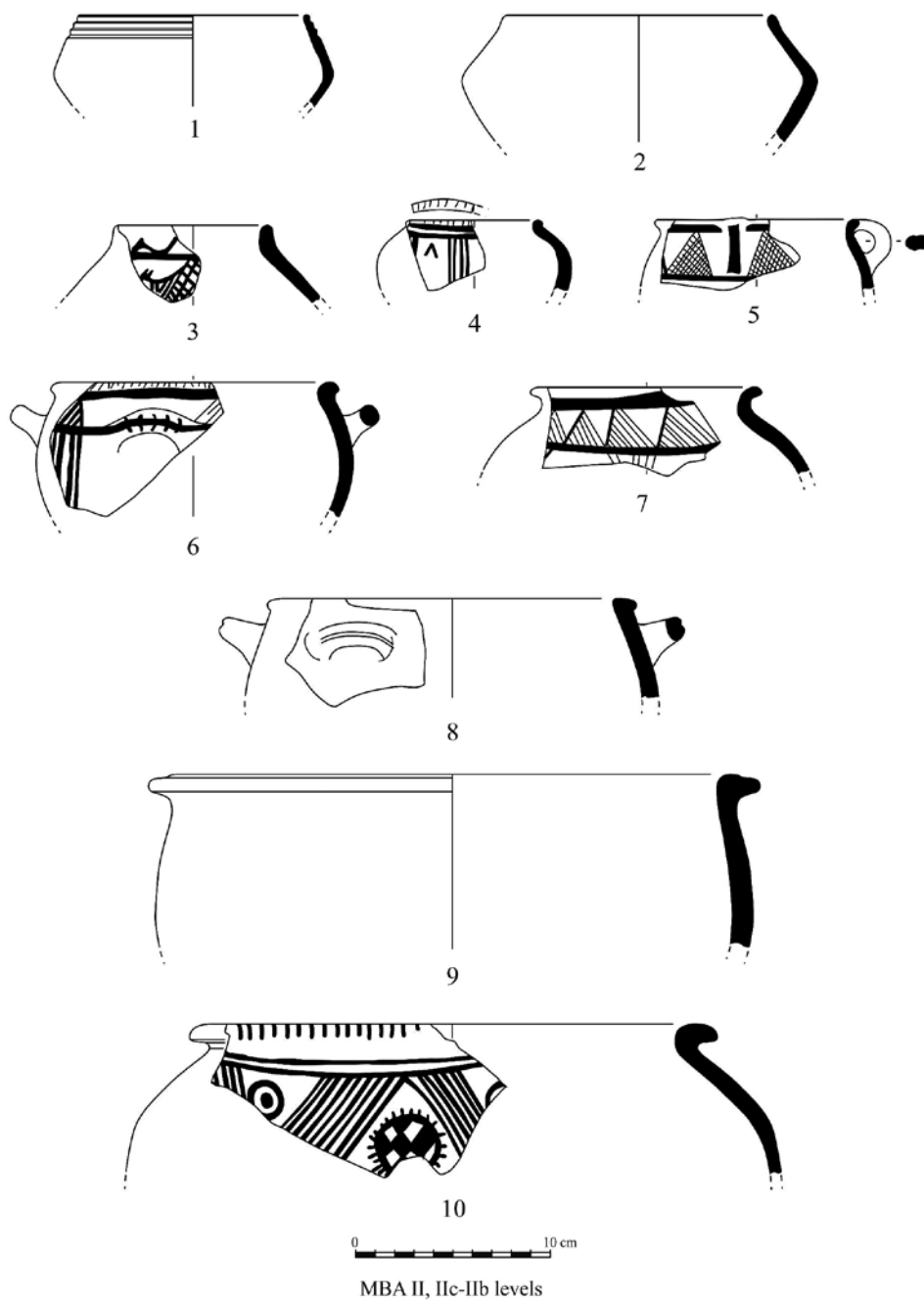
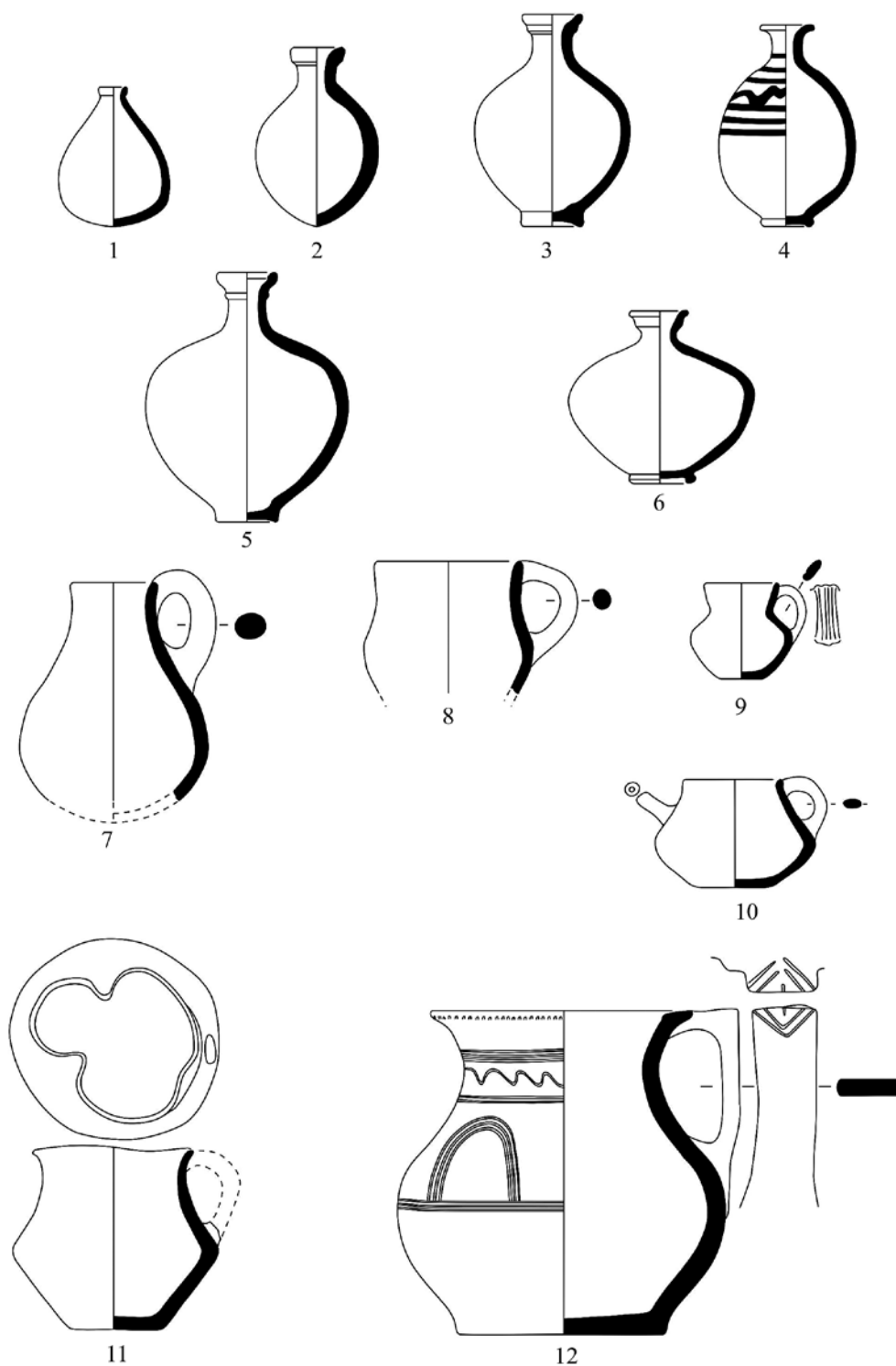


Fig. 11 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, 1-2 Bowls; 3-7 Miniature jars; 8-10 Jars.



Fig. 12 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, 1-4, 6 Jars; 5, 7-8 Pithoi.



0 10 cm

MBA II, Ilc-IIb levels

Fig. 13 Middle Bronze Age II, Ilc-IIb levels, 1-7 Bottles; 8-9, 11-12 Mugs; 10 Teapot.

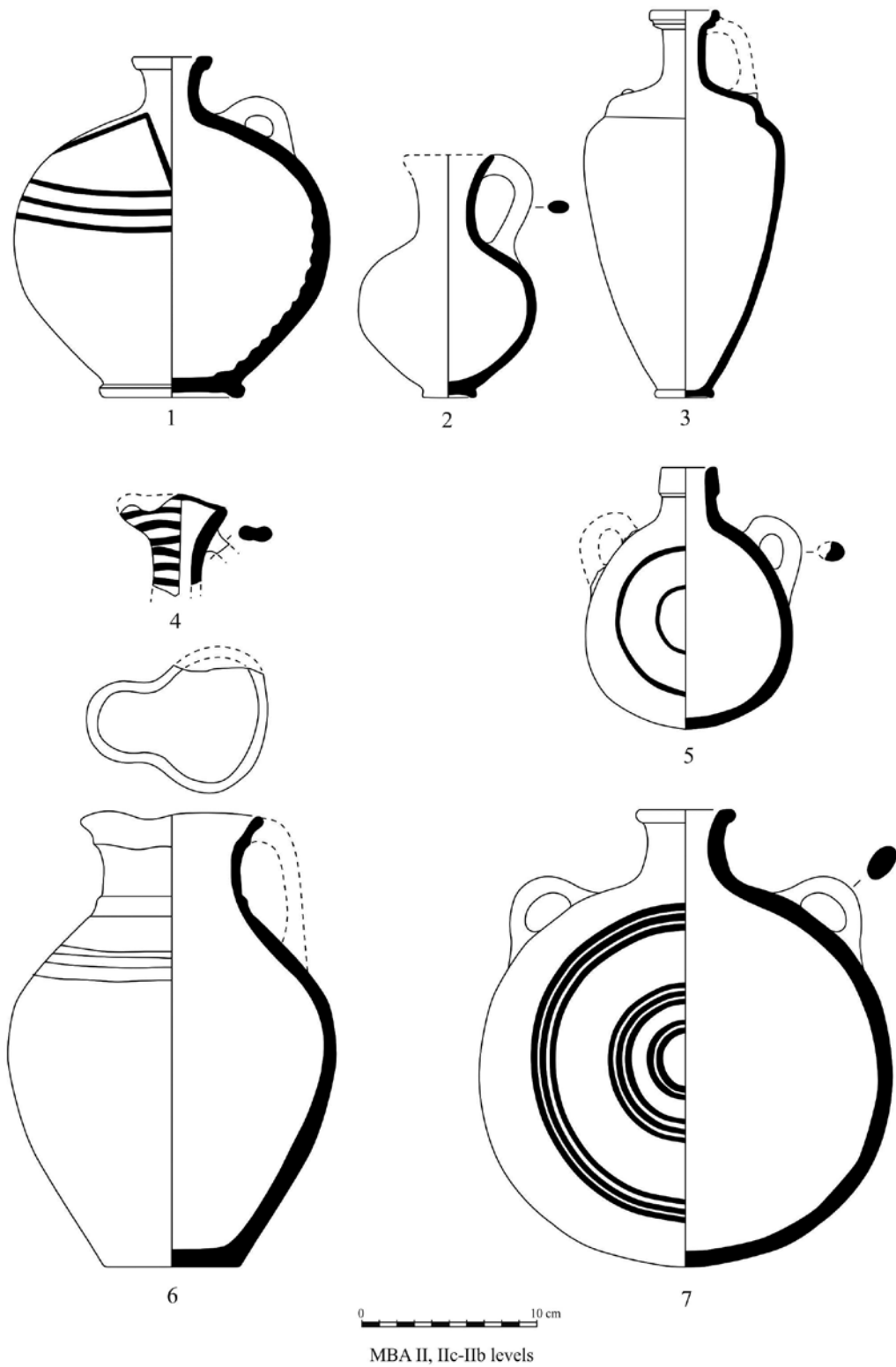


Fig. 14 Middle Bronze Age II, IIC-IIb levels, 1-4, 6 Pitchers; 5, 7 Flasks.

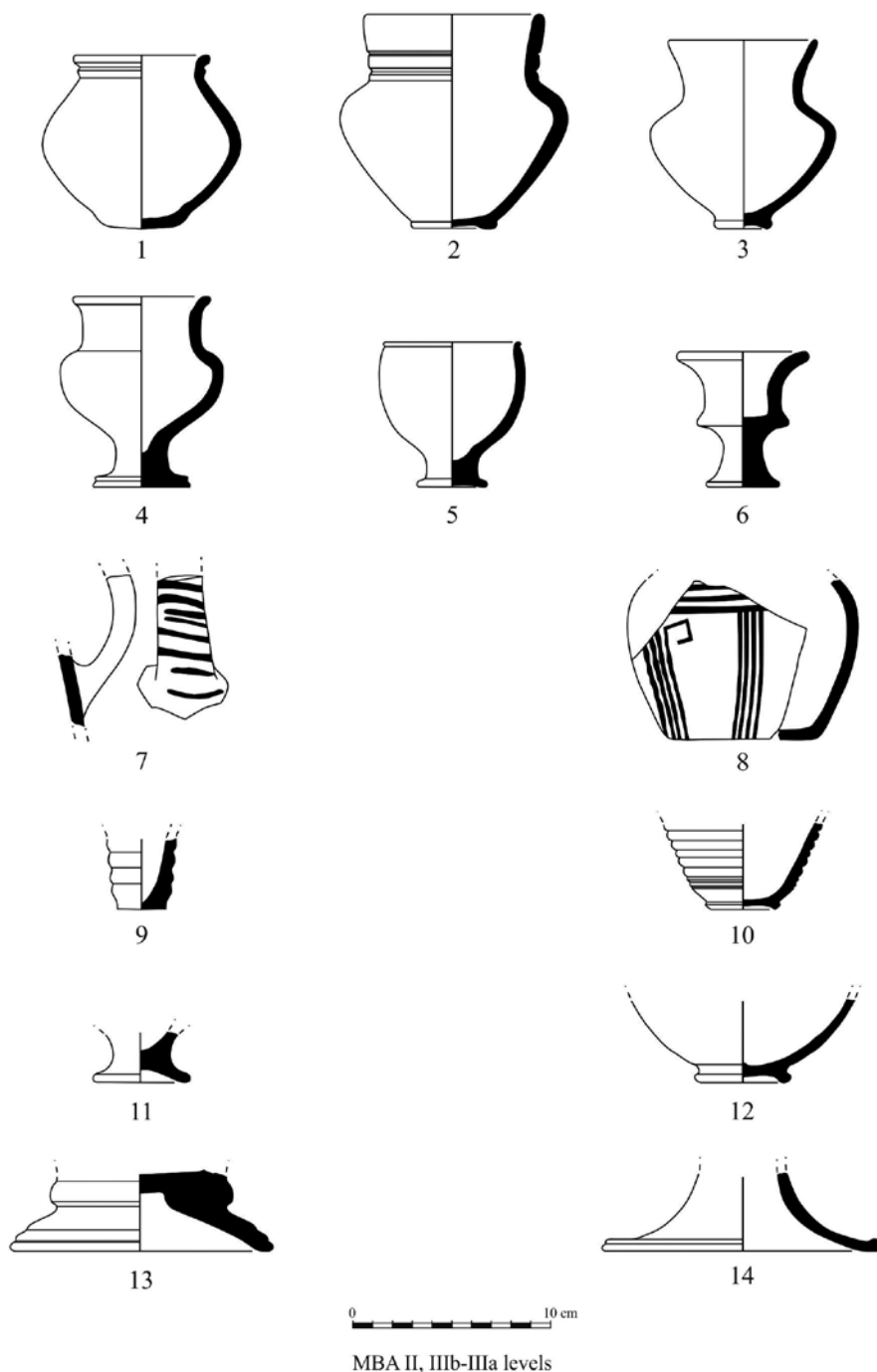


Fig. 15 Middle Bronze Age II, IIc-IIb levels, 1-3 Vases; 4-6 Goblets; 7-14 Base and Amorphous Pieces.

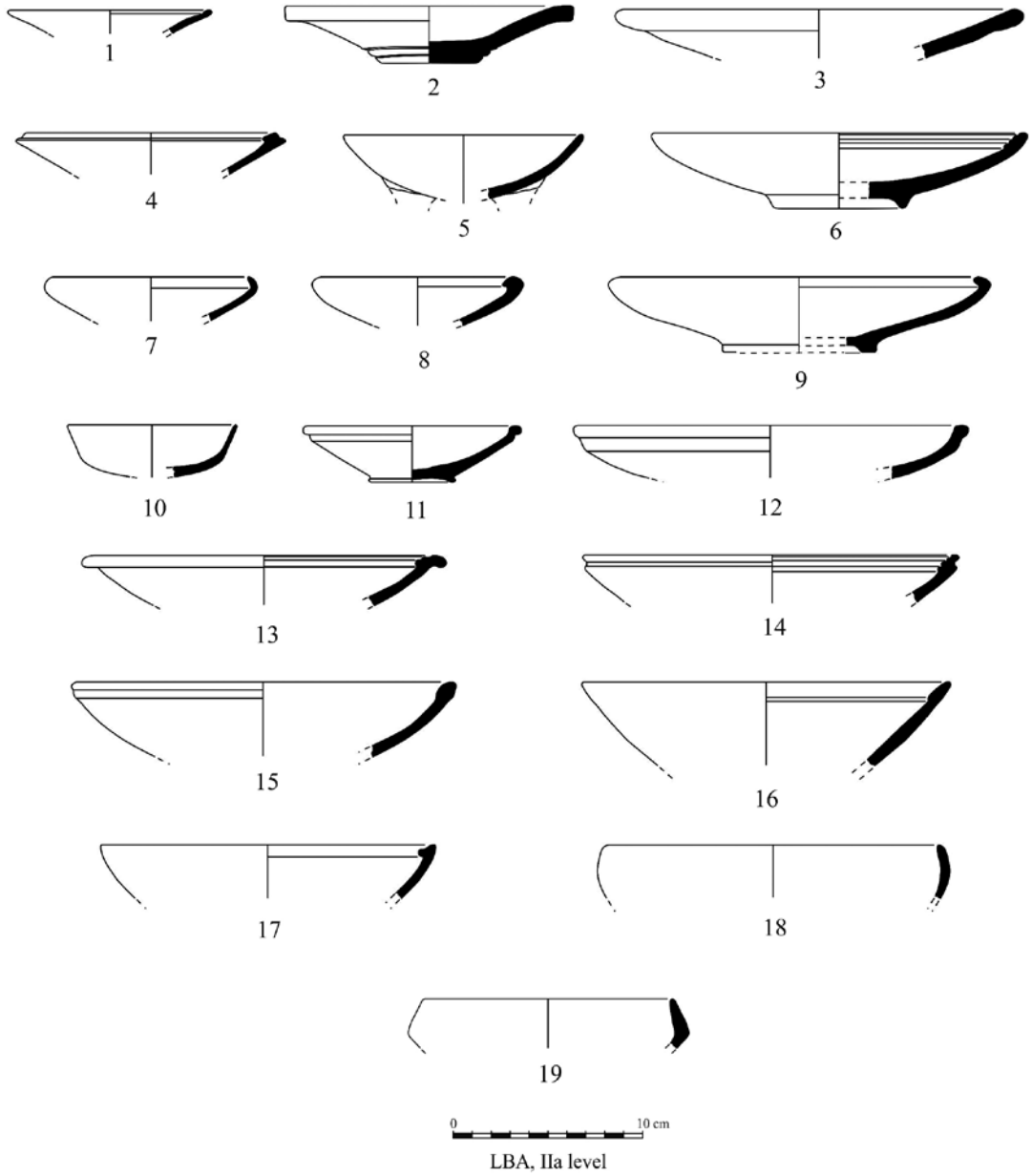


Fig. 16 Late Bronze Age, Ila level, 1–12 Plates; 13–19 Bowls.

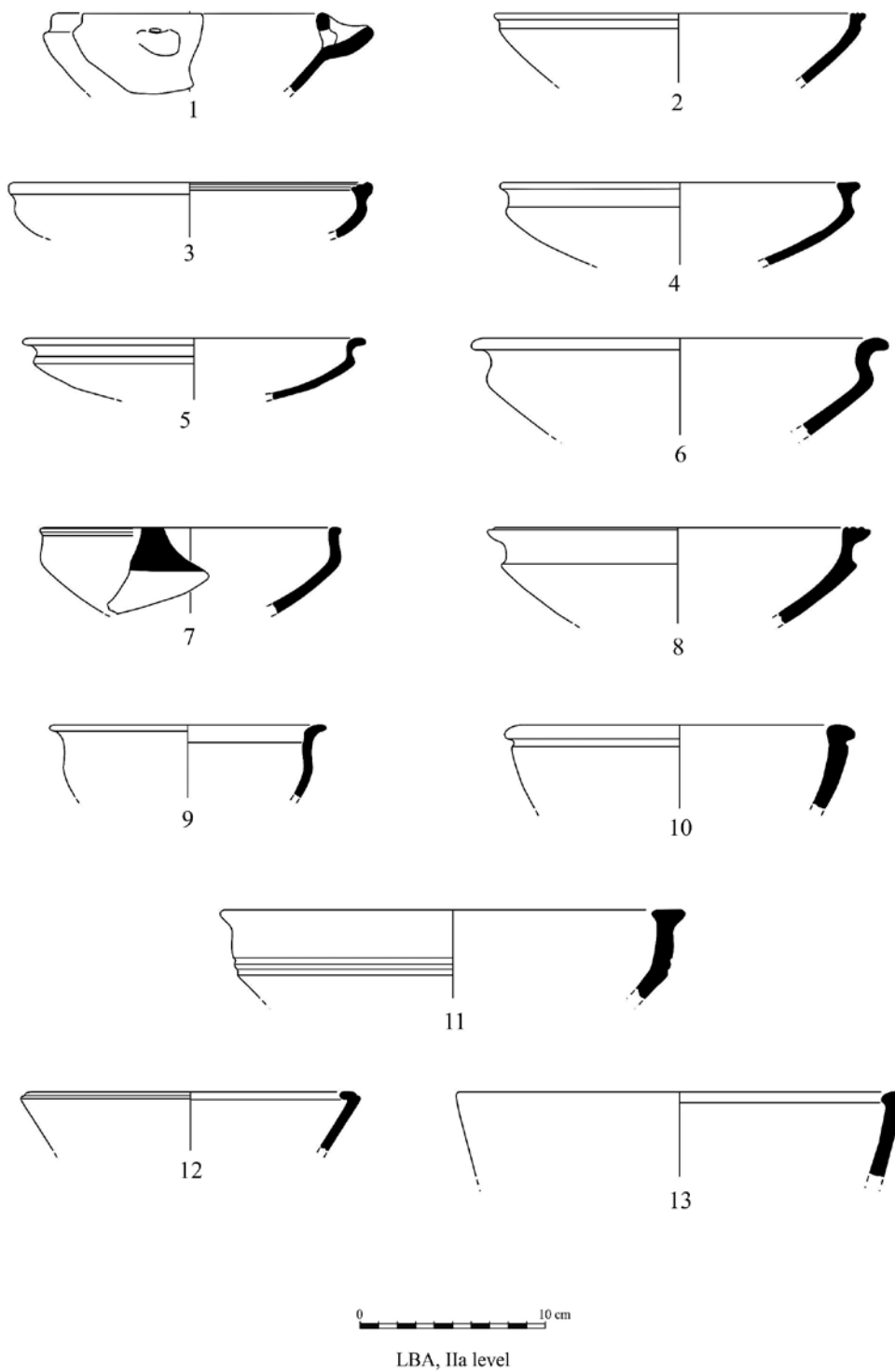


Fig. 17 Late Bronze Age, IIa level, Bowls.

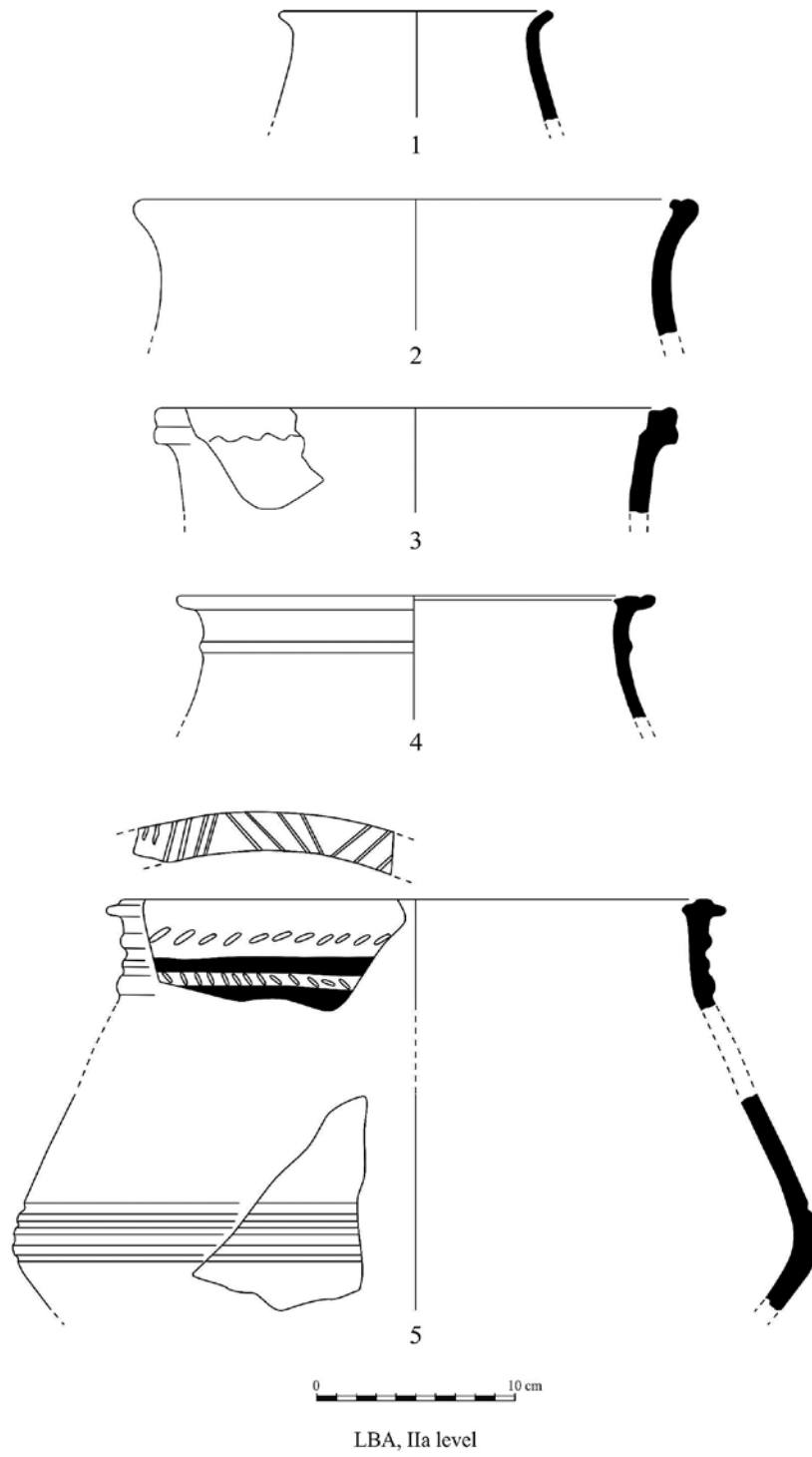


Fig. 18 Late Bronze Age, Ila level, Jars.

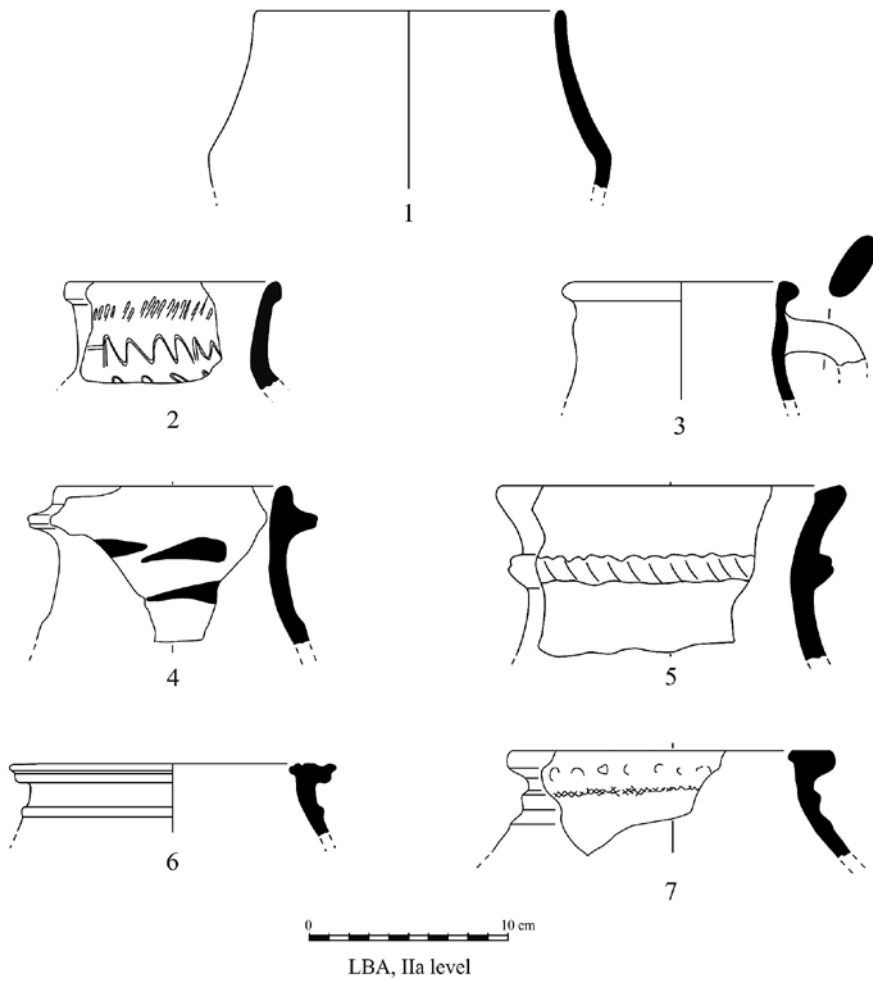


Fig. 19 Late Bronze Age, IIa level, Jars.

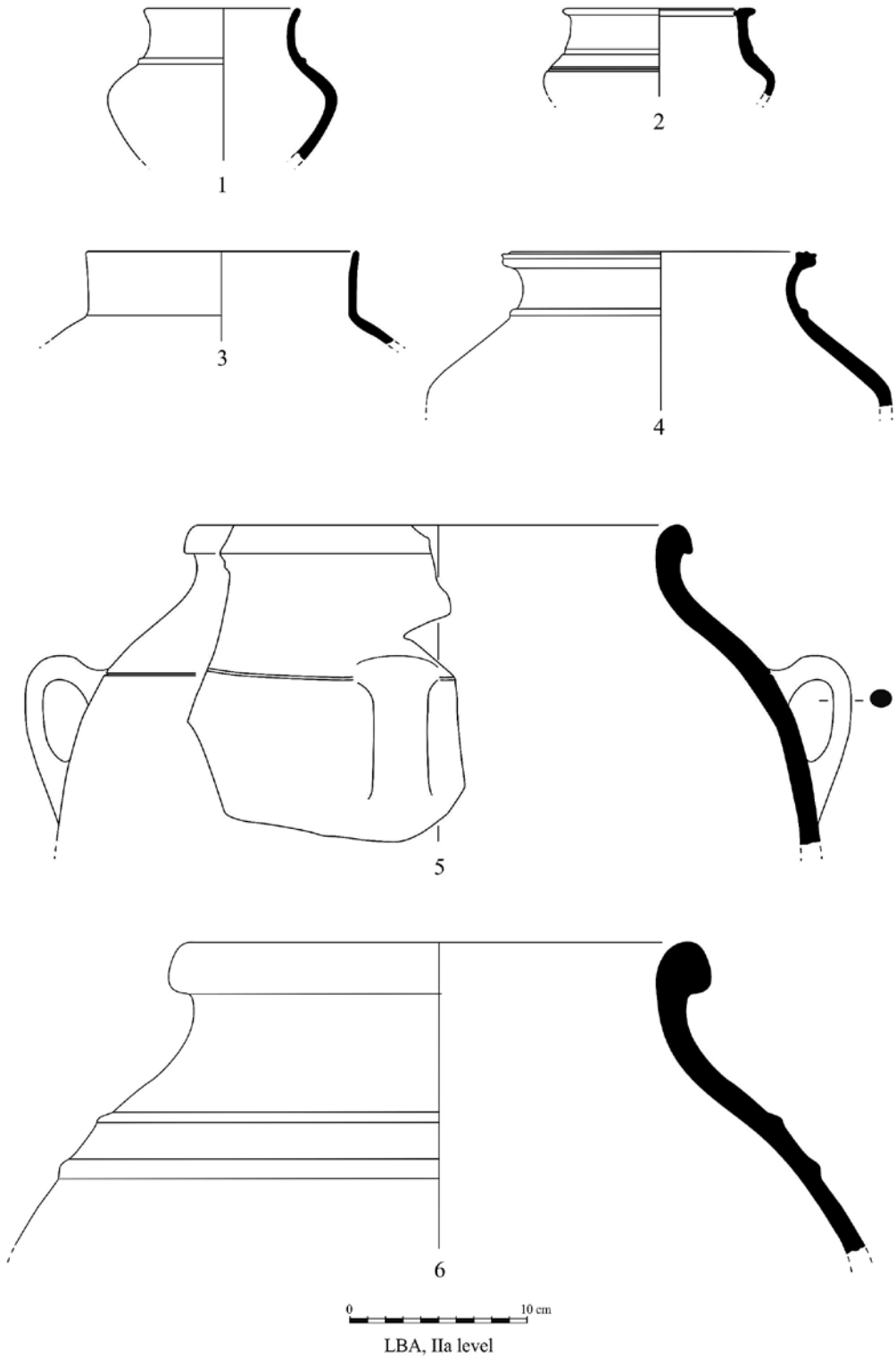


Fig. 20 Late Bronze Age, IIa level, 1–5 Jars; 6 *Pithos*.

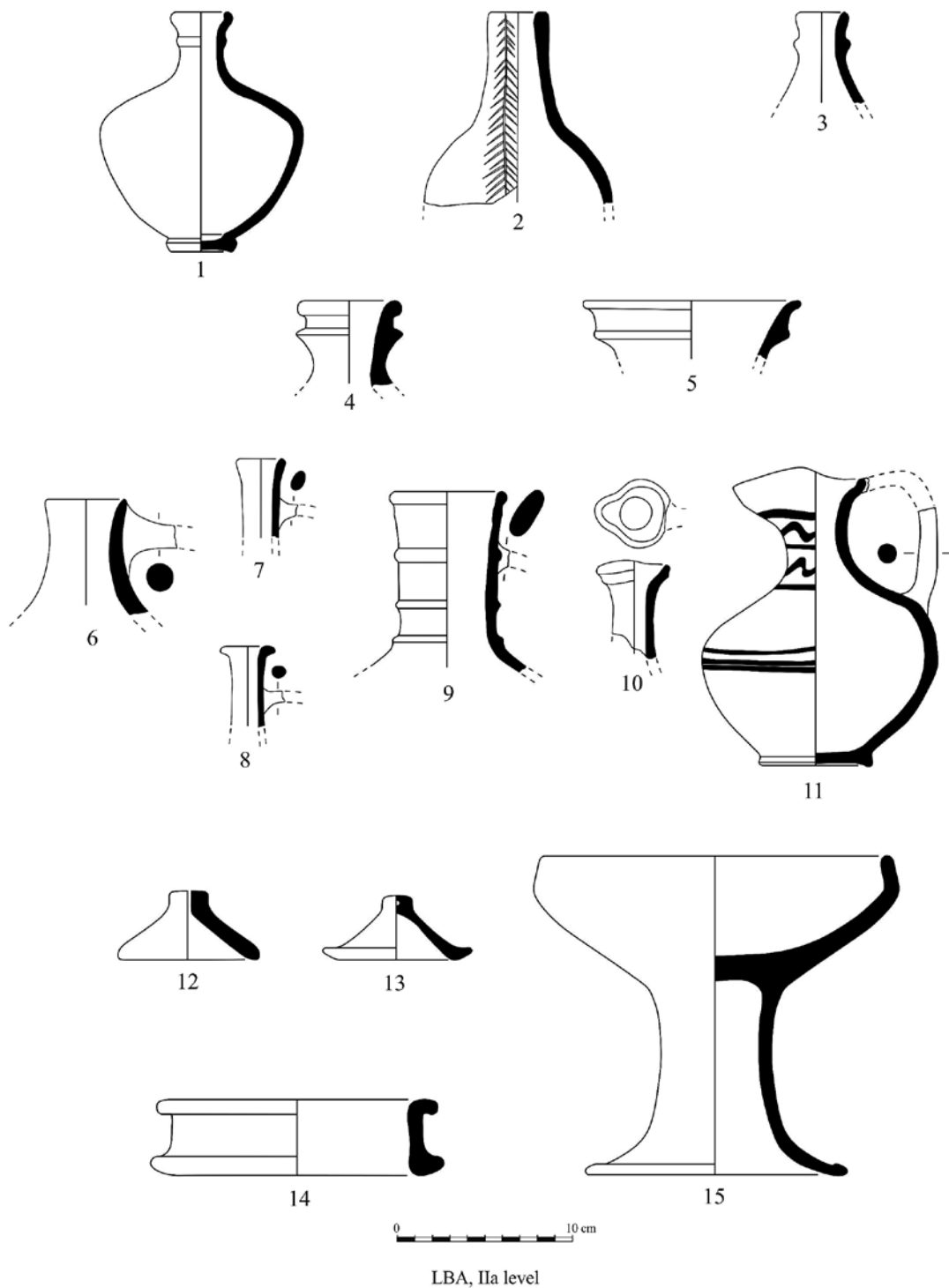


Fig. 21 Late Bronze Age, IIA level, 1–4 Bottles; 5 Vase; 6–11 Pitchers; 12–13 Lids; 14 Stand; 15 Fruit stand.



Fig. 22 Middle and Late Bronze Ages ware groups.

FORMS	PERIODS			
	MBA		LBA	
Bowls	MBA I	MBA II		
A1a				○
A1b				○
A2a		○		○
A2b		○		○
A2c			○	
A3a			○	
A3b		○		○
A3c				○
A3d		○		○
B2a			○	
B2b			○	○
B3		○	○	
B4a			○	
B4b			○	
B4c			○	
B4d			○	○
B4e			○	
B5			○	
B6			○	
B7a			○	
B7b			○	
B7c			○	
B7d		○	○	
B8a			○	
B8b			○	
B8c			○	
B9a			○	
B9b		○	○	
B9c			○	
B9d			○	
B9e		○		
B9f			○	
B9g				○
B9h			○	
B10a			○	
B10b		○	○	
B10c		○		
B10d			○	

Fig. 23 Table of Forms.



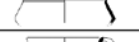

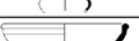





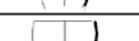





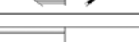
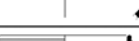




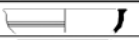


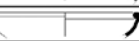

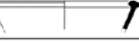





FORMS	PERIODS			
	MBA		LBA	
	MBA I	MBA II		
B11a				○
B11b		○		○
B11c		○		○
B11d			○	
B11e			○	
B12a		○		○
B12b			○	○
B12c				○
B12d				○
B12e				○
B13a			○	
B13b		○		
B13c		○		
B13d		○		
B13e		○		
B14a		○		
B14b			○	
B14c			○	
B14d			○	
B8b			○	
B15a			○	
B15b				○
B15c				○
B15d				○
B15e				○
B15f			○	
B15g			○	
B15h			○	
B15i				○
B15j			○	
B15k			○	
B15l			○	
B15m			○	

Fig. 24 Table of Forms.















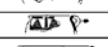













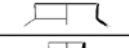



FORMS	PERIODS		
	MBA		LBA
Jar	MBA I	MBA II	
C1a 		○	
C1b 		○	
C2 		○	
C3a 			○
C3b 		○	
C3c 		○	
C4a 	○		
C4b 	○		
C4c 		○	
C4d 	○		
C4e 		○	
C4f 		○	
C4g 	○		
C4h 		○	○
C4i 	○		
C4j 	○		
C4k 		○	
C4l 	○		
C4m 		○	
C4n 	○	○	
C4o 	○		
C4p 		○	
C4r 	○		
C4s 		○	○
C5a 	○		
C5b 	○		
C5c 			
C5d 		○	
C6a 			○
C6b 			○
C6c 			○
C6d 		○	

Fig. 25 Table of Forms.



















FORMS	PERIODS		
	MBA		LBA
Jar	MBA I	MBA II	
C7a 		○	
C7b 			○
C7c 	○		
C7d 			○
C7e 		○	
C7f 	○		
C7g 	○		
C8a 	○		
C8b 	○		
C8c 		○	
C8d 		○	
C8e 			○
C9a 			○
C9b 		○	
C9c 			○
C9d 		○	○
C9e 			○
C9f 			○

Fig. 26 Table of Forms.















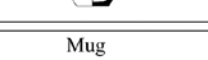

FORMS		PERIODS		
		MBA		LBA
Bottle		MBA I	MBA II	
D1a		○		
D1b				○
D2a				○
D3a				○
D3b				○
D3c		○	○	○
Pitcher				○
E1			○	○
E2a			○	
E2b			○	
E3		○		○
E4		○		○
E5		○		○
Mug				
F1a				○
F1b			○	○
F1c		○		○
Teapot				
G			○	○

Fig. 27 Table of Forms.







FORMS		PERIODS		
		MBA		LBA
Flask		MBA I	MBA II	
G1a			○	
G1b			○	
Lid				
H1				○
H2				○
Fruit-stand				
i				○
Stand				
j				○

Fig. 28 Table of Forms.

Some Remarks on the Chronology of the First Coins of Knossos, Crete

Claudia DEVOTO*

Abstract

The present study deals with the first coins issued by Knossos and their current chronology, which cannot be based on firm evidence due to the absence of stratigraphical data to rely on. According to the current chronology, Gortyn and Phaistos were the first Cretan *poleis* to mint coins (ca. 450 BC), followed by Knossos (after 425 BC). This dating shows a long delay as compared to the majority of Greek *poleis*, and this suggests reconsideration of the subject. Three elements seem to be relevant to this purpose: the now ascertained participation of some Cretan *poleis* in the north–south routes between the Peloponnese and North Africa; the epigraphical evidence suggesting the use of coinage in Crete at least at the end of the 6th century BC; and iconographical and stylistic analysis of Knossian first issues. In the light of the analysis proposed, even if it is not yet possible to assert with certainty the date of Knossos' first issues, it is likely that Knossos began striking coins before 425 BC.

Keywords: Knossos, Crete, Cretan coinage, Minotaur, Labyrinth

Öz

Bu çalışma Knossos'un darp ettiği ilk sikkeleri ve onların, güvenilir stratigrafik veri yokluğu nedeniyle sağlam kanıtlara dayandırılmayan mevcut kronolojisi üzerinedir. Mevcut kronolojiye göre Gortyn ve Phaistos yak. MÖ 450 civarında ilk kez sikke darp eden *polisler* idi ve onları MÖ 425 sonrasında Knossos izlemiştir. Bu tarihleme Yunan *polislerinin* çoğunluğuna nazaran büyük bir gecikmeye işaret etmekte ve konunun tekrar irdelenmesi gerektiğini düşündürmektedir. Bu amaç için üç unsur konuyla ilgili görünmektedir: Peloponnesos ve Kuzey Afrika arasındaki kuzey–güney yönlü yollar üzerinde kimi Girit *polislerinin* artık kesinleşmiş varlığı; Girit'te sikkelerin en azından MÖ 6. yy.'ın başlarında kullanıldığına işaret eden epigrafik kanıtlar; ve Knossos'un ilk darplarının ikonografik ve stilistik analizi. Önerilen analiz ışığında, Knossos'un ilk darplarını kesin şekilde tarihleyemesek bile, Knossos çok büyük olasılıkla MÖ 425'ten önce sikke basmaya başlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Knossos, Girit, Girit Sikkeleri, Minotaurus, Labirent

The coinage of Knossos,¹ along with those of Gortyn and Phaistos, has always been considered among the most ancient coinages issued in Crete.² This opinion is put forward, for example, in the *Traité* published by E. Babelon in 1901³ and in the *Historia Numorum*, published by B.V. Head in 1911.⁴

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¹ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and comments.

² The general remarks on Cretan coinage I propose have already been made in Polosa 2003 and Polosa 2005.

³ Babelon 1901-1933, I, 873, "Les plus anciennes monnaies de cette grande île – celles de Cnosse – ne sauraient remonter au delà de l'an 500 qui précède notre ère".

⁴ Head 1911, 437 and ff.

Thus far, however, no scholar has dealt extensively with either Knossian archaic coinage⁵ or with the specific dating of Knossian coins:⁶ the same destiny has in fact struck the coinage of all Cretan cities, which were of course included in textbooks of Greek numismatics, but have never been the subject of a focused study, apart from the two exceptions of J. Svoronos⁷ and G. Le Rider.⁸

In 1890 J. Svoronos published his *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne, accompagnée de l'histoire, la géographie et la mythologie de l'île - I^{ère} partie*. The book consisted of a historical and geographical description of all Cretan minting cities, with each followed by a catalogue of these cities' own issues. Unfortunately, the second part of the work, which according to Svoronos' plans would have provided a *commentaire* and a discussion of the chronologies of the coins, was never published due to the author's death.⁹

The gap left by Svoronos' uncompleted work allowed scholars to continue dating Knossian (and Cretan) coins based on either stylistic analysis or reference to historical events, which were of course relevant to Greek history but did not necessarily involve the island of Crete. For example, in the *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Crete and the Aegean Islands* by W. Wroth,¹⁰ Knossian issues are classed among coins struck before or after 431 BC, assuming the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War as the downward limit, even if "so far as we know (...) that war had no direct influence on Cretan politics or Cretan coinage."¹¹

The lack of stratigraphical data about Cretan coin finds, apart from those from the Hellenistic period,¹² did not allow different methods and chronologies, until Le Rider published his work in 1966. His *Monnaies crétoises du Ve au I^{er} siècle av. J.C.* was somewhat revolutionary, since it gave a new dating hypothesis for Cretan coinage by relying on new data. Le Rider's study was indeed based on analysis of the composition of three coin hoards confiscated in Crete¹³ and containing both Cretan and non-Cretan coins, whose chronology was quite certain. Relying on the date of the non-Cretan coins, Le Rider gave a new chronology to Cretan coins, concluding that the beginning of local minting occurred in Crete in about 450 BC. More precisely, according to Le Rider, around 450 BC only Gortyn and Phaistos began producing their own coins (450/425–360/350 BC *ca.*), followed shortly after by Knossos (after *ca.* 425 BC) and maybe by Lyttos; the majority of cities in Crete started to mint coins only after 350 BC. Thus, Cretan *poleis* seemed to have started minting coins with a long delay as compared to the rest of Greek world, where the majority of cities had adopted their own coinage by the end of

⁵ The sole focused study is Forrer 1900, but, as the author asserts, it consisted in a "coup-d'oeil sur (...) la *Numismatique du Labyrinthe de Knossos*" and indeed accepted the current chronology (see below n. 11) without questioning it.

⁶ Knossian coinage is normally considered within global studies on Greek or (rarely) Cretan coinage, but has never been the subject of a specific study.

⁷ Svoronos 1890.

⁸ Le Rider 1966. For an overview of Cretan coinage, see Sheedy 2016 with previous bibliography.

⁹ Svoronos had already published some works on Cretan coinage: Svoronos 1888a and Svoronos 1888b.

¹⁰ *BMC Crete*, 18 ff.

¹¹ *BMC Crete*, 14; the same opinion was already expressed in Wroth 1884, 7. Forrer as well, even while accepting Wroth's chronology, remarked that "la guerre du Péloponnèse, (...) n'a eu qu'une influence indirecte sur l'histoire de Knossos" (Forrer 1900, 198).

¹² For Knossian coin finds, see, e.g., Jackson 1973, 99–113; Ashton 1989.

¹³ The full list of the coins contained in the three hoards is in Le Rider 1966, 7–40. The three hoards are: *IGCH* 151 (confiscated in 1915), *IGCH* 154 (confiscated in 1936), and *IGCH* 152 (confiscated in 1953). In Le Rider's opinion, the coins of another hoard, *IGCH* 153, were possibly part of the hoard *IGCH* 152.

the 6th century BC.¹⁴ However, Le Rider's hypothesis appeared to fit well into the general idea of "Cretan Austerity", the view that Crete suffered economic and artistic recession during the 6th century BC.¹⁵ This idea of a Cretan recession also gained support from the apparent scarcity of ancient sources about Crete for the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Indeed, it seems that, after the Cretans had refused to send their troops against the Persians, their affairs were neglected by ancient historians.¹⁶ Thus, the weakness of archaeological evidence of Cretan economical and cultural development in the 6th century BC, combined with the lack of literary sources, suited well the idea of an isolated island whose *poleis* did not strike coins.

Le Rider's hypothesis, the last global study on Cretan coinage so far, took root, and the idea that the majority of Cretan *poleis* did not use or at least did not mint coins until 350 BC was widely shared by scholars.¹⁷ This view of a retrograde cultural pattern is well expressed by C.M. Kraay's words: "whereas Cyprus (...) was modified by close contacts with the Near East, Crete remained a backwater where archaic institutions and forms of speech long survived, and where influences from without had a slow and tardy effect. Coinage too was adopted at a later date than its primitive appearance has sometimes suggested."¹⁸

Nevertheless, in recent years, scholars have discovered that Crete was not so isolated as they had thought, and that the *poleis* of Crete (or at least some of them) were important sea-ports on the north-south routes between the Peloponnese and North Africa.¹⁹ The studies by B. Erickson have indeed identified at least three Cretan cities that were probably involved in this trade.²⁰ At the same time, some cultural elements deriving from outside of Crete have been identified,²¹ indicating that the isolation of Cretan *poleis* was perhaps not so strong as the literary sources would suggest.²²

¹⁴ As it widely known, archaeological research has pointed out that Aegina was the first city in Greece to strike coins, which it did at the beginning of the 6th century BC. Later on, Corinth and Athens also adopted their own currency, and around the beginning of the 5th century the majority of the cities in Greece and *Magna Graecia* had their own mints. Kroll and Waggoner 1984.

¹⁵ On the absence of archaeological evidence for the 6th century BC, with a specific focus on Knossos: Erickson 2014, with previous bibliography; for a general view of the problem of Cretan austerity: Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 30 ff., with previous bibliography.

¹⁶ Viviers 1993: "L'image que l'on se fait de l'isolement' de la Crète à l'époque classique repose en grande partie sur le comportement politique des Crétois au cours des deux principaux conflits internationaux qui secouèrent le monde grec du V^e s., à savoir les guerres médiques et la guerre du Péloponnèse"; see also van Effenterre 1948, 34–40 and Guizzi 2014.

¹⁷ Le Rider's chronology is adopted in, for example, Kraay 1976, 50 ff., in Mildenberg and Hurter 1985, and in Jackson 1971.

¹⁸ Kraay 1976, 49.

¹⁹ On the sea trade between the Peloponnese and North Africa, see Nafissi 1989. In Erickson's opinion, Eleutherna, Phalasarua, and Kydonia could have functioned as ports of call on this route (Erickson 2010, 288): "Currents and prevailing winds favor a counterclockwise journey from the southern tip of mainland Greece to Cyrenaica and Egypt, with a stopover on the northwestern end of Crete" (Erickson 2010, 284).

²⁰ Erickson 2010, 286: to sum up, the combined presence of Lakonian kraters and Argive cups in Kydonia, Eleutherna, and Knossos "tips the scale in favor of a direct commercial link between the Peloponnese and Crete. Argive pottery was rarely exported overseas, so the possibility of a third-party trader bringing Argive products to Crete is exceedingly remote." In addition, other Cretan sites have produced Lakonian kraters: Castello Varypetrou, Lappa, Priniatikos Pyrgos, and Azoria. Lakonian kraters and small quantities of Cretan pottery found at Tocra and Cyrene seem to support the conclusion that Crete participated in this trade.

²¹ Haysom 2011 argues that Cretan cults show many of the typical features of Greek *polis* religion; Pilz 2014 points out the presence of a number of very likely references to standard Greek myths on late 7th and 6th century metal-work and terra cotta plaques produced in Crete.

²² Some remarks on the (assumed) cultural isolation of Crete can be found in Guizzi 2009.

Additionally, some scholars have reconsidered the coin issues of different Cretan *poleis*, suggesting that some cities began striking their own coins before 450 BC.²³ The first study in this direction was by M.J. Price, and, focusing on the earliest coins of Gortyn and Phaistos, placed their first issues at about 470 BC, as we will see. Before recalling Price's specific analysis of the coins, however, we should note his methodological remarks on Le Rider's work. As we have seen, the innovative chronology that Le Rider proposed was based mainly on the dating of the non-Cretan coins in the hoards. Relying on the chronology of the most recent coins in each hoard, he dated the previous coins, assuming that they were part of continuous series of issues.

M.J. Price remarked that this approach did not consider possible breaks in minting, which could have caused gaps in the sequence.²⁴ Breaks were indeed normal for ancient mints, which worked exclusively in response to temporary spending needs.

In the light of the foregoing, it will be useful to analyse the content of the three hoards,²⁵ starting with the non-Cretan coins.²⁶ These can be grouped as follows:

- The coins of Corinth: these bear the letter *koppa* and a flying Pegasus on the obverse, with the head of Athena and a Corinthian helmet on the reverse. They are dated to between 350 BC and 250 BC, according to O. Ravel.²⁷
- The coins of Cyrene, with Hermes on the obverse, are dated to between 308 BC and 290 BC, according to E.S.G. Robinson.²⁸ These specimens are the most recent ones in the hoards and represent the *terminus ante quem* of the hoarding.
- The tetrobols of Argo: these bear a wolf's head on the obverse, and a letter A in incuse square on the reverse. The dating of these issues has recently been discussed by N. Parise,²⁹ who suggested a much earlier chronology than the one normally used, ascribing the type to a period between 490 BC and 371 BC.

There are also a stater of Evagoras of Salamis, some Boeotian coins, and a didrachm from Rhodes, which seem to be datable to the 5th–4th century BC, like Argo's coins. The stater of Evagoras of Salamis shows a beardless Hermes sitting on a rock on the obverse and a goat on the reverse; it is datable to 411–374 BC.³⁰ The didrachm from Rhodes presents the head of Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse, and dates to the 4th century BC.³¹ One Boeotian drachm and two Boeotian hemidrachms (whose provenance is not identified), as well as a hemidrachm of Thebes, are of the same type, with a shield on the obverse and a *kantbaros* in incuse square on the reverse; these are dated to the 4th century BC.³²

²³ Le Rider's chronology has been questioned by Price 1981; Stefanakis 1999; Polosa 2003.

²⁴ The same remark is in Polosa 2003.

²⁵ The hoards were confiscated in Crete in, respectively, 1915, 1936, and 1953; see n. 13.

²⁶ All the Cretan coins suffer the same problem as the Knossian ones concerning their chronology; therefore, the Cretan specimens contained in the hoards are not listed here.

²⁷ Ravel 1936, 26.

²⁸ *BMC Cyrenaica*.

²⁹ Parise 2013.

³⁰ *BMC Cyprus*, 58; on the coinage of Cyprus see also Markou 2011.

³¹ *BMC Caria*, 233.

³² *BMC Central Greece*, 76.

Due to all these non-Cretan coins, we can establish a broad chronological range within which the hoards were put together. Indeed, due to the large number of coins constituting the hoards, it does not seem possible to consider them as quickly gathered emergency hoards: in that case, they would have presumably consisted of coins all belonging to the same period. It seems quite certain that we are dealing with saving hoards made of coins (and collected) issued over a long period. Consequently, the oldest coins in the hoards cannot be valid for defining an exact *terminus post quem*, but simply for suggesting the superior limit of the chronological horizon for the accumulation of the coins.

The Cretan coins in the hoards (or at least the oldest) may even have been produced in a period prior to the hoarding itself. Moreover, the almost complete absence—with the exception being one coin from Phaistos, with Europa on the bull/lion in incuse square³³—of the first issues of Gortyn, Phaistos, and Knossos³⁴ could indicate that these coins were already out of circulation when the hoarding took place, possibly from the 4th to the 3th century BC. This should lead us to conclude that the first Knossian (and also Phaistian and Gortynian) issue was much earlier than 425 BC.

A. Polosa³⁵ has pointed out that certain epigraphic evidence could also help to confirm the idea that Cretan *poleis* started minting before the end of the 5th century. Some inscriptions use terms such as “stater”, “drachm”, and “obol” to prescribe the payment of fines in several Cretan cities.³⁶ According to Cretan inscriptions dated to between the late 7th century and the 6th century BC, fines were imposed in tripods, cauldrons, and spits, which were considered valuables due to the fact that they were used for sacrifices. Between the late 6th century BC and the beginning of the 5th century BC, these terms are superseded or, sometimes, flanked by words like “stater”, “drachma”, and “obelos”: they are *voces mediae* that can be used to indicate both weight measures and coins.³⁷ Due to the ambivalence of these terms, it is difficult to determine with certainty when the transition occurred from words indicating weight measures to terms indicating coins. The assumption that they cannot refer to measures of weight but to minted metal could be suggested by the type of notation of the amount used in the inscriptions.³⁸

The most obvious case is that of the triobol, indicated by the term τριοδελον (= τριοβελον). We know that, in the Aeginetan system, which was used in Crete³⁹ as well, the drachm is equivalent to six obols, so half a drachm corresponds to three obols. When it is a measure of weight, this amount is referred to as *bemidrachmon*, literally half a drachm; normally, the term τριοβελον is used for minted silver. If this interpretation is correct, then the “staters”, “drachms”, “obols”, and multiples of the obol (the τριοβελοι, in fact) that appear in the inscriptions of

³³ Le Rider 1966, 13, n. 1.

³⁴ See below for the full description.

³⁵ Polosa 2005.

³⁶ *IC IV*1, 8, 25u (Gortyn); *Nomima* I 12 (Lyttos).

³⁷ On the transactional value of these objects and their function: Karamesine-Oikonomidou 1969; Parise 2000; Kroll 2001; Schaps 2004.

³⁸ Polosa 2005.

³⁹ Cretan *poleis* used a reduced version of the Aeginetan standard. On the Cretan standard: MacDonald 1909; Manganaro 1978. S. Garraffo studied the overstruck coins produced in Crete, estimating that their weight was reduced between 6 and 12% (Garraffo 1974). Stefanakis 1999 suggests that this reduction prevented Cretan underweight coins from leaving the island.

Gortyn, Eleutherna, Axos, Knossos, and Eltynia⁴⁰ between the late 6th century BC and the early 5th century BC should indicate coins and not simple weight measures.⁴¹

However, if the low chronology proposed by Le Rider were correct, it would mean that when these inscriptions were made (between the late 6th and early 5th century BC) no Cretan cities were minting coins yet. To explain the gap between the date of the inscriptions containing monetary terms and the introduction of minting to the island, Le Rider suggested that the inscriptions refer to Aeginetan coins, which were in circulation in Crete since the end of the 6th century BC.⁴²

Aeginetan coins have been found at Knossos, in the courtyard of the palace,⁴³ as well as in Matala.⁴⁴ Kydonia minted coins with the types of Aegina as well.⁴⁵ Even so, the strong presence of Aeginetan coins in Crete could be easily explained by taking into account the fact that Aeginetan coins were used as “international currency” in the 6th and 5th centuries. Even in the Cyclades the weight standard used was the Aeginetan one, as in Crete, and in addition, Aeginetan coins have been found in late archaic and classical hoards in Melos,⁴⁶ Thera,⁴⁷ and Paros.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the idea that a whole group of cities agreed to use coins coming from outside as legal currency does not seem entirely convincing: the arrival of the Aeginetan “turtles” on the island was indeed subject to randomness and to the lack of continuity of exchanges.

Moreover, we should consider that in the Greek world, the decision to mint coins was associated with a certain claim of autonomy on behalf of political authorities. The rise of self-consciousness of the *poleis* in Crete was especially manifested in the publication of written laws and the objectification of values: since the late 6th century BC, tools of sacrifice, whose value was due to their belonging to the realm of the sacred, were no longer used as value measures. The metal content of tripods, lebetes, and spits was indeed not quantifiable, as their shapes and sizes were not standardized. The introduction in the inscriptions of the precise amount of metal seems to overcome this lack of objectivity. As part of such a process, the *polis*

⁴⁰ *IC IV 80 = Nomima I 7* (Gortyn); *IC II xii 9 = Nomima I 25; IC II xii 13; Nomima II 15* (Eleutherna); *Nomima I 29* (Axos); *IC I viii 4 = Nomima I 54; IC I viii 2 = Nomima I 17* (Knossos); *IC I x 2 = Nomima II 80* (Eltynia).

⁴¹ It is worth noting that the first issues of Gortyn, Phaistos, and Knossos include also some fractions, both obols and triobols. For instance, for Knossos, we know at least four triobols (Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 7–8; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 9 and 11) and three obols (Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 9c-9d, 10). Bile 1988, 325 ff. gives a list of the words used to mean “coins” (*δαρκμα/δαρκνα, οδελος, τριοδελον, σταταραν/στατηραν*) and states that “A partir du Ve siècle, la monnaie est une réalité, appelée classiquement νομισμα. Un autre terme, *παιμα*, sur une pièce gortynienne du Ve siècle, désigne ‘la frappe de la monnaie’, d’après le vb. *παιω*, ‘frapper’”. Gagarin and Perlman 2016 also interpret the word *τριοδελον* as a coin. The term *τριοδελον* may indicate the iron *obeloi* found in groups of six, twelve, and eighteen, five or ten, some of which were found in Crete (e.g., in the tomb A1K1 at Orthi Petra: Stampolidis 2004, 284, n. 366-7, with bibliography). But Stampolidis argues that “the earliest spits in Crete date from the 10th century, but they became commoner during the late 8th and 7th century”. Thus, they predate the inscriptions we are dealing with here, and furthermore, even if the spits were found grouped in three (e.g. Stampolidis 2004, 284, n. 367), we would have expected to find these simply called *τριοδελα*, since the use of a singular neuter noun usually indicates a defined object. In addition, since we have samples of spits grouped together not necessarily by three, we should then assume that such a specific name was invented for each type of group.

⁴² Le Rider 1966, 168.

⁴³ Evans 1928, I, 5–6.

⁴⁴ *IGCH 1*.

⁴⁵ But the presence of a crescent permitted distinguishing the coins minted by Kydonia from the Aeginetan prototypes. On the “Pseudoaeginetica”, see Robinson 1928. On the imitations in ancient Greek coinage, see van Alfen 2005; Fischer-Bossert 2008; van Alfen and Lawall 2010; Psoma 2011.

⁴⁶ *IGCH 8*.

⁴⁷ *CH 2, 24*.

⁴⁸ *IGCH 7*.

gains greater strength and a stronger claim to autonomy:⁴⁹ within this framework, it is difficult to think that Cretan *poleis* would have accepted such a heavy reliance on the influx of minted silver from outside.⁵⁰

Even if we admit that the epigraphs mentioned above refer to Aeginetan coins, we should still consider an additional element: namely, an inscription discovered in Argos reporting a treaty between Knossos, Argos, and Tylissos. V. Vollgraff dated this epigraph to between 462 and 450 BC,⁵¹ based on the alphabet used and on certain elements within the text, which lists the terms of the alliance between the three cities. The fragment of interest here is the one that was found first, in Argos, in 1906. The last line reads:

If someone refuses hospitality he will be fined ten staters.

Even in this case, following Le Rider's hypothesis, one would think that the fee would have been paid in Aeginetan "turtles", since at that time Knossos did not have its own mint. Moreover, according to Le Rider, Tylissos started minting its own coins in 330 BC. But even if one admits that Knossos and Tylissos might have paid with Aeginetan turtles, it would still be reasonable to expect that this particular would have been specified inasmuch as the treaty covered a third, non-Cretan city. The three *poleis* used the Aeginetan weight standard in their transactions (and indeed the weight standard to be used is not specified), but it is worth noting that "weight standard" is not a synonym for currency.

Stylistic analysis of the earliest Knossian types seems to suggest that their iconographical archetypes are archaic. The first issue minted in Knossos bears a running Minotaur (*knielauf* position) on the obverse and an incuse square with a swastika in the center, indicating the labyrinth⁵² where the monster was imprisoned, on the reverse (figs. 1–4).

The iconography of the obverse of these coins seems to be particularly significant: the *knielauf* position is indeed typical of the archaic period, and can easily be compared with other coin types. For example, around 525 BC Thasos produced coins bearing a kneeling-running satyr with a ponytail and sometimes a *kantharos* in his hand⁵³ (fig. 9), while Taras' first coins (*ca.* 510 BC) also bear the image of a kneeling man, either Taras or possibly Hyacinthus⁵⁴ (fig. 10). Electrum coins with a winged Nike running to the left, holding a tunny in her outstretched right hand, with the head turned backwards⁵⁵ (fig. 11), circulated in Cyzicus in the first half of the 5th century BC. The same scheme appears on several carved gems⁵⁶ dated to the middle of the 6th century, depicting satyrs bringing *kantharoi* and other symposium cups. Particularly in

⁴⁹ The so-called "Cretan austerity" mentioned earlier seems to fit in the same scenario: Cretan restraint may have been connected to the "middling ideology" that provided the foundations for the rise of the *polis*. Morris 1987, 11–8; Morris 1998; Kotsonas 2002.

⁵⁰ Polosa 2005. It is worth recalling Le Rider's claim that the absence of native silver sources in Crete inhibited early minting and encouraged the reminting of Aeginetan coins. But Faure 1966, 68–71 points out the presence of silver deposits in Crete; furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the mints of several *poleis*, including Aigina and Athens, must have imported silver at least at the beginning of their production.

⁵¹ Vollgraff 1948; Piccirilli 1973–1977, 1, 82 ff.

⁵² Svoronos 1890, 52. On the iconography of the labyrinth, see: Forrer 1900; Wolters 1907; Williams 1965; Kern 1981; Ackermann 2005; Berthold 2011.

⁵³ Le Rider 1968, 186; these coins are part of the *premier groupe*, dated to between *ca.* 525–463 BC.

⁵⁴ Rutter 2001, 93, n. 824.

⁵⁵ *SNG France* vol. 5, n. 267–9; the *knielauf* position is used also on some Cyzicus coins bearing a male figure running left, with the head looking backwards and holding a tunny in his right hand (*SNG France* 269–270, with variations).

⁵⁶ Boardman 1968, pl. VI, n. 84, 92, 98; pl. VII, n. 102.

the case of the gems, it is worth noting the details of the muscles and the anatomy of the body as well as the perfectly defined hair, which are also characteristic of the Minotaur represented on Knossos' coins.

Kneeling-running figures are depicted on some vase paintings as well, such as on the François Vase (*ca.* 570 BC), whose two handles bear Ajax kneeling and carrying Achilles' body, as well as a Gorgon in motion.⁵⁷ Some Cretan armour and bronze objects also bear reliefs and carvings showing kneeling-running figures: two pairs of winged figures holding serpents are carved on the Afrati helmet (fig. 12; late 7th century BC),⁵⁸ and a winged man in low relief is represented on a bronze handle from Dreros.⁵⁹ The same scheme is adopted on some terra cotta *pinakes* from Gortyn, which bear pairs of antithetically disposed men in *knielauf* postures.⁶⁰

On Knossos' coins, the retrograde legend KNOMI or KNOMION runs around the monster. The use of the ethnical genitive is typical of the issues minted in Greece in the 5th century BC. M. Guarducci⁶¹ dated the legend to between 500 and 400 BC due to the presence of "M" (*san*) instead of *sigma*, the absence of long vowels (the sign O is used in place of Ω), and the direction of the legend. The incuse square on the reverse is generally typical of archaic coinage as well.

Even if we assume that Knossos was not the first *polis* in Crete to issue its own coins, and turn instead to the first issues of Gortyn and Phaistos,⁶² we see that, in this case as well, the iconography suggests archaic comparisons more than classical ones. The first issues of Gortyn and Phaistos bear Europa on a bull on the obverse and a lion's head on the reverse (fig. 13). Le Rider took the use of the same coin type as evidence that an agreement linked the two cities. The type of the reverse, with a lion in an incuse square, shows strong similarities with some coins of Samos⁶³ (fig. 14) and Cyrene,⁶⁴ as Price had already noticed,⁶⁵ arguing that these coins were struck around 470 BC. Furthermore, the iconography of the reverse is very similar to that of some fractions of Knossos⁶⁶ and to some Milesian coins⁶⁷ produced in the early 5th century BC (fig. 15). As Babelon⁶⁸ had already argued, some Athenian *Wappenmünzen*⁶⁹ bearing a lion on the obverse provide a good comparison for the Gortynian and Phaistian type.

⁵⁷ Beazley 1986, 24.

⁵⁸ Mitten and Doeringer 1968, 45, n. 29; Kardara 1969; Fittschen 1969, 197, n. 936; Hoffmann 1972, 34–5.

⁵⁹ Mazonaki 1976. The date is towards the end of the first quarter of the 6th century BC.

⁶⁰ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 175, n. 163 a-d; 7th century BC.

⁶¹ *IC I*.

⁶² For a more focused analysis of these coins, see Carbone forthcoming; Polosa forthcoming.

⁶³ Le Rider 1966, 170.

⁶⁴ *BMC Cyrenaica*, pl. V, n. 5, 6, 11.

⁶⁵ Price 1981, 464: "It must also be pointed out that there is a very close parallel to Crete in the closely datable issues of Samos. Samian coins are also overstruck on flans of post 485 Aeginetan coins, and in this case the overstriking can be dated by the presence of several examples in the great Asyut hoard, which was buried no later than 475. The dates for the Samian coins themselves are therefore 485–475, and it should be noted that they share the general features of flan and technique with the Gortyn and Phaistos coins".

⁶⁶ Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 6–8.

⁶⁷ Waggoner 1983, n. 579–580; Babelon 1901–1933, I, pl. I, n. 10–11.

⁶⁸ Babelon argued that these coins were copied from the first coins issued in Athens in the 6th century BC, since the iconography also appears very similar (Babelon 1901–1933, II, 965). Le Rider 1966, 170 objected that "Il s'agissait d'un type monétaire connu, que les Gortyniens et les Phaistiens ont pu adopter à n'importe quelle date"; Waggoner 1983: 6th century BC.

⁶⁹ Hopper 1968, n. 15b.

The legend ΓΟΡΤΥΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΜΑ and ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΜΑ, which runs on the reverse of the coins, distinguished the specimens of the two cities. The term ΠΑΙΜΑ means “sign, seal.”⁷⁰ The mere concept of a “talking object” is usually just archaic. M. Guarducci dates the legend letters of Gortynian and Phaistian coins to between 480 and 430 BC.⁷¹

On the obverse, Europa on the bull, with her left hand outstretched to touch one of the animal’s horns, is portrayed in a stylized and rigid way: a crushed Cretan helmet, found in Delphi and decorated in relief, shows on each side a female figure seated on the back of a bull, in the same posture⁷² as the one on the coins; this was interpreted as Europa, or possibly as a goddess, though its dating remains uncertain.⁷³

To sum up, the iconographic layout of Knossian (Gortynian and Phaistian) coins suggests some parallels with coins, vase paintings, gems, and sculptural decoration that are datable to between the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. The legends and the technique used (incuse square on the reverse) suggest archaic comparisons as well.

No samples of Knossian coins with the Minotaur occurred in the three hoards studied by Le Rider, nor did the hoards include any Gortynian and Phaistian coins bearing Europa/lion, excepting one coin minted by Phaistos.⁷⁴ The almost complete absence of the first Knossian, Gortynian, and Phaistian coins from the hoards could indicate that the hoards were made when these coins were no longer in circulation, which could in turn mean that they are older than the hoards themselves.

As already mentioned, overstriking coins was very common in Crete, and Le Rider provides a complete catalogue of restruck coins, some parts of which are worth analysing.

Le Rider lists two Minotaur staters overstruck on Aeginetan staters with the windmill sail type (before 500 BC), and another five Minotaur staters overstruck on Aeginetan staters whose reverse type is not clearly identified.⁷⁵

A stater of Gortyn is overstruck on an Aeginetan coin with the windmill sail type,⁷⁶ dated to before 500 BC,⁷⁷ and another Gortynian coin is overstruck on an Aeginetan stater of the small skew type, dated to between 500 and 480 BC. Three Phaistian staters⁷⁸ are overstruck on Aeginetan staters with the windmill sail type, while another stater from Phaistos is overstruck

⁷⁰ For the term *παίμα*, see Bile 1988, note 39. These coins can be defined as “talking pieces”, like the notorious Phanes coins found at the Artemision of Ephesus or the coins of the Thracian king Getas (Kraay 1976, n. 483, 480 BC ca).

⁷¹ *ICI* and *IV*; on this point, Le Rider 1966, 167 argued that “on peut se demander si la date de tout un groupe de textes, parmi lesquels la grande loi de Gortyne, ne doit pas être sensiblement abaissée – ne serait-ce qu’en fonction des monnaies”.

⁷² Marcadé 1949; Snodgrass 1964, 28–30; Hoffmann 1972, 31.

⁷³ Marcadé argues that it belongs to the second quarter of the 7th century BC, whereas A. Snodgrass suggests that it could be dated to the early 6th century BC. Europa on the bull is also depicted on one of the metopes of Temple Y of Selinunte (ca. 500 BC): in this case, her pose is exactly the same as the one on the coins, with her arm outstretched to touch a horn of the bull (Charbonneaux, Martin and Villad 1978). Also, Taras riding a dolphin on the coins of Taranto (late 6th century BC–beginning of 5th century BC) shows a similar iconography (Rutter 2001, 93, n. 826, 827; Kraay 1976, 175: 520–510 BC; Babelon 1901-1933, 1380: 550–510 BC.)

⁷⁴ Le Rider 1966, 13, n. 1.

⁷⁵ The full list of Knossos’ overstruck coins is in Le Rider 1966, 99 ff.

⁷⁶ The full list of Gortyn’s overstruck coins is in Le Rider 1966, 54 ff.

⁷⁷ See Kroll and Waggoner 1984 for all the dating hypothesis on Aeginetan coins.

⁷⁸ The full list of Phaistos’ overstruck coins is in Le Rider 1966, 84 ff.

on a coin with the small skew type from Aegina. We also know of a Phaistian coin that has an undertype of Syphnos and was issued before 500 BC.⁷⁹

All the overstruck coins of these first issues from Gortyn, Phaistos, and Knossos present an undertype datable to the end of the 6th century (Aeginetan windmill sail type: by 500 BC), or in some cases to the beginning of the 5th century (Aeginetan small skew type: 500–480 BC). In both cases, the dating of the undertype clearly provides a *terminus post quem* for the reminting, which must have occurred not long after the issues of those coins took place in Aegina. Aeginetan types changed quite often; therefore, if the reminting happened later, we would expect a different undertype, such as the large skew one. As we have seen, Aeginetan coins circulated abundantly in Crete, and consequently there is no reason to doubt that large skew coins arrived in Crete shortly after they had been minted, eventually being overstruck with Cretan types.

To conclude, thus far it is not possible to assert with certainty the date of Knossos' first issues, but some evidence provided by analysis of the three hoards confiscated in Crete, by epigraphical data from the island of Crete, and by iconographical and stylistic analysis of Knossian coinage (though this is to be taken with caution), all seem to suggest that Knossos, along with other Cretan *poleis* (especially Gortyn and Phaistos), began striking coins well before 425 BC (450 BC for Gortyn and Phaistos). An earlier dating of the beginning of local minting in Knossos⁸⁰ and, more generally, in Crete, seems to fit well with the new evidence, which suggests that the island was not isolated but took an active part in Mediterranean routes in the 6th–5th century BC; moreover, a higher dating for Knossian first issues would also fit better with the dating proposed by Price⁸¹ for Gortynian and Phaistian coins, as well as with the global review of the beginning of local minting in Crete proposed by M.I. Stefanakis.⁸² Nevertheless, new coin finds in connection with stratigraphical data have to be awaited⁸³ in order to draw more solid evidence that could confirm this hypothesis.

⁷⁹ For all the overstruck specimens, see Le Rider 1966, 163.

⁸⁰ As I have already suggested (Devoto 2016).

⁸¹ Price 1981.

⁸² Stefanakis 1999 argues that around 470 BC, Kydonia opened its own mint, producing the “pseudoaeginetic” fractions with the crescent mentioned above, while Gortyn and Phaistos started producing their own coins, followed shortly thereafter by Knossos and Lyttos; Polosa 2003 and 2005 agrees with the idea that the introduction of local minting in Crete is to be dated to the beginning of the 5th century, based on analysis of epigraphical and archaeological data; Stefanaki 2007–2008 accepts Stefanakis' hypothesis.

⁸³ A new sample of a stater with Minotaur/Labyrinth was found in the excavations carried out in Gortyn (Pythion) by the Università di Padova, under the direction of Professor J. Bonetto. The stratigraphical data are currently being studied. For the context, see Bonetto 2016. This coin is n. 3 in the catalogue below.

Catalogue⁸⁴**Staters****Series 1**

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; he holds in r. lowered hand a stone, the l. hand is raised.
 R/ Incuse square with a deep square depression at each corner. Inside, labyrinth of cruciform meander pattern. In centre, star (or flower?) formed by dots (figs. 1–2).

K1. AR, stater, 28 mm, 11.99 g. *

O/ Same type. Border of dots.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

Ira & Larry Goldberg; The New York Sale XXVII, lot 152.

K2. AR, stater, 28 mm, 11.36 g, 0°. Restruck.

O/ Same type. KNOMI (retrograde).

R/ Same type. Star of nine dots.

Babelon 1901–1933, 938, n. 1; Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 5; Kraay 1976, pl. 8, n. 150.

K3.⁸⁵ AR, stater, 24 mm, 12.23 g, 180°. *

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

K4. AR, stater, 28 mm, 11.99 g, 350°.

O/ Same type. Border of dots.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

Ira & Larry Goldberg; The New York Sale XXVII, lot 407.

K5. AR, stater, 20 mm, 11.97 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan stater.⁸⁶

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type. Star of five dots.

Svoronos 1890, 5, n. 1; *BMC Crete*, 18, n. 1; Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 2.

Series 2

O/ Minotaur running to l., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised. He holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square with a deep square depression at each corner. Inside, labyrinth of cruciform meander pattern. In centre, star (or flower?) formed by dots (fig. 3).

⁸⁴ The catalogue lists the coins found in: Head 1887; Svoronos 1890; Babelon 1901–1933; Wroth 1884; Grose 1926; Jenkins 1949; *SNG France*; Le Rider 1966; Kraay 1976; Mildenberg and Hurter 1985. This does not claim to be definitive, but is simply meant to provide a database on which further studies may rely. For each coin are indicated the following: metal, denomination, weight, size, die axis. If some data is missing, it means that it was not available in the original publication. When the same sample is published in different places, all are indicated. The specimens labelled with * are those whose image is provided in the table. As the types of the O/ and R/ are the same (Minotaur/Labyrinth), the coins are grouped based on the variants of these types, thus not necessarily implying a chronological order for them, especially concerning series 1 and 2. Series 3–5 are listed following their stylistic (and chronological) evolution. The number of specimens so far known is too poor to provide a die study.

⁸⁵ This stater was found in 2016 during the excavations in Gortyn carried out by the team of Università di Padova under the direction of Professor J. Bonetto (Bonetto 2016). I would like to thank Professor Bonetto for allowing me to include this coin in the catalogue.

⁸⁶ The list of restruck coins follows Le Rider 1966, 99.

- K6.** AR, stater, 25 mm, 11.40 g. (Holed)
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots. In each of the four meanders, star.
 Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 3
- K7.** AR, stater, 20 mm, 11.53 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
SNG France, pl. 62, n. 2333.
- K8.** AR, stater, 20 mm, 11.74 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Mildenberg and Hurter 1985, 117, n. 1981.
- K9.** AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.97 g, 0°. Restruck
 (R/ Aeginetan turtle, O/-)
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of eight dots.
 Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 1.
- K10.** AR, stater, 25 mm, 11.71 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type. KNOM (retrograde).
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Babelon 1901–1033, 940, n. 1517b; Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 4.
- K11.** AR, stater, 25 mm, 12.07 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan coin.
 O/ Same type. KNOMION (retrograde).
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Babelon 1901–1933, 939, n. 1517; Jenkins 1949, 42, n. 32a; Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 3.
- K12.** AR, stater, 26 mm, 11.13 g, 0°.
 O/ Same type. KNOMI (*iota* with three strokes)
 ON (retrograde).
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1521.
- K13.** AR, stater, 11.41 g, 270°. Holed.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type.
<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41813760q>
- K14.** AR, stater, 26 mm, 11.52 g, 0°. *
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 2.
- K15.** AR, stater, 27 mm, 11.80 g, 225°.
 O/ Same type.
 R/ Same type. Star of five dots.
 Numismatik Lanz München Auction 163.

Series 3

O/ Border of dots. KNOM (*iota* with three strokes, ⊙) (retrograde). Minotaur running to l., head facing; the l. hand is lowered, the r. hand is raised; he holds a stone in the l. hand and a scepter (trident?) in the r. hand. Braids on both sides of the head.

R/ Double-line swastika ending in meanders. Double line-frame (fig. 4).

K16. AR, stater, 24 mm, 11.76 g, 350°. Restruck on Aeginetan stater. (O/ turtle, R/ windmill)

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type.

Head 1887, 460; Grose 1926, 486, n. 7050;

Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 4.

K17. AR, stater, 27 mm, 11.84 g, 170°. *

O/ Same type.

R/ Same type. On the surface, five deep impressions (two triangle-shaped; three squared).

<http://www.lanzauctions.com/showcoin.php?no=1245631289>

Series 4

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; he holds in r. lowered hand a stone, the l. hand is raised.

R/ Square labyrinth with many rooms and corridors (fig. 5).

K18. AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.62 g.

Babelon 1901–1933, 942, n. 1523; Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12a.

K19. AR, stater, 23 mm, 12 g.

Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12b.

K20. AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.80 g.

Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12c.

K21. AR, stater, 25 mm, 12.09 g.

Babelon 1901–1933, 942, n. 1523b; *BMC Crete*, 18, n. 3; Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12d.

K22. AR, stater, 23 mm, 11.02 g.

Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 12e.

K23. AR, stater, 24 mm, 11.75 g. Restruck on Aeginetan stater (O/ turtle, R/ windmill)

Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 6a.

K24. AR, stater, 21 mm, 11.50 g. Restruck on Aeginetan stater (O/ turtle near the r. leg of the Minotaur, R/ windmill)

Le Rider 1966, 99, n. 6b.

K25. AR, stater, 26 mm, 11.71 g, 75°. *

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218282>

Series 5

O/ Minotaur running to r., looking backwards; he holds in r. lowered hand a stone, the l. hand is raised.

R/ Incuse square. Meander pattern; at the center, beardless male head.

K26. AR, stater, 30.22 mm, 11.31 g, 180°.

Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1522; Wroth 1884, 18, n. 2; Kraay 1976, 354, n. 151; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 11.

Drachms⁸⁷

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; the r. lowered hand holds a stone, the l. hand rests on his hip.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot with four rays and four dots all around, in a double-line frame (fig. 6).

K27. AR, drachm, 18 mm, 5.75 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan drachm.
Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 5; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 7.

K28. AR, drachm, 18 mm, 5.80 g, 0°. Restruck. *
Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1518; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 6; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 8.

Triobols

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot with four rays and four dots all around, in a double-line frame (fig. 7).

K29. AR, triobol, 14 mm, 2.35 g, 0°. *
Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1519; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 7.

K30. AR, triobol, 14 mm, 2.70 g, 270°. Restruck on Aeginetan triobol.
Grose 1926, 487, n. 7051; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 11.

K31. AR, triobol, 14 mm, 2.97 g, 0°. Restruck on Aeginetan triobol (O/ turtle's head visible under the Minotaur's head, R/ incuse square divided into compartments)
Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 9.

K32. AR, triobol, 15 mm, 2.94 g, 0°
Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG Auction 136, lot 158.

O/ Minotaur running to l., head facing; the l. hand is lowered, the r. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot with four rays and four dots all around, in a double-line frame

K33. AR, triobol, 13 mm, 2.82 g, 0°. Restruck, maybe on Aeginetan triobol.
Svoronos 1890, 67, n. 8; Le Rider 1966, 100, n. 10.

Obols

O/ Minotaur running to l., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot surrounded by four rays (fig. 8).

K34. AR, obol.
Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 9b (p. 66, 9).

K35. AR, obol, 10 mm, 0.86 g.
Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1520b; Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 9c (p. 66, 9).

⁸⁷ As the type of the flower on the reverse of the fractions (drachms, triobols, obols) recalls the flower of dots in the center of the labyrinth of Series 1–2, they were probably issued together with Series 1–2.

K36. AR, obol, 10 mm, 0.77 g.

Babelon 1901–1933, 940, n. 1520a; Svoronos 1890, 65, n. 9d.

K37. AR, obol.

Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 9a (p. 66, 9).

O/ Minotaur running to r., head facing; the r. hand is lowered, the l. hand is raised; he holds a stone in each hand.

R/ Incuse square. Star formed by central dot surrounded by four rays.

K38. AR, obol, mm 10, g 0.80.

Svoronos 1890, 66, n. 10 (p. 66, 9).

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- IC* Guarducci, M. ed. 1935–1950. *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato.
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Fig. 1 Knossos, stater.
Courtesy of Goldberg Coins.



Fig. 2 Knossos, stater.
Excavations at Gortyn, Pythion (Bonetto 2016).



Fig. 3 Knossos, stater.
<http://ikmk.smb.museum/object?=18216378>



Fig. 4 Knossos, stater.
Numismatik Lanz Auction, 145.



Fig. 5 Knossos, stater.
<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218282>



Fig. 6 Knossos, drachm.
<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218283>



Fig. 7 Knossos, triobol.
<http://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18218285>



Fig. 8 Knossos, obol.
Svoronos 1890, pl. IV, n. 29.



Fig. 9 Thasos, fraction.
Auktionshaus Felzmann, Lot 17, Auction 165.



Fig. 10 Taras, stater.
<http://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18216000>



Fig. 11 Cyzicus, fraction.
Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group,
Triton XXII, lot 233.



Fig. 12 The Afrati helmet.
<https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/gr/web-large/DT262.jpg>



Fig. 13 Phaistos, stater.
J. Babelon, *Catalogue de la collection de Luynes*,
1936, n°2360.



Fig. 14 Samos, tetradrachm.
Courtesy of ANS.



Fig. 15 Miletus, fraction.
With permission of wildwinds.com,
ex-CNG sale, Sept. 2001.

Civic Coinage of Keramos in Caria

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Abstract

The ancient city of Keramos (modern Ören) is located on the north shore of the Gulf of Gökova, formerly the Gulf of Kerameikos and named after the city during antiquity. It was part of ancient Caria. Keramos has not been the scope of intensive surveys and systematic excavations yet; however, attempts have been made to assess the available evidence (epigraphic and literary sources) and archaeological remains. The coinage of the ancient city was only partially studied by Spanu. The recent projects of Historia Numorum Online has compiled its pre-Roman coins and Roman Provincial Coinage (Online) its Roman Imperial period coins much more comprehensively. The present study endeavours to compile civic coinage of the city from online and printed publications in addition to local museums of the region. Some private collections were also accessed. From these, conclusions have been derived that try to cast light onto the coinage of the ancient city. The types on the coins reveal information on the cults of the city; yet, there arise new questions regarding them. In particular, the archaising deity figures attested on the coins need to be further investigated.

Keywords: Keramos / Ceramus, Caria, Zeus, Apollo, civic coinage

Öz

Gökova Körfezi'nin kuzey kıyısında Ören'de konumlanan Keramos, Karia Bölgesi'nde bir antik kenttir ve bulunduğu körfeze de adını vermiştir. Bu yerleşimde henüz yoğun yüzey araştırması ve sistematik arkeolojik kazılar gerçekleştirilmemiştir, ancak mevcut bilgilerin (epigrafik ve edebi kaynaklar) ve arkeolojik kalıntıların değerlendirildiği çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Ne var ki, antik kentin sikkeleri Spanu tarafından yalnızca kısmi olarak incelenebilmiştir. Historia Numorum Online projesi Roma Dönemi öncesine ait sikkeleri, Roman Provincial Coinage Online ise Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne ait şehir sikkelerini daha kapsamlı şekilde bir araya getirmektedir. Bu çalışmada kentin sikkeleri, bölge müzeleri ve kimi özel koleksiyonların yanı sıra internet ve basılı kaynaklardan derlenerek kentin sikkelerine ışık tutmaya çalışılmaktadır. Sikkelerde saptanan tipler kentteki kültürler hakkında veri sağlamakta fakat bu konuda yeni soru işaretleri de ortaya koymaktadır. Özellikle, sikkelerde tespit edilen arkaizan tanrı figürlerinin daha detaylı incelenmesi gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Keramos / Ceramus, Karia, Zeus, Apollon, şehir sikkeleri

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Introduction

The modern Gulf of Gökova was called the Gulf of Kerameikos (Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος) in antiquity and named after the city of Keramos located in the Ören district of Muğla province.¹ The word κέραμος was used for potter's clay/earth and anything made of it²; however, ancient authors do not mention anything about the origin of the name for the city. Ancient authors are also almost silent about Keramos and usually only mention that the gulf was named after the town.³ Therefore, it is not easy to build a comprehensive picture of the ancient town in antiquity from the literary sources. Collected inscriptions were first published by E.L. Hicks in 1890; almost a century later E. Varinlioğlu published a collection of known inscriptions in 1986. The work by M. Spanu published in 1997 is the basic source for the city's history and monuments.⁴ This was followed by a study on early coins with Carian letters by K. Konuk (2000), which cast light onto the Carian name of the city starting as *Kbo-*. Although the full Carian name is still not known, it can be confidently stated that Keramos was originally a Carian foundation. This is further supported with the Carian names attested in the 4th-century BC inscription at the Milas Museum.⁵ The *Historia Numorum Online* project for pre-Roman period coins is developing and includes more types day by day; it is complemented by the Roman Provincial Coinage project, both in print and online.

Information retrieved from the coins of Keramos which have been published and are accessible in print and online as well as in regional museums, namely Muğla, Milas, Marmaris, Bodrum, Fethiye and Aydın, and some private collections (Mr. Y. Tatiş), may be summarized as follows:

TPOLOGY

Coins marked with an asterisk (*) are illustrated.

GROUP A (Bull / Dolphin Series in Bronze)

This group features on the obverse, a full figure or protome of a bull; on the reverse is a dolphin, swimming, r., with legend underneath. All struck in bronze; this group has four subgroups:

A.1A

Obv: Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue.

Rev: ∇ΛΘ. Dolphin, r., dotted border.

Attributed to 410–390 BC on HNO no. 10 (with three specimens). Chalkous.

¹ Pliny *NHV*.29; Herodotus I.174; Mela I.16; Xenophon *Hell.* II.1.15; Strabo XIV.2.15; Skylax Kar. 98;

² Liddell and Scott 1996, “κέραμος” on p. 940.

³ For quotations from ancient authors mentioning Keramos, see T9 – T25 in Spanu 1997, 58–9; and T9 – T24 in Varinlioğlu 1986, 78–81.

⁴ The work by Spanu (1997) covers the history and monuments of Keramos. The author covered the coins only as a subchapter of his monographic study and only partially based on the collections of BNF and Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. And it was published before the attribution of the bull / dolphin series with Carian and Greek legends as belonging to Keramos. In addition, some coins of Caracalla were misattributed to Elagabalus.

⁵ Blümel 1990, 32, ll. 13–4: Κεράμιοι Υλιατος Νωτρασσιος, Σενυριγος Τρυσσεω, Κοτβελημος Κήρυξ

1. Milas Museum Inv. no. 2060. 1.23g, 9mm, 3h. / **2.** Solidus Num. MAuc. 23 (13.01.2018) Lot 174. 1.18g, 9mm. = HNO 10.3 / **3.** Muğla Museum Inv. no. Em89. 1.14g, 9mm, 1h. / **4.** Muğla Museum Inv. no. Em87. 1.09g, 9mm, 1h. / **5.** ANS 2007.15.15. 1.069g, 9.5mm, 6h. = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 202 (1.08g, 10mm) = HNO 10.2 / **6.** Konuk 2000 no. 2. 1.05g, 4h. Private collection. / **7.** Muğla Museum Inv. no. Em86. 0.96g, 9mm, 1h. / **8.** Gorny Auc. 212 Lot 2056. 0.86g, 9 mm. = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 203 (0.86g, 10mm) = Konuk 2000 no. 3 = HNO 10.1 / **9.** Fethiye Museum Inv. no. 16086. 0.84g, 8–9mm, 12h. / **10.** Fethiye Museum Inv. no. 16085. 0.76g, 8mm, 6h. / **11.** Konuk 2000 no. 4. 0.66g. Private collection.

A.1B

Obv: ΞE . Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue.

Rev: $\nabla Y O$. Dolphin, r., dotted border.

Attributed to 410–390 BC on HNO no. 2107. Chalkous.

***1.** SNG Kayhan 804. 0.90g, 9mm, 9h. Obv. ΞE . = Konuk 2000 no.5 = HNO 2107.1

A.2A

Obv: Bull protome, l.

Rev: $\nabla \Lambda O$. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 410–390 BC on HNO 2174 (with a single specimen). Chalkous.

***1.** Savoca Auc. 12 (2017) Lot 211. 1.06g, 7mm = HNO2174.1

A.2B

Obv: Bull protome, r.

Rev: $\nabla \Lambda O$. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 410–390 BC based on A.2A. Not on HNO. Chalkous.

***1.** Konuk 2000 no. 1. 1.35g, 6h. Private collection. / **2.** Ashton 2006 no. 14. 0.84g, 9mm, 12h. Private collection. / **3.** Savoca BA 18 (30.03.2019) Lot 356. 1.05g, 9mm.

A.3

Obv: Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue.

Rev: KE. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 380–350 BC on HNO no. 1628 (with seven specimens). Diameters 10–12 mm, weights 1.01 – 2.26 g. Chalkous. Two specimens (Ashton et al. 1998 nos. 3 and 6) have a countermark of a labrys on the obverse, below the bull figure. Only Ashton et al. 1998 no. 1 has a dotted border on the reverse.

1. BNF AA.GR.10355. 2.26g. / **2.** HDRauch EA 13 (2013) Lot 73. 1.50g. = HNO 1628.3. / **3.** Marmaris Museum Inv. no. 1353. 1.5g, 11mm. / **4.** Fethiye Museum = Ashton et al. 1998.5. 1.4g, 6h (non vidi) / **5.** BM 1991,0130.37. 1.36g, 12h. ex-Veres = Ashton et al. 1998.2 / **6.** CNG Triton V (2002) Lot 488. 1.36g, 11mm. = HNO 1628.2 / **7.** Ashton et al. 1998.6. 1.34g, 1h. cmk – labrys in rectangle, below bull. / **8.** Marmaris Museum Inv. no. 1351. 1.3g, 11mm. / **9.** Milas Museum Inv. no. 2061. 1.26g, 10–11mm, 12h. / **10.** BPeus Auc. 407 (2012) Lot 622. 1.25g. = HNO 1628.4. / **11.** BM 1991,0130.39. 1.25g, 1h. ex-Veres = Ashton et al. 1998.3; cmk – labrys in cartouche, below bull. / **12.** BM 1991,0130.38. 1.23g, 1h. ex-Veres = Ashton et al. 1998.4 / **13.** HDRauch Auc. 87 (2010) Lot 156. 1.22g. = HNO 1628.1. / **14.** Marmaris Museum Inv. no. 2005/337. 1.2g, 11mm. / **15.** Savoca BA 25 (2018) Lot 316. 1.20g, 10mm. = HNO 1628.7. / **16.** Fethiye Museum Inv. no. 9270. 1.11g, 11–12mm, 12h. / **17.** SNG Kayhan 805. 1.11g, 11mm = HNO 1628.5. / **18.** Savoca BA 25 (2018) Lot 317. 1.01g, 9mm. = HNO 1628.6. / **19.** Ashton et al. 1998.1. 0.95g, 3h. Dotted circle on reverse.

A.4

Obv: Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue; labrys above.

Rev: KE. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 380–350 BC on HNO no. 1629 (with five specimens). Chalkous.

1. Naumann Auc. 36 (2015) Lot 199. 1.48g, 11mm = Savoca Auc. 1 (2015) Lot 216 = Roma Auc. 4 (2012) Lot 1731 = HNO 1629.2. / **2.** Ashton et al. 1998.7. 1.42g, 12h. / **3.** Savoca BA 12 (2018) Lot 560. 1.35g, 11mm. / **4.** Savoca BA 12 (2018) Lot 561. 1.37g, 10mm. / **5.** Jacquier Auc. 38 Lot 110. 1.36g. = Jacquier Auc. 37 Lot 138 = HNO 1629.1 / **6.** BM 1979,0101.1061. 1.25g, 12h. ex-von Aulock = Ashton et al 1998.8. / **7.** BPeus Auc. 407 (2012) Lot 623. 1.20g. = HNO 1629.3 / **8.** ANS 2007.15.16. 1.114g, 11.2mm, 12h. = Lanz Auc. 131 (2006) Lot 204 = Hirsch Auc. 231 (2003) Lot 337 = HNO 1629.4 / **9.** SNG Muğla 84. 1.05g, 10mm, 3h. Inv. no. 2149. / **10.** Ashton et al. 1998.9. 1.05g, 12h. / ***11.** SNG Kayhan 806. 1.03g, 11mm = HNO 1629.5.

Konuk's study (2000) on the Carian legends, i.e. the first two subgroups A.1 and A.2, was based on five specimens with five different obverse and five different reverse dies. Since then more examples have surfaced on the market, and our visits to the local museums in Muğla province have documented more unpublished examples. Also, it was learned that many more have recently been uncovered in the course of rescue excavations by the Milas Museum, and these are currently under study by their teams. So it is highly likely that even new types may emerge.

The earliest subgroup of these series is the one with the Carian legend on the reverse that gives the abbreviation for the city's Carian name (A.1 and A.2). In addition, the dotted border on the reverse and irregular die axes indicate an early date.⁶ The second subgroup depicts a bull protome on the obverse. The third subgroup is the first one with the legend KE in Greek, and the latest in the group should be that with the labrys over the bull. These four groups are attributed to 410–390 BC (A.1 and A.2 with Carian legend) and 380–350 BC (A.3 and A.4 with legend KE).⁷

A.1 specimens in our catalogue have a diameter of *ca.* 9 mm and a weight ranging from 0.66 to 1.23 g. Only one coin (SNG Kayhan 804) has a legend of ΞE on its obverse, which may indicate a magistrate name, either in Greek as $\chi\epsilon$ or in Carian as $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}$.⁸ Carian letters on the reverses are consistent for the most part (Group A.1A). Only one coin (Group A.1B: SNG Kayhan 804) displays an oddity, suggesting an engraver did not cut in negative the Carian letters correctly.⁹

A.2 has only three examples, and two of them have on their obverses the forepart of a bull r. (Group A.2A) while only one has it leftward (Group A.2B). The bull protome type on the obverses may suggest a half-unit. The two specimens of A.2A have a diameter of 7 and 9 mm, but they are comparable to those of A.1. In this case, the half-figure of a bull may not suggest a half-unit. Indeed, more specimens are needed to reach a safer conclusion.

A.3 and A.4 subgroups feature the same obverse and reverse types, but the legend is only KE in Greek, indicating Keramos as shown by Ashton et al.¹⁰ The difference between the two subgroups is the presence of a labrys over the bull on the obverse of A.4. That two specimens

⁶ Ashton 2006, 3–4.

⁷ Ashton 2006, 4; Konuk 2000, 161; HNO nos. 10, 2107, 2174, 1628 and 1629.

⁸ Konuk 2000, 163.

⁹ Konuk 2000, 161–162.

¹⁰ Ashton et al. 1998.

in Ashton's personal collection bear countermarks of labrys within a rectangle or cartouche led to the conclusion that the A.4 group should be later than A.3 because the countermarks should have been punched to validate the earlier emissions without.¹¹ Only one specimen (Ashton et al. 1998 no. 1) in A.3 has a dotted border on its reverse, which may even suggest perhaps the first emissions of this series.

GROUP B (Archaising Youthful Male Head / Boukephalion Series in Silver and Bronze)

Following a gap in minting activity for about two centuries, Keramos started to strike its own coinage following its liberation from Rhodian hegemony. The archaising youthful head, with long hairlocks falling down on the shoulders, right, within/out a dotted border, is usually identified as Apollo in publications. On the reverse is a boukephalion (i.e. bull's head)¹² flanked with the legend KEPA(MIH) and the magistrate's name (sometimes in abbreviation).

B.1 AR hemidrachms

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r.

Rev: KEPA(MIH) / magistrate name, flanking the boukephalion, all within square incuse, OR, around the boukephalion without an incuse.

Xeno-: Attributed to 188–160 BC by HNO no. 2176. Reverse legend around the boukephalion without an incuse.

*1. CNG EA 115 (2005) Lot 115. 0.92g, 11mm = HNO 2176.1.

Phass- or **Jargi (?)**¹³: May be attributed to 188–160 BC based on the absence of the incuse. Reverse legend around the boukephalion without an incuse.

*1. ANS 2007.15.17. 0.939g, 10.5mm = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 205 (0.95g, 11mm). ANS: Silver obol.

Hermeas: Attributed to 188–160 BC by HNO no. 2294 and 2296. Reverse legend around the boukephalion without an incuse. Both specimens are from the British Museum. Inv. no. 1988,1014.1 features a sigma in the form of a C (HNO 2296). Inv. no. 1988,1014.3 has a standard sigma Σ (HNO 2294).

1. BM 1988.1014.3. 1.1g, 10h. Rev: KEPA EPMEΑΣ = Ashton et al. 1998.10 = HNO 2294.1 / 2. BM 1988,1014.1. 0.83g, 11h. Rev: [KE]PAMI [E]PMEAC. = Ashton et al. 1998.11 = HNO 2296.1

Poli- (Polites) (fig. 5a): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO 295 (one specimen). Reverse incuse.

*1. Tatış Coll. 471. 1.24g, 11mm, 12h. / 2. BPeus Auc. 395 Lot 166. 1.20g, 11mm. Rev: KEPA ΠΟΛΙ. ex-von Aulock 2579 = BPeus 392 (2007) Lot 4352 = Lanz Auc. 125 (2005) Lot 384 = Jameson 2298 = Lanz 121 (2004) Lot 207 = BPeus Auc. 386 (2006) Lot 230 = BPeus Auc. 308 (1983) Lot 163 = Spanu no. 1. = HNO 295.1 / 3. BPeus Auc. 369 Lot 201. 1.02g, 11mm. = BPeus Auc. 366 Lot 196. / 4. CNG EA 257 Lot 133. 1.07g, 13mm, 12h. / 5. CNG EA 201 Lot 99. 0.84g, 13mm, 12h.

Leont- (Leonteus): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO 2299. Reverse incuse.

*1. Naumann Auc. 29 (1.3.2015) Lot 286. 1.11g, 11 mm = HNO 2299.1.

Iason: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO 2297. Sigma in the form of a C. Reverse incuse.

1. BM 1988.1014.2. 0.88g, 12h. = Ashton et al. 1998.12 = HNO 2297.1

¹¹ Ashton et al. 1998, 48.

¹² In this study, the term boukephalion means "bull's head" and bucranium means "skull of a bull". Howgego used bucranium in his monumental study on Greek Imperial countermarks, so when referring to his terminology the term bucranium is retained. However, Howgego nos. 292–5 are termed bucranium, but the images for nos. 292, 294 and 295 are clearly a bull's head with neck, l. For no. 293 it is a head only and difficult to say a skull.

¹³ The magistrate's name is given as [Jargi- on the ANS website. This coin was purchased from Lanz Auc. 131 (2006) Lot 205 with the name given as Farge- (?). The author's reading from the image online is Phass- (?).

Magistrate unknown: There are two specimens. One (Tatış Coll. 2609) has the magistrate's name within incuse but off the flan. The other (GHN Auc. 343 [2018] Lot 2225) has the name around the boukephalion, illegible, seemingly due to wear.

*1. Tatış Coll. 2609. 1.07g, 11mm, 12h. / 2. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2225. 0.96g = Sammlung E. Karl 205 = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex Hirsch 203, 1999, Lot no. 327.

B.2 AR hemidrachm

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r.

Rev: KEP[. Bull protome, r., head facing.

Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 2109. No incuse.

*1. SNG Kayhan 808. 1.10g, 11mm, 12h = HNO 2109.1

B.3 AE

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r. Dotted border

Rev: KEPAMIH / magistrate name, flanking the boukephalion.

Leon: The magistrate's name flanks the boukephalion. Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 296 (with nine specimens). Two specimens (SNG von Aulock 2580 and SNG Tübingen 3414) obviously have a misreading of the magistrate's name as Deon, which is easily understandable due to the closeness of the shapes of *lambda* and *delta* in upper case.

1. SNG Kayhan 809. 6.32g, 19mm = HNO 296.9 / 2. Kölner MK Auc. 106 Lot 98. 5.84g, 19mm. / 3. Lanz Auc. 131 (2006, Sammlung Karl) Lot 206. 5.79g, 19mm = Hirsch Auc. 191 (1996) Lot 478 = HNO 296.3 / 4. CNG EA 273 (2012) Lot 35. 5.64g, 18mm, 12h = HNO 296.4 / 5. SNG Fitzwilliam 4694. 4.43g, 19–20mm. / 6. SNG München 270. 6.34g, 18mm, 2h. / 7. Jacquier Auc. 38 (2013) Lot 111. 4.58g, 17mm. = Jacquier Auc. 37 (2012) Lot 139 = HNO 296.5. / 8. SNG Belgium 754. 5.17g, 17mm, 1h. / 9. Hauck Auc. 18 (2004) Lot 256. 5.23g. 18mm. = HNO 296.2 / 10. SNG von Aulock 2580. 5.30g, 19mm. Keramiedon (misread) = HNO 296.1 / 11. SNG Tübingen 3414. 5.08g, 19–18mm, 6h. Ho. Rev: Keramie- Deon. (misread) / 12. BM 1991,0130.56. 5.6g, 11h. / 13. SNG Ashmolean 49. 4.19g, 18mm, 12h. Acq. Weller 08/01/1980 = HNO 296.6. / *14. BNF FG 418. 4.78g = HNO 296.7. / 15. GHN Auc. 343 (26.9.2018) Lot 2226. 19mm. = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex J. Elsen 59, 1999, Lot Nr. 134. / 16. VA Auc. 329 (6.4.2018) Lot 164. 5.16g, 19mm, 1h = HNO 296.8 / 17. Mionnet Supp. VI no. 206. AE6, R8.

Magistrate unknown: Two specimens with no images provided. 1. ANS 1944.100.47757. 5.1g, 18mm, 12h. / 2. Mionnet Supp. VI no. 207. AE3, R8. Keramieion (misread?).

B.4 AE

B.4A (Large unit):

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r. Dotted border.

Rev: KEPAMIH. EPMOΦANTOC around the boukephalion.

Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1626 (four specimens).

1. ANS 2007.15.18. 5.391g, 17.8mm, 12h. = Lanz Auc. 131 (2006, Sammlung Karl) Lot 207 = HA Auc. 9 (1992) Lot 162 = HNO 1626.2. / *2. CNG EA 311 (2013) Lot 778. 5.56g, 19mm, 12h. = ex-Robert M. Harlick coll. = HNO 1626.1. / 3. Gorny Auc. 196 (2011) Lot 1748. 5.11g, 18mm. = HNO 1626.3. / 4. SNG Ashmolean 48. 5.38g, 17–16mm, 12h. = Acq. Milne 1924 (Nicolaidis, Smyrna 07/1913) = HNO 1626.4.

B.4B (Small unit):

Obv: KEPAMIHTΩN. Archaising youthful male head, r.

Rev: EPMOΦANTOC around the boukephalion.

*1. Tatış Coll. 2741. 2.23g, 12mm, 2h.

Group B may be further categorised into four subgroups as above. The first two are of silver while the other two are of bronze. Six magistrate names come up from B.1; however, Poli-

Leont-, Iason, Hermeas and one unknown magistrate have the reverses in a square incuse after the Rhodian plinthophoric issues. Xeno- and Phass- (or [largi] (?)) had their issues with the ethnic and their names around the boukephalion. The specimens are about 11–13 mm in diameter, and their weights range from 0.83 to 1.24 g. The plinthophoric coins have been attributed slightly later than or the same period as those with the legend around the type by the editors of HNO. The silver issues seem to have been struck as hemidrachms.

B.2 stands with a single specimen for the time being. Now in a private collection in Turkey, this example does not seem to have had a magistrate's name on it. Again the bull protome might suggest a half-unit, but its weight and diameter are comparable to those of B.1.

In the bronze issues of B.3 the obverse type is placed within a dotted border, and only one magistrate name comes up: Leon. Leon's issues have the ethnic and his name flanking the boukephalion on either side. They are all 17–20 mm in diameter and weigh about 4.19–6.34 g. On the other hand, B.4 features issues of Hermophantos with the legend around the boukephalion, a diameter of 18–19 mm, and a weight of 5.11–5.56 g. However, the single specimen of B.4B by Hermophantos is a smaller unit (diameter of 12 mm and weight of 2.23 g), and the obverse type is not within a dotted border. Furthermore, the ethnic is given in full and on the obverse of B.4B, which recalls the issues of D.02 and D.03 from the reign probably of Tiberius (see below).

GROUP C (Zeus / Eagle Series in Silver and Bronze)

During the period of independence from 167 BC to 129 BC, seemingly in parallel with the archaizing youthful male head / boukephalion series, Keramos also struck Zeus / eagle series both in silver and bronze. Zeus, right, on the obverse is depicted as a typical bearded mature male wearing a laurel wreath. The eagle on the reverse features some variations; most examples have a figure advancing left with the head turned back and wings open. In some examples the eagle is in profile with wings closed. In some other examples, the eagle advances right with the head turned back and its wings open. All these three types of eagles are found on the reverses of the silver emissions.

C.1 AR hemidrachms

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: KEPAMI(HTΩN) / magistrate name. Eagle, facing three-quarters, l. or r., wings open, head l. or r. all within square incuse, OR, legend around the eagle.

Dio-: Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 2108. Ethnic is given in full around the eagle, which is in full profile, wings closed, r.

*1. SNG Kayhan 807. 1.52 g, 12 mm = HNO 2108.1.

Askle-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1047 (with four specimens). Eagle r., head l. Spanu no. 2.

*1. Naumann Auc. 30 (2015) Lot 227. 1.42 g, 13 mm = HNO 1047.2. / 2. SNG Cop 188. 1.01 g, 14mm, 12h = HNO 1047.1 / 3. Winterthur 3380. 1.82 g, 15 mm. 1h. / 4. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2227. 1.60g. = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex Hirsch 214, 2001, Los Nr. 1424 = HNO 1047.3 / 5. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2227. 1.58g. = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex Hirsch 214, 2001, Los Nr. 1424 = HNO 1047.4

Leonteus (fig. 6.a): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1586. Eagle l., head r. C-form sigma. Spanu no. 4.

*1. BNF FG 415 (inv. M 3199). 2.28g = HNO 1586.1.

Hermogen-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1587. Eagle r., head l. Spanu no. 5.

*1. BNF FG 416. 1.75g, 14mm = Waddington 2293 = HNO 1587.1.

Polites: Magistrate name is written with a C-shaped sigma. Eagle l., head r. Not listed on HNO.

1. BMC 1. 2.5g, 13.5 mm, 11h.

Politon: Mionnet III. Vol. 2, no. 200 (unillustrated) cites “Keramiepoliton”. This may refer to a magistrate with the name of Politon (Cf. D.14 below).

Magistrate unknown: Magistrate names are not known from three coins – two from ANS without images and the last one (BNF) illegible.

1. ANS 1944.100.47756. 2.51g. / 2. ANS 1983.51.547. 2.37g, 13mm, 12h. / *3. BNF E429. 1.68g.

C.2 AE

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r. Dotted border

Rev: KEPAMI / magistrate name. Eagle, facing three-quarters, l., wings open, head r.

Leon: Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 1585. (Spanu nos. 16 and 17)

*1. BNF 1966.453.6164. 5.61g, 22mm = HNO 1585.1 (Spanu 17) / 2. BNF FG 417. 8.19g, 21mm = HNO 1585.2 (Spanu 16)

Hermophantos (fig. 6b): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 592 (with four specimens) and no. 2175 (with one specimen: ANS 2007.15.19, ethnic in full on the obverse and magistrate name full on the reverse within a circle). Spanu no. 18.

1. ANS 2007.15.19. 7.36g, 22mm = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 208 = HNO 2175.1. / 2. BMC 3. 1.95g, 23mm. = Inv. no. BM 1885,0606.214. / 3. Winterthur 3381. 6.97g, 22.7mm, 12h. / 4. SNG Kayhan II 1644. 8.77g, 21mm, 12h. = CNG EA 206 Lot 151 = ex-Alighieri coll. = HNO 592.2. / 5. Lindgren and Kovacs 1985, 629. 8.15g, 21 mm. / 6. Bodrum Museum Inv. no. 3806. 7.62g, 21mm, 12h. / 7. CNG EA 206 (2009) Lot 150. 6.34g, 20mm, 12h = HNO 592.3. / 8. SNG Finland I 92. 8.40g, 20mm, 1h. acq. 1973 = HNO 592.1. / 9. MMD Auc. 13 (2003) Lot 432. 8.16g, 20mm = ex Righetti coll. = HNO 592.4. / *10. Tatiş Coll. 2167. 6.95g, 20mm, 1h. / 11. Mionnet III. Vol. 2, 201. AE4, R8. / *12. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 36576. 7.86g, 21.1mm, 12h.

Hierogenes: Attributed to 129–31 BC by HNO no. 1588. Eagle full facing, l., head r. within a circle. Ethnic in full on the obverse; magistrate name on the reverse. Spanu no. 15.

*1. BNF FG 419. 7.06g, 18mm = Waddington 2295 = HNO 1588.1

Magistrate unknown: One specimen at the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology (inv. no. 921) is quite worn making it impossible to determine the name of the magistrate. However, the style of the eagle advancing left recalls that of Hermophantos’ single issue with ethnic in full on the obverse and magistrate’s name on the reverse (ANS 2007.15.19).

1. Bodrum Museum Inv. no. 921. 5.77g, 20mm, 12h.

Variation?

This single coin at the Munich collection (SNG München 271: 20 mm, 6.20 g) stands out with its reverse type: eagle in profile, r., wings closed, with a *kerykeion* on its back. The editors noted that the ethnic is given horizontally as K–EPAM with the last three letters in ligature. However, the absence of *kerykeion* and ligatures (or, monograms) as well as the legend to be given horizontally elsewhere on the coins compiled for this study suggests that this may be a misattribution to Keramos.¹⁴

¹⁴ A similar misattribution is noted for BMC nos. 4, 5, 6 and Naumann Auc. 56 Lot 249 (obv. turreted head of Tyche; rev. K-E. *kerykeion*) which should be reattributed to Keraitai in Pisidia. I would like to thank Dr. K. Konuk for the correction.

C.3 AE

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: KEPAMI / magistrate name. Eagle, three-quarters facing, r., head r. wings closed, all within square incuse, OR, legend around the reverse type without incuse.

Melant--? / Melas: Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 2281. Legend around the eagle. Magistrate name is listed as Melas- on the auction's website and as Melant- on HNO.¹⁵

*1. Naumann 74 (3.2.2019) Lot 147. 1.97g, 12mm = HNO 2281.1

Diony(s)-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1048 (with three specimens). Reverse incuse. Spanu 10.

*1. SNG Kayhan II 1643. 2.10g, 15mm, 12h. = MMD Auc. 17 (2005) Lot 882 = HNO 1048.2. / 2. MMD Auc. 30 (2009) Lot 567. 1.89g = ex R. Müller coll. = HNO 1048.3. / 3. SNG Muğla 85. 1.80g, 12 mm, 11h. Inv. no. 794. / 4. SNG Muğla 86. 1.68g, 11 mm, 12h. Inv. no. 69. / 5. SNG Cop 189. 1.65g, 14mm, 12h = HNO 1048.1 (Spanu 10)

Apol-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 591 (with four specimens). One exception of 6.58 g for BMC no. 2 = BM inv. no. 1872.0709.188. Reverse incuse. Spanu 8.

1. BPeus Auc. 384 (2005) Lot 302. 1.83g = BPeus Auc. 376 (2003) Lot 439 = HNO 591.2. / 2. BMC 2. 6.58g, 13mm, 11h. Env. no. 1872.0709.188. (PLXII.9). / 3. SNG Finland I 91. 1.70g, 13mm, 12h = HNO 591.1. / 4. BNF FG 420. 1.80g = HNO 591.3. / *5. BNF FG 421. 1.51g, 12mm = Waddington 2294 = HNO 591.4. / *6. Tatış Coll. 2169. 1.54g, 12mm, 11h. / 7. Savoca OA 25 (2018) Lot 318. 1.58g, 11mm HNO 591.5

Phanth-: Not listed on HNO. Reverse incuse.

*1. SNG Greece 5 1466. 1.6g, 14 mm.

Ker-: Not listed on HNO. Reverse incuse.

1. SNG Tübingen 3413. 1.39g, 12mm, 12h. / 2. Weber 6457. 1.68g, 10–11mm.

Py-: Not listed on HNO. 1. BM 1979,0101.1059. 1.53g, 12h. ex-von Aulock (no number given)

Magistrate unknown: Ten coins: one at BM – no image and no magistrate name given on website. Two coins at Milas Museum collection not legible; however, the style of eagle for Milas inv. no. 2059 recalls that of SNG Tübingen 3413. The legend of Milas inv. no. 1125 runs around the eagle. Seven coins at Aydın Museum collection are not fully legible but inv. nos. 40651 and 40653 (and perhaps 40657?) seem to be of the same magistrate, and inv. nos. 40654 and 40655 seem to belong to another magistrate.

1. BM 1921,0412.53. 1.65g, 11h. / *2. Milas Museum Inv. no. 2059. 1.72g, 11mm, 12h. / *3. Milas Museum Inv. no. 1125. 1.73g, 12.5mm, 12h. / *4. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40651. 1.95g, 13mm, 2h. / *5. Aydın Museum. Inv. no. 40652. 1.40g, 12mm, 12h. / *6. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40653. 2.05g, 12mm, 4h. / *7. Aydın Museum. Inv. no. 40654. 1.18g, 13.2mm, 11h. / *8. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40655. 1.77g, 12.1mm, 10h. / *9. Aydın Museum. Inv. no. 40656. 1.83g, 12mm, 2h. / *10. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40657. 2.18g, 11.9mm, 3h.

C.4 AE

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: KEPAMIH / ΘY. Eagle, standing r., on uncertain object. Legend around.

Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 2190.

*1. HNO 2190.1. 11mm, 12h. Private collection.

¹⁵ The author's reading from the photograph online is Melas. Checking on the LGPN website, it is seen that Melas was quite a popular name in Keramos and neighbouring towns in Caria. One Melas (IK Keramos 4 l. 33, attributed to the 3rd–2nd century BC) was the father of a Leonteus. This is a name we know as a magistrate who minted a silver emission of C.1 (attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1586). However, it is not known if this Leonteus, son of Melas, is the magistrate on the C.1 silver coin. There is also a certain Melas in the Ashton Collection (unpublished) (LGPN Vb no. 9397 attributed to the 1st century BC).

In Group C, four major subgroups step forth. The first one (C.1) is of silver hemidrachms. Diameters range from 12 to 15 mm and the weights from 1.01 to 2.5 g. Five magistrate names come up as Polites, Dio-, Askle-, Leonteus, Hermogen- and names on three specimens are not known or legible. Although the Zeus type on the obverse is quite uniform, the eagle figures on the reverses are quite varied. The coin by Dio- depicts an eagle in profile, r. and legend around it, and are accordingly attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO. All other specimens of C.1 depict the eagle within a square incuse, facing, advancing r. or l., with head turned opposite direction; ethnic and magistrate name flank this eagle figure.

Subgroup C.2 comprise large unit bronze issues with the obverse Zeus type within a dotted border. On the reverse, the eagle is facing three-quarters, advancing l., with head turned opposite direction. The legend runs around the eagle figure. The magistrates attested are Hierogen-, Leon and Hermophantos. Hermophantos' emissions have two types. One specimen at ANS (inv. no. 2007.15.19) has the ethnic on the obverse and the magistrate's name on the reverse. The other type by Hermophantos has both the ethnic and his name around the eagle figure on the reverse within a circle. Hierogen-'s issue also features a circle on the reverse. The subgroup has a diameter of 18–23 mm, mostly slight variance with each magistrate.

Subgroup C.3 is small units. The reverse type is within a square incuse, and there is no dotted border on the obverse, similar to the silver emissions of C.1. As with the other coins with square incuse, the legend comprising the ethnic and magistrate name flank the eagle figure on either side. Magistrate names attested from this group include Dionys-, Apol-, Phanth-, Ker-, Py- and Melas (or Melant-).

Subgroup C.4 is attested on a single specimen in a private collection. The Zeus figure on the obverse is accompanied with an eagle standing on an unidentified object on the reverse. The magistrate name is Thy-.

GROUP D (Roman Provincial Issues)

A total of twenty-one series with imperial portraits and five without imperial portraits have been attested from publications. Surprisingly none are from the local museums' inventory books. These start with the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius and continue with interruptions until the reign of Caracalla. Among these, Antoninus Pius and Caracalla step forth with five different types each, followed by Hadrian and Commodus with three types. Nero and Trajan authorized two emissions. On the other hand, Trajan, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Geta each have a single coin type whereas one is attributed to Livia and two without imperial portraits likely date to the reign of Tiberius.

The reverse types of Keramos coins with imperial portraits are dominated by the archaising head and various depictions of Zeus. Other reverse types include Nemeses (type D.14), Athena (D.19), Dionysus (D.17), bull's head (D.06), Artemis (D.20) and legend within a wreath (D.13, D.25). Those without imperial portraits are dominated by the archaising youthful male head (D.03, D.07, D.10, D.15); other types include laureate youthful male head (D.02, D.03), legend within wreath (D.07, D.10), eagle (D.02) and bull (D.15).

AUGUSTUS / TIBERIUS (27 BC – 37 AD)

LIVIA

D.01

Obv: ΣΕΒΑ. Bust of Livia, draped, r. dotted border.

Rev: ΙΕΡΟΓΕΝΗ ΚΕΡΑ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Magistrate: Hierogene(s)

*1. Lanz Auc. 146 Lot 356. 6.16g, 20mm.

D.02

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Laureate, unbearded head, r.

Rev: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. Eagle, wings open.

Magistrate: Hermophantos.

1. RPC I supp. 2773A. 3.15g, 19(12–13)mm, 12h = BM 1990.0717.1. / 2. MMD Auc. 13 Lot 434. 3.37g, 16 mm.

Variation:

Obv: [...] Laureate, unbearded head, r; dotted border.

Rev: Eagle, facing, wings open, head r.

*3. Tatiş Coll. 2171. 3.60g, 15.5mm, 12h.

D.03

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Laureate, unbearded head, r.

Rev: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Magistrate: Hermophantos.

*1. MMD Auc. 13 Lot 433. 5.58g, 18mm. / 2. RPC I Suppl. 2773B. 4.07g, 16–17mm, 12h = JSW

NERO (AD 54–68)

D.04

Obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureate head of Nero, r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑΣ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Magistrate: Euandros (arxas)

1. Naumann Auc. 15 Lot 431. 7.40g, 23mm. = RPC I Supp. 2774A.1. / *2. Naville Auc. 22 (1.5.2016) Lot 251. 7.36g, 23 mm = RPC I Supp. 2774A.2 (CGT)

D.05

Obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureate head of Nero, r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑΣ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ. Head of Zeus, bearded, r.

Magistrate: Euandros (arxas)

1. RPC I 2774.1. 7.54g. = Berlin I-B (GRMK 1). / *2. BNF FG 422. 11.00g. = RPC I 2774.2

TRAJAN (98–117)

D.06

Obv: []ΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ (?). Laureate head (of Trajan?), r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Head of bull, three-quarters facing.

*1. RPC III 2192 [=CNG BMS 54, 14 June 2000 Lot 1111]. 1.10g, 13mm.

D.07 ca. AD 100

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙ / ΝΤΟΝ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Rev: []ΕΒΑ[] / ΤΟ[] within wreath

*1. ANS 2007.15.20. 7.399 g, 23.5 mm, 2h = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 209. Rev: cmk. bucranium within square incuse.

HADRIAN (117–138)

D.08

Obv: ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ []ΑΔΡΙΝΟC (sic). Laureate bust of Hadrian, r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑC Κ[]ΜΟΥ. Laureate head of Zeus, r.; eagle before, r.

Magistrate: Κ(udi)mos (arxas)

*1. RPC III 2193. 14.03g, 27mm. 1V GR 36017 = ex-Brüder Egger, Th. Prowe coll., 11 May 1914, lot 1199.

D.09

Obv: []ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟC. Laureate head of Hadrian, r.

Rev: []ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Archaising youthful head, r.

*1. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) 2596 = BPeus Auc. 366 Lot 675 = RPC III 2194. 6.00g, 22mm. (M. Burstein coll., 29 Oct. 2000).

D.10

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΙ CΕΒΑCΤΟΙ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Rev: ΑΡΞΑC / ΚΥΔΙΜΟC / ΙΕΡΩΝΥ/ΜΟΥ within laurel wreath.

Magistrate: Kudimos Hieronimou (arxas)

*1. RPC III 2195.1. 7.18 g, 22mm. O. Weller 1970 = Ashmolean. / 2. RPC III 2195.2. 7.31 g, 23mm. = Vienna GR 36449 = Spanu no.39 / 3. RPC III 2195.3. 8.90 g, 23mm. Maiuri, A. 1921–2. “Viaggio di esplorazione in Caria II, Inscrizioni, nuove iscrizioni della Caria.” *ASAtene* IV–V: 475. Spanu 39.

ANTONINUS PIUS (138–161)

D.11

Obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ CΕΒ ΕΥ. Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, l.

Rev: ΑΙΑΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΗC ΠΡΩΤΟΛΕ ΑΡΞ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing, r., head l., holding patera and sceptre; eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: Ailios Themistokles Protole(ontos) (arxas).

*1. Stack's CG April 2010 Lot 254. 21.29g, 32mm. / 2. RPC IV.2 868(temp).3. 21.53g, 33mm, 6h. = [priv. coll. H.I.J.] / 3. BMC 7 = RPC IV.2 868.1. 18.85g, 33mm, 6h. Inv. no. 1888.0403.87. Magistrate's name read as Proton. Rev: eagle perched on sceptre. Pl. XII.12. / 4. RPC IV.2 868.2 (Vienna). 19.35g, 33mm, 6h. / 5. Mionnet Supp. VI no. 209. AE9 R magendavid.

D.12

Obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ CΕΒ ΕΥ (facing outward). Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, l.

Rev: Π ΑΙΑΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΗC ΠΡΩΤΟ[ΛΕΟΝ ΑΡΞ?] [ΚΕΡ]ΑΜΙ. Archaising deity, standing, r., holding labrys and spear, lion sitting by his feet.

Magistrate: P. Aili(os) Themistokles Protole(ontos) (arxas).

*1. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2613. 23.89g, 31mm. = Ex Sammlung R.P. = Gorny 134, 2004, Los Nr. 1967. / 2. RPC IV.2 3337(temp).1 (Berlin I-B). 24.30g, 33mm, 6h. / 3. RPC IV.2 3337(temp).2. Trieste, Civic Museum (= Friedländer, J. 1875. ZfN 2: 109–10 (drawing of rev.)).

D.13

Obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΑΝ[ΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ?] CΕΒ ΕΥCΕΒ. Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, r.

Rev: ΑΙΑΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΗC ΠΡΩΤΟΛΕ ΑΡΞ ΚΕΡΑΜΙ within laurel wreath.

Magistrate: Aili(os) Themistokles Protole(ontos) (arxas).

1. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).1. 25mm. Trade GRMK no. 2. / 2. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).2. 25mm. GRMK no. 3 (ex-Weber) / 3. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).3. 25mm. L. Robert, Monnaies Grecques (1967), p. 41, pl. I.2 (rev.) / 4. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).4. 8.49g, 25mm, 12h. = Berlin 1926/692. / 5. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).5. 8.06g, 25mm, 6h. = Oxford Ashmolean / *6. Winterthur 3382. 7.85g, 25.2mm, 7h. / 7. SNG Tire 311. 9.54g, 26mm, 6h. Inv. no. 2777.

D.14

Obv: AV K T AIAIOC ANTΩNIN[O]C. Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, r.

Rev: KEPAMHIIΠOΛITΩN(sic). Two Nemeses holding their chitons; the one on the right holding bridle?.

Magistrate: Politon.

*1. BNF FG 423. 7.03g, 25mm. Waddington 2298 authenticity doubtful = RPC IV.2 2718 (temp).

D.15

Obv: ΘEMICTOKΛHΣ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Rev: KEPAM (?). Bull, standing, r.

Magistrate: Themistokles.

*1. SNG Tübingen 3415. 2.68g, 16.5–17mm, 6h.

COMMODUS (177–192)

D.16

Obv: [] AV KOMOΔOC. Youthful bust of Commodus, short bearded, r.

Rev: EΠI ΔIOΔO APΞ KEPA[MIH]TΩN. Archaising deity, r., holding labrys and spear; lion reclining by his feet, r.

Magistrate: Diodo(tos) (arxas).

*1. BMC 8. 19.14g, 36mm, 6h. = BM Inv. no. 1865.1205.1 = Spanu 31= RPC IV.2 870 (temp).

D.17

Obv: AY KAI Λ AYP[H?]. Bust of Commodus, r.

Rev: [M KΛ EPMOΦAN]TOC APΞAC KEPAMIHTΩN. Dionysus standing, l., holding thyrsus in l. and cantharus in r.; a panther by his feet, l.

Magistrate: M. Kl. Hermophantos (arxas).

*1. SNG Tübingen 3416. 10.89g, 29mm, 6h.= RPC IV.2 11530 (temp)

D.18

Obv: AY KAI Λ AYP KOMMOΔOC AYΓ. Laureate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: M KΛ EPMOΦANTOC APΞAC KEPAMIHTΩN. On left, archaising deity, standing, r., holding labrys; on right, Zeus Chrysaoreus standing, l., holding sceptre; both hold a trident in between; lion and eagle by his feet respectively.

Magistrate: M. Kl. Hermophantos (arxas).

1. RPC IV.2 871 (temp).1 = B 28222. 33.26g, 38mm, 6h. / 2. RPC IV.2 871 (temp).2 = B I-B. 24.48g, 35mm, 6h. / *3. RPC IV.2 871 (temp).3 = ANS 1971.230.43. 28.23g, 38mm, 6h. Rev: Zeus handshakes with Egyptian deity.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193–211)

D.19

Obv: AY[T] KAI [C]Λ CEΠ CE[YHP]OC ΠEPT. Laureate head of S. Severus, r.

Rev: / ΘCOM[...] MC A Π APXH KCPAMI (sic). Athena, standing, facing, head to l., holding aegis and spear; shield by her feet.

Magistrate: Theom[-] Me[-] A. P. (arche)

*1. CNG MBS 78 Lot 1323. 14.08g, 30mm, 6h.

JULIA DOMNA

D.20

Obv: IOYΛIA ΔOMNA CEBAC. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev:]AHC AΠOΛΛONIDOC APΞ KEPA... Artemis the huntress, advancing r.

Magistrate: Themistok]les Apollonidou (arxas).

*1. BNF FG 424. 10.84g, 30mm = Spanu 33.

Augustus / Tiberius / Livia	D.01 Archaising head 20 mm (6.16 g) Hierogene- (1 ea.)	D.02 Obv. laureate head / rev. eagle 16-19 mm (3.15-3.60 g) Hermophantos RPC I Supp. 2773A (2 variations; 3 ea.)	D.03 Obv. laureate head / rev. archaising head 16-18 mm (4.07-5.58 g) Hermophantos RPC I Supp. 2773 B (2 ea.)		
Nero	D.04 Archaising head 23 mm (7.36-7.40 g) arxas Euandros RPC I Supp. 2774A (2 ea.)	D.05 Head of Zeus Diameter unknown (7.54-11.0 g) arxas Euandros RPC I 2774 (2 ea.)			
Trajan	D.06 Bull's head 13 mm (1.10 g) RPC III 2192 (1 ea.)	D.07 Obv. archaising head / rev. legend within wreath 23.5 mm (7.4 g) (1 ea.)			
Hadrian	D.08 Head of Zeus 27 mm (14.03 g) arxas Kudimou RPC III 2193 (1 ea.)	D.09 Archaising head 22 mm (6.00 g) RPC III 2194 (1 ea.)	D.10 Obv. archaising head / rev. legend within wreath 22-23 mm (7.18-8.90 g) arxas Kudimos Hieronimou RPC III 2195 (3 ea.)		
Antoninus Pius	D.11 Zeus Chrys. 32-33 mm (18.85-21.53 g) Alii. Themistokles Protrole- arx. RPC IV.2 868 (temp) (5 ea.)	D.12 Archaising deity 33 mm (23.89-24.30 g) P. Alii. Themistokles Protrole- arx. RPC IV.2 3337 (temp) (3 ea.)	D.13 Legend within wreath 25 mm (7.85-8.49 g) Alii. Themistokles Protrole- arx. RPC IV.2 869 (temp) (7 ea.)	D.14 Nemeses 25 mm (7.03 g) Politon RPC IV.2 2718 (temp) "Doubtful" (1 ea.)	D.15 Obv. archaising head / rev. bull 17 mm (2.68 g) Themistokles (1 ea.)

Issuing authority					
Commodus	D.16 Archaising deity 36 mm (19.14 g) Diodo- arx. RPC IV.2 870 (temp) (1 ea.)	D.17 Dionysus 29 mm (10.89 g) M. Kl. Hermophantos arxas RPC IV.2 11530 (temp) (1 ea.)	D.18 Archaising deity and Zeus Chrys. 35–38 mm (24.48–33.26 g) M. Kl. Hermophantos arxas RPC IV.2 871 (temp) (3 ea.)		
Septimius Severus	D.19 Athena 30 mm (14.08 g) Theom- Me- A. P. arche. (1 ea.)				
Julia Domna	D.20 Artemis 30 mm (10.84 g) [Themistokles Apollonidou arx. (1 ea.)]				
Geta	D.21 Zeus Chrys. 34 mm (21.02 g) Themistokles Apollonidou arx. (1 ea.)				
Caracalla	D.22 Zeus Chrys. 34 mm (19.39 g) Themistokles Apollon. arx. (1 ea.)	D.23 Temple with archaising deity 31–35 mm (21.79 g) M. Au. Euandros archiatro. arx. A (2 ea.)	D.24 Temple with Zeus Chrys. 35 mm (33.39 g) M. Au. Euandros o archiatro. arx. (1 ea.)	D.25 Legend within wreath Diameter unknown (12.03 g) M. Au. Euandros B archiatr. arxas (1 ea.)	D.26 Archaising deity and Zeus Chrys. 30–34 mm (14.73–22.30 g) Kallistratos Apollonid. arch. (4 ea.)

Fig. 1 Overview of coins of the Roman imperial period. Those with imperial portrait on the obverse are represented here with only the reverse type; those without imperial portraits are listed with obv. / rev. types (D.02, D.03, D.07, D.10, D.15). If existing, magistrate names are listed as they are given in the legend. The corresponding numbers of the types on RPC are also given where applicable. The number of specimens attested are given in parentheses.

GETA (Augustus: 209–212)

D.21

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Α ΣΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΣ. Laureate bust of Geta, r.

Rev: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΞΕ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing, r., holding sceptre and patera, eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: Themistokles Apollonidou (arxas)

*1. SNG von Aulock 2582. 21.02g, 34mm. = BM 1979,0101.1871. 20.96g

CARACALLA (197–217)

D.22

Obv: [...]ΑΥΡ – [...]. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΑΡΞΕ ΚΗΡΑ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing, r., holding sceptre and patera, eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: Themistokles Apollon(idou) (arxas)

*1. MMD Auc. 13 Lot 435. 19.39g, 34mm. = NAC Auc. 100 Lot 1251. ex-Righetti.

D.23

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: Μ ΑΥ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡΟ ΑΡΞΕ Α ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Archaising deity, standing within tetrastyle temple, r., flanked with a lion on either side.

Magistrate: M. Au. Euandros Archiatro[-] (arxas)

*1. SNG vonAulock 2581. 21.79g, 31mm = BM 1979.0101.1869 = Spanu 37.1. / 2. I-B no. 5. 35mm = Spanu 37.2

D.24

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: Μ ΑΥ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ο ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡΟ ΑΡΞΕ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing within tetrastyle temple, holding sceptre and patera, eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: M. Au. Euandros Archiatro[-] (arxas)

*1. Vienna KHM 35.425. 33.39g, 35mm = Spanu 38.

D.25

Obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ – ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Laureate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: Μ ΑΥ / ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ Β ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡ ΑΡΞΕΑC ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤ within wreath.

Magistrate: M. Au. Euandros B Archiatr[-] (arxas)

*1. Lanz Auc. 109 Lot 633. 12.03g.

D.26

Obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΥ. Laureate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΑΡΧ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. On left archaising deity, standing, r., holding labrys, panther by his feet; on right Zeus Chrysaoreus, facing, head l., holding sceptre, eagle by his feet; both deities hold on another sceptre in between.

Magistrate: Kallistratos Apollonid(ou), arch.

1. SNG Schweiz II 959. 22.30g, 34.1mm, 6h. / 2. SNG München 272. 20.14g, 30–31mm, 4h. / 3. BM 1979,0101.1870. 14.73g, 33mm. = SNG von Aulock N 8104. / *4. BNF FG 425. 20.62g, ex-Waddington.

COMMENTARY

Metals and Denominations

The vast majority of the coins are of bronze. The earliest issues with a bull on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse are of bronze (46 ea.). During the Hellenistic period, two series were minted both in silver (27 ea.) and bronze (68 ea.). During the Roman Imperial period, all emissions were of bronze (51 ea.). To date, no gold coins have been ascribed to Keramos.

Silver emissions:

Extant silver coins (13 ea.) of the archaising youthful male head / boukephalion (B.1) series have an average approximate weight of over 1.00 g (varying between 1.24 to 0.83 g). Their diameter is given as 11 mm for seven specimens and 13 mm for two, while the remaining four are not given. Considering the fact that Keramos lay within the sphere of Rhodian influence, it may be presumed that they used the Rhodian plinthophoric system in which one silver drachm weighed ca. 3.0 g. Normally one would be inclined to think of a hemidrachm about 1.5 g, a diobol ca. 1.0 g. However, considering that not only weights but also the diameters conform and that silver loses mass easily, then it may be plausible to consider them as hemidrachms just as the editors of HNO do (nos. 295, 2176, 2294, 2296, 2297, 2299). The single specimen of B.2 also conforms to these limits (fig. 2).

Extant silver coins (13 ea.) of the Zeus / eagle (C.1) series feature a wider range of masses. Nine examples varying from 2.51 to 1.52 g may indicate drachm; two specimens of 1.42 and 1.01 g may suggest hemidrachm. Indeed, the Group 2 hemidrachm Group A of Stratonikeia varies between 1.79 and 0.97 g¹⁶ and based on this it may be proposed that only four specimens over 2 g are drachms and remaining seven coins weighing from 1.82 to 1.01 g may be hemidrachms (fig. 2).

As the extant examples do not include any stater or tetradrachms, it may be proposed that Keramos probably used Rhodian or Stratonikeian currency for bigger expenses but preferred minting its own coinage for minor interactions. Indeed, it is necessary to have a bigger collection for better and safer conclusions; however, it seems that we have to wait until excavations bring to light more specimens and hopefully some hoards.

Bronze emissions:

The earliest bull / dolphin emissions with the Carian legend (A.1 and A.2) have survived in one unit of 9–10 mm (0.66–1.18 g). The three examples of the bull protome / dolphin series seem to be somewhat smaller: ca. 7–9 mm (0.84–1.35 g). The two series with Greek legend KE (A.3 and A.4) seem to have been struck in one unit of ca. 10–11 mm with an average weight of 1.03–1.50 g. However, one coin in the BNF Collection (Inv. no. AA.GR.10355) is published with a weight of 2.26 g – and no diameter given – which is double the weight of other specimens, and thus may suggest a bigger unit.

The archaising youthful head / boukephalion series in bronze (B.3 and B.4) can be attributed to the period of independence, i.e. 167–129 BC, like the silver emissions of the same group. The B.3 bronze series seems to have been minted only in one unit of 16–20 mm (4.19–6.34 g). However, B.4 seems to comprise two units by the same magistrate, Hermophantos.

¹⁶ Meadows 2002, 81–91. Indeed, very few examples are over 1.5 g and the lowest values are noted as “corroded” or “broken”, i.e. missing mass.

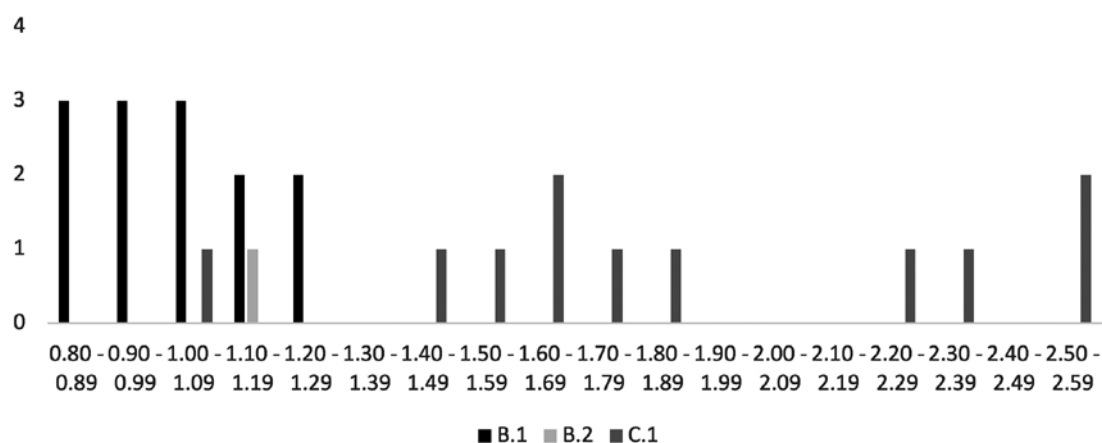


Fig. 2 Weight Distribution of Silver Emissions

The big unit (HNO 1626) has a mass of 5.11–5.56 g and a diameter varying from 16 to 19 mm. The small unit, attested as a single specimen in a private collection in Turkey, weighs 2.23 g and is 12 mm in diameter. Both units of B.4 feature the legend around the boukephalion and no square incuse.

The head of Zeus / eagle series in bronze (C.2 and C.3) was struck in two units: The big unit (C.2) of 18–23 mm (5.77–8.79 g) and the small unit (C.3) of 10–15 mm (1.39–2.10 g). In both units, BMC 3 (1.95 g, 23 mm) and BMC 2 (6.58 g, 13 mm) seem to be out of context, suggesting a possible mistake either in earlier BMC publication or online values.¹⁷ Three examples at the BNF with magistrates Hierogenes (18 mm) and Leon (21–22 mm) are attributed to 129–31 BC and 250–180 BC respectively by the editors of HNO. The examples of the small unit step forth with their reverse-type eagles and legend placed within a square incuse. The new type of C.4 is a small unit (11 mm).

Roman provincial coins of Keramos (Group D) can be categorised as small, medium and large units (fig. 1). The smallest issue is D.06 (Trajan) with 13 mm. It is followed by D.02 and D.03 with 16–19 mm range and D.01 with 20 mm; D.15 (Antoninus Pius) has a diameter of 17 mm. The medium group would include D.04, D.07, D.09, D.10 with a range of 22–23 mm; D.13 and D.14 with 25 mm and D.08 with 27 mm and D.17 with 29 mm. All the rest have a diameter of 30 mm and over with D.18 reaching up to 38 mm. Basically, big units with 30+ mm start with Antoninus Pius. Diameters for D.05 and D.25 are not known.

Bull Figures

The earliest coins of Keramos are those with a bull on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse (Group A). These symbols should be related with the main areas of income / livelihood of the city as agriculture and sea. In the 2nd century BC, the archaising youthful head / bull head (boukephalion) series in silver and bronze (Group B) also continue the same bull

¹⁷ Cf. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1258773&partId=1&searchText=1885,0606.214&page=1 and

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1258686&partId=1&searchText=1872,0709.188&page=1

symbol. But with the Roman rule over the city, the bull disappears from the coins and is attested only on single extant specimens from the reign of Trajan (D.06) and Antoninus Pius (D.15).

The bulls on the coins of Group A are full figures standing, r. (A.1, A.3, A.4) and bull protome r. or l. (A.2); also on D.15. The bull heads, i.e. boukephalion – not the bull skulls (bucranium) seen on Group A and B – are facing images. Only the specimens A.2 and B.2 are a bull head, r., or l., with the face turned to the viewer; a similar version is also seen on the single specimen D.06.

In the inscriptions published by Varinlioğlu, nos. 7 and 9 mention the “bull sacrifice festival” (*taurothusia*), which originated before the Greek period and was the greatest festival in the city.¹⁸ However, no details are known regarding this festival, which is also attested at Magnesia on the Maeander.¹⁹ Şahin cites a *taurophonia* festival celebrated for Zeus Osogollis.²⁰ Similar bull sacrifice is also noted in Mylasa.²¹

Dolphin Figures

The earliest coins depict the dolphin on the reverse; yet surprisingly it is not seen again. Coins of neighbouring Halikarnassos feature the dolphin only between the prongs of a trident on the reverses. Further west, Iasos minted coins with a youth swimming together with a dolphin arising from a local story. In the absence of stories from Keramos, it is difficult to link the dolphin figure to anything but the marine way of life at Keramos.

Archaising Figures and Zeus

The archaising youthful male head with long hair falling on the shoulders on the Roman-period coins of Group D is similar to that seen on the autonomous coins of the period of independence in the 2nd century BC (Group B). He is not accompanied by any attributes, and the absence of a beard leads to his identification as Apollo in many publications. This head is also attested on the reverses of D.01 and D.03 (Livia and Tiberius), D.04 (Nero), D.07 (Trajan), D.09 (Hadrian), and on the obverses of D.10 (Hadrian) and D.15 (Antoninus Pius).

The full figure of an archaising deity with long hair, short-skirted tight dress holds a spear and double-axe and is accompanied by a lion/panther. He seems to be unbearded. This figure is generally identified in publications as Zeus Labraundos (D.12 Antoninus Pius, D.16 Commodus). The same, full figure of the archaising deity, flanked with a lion on either side and holding a sceptre and double-axe, is also attested within a tetrastyle temple (D.23) from the reign of Caracalla.

The typical bearded head of Zeus, accompanied either with an eagle or not, is seen on the reverses of types D.05 (Nero) and D.08 (Hadrian). It is similar to that seen on the obverses of the Zeus / eagle series from the Hellenistic period (Group C).

The full figure of a typical Zeus is clad in a long himation, holding a sceptre and a patera, and accompanied by an eagle at his feet (D.11 Antoninus Pius, D.21 Geta and D.22 Caracalla). He is identified in publications as Zeus Chrysaoreus. The same full figure of a typical Zeus is also attested within a tetrastyle temple (D.24) from the reign of Caracalla.

¹⁸ CGRN 168 (<http://cgrn.philo.ulg.ac.be/file/168/>), dated to ca. 200–100 BC.

¹⁹ Varinlioğlu 1986, 6; CGRN 194 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/194/>).

²⁰ Şahin 2001, 138.

²¹ CGRN 150 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/150/>).

The full figures of archaising deity and Zeus are also seen together: on the left, archaising deity, three-quarters facing with his head in profile, advancing right, holding a sceptre and a double-axe, accompanied with a panther; on the right, Zeus Chrysaoreus, or Osogollis, clad in long himation, depicted facing with his head turned left, holding his own sceptre in his left hand and archaising deity's sceptre with his right hand. This type was minted by Commodus (D.18) and Caracalla (D.26).

Calling for attention is the identification of the archaising figure as Apollo when depicted as a head in profile without any attributes, and as "Zeus Labraundos" when depicted as a full figure holding a double-axe and a sceptre / spear and accompanied by a panther. The full figure of "Zeus Labraundos" seems to be unbearded as well. There are two series with a temple type (D.23 and D.24 Caracalla). The same archaising "Zeus" figure is depicted standing in a tetrastyle temple with a triangular pediment (D.23). He is flanked with a panther, or lion, on either side and holds a double-axe and a spear in his hands. The other series with a temple type (D.24) depicts the typical bearded and draped Zeus (Chrysaoreus) accompanied by an eagle.

On the coins of neighbouring Mylasa, the image of Zeus Labraundos features a bearded figure, draped, holding a double-axe and a spear²² (fig. 4a). Zeus Osogollis is depicted draped, holding an eagle and a trident²³ (fig. 4a). Zeus Karios is depicted standing facing, draped, holding a spear and a shield in profile on the ground between his leg, and the shield is an eagle perched on a curving rock²⁴ (fig. 4b). Zeus Stratios is depicted also holding a double-axe and a spear²⁵ (fig. 4c). Indeed, it is known that the cult image of Zeus Labraundos (*xoanon*) had a bearded head, multiple breasts, wearing tight long skirt, and sticks stretching to the ground from his outstretched wrists²⁶ (fig. 4d), almost reminiscent of Artemis Ephesia. Zeus Labraundos was sometimes accompanied by a panther/lion.²⁷ However, none of these Zeus figures have a similar iconography as the archaising "Zeus" figure of Keramos.

The common Carian image of a laureate head with long wavy hair, but no beard, on the obverses of numerous coins from the region is identified as Apollo or Helios (fig. 4c). An archaic *kouros* head found at Keramos in the first half of the 20th century recalls the archaising head seen on the coins²⁸ (fig. 5). Furthermore, the rock relief at Günneçik Pass near Gökbel village, holding a double-axe, also recalls the Keramian "Zeus Labraundos" on coins²⁹ (fig. 6). It is possible that the archaising head of earlier and Roman times and the archaising full figure holding a double-axe and spear from the Roman times on the coins of Keramos were the same local deity, whose identity is shrouded in mist due to a scarcity of evidence arising from absence of systematic excavations and surveys. The labrys seen on the bronze bull / dolphin series should also be related to this local deity of Keramos. It is clear that the archaising deity was a local one of Carian Keramos because the image of this deity / these deities persists until the very end. Most likely he was / they were assimilated to Apollo and/or Zeus [Labraundos]

²² See e.g. SNG Kayhan II 1663 AR 26mm, 12.77g, 12h (3rd century BC).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See, e.g. Mylasa, Gemini Auc. III (2007) Lot 373, AR 10.50g (reign of Hadrian).

²⁵ See, e.g. Mylasa, OGN PC (Oct. 2007) Lot 226, AR 14.93g (reign of Hadrian). Note the head of Apollo on the obverse of this coin.

²⁶ See, e.g. Mylasa, CNG EA 212 (2009) Lot 192, AE 41mm, 26.22g, 7h (Caracalla and Geta).

²⁷ Şahin 2001, 89.

²⁸ Robert and Devambez 1935.

²⁹ Varinlioğlu 1986, 6, pl. IV, fig. 2.

over time. However, in the absence of systematic excavations and a scarcity of materials, all of these suggest that further comprehensive study necessary for the final identification of the archaizing figures attested on the coins of Keramos awaits new finds.

Laureate Youthful Male Head

There is one more figure shrouded in mystery. This laureate head belongs to a young male and is attested in the Roman Imperial period only: D.02 and D.03. The specimens given in the RPC Supplement volume are complemented by another example from a private auction company, and the laureate head on them is quite similar: unbearded and short hair. However, one example attested in the Tatiş Collection has a typology similar to that of D.02. However, the laureate head has a nose more like an eagle's beak and a thicker neck, recalling similar Demos figures seen on the coins of many cities.

Magistrates

Among the coins of the bull / dolphin series (Group A) attributed to the Classical period, only one specimen has ΞE on the obverse,³⁰ which may be considered the initials of a magistrate. But this is far from certain. It is not even clear whether these two letters are in Greek (*ksi-epsi-lon*) or in ancient Carian language transliterated as *í-ù*.³¹

For the archaizing youthful male head / boukephalion series (Group B): The names attested on the silver specimens are Xeno-, Poli-, Leont-, Iason, Phass- (or [largi-] (?)) and Hermeas. On the bronze coins, Leon and Hermophantos are found.

For the head of Zeus / eagle series (Group C): On its silver coins are the names Dio-, Askle-, Leonteus, Hermogen-, Polites and Politon. More names are known from the bronze coins. On the big unit (18–23 mm) are Hermophantos, Hierogenes and Leon seen. On the small unit (10–14 mm) are Dionys-, Apol-, Phanth-, Ker-, Py- and Melant- (or Melas). The size of the coins by Hierogenes is not known. The seven coins from the collection of Aydın Museum seem to have new magistrate names but they are not fully legible. The small unit coin of C.4 gives a new magistrate name as Thy-.

For Group D emissions, Hierogene- minted D.01 (Livia), Hermophantos minted two series D.02 and D.03 (attributed to the reign of Tiberius). In the reign of Nero, Euandros (*arxas*) minted two series, which have the archaizing youthful male head (D.04) and head of Zeus (D.05) on their reverses. In the reign of Hadrian, Kudimos (*arxas*) was responsible for one series (D.08) and Kudimos Hierônymou (*arxas*) one series (D.10). However, considering the two series by Euandros in the reign of Nero reproducing the same two deities, D.09 may have been minted by Kudimos as well.

P. Aili. Themistokles Protole- (*arxas*) was responsible for four series (D.11, D.12, D.13 and D.15) in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The coin with the name Politon and two Nemeses on the reverse (D.14) is recorded as “authenticity doubtful” by the editors of RPC IV. In the reign of Commodus, Diodotos (*arxas*) struck one series: D.16 with archaizing deity. However, M. Kl. Hermophantos (*arxas*) struck two series, D.17 with Dionysus and D.18 depicting the two important deities of Keramos together.

³⁰ SNG Kayhan no. 804.

³¹ Konuk 2000, 163.

Just like in the rest of the empire, the Severan period was quite active for minting. A magistrate with the name Theom- Me- A. P. (*archê*) minted one series for Septimius Severus (D.19). A magistrate with the name of Themistokles Apollonidou (*arx.*) minted one series each for Julia Domna (D.20), Geta (D.21) and for Caracalla (D.22). But there were two other magistrates during the reign of Caracalla, one was Kallistratos Apollonid(ou) (*arch*) (D.26) and the other was M. Au. Euandros Archiatro(s) (B) (*arxas*) (D.23, 24, 25). Based on inscriptions nos. 26 and 29, Varinlioğlu gives the stemma for Euandros and Kallistratos as follows:³²

Hieron Hermodoros → unnamed daughter ∞ Apollonides → sons Kallistratos and Themistokles 1 (Severan period)

Themistokles 1 → sons Themistokles 2 (∞ Aur. Elpis) and Euandros (r. of Caracalla, before and after 212)

Euandros → son M. Aur. Euandros *Archiatros* (r. of Caracalla, after 212)

The most common “term” attested is *arxas*, which is the participle of the verb *archô* and thus refers to the magistracy in charge of minting. According to the editors of RPC III, this verb and participle are very rarely attested on coinage, indeed only at Keramos and Hydisos.³³ The “title” *archiatros* should be referring to the chief physician.

Another name is Protolē-, completed as Protoleonotos. It was used with the name of Ailios Themistokles (D.11, D.12 and D.13). Literally meaning “first lion”, figuratively “the most courageous”, this name is also attested with Po. Ailios Protoleonotos, the son of Ail. Themistokles *Asiarchou kai Chiliarchou* (IK Keramos 31, ll.13–15). Varinlioğlu gives the stemma for the family of Protoleonotos and Themistokles as follows:³⁴

Protoleonotos (r. of Antoninus Pius) → P. Ailios Themistokles (*Asiarch*) (r. of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) → (P.) Ailios Protoleonotos (r. of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus).

Thus, the magistrate list of Münsterberg for Keramos³⁵ can be extended with Leont-, Iason, Xenō-, Phass- (or [largi-]), Hermeas, Ker-, Dio-, Phanth-, Py-, Melant- (or Melas), and Thy- for the pre-Roman period; Hierogene- and Hermophantos for the reign of Tiberius; Kudimos in the reign of Hadrian; Themistokles, P. Aili. Themistokles Proto- in the reign of Antoninus Pius; Diodotos (*arxas*) in the reign of Commodus; and Theom- Me- A. P. (*archê*) in the reign of Septimius Severus. Perhaps the third name Politon should be cautiously added for the reign of Antoninus Pius. And the name given as -des Apollonidou *arch-* for Julia Domna by Münsterberg needs to be corrected to (Themistok)les Apollonidou *arch-*.

Magistrate Hermophantos:

The name Hermophantos comes up several times, yet is chronologically disparate. The first attestation is on the bronze series of a youthful male head / boukephalion (B.4 big and small units) and the big unit B.4A is attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1626.

³² Varinlioğlu 1986, 40–1.

³³ RPC III Part I, 271.

³⁴ Varinlioğlu 1986, 43.

³⁵ Münsterberg 1973, 115.

Hermophantos also struck bronze series of the head of Zeus / eagle (Group C.2) attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO nos. 592 and 2175.

Two series without imperial portraits, namely D.02 (RPC Supp. I 2773A) and D.03 (RPC Supp. I 2773B) bearing the name Hermophantos, are attributed to the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37) by the editors of RPC.

M. Kl. Hermophantos (*arxas*) struck one series for Antoninus Pius (138–161) (RPC IV.2 869 temp.) and two series for Commodus (177–192) (RPC IV.2 871 and 11530 temp.).

Varinlioğlu gives the stemma for a Hermophantos based on inscriptions nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20 as follows:³⁶

Apollokles → Lykiskos (r. of Trajan) → Hermophantos (r. of Trajan) → Hierokles (r. of Trajan)

Aristokrates (r. Trajan) → Aristoneike (r. of Trajan)

Hierokles ∞ Aristoneike → Aristokrates (r. of Hadrian)

Hierokles and Aristoneike commissioned and dedicated many structures at Keramos. However, it seems that this Hermophantos was active in the reign of Trajan and could not be any of our coin-minting magistrates. M. Kl. Hermophantos (*arxas*), who minted coins during the reign of Commodus, could be a son or grandson of Hierokles and Aristoneike.

There is also a [Herm]ophantos for whom an honouring decree was issued: IK Keramos no. 14 l.3. Hermophantos, son of Dio-, is mentioned in a name list (IK Keramos no. 12 l.2 – 2nd–1st century BC). An inscription published on SEG (LIII 1205)³⁷ names a Hermophantos, father of Hermias, and ?son of Hermias, Pythias (2nd–1st century BC). In the name list for contributors to the Sarapis Temple (IK Keramos 4 – 3rd–2nd century BC) are: l.10 father of Apollodoros, l.19: son of Euphanes, l.27: son of Hermon, l.35: father of Apollonios, l.37: father of Polygnotos. IK Keramos 32 l.8 mentions Hermophantou (3rd century AD). IK Keramos no. 53 (b) mentions a Hermophantos, father of Abroneike (Roman Imperial period).³⁸

Furthermore, the two series attributed to the reign of Tiberius feature the full ethnic on the obverse and the magistrate's name on the reverse. The same is true for the small unit bronze B.4B from 167–129 BC. In case the author's stylistic attribution of this single coin B.4B to the 2nd century BC is mistaken, then it could be attributed to the reign of Tiberius based on the organisation of the legends.

Consequently, Keramian people had many citizens with the name of Hermophantos through their history. As new inscriptions and coins appear, we will be able to identify them safer.

³⁶ Varinlioğlu 1986 = IK Keramos, 32.

³⁷ SEG LIII 1205: A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, R.S. Stroud, R.A. Tybout, "SEG 53–1205. Keramos. List of names (?), Hellenistic period." in: *SEG*, eds. A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, N. Papazarkadas, R.A. Tybout. Consulted online 14 March 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a53_1205 First published online: 2003

³⁸ Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGNP) online provides an up-to-date index of names. For Hermophantos see, http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?namenoaccents=%CE%95%CE%A1%CE%9C%CE%9F%CE%A6%CE%91%CE%9D%CE%A4%CE%9F%CE%A3#lgpn_tabs_content_table (these correspond to hardcopy LGPN vol. Vb nos. 6209–6224).

Cults of Ancient Keramos

In addition to the archaising deities discussed above, Zeus (D.05, 08, 11, 21, 22, 24), Athena (D.19), Dionysus (D.17), Nemesis (D.14), and Artemis (D.20) are attested on the coinage of Keramos. Sarapis is attested in an inscription³⁹ but not on coins. The terms *theoi Sebastoi*⁴⁰ (“divine emperors”) and *theoi megaloi*⁴¹ (“great gods”) call for further investigation. Varinlioğlu states that in the Roman period buildings were dedicated to the emperors and the “great gods of Keramos”. Were these “great gods” the archaising deities (one or more?) attested on the coins? As the published inscriptions do not reveal any other information on other cults and the identity of the archaising deities, it is not easy to attain further conclusions under the current circumstances.

Incertii

Two coins in the BNF collection are attributed to Keramos in Caria on the online database: inv. nrs. 425.1 and 425.2. However, no parallel examples have been noted in Keramos or environs. These should belong elsewhere, possibly in northwest Anatolia.⁴²

Two coins listed by Mionnet in the Supplement volume VI, nos. 205 and 208, need also be cited as *incertii*, for they are not illustrated and no parallels have been noted.

Countermarks

In Classical-period coins (Group A.3), a countermark of labrys is attested below the bull figure on the obverse of two specimens (Ashton et al. 1998 nos. 3 and 6). One is with a rectangular frame and the other in a cartouche. These were interpreted as validating marks for A.3 coins when A.4 coins came into the circulation.

One other countermark is the bucranium within a square incuse (Howgego 294) from the reign of Trajan attested on the single specimen D.07 with the archaising youthful male head on the obverse, and inscription within wreath on the reverse. The other one is noted for Mionnet Supp VI 208, listed as *incerti* above, as a pair of branches crossed within a round incuse. However, as with other coins cited by Mionnet, the absence of an image makes it difficult to comment on it.

The use of labrys and bucranium for countermarks at Keramos is entirely plausible because the importance of these figures is well attested in the coin examples known from the city.

³⁹ Varinlioğlu 1986, no. 4.

⁴⁰ These are found on the D.10 coins minted by Kudimos in the reign of Hadrian.

⁴¹ Varinlioğlu 1986, nos. 17 ll.4–5, 18 l.1, 22, 23, 28.

⁴² I would like to thank Prof. Tekin for his comments on these coins.

Chronology

Time slice	Group / Series (Magistrate) (AE unless otherwise stated)
410–390 BC	A.1 (Xe-?); A.2
380–350 BC	A.3; A.4
250–180 BC	C.1 (Dio-) (AR); C.2 (Leon); C.3 (Melant- / Melas); C.4 (Thy-)
188–160 BC	B.1 (Xeno- and Hermeas) (AR)
167–129 BC	B.1 (Poli-, Leont-, Iason, Phass- / -argi-) (AR); B.2 (AR); B.3 (Leon); B.4 (Hermophantos); C.1 (Askle-, Leonteus, Hermogen-, Polites) (AR); C.2 (Hermophantos); C.3 (Dionys-, Apol-, Phanth-, Ker-, Py-)
129–31 BC	C.2 (Hierogenes)
Livia (Augustus/Tiberius) (27 BC – AD 37)	D.01
Tiberius (AD 14–37)	D.02, D.03
Nero (54–68)	D.04, D.05
Trajan (98–117)	D.06, D.07
Hadrian (117–138)	D.08, D.09, D.10
Antoninus Pius (138–161)	D.11, D.12, D.13, D.14, D.15
Commodus (177–192)	D.16, D.17, D.18
Septimius Severus (193–211)	D.19
Julia Domna (193–217)	D.20
Geta (209–212)	D.21
Caracalla (197–217)	D.22, D.23, D.24, D.25, D.26

Fig. 3 Overview of groups and issues over time

Figure 3 above gives an overview. Thus:

Group A (AE) with four subgroups was minted from ca. 410–350 BC and constitutes the earliest emissions of Keramos. Then there is a gap until ca. 250 BC. In the period of 250–180 BC, proposed by the editors of HNO, the four subgroups of Group C (AR and AE) started to be minted. Towards the end of this period, B.1 (AR) came into the market with two magistrate names. The period of independence (167–129 BC) witnessed a rich variety of magistrate names and two groups (B and C). Until the end of the Hellenistic period, only C.2 was minted. Then Keramos minted coins with and without imperial portraits until into the reign of Caracalla. This is the overall picture for the present time.

Conclusion

Keramos, originally a Carian foundation, was a small city in the 5th century BC as attested from its relatively small tribute to Athens – about one and a half talents – placing it to the same capacity as, for instance, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Astakos, Polyochni and Kolophon.⁴³ The first coins of Keramos were bronze with small denominations minted about 400 BC and the half century following. Recent research by the editors of HNO indeed place some of the bronze

⁴³ ATL 1: passim; 2:123.

emissions of Groups B and C to 250–180 BC and some others to 188–160 BC. In the period 167–129 BC Keramos minted two series both in silver and bronze: an archaising youthful male head / boukephalion (Group B) and a head of Zeus / eagle (Group C). In addition, some bronze emissions of a head of Zeus / eagle series are attributed to the late Hellenistic period, i.e. the first century of Roman rule in western Asia Minor. Keramos minted bronze coins during the reigns of ten members of the imperial family, namely Livia, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Geta, and Caracalla. Reverse types are dominated by archaising deity/deities and Zeus.

Shifts in iconography and their corresponding dates still remain to be scrutinised. When was the bearded Zeus head introduced exactly? Why does it seem to predate the archaising head / boukephalion series? Who is the archaising deity? When did Hellenisation actually start in Caria? Is its impact Ptolemaic or Seleucid, Pergamene or Rhodian? How did the relations among Rhodes, Keramos and Stratonikeia develop through history? And so on.

In the absence of systematic excavations and hoards, our study is limited to examples (in total about 190 ea.) published in print and online, as well as those acquired by museums in the region and various private collectors. More questions seem to have arisen. It is necessary to explore the coinage of Rhodes and Stratonikeia as well to cast more light onto Keramos. As more collections go online or are published, we are of the opinion that not only variety of types will increase but also the monetary history of Keramos will become clearer.

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Online Sale Catalogues and Collections

ANS	American Numismatic Society http://numismatics.org/ (last accessed March 2019).
Aydın Museum	Aydın Archaeological Museum Collection.
BM	The British Museum http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx (last accessed in March 2019).
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, http://gallica.bnf.fr (last accessed in March 2019).
BPeus	Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger Auction House, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.
CGRN	Collection of Greek Ritual Norms: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/ (last accessed in March 2019).
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Lancaster and London. E.A.: Electronic Auction; MBS: Mail Bid Sale; Triton: printed auction.
Fethiye Museum	Fethiye Arhaeological Museum collection.
Gemini	Gemini LLC Auction house.
GHN	Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich, Germany.
Gorny	Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich, Germany.
Hauck	Hauck & Aufhäuser Numismatics, Munich, Germany; taken over by Künker, Osnabrück.
HDRauch	Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Vienna, Austria.
HDRauch EA	Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch Electronic Auction, Vienna, Austria.
Hirsch	Gerhard Hirsch, Munich, Germany.
HNO	Historia Numorum Online, http://hno.huma-num.fr/ (last accessed 15 March 2019).
Jacquier	Paul-Francis Jacquier Auction House, Kehl am Rhein, Germany.
Kölner MK	Kölner Münzkabinett, Cologne, Germany.
Lanz	Numismatik Lanz, Munich, Germany.
Marmaris Museum	Marmaris Archaeological Museum Collection.
Milas Museum	Milas Archaeological Museum Collection.
MMD	Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland, GmbH, Auction House.
Muğla Museum	Muğla Archaeological Museum Collection.
Naumann	Pecunem / Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction House.
Naville	Naville Numismatics Ltd. – Numismatica Ars Classica Ltd., London, UK.
OGN PC	OGN Numismatique Pierre Crinon Auction House.
Roma	Roma Numismatics Ltd. London, UK.
Savoca	Savoca Numismatik GmbH & Co. Auction House, Munich, Germany. OA: online auction; BA: blue auction; SA: silver auction.
Solidus Num. MAuc.	Solidus Numismatik Monthly Auction, Munich, Germany.
Stack's CG	Stack's Coin Galleries, New York, USA.
Tatış Coll.	Yavuz Tatış Collection, Izmir.
VA	VAcutions, service brand of VHobbies LLC.
Vienna KHM	Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Makale Geliş / Received : 30.11.2018

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GROUP A (AE)



A.1A
Fethiye M.
16086



A.1B
Kayhan 804



A.2A
Savoca 211



A.2B
Konuk 2000.1



A.3
Marmaris M.
1351



A.4
Kayhan 806

GROUP B



B.1 AR / Xenocng 115



B.1 AR / Phassans 2007.15.17



B.1 AR / Politatis 471



B.1 AR / Leontonaumann 286



B.1 AR / unknown
Tatis 2609



B.2 AR
Kayhan 808



B.3 AE / Leon
BNF FG 418



B.4A AE / Hermophantos
CNG 778



B.4B AE /
Hermophantos
Tatis 2741

GROUP C



C.1 AR / Diokayhan 807



C.1 AR / AskleNaumann 227



C.1 AR / Leontebnf fg 415



C.1 AR / Hermogenes
BNF FG 416



C.1 AR / Unknown
BNF E429



C.2 AE / Leon
BNF 1966.453.6164



C.2 AE / Hermophantos
Tatis 2167



C.2 AE / Hermophantos
Aydın M. 36576



C.2 AE / Hierogenes
BNF FG 419



C.3 AE / Melas
Naumann 147



C.3 AE / Dionys-
Kayhan II 1643



C.3 AE / Apol-
BNF FG 421



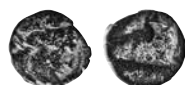
C.3 AE / Phanth-
Greece 5 1466



C.3 AE / Apol-
Tatış 2169



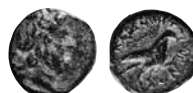
C.3 AE / unknown
Milas M. 1125



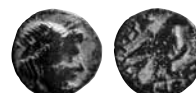
C.3 AE / unknown
Milas M. 2059



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40651



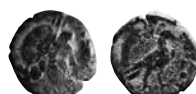
C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40653



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40652



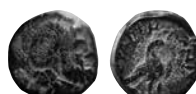
C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40654



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40655



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40656



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40657



C.4 AE / Thy-
HNO 2190.1

GROUP D (AE)



D.01 / Lanz 356



D.02 / Tatış 2171



D.03 / MMD 433



D.04 / Naville 251



D.05 / BNF FG 422



D.06 / RPC III 2192



D.07 / ANS 2007.15.20



D.08 / RPC III 2193



D.09 / GHN 2596



D.10 / RPC III 2195.1



D.11 / Stack's 254



D.12 / GHN 2613



D.13 / Winterthur 3382



D.14 / BNF FG 423



D.15 / Tübingen 3415



D.16 / RPC IV.2 870 = BMC 8



D.17 / Tübingen 3416



D.18 / RPC IV.2 871.3



D.19 / CNG MBS 78 1323



D.20 / BNF FG 424



D.21 / von Aulock 2582



D.22 / MMD 435



D.23 / von Aulock 2581



D.24 / Spanu 38



D.25 / Lanz 633



D.26 / BNF FG 425

Fig. 4 ZEUS FIGURES



a / SNG Kayhan II 1663 AR 12.77g,
26mm, 12h; Zeus Osogollis and Zeus
Labraundos (Mylasa)



b / Gemini Auc. III (2007) Lot 373,
AR 10.50g (reign of Hadrian).



c / SNG Kayhan II 1689
AR 3.61g, 15mm, 12h,
Zeus Labraundos (Idrieus)



d / CNG EA 212 (2009) Lot 192, AE 41mm, 26.22g,
7h. Zeus Osogollis (left) and Zeus Labraundos (right)
(Caracalla and Geta).



Fig. 5 Archaic head found at Keramos
(from Robert and Devambeiz 1935,
Pl. 41, fig. A)



Fig. 6 Rock relief of a youth at Günneçik Pass of
Karabel village (from Varinlioğlu 1986, Pl. IV, no. 2)

Attributes of the Mother of the Gods on Terracottas from Olbia Pontike and Asia Minor

Tetiana SHEVCHENKO*

Abstract

This study examines local and imported terracottas discovered in Olbia Pontike depicting the Mother of the Gods seated on a throne. Two of these were produced in a west Pontic centre from a single mould imported from northwestern Asia Minor, while the third was produced in Olbia based on these two. In the original, a lion cub was placed beneath the goddess's feet, while in the Olbian version the cub was shown in the goddess's lap. Sphinx images were also included in similar figurines as throne ornamentations. This motif had roots in Asia Minor and the western Black Sea region. Design peculiarities find parallels in northwestern Asia Minor. On a figurine produced from a Pergamon mould, the goddess has seated sphinxes on either side. This style originates in monumental images of the goddess with sphinxes from Lydia and Cyprus. The process of diminishing the sphinxes's size, as well as of their significance in the goddess's iconography, can be followed from south to north in the 4th century BC, as such elements become more decorative in Olbia and Callatis. Versions of this simplified model began to be produced in ancient Greek centres in Asia Minor in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.

Keywords: Olbia Pontike, Hellenistic period, terracottas, cult of the Mother of the Gods, sphinxes

Öz

Makalede, Olbia Pontike kentinde keşfedilmiş, tahtta oturan Meter Theon tasvirli yerel ve ithal *terrakottalar* ele alınmıştır. Bunlardan iki tanesi Kuzeybatı Anadolu'dan ithal edilen tek bir kalıpla Batı Pontos merkezinde, üçüncüsü ise bu ikisine dayanarak Olbia'da üretilmiştir. Orijinal tasvirdeki aslan yavrusu tanrıçanın ayağının hemen altında yer alırken, Olbia versiyonunda tanrıçanın kucagında görülmektedir. Meter Theon'a ilişkin *terrakotta* tasvirlerindeki bu motif Küçük Asya ve Batı Karadeniz'de de ortaya çıkmaktadır. Diğer detayların ve aslan tasviri figürlerinin oluşturduğu tasarımdaki benzerlikler Küçük Asya'nın kuzeybatı kesimindeki örneklerle çok yakın bağlantılara sahiptir. Pergamon'daki kalıptan üretilmiş bir heykelcik üzerinde Meter Theon'un her iki yanında sfenksler oturur vaziyettedir. Sfenkslerin boyutlarındaki küçülme süreci ve Meter Theon'un ikonografisindeki önemi, bunların artık MÖ IV. yy.'da Olbia ve Kallatis'te süsleme motifi içerisinde sunuldukları örnekler özelinde güneyden kuzeye doğru takip edilebilmektedir. Böylesi bir modelin sadeleştirilmiş versiyonları MÖ III-II. yy.'da Küçük Asya'daki antik Yunan merkezlerinde de üretilmekteydiler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Olbia Pontike, Hellenistik Dönem, Terrakottalar, Meter Theon Kültü, Sfenksler

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Olbia Pontike was one of the key ancient Greek centres on the north coast of the Black Sea. Vast archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic collections obtained during excavations there from the 19th century to date are stored in many Ukrainian and overseas museums. Olbia was founded at the turn of the 7th and 6th centuries BC, occupied a large territory at the Buh River estuary with its chora, and played a significant role in the region's history.

In the Hellenistic period, the Mother of the Gods was one of the most widely worshipped deities in the *polis*. She had a sanctuary on the western *temenos* that was modestly arranged as compared to others, but was the largest in terms of territory.¹ This cult existed in Olbia from the time of the city's foundation to the first centuries AD. The goddess was depicted on 1st-century BC coins. Images of her in marble and limestone reliefs, terracottas, and graffiti with dedications were found in both private houses and public sanctuaries.² It should be noted that the archaeological and epigraphic sources found in Olbia do not provide evidence that the Mother of the Gods was called Cybele here. Her most widely used name in dedications was Mater (Meter), shortened from *Μήτηρ θεῶν*. She was sometimes called the Phrygian Mother in the Hellenistic period.³

This goddess is featured on more terracotta votives from Olbia than the rest of the gods and goddesses. More than 100 fragmented statuettes and at least 6 moulds for statuettes production are known, dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Many of these were uncovered in a *botros* on the eastern *temenos* situated close to the coroplast's workshop,⁴ and only the best preserved have been published so far.

Images of the Mother of the Gods sitting on a throne are the most numerous terracottas from Hellenistic Olbia, as well as from other ancient Greek centres in the Black Sea region. The goddess is most often shown with *phiale* and *tympanon* in her hands and a lion cub on her lap (fig. 1). Other versions of the depiction of her typical attributes are extremely rare here, such as with her feet on a lion cub. Adult lions are also uncommon in her iconography in Olbia.

In this regard, especially interesting are fragments of two terracottas made in the same mould. These fragments were parts of a depiction of the Mater sitting on the throne with *tympanon* and *phiale* in her hands and trampling a lion with her feet. Analysis of the peculiarities of these depictions and the technique of their production allows us to trace the influence of Asia Minor on Olbian coroplastics, which is often mentioned in the literature.

One of the figurines is preserved in three fragments and features a depiction of the goddess' head and the lateral parts of her throne. The other is preserved in two fragments and includes the throne's decoration and the head of a lion cub under the goddess' foot. The front side of the goddess' throne on both terracottas is decorated with depictions of seated sphinxes (fig. 2). The common elements of these depictions and the similar clay that was used provide evidence that these terracottas were produced in the same workshop, and perhaps even in the same mould. In other words, it can be presumed with a high probability that both figurines included the same depiction of such important attributes of this goddess as the *corona muralis* and a lion cub under her foot. Their combination and a comparison with traditional depictions

¹ Древнейший теменос 2006, 21ff.

² Русяева 1979, 101–14; Шевченко 2012.

³ Русяева 1979, 104.

⁴ Леви 1985, 82–3.

of the Mother of the Gods of this period resulted in the reconstruction presented in fig. 2.⁵ This reconstruction is based on a drawing with features of similar figurines, which are discussed below.

The stylistic features of these terracottas allow us to presume that this image was created in one of the ancient centres of Asia Minor. The shape and the clarity of the details—especially the hairstyle, the round concave earrings, and the artistically arranged folds of the himation's edge—very much resemble items from Myrina and Amisos dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.⁶ However, the characteristics of the fabric (5 YR 7/6, with coarse admixtures of quartz and traces of mica) bring these terracottas closer to the features of materials found on the west coast of the Black Sea.

These fragments are valuable not only because they belong to two rare terracottas from the Hellenistic northern Pontic region, but also because they were imported during a period when depictions of the Mother of the Gods were being more and more widely produced in local workshops. The image of the Mother of the Gods sitting on a throne, which was widespread in 3rd-century BC Olbia (fig. 1), was based on images from Asia Minor. It can be seen in the stylistic and iconographical peculiarities of the depiction that were accepted by the Olbian coroplasts and the consumers of their products.

The main stylistic similarities between locally produced and Asian Minor images of this goddess are, firstly, in the treatment of the details of the goddess' clothes; secondly, in the presence of double rounded projections on the throne's back; and thirdly, in the way in which the throne's back almost merges with the goddess' back, as well as in the depiction of the throne's armrests as massive structures, etc. Among the iconographic features, especially important is the preference for images of a lion cub on the lap with almost no images of adult lions.

Adult lions were usually depicted in ancient Greek sculptures of the Mother of the Gods with either one or two sitting frontally near her throne. This type of depiction is the most common one in the coroplastics of Attica and Boeotia.⁷ Standing lions on both sides of the throne were also common in Phrygia. Although this goddess was sometimes called the Phrygian Mother in Olbia, iconography of this sort is little known there. Exceptions are depictions found on a marble relief and on a lamp, both of which are late (2nd century AD) and neither of which are terracottas.⁸

Lions near this goddess were also depicted turned to opposite directions⁹ or with their heads turned to the throne¹⁰; sitting on the armrest, predominantly on the left one¹¹; standing with the goddess riding them (most widespread in Egypt,¹² with a single example believed to be from Olbia¹³); or lying at the feet of the goddess. Depictions of an adult lion placed under

⁵ Further see: Шевченко 2014a.

⁶ Higgins 1967, pl. 53.B, C, E; Besques 1971, pl. 103.a, c, e; 106.a, h.

⁷ Vermaseren 1982, 3–97; 123–35.

⁸ Kobylina 1976, no: 12, pl. IX; Кобылина 1978, 72, no: 17; Vermaseren 1989, 152; 154, no: 516; 526.

⁹ Vermaseren 1987, no: 302; Vermaseren 1989, no: 340; 359.

¹⁰ Vermaseren 1977, no: 203; 340; 397.

¹¹ Schwertheim 1978, Taf. CXCI–CXСII, no: 17, 21; Vermaseren 1982, no: 356; Vermaseren 1987, no: 871; Vermaseren 1989, no: 199; 372.

¹² Vermaseren 1986, 3–11; also Vermaseren 1982, no: 43.

¹³ Кобылина 1978, 35, no: 9.

the feet of the Mother of the Gods appear to be exceptions.¹⁴ A small lion cub is more frequent in such images; these are known predominantly from ancient centres of Asia Minor.¹⁵

Terracotta figurines with a lion cub at the goddess' feet are not numerous in the Pontic region. The most vivid example of imported ones is a 2nd-century BC statuette from Amisos found in Myrmekion in the Crimea.¹⁶ Fragments of locally produced terracottas of this type are also known in Olbia, though in very low numbers. For instance, among the hundreds of terracotta fragments depicting the Mother of the Gods found in the *botros* of the eastern *temenos*, only a few depict the lion cub not on the lap, but under the foot of the goddess.¹⁷

The most typical Olbian images of the Mother of the Gods feature a *tympanon* in the left hand and a *phiale* in the right (fig. 1). There are also more precise features that evidence the influence of Asia Minor upon Olbian coroplastics. One of these is the depiction of the *tympanon* as situated across the throne's back, more rarely with a slight inclination. Unlike this tradition, a *tympanon* placed in strict perpendicularity to the throne's back is preferred in Attic sculpture both small and large. This is how the Mother of the Gods was depicted in the marble and limestone sculpture of Olbia.

In Mysia and Troas of the period studied, *phiales* with a round omphalos in the centre and lines radiating out from it to the edges of the vessel were the most widespread on figurines depicting the Mother of the Gods. Apparently, terracotta depictions imitated metal *phiales* with fluting and a spherical projection in the centre, which were imported from the east in the Archaic Period and were known in the Black Sea region in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.¹⁸ Such vessels were called *pateras* in the Roman period. This shape of *phiale* was convenient for holding during libation rites. Gods making the libation, in particular the Mother of the Gods, were often depicted with such fluted *phiales* on vase paintings and in bronze.¹⁹ They hold the vessel in their right hand, often while also sitting on a throne.²⁰ Libation scenes are also known from stone relief depictions of the Mother of the Gods found in ancient Greek centres of Asia Minor. An altar is placed near the right hand of this goddess on many pieces from Mysia. The *phiale* in her hand appears to be almost above the altar, as if the goddess is being shown during the performance of this ritual.²¹ On some reliefs from Lydia, the adherents making the libation over the altar are located to the right of the goddess. They hold a *phiale* of a shape typical for the images of the Mother of the Gods.²² The above features clearly indicate that the *phiale* was used for libations during the worship of this goddess.

Consequently, there are features that draw the imported statuettes discussed here closer to the Olbian traditions of coroplastics. These are the depiction of certain peculiarities of the goddess' clothes and the handmade *phiale* and the thumb of the right hand. On the other hand, the features that are uncommon for the local coroplastic tradition are the placing of the lion cub under the foot of the goddess and the cub's depiction with a grinning snout, as well as

¹⁴ Vermaseren 1982, no: 457; Vermaseren 1989, no: 124.

¹⁵ Vermaseren 1987, no: 203, 442, 689, 700, 749; Vermaseren 1989, no: 328, 329; Шевченко 2015.

¹⁶ Денисова 1981, 53 with lit., table. XVa.

¹⁷ Леви 1985, 82–83 with lit., fig. 74, 2; Шевченко 2015.

¹⁸ Культура 1983, no: 80; 477; Picón *et al.* 2007, no: 172.

¹⁹ van Straten 1995, no: 8; ThesCRA pl. 58–60, no: 2b–33, 2b–39; Bowden 2010, fig. 62.

²⁰ Vermaseren 1989, pl. LXXXIV, no: 213; ThesCRA no: 2b–26; 2b–29.

²¹ Schwertheim 1978, Taf. CXCIV, no: 28–31 Abb. CXCVIII, no: 38, 41; Vermaseren 1987, no: 285.

²² Schwertheim 1978, Taf. CXCVIII, no: 39; Vermaseren 1987, no: 485.

peculiar decorations on the sides of the throne. As for the presentation of the animal, it should be noted that on all images from Olbia, and disregarding the placement of the lion on the lap or at the feet, the snout reminds one of a pet (fig. 1). A grinning lion with its tongue thrust out had an apotropaic significance. Such depictions of the lion on images of the Mother of the Gods find analogies in Troy, and especially in Smyrna.²³ Finally, concerning the decorations on the throne, it should be noted that the depiction of sphinxes on the throne is unique to the iconography of the Mother of the Gods in Olbia (fig. 2). It can be assumed that these new features drew the attention of the Olbian worshippers of this goddess who bought such imported figurines.

This type of depiction was created in Asia Minor in the second half of the 4th–beginning of the 3rd century BC, as analysis of stylistic and technological peculiarities shows.²⁴ The question, however, is when such terracottas appeared in Olbia. They were found in houses situated close to each other with another house between them, and all were near the agora. House E-1, where a terracotta preserved in three fragments was found, was built at the end of the 4th century, while most of the materials have been dated to the 3rd century BC. House E-10 contained many cultic depictions, five of which were related to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. The already discussed depiction preserved in two fragments was found in the basement of this house. This basement was constructed in the 5th–4th centuries BC, while the materials found upstairs have been dated to the period from the 4th to the 1st centuries BC. The materials in this house, including the marble depiction of the Mother of the Gods, terracottas, and altars, indicate that there was a family sanctuary in this building. A dedicative inscription on a marble plate was also found there. It mentions the name “Agrota,” known from other inscriptions of the same period.²⁵

A fragmented terracotta found in house E-10 was produced in the mould earlier than the figurine from house E-1. This can be traced by peculiarities in technology: insignificant differences in the size of the details and the clarity of the depiction, etc. However, they apparently arrived to Olbia at the same time, probably at the end of the 4th or in the first half of the 3rd century BC. House E-10 probably belonged to Agrota, who was a priest of the *polis* cult and a representative of famous kin in this *polis*.²⁶ It seems that he was also a priest of the cults performed in his own house in a small sanctuary. Apparently, then, he had influence over the religious preferences of the civic community of Olbia.

While it is difficult to prove archaeologically the influence of a personality, the influence of the terracotta found in Agrota’s house upon the locally produced images in Olbia is evident. The point centres on a local terracotta depiction of the Mother of the Gods that was produced in a manner similar to those seen in terracottas found in houses near the agora (fig. 3). This was found in the *botros* near the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in the western *temenos*.²⁷ It is 22.8 cm high and made of brown clay (7,5 YR, 5/3). The common features are as follows: the front side of the throne is decorated in the same way; the footstool has an analogous structure and is also based on stylized lion’s paws; the cloth folds are arranged in a similar manner; the himation’s border comes down to below the knees and the chiton is shown by dense

²³ Burr Thompson 1963, 78; Besques 1971, pl. 255.c, no: D1311.

²⁴ Шевченко 2014а.

²⁵ See: Шевченко 2014б, 34–35 with lit.

²⁶ Русяева 2005, 187.

²⁷ Русяева 1979, 106, fig. 51; Русяева 1982, 83, fig. 33; Древнейший теменос 2006, 154 with lit., fig. 158.

vertical folds; and the advanced right foot is on a high sandal sole. Despite such similarities, stylistically this depiction is quite distinct from the two fragmented terracottas discussed above. It is of a later period and imitates the earlier type. This figurine is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC,²⁸ while it was assumed that the coroplast who produced it “was acquainted with the art of the second half of the 4th century BC.”²⁹ Analysis of the stylistic peculiarities and traces of the production technology of this figurine have allowed me to presume that there are reasons to date it to the upper border of the period suggested earlier; namely, by the middle of the 3rd century BC.

The imported figurines were slightly larger than the local one. This is seen from the preserved height of the armrests. The height of the right armrest is 1 cm more, while the height of the left one is 0.2 cm more. Technical moments in terracotta duplication have been examined not once.³⁰ Each following statuette produced in a mould was of a slightly smaller size than the original. In addition, the matrix made of an original terracotta did not always strictly correspond to this original, as it would be developed according to local taste. Here we can see an example of just such a situation.

Differences in the technique of depicting himation folds can be seen on the Olbian figurine. It seems that the lower part of the imported terracotta was used for making the matrix. The upper part, though, was where the coroplast showed his own creativity, while still in accord with the spirit of his time, of course. In other words, the image type taken from Asia Minor was remade according to the tastes and needs of local worshippers of the Mother of the Gods after several decades, or maybe half a century, had passed. The most significant change was the depiction of a lion cub not at the goddess' feet, but on her lap.

A figurine from Chobrucha in the Dniester River's lower region appears to be the closest analogy.³¹ Here, based on a published photo, the feet of the Mother of the Gods also rest on a lion cub, and the reliefs on the armrests remind one of sphinxes. These reliefs are called lion cubs in the literature, and since there has been no opportunity to examine this terracotta in detail, I believe that such an interpretation is the most appropriate for the time being. However, further analogies of the depiction of sphinxes as part of the throne of the Mother of the Gods will perhaps result in some changes in the traditional interpretation of these attributes.

Sphinxes were clearly depicted on a figurine found in Gordion in Phrygia and dated to a later period (fig. 4). This piece was imported and made of red clay with a great deal of mica as well as a small amount of white and black admixtures. Considering the clay composition, the author of the publication broadly defined the place of its production as the coast of the Black Sea, possibly one of the west Pontic centres.³² The clay of imported statuettes from Olbia is different in terms of colour, though its composition also reminds one of the west Pontic examples. It can be presumed with a high level of probability that the coroplast producing the statuette from Gordion in one of the Pontic centres would have been acquainted with the same image that appeared in Olbia. First of all, in both cases the lion cub is situated under the feet of the goddess, though with its head turned to different sides. In addition, some parallels are seen in the depiction of the clothing, although the opening around the neck, the sleeves, and

²⁸ Русяева 1982, 83.

²⁹ Древнейший теменос 2006, 154.

³⁰ Винницкая 1959; Higgins 1967, 2–5; Т. Ильина 2008, ch. 3.

³¹ Фидельский 2016, 219, fig. 1, 1, б.

³² Bald Romano 1995, 27; 80, no: 60, pl. 60.

the drapery system on the figurine from Phrygia looks somewhat simpler. Nevertheless, there are equally artistically modelled folds under the left arm of the goddess. The most important fact is that the himation here, as on the local Olbian terracotta, covers the back of the throne. It was stated before that there are no analogies to this feature of the Olbian figurine.³³ Even so, the himation was shown in the same way on the discussed imported figurines found in Olbia, and both coroplasts in the Pontic *poleis* depicted it in the same way, based on the same example of earlier terracottas. Fragments of two of these were found in Olbia. Unfortunately, the throne back has not been preserved on either of them. Nor have the head of the goddess and the attributes of her hands been preserved on a statuette imported to Gordion (fig. 4). Therefore, it is not known whether the himation also covered the headdress in the way it is shown on Olbian figurines (figs. 2, 3).

One more detail important for our purposes here is a depiction of sphinxes in the decoration of the frontal part of a throne on a figurine from Gordion. The author of the relevant publication was not sure about this interpretation, but taking into consideration the analogies seen here, this decorative motif could be positively defined. There are in fact no other decorative elements on armrests, unlike on Olbian analogies, with the exception of a single horizontal line under the sphinxes on both armrests. Judging from stylistic peculiarities, it can be concluded that this figurine from Gordion is of a later period. As is known, an entire century might sometimes pass between the time of the creation of a certain image type to the production of a concrete terracotta.³⁴

A 4th–3rd century BC figurine from Callatis³⁵ is close in time to Asia Minor terracottas found in Olbia (fig. 5). There is a series of stylistic features common to these images: the facial features of the goddess; the shaping of the hairstyle with short, shallow lines horizontal above the forehead and vertical on the strands of hair falling on the shoulders; and also the sharpness in the depiction of the himation folds down below. The Olbian finds contain a part of the preserved depiction of cloth around the foot resting on a lion cub's head. This uncovers a complicated system of quite varied and sometimes contradicting drapes. On a statuette from Callatis, the folds hanging under the left arm are not so delicate. The depiction of the throne is also different: it is separated from the goddess' shoulders; the double projections on the back are almost round; and there are no decorations on the frontal part, either on the armrests or on a footstool. An exception is a depiction in a low relief, which is not clear on photo, placed on the sides of a throne directly under the arms of the goddess. This is close to the schematic depiction of the sphinxes on Olbian terracottas. Unlike the statuettes imported from Asia Minor, a figurine from Callatis shows a lion cub on the goddess' lap, but stylistically it is very similar to them. The lion here is grinning and showing its tongue. Consequently, the type of image imported from the western part of Asia Minor developed in the same period both in centres on the west coast of the Black Sea and in Olbia.

A model for the reconstruction of this image is another figurine from Gordion (fig. 6).³⁶ This differs in terms of its stylistic peculiarities, which allow it to be dated to the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BC. There is also a difference in that the back of the throne, with rounded double projections, is separated from the goddess' back, as on the

³³ Древнейший теменос 2006, 154; Bilde 2010, 448.

³⁴ Burr Thompson 1963, 23.

³⁵ Vermaseren 1989, 125, no: 422, pl. CI.

³⁶ Vermaseren 1987, no: 52, Taf. VIII; IX; Bald Romano 1995, 24 f, no: 52.

terracotta from Callatis, and the lion cub is absent. Nevertheless, the similarities are important: the sphinxes on the armrests and a footstool near the throne formed by a massive transverse beam (that can be profiled as on Olbian terracotta or simply as on the one from Gordion) laying on the lion's paws with clearly shown phalanxes.

Also similar is the depiction of the left hand placed over the *tympanon*. This detail of the figurine from Gordion was already considered rare in the literature, as usually the Mother of the Gods supports the *tympanon* with her hand below.³⁷ There are exceptions in sculpture from the Roman period.³⁸ It can be concluded that this manner of depiction was not rare in Olbia.³⁹ Perhaps the reason for this was the early importation of figurines of this type, which gave impetus to the development of new images based on a compositional scheme that included the corresponding position of the goddess' arms. Such Hellenistic terracotta from Olbia presents the position of the *tympanon* perpendicularly to the throne's back, in the manner in which it is shown on terracotta from Gordion.⁴⁰ Here, Attic influence is felt, as was noted above. Due to the state of preservation, it is not known whether the *tympanon* on the imported terracottas from Olbia was also positioned perpendicularly, or obliquely, in the manner in which it was copied by the local coroplast, the creator of fully preserved terracotta (fig. 3).

This figurine from Gordion is of a later period than those imported to Olbia. It appears that a certain type of the Mother of the Gods image extant in Asia Minor changed depending on the time and place of its development. The Asia Minor image, two samples of which were produced in the west Pontic region and brought to Olbia, was created first. The goddess' foot is placed on a lion cub here. At approximately the same time, another version of this image with the goddess holding a lion cub on her lap emerges in Callatis. The lion cub continued to be depicted at the goddess' feet, as on the figurine from the west Pontic region that emerged in Gordion,⁴¹ or could be entirely absent, as on a terracotta made in a mould from Pergamon and found in Gordion; otherwise, the cub could be presented on the goddess' lap, as with the local Olbian terracotta.

One can agree with the idea that less attention was paid to the lion's image than to the other attributes of the Mother of the Gods. However, the interpretation stating that the lion cub's being situated under the goddess' feet implies diminished importance in the cult of the Mother of the Gods cannot be accepted.⁴² On the contrary, placing the feet on a lion—and on some examples not a lion cub but an adult animal⁴³—was a very specific symbol.

The goddess standing with her feet on a lion is an ancient scene among the religions of the populations of Asia Minor. She had various names and attributes in many cities of the pre-Greek states in this region. Her permanent features were her relation with the fertility of nature, specifically wild nature,⁴⁴ and her marriages with gods and heroes. It is this latter feature that caused her to be traditionally compared with the ancient Greek goddess Aphrodite. The

³⁷ Burr Thompson 1963, 78; Nankov 2007, 50.

³⁸ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. 1907, pl. XIII no: 333.

³⁹ Леви 1970, 44 no: 18, pl. 17.2; Русяева 1972, 38, fig. 1.4.

⁴⁰ Drawing published in: Русяева 1972, 38, fig. 1.4; picture including a not known before fragment with description published in: Шевченко 2012, 76, fig. 2.

⁴¹ Bald Romano 1995, pl. 19, no: 60.

⁴² Burr Thompson 1963, 77.

⁴³ Vermaseren 1987, no: 204.

⁴⁴ Фармаковский 1914, 21, pl. VII, fig. 3; Денисова 1981, 52 f.

myth of the relations of Ishtar with Adon (“god” in the Semitic language) in Mesopotamia has received the most attention. The roots of the myth of Aphrodite and the “dying Adonis” are seen in this.⁴⁵ The one who is loved by Ishtar will be poor, as he will lose his strength. Even the animals under her patronage become as if domesticated—in particular, the lion, which is her symbol. In all this there are clear parallels with the cult of the Mother of the Gods. The most evident, though not the only one, is the symbol of the lion. On depictions of this goddess the lion gradually turns from a grinning wild animal to a peaceful pet. Even within the framework of Olbian coroplastics, the last stage of this change can be traced between the 4th and the 2nd centuries BC. Moreover, the deity who lost his strength because of his relationship with the goddess was Attis, who emasculated himself for the sake of the Mother of the Gods. Consequently, a widespread conclusion in the literature on the features of Aphrodite in the cult of the Mother of the Gods should be looked at critically, inasmuch as the roots of this influence go much deeper. More precise would be the statement that both of these ancient Greek cults were influenced by more ancient pre-Hellenic religious traditions.

Apparently, the Olbian population perceived the notions of a goddess/patroness of animals and of nature in general as majestic and desirable but dangerous, as was the case with the pre-Greek goddess in Asia Minor. This cult was present in Olbia in an already developed Hellenized form. In the goddess of nature, they saw the mistress of the outer world and of chaos surrounding the cosmos inside the *oikos* and inside the *polis*. Chaos, the world beyond the walls, was also associated with the world beyond the borders of life. Therefore, a chthonic aspect of the Mother of the Gods’ cult was intrinsic, and learning about and placing in order the other world and defining someone’s future place in it would be performed with the help of the mystery cult performed in honour of this goddess.

The symbols of ritual practice within the mystery cult were above all the *tympanon* and *pbiale*, while the mythological symbols included the lion and, in some cases, the sphinx. Lions and sphinxes often appeared in the cultic depictions of pre-Greek states in Asia Minor. Images of sphinxes with raised and curved wings were typical of the palace style of the Achaemenid Empire,⁴⁶ which, prior to the Hellenistic period, encompassed ancient Greek cities of the region. The terracottas found in Olbia show the sphinxes in the same pose. Incidentally, the peculiarities of the image of a grinning lion are also similar to archaic examples as well as to Persian traditions.⁴⁷ The sphinxes on the armrests of the throne remind one of types known from the archaic period on vase paintings,⁴⁸ Attic sculpture, jewellery, and later on the coins of many *poleis*.⁴⁹

In Cyzicus, where Anacharsis observed the cult of the Mother of the Gods,⁵⁰ the sphinx was depicted on coins in various ways. It had curved wings when standing on its four paws or sitting.⁵¹ It was also depicted with its wings down.⁵² Cyzicus is believed to be one of the most

⁴⁵ Mackenzie 1915, 84.

⁴⁶ Rehm 2010, 167, fig. 3.

⁴⁷ Rehm 2010.

⁴⁸ Шауб 1979; Simon 1981, 46, no: VI; Ю. Ильина 2008.

⁴⁹ Скржинская 2010, 215–17.

⁵⁰ Hdt. IV. 76.

⁵¹ Абрамзон et al. 2006, pl. I; II, no: 9; 10; 52; 53.

⁵² Абрамзон et al. 2006, pl. VI, no: 98.

important centres of the mystery cult of the Mother of the Gods.⁵³ Therefore, the depiction of a sphinx on its coins might be related not only to the borrowing of this image from Chios minting, and less definitely to Dionysus,⁵⁴ but also to the worship of this goddess.

There are various depictions of sphinxes as separate figurines on plastic vases in the Archaic and Classical periods in the northern Black Sea region.⁵⁵ Most of these finds are related with necropolises. However, this study concentrates on images of these mythological creatures exclusively within the context of the cult of the Mother of the Gods.

Sphinxes are present on the throne decoration in several Attic stone relief depictions of the Mother of the Gods.⁵⁶ Here, however, the throne is presented in profile and is decorated with entirely different ornamentation. The armrest, in the shape of a thin crosspiece, is on the top of a miniature figurine of a sphinx. An adult lion is depicted sitting near the throne, and the *tympanon* is directed perpendicularly to the throne's back. Standing near the goddess are shown a *Kore* Persephone with Hermes in one case, and a group of worshippers in the other case. The style of the sphinx's depiction is also different, as the long wings are down. However, its place in the composition is identical, on the front of the throne in the armrest area. This is also the way it is presented on the throne of a woman found on an Attic gravestone.⁵⁷

A sphinx with its wings curved in the Archaic manner sits under the crosspiece of the armrest on a monumental image of the Mother of the Gods from Panticapaeum (fig. 7).⁵⁸ The statue is late, of the Roman period, although it was made after an example of the image from the last quarter of the 5th century BC. Its Attic origin is evidenced, apart from the stylistic features, by its depiction of a lion, the main attribute, as an adult animal sitting near the goddess' throne, as well as by the *tympanon* perpendicular to the throne's back. The placing of the *tympanon* against the lower part of the throne is unusual, and was mentioned in the relevant publication.⁵⁹ However, the depictions of sphinxes on the throne's armrests have not yet been discussed. There were two of them, with the forepaws and a part of the torso remaining from the sphinx near the right arm. The miniature sphinx near the left arm of the goddess is seen on neither the drawing nor the photos in the publications.⁶⁰ A recently published photo of the reconstruction of this sculpture is the only exception.⁶¹ Having examined this sculpture in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, I realized that the small figurines of the sphinxes joined the crosspiece of the armrest with the armrest itself. It was also clear that the sphinx under the left arm of the goddess was depicted sitting, while the other—which was almost entirely broken off, together with the crosspiece of the armrest—was lying with its head raised. Its torso and forepaws have been preserved. This means that only the first sphinx is analogous to the sphinxes seen on terracottas from Olbia.

There is a small fragment of stone sculpture in the National Historic and Archaeological Preserve "Olbia" which contains the depiction of an animal's paws (fig. 8). Considering the size

⁵³ Bowden 2010, 87.

⁵⁴ Абрамзон et al. 2006, 16.

⁵⁵ Winter 1903, 229 f; Фармаковский 1921, 37 with lit.; Simon 1981, 125, no: XXXVIII.

⁵⁶ Collignon 1883, 231, pl. 88; Vermaseren 1982, no: 409.

⁵⁷ O'Neill 1987, 66–7, nr. 48.

⁵⁸ Саверкина 1986, 128–130, no: 53.

⁵⁹ Саверкина 1986, 130.

⁶⁰ Ашек 1849, XCIX; Саверкина 1986, no: 53.

⁶¹ Толстиков and Муратова 2017, fig. 1.

and the nature of this image, it can be presumed that it was a part of the armrest of a throne on which the Mother of the Gods may have been depicted sitting. The armrest was decorated with the image of a seated sphinx. An equivalent decoration was made on the side parts of a stone throne from Mysia.⁶² Here, similar to Attic relief depictions in monumental sculpture, the sphinxes were used as supports for the upper crosspiece of the armrest.

In small-sized sculpture, the sphinxes closest in style are depicted on the armrests of the throne of the Mother of the Gods on the terracotta from Gordion, discussed above (fig. 6), as well as on the throne of a half-nude goddess of the Classical period from Thebes.⁶³ In both cases, they were made as separately standing figures, rather than being a part of the throne's decoration. The wings of the creatures are down on a Phrygian example, while they are raised and rounded on the item from Thebes—the same as on the depictions found in Olbia. On both of these statuettes, the side parts of the throne are not decorated at all, while the Olbian sphinxes are just a part of the elaborate carving on the frontons. However, the terracotta from Thebes can hardly be an analogy, since the goddess is depicted without the other attributes and with movable arms; thus, apparently, it was not an image of the Mother of the Gods. In this case, sphinxes reminded the guardians of the city of Thebes, directly related to the myth about them.

Sphinxes were also depicted as large figures standing on both sides of the throne of the goddess, without any other attributes, in a terracotta from Cyprus.⁶⁴ In fact, here they take the place of the lions of the Mother of the Gods. A stone relief of the 4th century BC from Magnesia ad Sipylum in Lydia depicts them in the same manner, but turned towards the goddess.⁶⁵ Their wings are raised, as on the decoration of the throne of the terracottas discussed. The goddess is presented standing between the sphinxes with the attributes in her hands, and there is a figure of Hermes on the side.

It is quite logical to presume that the last type of the depictions changed over time towards a decorative role for the sphinxes. Initially, the lion-sized sphinxes standing near the goddess were diminished to the size of squeakers sitting on the throne armrests and, finally, they became a part of the decoration of these armrests. Territorially, such evolution can be traced from the south to the north: first in Cyprus, Lydia, and the western part of Asia Minor, where the examples of terracotta depictions were produced, then, in the north, such terracottas were developed in the west Pontic region and in Olbia (fig. 9).

The figurine from Gordion dated to the period later than the Olbian examples (fig. 6) is located to the east from the belt indicated above. In the last publication of this terracotta, it was determined that it was made in the mould from Pergamon.⁶⁶ The author relates the peculiarities of this depiction with Pessinus, an important centre of the worship of the Mother of the Gods, and dates it to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC. The clothing of the goddess, especially the wide opening around the neck, was often used in depictions of the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. Even if the lower border of the dating is accepted, Olbian imported terracottas would have been made almost a century earlier. Apparently, the author of the Pergamon image was influenced by the statuettes similar to the Cypriot and Theban examples. Repeated in

⁶² Schwertheim 1978, Taf. CXVIII, no: 40.

⁶³ Winter 1903, 88, no: 5; Vermaseren 1987, no: 52, pl. VIII; IX; Bald Romano 1995, 24 f, no: 52, pl. 15; 16.

⁶⁴ Winter 1903, 90, no: 4.

⁶⁵ Vermaseren 1987, no: 450.

⁶⁶ Bald Romano 1995, 24 f, no: 52.

this depiction are not only the presence of sphinxes, but also the shape of the double projections on the throne's back and the aforementioned separation of the figure of the goddess from the back of the throne. Thus, placing the sphinxes as separately standing figures on the terracotta found in Gordion could have been a result of borrowing from the earlier prototypes.

As can be seen, sphinxes in the cult of the Mother of the Gods had deep roots and a symbolic meaning. Sphinxes on Olbian terracottas depicting the Mother of the Gods have never been identified and discussed in the literature before; however, the Olbian coroplasts were well acquainted with the attributes of the goddess. Based on the examples of terracottas discussed, it is clear that the producers were familiar with the Hellenistic tradition of Asia Minor. However, images of sphinxes near the goddess had been known in Olbia since the Archaic period: lids of alabaster vases found at the necropolis present the goddess accompanied by figurines of horses, lions, monkeys, and sphinxes. These finds also evidence the influence of Asia Minor.⁶⁷ The sphinxes' wings are curved upwards in the same way. The base of another alabaster vase stands on legs shaped as sphinxes, although they are depicted in different manner.⁶⁸

The luxurious decoration of the throne with sphinxes also has analogies. The furniture on a well-known terracotta from Myrina dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC features an a half-naked youth and a fully draped woman⁶⁹ and is decorated similarly to thrones from Olbia. This time, the *kline* and its legs are also decorated with rounded horizontal projections between which are relief depictions of sphinxes with their wings raised. A low footstool stands near the *kline*, and it is also made of a transverse, profiled beam lying on stylized lion's paws with clearly shown phalanxes. All these details are repeated in the Olbian figurines of the Mother of the Gods. The images of the youth and the woman seem to be far from the cult of the Mother of the Gods, though reminiscent of notions of life in the other world. Not only sphinxes, but the very subject of approaching the nude youth (related to the world of gods and heroes) to the fully draped woman (most often used on gravestones and other depictions connected with funeral cults) is usual for the topic of funerals and the heroization of the deceased in coroplastic art and vase paintings.

The decoration of the side parts of furniture with peculiar horizontal lines is also known from late Hellenistic terracottas from Myrina.⁷⁰ However, the decoration here is simpler and does not include mythological creatures. This ornamentation is seen on the *klines* of symposiasts. Items produced earlier were the terracottas from Pergamon, of which only the decorative elements of the furniture have been preserved.⁷¹ There, the decorative elements are more elaborate, reminding one of the images of sphinxes. They may also have been parts of depictions of symposiasts. Another depiction of a symposiast from Asia Minor is not clear enough, but also appears similar to the sphinx image.⁷²

It should be noted that these were gods and heroes presented in this pose, lying half down during the banquet. In particular, the "Favourably Harkening Hero" is depicted as a symposiast

⁶⁷ Фармаковский 1914, 18–23; Русяева 1979, 101f.

⁶⁸ Фармаковский 1914, pl. III; VIII, fig. 8.

⁶⁹ Higgins 1967, pl. 54.A; Besques 1994, no: 90.

⁷⁰ Winter 1903, 197 no: 3; 4; Schneider-Lengyel 1936, no: 84; Besques 1986, pl. 49, no: D/E 3608.

⁷¹ Töpperwein 1976, no: 593; 594 Taf. 85.

⁷² Winter 1903, 195, no: 4.

on an Olbian marble relief of the 3rd century BC dedicated to this deity by the *sitons*.⁷³ This known stele is indicated as an example because here the *kline* is also decorated in the same manner as the terracottas discussed above. The *kline's* leg is in fact identical to the figurine from Myrina. Only one image of a sphinx is used in the ornamentation, with its bottom narrowed to the end. This detail differs from the decoration of the Mother of the Gods' throne, where there are two sphinxes on each side on the imported terracotta, and three of them on the local Olbian one.

Consequently, terracottas probably depicted the wooden furniture decorated with carving where an image of sphinx was sometimes used. The sphinxes on the Hellenistic statuettes of the Mother of the Gods could hardly have just been a fashionable interior decoration at the time. Following M. Collignon, the presence of a sphinx in the image determines the sense of the whole scene at once.⁷⁴ In addition, it concerns the furniture used in cults, in our case, the goddess' throne. If the throne of the Mother of the Gods was imagined by worshippers like this, or if it were simply repeated after the examples of monumental sculpture, there were grounds for such, seemingly based on the chthonic aspect of the notions of this goddess. This would be the case in particular if the sphinxes were depicted as separately standing figurines near the Mother of the Gods, as illustrated with the aforementioned terracottas from Asia Minor. The presence of Hermes, the guide of souls, on one of them found in Lydia directly points to the relation of this scene with notions of afterlife.

The meaning of these mythological personages had changed very little since the Greeks initially adopted them.⁷⁵ For the Hellenes, sphinxes were best known as the guardians of Thebes' gates killing the youths. However, they also probably served as apotropaic symbols in the cult of the Mother of the Gods. Some written and epigraphic evidence indicates the notion that sphinxes were companions of Hades or embodiments of the souls of the dead.⁷⁶ These creatures were often presented in funeral reliefs.⁷⁷ Consequently, depictions of sphinxes near the Mother of the Gods were related with notions of death and the afterlife.

There could be other formal reasons for usage of the sphinx image in the cult of the Mother of the Gods. As is known, this creature has a woman's head, an eagle's wings, a bull's tail, and a lion's body. This last element is an indispensable companion of this mistress of animals. The sphinx does not displace the lion as a symbol of the Mother of the Gods, nor does it even become her attribute. Moreover, in the religions of epochs previous, from which the image was borrowed by the Greeks, the sphinx and lion coexisted, but were not interchangeable with each other.⁷⁸ The presence of this creature near the goddess was apparently not formal, but it had valid reasons. In concrete scenes, particularly in vase painting, the sphinx is depicted as if accompanying events and images reminiscent of or originating in the afterlife. It thus seems that sphinxes near the Mother of the Gods mark her relation to the afterlife. Without denying the point of view concerning a possible apotropaic meaning behind these creatures' images,⁷⁹

⁷³ van Straten 1995, no: 108; Русяева 2005, 202 f.

⁷⁴ Collignon 1883, 40.

⁷⁵ Dessene 1957, 175–177.

⁷⁶ Hes. *Theog.*, 326; Aesch. *Sept.*, 539, 776; Eur. *Phoen.*, 810, 1019–20; see: Фармаковский 1921, 38 with lit.; Шауб 1979, 65; Скржинская 2010, 215.

⁷⁷ O'Neill 1987, 18–9, 21, 66–7, nr. 5 and 48.

⁷⁸ Dessene 1957, 178.

⁷⁹ Фармаковский 1921, 39; Скржинская 2009, 15.

it should nonetheless be emphasized that their protection concerned most of all protection from “evil coming from the other world.”⁸⁰ These creatures—called “soul-murderers,” “Hades’ dogs,” etc. by the Greek poets—would sit on both sides of the Mother of the Gods’ throne, thereby contributing to her image as a mistress of the other world.

There are reasons to assume that the chthonic aspect of this goddess’ cult was directly related to the mystery cult. Mysteries in honour of the Mother of the Gods had roots in Asia Minor. They existed in many *poleis* simultaneously with her polis cult.⁸¹ Their performance in Olbia is evidenced by written sources.⁸² Anacharsis, who was mentioned by Herodotus, performed this cult in Gileia. The exact localization of this sanctuary remains problematic, though it has been proven that it belonged to the Olbian *polis* through the second half of the 4th century BC.⁸³ Nevertheless, mysteries in honour of the Mother of the Gods were not tied to any particular place, and they could thus have been continued at any other place. At the same time, there was a *polis* sanctuary of this goddess in Olbia.⁸⁴

To conclude, the depiction of the Mother of the Gods on the terracottas discussed is peculiar given the presence of expressive apotropaic symbols near the goddess; namely, the lion with grinning snout and sphinxes in the throne’s decoration. These protective symbols were related to notions of the afterlife. The goddess, keeping her face calm, holds the usual *tympanon* and *phiale*, in this way continuing to show her adherents how they should worship her. The loud sounds associated with the *tympanon* and the unrestrained dances associated with such music are also reminiscent of mystery cults. The *phiale*, considering its shape, was used for libations in honour of the goddess. Two terracottas with such depictions (fig. 2) were produced in the same mould in the west Pontic region after an example made in Asia Minor in the second half of the 4th–beginning of the 3rd centuries BC. Based on these imported figurines, a new mould and a terracotta found in the *botros* at the *polis* sanctuary were produced in the middle of the 3rd century BC (fig. 3). Some corrections were made; specifically, the facial features and the position of the lion cub were changed according to local tastes, with the grinning lion now turned into a pet sitting on the goddess’ lap. The author of the new image shared the idea that sphinxes should participate in this scene. Therefore, he emphasized their presence on the throne via lines incised into raw clay, because they were almost flattened after the making of a new mould. These technical elements allow us to understand that the peculiarities of the Mother of the Gods’ cult in ancient centres of Asia Minor and the west Pontic region were well known to Olbian worshippers. This is in relation to beliefs in the goddess’ connection with burial cults and the afterlife. However, such beliefs were updated according to the situation in the cultic life of the *polis* and of separate religious groups and families. In the Hellenistic period, a *polis* sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods continued to function, mysteries were performed within a certain circle of participants, and the goddess was worshipped in many home sanctuaries. In this period, a more humanistic image of the goddess with a lion cub on her lap was produced in large numbers (fig. 1). The local figurine absorbed these features of high-volume products (fig. 3). This was found in the *botros* and, prior to getting there, had probably been offered to the goddess in the sanctuary by an ordinary resident of the *polis*. More

⁸⁰ Шайб 1979, 65.

⁸¹ Collignon 1883, 228; Gasparro 1985, 20–26; Bowden 2010, 83–8.

⁸² Hdt. IV. 76.

⁸³ Русяева 1979, 112; Русяева 2005, 154ff.

⁸⁴ Древнейший теменос 2006, 21ff.

expensive imported terracottas were kept in the home sanctuaries of wealthy residents living near the agora. It can be presumed that the goddess—in this very image, with a lion under her feet and sphinxes on her throne—was interesting for her worshippers because of the religious beliefs they shared. It is possible that the residents of neighbouring houses participated in mystery cults. It can be also presumed that one of them was engaged in terracotta production or, in one way or another, was connected with a coroplast who, basing his work on imported votives, apparently developed his own manner of depicting the Mother of the Gods several decades later.

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Fig. 1 Fragments of terracotta of the most common type in Olbia of the Mother of the Gods, found in the botros of the eastern temenos. Excavations by E.I. Levi in 1955, photo by T. Shevchenko, the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine.



Fig. 2 Reconstruction of the Mother of the Gods' image as reproduced in two imported terracottas found in houses near the agora, Olbia. Excavations by L.M. Slavin in 1959, photo by T. Shevchenko, the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine.



Fig. 3 Locally produced figurine of the Mother of the Gods, found in the botros of the western temenos of Olbia. Excavations by A.S. Rusiaieva in 1975, photo by T. Shevchenko, the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine.



Fig. 4
Figurine of the Mother of the Gods from Gordion, imported from a Pontic ancient Greek centre, after I. Bald Romano.



Fig. 5
Terracotta depiction of the Mother of the Gods from Callatis, after M.J. Vermaseren.



Fig. 6
Figurine of the Mother of the Gods from Gordion, produced in a mould from Pergamon, after M.J. Vermaseren and I. Bald Romano.



Fig. 7
Marble statue of the Mother of the Gods from Panticapaeum, after В.П. Толстиков and М.Б. Муратова.



Fig. 8
Fragment of a throne armrest with depiction of a sphinx from Olbia, broken from a stone statue. Photo by T. Shevchenko, the National Historical and Archaeological Preserve "Olbia".



Fig. 9
Map of terracotta finds depicting the Mother of the Gods with sphinxes.

The Annexation of Galatia Reviewed

Julian BENNETT*

Abstract

This article reconsiders the accepted views on the annexation and ‘provincialisation’ of Galatia by expanding on the military-related factors involved. It is argued that the annexation helped provide Rome with the necessary resources, including manpower, to maintain Augustus’ ‘New Model’ Army as established between 30 and 25 BC, as well as providing land for the future discharge of legionary veterans. The achievements of the known governors of Galatia for 25 BC-AD 14 are reviewed also, noting how their senatorial status as pro-praetor or pro-consul had no bearing on the type of garrison they commanded. The process of establishing the Augustan *coloniae* ‘in Pisidia’ is then re-examined, as is the evidence for the character of Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium in the pre- and immediate post-annexation period. The data for the garrison of Augustan Galatia is then surveyed, concluding that the *legiones V* and *VII* took part in the annexation and probably remained there until AD 8, these legions being supported by auxiliary units that remained in the province after their departure. Finally, the evidence for the formation of the *legio XXII Deiotariana* is re-assessed, concluding it was indeed constituted under Augustus using the former Galatian Royal Army.

Keywords: Augustus; Galatia; *legiones V, VII*, and *XXII*; *auxilia*; Roman army; Pisidian *coloniae*; Ancyra, Pessinus and Tavium

Öz

Bu makalede, Galatia’nın ilhakı ve “eyaletleşmesi” hususunda kabul edilmiş görüşler askeri ilintili etkenler de dahil edilerek tekrar mercek altına alınmaktadır. İlhak ile insangücü de dahil olmak üzere Roma’ya Augustus’un MÖ 30 ile 25 arasında kurduğu ‘Yeni Model’ ordusunu sürdürmek için gereken kaynakların temin edildiği ve lejyoner veteranların ileri tarihte terhisleri için toprak sağladığı öne sürülmektedir. MÖ 25 ila MS 14 yılları arasında Galatia valiliği yaptıkları bilinen şahısların işleri de gözden geçirilmekte ve komuta ettikleri garnizon türü üzerinde *pro-praetor* veya *pro-consul* olarak senatoryal statülerinin bir önemi olmadığına dikkat çekilmektedir. Bundan sonra Pisidia’da Augustus *colonia*’larının kurulması süreci ve de ilhakin öncesi ve hemen sonrasında Ankyra, Pessinos ve Tavium’un karakteri için kanıtlar tekrar irdelenmektedir. Augustus dönemi Galatia’sı garnizonu için veriler incelenmekte ve *legiones V* ve *VII*’nin ilhaktaki görev aldığı ve muhtemelen MS 8 yılına kadar da burada kaldığı, ve bu lejyonları destekleyen yardımcı birliklerin ise onlar ayrıldıktan sonra da eyalette kaldığı sonucuna varılmaktadır. En son olarak da, *legio XXII Deiotariana*’nın kuruluşuyla ilgili kanıtlar incelenerek aslında Augustus döneminde önceki Galatia Kraliyet Ordusu kullanılarak tesis edildiği sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Augustus; Galatia; *legiones V, VII* ve *XXII*; *auxilia*; Roma ordusu; Pisidia *coloniae*; Ankyra, Pessinos, ve Tavium

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As so often before, I am indebted to the staff of the British Institute in Ankara for help in using their library resources; also my colleague Jacques Morin for assistance with Greek and Latin sources. The original and a corrected version of the article benefited from the suggestions of an anonymous reviewer, although in this final version I have discarded the more contentious issues on which we disagree. Otherwise, it would lengthen the article

Prologue

Twenty-five years have passed since the publication in 1993 of S. Mitchell's magisterial *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor I: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule* and its companion volume, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor II: The Rise of the Church*. In general, the two volumes have stood the test of time remarkably well, although D. Magie's seminal *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950) remains of great use in understanding fully the evolution of Roman Anatolia from a historical and epigraphic viewpoint. This entirely justifies the decision recently to reprint the work. Subsequent epigraphic and archaeological discoveries have of course added to the sum of knowledge on Roman Asia Minor since these quite different yet complementary syntheses first appeared, naturally prompting continuing re-analysis of several topics they each cover. This seems especially true regarding Mitchell's assessment of the initial proceedings and the process involved in converting the territory of King Amyntas of Galatia into a functioning Roman province. A series of recent papers authored by A. Coşkun have discussed already certain aspects of the procedure: here we focus specifically on the involvement of the Roman military in this matter.

The Annexation

The Galatian king Amyntas died in 25 BC 'when invading the country of the Homonadeis' of Cilicia, while 'trying to exterminate the Cilicians and the Pisidians, who from the Taurus were overrunning this country [Lycaonia], which belonged to the Phrygians and the Cilicians'.¹ The exact circumstances of his death, in the course of what was clearly a major campaign, during which he had taken Isauria by force and captured Cremna and other places of note, are not entirely clear other than it came after capture in an ambush and resultant treachery.² It occurred at the most inopportune time for Augustus,³ who was then directing personally a force of seven or possibly eight legions in the opening stages of his war against the Cantabrians.⁴ He certainly perceived a potential crisis of some severity in Central Anatolia, however, as despite his declaration to the Senate in 27 BC not to make any territorial additions to the Roman Empire,⁵ he took Amyntas' kingdom under direct Roman control the very same year.⁶

significantly, although I have responded to those points where I felt her/his comments needed correction and/or allowed for a short reply. The same reviewer also suggested I consult a lengthy list of articles by A. Coşkun that I had not originally had time to fully consider, disseminated, as they were in several disparate international journals, not all accessible immediately at Ankara. Despite their oft-repetitive nature, these were of great use in preparing the final version of this article, although they regularly neglected to discuss the military-related aspects involved in the annexation of Galatia, the particular focus here. I also thank Mark Wilson for commenting on the text and his revisions to its syntax, etc.

¹ Strabo 12.6.3–5. According to Pliny, *NH*. 5.94.23, the Homonadeis occupied 'a hollow and fertile plain which is divided into several valleys ... having mountains that served as walls about their country', with a focal settlement at Omana and forty-four *castella* 'hidden between the rugged valleys'. Identifying this area has challenged many scholars, although there is a general agreement it was to the south of the Trogitis (Suğla Gölü).

² Strabo 12.6.3.

³ In discussing events related to the first *princeps*, for those dating before 27 BC the name Octavian is used and Augustus thereafter.

⁴ For the legions involved in the campaign, see Rabanal Alonso 1999, 136.

⁵ Dio 54.9.1. An anonymous reviewer of this article questioned Dio's status as a reliable authority for events some 250 years before his own time. This is to ignore the wealth of scholarship confirming how Dio had access to contemporary records for the reign of Augustus, e.g., the relevant parts of Millar 1964, with Manuwald 1979, and Swan 1987. Dio did on occasion make mistakes, however, as, for example, 55.25, when he claimed that Augustus' 'New Army' was initially paid from a military treasury.

⁶ Dio 53.26.3 is quite specific as to the date of annexation.

There has been much discussion over exactly why Augustus decided on this particular measure.⁷ In particular his surprising determination to break with the long-established convention by which after the death of a ruler of one of Rome's 'client kingdoms', a son or other close relative of that ruler was approved as that ruler's successor. If such were not possible, then a member of the relevant political elite was installed as his replacement. Amyntas had at least two sons.⁸ Yet, instead of one of these replacing their father as ruler, with or without a regent in place, Augustus chose to ignore precedent and annex Galatia. The *communis opinio* has long been that the assumed youth of these sons, along with the lack of an appropriate member of the late king's entourage who could be trusted to act as regent determined this action.⁹ There is, however, no clear evidence that any of Amyntas' sons were below the age of majority at the time, in which case an alternative explanation has to be found for the failure to appoint one as ruler of Galatia. It may well have been connected to how Amyntas, presumably along with his inner circle of advisers, perhaps including one or more of his older sons, had only recently committed the major sin of backing Mark Antony against Octavian at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. Indeed, it seems likely that Amyntas had retained his rank, title, and authority afterwards simply because of the need to maintain a strong ruler in a territory bordered by mountain ranges and harbouring brigands and the like. If we take into account Amyntas' earlier support for Mark Antony, then a contributory factor determining annexation instead of appointing a suitable successor of some kind was a real or inferred reluctance by his sons and/or his council in wholeheartedly welcoming Augustus' new regime, and so a basic lack of trust in the Galatian aristocracy.¹⁰

Such matters aside, what we should not forget here is the potential threat that these ostensibly unorganised montagnard peoples, who had managed to trap Amyntas in an ambush, posed to the wider region, and so the need for a strong and reliable ruler of his territory.¹¹ Just as war bands of Galatians had raided throughout western Anatolia during the 3rd century, so the occupation of Lycaonia by marauding Cilicians and Pisidians, now made possible by the death of Amyntas, had the potential for these groups to develop into more than the localised threat some would dismiss them as.¹² What needs stressing at this point is the reasonable assumption that the Galatian Royal Army, founded in the 40s BC,¹³ was active and serving with Amyntas at the time of his death. Yet its apparent failure to take any form of retaliatory action against the captors of Amyntas and his subsequent death points to a distinct lack of professionalism among its officers and the absence of a reliable substitute commander. In which case, as there was no other significant military force in the region to oppose the further advance of these 'Cilicians and Pisidians', their occupation of Lycaonia threatened unhindered access to the main trans-Anatolian routes and along the Meander valley, although they perhaps proved

⁷ Coşkun 2008a, 139–53, discusses exhaustively the various possibilities; here we assess those relevant specifically to the focal points deemed relevant here.

⁸ Dio 53.26.3. One of these sons was a Pylaimenes, named on the Ancyra 'Priest List' for 2/1 BC: Mitchell and French 2012, 140, lines 20 and 48, with Coşkun 2014, 43 and 58.

⁹ So, for example, Mitchell 1993, 62.

¹⁰ As Coşkun 2008a, 151–2.

¹¹ The various and lengthy campaigns Rome initiated against the brigands of Cilicia Tracheia and the Inner Taurus during the last one hundred years of the Republic, for example, that of P. Servilius Vatia in 78–74 BC, indicate how the peoples living in this mountainous area proved tenacious warriors, not to be dismissed as a purely localised problem.

¹² E.g., Coşkun 2008a, 141.

¹³ See further below.

less of a threat to the principal Hellenised *poleis* provided as they were with their own local militia. Such a potential threat to local stability needed dealing with, and so reason enough for Augustus to annex Amyntas' kingdom in its entirety, just as he later annexed Rhaetia to eliminate the harassing raids of its inhabitants into Gaul.¹⁴

Other alternatives to annexation were, of course possible. For example, if none of Amyntas' sons or a member of the cadre that formed his power base were acceptable as a suitable successor, the installation of a descendant of one of the other Galatian rulers. For instance, Kastor, son Brigatos, 'probably a grandson of Tarkondarios through his mother and a grandson of Deiotaros through his father'.¹⁵ Another was to impose a Roman-supervised interregnum, as Octavian did with Mauretania following the death of its ruler King Bocchus in 33 BC, the territory remaining under Roman control until Augustus appointed Juba II as its ruler in 25 BC.¹⁶ So what made Galatia a case apart, demanding direct rule as a *provincia* of Rome? As might be expected, there were probably several factors. To begin, as indicated already, a perceived lack of trust in the local political elite that extended to the sons of Amyntas and other members of the Galatian nobility could well have been a factor, if not the deciding one. Another was a concrete threat to the wider region from the brigands and bandits of Pisidia and Lycaonia and their allies, the Homonadeis, together with the apparent unreliability if not sheer inability of the Galatian Royal Army to deal with this. A third was the unsuitability of any potential candidates among the descendants of other Galatian tetrarchs to assume the position of Amyntas. After all, any person who stepped into Amyntas' shoes needed to be competent enough to resolve happily the practical difficulties of imposing rule over a territory with settlements that ranged from relatively sophisticated *poleis*, established and functioning on the Hellenistic model, to villages and farms. And as if that were not enough, he would need to deal also with that perennial problem of the Homonadeis and their affiliates.

A consideration of the wider context in which the annexation took place, however, does allow another possible explanation for the annexation of Galatia, namely that military-related factors may have played a part. In the first place, there was the matter of financing the new professional Roman army Augustus established sometime after 31 BC.¹⁷ Under the Republic, a magistrate with *imperium* raised an army as necessary on a seasonal or campaign basis, and the same applied in times of civil war. Thus, at the battle of Actium, Octavian and Mark Antony deployed between them perhaps as many as forty-six legions. At this time – as far as it can be determined – a Roman citizen's legal obligation for military service had apparently not changed since the mid-Republican period when it was set as six years before the age of 46, although extendable to a total of sixteen years.¹⁸ Following on from Actium, Octavian proceeded

¹⁴ Dio 54.22.1.

¹⁵ Coşkun 2014, 48.

¹⁶ Cf. Dio 49.43.7; 53.26.1.

¹⁷ There is no clear evidence for when this new legionary army was established. An alleged debate on the matter between Octavian and his advisers in 29 BC, as reported by Dio (52.1–40), could be construed as indicating that the process of forming this army began in or immediately at that time. However, the establishment of a series of veteran colonies in 14 BC suggests that those newly recruited into this army did so in 30 BC for what was then the standard sixteen years of military service (see below).

¹⁸ Poly. 6.19.1. The relevant passage actually says sixteen years before the age of 46, but is certainly corrupt and so is commonly amended to six, with sixteen years as the total number of years a man might be obliged to serve. There are several reasons for believing this to be the case. One is that it cannot be pure coincidence that in 13 BC Augustus set the official terms of military service in the legions at sixteen years (Dio 54.25.6), presumably with a term of four years in the reserves as in AD 5/6 he raised this to twenty years (Dio 55.23.1). As many later legionary tombstones record twenty-five or so years of service, then there was perhaps an obligatory term of five years with the reserves after this revision.

to demobilise some twenty of the legions that participated in that campaign – many of them raised specifically for this – marking the first step in creating a permanent force of initially twenty-seven legions and then twenty-eight,¹⁹ together with an uncertain number of auxiliary units as support forces (see below). This meant finding the funds to maintain these units on a permanent basis with – it is reasonably estimated – legionary pay alone amounting to some 40-50% of the annual revenues received by the imperial treasury.²⁰ In addition, there were the food and equipment needs of that army, supplied of necessity from state resources also. In which case the opportunity to expand the sources of revenue to help maintain the ‘New Army’, with pay, food, and equipment, may have just nudged Augustus to decide on taking control of Galatia at this opportune moment. True, it went against his avowal before the Senate only two years earlier in 27 BC not to make any additions to the territory then under Roman control.²¹ Galatia at this time, however, evidently presented a special case to prove the rule, for the reasons outlined above, and so his decision to make the territory a *provincia* could be justified by reference to these.

This, of course, begs the question: Might Galatia have been a territory which, when made subject to taxation by Rome, have produced revenue enough to justify an annexation? This meant, as we will see, maintaining at least one legion, and probably two, in the province, and the usual *auxilia* forces also.²² Sources on the ‘economy’ of pre- or even immediately post-annexation Galatia are, of course, scarce. Strabo talks of how some three hundred flocks of sheep in Lycaonia alone belonged to Amyntas but adds nothing further. On the other hand, the direct or indirect acquisition of such flocks might have seemed a possible benefit to Rome – wool for clothing, salted meat for storing for future eating – and Galatian wool was certainly valued in later times.²³ Pliny the Elder notes that the region produced a sweet or honeyed wine, *scybelites*, and berries used for the *coccus* dye also.²⁴ But it is difficult to see how accumulating stocks of a honey-like sweetened wine or a purple dye – assuming these were in production at the time – might have prompted direct Roman control. On the other hand, although not mentioned in contemporary sources, we might with reason expect that salt from Lake Tatta

¹⁹ The earliest certain fact concerning the number of legions in the Imperial period is that in AD 23, there were exactly twenty-five (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.5.). As we will see, one of these, the *legio XXII*, was added after the annexation of Galatia, while three legions were destroyed in the Varian disaster of AD 9 and not replaced, as far as it is known. Thus, as there is no evidence that any new legions were formed or existing ones destroyed under Tiberius, then the probable total raised originally by Augustus was twenty-seven, raised to twenty-eight with the addition of the *legio XXII*. The original twenty-seven presumably retained a cadre of volunteers who chose to continue in military service after Actium for the benefits it offered, as well as men who had not yet completed their official term of service and were still ‘on the books’ as it were, the balance necessary to bring the new legions to full-strength after the discharge of those already time-served being raised via a *dilectus*.

²⁰ Hopkins 1980, 101–25, with Campbell 2002, 85. The need to finance the Roman army probably encouraged Tiberius’ annexation of Cappadocia in AD 17. This allowed him to cut by 50% the *centesima rerum venalium*, the 1% sales tax, a levy which at that time was causing general unrest among the plebs. It also helps explain Claudius’ decision to take Lycia under Roman control in AD 43. On the annexation of Cappadocia, see, e.g., Bennett 2006, esp. 79–81, and of Lycia, Bennett 2011, esp. 129–31.

²¹ Dio 54.9.1.

²² Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.5) indicates that by the time of Tiberius, it was usual to match the number of legionaries in a province with a more or less equal number of auxiliaries. The origin of the practice cannot be determined, but as legions had regularly fought with *auxilia* in Republican times, then it would have been natural for Augustus to formalise the practice.

²³ Strabo 12.6.1, with Pliny the Elder, *NH* 29.33.

²⁴ *Scybelites*: Pliny the Elder, *NH* 14.11.80; *coccus* dye: *NH* 9.140–141. Pliny adds at *NH* 22.3 how this dye was used for dyeing the *paladumentum*, the cloak worn by a triumphant general in Republican times and later by the reigning *princeps*.

(Tuz Gölü), a resource certainly exploited heavily in earlier (and later times and still so today), also played a part in the regional economy in the Galatian period.²⁵

What might have been a far more attractive reason for provincialising Galatia was its probable agricultural value. The mountainous parts aside, much of what was Galatian territory is today only farmable thanks to intensive irrigation systems. For it is essentially a steppe-like region, characterised by cold, wet winters and hot, arid summers with an equally short growing season that promotes the natural growth of the smaller native flora,²⁶ grasses and the like, suitable as fodder for sheep/goat. Yet there is highly persuasive evidence for the existence of a well-developed agrarian economy in Galatia by the mid-Augustan period at least and so conceivably earlier. It comes in part in the form of the lists of benefactions provided by the first priests of the Imperial cult at Ancyra as listed on the 'Priest List', for these repeatedly stress the provision of public feasts and donations of cereal. Given the principally cellular nature of the Hellenistic and Roman economy when it came to the supply of foodstuffs and the like, then we can be certain these were obtained locally as the means of transport then available necessarily limited any long-distance supply of such items on the part of private individuals.

The point is that while at this time the Ankara Çay was quite probably navigable to some extent, most bulk supplies of food from within Galatia to Ancyra had to involve some overland transport, whether to a suitable barge-loading transit point or to Ancyra directly. An axiom holds that the longer the land journey for any commodity, the more the fodder required for feeding the animals involved and so the greater the overall expense.²⁷ Thus, while we cannot be certain, these several benefactions involving food as catalogued on the 'Priest List' point to the private ownership of substantial ranches (to coin a term) in the vicinity that provided the necessary surplus for these donations.²⁸ Indeed, a reasonably substantial and disposable surplus of some kind must have existed to allow several of the men listed there to import the significant quantities of olive oil they distributed at such ceremonies. Admittedly, the earliest records of such benefactions date to some twenty-five years after the annexation, but there is no reason to doubt that such expanses of farmland existed in earlier times. Indeed, just as with the large imperial and private land holdings attested later in west Galatia, south Phrygia and Pisidia, these assumed Augustan-period estates could best be explained as former royal or even temple land that became *ager publicus* under Rome before being distributed among a deserving elite.²⁹

²⁵ Cf. Erdoğan et al. 2013. On the importance of salt, note Cassiodorus, *Var.Epist.* 7, who comments on the office of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, 'The commerce of salt, that precious mineral, rightly valued and classed with silken robes and pearls, is under your superintendence'; and *Var.Epist.* 24, 'A man might be lukewarm regarding the search for gold, but everyone desires to find a source of salt'.

²⁶ Atalay and Mortan 1997.

²⁷ Cf. Finlay 1973, 128, on how Diocletian's Tax Edict indicates that a wagonload of wheat equivalent to around 600 kg doubled in price over a distance of 300 Roman miles (about 444 km).

²⁸ Coşkun 2014 offers a new and greatly improved version of the Ancyra 'Priest List', and discusses the various benefactions. He also discusses the evidence for the foundation of the cult and the dating of the so-called 'Temple of Roma and Augustus' at Ankara.

²⁹ Strabo 12.8.14, with Mitchell 1993, 61–2. An anonymous reviewer complained that the use of the term *ager publicus* here was an 'erroneous conception of *ager publicus*, which was in Italy, and owned by the Roman people and accessible (in principle) to all Roman citizens'. Moreover, s/he continued, it represents on the part of the writer a 'failure to distinguish correctly between *ager Romanus* and *ager publicus* (admittedly a frequent error but quite detrimental to the description of the legal framework of Roman provincialisation'. However, the use of the term here is quite correct. See, for example the relevant entries in *New Pauly* and other similar works, which define *ager Romanus* as the area of the state of Rome inhabited by Romans (including the city), and *ager publicus* as lands confiscated from defeated or rebellious peoples inside and outside of Italy.

As it is, in a seminal paper on the environmental evidence from Gordion, R. Marston has shown how the local landscape there in the Hellenistic period was devoted to mixed agriculture at a subsistence level, suitable for a small population distributed among farmsteads, but changed in the Roman period to one in which sheep husbandry and cereal surplus cultivation, of wheat in particular, dominated.³⁰ There is no way obviously of dating this change precisely, even within a few decades, nor can we entirely exclude that simple population growth might have been the reason behind it. Yet, as Marston notes, the change matches that of other 'coercive economic systems that had the capability to demand specific agricultural practices, such as the Roman system that prioritized wheat production to pay a heavy tax burden', resulting in 'eventual unsustainable agricultural and land-use practices in central Anatolia'.³¹ To be sure, Columella, writing in the mid-1st century AD, confirms in a sense that the climate of Galatia was not exactly ideal for wheat cultivation, for he stresses how it produced excellent barley, known as *distichum* ('two-rowed') or as 'Galatian', which was 'of extraordinary weight and whiteness, so much so that when mixed with wheat it makes excellent food for the household'.³² Barley is of course the natural choice for a cereal crop in a highland area such as Galatia, with a generally short growing season in a somewhat uncertain climate, as it takes less time to mature and is more resistant to disease than wheat.³³ Yet, despite these positive factors and its highly nutritive value, barley in classical times – as well as earlier and later – was considered a low-class food, suitable in the main for animals only. This is why it was fed to Roman soldiers as punishment rations, since white bread was a symbol of status in the Hellenistic and Roman world.³⁴ That aside, simple economic factors must surely have come into play with regard to a preference for the cultivation of wheat over barley as we see at Gordion. A given quantity of barley brought in much less in cash and exchange terms than one of wheat,³⁵ which is why in the agricultural centre of Karanis in the Fayum, where taxes were paid in kind, there was a 5% surcharge if this was paid in barley instead of wheat.³⁶

What we have to remember here is, of course, that aside from the personal prestige attached to military triumph in subjecting new territories to Roman control, one of the principal benefits attached to the expansion of the Roman Empire from the Republican period onwards was to extend the taxation base. It was the only sure way of raising revenue to finance increased government spending and service, and to satisfy the demands of the wider population. This is why Pompey boasted to the Roman people at his triumph in 61 BC that his 'conquests' in the east increased the taxation revenues of Rome from some 50,000,000 *drachmae* to 85,000,000.³⁷ Might the need to help pay for Augustus' 'New Army' have prompted in part the annexation of Galatia?³⁸ This possibility is discounted by A. Coşkun who has denied that Galatia may have become subject to taxation so soon after its annexation, owing to the lack of

³⁰ Marston 2012, 394.

³¹ Marston 2012, 395.

³² *Col. De Re Rustica*. 2.9., with 8.16.

³³ Cf. Braun 1995.

³⁴ Suetonius, *Aug.* 24.2, for barley as punishment rations for timidity in battle; for the status of white bread in the Roman world, see, e.g., Malmberg 2005, 14.

³⁵ The Price Edict gives 100 HS for a *modius* of wheat and 60 for one of barley.

³⁶ Johnson 1936, 511.

³⁷ Plutarch *Pomp.* 45.3–4.

³⁸ While Augustus had become enormously wealthy personally from his 'capture' of Egypt, by 25 BC he had already paid out large sums of money to the plebs and others. The establishment of a military treasury to pay gratuities to veterans did not come into effect until 6 BC; cf. RG 15–7.

any evidence for a monetarised economy hereabouts until later in the 1st century AD.³⁹ That is to ignore the Roman preference in some provinces – Egypt immediately springs to mind – for taxation in kind, commonly referred to in academic literature today as the *vectigalia*, a direct tax levied as a ratio of the annual crop harvest.⁴⁰ Rome favoured this method in the less urbanised provinces where a monetarised economy did not exist or in which coin played a very small part in the local economy.⁴¹ Bronze and silver coins certainly existed in Galatia from the time of Deiotaros, but as far as it can be judged, their distribution seems to have been limited. The consequence of this lack of coinage was that it failed to stimulate a monetarised trade in goods in such areas and delayed the monetisation of the relevant local economy.⁴² On the other hand, such taxes in kind were perfect for the long- and short-distance supply of military garrisons in the frontier provinces.

Another motive for the annexation of Galatia related to military factors (discussed in more detail below) was obtaining the land for the re-settlement of legionary veterans. Until the establishment of the *aerarium militare* in AD 6 with its system of cash-grants to legionary veterans, the usual method of providing their ‘retirement bonus’ was through placing them in existing or newly established *coloniae* on *ager Romanus* in Italy or, more commonly in the last decades of the Republic, on *ager publicus* in the provinces. The evidence – such as it is – suggests that already by the time of Actium there was increasing difficulty in following this practice with regard to peninsular Italy and certain of the provinces also.⁴³ Thus, the possibility of acquiring new land in Galatia for the purpose might well have appealed to Augustus,⁴⁴ albeit not necessarily as a primary motive.

Finally, we cannot exclude the possibility that the long history of Galatia in supplying mercenaries to the various Hellenistic rulers played a part in the decision to annex the territory only now as a source of legionary recruits.⁴⁵ At first sight this might seem somewhat improbable given the mass discharge of legionaries that took place after Actium. Yet what needs to be remembered is that some of the men retained in military service after Actium would eventually be due their discharge, and some of them quite soon. The fact is that as far as we can be certain, Augustus’ ‘New Army’ contained a mixture of men enlisted under quite different terms of service. Some would have been recruited shortly before and expressly for the Actium campaign, and so under the standard late Republican system were serving a minimum of six campaigning seasons and a further ten in the ‘reserves’.⁴⁶ Others enlisted or re-enlisted for what was by 13/12 BC certainly the official term of a full sixteen years, but a term which must have been already in force from 30 BC to account for the mass settlement of veterans Augustus

³⁹ Coşkun 2008, 156.

⁴⁰ See Günther 2008 for an exhaustive study of the *vectigalia*, a word derived from *vehere* (‘to convey or transport’), related to how it originally referred to the cartloads of crops from *ager publicus* surrendered as rent-in-kind to the state by a leaseholder, but which in later times covered various forms of (mainly) indirect taxation.

⁴¹ On Roman taxation systems in general, see especially Hopkins 1980, *passim*, for an overview and detailed references, if over-emphasising the belief that taxes were paid in cash. These provincial laws were often extremely comprehensive as with, for example, the so-called ‘Tax law of Ephesus’ (Cottier et al. 2008), its first iteration, as represented by lines 8–71, possibly based on the Gaius Gracchus’ law on the taxation of Asia *provincia* instituted in 123–122 BC.

⁴² Hopkins 1980, 103. But see now more recent work, as e.g., the historiography and critical analysis in Aarts 2005.

⁴³ Cf. Keppie 1984, 147.

⁴⁴ Cf. Coşkun 2008a, 148 and 152.

⁴⁵ Coşkun 2008a 158, with 2008b, 35.

⁴⁶ See note 18 above.

oversaw sixteen years later in 14 BC.⁴⁷ The point is that at this time, a clear reluctance was developing among Italians to join the legions.⁴⁸ Thus there was a need to find a source of new recruits for those men who were due discharge in the years immediately after Actium and in the future, as well as the necessary replacements occasioned on an annual basis to make up for ‘natural loss’ in battle or illness.

The Governors and Their Achievements⁴⁹

Having set out some of the military-influenced factors that possibly influenced Augustus’ decision to annex Galatia as a Roman *provincia*, it will be useful to provide an overview of those men who governed the province and some of their accomplishments between the annexation in 25 BC and Augustus’ demise in AD 14. Therefore, we begin with the person charged with the annexation itself, namely M. Lollius (Curio?), a man of uncertain origins but who, as a member of Octavian’s inner circle at the Battle of Actium, played a rather interesting role in that event.⁵⁰ Despite his presence at Actium in a senior capacity, we know almost nothing of his career before his appointment to the command of Galatia and so what precisely qualified him for the post other than being a close confidant of Augustus. All we can say is that, assuming he followed the standard *cursus honorum*, he must have held a praetorship by that time. This was the prerequisite to the command of a province and/or a legion, and also for the consulship he won in 21 BC – as *consul prior* no less – directly after concluding his service in Galatia.⁵¹

There can be no doubt that Augustus issued Lollius with *mandata*, a series of instructions related to his new post before taking up his duties as governor of Galatia.⁵² While there is no explicit evidence regarding the *mandata* for any of Augustus’ governors, we might divine their overall content from similar instructions issued to other governors in both the Republican and the later Imperial periods. A prime responsibility for all such men was to act in any matter he saw fit to protect the security of Roman interests in the region assigned to him.⁵³ This would naturally involve keeping it free from internal unrest and dealing with any external aggression, even in areas technically long pacified. This is made exceptionally clear from Hadrian’s instructions to Antoninus Pius when he was appointed proconsul of Asia for 135-136. He was to interrogate captured *latrones* (robbers/brigands) carefully to establish their associates and – it seems – to determine their hideouts.⁵⁴ Certainly, a governor was responsible for using his power as a Roman magistrate with full *imperium* to oversee all administrative and juridical matters in his territory. In Lollius’ case, we might reasonably assume this also involved

⁴⁷ Fully discussed in Keppie 1983.

⁴⁸ The standard work on this is Mann 1983, 50–5.

⁴⁹ I follow here the listing and dating of the known governors as Coşkun 2009, 162, with further details on these men as in Rémy 1989, 127–38, summarised to AD 6 by Strobel 2000, 516–20, and additional biographical notes here if thought of wider interest.

⁵⁰ Rémy 1989, 127–29.

⁵¹ For those unfamiliar with the Roman consulship, as was an anonymous reviewer of this article, the *consul prior* was the ‘senior’ of the two consuls elected each year, being first in the annual ballot for the two consuls, the *consul posterior* being his ‘junior’. Neither of these positions, and especially not that of the *consul posterior*, is to be confused with that of a *consul suffectus*, a ‘replacement’ for one of the two consuls if they died in office or chose to retire before the end of the year.

⁵² Dio 53.15.4.

⁵³ Cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 3.6.6, with 15.2.6, on the duty of a governor to protect the interests of the *rei publicae*.

⁵⁴ Dig. 48.3.6.1.

deciding on the matter of what to do with the property and land owned by Amyntas, and the revenues from these,⁵⁵ and any other property that might serve the interests of Rome. It seems likely, though, that the sons of Amyntas inherited at least a part of what had belonged to him in his private capacity: hence the rise to local prominence some twenty-five years later of one of them, Pylaimenes, named on the Ancyra 'Priest List' for 2/1 BC.⁵⁶ However, that part classed as 'Royal' property, such as the taxes paid in kind or in money by those *poleis* under Amyntas' dominion, now went to Rome, as did the revenues and ownership of any land in this 'private' category. Moreover, Lollius was perhaps responsible for despatching that team of assessors which disbanded the priesthood at the major religious centre dedicated to Mên Askaios close to Antioch by Pisidia, a temple that controlled 'many sacred slaves and estates'.⁵⁷ They presumably formalised the ownership of the temple's estates also, some of it becoming Roman property, ultimately for use by the legionary veterans settled soon after at what became *Colonia Caesarea Antiocheia*.

What to do with the Galatian Royal Army was most probably another priority for Lollius and discussed in more detail below. Necessary now is to observe how Deiotaros, the first established king of all Galatia, had sometime in the early 40s BC formed 'thirty *cobortes*' of 400 men each, with a cavalry arm of 2,000, all trained expressly on the Roman system of discipline and armament.⁵⁸ As such then, this army was the equivalent, more or less, of three Roman legions. Two of these 'legions' accompanied the Caesarean army despatched in response to the invasion of the Pontus in 48 BC by Pharnaces of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and were honoured by being made the centre of the Roman order of battle at Nicopolis.⁵⁹ In the event they 'offered scarcely any resistance to the attack', with the result that 'many of their men were killed'.⁶⁰ Thus, presumably, the circumstance by which only a single Galatian only fought for Caesar at the Battle of Zela that followed soon after.⁶¹

The generally accepted view is that this army survived into the reign of Amyntas and was presumably involved in his campaign against the Homonadeis. What happens next is a matter of some debate, although most scholars believe that it or a core element thereof was absorbed directly into Augustus' new legionary army as the *legio XXII*. More recently this view has been challenged and it has been argued it continued in service as a *legio vernacula* only, that is to say, a unit of *peregrini* trained and armed in Roman fashion, until the Tiberian period. A detailed analysis of the debate, however, demands a slightly more detailed analysis than is appropriate at this point, and so is provided towards the end of this article.

⁵⁵ For, example, the three hundred flocks of sheep in Lycaonia: Strabo 12.6.1.

⁵⁶ Mitchell and French 2012, 140, lines 20 and 48, with Coşkun 2014, 43, and 58.

⁵⁷ Strabo 12.8.14, with Mitchell 1993, 61–2, n. 6.

⁵⁸ Cic., *Ad Att.* 6.1.14, with Keppie 1984, 141. The practice of forming a Royal army on the Roman model was not exclusive to Galatia, as is sometimes thought. Note, for example, the Royal armies of King Juba of Numidia and King Bocchus of Mauretania: *B. Afr.* 48, and *B. Alex.* 62. Also note the temporary legion 'formed from the hastily improvised forces in Pontus' which took part alongside Deiotaros' army at the Battle of Nicopolis: *B. Alex.* 34 and 40. To these we might add the regular auxiliary cohort formed from the royal militia of Pontus Polemoniacus after its annexation to Galatia-Cappadocia in AD 63–64. Its members were given Roman citizenship at the time and issued then, if not before, with 'arms and banners in the Roman fashion'. The royal navy was similarly formalised to what later became the *Classis Pontica*: Josephus *BJ.* 6.4; Tacitus *Hist.* 47, and Suetonius *Nero* 18.

⁵⁹ *B. Alex.* 34.

⁶⁰ *B. Alex.* 39–40.

⁶¹ *B. Alex.* 69.

More germane to Lollius' administration of Galatia is how he was probably responsible for conducting what was in effect a census in the new province.⁶² Such would certainly be required to allow the province's *quaestor*, the official in charge of financial matters, to establish the necessary taxation regime. It need not have been a full-blown census of the type initiated by Augustus in 2 BC, as referenced in the *Res Gestae*.⁶³ All that was required in the first instance was an assessment of property, revenues, and population statistics within Amyntas' former kingdom using the records of the various *poleis* and those held by the Galatian treasury, perhaps still maintained at Peium.⁶⁴ There should be no doubt that such records existed for, as with any polity, taxes are the machinery of government. Certainly, it is clear that throughout Asia Minor, all methodically ordered *poleis* had been regulated in a taxation system of some form since Achaemenid times with the proceeds going to whoever was their overlord.⁶⁵ These systems essentially related to property and produce, although the poll tax, while uncommon in the Hellenistic world, certainly existed in some parts of Asia Minor as with Carian Kildara.⁶⁶ How such taxation systems could be effected in the countryside though, where it would prove more difficult to register numbers of people and assess their property value, is not at all clear. Yet we can be certain that the rural population is unlikely to have escaped entirely some form of official registration for taxation purposes.

That aside, we can be sure that while governor, Lollius was responsible for a *dilectus*, the (usually) forced recruitment of non-Roman provincials into the Roman army.⁶⁷ As is well known, a *peregrinus* granted Roman citizenship for whatever reason would take the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their patron, just as was the case with a child adopted by a Roman citizen or a slave given his freedom. Thus, we can be reasonably certain that the two legionaries sharing the name 'Marcus Lollius' on an inscription of probable Augustan date recording members of two legions involved in construction work in the Wadi Umm Hussain region in Egypt were drafted into military service under that governor. They were given his names along with Roman citizenship at the same time, and memberships of the *Pollia tribus*, commonly associated with newly-made Roman citizens, with their origin stated as Ancyra.⁶⁸ A Lollian *dilectus* would explain also a funerary text from Iconium recording the veteran Marcus Lollius of the *legio VII*, although his *origo* and *tribus* are not stated. The memorial itself, however, was erected to his 'dearest friend' by one P. Mestrius P.f. *Maecia tribus*, another veteran of the *legio VII*. It allows for the possibility that both men originated from and retired there, and thus were Galatian in origin.⁶⁹ Putting these cases indicating a Lollian *dilectus* to one side, an inscription from Pessinus provides us with a group of family members and their wives descended from a

⁶² Cf. Kennedy, 2006, at 116–17: 'in order to function adequately, the Roman taxation system presupposes a census'; also Brunt 1981, 163 (= Brunt 1990, 329–30), and Capponi 2005, 90, with the cautionary observations by Cotton 1997, esp. 206, that we should 'dispel ... the notion that a provincial census followed immediately upon the annexation of a territory to the Roman empire'.

⁶³ RG 15, with Adler 1928, 293, and Blume et al. 1848, 239.

⁶⁴ Strabo 12.5.2.

⁶⁵ Cf. Polybius 21.46.2–3, on how after the Treaty of Apamea, 'Those places which had paid taxes to Attalos I, were now ordered by Rome to give the same amount to Eumenes II. There is a wealth of data on the form these taxes took and the relevant rates; see, e.g., most recently, Virgilio 2011.

⁶⁶ SEG 42. 994; cf. Mackil 2015, for the unpopularity of the poll tax in Hellenistic times.

⁶⁷ See Brunt 1974 (= Brunt 1990, 188–214, with 512–13).

⁶⁸ CIL 3.6627 = ILS 2483, col. 1. On the common use of the *Pollia tribus* from Republican times for those men newly-enfranchised as Roman citizens, see, e.g., Haeussler 2013, 189–91.

⁶⁹ AE 1903.74 = IGR 3.1476; cf. Mitchell 1976a, 303.

M. Lollius, albeit a member of the *Menenia tribus*, but possibly a man awarded citizenship by the same governor on entry in the legions.⁷⁰ Likewise, the Lollius Menogenes recorded on a funerary dedication at Dümrek (near Sivrihisar) could, at a pinch, be the descendant of another legionary recruited between 25–23 BC, especially given the proximity of the findspot to the late Augustan *colonia* at Germa.⁷¹

We do not know the name of Lollius' successor or, in fact, the names of those who came after that *ignotus* until L. Calpurnius Piso (Pontifex), *consul posterior* for 15 BC, is on record as governor of Galatia in 14–13 BC.⁷² This long period, however, saw an important step in the administration of the province with a division of the territory into three semi-autonomous jurisdictions (see further below). This presumably coincided with the introduction of formal civic charters at Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, each modelled – so it seems – on the example introduced by Pompey the Great in Pontus-Bithynia when he constituted the two regions into a single *provincia* in 64/63 BC.⁷³ As for L. Calpurnius Piso (Pontifex), he was evidently a man of recognised military and administrative competence, for on completion of his duty in the province he departed directly to the Balkans to deal with disturbances in Thrace and Macedonia. He won *ornamenta triumphalia* for his successes there,⁷⁴ and, as we will see, arguably took with him at least one legion and other forces from Galatia for the campaign.

Then comes another gap in the sequence of known governors of Galatia until the appointment of Cornutus Aquila/us.⁷⁵ He was a man of unknown senatorial rank who in 6 BC completed the *Via Sebaste* linking the outer ring of the original Pisidian *coloniae* to each other and to the coast at Side. The purpose of Roman roads, especially paved ones such as this, designed for wheeled transport, was specifically for the movement of Roman military forces, so we should see this road as a prelude to an intended campaign in the southern Taurus. In fact, it was Aquila's successor, P. Sulpicius Quirinus, *consul posterior* in 12 BC and governor of Galatia for 5–3 BC, who completed the taming of the Homonadeis, receiving *ornamenta triumphalia* for this achievement.⁷⁶ What is more, Quirinus, who later reached one of the pinnacles of Roman administration with his appointment as governor of Syria (AD 6–12), may well have overseen the establishment of a branch of the Imperial Cult at Ancyra.⁷⁷

There is another *lacuna* in the *fasti* for Galatia until 2 BC–AD 4 when Metilius (Rufus?), perhaps the son of the early Augustan proconsul of Achaëa, was in office.⁷⁸ He was followed as governor for AD 4–8 by a man named on the Ancyra 'Priest List' simply as 'Fronto'.⁷⁹ He

⁷⁰ IK-66, 102 = AE 2005, 1475. The C. Julius C.f. *Papira* from Cormasa who served with the *legio VII* (AE 1961.15) logically belongs to an Augustan *dilectus* also, as he took his name from that of the first *princeps*, and so quite possibly under Lollius.

⁷¹ Mitchell 1982, 99, no. 101; but note how not all agree that Germa was an Augustan foundation.

⁷² Rémy 1989, 129–31.

⁷³ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 89.

⁷⁴ His service there and triumph for the 'hard-fought' campaign is reported in Livy, *Per.* 140; also Velleius Paterculus 2.98; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.10; and Dio 54.34.6–7. None of these sources says anything of Piso taking any part of the garrison with him for the task, but Syme 1933, 23, and 30–1, has made a convincing argument for this, which has stood the test of time.

⁷⁵ Rémy 1989, 131–32.

⁷⁶ Rémy 1989, 132–34.

⁷⁷ Coşkun 2014, 54 with 59–63.

⁷⁸ Coşkun 2014, 57.

⁷⁹ Coşkun 2014, 43.

is conceivably the same person as the Tiberian-period pro-praetor Octavius Fronto, known for his opposition to luxurious excesses among the senatorial and other classes, including the amount of silver plate, elaborate furniture, and slaves and servants a senator might own, and firmly opposed to men wearing ‘oriental silks’.⁸⁰ More significantly, though, a successful campaign against the Isaurians took place when this Fronto was in office in Galatia, a campaign led presumably by the governor in person.⁸¹ ‘Fronto’ was followed in office for AD 8–12 by M. Plautius Silvanus, *consul posterior* with Augustus as the *consul prior* in 2 BC, and then *de facto consul prior* after Augustus resigned the office that summer.⁸² He was called up for service with Tiberius in the Pannonian War shortly after assuming his appointment to Galatia, and received *ornamenta triumphalia* in AD 9 for his part in the campaign there (see below) before returning to Galatia to complete his term of office.⁸³ Finally, taking us to the time limit of this article, we come to T. Helvius Basila, registered in office for about AD 12–16.⁸⁴

Evidently on the patchy evidence we have, there was no consistent rank pattern by which the governors of Augustan Galatia were selected for the duty, except that as it was one of the so-called ‘Imperial provinces’, these men were all formally *legati Augusti pro praetore*.⁸⁵ To which we need to add that, according to Dio, under the system of administration introduced by Augustus in 28/27 BC, the governors of provinces with more than one legion were generally pro-praetors or pro-quaestors.⁸⁶ Why that observation is relevant here relates specifically to the nature of the garrison of Galatia during the Augustan period. K. Strobel believes that the actual social and political status of the person in command of Galatia until the early Tiberian period, whether as pro-praetor or pro-consul, reflects directly the prevailing diplomatic and/or – if especially so – military circumstances affecting the province at the relevant time, and thus the need or size of any legionary garrison.⁸⁷ His thinking seems influenced by the fully developed *cursus honorum* familiar from the later Imperial period, which certainly stipulated that pro-consuls only, with the same title of *legati Augusti pro praetore*, commanded provinces with a legionary garrison, while pro-praetors supervised ones without. Yet as Mitchell reminds us, this rigid procedure need not automatically apply throughout the early principate when a measure of fluidity might be expected.⁸⁸ Indeed Augustus’ possession of the repeated consulship from 28/27 BC and then from 23 BC the *imperium proconsulare maius* made him sole arbiter in the government of the Roman Empire, with absolute authority to appoint whomever he wished as his ‘delegates’ to the governorship of the so-called ‘Imperial provinces’, and, by showing his preferences, the ‘Senatorial provinces’ also.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 33.1.

⁸¹ Dio 55.28.3. For Fronto as governor at this time see Coşkun 2014, 43, 57.

⁸² Cf. Rémy 1989, 135–37, but with his term of office re-dated: cf. Coşkun 2009, 161–62, with Coşkun 2012, and 2014, 58. Note also Coşkun 2009, for the re-dating to AD 20–27 of S. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus originally thought to be in office in Galatia AD 13–16.

⁸³ Velleius Paterculus 2.112.4, and Dio 55.28.2–3, which, as Mitchell and French 2012, 147, observe, following Coşkun 2007, 232–33, is a prolepsis – an allusion to his actual involvement in the campaign in AD 8–9.

⁸⁴ Rémy 1989, 138–39 with Coşkun 2013a.

⁸⁵ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 63.

⁸⁶ Dio 53.15.1.

⁸⁷ Strobel 2000, 516–20 and 2002, 51–3.

⁸⁸ Mitchell 1993, 63.

⁸⁹ Dio 53.32.

The Coloniae and the Urbanisation of Celtic Galatia⁹⁰

The *Res Gestae* states how Augustus settled legionary veterans in *coloniae* established in eight of Rome's *provinciae* and 'in Pisidia'.⁹¹ The majority of these colonies 'in Pisidia' enclose effectively the Pisidian highlands, with two (Cremna and Isauria) located more centrally in the region. Thus, given how Amyntas died while on campaign in that general area, most commentators have assumed – perhaps naturally – that the first stages at least in establishing these Pisidian *coloniae* took place under Lollius. This seems barely possible given a coin of Antioch – *Colonia Caesarea* – with the obverse showing a bareheaded Augustus and the legend 'IMP AVGVST TR POT'. Its reverse has the representation of a togate figure ploughing to the right with a plough-team of two hump-backed oxen together with the legend 'PARENS CAESAREA', with 'COL' in the exergue.⁹² The reverse confirms the Augustan date of its foundation, as it distinguishes Augustus as its 'parent',⁹³ and the '*Colonus* ploughing' scene it accompanies references the defining of the *pomerium* for the new colony.⁹⁴ What is more significant about the coin, however, is how it describes Augustus as 'TR(ibunicia) POT(estas)', for this title only appears on coins and inscriptions of Augustus after 23 BC.⁹⁵ Hence, the debates over the relevance of the so-called centenary and bi-centenary coinages for Antioch along with two other Augustan *coloniae* Lystra and Cremna suggesting they were established in 25 BC become irrelevant.⁹⁶ We should thus discard the oft-repeated view that Lollius founded the *coloniae* almost immediately after his arrival.⁹⁷

It is conceded that the legend on this coin of Antioch provides a *terminus post quem* for the foundation of that *colonia* only and leaves open the possibility that it at least may have been established when Lollius was still in office – but only just. That aside, the foundation date of Antioch need not necessarily have any direct bearing on the foundation date of the other Pisidian *coloniae*, except that with Antioch being the 'parent' colony, it was perhaps the first and so precedes the others. Certainly, as has been stressed elsewhere, we should not assume that all the other twelve or so Pisidian *coloniae* were founded simultaneously with *Colonia Caesarea*. Indeed, the limited coin evidence suggests that they were established individually, one-by-one, as circumstances demanded.⁹⁸ To be sure, in the three or four years following the mass discharge of veterans accompanying Augustus' army reorganisation in 30/29 BC, it is unlikely that the conditions existed – and no evidence at all – for such large numbers of men being discharged at one single time to warrant the contemporaneous foundation of as many as twelve *coloniae*. That remains the case even if only eight of the twelve (Antioch, Comama,

⁹⁰ It was not possible to consult Sugliano 2005 or De Giorgi 2011 for what these might have contributed to this section.

⁹¹ RG 28.

⁹² RPC I.3529. Cf. also ILS 5336; and Levick 1967, 196.

⁹³ Cf. Pliny the Elder, *NH*, 5.24: '*Colonia Caesarea, eadem Antiochia*'.

⁹⁴ OCD s.v., 'Colonus'.

⁹⁵ Lacey 1979.

⁹⁶ On which see Levick 1967, 34–7, with the note of caution introduced by Brunt 1971, 601, and Mitchell 1993, 76. What has seemingly escaped comment in many a discussion of the foundation date of the first *coloniae* is this: If 25 BC was the initial foundation date for at least one or more of them, how did the required veterans arrive there? That is to say, are we to assume – if this were the case – that Lollius brought them with him as serving soldiers or as supernumeraries? The question is discussed further below.

⁹⁷ E.g., Strobel 2002, 53.

⁹⁸ Cf. Coşkun 2008a, 149, who suggests on the coin evidence foundation dates of between 25/24 BC for Olbassa, and 25/21 for Cremna and Lystra.

Cremna, Iconium, Lystra, Ninicia, Olbassa, and Parlais) were full *coloniae*; the remainder (Attaleia, Apollonia, Isauria, and Phrygian Neapolis) settlements of *coloni* within existing communities.⁹⁹

There should be little doubt that the establishment of these *coloniae* conformed to the practice in the mid- and Late-Republican period. They were created not simply to provide army veterans with a home, but so that the original *coloni* could, if necessary, play their part while still able and active to help secure control of the Pisidian Taurus, presumably as men drafted into a *legio facta ex coloniis* as it were,¹⁰⁰ along with – it is commonly believed – the hope their sons would also join the legions. As already observed, we can assume that some of the legions re-formed after Actium contained a mixture of those who had not yet completed their six campaigning seasons in accordance with the standard late Republican system. But they also probably included *evocati* – men who had completed their required military service but were obliged to serve a further ten (or sixteen?) in the ‘reserves’.¹⁰¹ This is implied from the way that – as already noted – when Augustus formalized finally the terms of legionary service in 13/12 BC, the terms were set at sixteen full years, suggesting that a period ‘on reserve’ of up to ten years had applied to those serving in earlier times.¹⁰² It seems possible, therefore, that some, if not necessarily the bulk of the *coloni* in the original Pisidian *coloniae*, were men who had enlisted in the legions before Actium and qualified for discharge under the earlier Republican terms of service, yet were perhaps obligated to fulfil a military role when required, if only to provide a secondary level of security to Galatia and neighbouring territories.¹⁰³

Whether or not this was the case, as the original colonists were legionary ‘veterans’ in one sense or another, it behoves us to identify the legions they served with formerly, evidently, two with regard to establishing the *colonia* at Antioch on the basis of a coin issued there under Augustus showing two inward-facing *aquilae* standards with *signa* to the left and right of these.¹⁰⁴ This issue is paralleled closely by another now attributed to Augustus that has an obverse legend ‘C.C.ANT(iochia)’ showing a ‘*Colonus* ploughing’ and a reverse with two *aquilae* standards flanked to the left and right by *signa* and in between the legend ‘C / C’ in two lines for ‘C(olonia) C(aesaria)’.¹⁰⁵ To these we should add a coin of Nero issued in approximately AD 65 which has an almost identical image on the reverse, but with the legend ‘COL] CAESAREAE’.¹⁰⁶ Best of all though is a coin of Vespasian issued in AD 76 whose obverse shows a single *aquila* between two standards, and ‘LEG V’ to the left and ‘LEG VI[II]’ to the right.¹⁰⁷ The latter number is incomplete since this part of the legend extends beyond the flan, but its

⁹⁹ Although there is still disagreement on the identities never mind the constitutions of the Pisidian *coloniae*, this listing follows that provided by Mitchell 1993, 77, and generally accepted.

¹⁰⁰ Best translated as ‘a legion recruited from the colonies’.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Keppie 1984, 146, for the terms of legionary service in the late Republican legions up to 13 BC. For the *evocati*, see New Pauly s.v., ‘Evocati’.

¹⁰² Dio 54.25.6, with Keppie 1984, 147–48. The reward under the new terms of service, which remained in force until the end of the principate, was a cash-grant, although re-settlement in a *colonia* was possible also. In AD 5/6, the terms were re-defined as twenty year’s full-time service with perhaps five in the ‘reserves’, with the same cash grant at the end. Nevertheless, some veterans continued to be re-settled in new *coloniae* in newly occupied territories such as Britannia and Dacia down to the time of Trajan and Hadrian.

¹⁰³ Levick 1967, 38, with Mitchell 1993, 74–6.

¹⁰⁴ RPC I.3530

¹⁰⁵ RPC I.3531.

¹⁰⁶ RPC I.3532.

¹⁰⁷ RPC 2.1603.

restoration as VII is perfectly justified as there is no evidence that a *legio VI* ever served and so discharged veterans anywhere in Anatolia, while there is relatively plentiful epigraphic evidence that both the *legio V* and *VII* did so at Antioch and elsewhere in Galatia.

For example, we have four veterans of the *legio V Gallica (sic)* recorded on inscriptions at Antioch:¹⁰⁸ T. Campusius C.f. *Sergia*, L. Pomponius Nigro, M. Tiberius M.f. *Sergia*, and C. Carbo P.f. *Sergia*.¹⁰⁹ For the *legio VII*, one veteran is recorded on a text from Antioch, T. Cissonius Q.f. *Sergia*; two at Iconium, M. Lollius M.f. and his 'best friend' P. Mestrius P.f. *Maecia*; and one from near Cormasa, the locally-born C. Julius C.f. *Papiria*, a former *equus* with the legion.¹¹⁰ Noteworthy is how these men generally lack *cognomina*, confirming their early date in the principate.¹¹¹ Noteworthy also is how the nomenclature and *tribus* of many of these veterans and other settlers of early Augustan date in the epigraphic record for Antioch and the other Pisidian *coloniae* point to an Italian or similar origin, and, at that, in putative Republican-period colonial foundations. It suggests that these veterans at least, and perhaps many of the others with similar backgrounds, were recruited before or in connection with Octavian's campaign against Mark Antony. Therefore, they probably completed their term of service after the annexation of Galatia *provincia*, and so perhaps arrived in the new province with their legion.¹¹²

Although the coin evidence indicates that Antioch, the first of the Pisidian *coloniae*, was established the same year that Lollius returned to Rome, and so was probably constituted by his unknown successor as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Galatia, Lollius was evidently responsible for identifying Ancyra and Pessinus (and possibly Tavium also) as centres of jurisdiction and administration for the Galatian people. The evidence comes principally in epigraphic form which indicates how Ancyra and Pessinus at least share a common-era dating system that commenced in the autumn of 25 BC, although that for Tavium, for some reason, starts in 21/20 BC.¹¹³ It was also presumably under Lollius, if not during Augustus' sojourn in Anatolia in 20 BC, that a formal division of the province into the three semi-autonomous territories of the *Sebasteni Tolistobogii Pessinunti*, *Sebasteni Tecostages Ancyrani*, and *Sebasteni Trocemi Taviani* occurred.¹¹⁴ The adoption of these titles, each emphasising their formation as somehow connected directly to the first *princeps*, confirms their semi-autonomous status, as does their issue of coinage in later times, although what that status was is unclear. Coşkun seems to interpret this evidence as possibly indicating that the urban centres of each one were in name, if not in full practice, *civitates liberae* – 'free communities' outside the normal jurisdiction of the provincial governor.¹¹⁵ However, this uncommon category of effective self-government was granted

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Strobel 2000, 520–22, for most of what follows with updated references and commentary where appropriate.

¹⁰⁹ Campusius: CIL 3.6824; Pomponius: AE 1920.75 = AE 1924 +00138; Tiberius: CIL 3.294 = CIL 3.6828 = AE 1998 +01386; Carbo: AE 1998.1386

¹¹⁰ Cissonius: CIL 3.6826 = AE 1998+1386 (correcting CIL 3.293); Lollius and Mestrius: AE 1903.74 = IGR 3.1476; Julius: AE 1961.15.

¹¹¹ Cf. Salway 1994, 127, where it is noted how the use of *cognomina*, which began in early Republican times among the nobility, was adopted slowly by the *plebs urbana* after around 125 BC, but remained rare for another one hundred years or so.

¹¹² Strobel 2000, 523, with Levick 1967, 56–67, who cautions that not all such Italian-origin settlers at Antioch or the immediate region necessarily arrived here as army veterans. A number most likely were traders and the like. See also Bru 2009, 264–69, for the unlikely but not impossible suggestion that the formation of the *legiones V* and *VII* and the recruitment of some of its men occurred in Spain at the time of Caesar's civil war.

¹¹³ For the provincial era of Galatia and for Tavium, see Leschhorn 1993, 398–414, with the interesting suggestion that the Tavium system related to Augustus' eastern expedition of 20 BC.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 87.

¹¹⁵ Coşkun 2008a, 155–56.

usually to long-established urbanised centres that already had an existing and well-organised social and civic structure and a widely recognised degree of political independence. More probably, they identified each of the putative urban centres they were named for as the *conventus* for that territory, the judicial centre for governors rotating their assizes on a regular basis from one main centre to another within their province.¹¹⁶

Of greater interest though, if not directly relevant to the focus of this article, is the matter of exactly what motivated the choice of these three places as the administrative centres for their named territories. In other words, what was their physical nature and local significance at the time? Here, with archaeological evidence scarce, we rely mainly on Strabo's assessment of each one, written about the time of the annexation. It suggests that each was already a location of regional and perhaps supra-regional importance. Pessinus, for example, was already by the 3rd century BC, a major sanctuary for the local goddess Kybele with porticoes of 'white marble columns' donated by the Attalid rulers of Pergamum.¹¹⁷ Indeed, a team of Roman commissioners journeyed there in 205/204 BC during the Second Punic War in accordance with a reading of the Sibylline Books to retrieve the cult statue of Kybele / Agdistis. Thus the cult of the *Magna Mater* was introduced in Rome itself to help her in the war against Carthage.¹¹⁸ The place was still of major significance in the late 1st century BC when it served as an *emporium* for the surrounding area, although just as in the case with the Temple of Mēn Askaēnos at Antioch, it is possible that the temple revenues were assessed and part at least re-directed to Rome during the annexation process.¹¹⁹ However, while evidence of pre-AD 25 activity at the site is gradually emerging, the precise nature and appearance of the settlement here in Hellenistic times remains elusive. Much of what has been identified to date is of 'Late Hellenistic' date, whatever 'late Hellenistic' might mean.¹²⁰ As for Ancyra, several pre-Roman accounts reference the place by name, indicating that some form of settlement existed here long before 25 BC. Strabo describes it as a *phrouion*, in other words a fortress of some kind, presumably in reference to a settlement on the Kale area.¹²¹ Physical evidence for any possible pre-25 BC activity at Ancyra though comes solely in the form of allegedly 'Phrygian' and 'Hellenistic' pottery found during excavations at the so-called Temple to Augustus and other locations on the possible höyük now covered by the modern Ulus district.¹²² Certifiably pre-Roman structural evidence in that area or elsewhere in modern Ankara is completely lacking,¹²³

¹¹⁶ The best evidence for this system is of course the relevant letters of Cicero for the Republican period and of Pliny the Younger (Book 10) for Imperial times.

¹¹⁷ Strabo 12.5.3.

¹¹⁸ Livy 39.10.7 with 34.3.8. But note Varro, *Ling.* 6.15 who indicates the home of the image was Pergamum, while Cicero, *Har resp.* 8.28 remarks only that it came from Phrygia. According to Livy, 10.4.–11.18, the cult image was a large black stone said to have fallen from the sky.

¹¹⁹ Strabo 12.5.3. See now Coşkun 2018.

¹²⁰ E.g., Krsmanovic 2018. It was not possible to consult Tsetschkladze 2019 during the preparation of this article.

¹²¹ Strabo 12.5.2 (567).

¹²² Bennett 2003, 1–3, summarises the recorded findspots of alleged 'Hellenistic' ceramics at Ankara. Now that we understand better the ceramic sequence of the region, as with the material from Pessinus, a fresh examination of these finds of 'Hellenistic' pottery is called for urgently to discover their true date. That aside, it remains scandalous that apparently none of the major building developments occurring in the Kale area since at least 1995, never mind those in Ulus, have been preceded by archaeological investigation or excavation. These are obvious places to find evidence for any pre-Roman or occupation of modern Ankara, regardless of the post-Classical history of the place.

¹²³ Cf. Kadioğlu et al., 2011, 20–1, with Mitchell and French 2012, 1–2. Best left aside here is any discussion of the continuing debate over the date and final form, never mind the exact identity, of the so-called 'Temple of Augustus and Roma'. See Kadioğlu et al., 2011, 90–8, for an overview of the dispute, with Coşkun 2014, 50,

although it might conceivably be the location of the new city (*'nea polis'*) Deiotaros was allegedly establishing in 54 BC.¹²⁴ Tavium is, if anything, an even more enigmatic site. Strabo notes its function as an *emporium* for the surrounding region with a 'colossal statue of Zeus in bronze' and an associated precinct with the privilege of asylum.¹²⁵ The ceramic sequence there indicates continued occupation from the early Hellenistic to the early Byzantine period,¹²⁶ and there are indications that it was possibly the centre of production and for the trade of a distinctive class of late Hellenistic 'Galatian Ware', as appropriate for an *emporium*,¹²⁷ but it has yet to produce structural remains of a certifiably late 1st century BC date.

Thus, all three loci clearly had some form of local prominence and associated settlement at the time of the annexation, even if the evidence is in the main archaeologically invisible. Even so, we might reasonably attribute their development post-annexation as urbanised centres through the process of an enforced synoikism, precisely as Pompey did in his re-organisation of Bithynia.¹²⁸ Either way, the process of fully urbanising these places with the appropriate monumental architecture may well have taken some years. Thus, it should not be a cause for surprise that, as Coşkun observed, there is no evidence for any form of urbanisation programme at Ancyra until Neronian or Flavian times.¹²⁹ A delay of a few decades in providing the appropriate monumental infrastructure for this newly Romanised centre is, in reality, quite unremarkable: as the adage has it, 'Rome was not built in a day'. The provision of such structures necessary to present the picture of a fully-formed Romanised *civitas* or a Hellenised *polis* could simply not have happened overnight, but took place when civic resources were available - unless a Potemkin-like approach of building a shanty town 'stage-set' was taken. To which we might add that at Ancyra at least, the epigraphic evidence is how many of those granted Roman citizenship took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of one of the Julio-Claudian emperors

arguing for this structure being the *Sebasteion* named on the 'Priest List' for which land was donated in 2/1 BC. A *Sebasteion* is simply a building dedicated to the Sebastos: if in temple form, then on a short text such as the 'Priest List' a qualifier of some form might be expected, as with *CIG* 2839 (Aphrodisias) referencing a *Sebasteion naos*. Moreover, the lack of any reference in the 'Priest List' to the formal dedication of this particular structure upon completion, if it is indeed the self-same *Sebasteion*, is somewhat odd, unless this took place after the 'Priest List' was added. As for the date of the structure, Coşkun 2014, 54, following majority opinion, suggests the cella at least was completed in AD 14/15. This allowed for the addition of the *Res Gestae* to the *pronaos* and exterior of the east wall soon after Augustus' death, but ignores the possibility - unlikely as it is - that an interval of some length passed before the completion of these parts and the addition of these texts.

¹²⁴ Plutarch, *Crassus* 17.1–2. But see Coşkun 2013b esp. 156–58, for a reasoned if not entirely convincing and self-admittedly speculative argument that this '*nea polis*' was perhaps a re-foundation of an earlier *phrourion* in Lesser Armenia, that originally established by Mithridates Eupator and named Symphorion (Dio 37.7.5) or Sinhorium (Ammianus Marcellinus 16.7.10), but also referred to as Sinara (Tab. Peut. 10.1–2), Sinera/Sinibra (Ptolemy Geog. 5.6.19 and 5.7.2), and Sinervas (Ant. Itin. 208.3).

¹²⁵ Strabo 12.5.2 (567).

¹²⁶ Gerber 2003, with Weber-Hiden 2003.

¹²⁷ For the 'Galatian Ware' of Tavium, see Bittel 1974, with Özsait and Özsait 2003.

¹²⁸ An anonymous reviewer of this article questioned this possibility because of the 'negative archaeological evidence' for any 'pre-Roman' settlement at or in the immediate vicinity of modern Ankara. S/he seems unaware of, for example, the admittedly poorly published Hellenistic site at Yalıncağ and the several Phrygian- and Galatian-type *tumuli* at locations such as Beştepe, Anıtkabır and Yalacık (Yağcı and Mermerci 1990 for the last). We should add also the Galatian-type *tumulus* burial found at Balgat. In addition, there are the several 'Galatian' forts in the immediate region, none unfortunately excavated but which, if occupied in 25 BC, would of necessity be depopulated soon after the annexation; cf. Vardar 2002, 2003, and 2004.

¹²⁹ Cf. Coşkun 2008a, 155. It is well-known that the evidence from most urbanised centres in Anatolia - and in other provinces - indicates their monumentalisation began in the mid to late 1st century AD, reaching a peak under the 'Five Good Emperors', i.e., from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius.

rather than the 'C. Julius' of Augustus, pointing to a gradual rather than overnight development in the status and wealth of the local elite.¹³⁰

The Legions of Augustan Galatia¹³¹

It is natural to assume that Lollius took up his post as Galatia's first legate with some form of regular military force, this being maintained in whole or in part by his immediate successors until possibly as late as the annexation of Cappadocia by Tiberius in AD 17. After all, following Amyntas' death and the apparent failure of his army to respond militarily to this, there was a 'clear and present danger' of opportunistic raids by 'Cilicians and Pisidians' and the Homonadeis into Galatia and potentially adjacent regions, even after the successful campaign of Quirinus. Added to which Galatia was one of the largest regions annexed by Rome since the creation of Asia *provincia* in 133/129 BC, and dominated by rural settlement with very few urbanised centres that of necessity had their own form of local police force. Thus, from the moment of the annexation, Lollius required some form of military element to ensure and maintain external and internal security in this vast and essentially rural landscape.

As already noted, the Galatian Royal Army was presumably still in existence after the death of Amyntas and when Lollius arrived to take control of his province, subsequently (as we will see below), being transformed into a force of Roman citizen legionaries and transferred overseas. In addition, Cappadocia, a Roman ally since the Treaty of Apamea, might have been able to supply troops to assist in maintaining internal and external security at the point of annexation.¹³² The necessity to supply troops to help local governors if required was a common obligation placed on all of Rome's allies in the region, as when in earlier times the Galatian king Deiotaros supplied an armed force to Cicero when governor of Cilicia *provincia*.¹³³ Thus, it is conceivable that the Galatian Royal Army and possibly a force from Cappadocia may have satisfied Lollius' immediate need for policing duties in the new province.¹³⁴ However, there was always the possibility that the Galatian elite or others might respond with armed force to the annexation of the territory, as had happened with the annexation of the kingdom of Pergamom, and such 'native' forces might prove unreliable in the event of significant local resistance, never mind suitable for defence against external attack. Providing Lollius with a force of professional legionaries was the wiser course of action. And as Lollius ranked as a *legatus Augusti propraetori* with *imperium*, then, according to the practice at the time, he was eligible to command one or more Roman legions for the annexation process.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ It was not possible to consult Coşkun 2013c on this topic, but Kadioğlu et al. 2011, 35–9, provides a convenient review of this aspect of Galatia's provincialisation. All the Julio-Claudian emperors shared the *praenomen* and *nomen* of Tiberius Claudius, and so exactly when these 'T. Claudii' received Roman citizenship can rarely be determined. However, it is noticeable that most inscriptions naming them are in Greek rather than Latin, hinting how the texts themselves date to later rather than earlier in the 1st century AD.

¹³¹ A useful summary and evaluation of the sources relevant here are the pertinent parts of Strobel 2000 and 2002, the latter a somewhat unwieldy revision of the first which is difficult to comprehend fully.

¹³² Strobel 2000, 517, who, however, seems to connect this with possible resistance on the part of the Galatians to the annexation.

¹³³ Cicero, *Att.* 5.18.1–2, with 5.20.2–3; also Cicero, *Fam.* 8.10.1–3, 15.1.2–6, 15.2, and 15.4.4–6.

¹³⁴ An anonymous reviewer suggested that the Galatian Royal Army was a 'highly efficient and professional and efficient and had also been used for occupation and conquest', so it was capable of maintaining order within the province after Amyntas' death and before the arrival of M. Lollius as governor. However, no support is supplied for this statement. Its known record was patchy, to say the least, having failed dismally to hold the centre at the Battle of Nicopolis in 48 BC. See *B. Alex.* 39–40.

¹³⁵ Dio 53.15.1. As noted above, we cannot be certain of the exact total of legions in Augustus' 'New Army' as originally formed. However, accepting the generally agreed number of twenty-seven or so, then aside from the seven

We have seen already that veterans of the *legiones V Gallica* and *VII* provided *coloni* for *Colonia Caesarea* at Antioch. How they arrived there or in what number is unknown. They may have marched into Galatia as a group, as the first colonists in the early Republican period were reputed to do,¹³⁶ already possessed with that status. Or perhaps they came as serving soldiers with their relevant legion, and were discharged shortly after their arrival in the new province. On the whole, the latter option seems more probable and so we should assume that the legions in question – the *legio V* and the *VII* – accompanied Lollius for the annexation of Galatia, with Lollius and/or his unknown successor proceeding to discharge men from these as and when their term of service expired.¹³⁷ The two legions themselves had presumably been re-deployed from the inner Balkans for the annexation, as a campaign there requiring several legions had only recently been brought to a successful conclusion by M. Licinius Crassus.¹³⁸ Confirmation of a kind that *legiones V* and *VII* took part in the annexation of Galatia, though, comes not just from the circumstance they provided *coloni* for the Augustan foundations, but from funerary inscriptions at Antioch recording three members of the *legio V* and one for a member of *legio VII* who died there while still serving with their legions.¹³⁹ To these we should add an inscription set up by the people of Lydian Nisyra in year 96 of the Sullan era, and so AD 11-12, which honours another serving member of *legio VII*, a centurion *bastatus prior* no less, for his services towards a citizen of the place.¹⁴⁰

Owing to the paucity of clear evidence, making sense of exactly how long these two legions remained in Galatia is problematic. However, K. Strobel, tracking the footsteps of R. Syme, H.-G. Pflaum, and S. Mitchell,¹⁴¹ has made a sterling attempt recently to do so for the period from the annexation to AD 17, when the apparently peaceful takeover of Cappadocia certainly ended Galatia's status as a 'frontier' province.¹⁴² Yet, while Strobel has employed to the full his in-depth knowledge of the relevant historical and epigraphical sources known at present on this matter, his conclusions regarding the legionary garrison in Galatia seem overly influenced by the senatorial grade of the known governors – whether they were pro-praetorian or pro-consular. The point is that he follows the dictum of R.K. Sherk regarding the relationship between the actual political status of a specific governor and the type and size of the province's garrison.¹⁴³ This dictum holds that, while all the governors of the so-called Imperial provinces were styled as *legati Augusti propraetore*, some had served as praetors only before being assigned their province and so had command over a single legion while others had achieved consular status and thus could command two or more. But Sherk models this thinking on the basis of the post-Augustan system as set in stone, as it were, most probably during

or eight campaigning in Spain, there were still some nineteen or so legions to spare for the annexation of Galatia, most of them in the Danube and Balkan regions.

¹³⁶ Salmon 1969, 24.

¹³⁷ Mann 1983, 59–60 calculated for the later principate, that each legion 'retired' an average of 100 men every year.

¹³⁸ Dio 51.25.2. Crassus celebrated his *triumphus ex Thracia et Geteis* on 4 July 27 BC, although Augustus – in a notable change from precedence – refused him the *spolia opima* or the title *imperator*.

¹³⁹ For *legio V*: AE 1998.1386, P. Carbo P.f. *Sergia*, brother of the previously mentioned veteran C. Carbo; AE 1998.1387, M. Ceius P.f. *Sergia*; and AE 1998.1389, Q. Mannaeus P.f. *Sergia*, who ranked as centurion *bastatus prior* of the legion's *cobors III*. For *legio VII*: CIL 03.6827 = AE 1998, +01386, L. Coelius L.f. *Aniensi*.

¹⁴⁰ IGR 4.1375 (= Ehrenberg and Jones 1949, 131, no. 36), C. Aemilius Geminus. The use of the Sullan era dating system seems to have been preferred in Lydia; see, e.g., Leschhorn 1993, 318–21.

¹⁴¹ Syme 1933, passim; Pflaum 1950, 16–9; Mitchell 1976a.

¹⁴² Strobel 2000, 522–28; 2002, 51–3.

¹⁴³ Sherk 1980, following essentially Dio 53.15.

the Julio-Claudian period. However, while the first *princeps* usually appointed a governor of an imperial province with a legionary garrison from the ranks of pro-consuls, he chose the best man for the job in hand, even apparently ex-quaestors.¹⁴⁴ Lollius, a close confidant of Augustus, was evidently a trusted man and considered capable enough to be assigned the annexation of Galatia. Thus, with the potential threat from the Tauric tribes in mind and possible unrest arising within Galatia itself because of its annexation,¹⁴⁵ there is no reason to doubt that Lollius arrived with an army of two legions, the *V* and the *VII*, not the *legio VII* alone as commonly held, despite his official status as a pro-praetor rather than pro-consul.¹⁴⁶

Exactly how long either legion remained in Galatia remains a matter of debate, and Strobel has stressed how the confused nature of our evidence makes this exceptionally difficult to determine. It may have been that one was detached, in part at least, to provide support for Tiberius' expedition to the east in 20 BC, since he certainly took some kind of armed force with him. Suetonius claimed that he personally led an army from Macedonia into Syria, implying an overland march by way of Galatia, and it would have made sense to boost this by using any spare troops from the new province, if these were available.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, such a redeployment of all or part of one of the Galatian legions, even if on a temporary basis, could help explain why there was no action against the Homonadeis in the first years of the province's existence although, as we will see, other explanations are available for that delay. That aside, such a proposed re-deployment has been used to explain why veterans of a *legio V* were settled at a later date in the Berytos and Baalbek area. However, the one inscription referring to this Levantine-based legion by name assigns it the *agnomen* 'Macedonica', suggesting it was either formed or had served there before travelling east with Tiberius,¹⁴⁸ and so is highly unlikely to be the Galatian *legio V*, named on tombstones as the *V Gallica*.

To be sure, considering how a determined attempt at resolving the real or perceived threat posed by the Homonadeis and other Tauric tribes was delayed until the final years of the 1st century BC, with the paving of the *Via Sebaste* in 6 BC under Cornutus Aquila, it seems more than likely that two legions were retained in Galatia until the annexation was considered 'mission accomplished'. The road linked the outer arc of the Pisidian *coloniae* and enclosed the southwestern Taurus as a preparatory move towards the reduction or destruction of the peoples within this enclosed area.¹⁴⁹ In a sense, then, the *Via Sebaste* constituted a *limes* in the proper sense of the word, a road defining and marking off a specific piece of territory, and in military terms a hostile territory. The primary purpose of a Roman road was, after all, to allow a military force to move rapidly from one threatened area to another at the fastest speed

¹⁴⁴ Dio 53.15.1.

¹⁴⁵ We should not assume, as most commentators do, that those dwelling within a 'client kingdom' welcomed the transformation of this into a *provincia*.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. Mitchell 1976, *passim*, albeit allowing for the possibility (307–8) that the *legio V* might have been involved also. Sherk 1980, 1047, however, strongly objected to this view on the grounds of Lollius' pro-praetorian rank, arguing that a legionary province demanded a pro-consular governor. This caused Mitchell (1993, 73, n. 42) to modify his original belief, while maintaining his stance that the *legio VII* at least was involved in the annexation of Galatia.

¹⁴⁷ Suetonius, *Tib.* 14.3.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Keppie 2000, 91, with CIL 3.14165/6 = AE 1899.45. In addition, the following coin reverses for Berytos: RPC 1.4535 (Augustus), with two *aquilae* between legionary *signa*; BMC 58 (Augustus *divus*) with two *aquilae* and the legend 'COL(onia) (leg) V BER(ytos) (leg) VIII'; and RPC 1.4547 (Claudius) with two *signa* each with superimposed *aquilae* and the legend '(legio) V (legio VIII)'.

¹⁴⁹ For a general introduction to the *Via Sebaste*, see French 1997, 181–82, with a more detailed account and maps presented in French 2012.

possible. Thus, the paving of this highway was the prelude to the major campaign in the area that – as we have seen – was begun and completed by Aquila’s successor, Sulpicius Quirinus, governor from 6–2 BC. This was pursued on an essentially genocidal basis. According to Strabo, he ‘overthrew the inhabitants by starving them, and captured alive four thousand men and settled them in the neighbouring cities, leaving the country destitute of all its men who were in the prime of life’. For this Quirinus received the *ornamenta triumphalia* in around 3 BC.¹⁵⁰

Why the potential problem of the Homonadeis was not resolved at an earlier date – if they indeed posed a real threat to Galatia and neighbouring regions – needs some elucidation. It is best understood by the Roman practice during the late Republican and early Imperial periods of holding back from a punitive campaign, whether or not this became one of conquest, until the conditions were ‘just right’. This is especially true of the Augustan period, for which we have to bear in mind also that at the time of Galatia’s annexation, Augustus and Rome were heavily involved in the *Bellum Asturicum* which continued off-and-on until 16 BC. Moreover, the start of that Spanish campaign in 26 BC had coincided with the failed expedition of C. Petronius into Ethiopia, followed the next year by the disastrous foray led by C. Aelius Gallus into Arabia Felix. Taking into account the several campaigns that took place in Europe during the first three decades of Augustus’ principate against the far more threatening Germanic and Thracian tribes, a major operation against the Homonadeis, with its demands on manpower and logistics along with potential casualties, might have taken a back seat in Augustus’ overall assessment of how best to use his forces.

Whatever the reason for the delay, with the threat from the Homonadeis and their allies ostensibly removed, one or both of the Galatian legions was possibly redeployed to serve with the 20-year-old C. Caesar on his mission to the east in AD 1 to resolve peacefully, if feasible, a dispute with Parthia over the Armenian succession.¹⁵¹ This possibility is raised by Strobel on account of the long-held belief that the governor of Galatia at this time was M. Servilius (Nonianus). He was made *consul posterior* in AD 3 after leaving the province,¹⁵² which indicates he was of pro-praetorian rank when Caius Caesar was in the region. Therefore, as Servilius was technically ineligible – as Strobel believes – to command a two-legion consular army, the two Galatian legions were available for C. Caesar to use as he wished. Coşkun’s re-analysis of the Anyra ‘Priest List’, however, reveals one Metilius (Rufus?), perhaps the son of the early Augustan proconsul of Achaëa, as legate in Galatia at this time, specifically 2 BC–AD 4.¹⁵³ His name is not to be found on the consular *fasti* and so he was of pro-praetorian rank only, in which case Strobel’s argument could still apply. Yet the fact remains that even if the threat from the Homonadeis was eliminated, other Tauric tribes still posed a menace. Indeed, sometime around AD 6, the Isaurians ‘began marauding expeditions, and were then led on into all the horrors of war, until they were utterly subdued’, presumably by Metilius’ successor, the Fronto attested in office in Galatia from AD 4–8.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Strabo 12.6.5, with Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.48. See also CIL 14. 3613 = ILS 918, usually restored as referencing this campaign. One might speculate why – if the Cilician tribes presented a major threat – Augustus did not attempt an attack on the Homonadeis when in the east in 20 BC to oversee the installation of Tigranes III as king of Armenia. The answer probably lies in his decision, after his involvement in a series of campaigns in Spain and his concurrent illness – perhaps a form of post-traumatic stress disorder? – to leave matters of this kind to trusted and skilled subordinates such as Agrippa rather than take the field of battle himself.

¹⁵¹ Strobel 2000, 519; 2003, 53.

¹⁵² Rémy 1989, 134–35.

¹⁵³ Coşkun 2014, 57.

¹⁵⁴ Dio 55.28.3. For Fronto as governor at this time, see Coşkun 2014, 58.

A major change in the garrison of Galatia did, however, come about in AD 8 when the newly-appointed governor M. Plautius Silvanus, was summoned by Augustus to help deal with the Balkan-wide revolts then handled by Tiberius,¹⁵⁵ Silvanus receiving *ornamenta triumphalia* in AD 11 for his part in suppressing these. According to Velleius Paterculus, a contemporary observer and our principal source for the campaign, Silvanus and A. Caecina Severus, then governor of Moesia, brought with them for this campaign five legions *ex transmarinis provinciis*.¹⁵⁶ Logically, as Syme observed almost a century ago, two of these five came from the east, and so one at least from Galatia. It may have been that Silvanus took both Galatian legions with him, but Galatia was still, nominally at least, a frontier province so in theory at least required a legionary garrison.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand the available evidence could support the idea that Silvanus took both legions with him, and that neither returned to the province. All that is certain is how no concrete evidence exists for the presence of either legion in Galatia after the mid-Augustan period

The matter demands much more discussion than possible here for no simple explanation fits all, and so we restrict ourselves to a general overview. Insofar as the *legio V Gallica* is concerned, the simplest explanation is that it is identical with the *legio V Macedonica*, found as a part of the Moesian garrison working on the road along the Iron Gates Gorge of the Danube in AD 33–34.¹⁵⁸ The adoption of the *agnomen Macedonica* indicates a stay in that region which may have followed directly from its arrival there either with Silvanus in AD 8, or at a later date. It may have been re-deployed in Macedonia in connection with overseeing adjacent Thracia, a region prone to dynastic struggles and resulting civil wars. As for the Galatian *legio VII*, this is almost certainly identical with the *legio VII Macedonica* reported on an incomplete inscription from Thracian Lysimachia which names a M. Caecilius as a centurion in the *cobors X* of that legion.¹⁵⁹ It is registered in Tilurium (near Trilij / Gardun) in Illyrium under Tiberius, remaining there until redeployed to eastern Anatolia in AD 58 for Corbulo's Armenian campaign. Thus it could well have remained in the Balkan region after Silvanus returned to his Galatian command in AD 11 or so, remaining in Thrace possibly until the end of the Pannonian war in AD 9, perhaps to make up for the large legionary and other losses incurred in that campaign. It was then possibly transferred to Illyricum in connection with a fresh campaign Tiberius planned in that region, but cancelled after Augustus' death in AD 14 and Tiberius' elevation as *princeps*, possibly being brigaded at this time with the *legio XII* at Burnum (Kistanje) in Illyricum before establishing its base at Tilurium.

This brings us to a series of memorials to legionaries of Galatian origin found at Ljubuski a veteran's settlement in Illyricum established at or around AD 14 near *Colonia Julia Narona* (Metković). Mitchell has persuasively argued that these men joined the *legio VII* while it was in Galatia *provincia* and on the basis of one recruit, M. Sosius M.f. *Fabia*, from Sebastopolis, a settlement founded in 3/2 BC, suggests the legion remained in the province until at least that

¹⁵⁵ Dio 54.34.6

¹⁵⁶ Vel. Pat. 2.12.4; Syme 1939, 394.

¹⁵⁷ There is no evidence to support the suggestion by Strobel 2002, 53, that there may have been as many as three regular legions in Galatia at this time.

¹⁵⁸ ILS 2281. We should reject Strobel's hypothesis that the *legio V Gallica* was despatched to the Balkans in 18/17 BC, and then went to Gallia Belgica being the same as the *legio V* that lost its eagle in battle there in 16 BC in the *Clades Lolliana*. Cf. Velleius Paterculus 2.97, with Strobel 2000, 522–23; 2002, 57–8. The nameless legion that suffered this disgrace was almost certainly the *legio V Alaudae*; cf. Franke 2000

¹⁵⁹ CIL 3.7386.

date.¹⁶⁰ This ignores the way by which throughout the early Imperial Period, men recruited from the provinces to serve as legionaries were usually sent to join a legion in another, making their home on retirement in that legions' 'personal' *colonia* (as it were). The relevance of this point here is that two of the Galatians recorded at Ljubuski as veterans of the *legio VII Macedonica* do not have the honorific *Claudia Pia Felix* added to the legion's name on their memorials, an *agnomen* it was awarded in AD 42, indicating their death before that year.¹⁶¹ As they had served the full 20 plus years demanded by Augustus' second legionary reform of 13/12 BC, they could have been recruited in Galatia and then sent to join the legion anytime between 13 BC and AD 17, and so they need not have been recruited into the legion while it was still in Galatia.¹⁶² Added to which, we do not know exactly when the legionary veteran settlement at Ljubuski was established and so when the first veterans from the *legio VII* may have moved there. The generally accepted year AD 14 is inferred from local circumstances, to be precise, the mass discharges that followed the legionary mutiny in Illyricum that year over their conditions of service.¹⁶³ Quite simply, then, the burials of these Galatian veterans of the *legio VII* at Ljubuski at a date sometime before AD 42 cannot be used as evidence for the legion having remained in and recruited from Galatia as late as the last decade of the 1st century BC.

Whichever suggestion offered above for the departure of either legion from Galatia *provincia* is accepted, this would mean, of course, that sometime in the late Augustan period Galatia ceased to be considered a legionary or frontier province. Indeed, this may have come about in AD 8 if both legions left with Silvanus and remained in the Balkans thereafter, or towards the end of the Augustan period if the *legio V* returned for a spell before departing for 'Macedonica'. Either way, it would mean that for a time before the annexation of Cappadocia in AD 17, when for certain Galatia ceased to be a 'frontier' province, it no longer had a legionary garrison. Exactly when Galatia finally lost its legionary garrison though demands more discussion than can be justified here, for no simple answer is forthcoming. There again, it is noteworthy how neither Cilicia nor Pontus-Bithynia had a legionary garrison in the early principate, and it is quite possible that the situation in Central Anatolia was deemed peaceful enough to make Galatia a non-legionary province from as early as AD 8.

For this part of the article, we conclude by noting the matter of the 'elephant in the room', so to speak. There is a lack of evidence for where either of the *legiones V* or *VII* called 'home' in Galatia when not on campaign. There are, as far as it is known, no legionary-related artefacts from Pisidian Antioch. However, as the home to veterans from both legions and a place that also apparently supplied them with new recruits, this does suggest that one or other or both were based in the vicinity. Yet there is no visible trace there – or anywhere in South Galatia for that matter – of a base for two legions at a time when it was usual to brigade two legions together in one location,¹⁶⁴ never mind anything indicating a semi-permanent base for even just one of them. While it is true that Augustus intended his 'New Army' to be a self-sufficient force that was ever ready for movement where needed, legions did need a home for those periods when not on campaign. While permanent fortresses do not make an appearance in Europe at least until the Tiberian or even Neronian period, archaeologically visible winter

¹⁶⁰ Mitchell 1976, 304.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Franke 2000.

¹⁶² Cf. CIL 3.2710 = ILS 2710, and AE 1994.1355. The legion was awarded the *agnomen* for its loyalty to Claudius during the rebellion that year of Furius Samillus Scribonianus, then governor of Dalmatia.

¹⁶³ Wilkes 2000, 329.

¹⁶⁴ Keppie 1984, 193.

camps, or *bibernia*, had by then become permanent bases along the Rhine and elsewhere,¹⁶⁵ such as that at Vetera, and so we should reasonably expect something similar in Augustan Galatia.

The *Auxilia*

Ever since the early Republic, units of *auxilia*, supplied under their treaty obligations by the *Socii et amici populi Romani*, had provided support for a Roman legionary army while on campaign. They often formed a vital component for any campaign force in that period by delivering the sizeable cavalry element the early legions lacked.¹⁶⁶ Such units of *auxilia* played an especially important part in the wars of the later Republic, beginning with the Social War of 91-88 BC right down to the Triumviral war of 31–30 BC, before appearing epigraphically as fully formed regular units of the Roman army under Claudius.¹⁶⁷ By then they were composed of men either conscripted or volunteers for a set period of service, eventually set as twenty-five years, in return for which they received regular annual pay and, on discharge, the award of Roman citizenship for themselves and their *de facto* or future legal wife and children.

What happened between the Triumviral War and the time of Claudius is quite unclear. According to Dio, in that discussion between Augustus and his advisers in 29 BC during which he was encouraged to create an army that included a permanent force of legions, he was advised also to include in this army men from ‘the subject nations, and the allies’ (i.e., the *auxilia*).¹⁶⁸ The details of the discussion as recounted by Dio are doubtless fictive. Nevertheless, there is no reason to deny that something similar to what he claims was agreed on had come into effect by the end of Augustus’ reign – certainly with regard to the legions and so the *auxilia* probably also, although firm evidence is scarce. Strabo, writing – it is believed – of the army in Egypt in 26–24 BC, noted that there were nine auxiliary *cobortes* and three *alae* there at the time.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, Velleius Paterculus, writing with reference to the outbreak of the Pannonian War in AD 6 and at the scene in person, records that the army assembled for the initial campaign included 10 legions supplemented by an auxiliary force of 14 *alae*, more than 70 *cobortes*, more than 10,000 veterans, and a cavalry contingent supplied by King Rhoemetalces of Thrace.¹⁷⁰

Thus two of the elements of *auxilia* familiar from the Julio-Claudian period onwards – the cavalry *alae* and infantry *cobortes* – were clearly in existence as recognised military formations by late Augustan times if not earlier. However, we cannot know if they were of the usual 500 man strength (*quingenaria*) found in later times.¹⁷¹ On the other hand, the 70 plus *cobortes*, mentioned by Paterculus presumably included several if not all of the units of epigraphically-attested *cobortes Voluntariorum* and *Ingenuorum*, units of *auxilia* raised among Roman

¹⁶⁵ Keppie 1984, 193.

¹⁶⁶ Keppie 1984, 150.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Haynes 2013, 51–2.

¹⁶⁸ Dio 52.27.1

¹⁶⁹ Strabo 17.1.12 (797).

¹⁷⁰ Velleius Paterculus 2.113.1.

¹⁷¹ It is very likely that partly mounted units of cavalry and infantry, the *cobortes equitata* of the later imperial period, existed about now also, just as they probably did in the earlier Republican period. However, our earliest evidence is an inscription of Augustan or early Julio-Claudian date referencing a *cobors Ubiorum peditum et equitum*: CIL 10.4862 = ILS 2690.

citizens for the Pannonian campaign, and in addition those named simply as *cobortes Italica* or for the region of Italy they came from, as with the *cobors Apula*.¹⁷² That these were regularly constituted military units rather than ad-hoc formations raised on a ‘needs must’ basis is implicit in the way they were beneficiaries along with the legions in Augustus’ will, which refers to the sums of money left to his ‘*legionariis aut cobortibus civium Romanorum*’,¹⁷³ and their continued existence as regular auxiliary units long into the post-Augustan period.¹⁷⁴ The remainder of the auxiliary troops brigaded for the Pannonian campaign, especially the cavalry *alae*, were drawn evidently as in earlier times from the *Socii* and so were perhaps not yet on the formal payroll of the Roman army. Either way, our first hint at what we can recognise as regular *auxilia* units drawn from the empire’s non-Roman peoples comes at the very end of the Augustan period., when we are told how he kept records of the numbers of citizens and non-citizens under arms.¹⁷⁵

We do not know if the legionary force that annexed and then occupied Galatia until the late Augustan period was accompanied by an auxiliary contingent or not. Nonetheless, even though the routine of brigading auxiliary units with legions was not yet apparently common practice, it certainly seems likely the case with the annexation of Galatia. After all, it would surely have seemed impractical for any of Augustus’ governors to distribute members of the legions throughout the vast extent of territory they controlled for little more than policing purposes. A far more likely never mind effective solution would be to use regiments of *auxilia* for the purpose, which could then be marshalled in their entirety alongside the legion(s) when required for active campaign in, for example, the Taurus. As such, then we might envisage Galatia as a potential origin for the procedure observed certainly by AD 23 by when it was usual to provide the legionary provinces with sufficient auxiliary units virtually equal in their manpower to the legions they contained.¹⁷⁶

In which case it is only natural to attempt at identifying what auxiliary units may have taken part in the annexation and subsequent transformation of Galatia into a *provincia*. At first sight, such an undertaking might seem doomed to immediate failure. After all, there is a complete lack of any securely dated evidence for any units of *auxilia* in Galatia before the Trajanic period, for which there are four *diplomata* listing the *auxilia* in what was then the joint province of Galatia-Cappadocia, a combined command constituted originally in the late Neronian-early Flavian period. What is remarkable about these *diplomata*, though, is how several of the auxiliary units they record incorporate in their titles one or more elements indicating they were Augustan foundations. During the Augustan period, the legions he established or reconstituted added his name to their title,¹⁷⁷ and so perhaps the practice extended to auxiliary units. We might reasonably infer that those *auxilia* with these elements listed in these four *diplomata* were likewise Augustan creations and so quite possibly took part in the original annexation of Galatia. If so, the *ala I Augusta Germaniciana*, and the *cobortes I Augusta civium Romanorum*, and *I-III Augusta Cyrenaica*, the last of which was a *cobors equitata* or part-mounted unit, and

¹⁷² Kraft 1951, 82–105, remains the seminal account on these ‘citizen’ cohorts. While some consider it ‘dated’ in the sense of being published more than half a century ago, it provides the most insightful account of these units. For later works, see Spaul 2000, 19–48.

¹⁷³ Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.8.

¹⁷⁴ Spaul 2000, 19–48, provides a convenient summary account of the evidence relating to these units.

¹⁷⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.11.

¹⁷⁶ Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.5.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Keppie 1984, 138

all of which are attested in inscriptions also as serving in Galatia, were all quite possibly part of the province's initial auxiliary garrison. Indeed, if the Galatian garrison did supply a task force for the review of the eastern frontier by Germanicus in AD 18–19, then the *ala I Augusta Germaniciana* may well have taken its name from service with him on that occasion.¹⁷⁸ To these five, though, we might add another two listed on the Trajanic *diplomata*, namely the *cobortes I Italica* and *I Italica Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. Both were probably among the citizen cohorts raised by Augustus in connection with his Pannonian campaign, and were later enlarged – most probably in the Flavian period – to *milliaria* or ‘double-sized’ status.¹⁷⁹ As Augustan creations, they may well have been ‘spare’ after the ‘pacification’ of the Balkans and so available for service in Galatia.

To conclude this section on the seven auxiliary units likely transferred from other provinces for the initial annexation of Galatia, we should note also the possible presence in the province in the early Imperial period of two cavalry units popularly thought to have been recruited there in the late Augustan or early Tiberian period from among the descendants of the original Augustan-period colonists. That is to say the *ala Antiochensium* and *ala I Augusta Gemina Colonorum*. To be sure, there is scant evidence for this belief with regard to the first of the two, the *ala Antiochensium*, first securely reported as part of the Syrian garrison in the Flavian period,¹⁸⁰ and not attested on any of the Trajanic *diplomata* or any other epigraphic record for Galatia-Cappadocia. The conventional opinion it was formed from settlers at Pisidian Antioch is based essentially on the discovery of an inscription there of late Augustan or early Tiberian date,¹⁸¹ but which – if correctly read – simply honours a citizen of the place who was a commander of the unit, apart from which we might add that an *ala Antiochensium* could have been formed from any of the other twelve or so like-named *poleis* in the wider region. On the other hand, there is somewhat better evidence that the second unit, the *ala I Augusta Gemina Colonorum*, which is listed on the Trajanic *diplomata* and features in other epigraphic records for the region does have a close connection with Galatia, and was indeed perhaps recruited from the descendants of Roman colonists, specifically those settled at Iconium where it seems to have been based.¹⁸² Having said that we should note how the inclusion of the ‘Gemina’ element in its title, as first attested for certain in the Trajanic period, would indicate a unit formed by joining two earlier units of the same name, as was the case when two legions were amalgamated.¹⁸³ In other words, it seems probable that two earlier units, perhaps named along the

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Birley 1978, 267.

¹⁷⁹ We might perhaps include the *cobors I Hispanorum* also named on these four *diplomata* in the list of *auxilia* for Augustan Galatia, despite the lack of any precise evidence it was an Augustan foundation, as it would appear to have been active in the province during the Claudian period and so possibly earlier: AE 1961.17, with Mitchell 1993, 74.

¹⁸⁰ AE 1983.927.

¹⁸¹ AE 1926.82; cf. Mitchell 1993, 74.

¹⁸² IGR 3. 797; cf. Mitchell 1993, 74.

¹⁸³ In criticising this interpretation of the unit's title, an anonymous reviewer asserted that units named *Gemina* represent a second and independent unit sharing the same name. This is not so, for they carried a sequential number to signify this was the case, while those single units formed by combining two others into one were regarded as ‘twinned’. Caesar (BC 3.4.1.), for example, states quite clearly that a single legion formed from two others took the cognomen ‘*Gemella*’, or ‘twin-born’, while Cassius Dio (55.23.7) adds that when Augustus and later emperors combined men from disbanded legions into a single body, the new legion took the name ‘*Gemina*’. As Birley 1928, 56–7, observed, the same procedure logically applies to auxiliary units. It certainly does in the case of the *cobors Gemina Sardorum et Corsorum* and the *cobors II Gemina Ligurum et Corsorum*, which preserve the names of the original formations from which they were constituted, i.e., Sardinia, Corsica, and Ligurum. For the sake of completeness, other examples of ‘twinned’ auxiliary units are the *Ala Gemina Sebastena / Sebastenorum*, the *Ala*

lines of the *ala I* and *II Augusta Colonorum*, provided the necessary cadre for what later became the *ala I Augusta Gemina Colonorum*.¹⁸⁴

Be that as it may, Trajan was the first to raise an auxiliary unit from and named for Galatia in the form of the *cobors I* and *II Ulpia Galatorum*. If Galatia did indeed serve as a source of needed manpower for Rome, then it seems that until the early 2nd century, space was clearly found for such men in the Egyptian (and other?) legions and/or the auxiliary units stationed in Galatia itself or other *provinciae*. The matter will be discussed further elsewhere. However, it is certainly a sobering thought that the first named Galatian known to serve in a military unit other than a legion is L. Valerius Pudens, who joined the *auxilia* around AD 57 ending his service with the *Cobors I Aquitania* in AD 82.¹⁸⁵

And What of the Galatian Royal Army?

We leave almost to the last the fate of the Galatian Royal Army, briefly discussed above, and assumed to have been in existence at the time Galatia was annexed as a *provincia*. According to the long-held conventional opinion, it was subsequently incorporated in whole or part into Augustus' legionary army as the *legio XXII Deiotariana*. More recently, though, A. Coşkun, following a hypothesis originally developed by R. Syme,¹⁸⁶ has argued that after 25 BC it continued in service in Galatia as a *legio vernacula*, before being absorbed in Tiberian times into a pre-existing *legio XXII (Cyrenaica)*, at which time it took the agnomen *Deiotariana*.¹⁸⁷ Space does not allow a full critique of the proposition, but it would be invidious not to observe here a few significant counterpoints.

To begin with, we need not doubt the possibility that at the time of Galatia's annexation, Rome accepted the continuance of the Royal Army as a *legio vernacula*. Several non-citizen units of legionary type existed and campaigned alongside regular Roman legions in Republican times. Yet those we know of were short-lived formations, established for specific campaigns, although one, the *legio V Alaudae*, was later elevated to the status of a regular citizen legion, or *legio iusta*.¹⁸⁸ There would be little need to maintain the Galatian Royal Army as a *legio vernacula* for any length of time after the annexation though, because, as we have seen, it seems likely that two regular legions were involved in taking control of the territory. Of these two, one at least and possibly both remained there into the late Augustan period, along with an uncertain number of auxiliary forces. It is not clear why Galatia might require an extra 'legion' in the form of the Galatian Royal Army along with the two regular legions in the province, while an over-abundance of men under arms would certainly have placed overly onerous demands on the military supply system. On balance, therefore, it seems unlikely that the Galatian Royal

I Flavia Gemina, and the *cobors VIII Gemina Voluntariorum*; also the *cobors V Gemella civittas Romanorum*, first attested in Syria in 139 (CIL.16.87), suggesting it was formed from two earlier units that suffered heavy losses in the Second Jewish Rebellion.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Bennett 2011, 255–56.

¹⁸⁵ CIL.16.28. Coşkun 2008b, 27.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 74, n. 56.

¹⁸⁷ E.g., Coşkun 2008a, 148, and in detail, Coşkun 2008b.

¹⁸⁸ E.g., during Pompey's campaign against Caesar in Spain: *B.Hisp.* 7: 'Pompeius ... Aquilas et signa habuit XIII legionum; sed ex quibus aliquid firmamenti se existimabat habere duae fuerunt vernaculae, quae a Trebonio transfugerant; una facta ex coloniis quae fuerunt in his regionibus'. Thus a clear distinction is made between the two *legio vernaculae* formed of non-citizens and the one raised from Roman citizens in the colonies, the *legio facta ex coloniis*. For a comprehensive account of the *legio V Alaudae* and its history, see Franke 2000.

Army remained in service in Galatia for any length of time as a *legio vernacula*, and certainly not for the next forty years or so.

Thus, we follow here the usual view that it was absorbed in whole or in part into Augustus' professional army, bringing the overall total of these units to twenty-eight. However, as the enumeration of the legions in Augustus' 'New Army' does not run sequentially, the Galatian 'legion' became the *legio XXII*.¹⁸⁹ We do not know when the act of absorbing the Galatian Royal Army into the regular scheme of legions happened nor can we divine what prompted the transformation. It was, though, more probably early rather than late in the Augustan period, Augustus taking the opportunity to draft men serving in an army armed and trained already to Roman standards at a time when there was a growing reluctance for Italian-born citizens to serve in the legions. Moreover, there was also the possible need to strengthen the garrison of Egypt after the disastrous expeditions of 26 and 25 BC. To be sure, the several texts on papyrus and on stone from Egypt recording relatively large numbers of Galatians serving there in the Augustan-early Tiberian period in either the *legiones III* and especially the *XXII*, point to a pattern of block recruitment in the time period we are concerned with.

The best known of these documents is the oft-cited Koptos inscription set up in the eastern Egyptian desert by members of a building party detached from two unnamed legions for road building and other associated construction works. Unfortunately, it cannot be precisely dated, except that it belongs to the period when Egypt was presumably garrisoned by just two legions.¹⁹⁰ Its importance is how it provides *inter alia* a listing of legionaries in parallel columns employed on the project subtracted for the task from the 4th to the 6th cohorts of the two legions, and that each man is named not simply according to his *cohort* and *centuria* but by his *praenomen*, *nomen*, patronymic, *tribus* and *origo*, but none of them with a *cognomen*. Many of them are of Galatian origin, each evidently made a Roman citizen by adopting or being assigned what is clearly fictive nomenclature and membership in one of the Roman tribes to satisfy legal requirements that legions must be composed of Roman citizens only, while the lack of *cognomina* indicates a date for the text in the early Imperial period. Most accept that since column 1 of the inscription names a C. Sossius C.f. *Pollia* from Pompeiopolis, attested elsewhere as a member of *legio III*,¹⁹¹ then this column contained the names of members of that legion, while the other column lists men in the *legio XXII*, these being the two legions that formed the garrison of Egypt in the early Imperial period.

None of the available literary sources points directly to the existence of an accepted procedure whereby the grant of citizenship and fictive nomenclature to a freeborn *peregrinus* was a means of maintaining one or more legions at full strength, never mind establishing an entirely new one. When put into context though, the absence of such documentary evidence for the Roman principate is easy to explain. Roman citizenship remained a prized asset until the *constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212, and no contemporary or later commentator on the reign of Augustus or even his successors as *principes* were likely to reflect too deeply, never mind

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Keppie 1984, 132–39, with 205–12, for the non-sequential numbering of the legions.

¹⁹⁰ CIL 3.6627 = ILS 2483. Much hinges on the statement of Strabo that there were three legions in the province when he wrote his *Geographia* 17.1.12. However, apart from noting where they were stationed, he adds no further detail. Hence the passage cannot be dated to any particular point in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius (many think it belongs earlier rather than later). Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.5.2) states that only two were present in AD 23. Hence, debate continues over the date of the text. Many favour the Augustan period and perhaps early Augustan at that (e.g., Holder 1980, 6, and Saddington 1982, 61); others argue for an early Tiberian date (Coşkun 2008b, 38–42) or even later, in the mid- or late- 1st century date (Alston 1995, 29–31).

¹⁹¹ CIL III.6591.

advertise, on such a revolutionary step as the enfranchisement of a large number of non-citizens at a single time. Indeed we might cite Caesar's circumlocutions over the origin of his *legio V Alaudae*, a legion raised from non-Roman citizens, as a precedent,¹⁹² and with that precedent in mind, perhaps the same procedure was applied to the Galatian Royal Army after the annexation of Galatia, and so the formation of the *legio XXII Deiotariana*.¹⁹³ We have already mentioned legionaries with Lollius' *nomen* and *praenomen* who were assigned membership in the *Pollia tribus*, one often chosen for new citizens.¹⁹⁴ These Galatians aside though, the new *legio XXII* presumably received a cadre of men transferred from other legions to bring it up to the required standards before deployment, initially, it seems to, Cyrenaica. Hence the *legio XXII* makes its first appearance in the epigraphic record as the *legio XXII Cyrenaica*.¹⁹⁵ By the Flavian period, however, this *legio XXII* had adopted the *agnomen Deiotariana*, presumably in honour of its ultimate origin,¹⁹⁶ just as legions named *Augusta* did so to signify their formation under the first *princeps*. Or perhaps the *legio XXII* took the epithet because of the many numbers of Galatians among its ranks, presumably recruited as a block into a pre-existing *legio XXII (Cyrenaica)*, with any 'extras' assigned to the existing *legio III*?¹⁹⁷ One wonders if we will ever know the answer to that question.

Envoi

All-in-all, it has to be said that, despite the well-deserved status of S. Mitchell's *Anatolia I* as a *vade mecum* for understanding the formation of Galatia *provincia* and its later history, several aspects regarding the Augustan phase of the process remain to be resolved. The sequence of

¹⁹² Cf. Suetonius, *Caes.* 24.2. We have no record of how or when Caesar arranged the grant of citizenship to the entire *legio V Alaudae* raised in Transalpine Gaul nor the reaction this may have caused at Rome. Keppie 1984, 140–41 notes how the unit is referred to simply as a series of cohorts in the *B. Hisp.*, suggesting that Caesar was well aware of the possible discontent it might cause if it became widely known the legion was recruited from *peregrini* who were subsequently granted full citizenship.

¹⁹³ Coşkun 2008b, 24, believes Augustus' 'well-known cautious practice of granting citizenship' would preclude the application of such a measure to transform the Galatian Royal Army into a legion. However, we might speculate if the increase in the number of Roman citizens from the 4,063,000 recorded in 28 BC to the 4,937,000 of AD 14 (RG 8) might have resulted, in part at least, from the extension of citizenship to *peregrini* to provide urgently needed recruits for the legions.

¹⁹⁴ See note 68 above.

¹⁹⁵ CIL 10, 4862 = ILS 2690, of Tiberian date. At this stage in the development of the legionary army, a geographical title indicates service in the named location, and so the *legio XXII Cyrenaica* may well have served there before arriving at its later 'home' at Nicopolis in Egypt, where a *Legio XXII* is first registered in 8 BC (BGU 4.1104).

¹⁹⁶ Coşkun 2008b, 24, wrongly claims BGU I.140 of AD 119, as the earliest documented use of the *agnomen Deiotariana*. It appears for the first time on CIL 03, 6023 = CIL 03, 6606 from Alexandria, which on analogy with CIL 3.30, is dated precisely to AD 65, so should belong to the years around that date. Note also a *cursus honorum* at Paestum, internally dated to the Vespasianic period: AE 1975.251. A similar date seems applicable to CIL 6.3583, recording a T. Claudius T.f. *Quirina* Telesino, who transferred to the *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* from the *legio XXII Deiotariana*. His name is possibly fictive, indicating recruitment by one of the Julio-Claudian emperors, while the *agnomen Claudia Pia Felix* on the text for the *legio XI* dates it to after AD 42. Indeed Telesino at a pinch might have been of Ancyran origin, given the relatively large numbers of T. Claudii attested there, although not as members of the *Quirina tribus*. As for BGU I.140 of AD 119, this certainly confirms the epithet was in common use by the early 2nd century.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Coşkun 2008b, 27. BGU 4.1083 reveals how the two legions in Egypt in AD 32–38 (the *III* and the *XXII*) received Galatian recruits at that time. Some of these men were perhaps recruited or despatched there in response to losses incurred dealing with the riots at Alexandria in AD 37/38. Given how Galatians predominate on the Koptos list among the ranks of those men listed in the 4th to 6th cohorts of both the *III* and *XXII*, if the members of the working party were chosen on a random basis, this could indicate a bulk transfer of Galatians recently registered in these legions; cf. Coşkun 2008b, 29. Note also the already cited CIL 03, 6023 = CIL 03, 6606 from Alexandria, naming two *signiferi* from Ancyra serving with the *legio XXII Deiotariana*. This suggests the continued recruitment of Galatians into these legions from AD 40–5, if not later.

governors for one, for which we sorely need more epigraphic evidence, and the foundation dates of the Pisidian *coloniae*. There is also the matter of the legionary garrison of the province, from its annexation in 25 BC to the formalisation of Cappadocia *provincia*. This subject Strobel in particular has attempted to address with – in this writer’s opinion – somewhat mixed results.

But there are other topics that certainly need further investigation and which in the discussion above have not been touched upon or considered in any detail. For example, where were the *legiones V* and *VII* based while in Galatia? What was the economic impact of the legionary and auxiliary garrison (even if from a late Augustan date) on the economy of Galatia *provincia* in the Augustan period? Where is the archaeological evidence for the influx of coinage for everyday life of some five thousand men represented by a single legion, never mind two legions plus an additional auxiliary garrison? These men received their pay on a regular basis in hard Roman cash three times a year. These *stipendia*, each equivalent to 900 *sestercii* but probably issued in *denarii*, were due on the 1 January, 1 May, and 1 September.¹⁹⁸ Yet there is nothing in the available coin lists for the region to indicate either a significant increase in Roman *denarii* or the official locally issued ‘small change’ needed by these men. Such is certainly the pattern from other provinces in the years following their annexation, as with Britannia. The explanation might simply be that no one has yet attempted a comprehensive survey of the coin finds made in Galatia. Or it could be that not enough field surveys in the rural areas of Galatia or the excavation of rural sites and *poleis* have yet been carried out to provide us with such raw data.¹⁹⁹ Alternatively, it might be that while Galatia paid its way in taxation terms chiefly via the *vectigalia*, it could be that coin was also required and so in a sense, what the soldier received from the office of the procurator of Galatia responsible for financial matters went back to the same place via local taxation.

More pressing is the issue of the impact of a large garrison and the needs of taxation on local food resources. A discussion presented elsewhere has looked at the potential impact of the Neronian-Flavian and later garrison of Galatia and Cappadocia on their home provinces in terms of its regular food requirements. The figures are astounding.²⁰⁰ Such demands may well have justified the appropriation under Augustus of royal and temple lands in Galatia in about 25 BC for the use of the provincial *fiscus* and the formation of those areas of land that were originally imperially owned but then privatised, as it were, to become the estates of the local nobility. Be that as it may, the absence (as of yet) of any areas of land identifiable as marked by the regular centuriation method used to apportion land for the colonists at the twelve *coloniae* is remarkable.²⁰¹ Such is conspicuous by its absence, yet surely it must have existed in some form or another.

It would be possible to list several other more matters regarding the annexation of Galatia on which we are ill-informed or for which there is no relevant evidence. But with this article already long enough, many would feel, it is with the above matters alone in mind that it finds a somewhat uneasy and admittedly unsatisfactory finale.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Speidel 2009, for a general discussion of Roman Army pay scales

¹⁹⁹ It is certainly difficult to find published comprehensive coin lists for most of the settlements within Galatia.

²⁰⁰ Bennett 2013, 324–27.

²⁰¹ Cf. Palet and Orengo 2011, *passim*. The name *colonus* for a colonist does, after all, indicate a gift of farmland was integral to their new status.

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An Investigation around Kragos in Lycia: The Question of Sidyma and Kalabatia

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“for Prof. A. Vedat Çelgin”

Abstract

The block recording the destination of the road from Sidyma on the Pataran monument of roads is today lost. The destination was restored as Kalaba(n)tia, which was identified with the port of Sancaklı. This restoration seems deficient or incorrect, since the distance given from Sidyma to the lost destination is ca. 4,5 km, while the actual distance between Sidyma and Sancaklı Port is ca. 7–8 km. And Kalabatia can fill only half of the lacuna. It is emphasized that the theory concerning a siege of Sidyma, which is deduced from this restoration, cannot be justified. The evidence concerning Kalabatia's political status might indicate an independence during the early empire or even earlier. The author suggests that the ruins in Bel, located ca. 4,5 km south of Sidyma, were probably the destination. The author also questions if Kalabatia could be localized in Bel. At the end is an appendix on Kragos.

Keywords: Sidyma, Kalabatia, Sancaklı, Bel, Apollo, oracle

Öz

Patara Yol Anıtı'nda verilen Sidyma çıkışlı yolun varış hedefinin yazıldığı blok kayıp olup hedef Sancaklı Limanı ile özdeşleştirilen Kalaba(n)tia olarak tamamlanmıştı. Bu tamamlama eksik ya da yanlış görünmektedir. Anıtta Sidyma ve kayıp hedef için verilen uzunluk yak. 4,5 km iken, Sidyma ve Sancaklı Limanı arasındaki gerçek uzunluk ise 7–8 km'dir. Ayrıca bu tamamlama boşluğun sadece yarısını doldurmaktadır. Bu tamamlamaya göre savlanan “Sidyma Kuşatması” teorisi de mümkün gözükmemektedir. Ayrıca Kalabatia'nın Erken Roma İmparatorluk ya da daha erken dönemlerdeki politik statüsüne yönelik veriler değerlendirilmiş ve bağımsız olabileceği vurgulanmıştır. Bel'de bulunan kalıntılar Sidyma'ya yak. 4,5 km'lik mesafededir. Bu nedenle yazar burasının kayıp hedef olabileceği ve belki de Kalabatia'nın hem Bel'deki kalıntıları hem de hemen güneyindeki antik liman Gavur Kalesi'ni kapsayan bir yerleşim olabileceğini önermektedir. Kayıp bloktaki kalan boşlukta neler olabileceği tartışılmış, bu bağlamda yazıya hem idari bir birim hem de dağ adı olarak görünen Kragos hakkında bir bölüm eklenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sidyma, Kalabatia, Sancaklı, Bel, Apollon, kehanet

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This contribution results from the field surveys on the ancient roads of Lycia directed by the late Prof. S. Şahin until 2014 and then by Prof. N.E. Akyürek Şahin until 2017, and thereafter by the author, with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. These field surveys have been supported by the Akdeniz University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (project nos.: SBA-2015-937 and SBA-2016-1675) and Koç University – Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center for Mediterranean Civilisations from 2015 onwards. I am deeply grateful to F. Avcu, Y. Doğan, C. Demirton, Y.E.K. Yılmaz and S. Yavaş for their company in the very difficult walk from Bel

The *Monumentum Patavense* (MP), also known as *Stadiasmus Patavensis*, which dates from AD 46 and lists all the roads renovated during the reign of Claudius throughout Lycia has created a totally new context for answering several questions concerning the administrative and geographical history of Lycia.¹ Based upon the inscription on this monument, field surveys of the Lycian road network were initiated by the late professor S. Şahin in 2004. The aims of this survey are to determine ancient roads and routes in Lycia and Pamphylia, to evaluate any sort of data from the field indicating the presence of these roads and routes and all epigraphical material, and to publish any new data found in the course of the surveys. Consequently, this research investigates settlement distribution and network connections and aims to produce conclusions concerning the administrative and political history of the region together with deeper understanding of its historical geography to the fullest extent. The result of these field surveys, especially those of the past four years along with the improvements made concerning the implications of the text itself, have produced substantial changes to the understanding of the list of roads recorded on the monument. These changes in particular concern its geographical-territorial implications and the mid-1st century AD status of the settlements that are mentioned in the list, even though some are still simply assumptions.²

Some parts of the field surveys we conducted in 2017 and 2018 were dedicated to Sidyma and its surroundings. Our focus was to determine the course of the roads from Xanthos to Sidyma and from Sidyma to a destination whose name has not survived on the MP. The section relating to this part recorded in lines 10–11 of Face B is as follows, based upon the edition by Şahin:

- | | |
|--|---|
| l. 10 (R2): ἀπὸ Ξάν[θου] εἰς Σίδυμα ἄ σταδία ἄ ρδ' | From Xanthos to Sidyma 104
stades (=ca. 19, 25 km) |
| l. 11 (R3) ἀπὸ Σιδύμων εἰς? Καλαβαντίαν ἄ στάδια ἄ κδ' | From Sidyma [to Kalabantia?] 24
stades (=ca. 4,5 km) |

down to Gavur Kalesi, I also thank S. Mimaroglu, who investigated the ruins in this bay together with C. Demirton. I would also like to thank Prof. C. Schuler, Prof. M. Wörrle, Prof. J. Nollé, Prof. A. Chaniotis, Prof. P. Arnaud, Dr. N. Milner and H. Lotz for their valuable remarks on the discussions in this contribution. This article forms a part of my project entitled "The spatial conceptualization of power in the Roman empire: Lycia and Rome in the 1st c. AD", the funding of which has been provided by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and the first part of which has been conducted in the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik (of DAI) at Munich.

¹ For the basic editions see Işık, Işkan and Çevik 2001; Şahin and Adak 2004; Şahin and Adak 2007; Şahin 2014.

² One of these assumptions – the political status of the settlements recorded in the MP – is also one of the discussions in this article. It has been one of the most crucial questions concerning the geographical aspect of the road list on the monument. The answers of scholars to this question vary, together with discussions on the reasons for the presence of some towns and the absence of others from this list. Tietz 2003, 276, n. 207 and 292 concludes that all the settlements with no affiliation in the MP were independent, considering that the start and end points of routes were *poleis*. The towns not mentioned in the SP, such as Daidala and Telandros, though they were on the route from Telmessos to Kaunos, were at that time not independent poleis. Schuler 2007, 77 reported that the settlements listed in the MP were poleis and used the ethnicon *Κοδοπηνή* mentioned in an inscription from Arykanda to show the independence of Kodopa. Schuler 2010, 81 n. 79 elsewhere remarked that the monument offers a selection of roads and of poleis, and that the cities remaining on side roads are not included (like Antiphellos or Apollonia). However, if a settlement is not mentioned, though it was located on the roads given in the monument, then it had no polis status in that time. Şahin 2014, 25 thinks that not all the settlements in the SP were poleis, but some were already in the territory of other settlements. He gives the examples of Kalabatia within Sidyma, Kosara within Mnara, and Onobara within Trebenna, though none of these examples is useful in this discussion. I am also of the opinion that the settlements recorded in the MP were independent – though not all had polis status but at least an independence in terms of finance, legislation and territorial ownership in their own structure – and this concerns mainly the Julio-Claudian period. The current evidence conforms with this approach, and there is no evidence from that period conflicting with such a theory. I believe it is vital to approach this discussion with the evidence that is contemporary with the MP. For a detailed analysis of the question see Onur 2016.

In a former article, I had already discussed some of the problems concerning Kalabatia.³ For the purpose of the present study, this matter is further investigated employing new evidence obtained from our field research in 2017. The road from Xanthos to Sidyma and new inscriptions from the vicinity of Sidyma form the subject of another article by F. Avcu and H. Uzunoglu in this volume. Therefore, this article relates only to R3, since it required particular research into the history and historical geography of the region around Sidyma.

A. Problems in Restoring the Lacuna of Face B l.11 (R3 - the road from Sidyma) in the MP

The block recording the destination of the road starting at Sidyma in l.11 was between two existing blocks (fig. 1). The middle block could not be found during the excavations and remains lost. This line is inscribed with almost half-sized letters, hence remarkably longer than the other lines. Block 13b refers to the origins (Patara, Xanthos and Sidyma) of five roads and block 15b gives the lengths of these roads. The lost middle block should contain the destinations. Except for the lacuna in l.11, all other lost information can be restored securely.

Şahin's restorations of the section are as follows in Şahin 2014, 124 (GZR = R/Road/Route; Str = line; Bl = Block; S = Block line-up):

	Str	Bl 13B	Bl 14B	Bl 15B
S III	GZR 1	9	ΑΠΟΠΑΤΑΡΩΝΕΙΣΞΑΝΘΟΝ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΝΓ
	GZR 2	10	ΑΠΟΞΑΝΘΟΥΒΙΣΣΙΔΥΜΑ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΡΔ
	GZR 3	11	ΑΠΟΣΙΔΥΜΩΝΕΙΣΚΑΛΑΒΑΝΤΙΑΝ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΚΔ
	GZR 4	12	ΑΠΟΞΑΝΘΟΥΒΙΣΠΙΝΑΡΑ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ .. Γ
	GZR 5	13	ΑΠΟΞΑΝΘΟΥΒΙΣΤΛΩ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΡΝΒ
	GZR 1		ἀπό Πατάρ[ων εις Ξάνθον ↔ στάδι]α ↔ νζ'	
	GZR 2	10	ἀπό Ξάν[θου εις Σίδυμα ↔ στ]άδια ↔ ρδ'	
	GZR 3		ἀπό Σιδύμων ε[ις ? Καλαβαντί]αν ↔ στάδια ↔ κδ'	
	GZR 4	12	ἀπό Ξάν[θου εις Πίναρα ↔ στά]δια ↔ [ρλ]ζ'	
	GZR 5		ἀπό Ξάν[θου εις Τλώ ↔ στάδ]ια ↔ ρνβ'	

The secure restorations of destinations are Xanthos (from Patara, l.9), Sidyma (from Xanthos, l.10), Pinara (from Xanthos, l. 12) and Tlos (from Xanthos, l.13). However, the restoration in “ἀπό Σιδύμων ε[ις? Καλαβαντί]αν ↔ στάδια ↔ κδ'⁴” seems deficient or incorrect, because this lacuna needs ca. 20-22 letters according to the measurements of the blocks and the letters (see figs. 1-2). Thus, not only that the destination of the road from Sidyma in l.11 cannot be known, but also it is impossible to fill in the blank with just a name of any single settlement. Even though Şahin is aware of this gap, inasmuch as he also provided the possible restoration

³ Onur 2016, 108–9 reports in brief: The restoration of Kalabatia is not secure and the distance between Sidyma and Sancaklı Limanı, which is proposed to have been ancient Kalabatia, is much longer than the distance between Sidyma and [Kalabatia?] recorded on the monument (see fig. 4). There is no direct evidence to localize Kalabatia at the harbour of Sancaklı, which was the port of Sidyma from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, if not earlier, as its tombs record that Sidyma was responsible for collecting the fines (see n. 21 below).

⁴ Şahin 2014, 47, 124.

of “... ε[ις Καλαβατίαν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν]...” in one of his earlier works,⁵ he notwithstanding restores it with 12-13 letters (see above).

It can be seen in fig. 2 that l.11 requires ca. 10–13 additional letters for its lacuna, even if the destination was Kalabatia, since restoration fills only half of the gap. The remains of the letter after ΣΙΔΥΜΩΝ, a vertical hasta (see figs. 1–3) can only belong to E, H, M, N, Π, P or I. There seems to be no horizontal bar in the middle of this hasta. But the horizontal bars of the epsilons and etas in the inscriptions do not join the vertical hastas in some examples in the inscription. Since H, I, M, N, Π or P do not provide a sensible restoration, it was most probably E (see more in p. 17 on the possible options). As a matter of fact, there is probably a tiny remnant of this vertical bar (see fig. 3) not joining the hasta; also an upper bar joining the hasta at the top can also be traced. On Bl 15B, the last two letters before the first ivy-leaf in the l.11 are certainly AN.

B. Sancaklı Port, Kalabatia and a “Siege of Sidyma”

Şahin, after restoring the destination as Kalabatia, furthermore, established a theory of a “Siege of Sidyma”. According to this theory, Quintus Veranius, who began his campaign from the port of Kalabatia (identified with Sancaklı Limanı) with a contested landing, ended the rebellion in Lycia by besieging the acropolis of Sidyma and overcoming the rebels. Then he was able to organize the region as a Roman province.⁶ It has even been assumed that some collapsed parts of the walls on the acropolis of Sidyma might have been demolished by Quintus Veranius,⁷ whose funerary inscription⁸ offered a starting point to some scholars for developing such ideas. In this inscription, of which the left and the upper part are lost, we read the career of Veranius in ascending order. The first line of the surviving part reads “he governed for five years”, referring to his governorship in Lycia between AD 43 and 47. The deeds mentioned in lines 1–6 are commonly associated with his achievements in Lycia during this period. Amongst these achievements are mentioned a victorious campaign against a community ([...]acheotarum expugnatum delevit) and some restorations of certain defensive walls of a place ([...]lutionem moenium remissam et interceptam). The partial word in the third line, [...]acheotarum) raises the largest challenge for the discussion. Gordon proposed tracheotae as the only possible reading to be considered and asserted that they might have been the Cietae in Cilicia Tracheia. He consequently proposed the restoration as [castellum Cietarum Tr]acheotarum.⁹ This has widely been adopted by subsequent scholars.¹⁰ M. Adak recently claimed that these *tracheotae* were not in Cilicia but in Lycia, since Veranius should have gained this victory during his service in Lycia and therefore was not authorized to leave his province. Furthermore, he proposed that such a military operation should have taken place in northern Lycia, Kibyrtis, emphasizing that he had no time for campaigning in a different and far province, and that there is no known uprising at that time in Cilicia.¹¹

⁵ Şahin 2009, 103.

⁶ Şahin 2009; Şahin 2014, 140–1.

⁷ Takmer 2010, 107.

⁸ Gordon 1952, 231–352 = AE 1953, no. 251 = CIL VI 41075; Birley 2005, 37.

⁹ Gordon 1952, 246–9; Gordon 1955, 944–45.

¹⁰ Syme 1995, 272; Behrwald 2000, 137; Kolb 2002, 217; Brélaz 2005, 292–93; Feld (2005, 80, n. 145) proposes the restoration of “[Cilicum Tr]acheotarum” instead of “[Cietum Tr]acheotarum” on the grounds that the Cietae lived only in the plain.

¹¹ Adak 2003; Şahin and Adak 2007, 63–8; Şahin 2014, 65–70.

Şahin considered that this “castellum” of *tracheotae* was probably the acropolis of Sidyma (see n. 6), where the rebels might have taken refuge and were finally overwhelmed by Quintus Veranius after a siege. Şahin’s main points for a “siege of Sidyma” are the following: 1) The lost destination of the road starting at Sidyma (R3) in the MP is most probably Kalabatia, and this is the only example of a connection between an inland city and its port. Thus, he concludes that this road might have been built for special purposes (i. e. military); 2) The first three roads of the list, i.e. Patara – Xanthos – Sidyma – [Kalabatia], were probably related to Veranius’ task of military operations against the rebels, supposing that these roads were built first; 3) There is a good old road from Sancaklı Port climbing up the valley in zigzags (see p. 264 below), which made him think that this road was built by the soldiers of Veranius and consequently that the purpose of such a road could be associated with a military assault on Sidyma. The grounds for this theory contain several inconsistencies, and more importantly, there is no direct evidence for the theory presented, not only in terms of epigraphical methodology and geography, but also in terms of historical accounts concerning Lycia. But this article will only deal with epigraphic and geographic aspects of the question.

First of all, the current evidence does not support that the destination was Sancaklı Port, which has been accepted as ancient Kalabatia (see p. 264 below). We have one known option around Sidyma for the destination of this road – Pinara – to where the MP does not give a road from Sidyma anywhere else in the list. However, the surviving letters AN, which should be the accusative ending of the name of the destination, which is feminine, make it almost impossible to assume that the lost destination might have been Pinara, due to its neuter plural form. Further the distance from Sidyma to Pinara is much longer than the distance given on the MP, i.e. 24 stades (ca. 4,5 km). It is also difficult to assume a restoration which purports: “The road from Sidyma to Pinara through Kalabatia (has been constructed) up to 24 stadia” (cf. the partial road between Idebessos and Kitanaura in the lines 3–4 of Face C¹², since in such a case the ending of Kalabatia should have been given in the genitive case, i.e. –ΑΣ or, much less likely –ΩΝ, if it was a name in neut. pl.) In this case, Pinara should have been in the accusative case as Πίναρα (neut. pl.). None of these endings is suitable for restoring the lacuna. Further, an ἐπί would most probably have been expected before στάδια; also the phrasing would not have fit into the space.¹³ The proposal of the word θάλασσα for restoration also seems unsuitable¹⁴, because the shore closest to Sidyma, as the crow flies, is a distance of 5.5 km (cf. fig. 4 below). Even if we could accept that Kalabatia was a suitable option for the destination of this road, two problems remain: the distance given in the monument (if it is accepted that Sancaklı Limanı was ancient Kalabatia) and the lacuna that accommodates more letters than those of the proposed restoration. One probable solution could have been a partial construction of a road from Sidyma to Kalabatia, of which only 24 stadia were built. At least we know that there is a road from Sidyma to Sancaklı, which is especially well-preserved in the section from

¹² MP C 3–4: ἀπὸ Ἰδεβησοῦ ἢ εἰς Κιτάν[αυρ]α τῶν Τερμησέων φέρουσα κατεσκευάσται ἐπὶ σ]τάδια λβ’.

¹³ A construction of an abridged phrase could have been “*ἀπὸ Σιδύμων εἰς Πίναρα διὰ Καλαβατίας ἐπὶ στάδια κδ” or “*ἀπὸ Σιδύμων διὰ Καλαβατίας εἰς Πίναρα ἐπὶ στάδια κδ”, while a longer version could have been constructed as “*ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἢ εἰς Πίναρα φέρουσα κατεσκευάσται ἐπὶ στάδια κδ” based upon the phrase employed for the road between Idebessos and Kitanaura in lines 3–4 of Face C (see n. 12). Further, if a partial road construction between Sidyma and Kalabatia that did not enter into the territory of a settlement would have been the case, perhaps phrases like “ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἐπσκευασμένη εἰς Καλαβατίαν ρ στάδια ρ κδ”, “ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἐπὶ τοῦ μέρους ἢ εἰς Καλαβατίαν ρ στάδια ρ κδ” or “ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἢ [ἐπὶ τοῦ μέρους εἰς Καλαβατίαν] ρ στάδια ρ κδ” could have been proposed. But none of these fits the line in question.

¹⁴ Şahin 2009, 103; cf. Onur 2016, 108.

Sancaklı Port up to the Boğaziçi plain.¹⁵ However, it cannot be known if it was constructed in the Claudian period, nor if it has anything to do with the roads that are recorded on the MP. Furthermore, this section of the road remains out of the range of 4,5 km from Sidyma. If this part of road were understood as the partial construction, it would most probably have been phrased as “from Kalabatia to Sidyma”, not “from Sidyma to Kalabatia”. In this respect it is also wrong to conjecture that the construction of the road from Sidyma to Kalabatia should have started from Sancaklı at the seaside, as some scholars assumed.¹⁶ So, not only Sancaklı Port itself (which is at a distance of ca. 8 km to Sidyma), but also even this surviving road stays out of the 4,5 km in the periphery of Sidyma. Further, this proposal is not plausible in respect of the epigraphic construction of the line in terms of phrasing, as has been discussed above (see also n. 13 above). Consequently, Kalabatia, though dubious, might be only a part of the restoration, the rest of which should contain some other geographic, conditional or causal elements. Thus, it becomes obvious that either the destination is not Kalabatia, but some other settlement at a distance of 4,5 km from Sidyma. Or Kalabatia should not be located in Sancaklı Port, but in another place at a distance of 4,5 km from Sidyma.

The localization of Kalabatia in Sancaklı Port was made only through the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (SMM), which listed the sea-stops or landmarks from east to west. In this portolan, Kalabatia (written as *Καλαβαντία*, see p. 273 below) is given between Hieria Akra and Perdikia, being 30 stadia (ca. 5,5–6 km) from the former, and 50 stadia (ca. 9–9,5 km) from the latter. Beaufort in 1811 marked on his map an old zigzag road climbing up from Sancaklı Port to the western end of Boğaziçi Valley. In December 29th 1841, Schönborn, having visited Sidyma, walked to this point from where he could see the ruins of buildings and sarcophagi by the seashore. But he decided not to walk down because of the strong winds. And Ritter, who published Schönborn’s accounts in his book in 1859, noted that this port might have been ancient Kalabatia.¹⁷ Before Ritter, Leake had already proposed in his remarks of 1842 on Hoskyn’s paper that Kalabatia might be localized in Sancaklı Port.¹⁸ His localization was based upon the possible identification of Hieria Akra in the SMM with today’s Seven Capes (Turk. *Yedi Burunlar*), from where Sancaklı Port is ca. 6 km to the north. He also noted that Peridikia, the next port after Kalabatia, should then have been in the creek 5–6 miles to the north, namely in modern Faralya, Uzunyurt. In 1842, Spratt and Forbes were curious about the zigzag road marked by Beaufort and walked on this road down to the port, where they saw the ruins mentioned above. They concluded that the port belonged to Sidyma, since one of the funerary inscriptions records Sidyma as the responsible authority for receiving the fines for tomb-violation.¹⁹ In the direction of this information, Niemann and von Luschan, who obviously already accepted the proposal that Sancaklı Port was ancient Kalabatia, visited the place in 1881 and described the remains.²⁰ Later in 1908 Kalinka visited the ruins prior to his publication of volume II/2 of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* in 1930.²¹ Diamantaras also visited this port and published his accounts and a few inscriptions in 1909, suggesting no ancient name for the port.²² This lo-

¹⁵ Şahin 2009, 110, Abb. 4–6.

¹⁶ Takmer 2010, 107.

¹⁷ Ritter 1859, 974; cf. Robert 1966, 16–7.

¹⁸ Leake 1842, 163. Hoskyn’s paper is the one before Leake’s remarks in the same journal.

¹⁹ Spratt and Forbes 1847, I, 19–20.

²⁰ Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 82.

²¹ TAM II 249–53.

²² Diamantaras 1909, 31–4.

calization has not been objected to by later scholars.²³ The reason for this is basically the lack of evidence in addition to the information contained in SMM. The distances between Hiera Akra, Kalabatia and Perdikiai on this portolan have been presumed acceptable (see p. 273 below). However, the information recorded in the SMM should be carefully scrutinized, in our case in particular, the section from Patara to Telmessos (see p. 273 below).

Kalabatia is also known through the ethnicon “Kalabatianos” found on inscriptions from Sidyma. One of them is related to an oracle of ca. mid-1st century AD (n. 31 below) and mentions two Kalabatians ([Κα]λαβατιανοί) who received the oracle and delivered it to the Sidymeans. The other is in a funerary inscription dating most probably from the (early?) 1st century AD, which refers to a certain Hoplon from Kalabatia (Καλαβαττιανός).²⁴ The political status of Kalabatia cannot be clearly determined from the surviving evidence. However, most of the ethnica in funerary inscriptions indicate citizenship of an independent settlement.²⁵ It is possible to assume that Hoplon in the funerary inscription, referred as Καλαβαττιανός in n. 24, was a citizen of Kalabatia when he died. Eupolemos and Ptolemaios, who are described as Καλαβατιανοί in TAM II 174 (see below), were also citizens of Kalabatia. If this were the case, then an independent Kalabatia might have existed in the early Imperial period at the latest, in accordance with the dates of the inscriptions mentioned above. Howbeit, though it cannot be proved, this theoretical approach fits well with the geographical situation and the date, and with the basic assumption that the roads on the MP were the connections between independent settlements in the (early) mid-1st century AD (cf. n. 2 above).²⁶

C. TAM II 174 and Kalabatia

This inscription, which was found at Sidyma during the late 19th century, contains a mythological oration or treatise concerning the legends and genealogical connections between some cities in the Xanthos Valley. It was provided by a sophist, presumably a certain Hieron, a citizen

²³ Ruge 1919, 1529; Robert 1966, 16–7; Ruggieri 1999; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 584 s.v. Kalabatia; Şahin 2009, 103; Arnaud 2009, 181; Takmer 2010, 113; Cavalier and Courtils 2011, 462–3; Şahin 2014, 139–40; Arnaud 2011, 425; cf. Arnaud 2016, 141.

²⁴ Takmer 2010, 120, no. 3. The inscription should be earlier than the editor’s suggestion of the second half of the 2nd century AD; see Onur 2016, 108.

²⁵ There are also a few examples, which do not seem to have followed this. For instance, two funerary inscriptions from Bonda Hill between Myra and Limyra reveal a settlement called Persourion remaining in the territory of Limyra (Wörrle 2012, 440–44, nos. 66 and 68). In no. 66 it appears as a toponym (οικῶν [ἐν Περσ]ουρίῳ), while in no. 68 as ethnicon (Θρονικὸς ? Ἡρακλείδου Περσουριώτης). On these inscriptions Wörrle (2012, 442) notes the following: “Auch Pigres gibt für sich weder limyräisches noch anscheinend sonstiges Bürgerrecht an, aber Wohnsitz in einem Ort, von dessen Namen mit –ουρίῳ das Ende erhalten ist. Nr. 68 erlaubt, ihn ganz wiederherzustellen: der antike Name Karakuyus dürfte Περσουρίων gewesen sein. Formal entspricht Pigres’ Wohnsitzangabe der der Anthis, doch nennt diese die Polis, Pigres dagegen mit der Kome von Persurion eine ihrer administrativen Untergliederungen. Ob sich darin ein statusrechtlicher Unterschied oder nur ein persönliches Präzisionsbedürfnis spiegelt, läßt sich wohl (noch) nicht entscheiden.”

²⁶ If this were the case, then a question arises like that of Kastabara and Tlos, since the settlements given on the monument were probably independent, at least by the early empire (see n. 2 above). The funerary inscriptions from Deliktaş, which is accepted as Kastabara, represent a dependency on Tlos in the imperial period: TAM II 720 (the fine is to be paid to Tlos) and 722 (the owners are from Tlos). The puzzling issues for Kastabara, as was discussed by Rousset (2010, 142–43), are: 1) if the settlement were already a dependency of Tlos, even by the time of Claudius, 2) if there might have been a change of status later, since the inscriptions are not earlier than 2nd or 3rd centuries, or 3) if there were an entirely different situation pertaining to some particular places, such as sacred places or imperial estates, which had autonomy to some extent. But it should not be ignored that it is probable that some small cities were reduced to districts of a larger city adjacent to them in a later period. After all, we do not have any precise evidence from Deliktaş indicating that this settlement was ancient Kastabara, as is the case for Kalabatia in relation to the ruins both in Sancaklı and in Bel.

of Tlos and Xanthos.²⁷ The orator seems to be following the traditions of second sophistic school²⁸ and employed in his speech some contemporary incidents including the stone images of Artemis and Apollon that appeared in Pinara and Sidyma respectively. When he mentions the one in Sidyma, he associates it with a grotto of Apollon located in Lopta, the location of which remains unknown.²⁹ But it was probably associated with the cave cults around the Kragos mentioned by Eustathios.³⁰ The text is followed by a 129 year-old oracle delivered by two Kalabatians, Eupolemos and Ptolemaios, to the Sidymians. The inscription is usually dated to the mid-2nd century AD because of its literary style and the typeface of the letters employed. Further, because of the eponymous dating of the oracle, given as ἐπὶ ἱερέων τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ, the oracle should be somewhat earlier than the provincialization of Lycia in AD 43.³¹ The translation by Papanikolaou (2012, 151-153) of the relevant part is as follows:

In Sidyma, a town built by Sidymos, son of Tloos and Chelidon, daughter of Cragos, (the land gave) Apollo, in a place close to the sea, in Lopta, a hidden cave difficult to enter, which has a small opening at its peak that absorbs the light; in it, a woman who wanted, without being seen (Col. Da:) and without noise, to see the God Apollo fell down. So, there is a fallen body in the form of a stone, a specimen frightening to all observers. For that reason, dapping our hands and greeting the god, we enter shouting 'Hail to you, Apollon from Lopta' ... the oracle that was given to the Sidymians 129 years ago, that only a virgin neokoros (priestess, temple warden) should be consecrated to Artemis, an oracle which was written down by them as cited here: When Artemeus was priest of the koinon (of Lycia) and Telesios was the priest of the city (Sidyma), on the 26th of month Loos, we, Eupolemos son of Aristonymos, and Ptolemaios son of Aristonymos, prytaneis³² from Calabatia, notify to you according to the decree the oracle given to us, whose copy is cited here...³³

The following oracle is about the necessity that the priestesses of Artemis should be virgins. The first verse of the oracle reads [ἐ]σθλὰ δέχου Φοίβου πόλι συνγενὶ θέσφατα τρανώς ("receive clearly the good oracles of Phoibos for the kindred city"). Here Sidyma is described as πόλις συγγενής ("kindred city") to the place from where the oracle was delivered. Apart from its primary meaning as "kindred; relative; cognate", συγγενής might also indicate that the source of the oracle was equal in status to the recipient city, considering its meaning of "homogenous;

²⁷ Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 75–7, no. 53; SEG VI 755 (= XXVIII 1222 = XXXV 1821; XXXVIII 1970 = XXXIX 1413 = L 1356 = LII 1451); FGrHist. 770 F 5 (p. 764–5); Chaniotis 1988, 75–85; Curtz 1995, 195–200 no. 79; Merkelbach 2000, 115–25; Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, 31–3, no. 17/08/01; Papanikolaou 2012, 126–9; Graf 2015, 214–7.

²⁸ Parke 1985, 190; Papanikolaou 2012, 150–51.

²⁹ Cf. Ruge 1927; Schweyer 1996, 28; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 692, s.v. Lopta; Takmer 2010, 114.

³⁰ Eustathios Com. Dion. Per. 847.15–19: Τὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος καὶ Κράγον φησὶ φημιζεσθαι, ἀπὸ Κράγου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀνδρὸς, ὃς αὐτόθι θανὼν τιμᾶται. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τῷ Κράγῳ θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα εἶναι; Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 76 with n. 4; Cook 1925, 971, n. 2.

³¹ For the dating of the inscription see Frei 1990, 1745; Parke 1985, 192; Merkelbach 2000, 121–25; Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, 32–3; Reitzenstein 2011, 76–7 n. 8; Schuler 2010, 77–9; Wörrle 1988, 123; Takmer 2010, 113 with n. 159.

³² Here Papanikolaou follows the proposition in Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 77 (πρυτάνε[ις]), on the basis of syntax and content, although the word ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΣΙΝ is quite clearly legible in the inscription (see fig. 7).

³³ Based upon the edition by Merkelbach 2000, 115–22, l. 10–112: ... ἐν δὲ Σιδύμοις κτίσματος Σιδύμου | υἱοῦ Τλώου καὶ Χελειδόνος τῆς | Κράγου Ἀπόλλωνα τόπων πρὸς | θαλάσσην Λόπτοις σπηλαίῳ | ἀποκρύφῳ δυσεισόδῳ ἐκ κορυφῆς δὲ φωτοῦλλον ἀνοιγμα | μικρὸν ἔχοντι, μέσον εἰς ὃ καθοπεῦσαι θελήσασά τις ἄφρων | ἀγοφῆτι ^{vac} τὸν θεὸν κατη|νέχθη, καὶ λίθος κεῖται πτόμα | φόβου δεῖγμα κατασκόπων, | διὸ καὶ κροτεῖν ἀσπάσματος | «χαῖρε Ἀπολλων {ὁ} ἐγ Λόπτων», | (ὁ) εἰσερχόμενοι φωνοῦμεν. | τὸν ἐκπεσόντα | πρὸ ἐτῶν κθ' Σιδυμεῦσιν χρησῶν | περὶ νεωκόρου παρθένου τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀναγεγραμμένο(ν) παρ' αὐτοῖς, κ[α]θὼς ὑπογράφεται. | ἐπὶ ἱερέων τοῦ | μὲν κοινοῦ Ἀρτεμέου τῆς δὲ πόλεως Τελεσίου μνηὸς Λόφου κς'· | [E]πό[λ]ιμος Ἀριστωνόμου καὶ [P]τολεμαῖος Ἀριστωνόμου | [Καλ]αβατιανοὶ πρυτάνεσιν ἀναφόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς [κατ]ὰ τὸ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]ν ἐκπεπρωκότα χρησῶν οὐ καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίγραφον τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον.

congener”.³⁴ The source of this oracle is not specified, though Patara has been suggested as the most probable option due to the prominence of the famous Patarean oracle, as well as the proximity of Patara to Sidyma.³⁵ Parke states that the source could have been a local shrine. Thus, he points to the official prophethood of Artemis and Apollon in Sidyma (see n. 42 below), but notwithstanding, opted for Patara, since the phrase “kindred city” and use of “your land” in second verse (σύνφορον ὡς χθονὶ σῆι ναέταισί τε πᾶσιν ὃ πεύθη ἔσσεται) indicate an external source.³⁶ Parke did not write that the source of the oracle might have been Kalabatia, the hometown of the deliverers Eupolemos and Ptolemaios, and that the status of Kalabatia might have been independent at the time when the oracle was given, as this can make it an external source. Merkelbach also accepts that the source was Patara, as was also followed by some later scholars.³⁷ However, in such a situation, it becomes difficult to understand the role and purpose of these two Kalabatians in delivering this “Patarean oracle” to Sidyma. Since the Kalabatians were responsible for delivering this oracle, which should have been pronounced directly to them (ἀναφέρομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς [κατ]ὰ τὸ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]ν ἐκπεπωκότα χρησμόν), it should be expected that the source of the oracle was in fact a sanctuary in Kalabatia. Therefore, according to the text, not only the grotto of Apollon in Lopta was near the seaside and close to Kalabatia – or rather, within the borders of Kalabatia – but also the oracle might well have been received from Apollon of Lopta, about whom an account was already given in the text just before the oracle. However, there is no direct evidence whether oracles were consulted in this cave or the source of this oracle was this cave.³⁸ However, the dateless story of the woman stoned in this cave might indicate that the cave was already functioning. It was known that Apollo was residing there, as was the case at the time when Hieron delivered his speech in the mid-2nd century. Furthermore, it is also quite probable that Sidyma was this “kindred city” for Kalabatia, though the term πόλις συγγενής, apparently a generic term, can of course be employed for any city to make the oracle usable for other cities as well. It is also clear that the oracle was delivered by these two Kalabatians in compliance to a decree (κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα). There is no precise answer as to where (Sidyma or Kalabatia) this decree was issued. Perhaps this depends on the location where the temple was, since on one hand the initiator of the process might have been Sidyma to solve related problems occurred in the temple or in the

³⁴ See LSJ s.v. συγγενής, –ές; The word indicates a relationship between the cities involved in the situation. The term was also used to reflect the kinship ties between them, see Demetriou 2013, 194–96.

³⁵ Parke 1985, 190; Merkelbach 2000, 119–20; Petrovic and Petrovic 2006, 162–63, no. 24; Marek and Frei 2010, 589 (= 2016, 477); However, Graf (2015, 217 and fn. 27) – in addition to local shrines in Lycia – suggests that it might be an oracle received from Didyma or more likely from Klaros, since the oracles of Klaros were inscribed on stone in the recipient cities, while Didymean oracles were recorded in Didyma. However this is highly unlikely since Sidyma, as the recipient city, is addressed as πόλις συγγενής (“kindred city”) to the source of the oracle, referring to a context and geography in close relationship to Sidyma.

³⁶ Parke 1985, 191–193.

³⁷ Merkelbach 2000, 120; Marek and Frei 2016, 477.

³⁸ Cf. Graf 2015, 216; On the cave oracles, esp. those of Apollo see Ustinova 2009a, esp. 275–79 and 2009b, 109–21, also Friese 2013, esp. 231–32. For oracular purposes, it was most usual to make use of those caves located on seismic faults with fissures that leaked toxic gases, as was the case for Delphi, Hierapolis etc. see Stewart and Piccardi 2017, 715–8. It is possible that a seismic fault below the cave of Apollon in Lopta released CO₂ gas, the area is richly faulted, seismic active and has experienced many earthquakes, as was expressed in published statements such as following the 28th February 1851 event, “*Springs of potable water have been dried up, and boiling sulphurous springs have appeared in several places. The soil around Makri (Fethiye) has cracked in every direction and the crevices exhale fumes of bituminous vapour*” in the Illustrated London News, April 5th, 1851, 277 = Liverpool Albion Newspaper, April 7th, 1851, see also Duggan 2019, 258. Further, it seems reasonable to suggest that the woman mentioned in the dateless story in the inscription, who fell into the Lopta cave and died, might well have inhaled the gases emanating from the cave, which may have caused her to hyperventilate, lose consciousness, fall, and die when she hit the stone floor of the cave.

city. On the other hand it might have been an oracle issued by the source itself and sent to Sidyma, as being one of the cities, which provided priestess for the temple. If the temple of Artemis (together with Apollon) was in Kalabatia, its lands might well have become a part of Sidymeian territory in later centuries. So there is no compulsory reason to assume that the source of the oracle was Patara. Besides, it is known from ancient sources that the Patarean oracle was active for only a part of the year, probably 6 months in the winter season.³⁹ There was an uncertain period of silence, probably lasting until it was revived with the assistance of Opramoas perhaps in the early 2nd century AD.⁴⁰ So it is also natural that any other nearby oracle center was used when the Patarean oracle was inactive. Further, it is unknown if the oracular seat in Patara was always preferred for such matters.⁴¹ Consequently, it seems plausible to consider Lopta with a cave-cult of Apollon as a sanctuary in the territory of Kalabatia. In our field surveys, we searched for caves around Sidyma, especially around the Bel district for the reasons given below. There are, of course, many caves in several places, as was mentioned by Eustathios (see n. 30 above). Some of them, which we visited, showed indications of ancient use, while many of them were simply natural formations (figs. 8, 13). But this region should be investigated in detail within a wider context. Furthermore, some of the caves used in antiquity may have collapsed, slipped or been in-filled through geological deformations caused by earthquakes, landslips and eroded material.

It is also known that this cult of Apollon was accompanied by that of Artemis, as some of the inscriptions in and around Sidyma inform us, being a usual practice in antiquity. M. Aur. Eukarpos was a Sidymeian priest and prophet of Artemis and Apollon.⁴² It is not known when the priesthood and prophethood of Apollon and Artemis at Sidyma was instituted. But the inscriptions mentioning these officials are not earlier than the early 2nd or 3rd centuries AD. Artemis was called Sidymike, and the tomb violation fines would have been paid to her, as stated in one of the inscriptions from Bel (intact), a village ca. 5 km to the south of Sidyma, and in an inscription from Sidyma (which is however restored).⁴³ She was venerated, together

³⁹ Hdt I.182: καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶν γένηται: οὐ γὰρ ὄν αἰεὶ ἐστί χρηστήριον αὐτόθι: ἐπεὶν δὲ γένηται τότε ὄν συγκатаκλήϊεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῶ; Verg. Aen. IV 143–144: Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo...; Servius' notes on these verses of the Aeneid: nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae civitatem, dare responsa: unde Patareus Apollo dicitur: et sex mensibus aestivis apud Delum. ergo 'hibernam' utrum quod ibi hiemare soleat; an frigidam; an hieme temperatam; an quam hiberno tempore deserere soleat?

⁴⁰ It is not known precisely when this period of this silence occurred. Mela, who wrote his chronicon around AD 43, mentions the decline (or perhaps even the cessation) of the oracle of Patara in *Chbr.* 1.15.82: ... Pataram non inlustria. Illam nobilem facit delubrum Apollinis quondam oribus et oraculi fide Delphico simile; Opramoas of Rhodiapolis aided the revival of the oracle, which had apparently been silent for some time, Kokkinia 2000, 67, XVII E 10–13 (=TAM II 905 col. XVIII 65–68): Παταρεῦ[σιν] εἰς μὲν λόγον θεοῦ | πατρῶου Ἀπόλλ[λ]ωνος, ἐπεὶ χρόνον σ[ι]γήσαν τὸ μαντεῖ[ϊον] αὐτοῦ [πάλλιν ἢρ]ξατο θεσπιζειν; cf. Parke 1985, 190–93 and Bryce 1986, 196. See also Lepke, Schuler and Zimmermann 2015, 345–52 and 370–71, who rediscuss the period of this silence due to an inscription recently found in Patara, which records Quintus Vilius Titianus as the archiprophet of Apollo and which they date to 126 AD at the latest.

⁴¹ It may even have even been possible that the cave of Apollon of Lopta was intended for humbler visitors, or was just a local centre. A possible parallel might be the Corycian cave located ca. 18 km to the north of the oracle centre at Delphi. The Corycian cave was mainly for lot oracles, though it is also known that the revelations were received, see Ustinova 2009b, 65–8.

⁴² TAM II 188: ... Μάρκον Αὐρηλίον Εὐκάρπον | Ἰεροκλέους τοῦ καὶ Εὐκάρπου Σιδυμέα τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον ἱερέα καὶ | προφήτην διὰ βίου | τῶν προηγετῶν θεῶν | Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ...; ... TAM II 189: Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρηλίον Εὐκάρπον | Ἰεροκλέους | ἄνδρα μεγαλόφρονα σώφρον[α] | δίκαιον ἱκανὸν εὐεργέτην, | συγγενῆ ἀρχιφυλάκ[ω]ν | Λυκιαρχῶν, γεγο[ν]οῦ | τα ἱερέα | [καὶ προφήτην διὰ βίου τῶν προηγετῶν] | [θεῶν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος] ...

⁴³ TAM II 244 (Bel, see n. 54 below) and the restored one in TAM II 214 (Sidyma: ...ὄφειλέσει ἱερά | Ἀρτέμ[ι]δι Σιδ[υ]μικῆ)X [α]φ', ὄν ὁ ἐλέ[ν]ξας ἔξει τὸ τρίτον.)

with Apollon (see n. 42 above) who may perhaps be identical with the Apollon from Lopta in the territory of Kalabatia. Here oracles may perhaps have been consulted and which was probably integrated into the territory of Sidyma in a later period. The oracle given at the end of the inscription in TAM II 174 also emphasized that Artemis was worshipped together with Apollon at the time when the oracle was delivered, as “These things the king himself, the far-darter, reveals are blessed and his sister the huntress, the nourisher of hounds, whom together with Phoebus [you should worship...]”.⁴⁴

At this point it might be thought that the ending part, ὀφειλήσι ἱεράς Ἀρτέμιδι Σιδυμικῆ δραχμᾶς τρι[ι]σχειλίας in the funerary inscription from Bel mentioned above, might indicate a dependency of the settlement in Bel on Sidyma in the earlier period, due to both employing drachme as the payment currency instead of denarius and Artemis Sidymike, to whom the penalty was to be paid. But many examples from Lycia point that this might not have been the case. The use of drachme survived into the Roman Imperial Period –occasionally meaning “denarius”– at least into the 2nd century AD.⁴⁵ The deities attributed with a locality can be found in different localities. For instance, in a funerary inscription from Rhodiapolis the fine for a tomb violation was to be paid to Athena, Leto Korydallike and Eleuthera Myrike at the same time (TAM II 924: ...ὀφειλέτω ἱεράς Ἀθηνᾶ δραχμᾶς τρις χειλίας καὶ Λητῶ Κορυδαλλικῆ καὶ Ἐλευθέρᾳ Μυρικῆ τὸ ἴσον πλῆθος...). Also, in the same manner can be found dedications to such deities as Artemis Kombike, who was venerated in many different places. However, there is no attestation for her in Komba or Artemis Kitaneurissa (“of Kitanaura”) in Olympos.⁴⁶

D. The Probable Destination of the Road from Sidyma in the MP

In order to approach the problem concerning the name of the missing destination, it seems more productive to look at the settlements located within ca. a 4,5 km range around Sidyma (see fig. 4) and to try connecting them with the toponyms known from the area around Sidyma. Apart from Kalabatia and/or Lopta, there are two more place names known from sources. The first is Ispada, a χωρίον mentioned in an inscription from Sidyma. It reads that M. Aur. Eukarpos bequeathed his estates in Ispada to the ἱερὸν σύστημα τῶν τριάκοντα (“the sacred college of thirty”) of Sidyma.⁴⁷ Ispada was a village or a hamlet within the borders of Sidyma at least in the 3rd century AD. It is also known through another inscription from Sidyma that this same person bequeathed his estates around Kragos to the polis of Sidyma.⁴⁸ It is considered that the estates mentioned in both inscriptions may refer to the same place.⁴⁹ However, it is not known where Ispada was,⁵⁰ though the most fertile lands around Sidyma are situated to

⁴⁴ Translation is by Parke 1985, 191. The original text is “ταῦτά σοι αὐτὸς ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλος ὄλβια φαίνει | ἀγροτέρα τε θεὰ σκυλακοτρόφος, ἦν ἅμα Φοῖβῳ | ...” from Merkelbach 2000, 122 l. 111–112.

⁴⁵ Some examples are: FdXanthos VII 67 (Xanthos, 2nd half of 2nd cent. AD); FdXanthos VII 69 (Xanthos, 1st–2nd cent. AD); TAM II 774 (Arneai, Imperial Period); TAM II 213 (Sidyma, Imperial Period). It is also known from the Neronic customs inscription from Andriake that some payments concerning taxes could be paid with the money of older currency (ἐν δὲ καὶ ἡμέραις τριάκοντα [τ]ὸ ἡμισυ μέρου[ς] τῆς τεμῆς (l. 81) ἀποδότω ἐν ᾧ ἂν βούληται νομίσματι τῶν ἐν Λυκίᾳ [πρ]οχωρούντων...) instead of denarius; see Takmer 2006, 60–1; Takmer 2007, 174; Takmer 2012, 215.

⁴⁶ Heberdey and Kalinka 1897, 17, no. 52 (Simena); TAM II 407 (Patara); FdXanthos VII 2–3 (Letoon); IARYkanda 85; Tüner-Önen in Varkivanç 2017, 55 (three votives from Xanthos). Cf. Frei 1990, 1773; Adak and Tüner 2004, 53–5, no. 1 (Artemis Kitaneurissa in Olympos).

⁴⁷ TAM II 188, l. 20–2: ... κατέλιπεν τῷ ἱερῷ συστήματι τῶν τριάκοντα χωρίῳ | Ισπαδοῖς ...

⁴⁸ TAM II 190: ... καταλιπόντα τῇ πόλει (Sidyma) πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Κράγον γεγονότα αὐτοῦ χωρία ...

⁴⁹ Takmer 2010, 114. If these were the same lands or at least in the same vicinity – as perhaps TAM II 190 indicates – the location of the central Kragos should have been the mountain range in which Sidyma is located.

⁵⁰ Schweyer 1996, 28; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 573, s.v. Ispada; Takmer 2010, 114.

the north of the city in today's Boğaziçi Valley. There are also other areas of suitable farmland lying to the south and southwest, perhaps the plateaus to the south of Dodurga and some fields in the Karadere Valley.

The second place that is recorded could perhaps be [I]era mentioned in the records of the Athenian Assessment Lists of 425/4 BC as [I]ερά παρὰ [Σι]δυμέας, paying tribute as an independent town adjacent to Sidyma.⁵¹ Since the inscription was inscribed in the stoichedon style, the number of missing letters are clear, but the first letter of Ἰερά and the first two letters of Σιδυμέας are restored (see the related lacuna in fig. 5). It is not Ἰερά because *spiritus asper* (Heta) was a separate sign in the Athenian Tribute Lists, as one of the prevalent features of the archaic and classical inscriptions. And there is only one letter space which could only accommodate a single letter. However, the restoration is done based upon some geographical grounds. The editors note that Iera must be sought to the west of Sidyma, where a promontory (probably near Sancaklı Limanı) extends to the sea. Therefore, there is similarity in name with the landmark "Hiera Akra" located between Pydnai and Kalabatia (see p. 273 below) in the SMM and accepted as modern Seven Capes (Yedi Burunlar). On the other hand, they question if it can be identified with the ruins in the Bel district, approximately 5 km to the south of Sidyma.⁵² However, in any case, the restorations do not seem secure.

Hence the ruins in the Bel district –which seems to be the only place to consider as a "settlement", though small in the close vicinity of Sidyma– draws our attention. It seems to be the most suitable candidate for the name of the missing destination of the road in the MP, due to its distance from Sidyma. Ormerod and Robinson recorded these ruins including remnants of buildings and tombs with inscriptions, and reported "a small village site here in antiquity within the territory of Sidyma".⁵³ We have visited the ruins in our field surveys of 2017 and 2018. The modern road from Sidyma to the centre of the Bel district is ca. 5,5-6 km long before reaching the ruins. But the path of the old road takes a shorter route and reaches the ruins in 4,5 km (figs. 4, 6). Traces of the old road have not survived, except for some very small parts near Sidyma (fig. 14).

The remains around the Kızılıçık plain are located on the midpoint of the road from Sidyma to Bel, especially the large foundation of a building consisting of many rooms situated on Asartepe in the locality of Sakızlı (figs. 15, 17). The remains of farmsteads, mill basins and cisterns to its east in the Kızılıçık plain indicate the ancient path (figs. 18–20). The locals also informed us that they formerly used this road 50–60 years ago, and still when they need to walk in the direction of Sidyma, they take this route. The main part of the ancient remains in the district are ca. 1,3 km south of Bel in the sites of Çevlik and Geriş. Here are many ruins of tombs, some of which date from the Classical period; there are also cisterns, niches in the bedrock and other building remains (figs. 21–28). But the remains at the site have largely been destroyed, and thousands of fragments, indicative of the presence of a small settlement in antiquity, are scattered all around. As we have learned from the locals, most of this destruction has occurred in the past few years.

⁵¹ ATL I, no. A9 str. 153–4 (p. 157) = IG 13 71 col. II l. 153–4; ATL III, 23, 210, dn. 71.

⁵² ATL I, 492 s.v. Ἰερά παρὰ Σιδυμέας; Keen 1998, 121, n. 77; Takmer 2010, 104, 114.

⁵³ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 4–8; see also Diamanatara 1909, 37; Schweyer 1996, 28; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 482, s.v. Bel.

The funerary inscriptions from this place present us with a strong connection to Sidyma. An inscription on a tomb reads that the owners were from Sidyma, and the fine was to be paid to Artemis Sidymike. The editors noted that the inscription is much later than tomb itself (fig. 21).⁵⁴ In another funerary inscription, the fine is to be paid to the demos of Sidyma.⁵⁵ Another funerary inscription from Bel, which is lost today, reads that a certain Epagathos built a πύργος (“tower”) in this place (χωρίον) on his hereditary land. The editors restore the last section of this inscription as ... [τῷ Σιδύμῳ]ἑ[ὼν δ]ή[μῳ].⁵⁶ Further, by this ancient site there is a foundation, probably belonging to a church, of which only the apsidal part is visible. There are also several remains of ancient material around the foundation of this building (figs. 29–32).

The village of Bel fits well with the lost destination of R3 in its distance to Sidyma, even perhaps, if the proposition for the localisation of [I]era made here is correct. This name also fits through its ending of –AN, as a feminine accusative with εἰς or ἐπί, namely providing a possible partial restoration as ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἐ[ἰς/ -πί?] ... (εἰς/ ἐπί?) Ἱερ]άν ρ σταδία ρ κδ´. However, this seems a weak proposition because of the insecurity of the restoration (see above). On the other hand, it might be possible that both these names, i.e. [I]era (?) and Kalabatia, as for Lopta mentioned above, might have referred to the same place or to the toponyms within the same vicinity.

E. The Section Between Patara and Telmessos in the SMM

Consequently, the Bel district is almost certainly the destination of R3 from Sidyma, while Kalabatia remains a strong option for the restoration of the destination in this lost section as well. At this point, it should be questioned if the ruins in the Bel district might have belonged to ancient Kalabatia. But if so, a geographical puzzle arises concerning the SMM, which records Kalabatia as a destination by the sea after Pydnaï and Hieria Akra but before Perdikiiaï. Firstly, in order to understand if Bel might have had a port, we investigated the bays around the district to observe if there are any remains by the sea which might have had a connection with the ruins in Bel. South of Bel are two bays –the W-SW one is at a distance of 2.20 km, the one to the S is 3.20 km distant– both measured in a straight line. During our surveys, we visited them and concluded that the former does not have any traces of a port, while the latter, called by the locals the “Bay of Kale” or “Bay of Gavur Kalesi”, has the remains

⁵⁴ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 4–5, no. 9 (= TAM II 244): Μάμιον Λάβου και Ἀριστοτέλης Δαιδάλου Σιδυμεῖς κατασκεύασαν | τὸ μνημεῖον Λα[βα] τῷ πατρὶ και πενθερῷ και Νάννη τῇ Μαιμίου | μητρυῖα και το[ῦ]ς ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγενημένοις ἄλλω δὲ μηδενὶ | ἐξ[εῖν]αι τεθ[ῆ]ναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὀφειλήσει ἱεράς Ἀρτέμιδι Σιδυμικῇ || δραχμάς τρι[ῶ]σχιλίας.

⁵⁵ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 7 no. 11 (= TAM II 246): [Δεῖος — — — — — — — — — —] | [κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον] | εἰς <δ> κατέθετο υἱὸν Δεῖον και θυγατέρα Κοσμίαν. | ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔξουσιν | εἰ βουληθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τεθῆναι τὰ γλυκῦτα τέκνα | μου Διόδωρος μετὰ τῆς | γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Τληπολέμ[ι]ος Λέοντος και ὁ ἕκγονός | μου Λέων | Διοδώρου, και Πάππος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀρσάσιδος Λέοντος και ὁ ἕκγονός μου Λέων Πάππου, και | Ἐ[πά]γα[θ]ος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς | Νάννης Πολυκάρπου και | ὁ ἕκγονός μου Ἐπάγαθος | ὁ και Δεῖος, και ἡ θυγάτηρ | μου Μελομένη, και τὰ | τέκνα τοῦ προμο<ιρ>εστ[ά]του υἱοῦ Δεῖος τρι[ς] | και Μελομένη. ἐτέρω | [δὲ] οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔσται θάψαι τινά, ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι τῷ | Σιδυμέων δήμῳ X [. . .] και ὑ[πο]||κ[ε]ίμενος [ἔστω] τῷ τῆς ἀ[σε]||βείας νόμῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐ[κδική?]||σας λήμψεται τὸ τρίτον μέρος].

⁵⁶ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 5 no. 10 (= TAM II 245): Ἐπάγαθος β´ ὁ τὸν πύργον | ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκευάσας, | λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον διὰ γένους, | ἑαυτῷ και γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσάσει τῇ και Μιῶ Καλλ[ι]μήδου και τῷ | γενομένῳ υἱῷ Ἐπαγάθῳ και θυγατρὶ | Ἀγαθῇ Τύχη, βούλομαι καθ´ ἔτος θύεσθαι ἡμέην ἀλέκτορα και ὄρνειθα τελέα[ν] | και καλή[ν] ἅμα τῷ μέλλειν συναρῆν | τὰ γενήματα, ὁμοίως πάλιν ἅμα τῷ | μέλλειν τρυγᾶν τὰ αὐτὰ θύματα. | και ἔσται τῷ θύοντι ἐπίδηλα και ἐπικερδή. ἐάν δὲ τις παρενθυμηθεῖς | μὴ θύσῃ, ἔσται αὐτῷ ἐπιβλαβὴ και [. . .]· | ἐάν δὲ τις [ἐτ]έ[ρω]ς(?), ὀφ[ειλῆ]||σ<ε>[ν] | [τῷ Σιδύμῳ]ἑ[ὼν δ]ή[μῳ] X [. . .]·

of a relatively large New Roman compound including a chapel. This was earlier noted by Diamantaras and Ruggieri (figs. 33–44).⁵⁷ This bay is located between two capes, Kalabaklık to the west and Kalkamak to the east. Between them is also a small cape termed Körfez (fig. 6, 33). There also seems to have been a road connection between Bel and this compound. A road runs down to south from the Bel ruins, passing by a cave with water (figs. 12–13); the road disappears after some 600 meters (figs. 47–48). Elderly locals told us that there was a path down to the bay of Gavur Kalesi and that they had collected salt and carried it in sacks up to Bel, either on pack animals or by themselves, some 60–70 years earlier. Apparently, the road was destroyed in heavy rains and floods, as the gully to its east indicates. So it has not been maintained for a long time. In any case it is probable that the settlement in Bel also included this port. However, if we try to localize Kalabatia at the ruins of Bel and Gavur Kalesi, then other problems appear: the localization of the other names recorded on the SMM and the great inconsistencies in the measurements recorded between the names and their locations.

This section containing the seven capes has always been the most difficult part of the sail from Patara to Fethiye. This was also noted in the 16th century by Piri Reis who reported that there were no anchorages in this part,⁵⁸ while the SMM gives ports and land marks here that existed in antiquity. However, as Arnaud highlights, the SMM is a problematic source, since it is a compilation from many older sources and full of interpolations and pseudo-toponyms, even sometimes recording different names of the same place one after another. It sometimes presents inland settlements as ports, and contains serious mistakes, mostly in terms of measurements. Further it is reported to be a very corrupt text, and the manuscript is heavily worn.⁵⁹ So the information carried in the SMM should be assessed carefully. Apart from earlier partial quotations in several works, there are three complete editions of the text to date. The first was edited by Hoffmann in 1841; the second –the edition most often referred to– appeared in 1855 by Müller, who amended it remarkably. The third edition was made by Helm in 1929 and had fewer amendments.⁶⁰ Its date cannot be known precisely, and proposals vary from the 3rd century BC to the Augustan Period.⁶¹ It is in any case a compilation of several works and contains additions and interpolations that were made up to the 5th century AD.

⁵⁷ Diamantaras 1909, 37 (Καστρέλλι); Ruggieri 1999, 306 and figs. 40–1.

⁵⁸ Piri Reis, 250: “The sea before Göksu (Ancient name: Xanthos) is all fine, shallow-water anchorages but this is nevertheless an exposed place. One lies there only in summer and not in winter. Ships calling here do so to take on water after which they continue on their way. West of this is Yedi Burun, which they also call Siti Kavı. There are lofty mountains above these capes. These mountains extend down to the sea and become Yedi Burun. There are no anchorages here and it is inaccessible but after rounding the northeastern side of this Yedi Burun for about five or six miles, there is a harbor that they call Çökertme. Infidel seamen call this harbor Simbule. It is a fine harbor. In the mouth of the harbor is a rock that is visible. Let it be known as such and so much for that.”

⁵⁹ Arnaud 2009, 167; Arnaud 2011, 415, 418–19.

⁶⁰ These three editions slightly differ from each other: 1) G. Hoffman (ed.), *Marciani Periplus. Menippi Periplus fragmentum quod Artemidori nomine ferebatur. Periplus qui stadiasmus Magni Maris inscribi solet fragmentum*, Leipzig 1841; 2) K. Müller (ed.), *Anonymi Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, in: *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Cambridge 1855, 427–514; 3) R. Helm, *Hippolytus Werke. IV: Die Chronik*, Leipzig 1929, 95–139.

⁶¹ For the accounts on dating the SMM, see Uggieri 1996 and 2002, 90; Arnaud 2009, 166–70; Arnaud 2011, 412–14.

The section from Patara to Telmessos in the SMM reads as follows:

Helm	Text	Translation
501	Ἀπὸ Πατάρων ἐπὶ ποταμὸν πλωτὸν (Ξάνθου) – ὑπέρεκκεται πόλις Ξάνθος – στάδιοι ζ´.	From Patara up to the navigable Xanthos River (above it lies the polis Xanthos): 60 stades (= ca. 11 km)
502	Ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Ξάνθου εἰς Πύδνας ἐπ’ εὐθείας στάδιοι ζ´. *	From the Xanthos River to Pydnai in a straight line: 60 stades (= ca. 11 km)
503	Ἀπὸ Πυδνῶν ἕως τῆς Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας στάδιοι π´.	From Pydnai up to Hieria Akra: 80 stades (= ca. 15 km)
504	Ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας εἰς Καλαβαντίαν στάδιοι λ´.	From Hieria Akra to Kalabantia: 30 stades (= ca. 5,5 km)
505	Ἀπὸ Καλαβαντιῶν εἰς Περδικίας στάδιοι ν´.	From Kalabantia to Perdikiyai: 50 stades (= ca. 9,2 km)
506	Ἀπὸ Περδικιῶν εἰς Κισσίδας στάδιοι ν´.	From Perdikiyai to Kissidai: 50 stades (= ca. 9,2 km)
507	Ἀπὸ Κισσίδων ἐπὶ νῆσον Λάγουσαν στάδιοι π´.	From Kissidai up to Lagousa Island: 80 stades (= ca. 15 km)
508	Ἀπὸ Λαγουσῶν εἰς Τελεμεσσὸν στάδιοι ε´. **	From Lagousa to Telmessos: 5 stades (=ca. 0,9 km)
		Total: 415 stades (ca. 76,7 km)

* Müller: Ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ξάνθου....

** Müller: Ἀπὸ Λαγούσης ἐπὶ Τελεμησσὸν στάδιοι ιε´.

The total distance from Patara to Telmessos conforms well with the real distance of today. But there are inconsistencies in its division of the measures between the individual points. The common acceptance of localizations are as follow: The distance given from *Patara* to the Xanthos River (60 st. = ca. 11 km) is incorrect, since it is almost twice today's distance, which is ca. 5 km. Further, the mouth of the *Xanthos River* (Eşen) was further to the north since the alluvial fill formed the present coastline over centuries and was closer to Patara in antiquity.⁶² The distance should probably be around 20 stades, ca. 3,7 km. From the mouth of the Xanthos River to *Pydnai* the distance is given as 60 st. (= ca. 11 km). Pydnai is accepted as Gavur Ağı, where there is a large Hellenistic fortress near Özlen in Karadere.⁶³ The distance given is again almost twice the actual distance, if Pydnai's localization is correct. The distance should not be more than 30 stades (ca. 5,5 km). That the distance given is not from the mouth of the Xanthos River, but from the city of Xanthos is quite improbable from the principles employed in the SMM.⁶⁴ Then comes *Hiera Akra* after 80 st. (ca. 15,5 km), which cannot be precisely identified, though it has been accepted as the western end of the Seven Capes.⁶⁵ This is the

⁶² Öner and Akbulut 2015, 95, figs. 15, 101 and 24.

⁶³ Bean 1976, 745 s.v. Pydnai; Adam 1977, 53 with n. 2; Adam 1982, 116–65; Ruggieri 1999, 283; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 822–3; Arnaud 2009, 180; Cavalier and Courtils 2011, 458–60; Arnaud 2011, 425; Şahin 2014, 97; For the identification of Pydnai with Kydna mentioned by Ptolemaios amongst the cities around Kragos (Ptol. Geog. 5.3.5: Κύδνα), see Kalinka in TAM II/1 p. 91; Robert 1963, 161–2; cf. Zgusta 1984, 309. On the other hand, Jones (1971, 406 nr. 19) believes that Kydna of Ptolemaios is an incorrect entry for Kadyanda or Kyaneai.

⁶⁴ Arnaud 2009, 180; 2011, 425.

⁶⁵ Ruge 1913; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 559 s.v. Hieria Akra; Arnaud 2009, 180; 2011, 425; Şahin 2014, 139, however, in the map shows Hieria Akra as İnce Burun near Özlen-Karadere and near Pydnai. A similar confusion seems to exist in Takmer 2010, wherein he presents Hieria Akra to the east of the Bel district at one time (p. 104),

key place to fix the location of Kalabatia since the distance fits from Gavur Ađlı (Pydnai?) to the westernmost point of the cape. The next station is *Kalabantia*, given with a distance of 30 st. (ca. 5,5 km), which brings one from the western end of the cape to Sancaklı port. This is hence considered to be Kalabatia (see pp. 264-5 above). After 50 st. (ca. 9,2 km) from Kalabantia, the SMM next mentions *Perdikiai*, which is identified with the port of K d r ms  in Faralya, Uzunyurt,⁶⁶ which fits this distance. After *Perdikiai* *Kissidai* is located at a distance of 50 st. (ca. 9,2 km), so the port of Beřtař is proposed since it was at that distance.⁶⁷ Situated 80 st. (ca. 15,5 km) north from *Kissidai* is *Lagousa Island* identified with Kızıl Ada.⁶⁸ But the distance does not fit, since from the port of Beřtařlar to Kızılada, the distance is ca. 22 km. If Kızıl Ada was *Lagousa*, it should then be around 120 stades. Then comes *Telmessos* within 5 st. (ca. 0,9 km), which is considerably short. M ller amends the distance to 15 st. (ca. 2,7 km). But still this cannot suffice, since from Kızıl Ada to Fethiye, the distance is about 7,1 km (ca. 38-40 st.).

The general picture of the SMM concerning this section of Lycia fits in terms of distances, though these distances cannot be entirely relied upon. It should also not be forgotten that, apart from Patara, *Telmessos* and the *Xanthos River*, all the localizations for these names are not secured through any epigraphic or literary evidence, except perhaps for *Perdikiai*. This is because of its mention on medieval portolans in various forms (see n. 66). In such a case, it becomes more difficult to securely locate Kalabatia, the nature of which is not known because there are no specific description such as λιμ ν (“harbour”), a place for καταγωγ  (“landing”), σ λος (“roadstead”),  φορμος (“anchorage”),  ρμος (“mooring”) etc. None of these were used for any names in the Lycian section of the SMM. In these terms, it needs to be reconsidered if Gavur Kalesi might have been the port of ancient Kalabatia. Such a suggestion would also mean that *Hiera Akra* might have been  nce Burun, the first promontory right after the long Patara beach to the west. This means that the distance in the SMM might be incorrect and should perhaps be corrected as 15 stades. The distance of 30 stades (ca. 5,5-6 km) from  nce Burun to Gavur Kalesi fits well with the distance between *Hiera Akra* and *Kalabantia* on the SMM. Another point about Gavur Kalesi by the promontory of today’s Kalabaklık is that it does not contain any remains dating before the 5th century AD. Both the ceramics and the buildings seem to date in the 7th century at the latest. Locating Kalabatia at Bel and its port at Gavur Kalesi does not solve the problems or make the localizations better, even in some cases. It becomes more complicated, especially with *Perdikiai*, *Kissidai* and *Lagousa Island*, since the eastern group of stations to *Telmessos* given in the SMM should then be reviewed. Anything that can be said about the location of Kalabatia, or even perhaps of some other places, in relation to the SMM seems to be uncertain. Nevertheless, it seems there is no secure basis apparently to object to a possible suggestion that the *Kalabantia* of the SMM may have been Bel together with its port Gavur Kalesi.

while to the west of the Seven Capes in another (p. 112). He also uses the same map as řahin, which shows *Hiera Akra* as  nce Burun (K t  Burun) near Pydnai,  zlen-Karadere (there p. 98, map 1).

⁶⁶ For the medieval sources concerning *Perdikiai*, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 793-4 s.v. *Perdikiai*; Arnaud 2009, 181 and 2011, 425.

⁶⁷ Cf. Arnaud 2009, 181; 2011, 425-26; for further references to *Kissidai*, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 637.

⁶⁸ Cf. Arnaud 2009, 181-82; 2011, 426; for further references to *Lagousa Island*, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 680-1.

F. On the Intermediary/Informative Element Between Sidyma and the Bel District

No matter how the destination of the road from Sidyma in the MP is restored with any name of an ancient town, there remains a gap to be filled. While already difficult to determine the destination, it is more difficult to suggest what might have been in the remaining section of this lacuna. The proposals, I believe, should constitutively be in accord with the examples of such cases given on the MP. Some options were already discussed above (pp. 261-2 and n. 13 above). It seems rather improbable to consider a territory belonging to another town lying between Sidyma and the destination, which could have been indicated through *διά* + town name in the genitive case, due to the remarkably short distance of the road (ca. 4,5 km). Likewise, we cannot think of two roads, one of which was listed, since in such a case two roads would probably have been listed together. This was given for the roads between Oinoanda and Balbura, one being through the upland while the other was across the plain.⁶⁹ This information might have been a regional name, such as Oktapolis, Mylias or Mnarike, as mentioned in the MP. These are used in the genitive form attached to the settlement name that preceded.⁷⁰ But in any case, the remains of the letter do not suggest a restoration starting with the letters Δ or T namely so neither *διά* nor *τήσ/τοῦ* is likely. There might also be other possibilities to be considered, such as *μεταξύ*, *ἐπί* and *ἐν* used in the MP. *Μεταξύ* (“between”), which survives in only one occurrence in the MP,⁷¹ needs more room in the lacuna, since it requires at least two subjects. Geographically it is almost impossible to find two localities. Therefore, *ἐπί* or rather *ἐν* is more probable, if it were a preposition.

Considering the geography of the region, the names Kragos and Antikragos – the mountain ranges of western Lycia – should be considered for the restoration as possible options. The example of the road from Myra to Limyra leading through Masikytos (*διά τοῦ Μασικύτου*)⁷² might be a parallel example. However, *διά* cannot be the possible restoration by employing as *διά τοῦ* (*Ἀντι*?)*κράγου*, due to the letter remains, as stated above. But perhaps *ἐν/ἐπί τῶν/τοῦ* (*Ἀντι*)*κράγων/ου* is possible since the use of *ἐν* with article and regional names already exists on the MP (see n. 71). But in fact, *Ἀντικράγωι* is somewhat longer than the lacuna, if we think of it together with the restoration of Kalabatia. But if Kalabatia was the destination and if Kragos/Antikragos was the lost information, then the restoration that best fits the lacuna in terms of the letter remains and numbers seems to be *ἐ[ν/πί τῶν/τοῦ Κράγων/-ου εἰς Καλαβατί]αν*. This employs the dative with *iota adscriptum*, as is a feature of the inscription. If Antikragos was in the lacuna, then we probably need another name for the destination still in feminine -a declension, but shorter than Kalabatia. In such a situation, one of the possible (though weak) restorations of the settlement might be [I]era (see p. 270 above). Another restoration for this destination could perhaps have been Dias, which is known only from Stephanos of Byzantium.⁷³ Dias is a short name which can fit together with Antikragos in the lacuna, but the accusative form of *Διάς* was most probably *Διάδα*, which has a dental root, as can be seen in its ethnicon

⁶⁹ Şahin 2014, 196 and 199–202 (R 23–24, B l. 29–30: *ἀπὸ Οἰνοάνδων εἰς Βάλβουρα διὰ τοῦ π[εδίου] στάδια ρξ' | διὰ δὲ τῆς ὄρεινῆς στάδια ρκη'*); see also Onur 2015, 91.

⁷⁰ Şahin 2014, 290 and 296–306 (Mnarike): Face C, l. 5 (R43) and l. 14 (R52); *ibid.* 168 and 171–175 (Oktapolis): Face B, l. 22 (R13); *ibid.* 210 and 229–230 (Mylias): Face B, l. 37 (R29).

⁷¹ Şahin 2014, 422–28 (Face C, l. 28–29: *...καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσία[ι]· μεταξύ Κ[ιβ]ύρας | κ[αί] Λαοδικίας, ἐν τῷ Ἐπικαμ[...]*).

⁷² Şahin 2014, 370 and 379–87: Face B, l. 21 (R59).

⁷³ Stephanos of Byzantium 229.17–18: *Διάς, πόλις Λυκίας, ἦν Διάδης ἔκτισε. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Διαδεύς*. Some Hellenistic coins with the legend ΔΙ minted in the Kragos district are ascribed to this city. Though not certain, it is considered a city in the Kragos district in western Lycia, but the coins with ΔΙ disappear after the federal coinage, see Troxell 1982, 189–90 and 238. However, Robinson reported that ΔΙ is not necessarily an abbreviation of a city, but of magistrates; see Robinson 1914, 42.

(Διαδεύς). In any case, these are just some of the possible options. Certainty will only come when the lost block is found at Patara in the original findspot, a swamp that is quite difficult to excavate due to the high level of the groundwater and mud. If it still remains there, the possibility exists that it may be brought to light most fortunately by the experienced excavation team headed by Prof. Dr. H. Işık.

Appendix: Literary and Epigraphical Sources on Kragos

The possible insertion of Kragos (or less likely Antikragos) in the conclusion of the epigraphic methods can never be entirely secure and needs to be tested if it can be confirmed by means of the historical, geographical and perhaps mythological and numismatic evidence. The names of Lycian mountains have been one of the most discussed matters concerning Lycian geography.⁷⁴ Most of the latest opinions accept that Kragos was the main mountain range of western Lycia, centred on Akdağ. However, it still seems reasonable to review briefly the basic evidence.

One of the earliest occurrences of Kragos to have survived is in the quotation of Stephanos of Byzantium from Menekrates in the 4th century BC:

Artymnesos, city of Lycia, a colony of Xanthians. Its ethnicon is Artymneseus. Menekrates in his first book of Lykiaka reports that the seniors (of Xanthos) divided overpopulated Xanthus into three parts: one of them arrived in Kragos and dwelled on the mountain occupying a round ridge, then they named the city as “Pinara”, which means “round” in translation. Hence, Lycians call all round things “pinara”.⁷⁵

Another early occurrence of Kragos might have been in the periplus of Pseudo-Scylax, the origins of which dates from the mid-4th century BC. However, it was amended by Müller to Kryassos⁷⁶, though many of the editions confirm⁷⁷ that the original text recording the name Kragos is as follows:

Καῦνος Καρική πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός, Κράγος ἀκρωτήριον ... Καὶ ὁ παράπλους Καρίας, ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Κράγον, ὃ ἐστὶ Καρίας ἀκρωτήριον, δύο ἡμερῶν.

⁷⁴ For the latest accounts and earlier discussions on Kragos and Antikragos, see Takmer 2002, 35–8; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1.82–6; Şahin 2014, 96–103.

⁷⁵ Stephanos of Byzantium 1291.–7: Ἀρτύμνησος, πόλις Λυκίας, ἄποικος Ξανθίων. τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἀρτυμνησεύς. Μενεκράτης ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Λυκιακῶν φησὶν ὅτι πολυανθρωπήσασαν τὴν Ξάνθον τοὺς πρεσβύτας εἰς τρία μέρη διελεῖν· τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Κράγον ἐλθεῖν καὶ οἰκίσαι ἐν τῷ ὄρει λόφον στρόγγυλον [κατοικίσαι] καὶ καλεῖσαι τὴν πόλιν Πινάραν, ἢ μεθερμηνεῦσθαι στρογγύλην. Τὰ γὰρ στρογγύλα πάντα Λύκιοι πίναρα καλοῦσιν.

⁷⁶ The edition by Müller in GGM I: (Prip. Scyl. 90) Καῦνος Καρική πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός, Κρυασσὸς ἀκρωτήριον ... Καὶ ὁ παράπλους Καρίας, ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Κρυασσόν, ὃ ἐστὶ Καρίας ἀκρωτήριον, δύο ἡμερῶν.... See there pp. 73–4 for his reasons for this amendment, as it follows: “|| – Κρυασσόν] sic scripsi pro Κράσον, quod codex præbet. Vulgo legitur Κράγον. At *Cragum promontorium* (i. e. Cragi montis extremitas in mare procurens), quod eo nomine dicit Plinius V, 28, Stadiasmi vero auctor § 222 τὴν ἱερὰν ἄκραν (etiamnum *Hiria* vel *Macri* vel *Efta Kavi*) vocat, quum inter Telmissum et Patara situm ist, a nostro loco abhorret. Dedi Κρυασσόν collato Stephano: Κρυασσός, πόλις Καρίας. Plutarch. Moral. P. 246, D: τῶν Καρῶν οἱ Κρύασσαν (sic) οἰκοῦντες. Polyæn. VIII, 64: οἱ Κρυασσεῖς. BoeckhC. I. II, p. 397. Aliis urbs locatur Κρύα (De Caricis urbium nominibus in *ασσος* juxta alias formas, v. Movers II, p. 20); v. Mela I, 16; Plin. V, 28; Ptolemaeus (ubi Καρύα), Stadiasm. mar. m. § 231, Artemidor. ap. St. Byz. s. v. A Telmisso urbs distat stadia 160, et stad. 110 a Dædalis, ad quæ confinia Carizæ Lyciæque collocat Strabo. Alii terminos Carizæ orientem versus minus longe protulerunt; sic Crya ab Artemidoro jam accensetur Lyciæ; secundum Scylacem in confiniis Carizæ Lyciæque sita erat.”

⁷⁷ For instances of Kragos in other editions of the same text, see Gronovio (ed.), *Geographica antiqua: hoc est, Scylacis Periplus Mariae Mediterraneæ. Anonymi Periplus Maeotidis Paludis & Ponti Euxini. Agathemerii Hypotyposis geographiæ, omnia Graeco-Latina. Anonymi Expositio totius mundi Latina*, Leiden 1697, 92–3; R. H. Klausen (ed.), *Hecataei Milesii fragmenta. Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus*, Berlin 1831, 222–23; B. Fabricius (ed.), *Anonymi vulgo Scylacis Caryandensis periplum maris interni cum appendice iterum*, Leipzig 1878, 28.

Kaunos, a Karian city and a closed harbour; (then) the promontory of Kragos ... (here are Rhodes and the islands).... The coasting voyage along Karia, from the Maiandros River up to Kragos, the promontory of Karia, (takes) two days.

Then the text continues with Lycia, whose starting point is given as Telmessos. If the original word was Kragos, the promontory mentioned was the border district against Lycia, that is, the region including the peninsula, the islands and the shore on the western side of Fethiye Bay (Glaukos Kolpos), to the east and south of Şeferler/Kozpınar (ancient Kalynda), down to Kurtoğlu Cape. A few centuries later, in the mid-1st century AD, Pliny the Elder also mentions a *promunturium Cragus* in his sentences describing the region from east to west:

Then Patara, earlier Pataros, and Sidyma on a mountain, ^(then) the promontory of Kragos, and beyond it a gulf, equal to the prior ^(before the promontory); here are Pinara, and Telmessus, the frontier town of Lycia.⁷⁸

Pliny's description is rather fitting with the promontory – whose western part is between Fethiye and Ölüdeniz on which Kayaköy is located and which also reaches to Pinara in the east – being a part of Babadağ. On the other hand, earlier than Pliny, approximately at the end of the 1st century BC, Strabo narrates from west to east and locates Kragos to the east/south of Telmessos and Antikragos:

After Daedala, then, I mean the mountain in Lycia, one comes to a Lycian town near it, Telmessus, and to Telmessis, a promontory with a harbour.... Then, next, one comes to Anticragus, a steep mountain, where is Carmylessus, an inhabited place situated in a ravine; and, after this, to Cragus, which has eight promontories and a city of the same name. The scene of the myth of Chimaera is laid in the neighborhood of these mountains. Chimaera, a ravine extending up from the shore, is not far from them. At the foot of Cragus, in the interior, lies Pinara, one of the largest cities in Lycia.... Then one comes to the Xanthus River, which the people of earlier times called the Sirbis. Sailing up this river by rowboat for ten stadia one comes to the Letoon.⁷⁹

The Daidala mentioned here seems to correspond geographically to the arguable reading of Kragos in Scylax, who had put Kragos on the western side of Glaukos Kolpos. After the harbour and promontory of Telmessos Strabo placed Antikragos as an ὄρθιον ὄρος, which seems to correspond with Babadağ, the loftiest mountain in the vicinity. He then mentioned Kragos, which in that case was the southern part of the mountain range till the Seven Capes to the south. Eustathius in the 12th century AD gives a description on how to spot Antikragos in his account on the Chimera in reference to Homer (Il 6.179-184), then refers to the same passage from Strabo:

If one might wish to see on which land the mentioned Antikragos lies, he can learn it by paying attention on the same words of the Geographer, where he says that upon Kragos lies Pinara, the great city of Lycia, and on what comes next ^(in Strabo's description), narrating it as a Lycian mountain bringing forth a spontaneous fire.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Pliny the Elder NH, 5.100.8–101.2: item Xanthus, a mari XV, flumen que eodem nomine. deinde Patara, quae prius Pataros, et in monte Sidyma, promunturium Cragus. ultra par sinus priori; ibi Pinara et quae Lyciam finit Telmessus.

⁷⁹ Strabo 14.3.4–6: μετὰ δ' οὖν τὰ Δαίδαλα τὸ τῶν Λυκίων ὄρος πλησίον ἐστὶ Τελεμησσὸς πολίγνη Λυκίων, καὶ Τελεμησσίδας ἄκρα λιμένα ἔχουσα ... εἰθ' ἐξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκραγος, ὄρθιον ὄρος, ἐφ' ᾧ Καρμυλησσὸς χωρίον ἐν φάραγγι ὀκημένον, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτὼ καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας: ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα φάραγξ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατεινούσα. ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Κράγῳ Πίναρα ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν μεγίστων οὐσα πόλεων ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ ... εἰθ' ὁ Ξάνθος ποταμὸς, ὃν Σίρβιν ἐκάλουν τὸ πρότερον: ἀναπλεύσαντι δ' ὑπηρετικοῖς δέκα σταδίους τὸ Λητῶν ἐστιν; trans. H.L. Jones, The Geography of Strabo, 1924.

⁸⁰ Eustathius Comm. Il. 2.284.11–14: Εἰ δὲ τις βούλοιο εἰδέναι, ποῦ γῆς ὁ ῥηθεὶς Ἀντίκραγος κεῖται, μάθοι ἂν αὐτὸ ἐκείνοις τοῖς τοῦ Γεωγράφου προσεσηκῶς, ἔνθα φησὶν, ὅτι ὑπόκειται τῷ Κράγῳ Πίναρα, μεγίστη πόλις Λυκίας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς,

Eustathios simply implies that the mountain at whose foot Pinara is situated (i.e., the eastern slopes of Babadağ), was not Antikragos. Ovid, also of the Augustan age, does not seem to have followed a strict order of geography when he mentioned Kragos:

... she wandered through the land of Caria, by the well-armed Leleges and the country of the Lycians. And now she had passed by Cragus and Limyre and Xanthus' stream and the ridge where dwelt Chimaera, that fire-breathing monster with lion's head and neck and serpent's tail.⁸¹

But it is clear that he located Kragos in the western districts of Lycia right after Karia, and before Limyra and the Xanthos River. Pomponius Mela, who wrote around the mid-1st century AD, most probably contemporary with the MP, described the land from east to west and also mentioned Kragos. He places it between Xanthos and Telmessos:

After the Taurus promontory comes the Limyra River and the city that is its namesake. Except for Patara, the towns are as unresplendent as they are numerous. The temple of Apollo, once similar to Delphi in wealth and in oracular credibility, makes Patara well known. Farther on are the Xanthos River, the town of Xanthos, Mt. Cragus, and the city that bounds Lycia, Telmesos.⁸²

Since he described the geography looking from the sea, as usual for many geographers, Mela considered Kragos as the mountain range between the Xanthos Valley and the sea, perhaps reaching to the southern end (i. e., the Seven Capes). In the first half of the 2nd century AD, Dionysios Periegetes of Alexandria mentions Kragos, as the lofty mountain range by the Xanthos River:

By the sea the Lycians inhabit a land on the waters of the Xanthus, the fair-flowing river. Here the mountains of the high-cliffed Taurus appear, as far as Pamphylia. They call it Cragus.⁸³

Ptolemy located Kydna (taken as Pydna), Symbra, Oktapolis, Komba, Sidyma, Pinara, Araxa, Tlos and Xanthos around Kragos⁸⁴ and suggested that Akdağlar and all the rest of the mountain ranges to the west up to the borders of Karia were collectively called Kragos.

Apart from these geographical descriptions, there are also other references in ancient literature. But they will not be taken into discussion here, as they are not very useful in geographical terms,⁸⁵ except for the Sibylline Oracles, which provide a somewhat unclear but, in any case, important information concerning Kragos:

ἰστορῶν καὶ ὄρος Λύκιον πῦρ τίκτον αὐτόματον. Eustathios also employed Strabo's descriptions in his commentary on Dionysios Periegetes as well; see Comm. Dionys. 847.19–25 and 859.12.13.

⁸¹ Ovid Met. 9.641–648: ... Quibus illa relictis | Caras et armiferos Lelegas Lyciamque pererrat. | Iam Cragon et Limyren Xanthique reliquerat undas, | quoque Chimaera iugo mediis in partibus ignem, | pectus et ora leae, caudam serpentis habebat; trans. F.J. Miller, Ovid Metamorphoses, Vol. II, 1958.

⁸² Mela 1.73: Post eius promunturium flumen est Limyra et eodem nomine civitas, atque ut multa oppida sic praeter Pataram non inlustria. Illam nobilem facit delubrum Apollinis quondam opibus et oraculi fide Delphico simile. Ultra est Xanthus flumen et Xanthos oppidum, mons Cragus et quae Lyciam finit urbs Telmesos; trans. F. E. Romer, Pomponius Mela's Description of the World, 1998.

⁸³ Dionysios Perieg. 847–50: πρὸς δ' ἄλλα κεκλιμένοι Λύκιοι χθόνα vaiετῶουσι Ξάνθου ἐπὶ προχοῆσιν, ἐϋρρείτου ποταμοῖο-ἔνθα βαθυκρήμνοιο φαίνεται οὐρεα Ταύρου Παμφύλων καὶ μέγχι· Κράγον δὲ ἐκυκλήσκουσιν; trans. Khan 2002, 248.

⁸⁴ Ptolemy Geogr. 5.3.3: πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ μεσόγειοι περὶ μὲν τὸν Κράγον τὸ ὄρος· Κύδνα (= Πύδνα) ..., Σύμβρα ..., Ὀκτάπολις ..., Κόμβρα ..., Σίδυμα ..., Πίναρα ..., Ἀραξα ..., Τλώς ..., Ξάνθος ...

⁸⁵ E.g. Horace Od. 1.21: Dianam tenerae dicite virgines, | intonsum pueri dicite Cynthium | Latonamque supremo | dilectam penitus Iovi. | vos laetam fluvii et nemorum coma | quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido | nigris aut Erymanthi | silvis aut viridis Cragi; | vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus | natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis | insignemque pharetra | fraternaue umerum lyra ("Tell of Diana, gentle maids; tell of the shaggy Delian, boys, and Latóna, deeply loved by Jove on high. Maidens, sing of her joy in streams in groves where Algídidus shivers, and woods that shadow verdant Cragus or Erymanthus. You males, respond with equal praise of Tempe and Delos that bore Apollo, whose shoulder a quiver and Mercury's lyre distinguish"; trans. D. Mulroy, Horace's Odes and Epodes, 1994. For other references see Takmer 2002, 35 n. 12; also, see "Kragos Mt. (Lycia) 16 Avdancık/Sandak Dağ – Κράγος" in ToposText of the Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation at: <https://topostext.org/place/364292LKra>.

And Kragos, lofty mount of Lycia, a water shall gush out from your peaks when the rock opens yawning chasms, until oracular signs of Patara shall cease.⁸⁶

This oracle has played a big role in recent discussions in the endeavours to locate Kragos and other mountains in Lycia, as well as in the attempt to determine the location of Apollo's oracular centre in Patara. Even though the ideas originate from S. Şahin, the first written account and discussion of the matter were made by B. Takmer in 2002.⁸⁷ However, the main lengthy account was later given by Şahin.⁸⁸ The basic conclusion of these investigations was that the rock and waters in this oracle pointed to today's Canyon of Saklıkent at the western foot of Akdağlar and is in fact quite similar to the description. Hence Akdağlar was actually the centre of the Kragos range, which also contained all mountain ranges to the west of the Xanthos Valley. Şahin also employed another Sibylline oracle mentioning Myra and Patara to support this opinion:

O beautiful Myra of Lycia, the shaking earth shall never set you fast; falling with the face downwards on earth you will pray to flee away into another land, like a foreigner, at a time when a dark water shall disperse the din of ungodly Patara together with thunders and earthquakes.⁸⁹

Şahin understands the μέλαν ὕδωρ ("dark water") in the passage as indicating the floodwater coming from the peaks of Akdağlar, the stream called Karaçay ("Black Stream") or Deliçay ("Mad Stream") which leads through Yuvacık into the Saklıkent Canyon. And he concludes that a great flood of this water and the waves from the sea sunk the oracular shrine of Apollon whose location, as he suggests, was perchance close to the northern entrance into the Kısık Pass. This stream indeed turns into a great flood of water during the rainy winter and spring snow-melt seasons. But such a flood, which would reach Patara with gigantic strength, would have devastated the area around the lower Xanthos River including most of the Xanthian territory and the Letoon. However, we do not know about such a natural disaster either from literary sources or from archaeological and epigraphical attestations or from geological investigations. Further, a recent geological research around the Kısık Pass concluded that no sediment from the large watery plain around Ova-Gelemiş and Fırnaz (Yeşilköy) poured through the Kısık pass in the direction of Patara at any time in the past. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that the sediments passed from the south to the north of the Kısık Pass.⁹⁰ Further it was determined that no alluvial soil has actually ever poured into the large swampy lagoons of Patara through any source around the gully of Patara since there was no large streams in the vicinity. It was surrounded by hills composed of carbonate rocks, but all sediments in the form

⁸⁶ Orac. Sibyl. 3, 439–41. Trans. M.S. Terry, *The Sibylline Oracles translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse*, 1899; Trans by J.J. Collins: "Cragos, also, lofty mountain of Lycia, water will rush / From your peaks when the rock has been opened in a chasm, / Until it stops even the prophetic signs of Patara."; Gaugier's edition (pp. 90–1): σοῦ καὶ Κράγος ὑψηλὸν Λυκίης ὄρος, ἐκ κορυφῶν | χάσματ' ἀνοιγομένης πέτρης κελαρύζεται ὕδωρ, | μέχρι κε καὶ Πατάρων μαντήα σήματα παύσει ("Aus deinen Gipfeln, o Kragos, du hoher Berg Lykiens, wird sich, wenn sich der Felsschlund öffnet, das rauschende Wasser ergießen, bis es beendet dereinst Pataras wahrsagende Zeichen.")

⁸⁷ Takmer 2002, 37; see also Onur 2002, 57

⁸⁸ Şahin 2009, esp. 340 ff.

⁸⁹ Orac. Sibyl. 4.109–13. Trans. author. Trans. by J.J. Collins: "Beautiful Myra of Lycia, the shuddering earth will no longer support you, but falling down headlong on the earth, you will pray to flee to another land as an exile when the Lord spreads out the dark water of the sea with thunderings and earthquakes because of the impieties of Patara."; Gaugier's edition (pp. 118–9): ὁ Λυκίης Μύρα καλά, σὲ δ' οὔποτε βρασσομένη γῆθὼν | στηρίζει: πρηνῆς δὲ κάτω πίπτουσ' ἐπὶ γαίης | εἰς ἐτέραν εὐξῆ προφυγεῖν γῆθὼνα, οἶα μέτοικος, | ἠνίκα δὴ Πατάρων ὄμαδὸν ποτε δυσσεβεόντων | βρονταῖς καὶ σεισμοῖσιν ἀποσκεδάσει μέλαν ὕδωρ. ("Schönes Myra in Lykien, dich läßt die erschütterte Erde nicht feststehen, du fällst vornüber zur Erde, begehrend, in ein anderes Land als Mitbewohner zu fliehen, wenn Überschwemmung einst das Orakelgetöse des bösen Patara unter Beben das schwarze Wasser beseitigt.")

⁹⁰ Öner and Akbulut 2015, 81–2.

of sand and dunes came from the seaside.⁹¹ Even if the description in the first oracle might have referred to Saklikent Canyon, it does not necessarily mean that a flood from this canyon filled the plain to the north of the Kısık Pass in one incident. Such an alluvial deposit in this plain must have accumulated over centuries (see n. 90). Further the description “ἀνοιγομένης πέτρης” refers to a contemporary incident since the participle is used in the present tense, so that all the translations are given as a series of incidents that happened at the same time, and the related section is understood as “when the rock opens” or “wenn sich der Felsschlund öffnet” (see n. 86 above). In any event, Saklikent Gorge is not that young, and it is certain that its formation process must have been completed long before human existence began. The account in the second oracle (see n. 89 above) was most likely a description of a calamity coming from the sea,⁹² as was given in all the earlier editions of the same text recording that this “dark water” was actually a marine disaster (“... δυσσεβίησιν | βρονταῖς καὶ σεισμοῖσιν ἄλλος πετάσει μέλαν ὕδωρ” instead of “... δυσσεβεόντων | βρονταῖς καὶ σεισμοῖσιν ἀποσκεδάσει μέλαν ὕδωρ” in Gaugier’s edition). As a matter of fact, βρονταῖ (“thunders”, in fact probably roaring sounds arising out of the earthquakes) καὶ σεισμοί (“earthquakes”) would not cause a μέλαν ὕδωρ from the peaks of the mountains, but most probably they caused the natural disaster of tsunami waves that hit Lycia in AD 68 during the reign of Nero,⁹³ which could well have destroyed the oracular seat of Apollo. This passage than might even mean that the oracular house of Apollo was perhaps closer to the sea or that it was in a place, which was easily exposed to the impact of tsunami waves.

Finally, Stephanos Byzantios gave two accounts on Kragos. The first refers to *Lykiaka* of Alexander Polyhistor in 1st c. BC:

Kragos: A mountain of Lycia. Alexander (mentions it) in his second book of *Lykiaka*. Called after Kragos, son of Tremiles, and of Praxidice the nymph his mother. (it is said) that there are caves named as “of the stormy gods”. For they say that those around Kragos were deified. Its ethnicon is Kragios. There is another mountain called Antikragos.⁹⁴

And the second is associated with Pinara:

Pinara: a big city lying on the mount Kragos of Lycia, its ethnicon: Pinareis, like Megareis.⁹⁵

The district of Kragos is also recorded in Hellenistic regional coinage, which shows that coins carrying the legend Kragos were minted in western Lycia including: Telmessos, Xanthos, Sidyma, Pinara, Kadyanda, Tlos and Patara, while those with Masikytyos were in the east.⁹⁶ Troxell further thinks that these two monetary regions were established by the Romans during the time of Sulla. The centres of these districts were Patara and Myra respectively, where the regional silver coins were minted.⁹⁷ On the other hand, it is possible to trace this regional separation of Lycia back to the 5th century BC, with coins minted to different weight standards,

⁹¹ Akbulut and Öner 2016, 55; Öner and Vardar 2018, 292.

⁹² Terry’s translation is: “O Lycian Myra beautiful, thee never shall the agitated earth set fast; but falling headlong down on earth shalt thou, in manner like an alien, pray to flee away into another land, when sometime the dark water of the sea with thunders and earthquakes shall stop the din of Patara for its impieties.”

⁹³ Cass. Dio 63.26.5; Şahin 2009, 341–42; Şahin 2014, 127–28.

⁹⁴ Steph. Byz. 380.16–20: Κράγιος, ὄρος Λυκίας. Ἀλέξανδρος δευτέρῳ Λυκιακῶν. ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλητος υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδικῆς νύμφης. ἐνταῦθα δ’ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπονομαζόμενα θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. ἀπαθανατισθῆναι γὰρ φασι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κράγον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κράγιος. ἔστι καὶ ὄρος Ἀντίκραγιος ἕτερον.

⁹⁵ Steph. Byz. 523.19–20 Πίναρα, πόλις μεγίστη, ὑπερκειμένη τῷ Κράγῳ ὄρει τῆς Λυκίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Πίναρεῖς ὡς Μεγαρεῖς.

⁹⁶ See Troxell 1982, esp. 111–7 and 227–34.

⁹⁷ Troxell 1982, 230–31.

i.e. light Attic featured coinage in the west and heavy Persian featured coinage in the east.⁹⁸ Consequently, there are two denominations, one for the mountain range, while the other was for the district named after the mountain.

As for Antikragos, it was mentioned by Strabo (n. 81), Eustathius (n. 82) and Appian, who gives the name within the context of the campaigns of Pompey against the pirates.⁹⁹ Stephanos of Byzantium just gives its name without a description under the entry for Kragos (see below fn. 96).

Epigraphic evidence concerning this discussion is very scarce. While there are none for Antikragos, three inscriptions are known mentioning Kragos. One is a 3rd century AD inscription from Oinoanda reading that M. Aur. Apollonius was the *archibphylax* ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ[εῖα], after his priesthood of Apollon Patroos of the league.¹⁰⁰ Another is from Sidyma, also of the 3rd century AD, recording M. Aur. Eukarpos καταλιπόντα τῇ πόλει ^(Sidyma) πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Κράγον γεγονότα αὐτοῦ χωρία.¹⁰¹ The third is a Latin funerary inscription from Patara which records an Ingenuus, whom *contexit Lycii terra beata Cragi*, showing that Kragos covered the lands of Patara as well.¹⁰² Kragos in the Oinoanda inscription was accepted as one of the formal sub-regions in Lycia by Troxell, who thinks that Apollonius was the *archibphylax* charged with the collection of imperial tribute ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ[εῖα], citing Jones.¹⁰³ In fact, the last one may well indicate the mountain range, while the first two inscriptions seemingly referred to a certain denomination belonging to a district or to one of the administrative units of Lycia, since the uses of πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ and περὶ τὸν Κράγον should define a circumscribed area. Contemporary readers of the inscriptions would certainly have understood where exactly it referred to, so it was probably not a whole range of a mountain. It might be plausible to consider that the estates of Sidymean Eukarpos in the second inscription were within the territory of Sidyma instead of in the other territories (such as those of Tlos, Xanthos, Oinoanda etc.) on the eastern side of Xanthos River. It is still possible though that these estates of Eukarpos were in the territory of other cities, such as the example of two Patareans who had estates in the territory of Phellos.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ For a detailed account on regional separation and the coinage of early Lycia, see Childs 1981, 56–62.

⁹⁹ Appian Mithr. 442.1–3: πρῶτοι μὲν, οἱ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄρειοι Κίλικες...

¹⁰⁰ OGIS 565 = IGR III 488 = BCH 10: 1886, 224, No. 7.

¹⁰¹ TAM II 190.

¹⁰² Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, 42, no. 17/09/07 = Petzl 2005, 35–6 = Uzunoğlu 2013, 220–21, no. 7: Hic situs est Graiis de|flendus saepe Camenis | servos fortuna, mo|ribus Ingenuus. | set cito Romanum ver|tit fecitque tribu|lem indulgens Pla|cidi dextera mollis eri. | pascua vitiferi geni|tum prope Lydia Tmoli | contexit Lycii terra | beata Cragi.

¹⁰³ Troxell 1982, 114–15; Jones 1971, 404, n. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Uzunoğlu and Taşdelen 2011, 86–7, no. 1.

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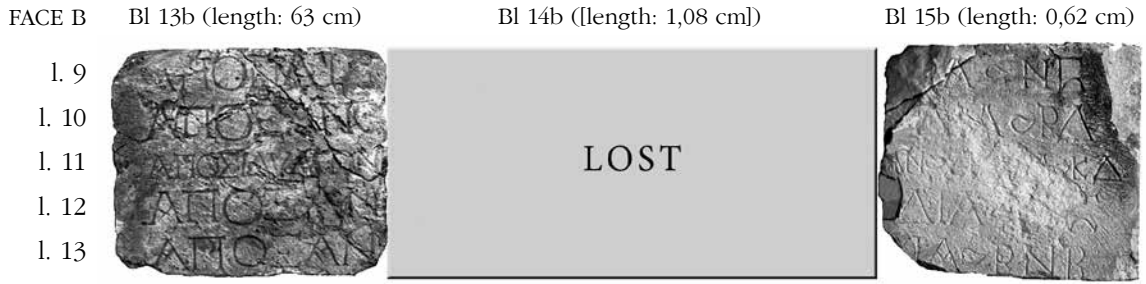


Fig. 1 First five roads on Face B of the monument



Fig. 2 Reconstruction of lines 9–13 of Face B employing Kalabatia

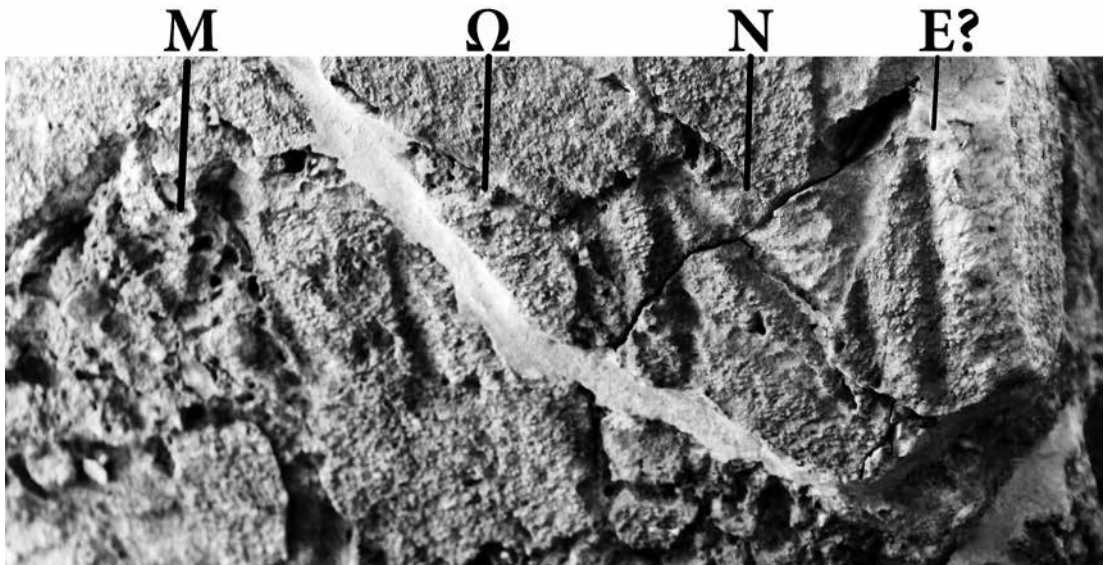


Fig. 3 Section concerning the last letter after ΑΠΟΣΙΔΥΜΩΝ in l.11 on Bl. 13B

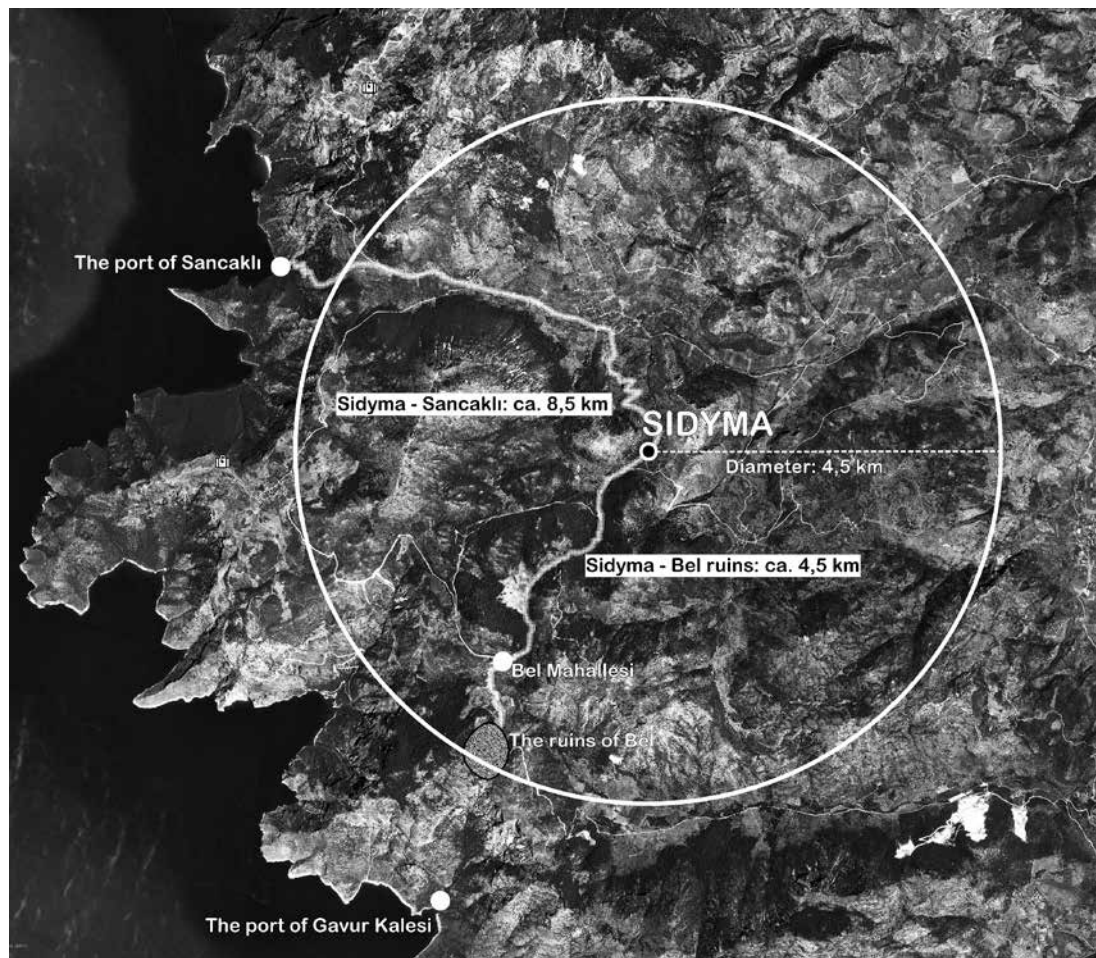


Fig. 4 Circle of 4,5 km distance as the crow flies around Sidyma (Google Earth)

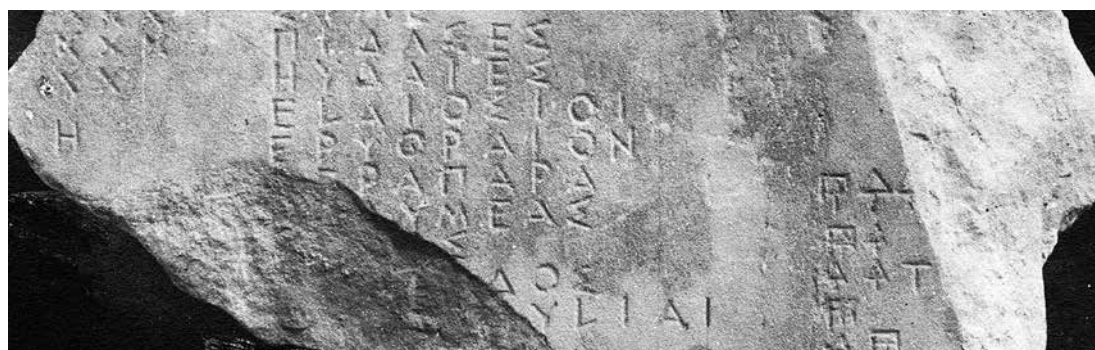


Fig. 5 [Ι]ερά παρὰ [Σι]δυμέας: ATL I, no. A9 str. 153–154 = IG I3 71 col. II l. 153–154
Source: <http://aleshire.berkeley.edu/holdings/photos/21416>

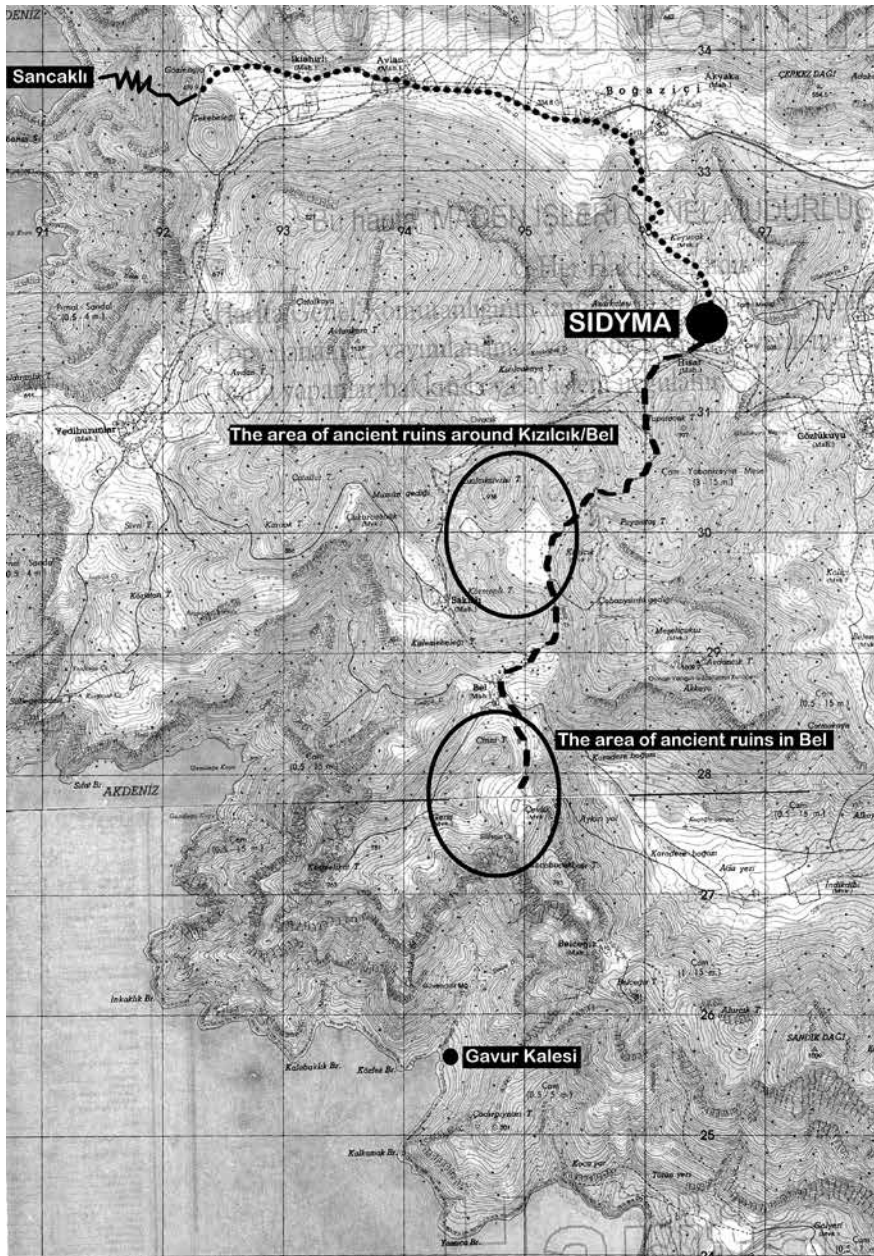


Fig. 6 District around Bel and the port of Gavur Kalesi



Fig. 7 Detail of TAM II 174 (IPYPTANESIN)



Fig. 8 Entrance of one of the caves around Bel above the northwestern end of Karadere Valley



Fig. 9 Inside the cave given in fig. 8



Fig. 10 Cave with ancient construction amongst the ruins of Bel



Fig. 11 Cave amongst the ruins of Bel



Fig. 12 Entrance of collapsed cave with water in Südecin below the ruins of Bel, facing south towards the sea



Fig. 13 Inside the cave given in fig. 12



Fig. 14 Remains of some retaining walls of the old road from Bel near Sidyma



Fig. 15 Large foundation of an earlier building on Asartepe in Sakızlı locality



Fig. 16 Large foundation of an earlier building on Asartepe in Sakızlı locality



Fig. 17 Large foundation of an earlier building on Asartepe in Sakızlı locality



Fig. 18 Remains of an ancient building in Kızılcık plain



Fig. 19 Cistern in old tradition and ancient basin



Fig. 20 Cistern in old tradition near Kızılcık plain



Fig. 21 Bel – Çevlik. Rock-cut tomb with the inscription in TAM II 244 (see n. 54)



Fig. 22 Bel – Çevlik. Tomb with the inscription in TAM II 246 (see n. 55), broken into many pieces because of a dynamite explosion



Fig. 23 Bel – Çevlik. Relief depicting a horseman (outlined by locals), exploded and rolled down south of the settlement

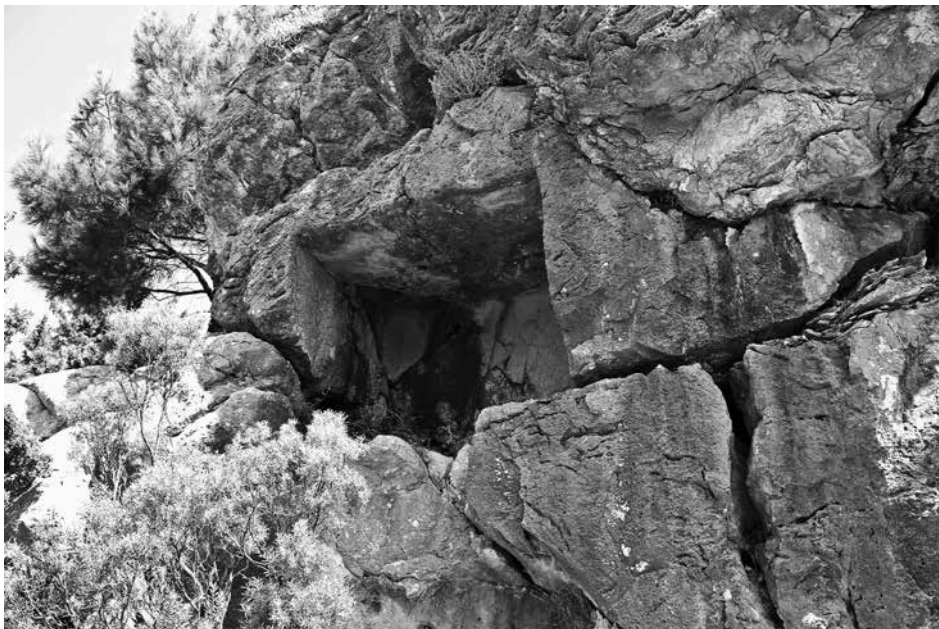


Fig. 24 Bel – Çevlik. Large niche on bedrock



Fig. 25 Bel – Geriş. Tomb



Fig. 26 Bel – Geriş. Chamosorion-type tomb



Fig. 27 Bel – Geriş. Cistern



Fig. 28 Bel – Geriş. Cistern



Fig. 29 Apsidal part of a building, probably a church east of Bel ruins



Fig. 30 Press basin near the apsidal foundation



Fig. 31 Profiled altar-shaped stone near the apsidal foundation



Fig. 32 Mill basin near the apsidal foundation

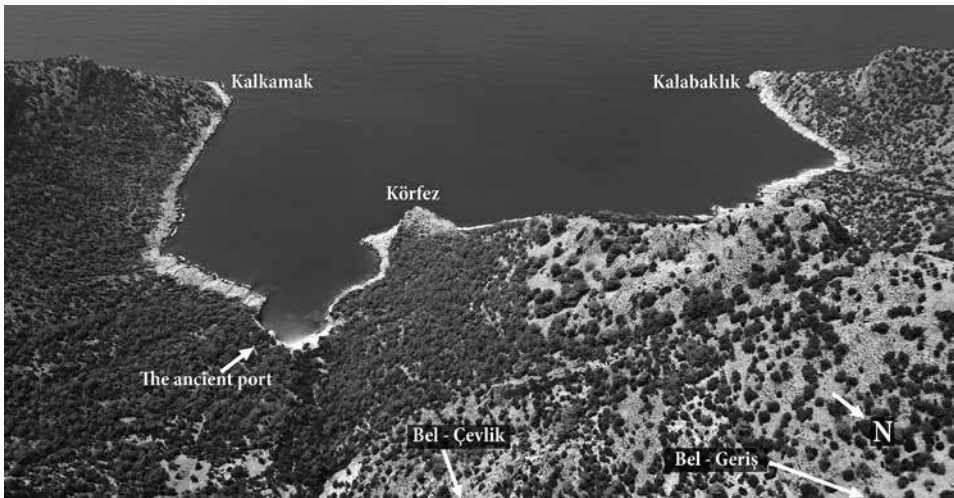


Fig. 33 Bay between Capes Kalkamak and Kalabaklık south of Bel (cf. the map in fig. 6).
Aerial photo taken above the ruins in Bel



Fig. 34 Gavur Kalesi. Late Antique/Early Byzantine building compound in the port



Fig. 35 Gavur Kalesi. Entrance to the west



Fig. 36 Gavur Kalesi. Western wall



Fig. 37 Gavur Kalesi. Entrance to compound from the seaside

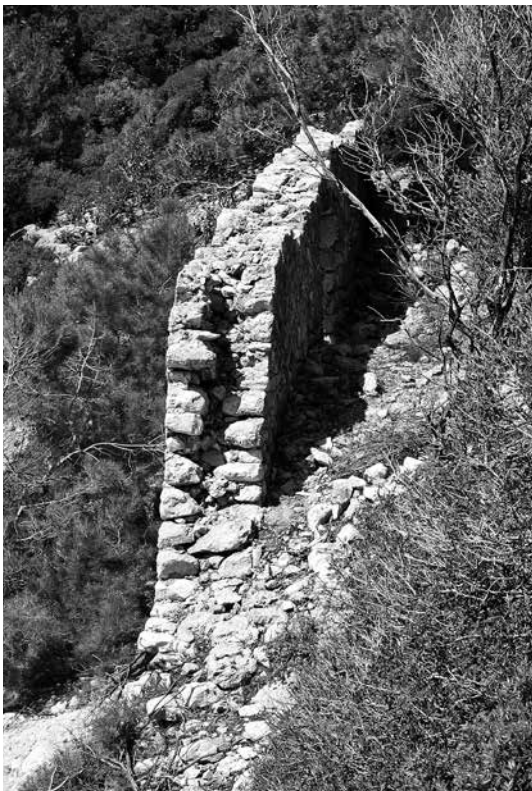


Fig. 38 Gavur Kalesi. Detail of the masonry



Fig. 39 Gavur Kalesi. Detail of the masonry



Fig. 40 Gavur Kalesi. Detail of the passages



Fig. 41 Gavur Kalesi. Well



Fig. 42 Gavur Kalesi. Cistern by the chapel



Fig. 43 Gavur Kalesi. Chapel



Fig. 44 Gavur Kalesi. Chapel



Fig. 45 Gavur Kalesi. Fragments of mosaics and ceramics from the chapel



Fig. 46 Gavur Kalesi. Inscription on the plaster of the chapel wall



Fig. 47 Road descending in the direction of bay of Gavur Kalesi



Fig. 48 Road descending in the direction of bay of Gavur Kalesi

Überlegungen zu einem Artemis-Relief aus Patara

Havva İŞKAN – Şevket AKTAŞ*

Abstract

The main find on a pedestal unearthed during excavations in the 2005 season at Patara was a relief of Artemis. This article investigates the similarities and differences of this figure of Artemis, in comparison with the type known in scientific literature as the Artemis of Versailles, which has been the focus of multi-layered debates concerning its date and artist. The Artemis figure is also compared with the result of typological studies of this type to the present day. Since it is one of the latest examples of this type, the Pataran relief of Artemis should be considered to be a local interpretation of the Versailles Artemis type. Yet it is original in respect to copy criticism and recension. Found reused in a wall of one of the rooms in the East Porticus of the Harbour Street at Patara, the find of this base with its figural relief requires a new evaluation of the data concerning the place of this goddess within the cult tradition of the city.

Keywords: Patara, Artemis of Versailles, Cult of Artemis

Öz

Patara kazılarında 2005 yılında ortaya çıkarılan bir altlık üzerindeki Artemis kabartması, bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Makalede, literatürde Versay Artemisi olarak bilinen bu tipin Patara figürü ile olan benzerlik ve farklılıkları ele alınmış, tipolojik açıdan bu güne kadar yapılan araştırmalardaki sonuçlarla karşılaştırılmıştır. Yapıldığı tarih ve heykeltıraşı başta olmak üzere çok yönlü tartışmaların odağında olan Versay Artemisi'nin bir yerel yorumu olarak tanımlanması gereken Patara kabartması, tipin geç örneklerinden biri olması nedeniyle eserin kopya kritiği ve kopya yorumu açısından özgündür. Liman Caddesi Doğu Portikus içindeki mekânlardan birinin duvarına ikincil kullanımda yerleştirilmiş olan bu kabartmalı altlık, tanrıçanın kentin kült yaşamı içindeki yeri konusundaki bilgilerin de bir kez daha gözden geçirilmesine neden olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Patara, Artemis kabartması, Versay Artemisi, Artemis kültü

Während der Grabungsarbeiten an der Hafenstrasse in Patara kam im Jahre 2005 eine Statuenbasis mit einem Artemis-Relief an der Vorderseite zu Tage (Abb. 1, 2).¹ Sie stand in einer eindeutig eigens dafür geschaffenen Nische in der westlichen (Fundament?)-Mauer eines Raumes (?), der wohl einer von den Läden an dem hinteren Teil der östlichen Säulenreihe der Strasse war (Abb. 3a,b, 4).² Das obere Viertel der Basis ragte über die erhaltene Mauerhöhe

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Mit Ausnahme der Abbildungen 12-15 stammen alle anderen aus dem Grabungsarchiv.

¹ Aktaş 2006, 15, 16.

² Aktaş 2013, 289, Inv. Nr. 2005-2.

hinaus. An der südlichen Mauer des Raumes ist noch ein Säulenfragment in sekundärer Verwendung erhalten. Die Ostportikus weist in verschiedenen Bauperioden eine jahrhundertelange Nutzung auf;³ dementsprechend ließ sich auch die Keramik aus der groben, teilweise mit Mörtel verfestigten Steinfüllung des Raumes innerhalb der gesamten Nutzungsperiode datieren. Der beschriebene Fundkontext gibt daher für bestimmte Fragen zu dem Relief wie Typologie, Ikonographie oder Verwendungszweck keine Hinweise, alle Überlegungen sind aus dem Material selbst abzuleiten.

Der heute im Museum von Antalya aufgestellte Reliefblock aus (wohl) einheimischem Kalkstein ist 1.52 m hoch; oben und unten hat er quadratische Vorsprünge von 0.60 m Seitenlänge, während der eigentliche Schaft 0.85 m hoch ist (Abb. 2, 5a.b.c, 6a.b.c). Abgebrochen sind von der oberen Rückseite des Blockes im schrägen Verlauf ein großes Stück sowie ein kleineres von der Vorderseite der oberen Profilierung. Der Figur fehlen der rechte Unterarm ungefähr ab der Mitte und der linke Unterarm zwischen Ellenbogen und Handgelenk. Ebenfalls fehlt der Kopf der hinter dem rechten Bein befindlichen Hirschkuh, während von ihrem Pendant an der linken Seite nur ein kleines Stück vom Gesicht verloren ist. Das Gesicht der Figur ist fast vollkommen abgerieben; von der ursprünglichen Oberfläche blieb dort nur ein schmaler Streifen auf der Stirn erhalten. An den Faltengraten gibt es teilweise kleine Absplitterungen, ebenso an der Blockoberfläche, die aber den recht guten Erhaltungszustand nicht beeinträchtigen. Auf dem Block befinden sich an drei Stellen schräg eingearbeitete Löcher: an den beiden Ecken der oberen Profilleiste, der Eckvoluten und der Säulenbasen (Abb. 7). Die zur Nische gedrehte Oberfläche des Reliefs wies an mehreren Stellen Mörtelspuren auf, die nach der Auffindung fachmännisch entfernt wurden.

Der Reliefblock war ursprünglich eine Statuenbasis, wie aus den Fußspuren für eine bronzene Statue auf dem mit dem Zahneisen gerauhten Oberlager eindeutig hervorgeht (Abb. 8). Obwohl uns dafür ein Beweis fehlt, so scheint doch nicht unplausibel, dass der Block ursprünglich an der Vorderseite eine Inschrift trug; erst für eine zweite Verwendung wurde ebendort das Artemisrelief angebracht. In dieser Phase stand er entweder direkt vor einer Mauer, oder er könnte sogar in eine solche Konstruktion integriert gewesen sein, wie es wegen der mit dem Spitzisen grob gepickten Rückseite angenommen werden kann, die an den rechten Ecken leicht nach innen springt (Abb. 6b). An den Schmalseiten ist die Oberfläche mit dem Zahneisen feiner behandelt; die Handhaltung ist an den schräg parallel laufenden Spuren deutlich ablesbar (Abb. 6a.c). Die Seiten weisen jeweils oben und unten an die Profilierung gebundene flache Leisten von 20 cm Höhe auf. Grundsätzlich besteht zwar die Möglichkeit, dass sie schon im originalen Zustand bearbeitet wurden. Eher dagegen spricht jedoch u. E. der Zustand, dass die untere Leiste sich auf derselben Höhe wie der untere Rand der Reliefnische befindet und in der diagonalen Ansicht den Effekt einer Plinthe für die Figur hat.

Die Figur ist mit einem kurzen ärmellosen Chiton bekleidet, dessen Überschlag in Höhe der Hüfte endet (Abb. 1, 2). Der Körper wird von einem gedrehten Mäntelchen umschlungen, das zugleich unter der Brust den Chiton gürtet. Der Mantelwulst fällt vom Rücken über die linke Schulter und verläuft der Kontur der linken Brust folgend unter der Gürtung herab. Das Ende des Mäntelchens ist an der rechten Seite in Form einer Schlaufe unter die Gürtung gesteckt, wobei hier ein Zipfel flatternd wiedergegeben ist. Der Köcherriemen ist durch zwei von der rechten Schulter diagonal nach unten verlaufenden Ritzlinien angedeutet; er wird von dem Mantelwulst überkreuzt. Die Frisur der Figur ist recht kompliziert gestaltet: Das in der

³ Aktaş 2016, 94.

Mitte gescheitelte Haar ist an den Seiten in drei dicken, gedrehten Strängen gestuft nach hinten gekämmt (Abb. 9a.b.c). Gleich unterhalb der Ohren setzen zwei Locken an und fallen am Hals anliegend vorne auf die Schulter. Auf dem Kopf befinden sich sowohl ein spitzförmiges Diadem, das oben eine wulstige Umrandung und ein Bohrloch (?) in der Mitte aufweist, wie auch eine Haarschleife. Bohrlöcher sind auch unterhalb der Schleife zu sehen. Der Bogen in der linken Hand ist erhalten, während die Bewegung der Rechten einen Köcher voraussetzt, obwohl er nicht dargestellt ist.

An den Füßen trägt die Figur halbhohle Stiefel mit Laschen am oberen überhängenden Rand, die die Zehen offenlassen (Abb. 10). Hinter den Beinen finden zwei Tiere Platz, von denen das linke sicher einen Hirsch darstellt. Bei dem rechten Tier ist es nicht mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden, ob es einen zweiten Hirsch oder einen Jagdhund wiedergibt. Doch analog zu dem bekannten Vertreter des Typus im Museum von Antalya muss man hier mit einem Jagdhund rechnen⁴, zumal ein Hund auch bildmotivisch zwingend ist.⁵

Die Figur steht in einer Bogennische, die reich verziert ist (Abb. 11). An beiden Seiten ist sie von Säulen mit korinthischen Kapitellen flankiert, die auf durch Postamente erhöhte attisch-ionischen Basen stehen. Der sich über diese Säulen spannende Bogen wird oben von einem Eierstab- und unten von einer Perlschnur-Reihe konturiert. Die durch die Verwendung verschiedener geometrischer Formen entstandenen leeren Ecken wurden mit zwei symmetrisch angeordneten, floralen Ornamenten gefüllt, die wir nicht näher bestimmen können.

In diesem Relief ist Artemis dargestellt, wie sich durch die Attribute Bogen/Köcher und Tiere ohne Zweifel erkennen lässt. Sie fügt sich in eine Reihe von Artemis-Darstellungen ein, die die Göttin in einem generell als Jagdbewegung benannten Motiv wiedergeben, das eine breite Palette von Variationen aufweist. Die bekannteste der Darstellungen dieses Motivs ist eine im 16. Jh. entdeckte Statue im Louvre,⁶ die sog. Artemis von Versailles (Abb. 12). Das bekannte Werk war seit seiner Auffindung Thema zahlreicher Untersuchungen, von denen hier nur einige in Auswahl erwähnt werden können, wie z. B. die von A. Marwitz, E. T. Eğılmez, M. Pfrommer, E. Simon, G. Adenauer, C. Zimmer, A. Linfert.⁷ Allerdings bestehen nach wie vor Meinungsunterschiede in Bezug auf Typologie, Ikonographie und Chronologie dieser Statue sowie hinsichtlich der Benennung des Typus.⁸ Letztere ist vor allem deshalb umstritten, weil „eine bis in die Einzelheiten genaue Replik zur Artemis von Versailles bis heute nicht existiert“,⁹ so dass die Typenbezeichnung hier nicht ohne Vorbehalt zu gebrauchen

⁴ Demirer et alii 2005, Kat. Nr. 102, Taf. 106.

⁵ Das bescheidene Relief aus Klüsserath im Museum von Trier gibt u. E. einen überzeugenden Vergleich zur Beweisführung für einen Hund; Schindler 1977, 32, Kat. Nr. G37, Abb. 89; Bauchhenss 852, Nr. 394.

⁶ Pasquier and Martinez 2007, 146; Zimmer 1992, 8–12.

⁷ Charbonneaux 1936, 9, Taf. 36; Süsserott 1938, 191; Alscher 1956, 106–8; Bieber 1977, 74 f.; Marwitz 1967, Nr. 7, 50–4, Abb. 35–50, Taf. 31 f.; Tulunay 1980, passim; Pfrommer 1984, 171–82, Taf. 29–34; Simon 805–811, hauptsächlich Nr. 27; Zimmer 1992, passim; Linfert 1994, Nr. 142, 156–59; Maderna 2004, 343–6 und 366, Abb. 13. Der Typus wurde auch im Hinblick auf einzelne Exemplare und Aspekte mehrmals behandelt, wie z. B. von Wrede 1981, 222–30; Landwehr 1993, Kat. Nr. 25–7, 38–42; Beschi 1959, 256–260; Fleischer 1971, 172–78; Ullmann 1981, 45, Abb. 38. Die ungedruckte Dissertation von G. Adenauer, *Artemis-Diana. Rezeption und Wandlung eines griechischen Götterbildes in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1990) war uns nicht zugänglich. Die Verf. haben in der vorliegenden Arbeit die vollständige Behandlung der umfangreichen Literatur über den Typus ‚Artemis von Versailles‘ nicht angestrebt.

⁸ Simon 805, Nr. 27: „Der Typus müsste Versailles-Leptis Magna heißen, denn die Repliken gleichen mehr der Statue in Leptis Magna als im Louvre“; Zimmer 1992, 24: „Es handelt sich aber (bei dem ‚Antalya-Tripolis-Typus, Erg. d. Verf.) ganz offensichtlich um einen zweiten Überlieferungsstrang innerhalb des Typus Versailles“.

⁹ Eine Feststellung schon seit W. Amelung, RA 2, 1904, 328 (nach Zimmer 1992, 41 Anm. 1).

ist. Wie oben betont, gibt es dagegen in der römischen Kaiserzeit den weit verbreiteten Typus „einer jagenden Göttin“ mit zahlreichen Beispielen in verschiedenen Gattungen, wodurch „eine genaue Scheidung einzelner Statuentypen und ihrer Überlieferungsstränge nach den Kriterien der herkömmlichen Kopienkritik in Anbetracht dieser Fülle und der Variationsbreite des Materials kaum möglich ist“.¹⁰ Auch die Meinungen über die Entstehungszeit der Artemis von Versailles gehen auseinander. Sie wurde oft mit dem Apollon von Belvedere in Verbindung gebracht und dementsprechend dem berühmten Bildhauer Leochares zugeschrieben,¹¹ doch gibt es mehrere Gegenstimmen, die verschiedene Alternativen zur Datierung und zum Original vorschlagen.¹² Wir halten wie A. Linfert „eine Entstehung des Statuentypus im späteren 4. Jh. v. Chr. für plausibel“¹³ und meinen, dass Zuschreibungen an bestimmte Künstler bzw. Kulte bis auf weitere aussagekräftigere Indizien/Neufunde offenbleiben sollen.¹⁴

Der Versuch von H. Marwitz, eine Typenbestimmung zu erarbeiten und entsprechende Listen des vorhandenen, eher als „Wiederholung oder Umbildung“ denn als echte Kopien zu bewertenden Materials herzustellen,¹⁵ hebt sich unter der frühen Forschung hervor, auch wenn seine vier Typengruppen der Vorarbeit R. C. Sestieris folgen.¹⁶ Zu seinem ersten Typus zählt er eine Gruppe von der Artemis von Versailles sehr nahe stehenden Statuen, wenngleich sich dabei keine direkte Replikenbeziehung nachweisen lässt. Sein zweiter Typus basiert auf dem Unterschied, dass „das durch den Mantelwulst gesteckte Mantelende nicht in der Mitte fällt, sondern an der Seite herab, wo es vom Wind mehr oder weniger gebauscht wird, wobei die Körperform unter dem Gewand sichtbar wird“.¹⁷ Der dritte Typus mit einem Brustgürtel ohne den Mantelwulst und der vierte mit entblößter rechter Brust bleiben in unserem Zusammenhang außer Betracht. Ohne zu Marwitz' Typologie Stellung zu nehmen, die in manchen Details dem umfangreichen Material nicht gerecht wird, soll hier festgehalten werden, dass die Artemis des Patara-Reliefs Marwitz' 1. Typus nahesteht, wenn auch sowohl zwischen den Vertretern dieser Gruppe wie auch zu unserer Figur einzelne Unterschiede bestehen, die unten zu beleuchten sind.

¹⁰ Vorster 2004, 131.

¹¹ Zuerst von Winter 1892, 164–67. Zu dieser und anderen Zuschreibungen s. Zimmer 1992, 87–95. Unter diesen gewinnt die Überlegung von E.T. Tunalay-Eğilmez besondere Beachtung, da sie die Verbindung zwischen dem Apollon von Belvedere und der Artemis von Versailles durch eine Handlung, nämlich durch einen Kampf mit dem Bogen, begründet sieht, Tunalay 1980, 111 f. und Tunalay-Eğilmez 1990, 530 f.; s. dagegen Zimmer 1992, 79–82.

¹² Stellvertretend für eine hellenistische Datierung s. Pfrommer 1984, 182 (2. Jh. v. Chr.) und Geominy 1984, 278 (3. Jh. v. Chr., vor dem Ludovischen Gallier). Wie Zimmer 1992, 72 nimmt auch Martin 1987, 189 ein hellenistisches „Zwischen-Original“ an: „...dass das Vorbild der Kultstatue in Nemi im Artemistempel zu Aigeira stand, geschaffenen vielleicht von Leochares aus Athen“. Simon 806 hält das Gewand nicht für einen Chiton und kommt vor allem aufgrund des sog. ‚Krokosgewandes‘ zum Schluss, dass „es daher zu fragen wäre, ob der Typus Versailles-Leptis Magna nicht die Artemis Brauronia des Praxiteles von der Athener Akropolis überliefert“. „Eine hellenistische Umsetzung des Typus Versailles-Leptis Magna“ nimmt auch Simon 806 zu Nr. 29 an, einem Torso aus Chersell. Dieses qualitätvolle Werk wird jedoch von Landwehr 1993, Kat. Nr. 25, 38–43, Anm. 12 für „ein spätes Werk hellenistischer Bildhauertradition (=subhellenistisch)“ gehalten. Von einer „hellenistischen Redaktion des spätklassischen Urbildes“ spricht auch Maderna 2004, 366, Abb. 313 a–h (330–320 v. Chr.).

¹³ Linfert 1994, 157. So auch Maderna 2004, 366: „in demselben Jahrzehnt wie Herakles Farnese“ (330–320 v. Chr.), s. dagegen Zimmer 1992, 71. Nach ihr „kann die Figur im Louvre stilistisch auf ein griechisches Original aus der Zeit um 300 v. Chr. zurückgeführt werden.“

¹⁴ Für einen Überblick zur „Rekonstruktion des griechischen Vorbildes“ s. Zimmer 1992, 68–74.

¹⁵ Marwitz 1967, 53.

¹⁶ Sestieri 1941, 107–28; Marwitz 1967, 53.

¹⁷ Marwitz 1967, 53.

Eine weitere wichtige Typenbestimmung stammt von E. Simon, die sich auf einer möglichst breiten Ebene mit den Darstellungen von Diana aus verschiedensten Perspektiven beschäftigt und Typenlisten im Rahmen des LIMC-Kataloges bildet.¹⁸ C. Zimber untersucht grundsätzlich die Werke um die Artemis von Versailles. Nach ihr steht die Statue in drei wichtigen Punkten allein, nämlich „in der sehr kräftigen Körperdrehung, in der Wiedergabe des Mantelwulstes, dessen beide Enden nebeneinander über dem Bauch herabhängen, während bei allen anderen das eine Mantelende an der rechten Seite flatternd dargestellt ist, und in den der Komposition zugeordneten Tieren insofern, dass die Statue im Louvre hinter den Beinen eine Hirschkuh hat, wogegen bei den anderen auch Hunde zu sehen sind“.¹⁹ Aus diesen Gründen sondert sie den Typus Artemis Versailles als Einzelwerk aus und bildet eine andere 23 Exemplare zählende Gruppe mit der Bezeichnung „Artemis Antalya-Tripolis“, die sie als „einen zweiten Überlieferungsstrang innerhalb des Typus Versailles“ bezeichnet.²⁰ Auch E. Simon bezeichnet den Typus als die „Diana Versailles-Leptis Magna“ (Abb. 13), hält aber dieselben Werke für Repliken der Statue im Louvre.²¹ Um der Vielzahl der in Frage kommenden Rezeptionen bzw. der Kopienkritik der Patara-Figur gerecht zu werden, wird hier nicht nur die Artemis von Versailles zum Vergleich herangezogen, sondern auch stellvertretend für alle ihrem Typus zugeordneten Statuen, das Exemplar in Antalya aus Perge (Abb. 14) sowie jenes in Tripolis aus Leptis Magna, obwohl beide qualitativ auf einer ganz anderen Stufe stehen als das bescheidene Werk von Patara.²²

Ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen den Figuren Louvre und Patara besteht in dem Bewegungsmotiv. Der stürmische, in den Raum nach links ausgreifende Schritt der Artemis von Versailles ist bei der Figur von Patara nur insofern wiedergegeben, als ihr rechtes Bein zur Gänze und ihr linkes Bein im Knie diese Bewegung andeuten; das gewaltige Schreiten musste an die schmale Nische angepasst werden. Dass der Platzmangel für diese Darstellungsweise in Patara sicher die entscheidende Rolle spielte, ist zwar eine Tatsache; doch interessant ist auch die Feststellung, dass die beruhigtere Wiedergabe der Schrittstellung mit engem Stand der Füße noch bei einigen anderen Darstellungen vorkommt,²³ so dass eine bewusste Wahl eben dieses Motivs nicht auszuschließen ist.²⁴ Die dynamische Komposition ist auch bei den Figuren Antalya und Tripolis vorhanden; beide schreiten in einer fast geraden Linie voran, da sie für Einansichtigkeit bestimmt sind. Diese Überlegungen geben ein weiteres Beispiel für die Variationsbreite des Typus, ohne jedoch die Definition der Gesamttypologie verständlicher zu machen.

¹⁸ Simon 792–849.

¹⁹ Zimber 1992, 24.

²⁰ supra n. 19.

²¹ Simon, 805–9. Ihr „Typus Bünemann-Cherchell“ geht mit Marwitz' Typus II zusammen. Sie bildet weitere Gruppen unter der Bezeichnung „nach hellenistischem Stil“ wie z. B. „Typus Athen, Diana Rospigliosi oder Typus Lateran“.

²² Vgl. auch Linfert 1994, 158, Anm. 1, der „die Replikenlisten von A. Marwitz, E.T. Eğılmez und LIMC nicht mehr voll befriedigend“ findet und „eine aktualisierte Liste mit den Initialen der Vorgänger und deren Nummern als Konkordanz“ wiedergibt. Eine Gruppe von Darstellungen, die Gemeinsamkeiten mit einer Statuette aus Cherchell aufweisen, gibt ebenfalls Landwehr 1993, 41.

²³ s. z. B. ein Elfenbeinrelief im Benaki Museum/Athen, Augé – de Bellefonds 767, Taf. 567.

²⁴ s. dazu die Bemerkung von Simon 843: „Oft wurde die diagonal den Raum durchziehende Diana auch in ein frontales Schema gepresst, wobei viel von ihrem stürmischen Schreiten verloren ging“ (Nr. 299, 303, 344–46, 351).

Vergleicht man die viel beschriebene Gewandwiedergabe bzw. das den Oberkörper umschlingende Mäntelchen der Artemis von Versailles mit der Figur von Patara, so fallen folgende Gemeinsamkeiten auf: Ärmelloser, kurzer Chiton mit doppeltem Umschlag, die Drehung des Mantelwulstes unter der linken Brust, das von der linken Schulter kommende, unter der Gürtung fortlaufende und in der Körpermitte herunterfallende Faltenbündel, die unter dem rechten Arm aus den Gürtelfalten ‚herausgezupfte‘ Faltenschlaufe und der von der rechten Schulter kommende, den Oberkörper schräg umlaufende Köcherriemen. Das an der rechten Körperseite flatternde Mantelende ist dagegen Bestandteil der Replikenreihe „Antalya-Tripolis“ von C. Zimber; dieses Motiv findet sich auch in Marwitz‘ zweitem Typus. Als ein wichtiges Detail der Bekleidung verdient noch das Schuhwerk Beachtung: die Figur trägt Stiefel im Gegensatz zur Artemis von Versailles, die reich verzierte Sandalen hat. M. Pfrommer beschäftigte sich mit den sog. „Kontursandalen“, die „einen die große Zehe nachzeichnenden, kerbenartig eingezogenen Sohlenriss besitzen“ und zog die Schlussfolgerung, dass „diese Form von Sandalen erst im ausgereiften 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert zu treffen sei“,²⁵ was aber zu Recht kritisiert wurde.²⁶ Außer der Statue im Louvre trägt noch die Statue im Museum von Antalya Sandalen, während alle übrigen mit diesem Typus zusammenhängenden Werke Stiefel (z. B. Leptis Magna, Aphrodisias oder Villa Albani) aufweisen, die die Zehen frei lassen. Nach E. Simon „dürfte dieses Detail auf das Original zurückgehen.“²⁷

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit im Hinblick auf das Gesamtaussehen der Figur aus Patara verdient noch die Wiedergabe der Haartracht, die aus vier charakteristischen Details besteht: Die in der Mitte gescheitelte Frisur bildet an den Seiten jeweils drei Kompartimente,²⁸ wobei das Haar im Nacken zu einem Schopf gebunden ist, von dem aus noch zwei Stränge auf die Schulter fallen. Auf dem Haupt trägt die Figur ein Diadem und zusätzlich noch eine Haarschleife.²⁹ Unter den Vertretern der Typengruppen ist die Relieffigur aus Patara die einzige, die alle diese vier Elemente der Haargestaltung zusammen zeigt,³⁰ und das macht sie nach unserer heutigen Kenntnis einmalig unter den Vertretern dieses weit verbreiteten Typus.

Betrachtet man schließlich die beiden Tiere hinter der Figur auf dem Patara-Relief, so weisen sie die Darstellung einer Gruppe zu, die zwei Tiere anstatt eines wie bei der Artemis von Versailles zeigen. Die bekanntesten Vertreter der Gruppe mit zwei Tieren sind wohl die Statuen in Antalya,³¹ Neapel³² und Cherchell.³³ Es fällt auf, dass die Tiere in dem Werk aus Patara merklich klein gehalten sind und sich darin gut mit der Figur in Antalya vergleichen lassen, deren Begleittiere im Vergleich zur Versailles-Figur ebenfalls viel kleiner wiedergegeben sind. Die bei der Artemis von Versailles die Szene bestimmend ergänzende Hirschkuh wird bei

²⁵ Pfrommer 1984, 174.

²⁶ Zimber 1992, 55–61.

²⁷ Simon 805 zu Nr. 27.

²⁸ Diese drei für Artemis etwas ungewöhnlichen Haarstränge kommen z. B. auch bei einem lokalen Relief in Mainz vor, Bauchhenss 849, Nr. 363.

²⁹ Eine Haarschleife scheint hauptsächlich bei Artemis-Darstellungen des sog. Typus Rospigliosi vorzukommen; Beschi 1959, 256 f.; Zur „Entstehungszeit der Artemis Rospigliosi“ s. Grottemeyer and Schmidt 1928, 269–79 und Kraemer 1930, 237–72. Vgl. auch Simon 808 f. Nr. 35.

³⁰ Über den Kopftypus s. ausführlich Zimber, 50–6; zum Diadem ebenda 58–61.

³¹ supra n. 3.

³² Bieber 1977, 74, Abb. 285.

³³ Landwehr 1993, 40, Kat. Nr. 26, Taf. 34–35; Marwitz 1967, 50 f. Abb. 41–2 (Typus Büemann-Cherchell).

den letztgenannten Figuren zum „reinen Attribut“ reduziert.³⁴ Der Befund ist nicht ausreichend für eine Aussage, wie der Urtypus im Bezug auf die Wiedergabe der Tiere ausgesehen hat. Daher wäre es u. E. auch nicht richtig, die Ikonographie der Artemis pauschal als eine ‚jagende‘ oder ‚Tiere schützende‘ Göttin zu bestimmen.³⁵

Ein Blick auf die kleinasiatischen Exemplare des Typus mit dem Oberbegriff „Artemis von Versailles“ zeugt von seiner Beliebtheit bzw. Bekanntheit in dieser Kulturlandschaft, wobei Kleinasien als Herkunftsort des Typus kaum in Frage kommen dürfte. Das Exemplar im Museum von Antalya sowie die halbfertige Statuette in Aphrodisias³⁶ stehen mit ihrem akademischen Habitus dem Stück von Versailles ganz nahe. Die qualitätvolle Statue mit bossiertem Kopf im Museum von Aydın³⁷ ähnelt durch die bauschige Wiedergabe des Stoffes vor allem der Statue in Leipzig.³⁸ Eine Statuette im Museum von Afyon gehört im weitesten Sinne auch zu diesem Kreis.³⁹ Diese inklusive der Figur aus Patara vier Darstellungen stehen sowohl zueinander wie auch zu der Statue im Louvre in einem in einem weit gefassten Replikenverhältnis. Bei jedem von diesen kleinasiatischen Exemplaren kann von Charakteristika eines bestimmten Landschaftsstils oder einer Bildhauerschule gesprochen werden; ein Phänomen, das typisch für alle Arten kleinasiatischer Bildhauerproduktion in der römischen Kaiserzeit ist.⁴⁰ Unter dieser Perspektive wurden sie auch zeitlich geordnet, wobei man zugleich Ansätze zur Datierung des Artemis-Reliefs aus Patara gewinnt.

Die Artemis aus Perge ist durch ihren Fundort in die späthadrianische Zeit eingeordnet;⁴¹ sie zeigt noch keine Augenbohrungen. Die Statue im Museum von Aydın, die nach R. Özgan aus Tralleis stammt,⁴² wurde von C. Zimber „vor die severische Epoche im 2. Jh. datiert“.⁴³ Die unfertige Statue aus Aphrodisias wurde auf diese Besonderheit hin von P. Rockwell untersucht;⁴⁴ sie entstand in einer Werkstatt, die ab der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. bis in das 4. Jh. tätig war. Vergleicht man das Artemis-Relief aus Patara mit den genannten Werken, so fällt zuerst der schematische und jegliche Plastizität verneinende Stil der Falten auf, bei deren Gestaltung überhaupt keine Differenzierung erstrebt wurde. So wurden z. B. die Falten an und um die Gürtung nicht gedreht, sondern in horizontalen Schichten übereinander gelegt. Eine Tendenz zur Parallelität und Vereinfachung bei der Faltenführung macht sich eigentlich an der gesamten Wiedergabe des Gewandes bemerkbar. In diesem unorganischen, sich aus geometrischen

³⁴ Zimber 1992, 26.

³⁵ Erwähnenswert ist z. B. der Vorschlag von Landwehr 1993, 40, dass „die sie begleitende Tiergruppe auf den Aktaionmythos anspielen könnte“.

³⁶ Erim 1969, 92, Abb. 26–27; Erim 1978, 1081, Taf. 337, 12; Asgari 1983, 135, Kat. Nr. B374.

³⁷ Özgan 1995, Kat. Nr. TR.60, 107, Taf. 29, 3.

³⁸ Ullmann 1981, 45, Abb. 37.

³⁹ <http://www.afyonkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,63520/fotograf-galerisi.html> (17.10.2014).

⁴⁰ Die wichtigsten dieser kleinasiatischen Produktionszentren der römischen Epoche sind vor allem Ephesos, Sardis, Tralleis, Perge, Side, Sagalassos, Hierapolis und Aphrodisias sowie noch nicht zur Genüge erforschte Zentren in Lykien und Kilikien. So hält z. B. Atalay 1989, 115 folgendes fest: „... denn, während wir in Aphrodisias und Pergamon einen barocken, in Side einen weichen, in Perge einen harten und in anderen anatolischen Städten einen einfachen, provinziellen Stil sehen, hat man in Ephesos sich stets an das ostionische Vorbild gehalten, so dass man die ephesischen plastischen Arbeiten von jenen anderen leicht unterscheiden kann“. Unter diesen stellt die Erforschung der Plastik aus Perge, deren Zahl mit Fragmenten mittlerweile über einige Hunderte gewachsen ist, ein wichtiges Desiderat dar.

⁴¹ Zimber 1992, 26 f.

⁴² Özgan 1995, gibt für die Statue keine Datierung.

⁴³ Zimber 1992, 30.

⁴⁴ Rockwell 1991, 127–43.

Formen zusammensetzenden Drapierungssystem lassen sich mehrere Artemisdarstellungen verschiedener Typen des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. mit der Relieffigur aus Patara vergleichen;⁴⁵ vor allem ähneln ihr Reliefs aus Thrakien nicht zuletzt in ihrer Bescheidenheit sowie in der gekerbten Ausarbeitung der Faltentäler.⁴⁶ Die wulstartige Faltenbordüre am unteren Rand des Chitons findet sich ebenfalls an einem Relief der severischen Epoche, nicht zuletzt auch die für Artemis unübliche Frisur; es wird in die Jahre 200-210 n. Chr. datiert.⁴⁷ Einen weiteren Vergleich bieten zwei Artemisfiguren der Theaterreliefs in Hierapolis, deren Fertigungsdatum mit 206-208 n. Chr. überliefert ist.⁴⁸ Wegen der stärkeren Schematisierung der Figur aus Patara scheint eine zeitliche Ansetzung gegen 220 n. Chr. möglich zu sein,⁴⁹ wie ein Vergleich mit der Artemis-Statue im Thermenmuseum Rom zeigt, wodurch eine weitere zeitliche Abgrenzung gewonnen werden kann⁵⁰ (Abb. 15). Somit gehört die Darstellung aus Patara zu den relativ späten Erscheinungsbildern dieses Artemis-Typus.

Diese Datierung soll noch anhand der Ornamentik geprüft bzw. präzisiert werden, obwohl eine typologische und stilistische Auswertung wegen der Vereinfachung der Detailformen methodische Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Die schon mehrfach betonte Bescheidenheit in der handwerklichen Ausführung des Reliefs aus Patara erlaubt nämlich keinen unmittelbaren Vergleich mit den qualitativ hochwertigen Beispielen z.B. aus Kunstlandschaften wie Pamphylien⁵¹ oder Städten wie Sagalassos,⁵² wobei auch die Ornamentik Lykiens noch nicht ausreichend bearbeitet wurde.⁵³ Dennoch sei hier eine Analyse der Nischenumrahmung unternommen: Unter den in der architektonischen Gliederung des Naikos wiedergegebenen Elementen wie Ornamentik, korinthische Kapitelle und Säulenbasen gibt vor allem der Eier- bzw. Perlenstab Anhaltspunkte für die Datierung.

Das ionische Kymation ist charakterisiert durch plattgedrückte, unten rundlich geformte Eier, die durch weit geöffnete Schalen an den Seiten so gerahmt sind, dass sie sich mit dem Pfeil fast zu einem Bündel schließen. Die Schalen sind an der Eierspitze unterbrochen und führen zur Leiste. Diese Eigenart ist z.B. an den Architravblöcken des 2. Typus des Brunnenhauses bei den Agorathermen in Side zu beobachten, die um 230 n. Chr. entstanden sind.⁵⁴ Ähnliche Bearbeitung der Eierschalen beobachtet man auch an dem Propylon des Nordostbezirkes in Milet aus der mittel- oder spätereiverischen Epoche.⁵⁵ Der Eierstab an dem Abakus des korinthischen Pilasterkapitells des Theaters in Perge hat ebenfalls dicke Schalen wie jener an dem Relief aus Patara und ist nicht zuletzt auch in der fast unfertig wirkenden Wiedergabe mit ihm

⁴⁵ z. B. Kahil 645, Nr. 256, Taf. 466; 727, Nr. 1359, Taf. 558; Simon, 804, Nr. 24a, Taf. 592; Bieber 1977, 77 Nr. 303, Taf. 50.

⁴⁶ Fol 771 f., Nr. 4, 10, 14, Taf. 577.

⁴⁷ Simon, 849, Nr. 363, Taf. 624. Vgl. ebenda 834, Nr. 303, Taf. 618, wo die Wiedergabe der Brüste der Luna-Figur ganz jener der Artemis von Patara entspricht, indem sie aus einem gekerbten Kreis hervortreten, und 815 Nr. 105, Taf. 604.

⁴⁸ D'Andria-Ritti 1985, passim; Çubuk 2008, 92–3, Abb. 1. 6 und 94–5, Abb. 1. 7; Tulunay 1989, 263–65.

⁴⁹ Simon 843: „Der Typus Versailles-Leptis Magna ist für das Diana-Bild bis ins 3. Jh. n. Chr. ausschlaggebend geblieben, wenn er auch viele Variationen durchmachte“.

⁵⁰ Simon, Nr. 303.

⁵¹ Gliwitzky 2010, passim; Türkmen 2007, passim.

⁵² Vandeput 1997, passim; Köster 2004, passim; Mert 2008, passim; Karaosmanoğlu 1996, passim.

⁵³ Die ersten Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema liefern jetzt die Dissertationen von Şahin, F., 2018, und Kökmen, H., 2016. Vgl. auch Cavalier 2005, passim; Dinstl 1986/87, passim.

⁵⁴ Gliwitzky 2010, 132–39, Kat. Nr. 194, Abb. 211.

⁵⁵ Köster 2004, 161 f.

zu vergleichen; diese Kapitelle sind in die Zeit des Septimius Severus bzw. Caracalla datiert.⁵⁶ Der Astragal passt ebenfalls in diesen Zeitraum. Er hat zwischen den langen, an den Enden eher abgerundeten als spitzkantigen und recht massigen Walzen zwei eng liegende, kugelige Wirtel. Vor allem die längliche Form der Walzen findet sich an vielen Bauten aus dem 2. Viertel des 3. Jhs. n. Chr., wie z. B. dem Torhof (220-230 n. Chr.)⁵⁷ und dem Brunnenhaus in Side oder an dem Triton-Nymphaeum in Hierapolis⁵⁸ und dem Theater in Xanthos.⁵⁹ Das florale Element an den Ecken findet einen guten Vergleich auf den Kassetten des Dipylons in Xanthos, der Nachbarstadt von Patara, aus der mittelseverischen Epoche, auf denen verschiedene pflanzliche und tierische Motive dargestellt sind.⁶⁰ Der teigige Stil beider Beispiele dürfte nicht nur auf eine ähnliche Chronologie hindeuten, sondern auch auf einen gemeinsamen Bildhauerstil in diesen Städten. Schließlich ist auch aus Patara selbst ein Vergleichsbeispiel zu nennen, nämlich ein Architrav-Block aus der Hafenstrasse, dessen ionisches Kymation in die frühseverische Zeit datiert wurde.⁶¹ Diese Überlegungen unterstützen die durch den Gewandstil gewonnene Datierung um 220 n. Chr.⁶²

Nach diesen Überlegungen kann zusammengefasst werden, dass das Artemisrelief von Patara zu einer Gruppe von Darstellungen gehört, die mit dem Namen der Artemis von Versailles verbunden ist und in mehreren Umbildungen bis zum Ende des römischen Imperiums hohes Interesse fand. Die Einzigartigkeit des namensgebenden Werkes erschwert eine typologische Analyse unter den vielfältigen Repliken, die in Bezug auf Gewand, Bewegung, Haartracht und Schuhwerk deutliche Unterschiede aufweisen. Die Artemis von Patara verhilft in diesen Aspekten zu keinen weiterführenden bzw. klärenden Aussagen; sie ist typologisch mit solchen Darstellungen zu verknüpfen, deren verbindendes Motiv das flatternde Mantelende an der rechten Körperseite ist. Der Gegensatz, der in der Wahl eines horizontal in den Raum greifenden Motivs für eine vertikal stehende Basis liegt, bleibt bestehen; ebenfalls nicht zu beantworten sind die Fragen, warum die Fußspuren auf der Oberfläche während dieser zweiten Verwendungsphase nicht abgemeißelt wurden und ob auf der Basis weiterhin eine Statue stand. Diesbezüglich wären auch die an den Ecken der Reliefnische angebrachten Löcher von Interesse, die hier in erster Linie zum Aufhängen bestimmter Utensilien gedient haben könnten, wobei man zuerst an Girlanden denken sollte. In diesem Fall wäre ein kultischer Verwendungszweck möglich, obwohl dafür eine Beweisführung fehlt.

Artemis war in Lykien eine der am meisten verehrten Gottheiten zusammen mit Apollon und Zeus.⁶³ P. Frei ordnet sie zu einer Gruppe von Göttern, innerhalb derer es sich bei Artemis „um eine in altlykischer Zeit bezeugte Gottheit handelt, deren lykischer Name aus dem griechischen umgesetzt worden war“; es liegt aber immer noch im Dunkeln, „unter welchen Umständen Artemis (lykisch Ertemi, Erg. d. Verf.) rezipiert wurde“.⁶⁴ Diesbezüglich

⁵⁶ Türkmen 2007, 24 und 142, Kat. Nr. 52-3.

⁵⁷ Gliwitsky 2010, 130, Kat. Nr. 188, Abb. 217.

⁵⁸ Türkmen 2007, Taf. 52, 1-2.

⁵⁹ Karaosmanoğlu 1996, 42 Kat. Nr. 86, Taf. 27.b.

⁶⁰ Cavalier 2005, 105-7, Taf. 17-8.

⁶¹ Şahin 2018, 162-64, Kat. No. 108, Lev. 39b. c.

⁶² Der Erhaltungszustand mit verwaschener und undeutlicher Oberfläche sowie die geringe Größe der beiden Kapitelle erschweren eine stilistische Analyse. Doch auch hierbei lassen Vergleiche eine Datierung in die severische Periode zu, Fischer 1990, 47, Taf. 25.140, 141, 143, Taf. 26.145, 148, 150. Vgl. auch Başaran 1997, 15ff.

⁶³ Zur Religion in Lykien s. vor allem Frei 1729-864 und Akyürek-Şahin 2016.

⁶⁴ Frei 1849 und 1850. Ebenso auch Bryce 1986, 181 f.

gewinnt die Tatsache an Bedeutung, dass im Letoon, dem Bundesheiligtum der Lykier, „die frühen Weihungen Artemis galten“⁶⁵ und ihr Tempel wohl der älteste unter den drei Tempeln ist.⁶⁶ Dort wurde sie nämlich in Form „eines anstehenden Felsens als anikonisches Kultmal verehrt“⁶⁷: eine Glaubensvorstellung, deren Wurzeln tief im vorgeschichtlichen Anatolien liegen.⁶⁸ Ein ähnlicher Zustand spiegelt sich auch in den sog. „Zwölfgötterreliefs“, die ein genuin lykisches Motiv wiedergeben⁶⁹ und trotz ihrer späteren Entstehungszeit bzw. der Tatsache, dass sie in Lykien bis heute ohne Vorgänger sind, ohne altanatolische Wurzel nicht vorstellbar und verständlich wären.⁷⁰ Auf diesen Votivreliefs befindet sich meist in der oberen Mitte eine weibliche Figur, die inschriftlich als Artemis Kynegetis (Hundeführerin) genannt wird; ein Epitheton, das in Lykien nur auf diesen Zwölfgötterreliefs vorkommt.⁷¹ Artemis wird dadurch eindeutig als Jägerin gekennzeichnet, wenn sie auch auf diesen Reliefs nicht im Jagdmotiv dargestellt wird. Offenbar besaß die Vorstellung von einer jagenden Göttin, welches auch immer ihr Name anfänglich gewesen sein mag, in Lykien eine lange Tradition. Dieser Gedanke findet nicht zuletzt durch eine im frühen 4. Jh. v. Chr. von dem Dynasten Erbbina der Artemis geweihte Statuenbasis in Letoon Unterstützung⁷²: Ihr Name in dem kurzen lykischen Text lautet ‚nur‘ Ertemi, in dem längeren griechischen Epigramm dagegen Artemis Θηροφώνα (Wildtöterin). Über die Frage, warum dieselbe Gottheit in der epichorischen Sprache ohne Epitheton blieb, oder warum für die Artemis neben ihrer uralten, dem Verständnis der anatolischen Muttergöttin entsprechenden Kultstätte dieses wie bei der Kynegetis auf eine Jagd anspielende Epitheton gewählt wurde, kann beim heutigen Forschungsstand nur spekuliert werden; man wüsste aber gerne, wie diese ‚jagende‘ Artemis im Letoon, entstanden etliche Jahrzehnte vor dem Typus der Artemis von Versailles, ausgesehen hat.

Dass Artemis auch in Patara keine unwichtige Gottheit war, sondern eine bedeutende Stellung im sakralen Leben der Stadt hatte, kann heute durch die sich stetig vermehrenden Funde der seit 1988 andauernden Grabung behauptet werden. Die Zahl der kleinen, der Artemis geweihten Hausaltären hat sich erheblich vermehrt, dementsprechend auch die epitheta, von denen einige in Patara bislang noch nicht belegt waren.⁷³ Vertreten sind Artemis

⁶⁵ Frei, 1765.

⁶⁶ Hansen and Le Roy 1976, 317–36.

⁶⁷ Işık 2008, 56.

⁶⁸ Işık, ebenda; Işık 2001, 143–51, 147. Es ist wichtig, dass „die Hauptgottheit im Letoon ursprünglich nicht Leto hieß, sondern als ‚Mutter (des hiesigen Bezirks) (?) angerufen wurde“, Frei, 1752. Die anatolische Muttergöttin wurde bekanntlich in offenen Felsheiligtümern geehrt, Işık 1996, 51–64, so dass zu überlegen wäre, ob der ‚spätere‘ Artemistempel mit dem Fels-Naos im Letoon ursprünglich der Kultplatz für diese Urgöttin Anatoliens war und in einer unbestimmten Zeit auf ihre am meisten verbreitete Nachfolgerin Artemis übergang, zumal nach Frei, ebenda, „die Gleichsetzung von Leto mit der ‚Mutter‘ beim heutigen Forschungsstand erstmals für die Zeit des Arbinas (Anfang d. 4. Jhs. v. Chr.) bezeugt“ ist. Da die vordynastische Chronologie im Letoon u. E. immer noch ein Desiderat innerhalb der lykischen Forschungen bildet, können diese Gedanken nicht weiter verfolgt werden.

⁶⁹ Freyer-Schauenburg 1994, mit früherer Literatur, s. auch Akyürek-Şahin 2002, 103–13; Drew-Bear and Labarre 2004, 81–101.

⁷⁰ Stellvertretend dazu s. Frei 1833: „...dass in den Theoi dodeka eine alte luwische Tradition weiterlebt“. Dagegen Schür 2013, 213–22 und Drew-Bear and Labarre 2004, 87f.

⁷¹ Frei 1774, Nr. X2.10.1. Für die lokalen Gottheiten in Lykien s. Efendioğlu 2010, passim, s. auch Tıbikoğlu 2012, 453–64.

⁷² Bousquet 1992, 147–203.

⁷³ Es wurden bisher 19 Altarinschriften gefunden; mit fragmentarisch ohne Inschrift erhaltenen Stücken dürfte sich diese Zahl noch erhöhen. Für den Gedankenaustausch über diese Altäre sind wir A. Lepke sehr zu Dank verpflichtet. s. dazu auch Korkut 2008, 727–33. Für den älteren Bestand s. Frei, 1770 f.

Kombike/Konbike, Artemis Chorike, Artemis Maleitike und Artemis Patroos wobei die letztere u.W. nur in Patara belegt ist.⁷⁴

Weitere Inschriften liefern uns in diesem Zusammenhang wertvolle Hinweise. Eine von diesen Inschriften wurde wie das hier vorgelegte Relief in der Hafenstrasse gefunden. Es handelt sich um eine Ehrung der Stadt für Tiberius Claudius Alexandros, der Archineokoros von Leto, Artemis und Apollon gewesen war, wonach die Trias ein gemeinsames Heiligtum hatte.⁷⁵ Auch eine Weihung an Leto Kallitekno erlaubt den Schluss auf eine gemeinsame Kultanlage.⁷⁶ So kann festgestellt werden, dass Patara zwar vor allem durch sein Apollonorakel nicht nur in Lykien seit alters her berühmt war, sondern ein weit verbreitetes Ansehen genoss;⁷⁷ dass diese wichtige Gottheit aber in Patara nicht allein, sondern wie im Letoon mit Leto und Artemis gemeinsam verehrt wurde,⁷⁸ was für Patara bis zur Auffindung dieser Inschriften nicht bezeugt war. Die Ehrung für Ti. Claudius Alexandros korrigiert zugleich eine ältere Ansicht, wonach „alle Belege für die Verehrung der Leto außerhalb des Letoons allerspätestens in das frühe 1. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden können“,⁷⁹ da sie nach dem genannten Datum entstanden sind.⁸⁰ Nicht zuletzt tragen die Inschriften zu einem besseren Verständnis wichtiger antiker Quellen über die Geschichte Pataras bzw. Lykiens bei: Die bekannte Episode, wonach Mithradates während der Belagerung von Patara die Bäume im Hain der Leto für seine Belagerungsmaschinen fällen wollte und durch einen Traum davon abgehalten wurde, bezieht sich, wie wir nun wissen, nicht auf das benachbarte Letoon, sondern eben auf den außerhalb der Stadtmauern gelegenen Hain der heiligen Trias in Patara.⁸¹

Obwohl schon mindestens seit dem 2. Mithradatischen Krieg bzw. der Zeit der oben erwähnten Weihinschrift für Leto Kallitekno auf einen gemeinsamen Kult der apollonischen Trias geschlossen werden kann, fand sich in Patara aus den betreffenden Jahrhunderten abgesehen von spärlichen numismatischen Belegen kein Hinweis auf Artemis.⁸² Mehr oder weniger plötzlich häufen sich jedoch die Funde ca. ab der Mitte des 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts, wie vor allem die kleinen Hausaltären, Ehrungen für Ti. Claudius Alexandros, den Archineokoros des Tempels für Leto, Artemis und Apollon oder für die verstorbene Aristonoe, die Neokoros einer weiblichen Gottheit, vielleicht Artemis⁸³ und schließlich die Basis mit dem Artemisrelief. Die Gründe dafür sind uns noch unbekannt, doch zeugen sie wohl von einem Aufschwung des Artemis-Kultes in Patara in dieser Zeit. Auf die wichtige Frage, ob dieser Aufschwung mit einer

⁷⁴ Nach Frei 1855 „ist es nicht uninteressant, dass die Hafenstadt Patara am meisten okkasionelle Weihungen aufzuweisen hat“. Für Artemis Maleitike s. SEG 18, 685 (aus Pinara).

⁷⁵ Aktaş 2013, 286, Inschriftenkat. Nr. 7; SEG 44, 1210; Lepke, Schuler and Zimmermann 2015, 379 mit Anm. 272.

⁷⁶ Schuler and Zimmermann 2012, 598-603: Die Weihung gilt „der Leto, Mutter schöner Kinder und den anderen Göttern im Hain“.

⁷⁷ Stellvertretend s. Bryce 1986, 182–85; Frei 1753–65: „Man wird aber nicht daran zweifeln, dass (in Patara, Erg. d. Verf.) die Orakelpraxis und damit das Orakel als Institution ein hohes Alter haben und als einheimisch zu betrachten ist“ (S. 1760).

⁷⁸ Lepke 2016, 104–5.

⁷⁹ Frei 1851.

⁸⁰ Schuler and Zimmermann 2012, 598 u. 603. Einen weiteren Beleg dafür liefert die in dem Leto-Heiligtum in Asarcık am Xanthostal gefundene Ehreninschrift mit Bezug auf das Letoon von Xanthos (freundlicher Hinweis von Ch. Schuler), die nach 168 n. Chr. datiert wird, Işık 2010, 81–115.

⁸¹ Schuler and Zimmermann 2012, 600. Alle bisherigen Erwähnungen lokalisierten dieses Geschehen im Letoon, weil ein Kult der Leto in Patara noch nicht bekannt war. So z.B. Metzger 1979, 9; Aslan 2002, 127; Bean 1986, 84.

⁸² Özüdoğru 2002, passim.

⁸³ Lepke, Schuler and Zimmermann 2015, 376–80.

etwaigen Wiederbelebung des Apollonorakels um die Mitte des 2. Jhs. zusammenhängt,⁸⁴ kann hier nicht eingegangen werden. Dieses Phänomen, das von P. Frei als „heidnische Renaissance“ bezeichnet wurde,⁸⁵ betreffe dann nicht nur Apollon, sondern auch Artemis dürfte neue Ehren genossen haben. Unter diesen Gesichtspunkten gewinnt das Artemisrelief aus Patara zusätzlich zu seinem plastischen Wert eine besondere Aussagekraft für die Kultgeschichte der Stadt.

⁸⁴ Das Problem wurde kurz zusammengefasst bei Lepke, Schuler and Zimmermann 2015, 370–71.

⁸⁵ Frei 1852: „Dieses Phänomen verdiente eine genauere Untersuchung“.

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Abb. 1 Basis mit Artemis-Relief, Vorderseite.

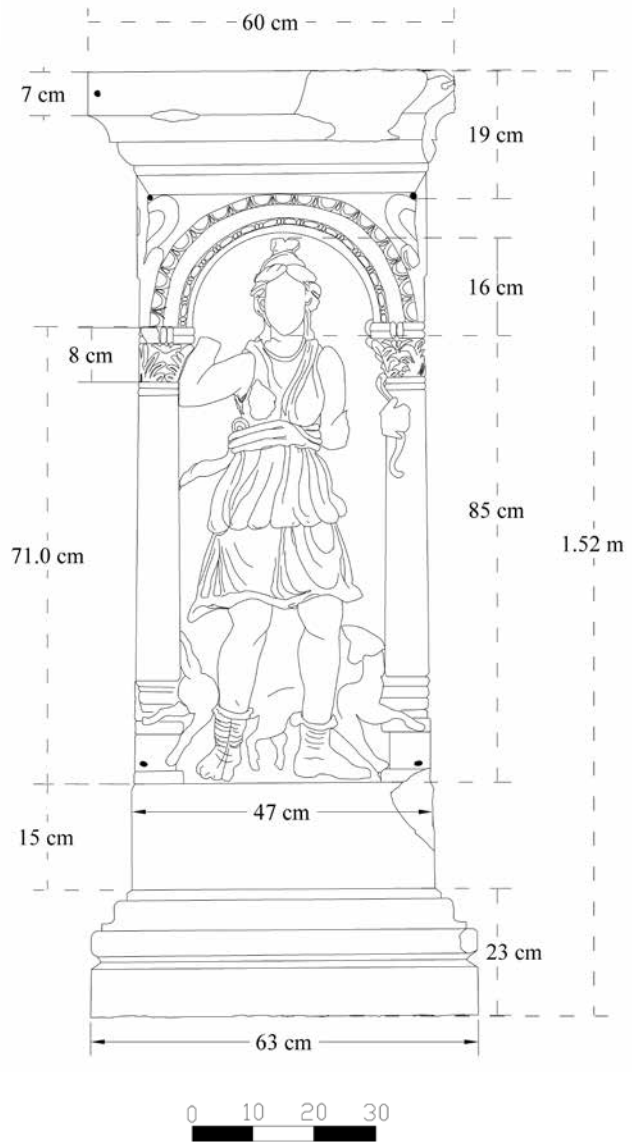


Abb. 2 Basis mit Artemis-Relief, Zeichnung der Vorderseite (zeichnung A. Korkut – E. Dündar).

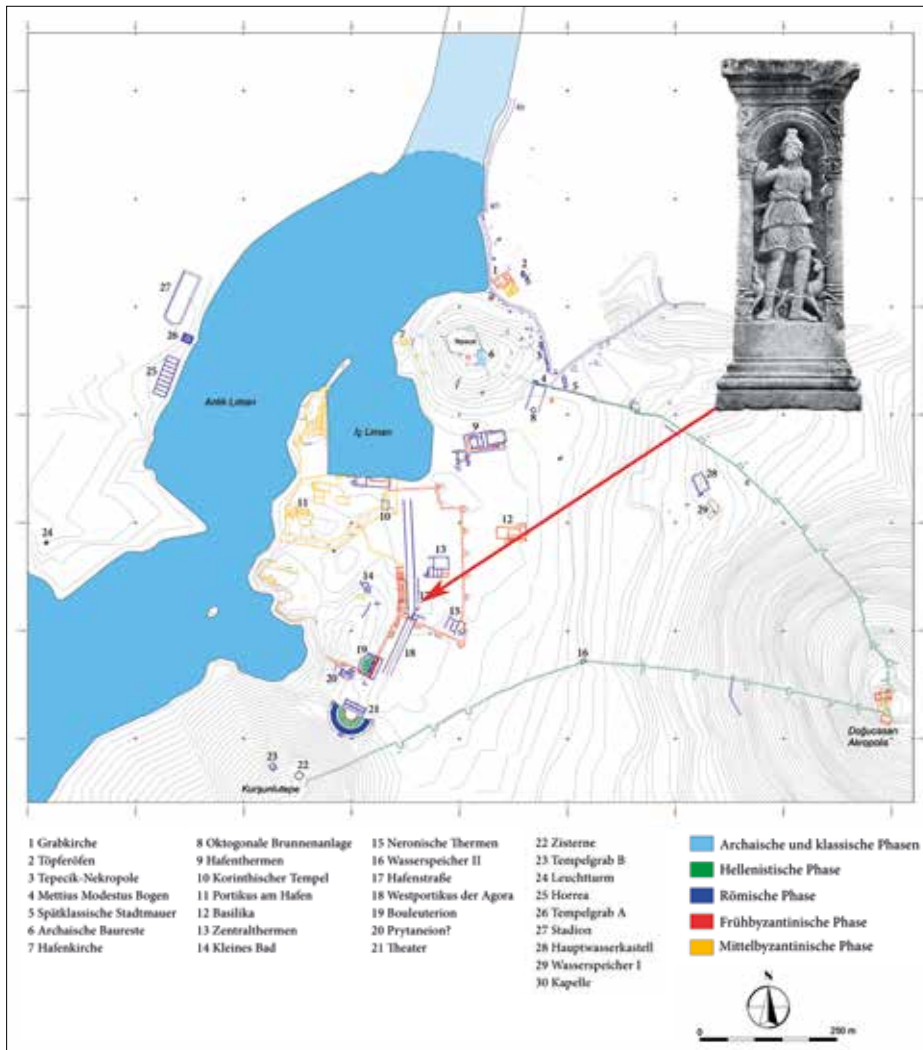


Abb. 3a Fundort der Basis auf den Plan von Patara.



Abb. 3b Der Raum des Ostportikus an der Hafenstraße.



Abb. 4 Basis, in situ.



Abb. 5a, b, c Linke, hintere und rechte Seiten der Basis.

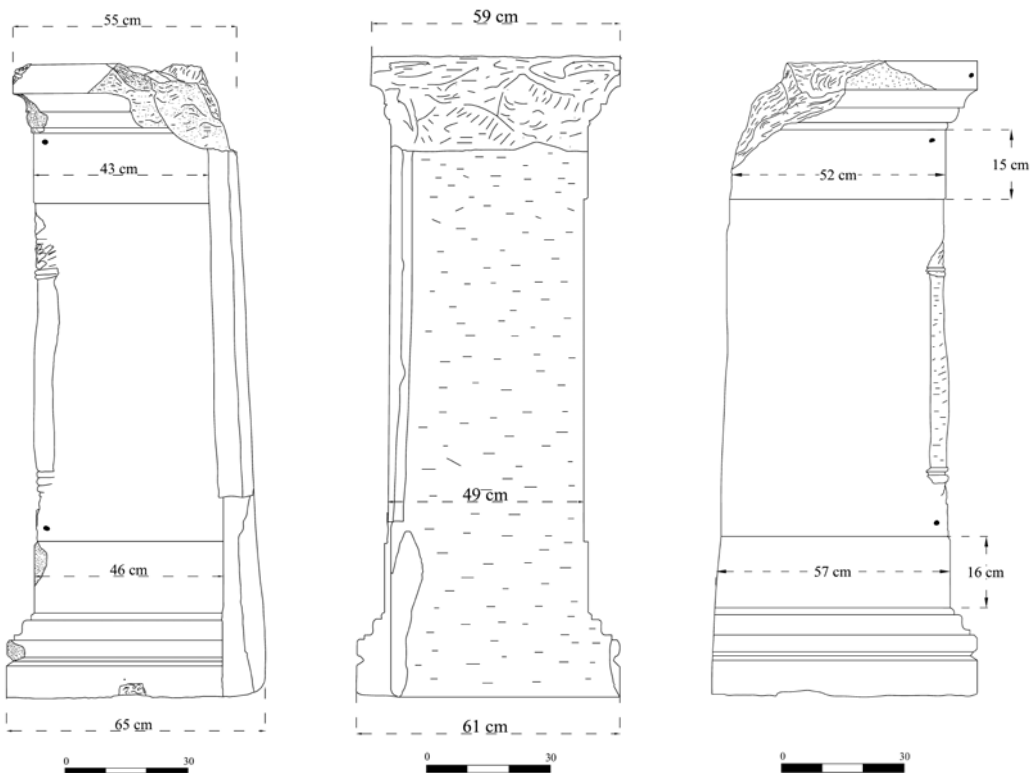


Abb. 6a, b, c Zeichnungen von den linken, hinteren und rechten Seiten der Basis (zeichnung E. Dündar).



Abb. 7 Löcher am Profil.

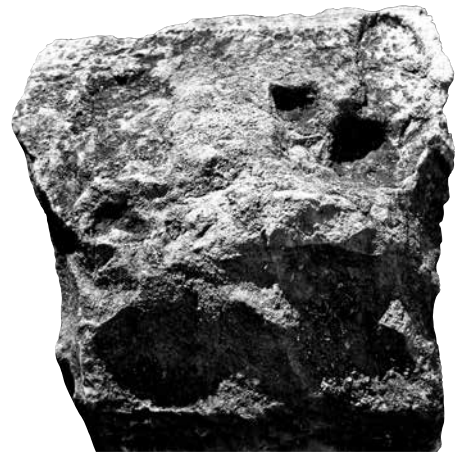


Abb. 8 Auflager der Basis.

Abb. 9a, b, c
Kopf der Artemis aus
verschiedenen Blickpunkten.



Abb. 10 Tiere hinter den Beinen von Artemis.



Abb. 11 Die Nische.



Abb. 12 Artemis von Versailles; Louvre Museum.
http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_911_67217_AG014413_001.jpg_obj.html&flag=true



Abb. 13 Artemis von Leptis Magna,
Jamahiriya Museum.
LIMC II, Nr. 27a, Taf. 592.



Abb. 14 Artemis von Perge, Archäologisches Museum Antalya.



Abb. 15 Artemis/Diana, Rom, Museo Nazionale delle Terme. Bieber 1977, Taf. 50, fig. 303.

The Ancient Roads and Routes around Sidyma and New Inscriptions from its Vicinity

Fatma AVCU – Hüseyin UZUNOĞLU*

Abstract

In this contribution, we introduce the Xanthos-Sidyma road on the basis of its physical remains, which were found and topographical observations made during the course of field surveys conducted in 2017–2018 within the framework of the Monumentum Patarense (MP). The article focusses upon why there is no connection recorded on the monument between Sidyma and Pinara, despite the fact that these were neighbouring settlements. In this respect, we investigate the issue of whether the connection recorded in the MP between Xanthos and Sidyma took the northern or southern course. It is suggested in the article that it must have been the northern course, due to the two (or possibly three) new milestones and other ancient artefacts discovered at Dereboğaz Mevkii. One of the milestones (no. 1) is dated to the reign of Commodus and records that the restoration of the roads was accomplished under the superintendence of the proconsul C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus. This milestone was used in the 1st Tetrarchic Period (no. 1b). The other milestone likewise belongs to the 1st Tetrarchic Period (no. 2), but lacks any mile information. Also presented are six inscribed funerary altars, from both the Fethiye Museum and from various villages around Sidyma (such as Seki, Ge, etc.) as well as one early Christian metrical building inscription concerning a hospital.

Keywords: Monumentum Patarense-Stadius Patarenensis; Roman road; Sidyma; Xanthos; Pinara; milestones, funerary inscriptions, iatreion and xenodokheion.

Öz

Bu makalede, Monumentum Patarense çerçevesinde 2017-2018 yıllarında gerçekleştirilen yüzey araştırmalarında elde edilen maddi buluntular ve topografik gözlemler ışığında Ksanthos-Sidyma yol bağlantısı tanıtılmakta ve birbirine komşu kentler olmasına rağmen Sidyma ve Pinara arasında anıtta neden yol bağlantısı verilmediği sorunu tartışılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, ilk olarak MP'de kaydedilen Ksanthos-Sidyma yolunun güney istikametten mi yoksa kuzey istikametten mi geçtiği konusu ele alınmıştır. Dereboğaz mevkiinde bulunan 2 (ya da 3?) yeni miltaşı ve çeşitli antik buluntular anıtın kuzeyden giden yolu kaydettiğinin önemli bir işaretidir. Bu miltaşlarından ilki (no. 1a) Commodus Dönemi'nden olup yolların onarımının Vali C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus denetiminde gerçekleştirildiği bilgisini vermektedir. Bu miltaşı (no. 1b), I. Tetrarkhlar Dönemi'nde tekrar kullanılmıştır. Diğer miltaşı da (no. 2) benzer şekilde I. Tetrarkhlar Dönemi'nden olup diğeri gibi mesafe bildirim taşımamaktadır. Makalede, ayrıca Sidyma ve civarındaki çeşitli köylerde (Seki, Ge) ve ayrıca Fethiye Müzesi'nde kayıt altına aldığımız 6 adet mezar yazıtı ve son olarak da Hıristiyanlık Dönemi'nden bir hastaneye ait ve zinli bir inşa yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Monumentum Patarense-Stadius Patarenensis; Roma yolu; Sidyma; Ksanthos; Pinara; miltaşları; mezar yazıtları; iatreion ve ksenodokheion.

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Since 2004, field surveys of the road network in Lycia have been conducted on the basis of the Monumentum Patarense (hereafter MP), also known as the Stadiasmus Patarenensis. This forms part of a project that aims to determine the ancient roads and routes in Lycia and Pamphylia and to evaluate the epigraphical and archaeological material attesting the presence of these roads and routes.¹ In this context, a part of the field surveys conducted in 2017 and 2018 was dedicated to the area around Sidyma. Our aim was to determine the course of the roads from Xanthos to Sidyma and then from Sidyma to another destination, whose name has not survived on the MP. We also visited several hamlets around Sidyma, including Bel, Ge, Seki, Kızılcıca, Dereboğazi, Boğaziçi, and Avlan, as well as İzzetinköy, Ekincik, and Belen in the direction of Pinara (see fig. 25). New inscriptions discovered in some of these places are also introduced in this paper. The hamlet of Bel has been excluded, as it is being investigated separately by F. Onur in this volume.

I. Description of the Remains in the Field

A. Roads and routes

There are four connections to Sidyma: 1) from the south, passing through Kumluova, Karadere, and Dodurga; this is a connection between Xanthos and Sidyma, providing a convenient route reaching the Letoon and the sea via Pydnai; 2) from the north, passing through Gölbent and Dereboğazi and finally reaching Sidyma through the gorge just to the northeast of the ancient site; 3) from the south-southwest, leading from Bel;² and 4) from the northwest, on the connection between Sancaklı port and Sidyma that was investigated by B. Takmer.³ Since the third connection is now under investigation and the last has already been studied and published, the southern and northern connections are the foci of this paper.

1. The road between Sidyma and Xanthos: Southern route (Dodurga – Karadere – Kumluova – Kınık)

The ancient southern route from Sidyma leading to Xanthos passes through Gözlükuyu Mahallesi, the localities of Koliçi and Belencik, the Karadere Valley, Karadere Pass, Karadere, Kumluova (Letoon), and Orta Mahallesi, finally reaching Xanthos by crossing the ancient bridge to the southwest of the city (see fig. 25). The only surviving parts of this road that are still visible lie to the southeast of Sidyma in the direction of Gözlükuyu, right below the

This contribution is a result of field surveys conducted on the ancient roads of Lycia and directed by the late Prof. S. Şahin through 2014, then by Prof. N.E. Akyürek Şahin through 2017, and thereafter by Assoc. Prof. F. Onur, with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. These field surveys have been supported by the Akdeniz University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (Project nos.: SBA-2015-937 and SBA-2016-1675) and by the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (Project no: KU AKMED 2018/P.1016) from 2015 onwards. We owe a debt of gratitude to both Prof. Dr. N.E. Akyürek Şahin and Assoc. Prof. Dr. F. Onur, who gave permission to publish the materials of the field survey. We also would like to thank the director of the Fethiye Museum, E. Özkan, for her permission to work on the epigraphic material transported from Sidyma and its environs to the museum. We further thank T.M.P. Duggan (Antalya), Dr. S. Wallace (Dublin), and M. Chin (DPhil., Oxford) for improving the English of this paper, and E. Berberoğlu (Antalya) for preparing the map. We also thank two anonymous reviewers for their many insightful comments and suggestions. Naturally, we are responsible for any remaining errors.

¹ Şahin – Adak 2007; Şahin 2014. The results of the ongoing survey have been regularly published. For a selection of the publications, see Onur 2015; Onur 2016a; Onur 2016b; and Onur 2016c.

² R3 is investigated in a special study by F. Onur, who claims that this road was to the ancient settlement in Bel, employing new evidence obtained from our field research in 2017 and 2018.

³ Takmer 2010, 113–14.

modern road and on the southern slope of Mount Meşeli after Koliçi and Belencik in the plain to the south of Gözlükuyu (fig. 1).

The milestones found near Özlen at the southern end of Karadere Valley are dated to AD 293–305 and were erected by the Xanthians.⁴ They confirm the existence of an ancient road passing through the Karadere Valley and also indicate that Xanthian territory extended to the point where these milestones were found.

2. The road between Sidyma and Xanthos: Northern route (Dodurga – Dereboğazi – Gölbent – Kınık)

A second road between Sidyma and Xanthos took a northern course. An ancient road starting from the northeastern end of the Sidyma necropolis and leading through the valley to the northeast before finally joining the modern road of Dodurga is still traceable to a great extent (fig. 2). Remarkably, this section of the road still bears the marks of ancient construction, which presumably indicates that the road remained in use until recently.

The road then reaches a junction where an Ottoman cistern is situated by the modern road. Apart from this road, three modern roads meet at this junction, one of which leads in the direction of İzzetinköy, perhaps reaching Pinara via Ekincik and Belen. This route could not be followed due to the difficult terrain, and it seems to have changed remarkably, leaving no ancient traces and only being passable on foot in certain sections. However, the MP does not record a road between Sidyma and Pinara, a vexing question that is discussed below. Another route from this junction leads to the west, in the direction of the hamlets of Boğaziçi and Avlan, and finally reaches Sidyma's port, located at Sancaklı and previously identified with ancient Kalabatia: this is a localization reviewed by F. Onur in in this volume. The third route from the aforementioned junction seems to have been the main route running from Sidyma in antiquity, and it extends towards the east in the direction of Dereboğazi. The new milestones and several other ancient material remains in the old Turkish cemetery of the hamlet of Dereboğazi⁵ show that in antiquity the course of this main road from Sidyma to the Xanthian Valley passed through Dereboğazi Pass parallel to the Koca Dere, taking an eastern course. This was the case from the Ottoman period to the present, as indicated by the cisterns built in the Dereboğazi Pass. The road would then have forked in two, with one fork leading to Xanthos and the other to Pinara, although we were unable to discover any definite traces of the ancient road after the Dereboğazi Pass.

3. The northern section of the road between Pinara and Xanthos

In 2018 another road between Pinara and Xanthos was studied, with some detailed field observations being made. From our observations, we determined that this road conceivably leads from Pinara via Yakabağ, Esen, and Gölbent to Xanthos (see fig. 25). This road connection is important in understanding the reason why a road between Sidyma and Pinara was not recorded in the MP (see below). An ancient road starts from the southern necropolis of Pinara and leads, after 400–500 m, southeast to a place called Güvercintaşı, a small rocky mountain pass. In this pass, the steps of the ancient road remain visible today (fig. 3). The ancient route, following an eastern-east-southern course, leads to Bahçebaşı before reaching Yakabağ. In Bahçebaşı there is a rock-cut relief depicting a soldier with a spear and six men (fig. 4), and

⁴ TAM II, no. 257–258

⁵ See below, nos. 1a/b.

ca. 20–30 m to the northeast of this relief another example of the road's steps were recorded.⁶ After Yakabağ the ancient road most probably passed through Eşen and Gölbent by crossing the ancient bridge to the southwest of the city to reach Xanthos. No traces of the ancient road were found in this section.

During our field survey the mountainous area between Pinara and Sidyma was also investigated in detail, and as a result several ancient ruins—including blocks, columns, and the building stones of a door—were recorded in Ekincik, a small settlement to the west of the village of Yakabağ. On the western side of Ekincik there is also a rock-cut tomb probably dating from the Classical Period. This small settlement might indicate that there was a road connection between Pinara and Sidyma, a route through the mountains to the west of the Xanthian Valley, perhaps via İzzettinköy (see above).

B. Other ancient remains found in the hamlets around Sidyma

In 2018, apart from Dereboğazi, several ancient remains were recorded around Sidyma and its vicinity. The Kızılca and Seki villages, ca. 5 km away from Sidyma, were visited. To the northeast, neighbouring the Kızılca cemetery, there are 2 cisterns and the ruins of a church (fig. 6). The main apse is 15 x 10 m in length, and the north apse is visible. At Seki, in the village square, we recorded a large hypaethral cistern, with many large and small cisterns seen around it (fig. 5). One *chamatorion* and 2 press stones (figs. 7–8) were found on the northern side of the village, while on the northwestern side were the remains of an illegally dug and destroyed ancient tomb (fig. 9). Another *chamatorion* on the western side of the Seki cemetery, this one with a lid (fig. 10), as well as several ancient blocks within the same cemetery were also recorded. In the district of Ahırlı in the village of Seki we recorded the base of a building consisting of many rooms. In the district of Ortadişönu, we found a farm complex and a stone press with a cross carved on it. In the districts of Baldıranlı, Kaklıkalan, Bekirdişi, Çamyani, and Yazdıardın on the southern hillside in the village of Seki were many blocks and ruins, indicating a farm complex. No trace of a road from this point could be found. In the district of Yel Değirmeni in the village of Seki, we recorded a possible checkpoint or patrol station, situated on a large area and with a view of both Sidyma's acropolis and the entrance to Dereboğazi. This station would have had command over the direction of the Gölbent valley.

II. Results and Commentary on the Roads and Settlements

1. The road from Xanthos to Sidyma in MP

The section relating to this part is recorded in lines 10–11 of Face B, as based on the edition by Şahin:⁷

l. 10 (R2): ἀπὸ Ξάν[θου εἰς Σίδυμα ρ̄ στ]άδια ρ̄ ρδ' *From Xanthos to Sidyma 104 stades*
(= ca. 19, 25 km)

From the observations made above, there are two possible routes for the road connection between Xanthos and Sidyma. One is the southern route (Dodurga – Karadere – Kumluova – Kınık), and the other is northern route (Dodurga – Dereboğazi – Gölbent – Kınık). The distance of both routes seems to correspond to the distance recorded on the monument. In regards to this road connection, Şahin reported as follows:

⁶ See also Schweyer 1996, 23 and figs. 8–10.

⁷ Şahin 2014, 124.

If the *via Claudia* passed through Karadere, the given distance was correct. The milestones, found at Özlen in the entrance of Karadere valley, were erected by the Xanthians for the Tetrarchies (293–305 AD). In 2006 this route was investigated by our team and the existence of an ancient road was determined on the western slopes of the Avdancık Mountain. The ancient road splits in two directions around Bel. One leads in a northern direction passing through the pass between the Avdancık mountain and the Avdan hill and reaches Sidyma on the southern side via Gözkuyu; while the other leads towards the northwest climbing a steep slope by zigzags to Bel and reaches the city through the western side of the rock tombs, mentioned in TAM II, no. 244, and the northern foothill of Avdan Hill. This route should be the course of the road between Xanthos and Sidyma.⁸

To determine which route was measured on the Pataran monument, both the circumstances of the road list and observations made in the field were evaluated. The southern route is extremely important because it is connected to the Letoon, the religious centre of the Lycian League. The Letoon is located ca. 4 km southwest of Xanthos and 4 km from the sea, near a small modern settlement called Kumluova. The Letoon functioned as a central temple of the Lycian League during the Hellenistic period and doubtlessly maintained its importance during the Roman period as well. The road connections from the surrounding cities to the Letoon were necessary in any case, because it was an important cult and congregation centre of the Lycians. However, the distance recorded on the monument was most probably measured by the northern route, considering that the routes Xanthos – Letoon – Pydnai or Sidyma – Letoon – Pydnai must have already been in good condition before the Claudian period, due to the significance of the Letoon, and may not even have required any major renovation or restoration work. This would suggest that it was not the route listed on the MP. The fact that the southern route must have been very busy—being a road employed for religious and trading purposes (since the road was also associated with Pydnai, the port of Xanthos)—also suggests that the road given in the MP was measured following the northern route. Moreover, the high quality of the road, as well as the milestones found in the cemetery of Dereboğazi (some mentioning an extensive road renovation during the reign of Commodus⁹) also record the significance of the northern route. If this was the case, this may explain the absence of the road between Sidyma and Pinara on the MP.

2. *The absence of a road between Sidyma and Pinara in the Monumentum Patarense*

The MP does not list road connections between certain cities, even though some of these were adjacent, as was the case between Sidyma and Pinara. These absences can mostly be explained by the contiguity of the settlements and territorial matters,¹⁰ although some may have been due to topographical-geographical reasons. In some instances, as between Sidyma and Pinara, other road connections between the surrounding cities should be taken into consideration. In our case, the road connection between Xanthos and Sidyma acquires special importance. If the course between Sidyma and Xanthos given in the MP took the northern route as proposed above, it is highly possible that anyone travelling from Sidyma to Pinara could have taken the road between Xanthos and Pinara through Dereboğazi and then joined this road, perhaps via

⁸ Şahin 2014, 136–37.

⁹ See below, no. 1a.

¹⁰ On the MP the roads are given mostly between adjacent settlements, and it is a fact that each road on the MP led only through the territories of the settlements associated with it; see in detail Onur 2016a.

Gölbent. In this case, the northern road, leading from Sidyma, would have reached Xanthian territory via Gölbent, and then taken the course between Xanthos and Pinara recorded on the monument, thus arriving at Pinara. The fact that the main road between Sidyma and Pinara in all likelihood passed through Xanthian territory and that the northern and eastern sections of the Xanthos – Sidyma and Xanthos – Pinara roads constitute a junction point, thereby forming the Sidyma-Pinara route by itself, must have been evident, so there was no practical need to list any other route on the MP. Furthermore, it would have been difficult to build a road on the rugged, mountainous terrain between Sidyma and Pinara, which would explain why the Xanthos – Pinara road, which leads through the valley, was used.

The monument presents various similar cases. For instance, on the MP there are no road connections given between Tlos and Neisa (although they seem to have been adjacent) due to the road between Tlos and Xanthos, which is given as a direct connection in the text without mention of Arsada, which must have lain on this route. This would suggest that it was most probably a part of the territory of Tlos, at least in the early empire. Furthermore, the topography between Tlos and Neisa is unsuitable for road construction. The mountain Yumru Dağı, 2700 m high, is quite steep and obstructs any road that would pass through. In order to reach Neisa from Tlos, one would have had to first take the northern part of the road between Xanthos and Tlos, and then the eastern part of the road between Xanthos and Neisa, both already recorded on the monument, perhaps meeting somewhere after Duman Spring/Duman Pass. There are some traces of an ancient road to the north of Duman Pass in the direction of Tlos,¹¹ which may indicate a secondary road. But this does not mean that the MP indicates that this was the only road between Tlos and Neisa. In practical terms, the monument was not designed in order to facilitate the planning of journeys. It probably simply reflects the fact that, for various reasons mentioned above, no road was constructed between these cities. The absence of a road connection between Patara and Neisa in the MP is another, although slightly different, example. It was observed that there was in fact a road connecting these two cities,¹² as also shown on the Tabula Peutingeriana,¹³ which created an important connection for transport into Mylias. One of the basic reasons for the absence of such a connection on the monument was that there was apparently no road building for this route within the scope of the construction program presented on the MP. This probably indicates the non-adjacency of the cities, at least in terms of road connections, presumably implying that a part of Xanthian territory lay on this route, including most probably the small village called Lengüme/Çamlıova. On the southwestern edge of this plain there is a Tetrarchic milestone, of which only the lower part with the indication of the distance (16 miles) has survived. Onur concluded that the distance on this milestone was not from Xanthos, as had previously been thought, but from Patara, whose territory consequently seems to have extended to this point.¹⁴

It is quite likely that the absence of listed road connections between some adjacent *poleis*, as is the case for Sidyma and Pinara, indicates that no roads were constructed or renovated between them. This is due either to the fact that the terrain was unsuitable, or that roads had already been constructed or renovated between other nearby cities within the framework of the MP, with parts of these roads already forming connections between the adjacent *poleis* and consequently entering into the territories of the other cities. If the course between Sidyma and

¹¹ Onur 2016b, 214–15.

¹² Onur 2016b.

¹³ Tab. Peut. 10.2.

¹⁴ Onur 2016b, 215–17.

Xanthos given on the MP had taken the northern route, as we suggest here, then the first part of the road from Sidyma in the direction of Pinara could have followed the western section of the road between Sidyma and Xanthos; that is, until somewhere near Gölbent to the east of Sidyma. The second part of the road in the same direction would then have traced the route that forms the northern part of the road between Xanthos and Pinara. This suggests that the eastern end of Dereboğazı Pass—which is called the Uzundubar (“Long Wall”) district and lies on the natural border between the Xanthian Valley and the mountainous terrain to the west—might have formed the territorial border between Sidyma and Xanthos. Such a case would presumably explain why there was no road between Sidyma and Pinara listed on the MP, since an automatic connection seems to have been formed, and thus there was no need to build or renovate another road within the framework of the Claudian road construction programme.

III. New Inscriptions

No. 1: Milestone of C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus (figs. 11–12)

Cylindrical in shape with the upper part broken. Limestone. Findspot: Dereboğaz Cemetery; H.: 54 cm; Diam.: 42 cm; Lh: 3–3.5 cm

a.

- 01 [[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι]
 02 [[Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ]
 03 [[Αντωνείῳ]] [Σεβαστῷ Γερμα-
 νικῷ Σαρματικῷ μεγ[ίστῳ]
 Βρεταννικῷ Σιδυ[μέων]
 ἡ πόλις καθιέρωσεν π[ρο-]
 4 νοησαμένου τῶν ὁδ[ῶ]ν
 τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου
 Γαίου Πομπωνίου Βάσσου
 Τερεντιάνου

Translation: *The city of the Sidymaens dedicated (this milestone) to [the emperor M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus] Augustus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus maximus, Britannicus. The mightiest proconsul C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus oversaw (the restoration) of the roads.*

L. 5–7: C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus was the proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia most probably in AD 186–187: see Rémy 1989, 317; Leunissen 1989, 151; 277–78; Mennen 2011, 118. Cf. further Marek 2010, 851, who dates his governorship between 185 and 192. Aside from this new inscription, the governor is only mentioned once elsewhere, again in Sidyma, in TAM II, no. 175. Under the reign of Commodus, a *gerousia* composed of 51 *bouletai* and 50 *demotai* (commoners) was established and the city asked the governor Terentianus to ratify the decree passed by their council and the ecclesia, which was refused by the governor on the grounds that the degree did not require any ratification; see lines 4–8: διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου Γαίου Πομπωνίου Βά[σ]σου Τερεντιανοῦ περὶ τὰς πόλεις αὔξησιν καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις ἐψηφίσατο σύστημα γεροντικὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐννόμου βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης, ἔδοξεν γραφῆναι ψηφίσμα τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ δι’ οὗ παρακληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν συνεπικυρῶσαι τὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν; lines 10–12: Πομπῳ(νιος) Βάσσος ἀνθύ(πατος) Σιδυμέων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν· τὰ καλῶς γεινόμενα ἐπαινέσθαι μᾶλλον προσήκει ἢ κυροῦσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ βέβαιο[ν] ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν· On the *gerousia* of Sidyma, see Oliver 1958, 477–78 and Takmer 2010, 108–9.

L. 3–4: π[ρο]νοησαμένου τῶν ὁδ[ῶ]ν: After π[ρο]νοησαμένου, τῆς κατασκευῆς or τῆς ἐπισκευῆς would normally be expected, but here this detail is omitted. The role of the Roman governors in provincial construction or restoration activities as overseers or superintendents is mostly expressed through various formulas, such as διὰ τοῦ δεῖνος πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ / ἀνθυπάτου, or simply by employing the verbs ἐπιμελέομαι, ἐπιστατέω or, as in our example, προνοέω in a typical genitive absolute construction; see Winter 1996, 149–55, in particular 153–55. As far as we could determine, the use of προνοέω in relation to the roads or milestones is attested here for the first time, at least in Asia Minor. On the other hand, its Latin equivalent, *curare*, is quite prevalent.

Due to the plural usage of the ὁδός, meaning that we are dealing here with at least two road connections, these lines apparently show that an extensive repair or restoration was undertaken on the road network around Sidyma. On the basis of the milestone's findspot, we can say that one of them is obviously R. 4, namely the Xanthos-Sidyma connection, whilst the other(s) remain unknown. As discussed above, there must have been two different roads connecting Xanthos and Sidyma, and there is the possibility that the expression τῶν ὁδ[ῶ]ν may be related to this. This is quite an important document insofar as it is the second epigraphic attestation of any kind of repair or renovation work concerning the roads in Lycia after the provincialization of the region by Claudius in AD 41 and the major road construction and renovation activity completed by his legate Q. Veranius (see Şahin 2014, *passim*; Marksteiner and Wörrle 2002); the first such epigraphic attestation comes from Patara. According to a new text that will be published soon by Chr. Schuler in the Gedenkschrift for Peter Herrmann, the governor S. Marcius Priscus initiated extensive repair work after a severe earthquake which struck Lycia in AD 69 (Schuler, forthcoming; cf. also the preliminary report: Schuler, Zimmermann and Lepke 2017, 58). Until now, no milestone known dating to before the Severan period was known in Lycia, yet the picture has now changed as a result of this new stone, which joins the new milestone of the Vespasianic period discovered in Patara (see above) as thus far the earliest milestone to be recorded in Lycia.

Date: AD 186–187

- b.** The reverse of the stone was later reused and a new milestone was carved. This side of the stone is highly weathered and the letters are difficult to read. Lh: 3–3.5 cm (fig. 13)

It reads:

- 001 [Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρ-]
 002 [σιν Γ(αίω) Οὐαλερίω]
 003 [Διοκλητιανῶ καὶ]
 [Μά]ρ(κω) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Οὐα[λ(ερίω)]
 [Μαξιμια]ν[ῶ εὐσεβ(έσιν) ε]ὔ-
 [τυχ]έ[σιν Σεββ(αστοῖς)]
 4 [καὶ Φλ(αουίω)] Ο[ὐ]α[λ(ερίω) Κ]ωνσ-
 [ταν]τίω [καὶ] Γαλ(ερίω)
 [Μαξιμιανῶ ἐπιφ(ανεστάτοις) Καίσαρ]σιν
 [Σιδυμ]έω[ν ἢ πό]λις

Translation: *The city of the Sidymaens (set this up) to the emperors Gaius Valerius Diocletianus and Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, the pii and felicii Augusti, and to (Fl.) Valerius Constantius and Galerius Maximianus, the illustrissimi Caesares.*

Date: AD 293–305

Baker, Chamberland and Thériault (2015, 141) assert that Diocletianic milestones are rarely attested in Lycia, stating: “En Lycie, [...] les milliaires de Dioclétien sont rares.” Including these two new examples introduced here and another, as yet unpublished, from Patara (Schuler, Zimmermann and Lepke 2017, 58), the number rises to 7, making it clear that these are not as rare as previously thought. For the milestones belonging to the first Tetrarchy, see French 2014, no. 32 (B) [Limyra]; French 2014, no. 24 (A) = Baker, Chamberland and Thériault 2015, no. 1 [Xanthos]; French 2014, no. 27 [Xanthos]; and French 2014, no. 34 [Aperlai].

No. 2: Milestone of Diocletian and Maximian (fig. 14)

The milestone is cylindrical in shape. Findspot: Dereboğaz Cemetery; H.: 71 cm; Diam.: 41 cm; Lh: 3.5 cm

Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρ-
 σιν [Γ(αίϙ) Οὐαλ]ερίϙ
 Διοκλήτιανῶ [καί]
 4 [Μά]ρ(κϙ) Αὐρ(ηλίϙ) Οὐα[λ(ερίϙ)]
 Μαξιμιανῶ ε[ὐσεβ(έσιν)]
 εὐτυχέσ[ιϙ] Σεββ(αστοῖς)
 καὶ Φλ(αουίϙ) Οὐαλερίϙ
 8 Κωνσταντίϙ καὶ
 Γαλερίϙ Οὐαλερί[ϙ]
 Μαξιμιανῶ ἐπιϙ(ανεστάτοις)
 [Καίσαρ]σιν Σιδυ-
 12 μέων ἢ πόλις.

Translation: *The city of the Sidymaens (set this up) to the emperors Gaius Valerius Diocletianus and Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, the pii and felicii Augusti, and to Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximianus, the illustrissimi Caesares.*

Date: Between AD 1 March 293 and 1 May 305; cf. the commentary above.

We have discovered a further inscription on the same spot carved with either a Greek lambda or a Latin V, which may form the lower part of a milestone, possibly indicating *millia passuum* (fig. 15). If this is so—we cannot be certain as there are other columns in the same cemetery that are architectural fragments and have nothing to do with milestones—then this would complicate our picture. A Greek lambda (equivalent to 30 miles = ca. 43 km) is difficult to accept, since such a distance is impossible from any place to Sidyma, exceeding by a large margin the territorial boundaries of Sidyma. It is possible, however, that it was transformed into a delta (4 miles = ca. 6 km) by the painting of the lower horizontal bar in antiquity. This is the most plausible explanation under the circumstances, so long as we accept that the milestone has remained at its current location since antiquity. The Latin V (5 miles = ca. 7 km) is much less likely, as this would suggest that stone was inverted, and moreover creates the problem of a large space between the last lines and the distance recorded on the stone. Furthermore, the distance between Sidyma and the findspot of the milestones is around 4.5–5 km, enhancing the probability of the first option. The Greek lambda is only acceptable if it signifies a distance of 30 stades (ca. 4 miles = ca. 6 km). This is, however, only a very slight possibility, because except for one Hellenistic example (Meriç, Merkelbach, Nollé and Şahin 1981, no. 3601, termed a stadion-stone by French 1997, 189–96 and a dekastadion by Thonemann 2003, 95, fn. 2) on the road from Ephesos to Sardes, there is no other evidence for the use of the stade as a unit of measurement on Roman milestones. In fact, the Pataran Stadiasmos monument, which was erected for the purposes of

Roman propaganda, unexpectedly gives the distances in Greek stades, even though the distances were measured in miles in the first place and later converted into stades (Şahin 2014, 123). The reasons for this are still disputed; see Salway 2007, 201–2. A. Kolb (2016, 233), referring to the Gallic leuga preserved on the milestones, has recently put forward the idea that “the people of the Empire thus used their accustomed measurements for documenting distances” (which might also be the case for Lycia), and claims that the absence of stades in the milestones of the region is incidental. In short, we might say that the possibility of our lambda being a figure given in Greek stades is relatively low, but is not impossible. Another possibility is that this letter was perhaps an A whose middle hasta has been damaged, or which was painted soon after the erection of milestone (like the possible Δ discussed above). In this case, the milestone would have been transported in later periods from a point on the road 1 mile away from Sidyma to its north. In all likelihood, all the ancient material in this cemetery was brought from other places, since neither building bases nor materials belonging to the superstructure of any building were observed in the cemetery.

No. 3: Gravestone for Thalamos (figs. 16–17)

Found in a private garden to the south of Sidyma, close to the ancient city centre. It is a funerary altar of limestone, quite plain, having no hollow cuttings on its top or bottom. H.: 51 cm; Diam.: 30 cm; Lh.: 1–2 cm

Οἱ φίλοι τὸν φίλον
 Θάλαμον
 Ἐπάγαθος β´
 4 Δείος ^{vac.} Κάρπος
 Φίλτατος ^{vac.} Πίξας
 Ἐπάγαθος ^{vac.} Ἐπαφρόδειτος
 Δημητρᾶς
 8 Διογᾶς ^{vac.} ἥρωα
 Θαλλίαρχος.

Translation: *The friends Epagathos II, Deios, Karpos, Philtatos, Pixas, Epagathos, Epaphrodeitos, Demetras, Diogas, and Thalliarkhos (honoured their) friend Thalamos, the deceased.*

L. 1: Θάλαμος is attested in Lycia three times, twice in Sidyma (TAM II, 230, l. 12; Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, no. 7, l. 12), and once in Tlos (TAM II, 615, l. 11). See also LGPN VB, 289 s.v.

L. 2: Θαλλίαρχος is very rare in Asia Minor. In Lycia, the name is known only from Sidyma; see the other examples: TAM II, 230, l. 10 and Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, no. 7, l. 11. For the name, see also LGPN VB, 190 s.v.

L. 5: Πίξας is an epichoric name and is seen only in Sidyma; see Zgusta 1964, § 1263–1; LGPN VB, 353 s.v.

The omission of the patronymic of these friends, both in this inscription and in other similar ones (see below) is noteworthy, but does not necessarily imply that they were of servile origin; see McLean 2002, 103.

L. 8: ἥρωα is a term defining the deceased that became prevalent from the late Hellenistic period onwards, and into the Roman imperial period. For a detailed account of “the dead as heroes,” see Wypustek 2013, 65–95. Cf. below nos. 4–6.

Date: AD 3rd cent.

Commentary

In the inscription a certain group of individuals honour their deceased friend. Similar inscriptions are known from Sidyma,¹⁵ this being the sixth example of the same type. Takmer emphasizes that the formula “οἱ φίλοι τὸν φίλον” mentioned in these inscriptions refers to a fraternity or college in Sidyma, with a long discussion on *collegia*; Corsten (SEG 60, 1567) states, however, that “it seems simpler to assume that some friends erected a statue for their friend, either honorary or funerary.” However, the inscription published by Takmer is included on the AGRW website,¹⁶ and these six examples indicate a certain group of people who rallied, most probably officially, to support each other for certain social needs, such as funerary practises.

Almost all of the names given in this new inscription are already known from four of these inscriptions, though in different sequence, so that we may suppose that these refer to the same individuals. The names given in accordance with the original sequence in these inscriptions are as follows:

No. 1) TAM II, no. 230	No. 4) Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, No. 7	No. 5) Takmer 2010, 122, No. 5	No. 6) New Inscription
...
Κοίντον Εὐφρόσυνον	Ἐπάγαθος β΄	Κλαύδιον Δαφνικὸν	Θάλαμον
Ἐπάγαθος [ό?]	Κάρπος	Ἐπάγαθος	Ἐπάγαθος β΄
καὶ Ποσει-	Εὐφρόσυνος	Δεῖος	Δεῖος
δειος	Δεῖος	[Φί]λτατ[ος]	Κάρπος
Φίλτατος	Καλότυχος	...	Φίλτατος
Καλότυχος	Φίλτατος		Πιξᾶς
Ἐπάγαθος νέος	Καλλικλῆς		Ἐπάγαθος
Θαλλίαρχος	Θαλλίαρχος		Ἐπαφρόδειτος
Ἐπαφρόδειτος	Θάλαμος		Δημητῶς
Θάλαμος			Διογᾶς
Δημητῶς			Θαλλίαρχος
Διογᾶς			
Κάρπος			
Πιξᾶς			

Since these inscriptions bear many identical names, it might be possible to match them and create a chronology. Frézouls and Morant (1985: 241–43) successfully investigated the names in three of these inscriptions (nos. 1, 2, and 4) and established connections among

¹⁵ No. 1) TAM II, no. 230: οἱ φίλοι τὸν φίλο[v] | Κοίντον Εὐφρό[σ]υνον | Ἐπάγαθος [ό?] | καὶ Ποσει[δ]ειος | Φίλτατος | Καλότυχος | Ἐπάγαθος νέος | Θαλλίαρχος | Ἐπαφρόδειτος | Θάλαμος | Δημητῶς | Διογᾶς | Κάρπος | Πιξᾶς, No. 2) TAM II, no. 231: Σύμφορον | Πρυτανικὸ[ς] | Νεικοφῶν | Εὐφρόσυνος | Τληπόλεμος | Πτολεμαῖος | Ζώσιμος | Εὐφρόσυνος νέ[ος?] | [Ε]ξ[ω]τικὸς | <Π?>ίγ[ρ?]ης | Σα<σ>ας | Ὀπ[ρ]?αορας | Δάμων | οἱ φίλοι; No. 3) TAM II, no. 238: [Αρ]ιστόδημον | [Μ]<ελ?>ε<ά?>γρου Σιδ[υ]μέα | Σύμφορος | Εὐ[δ]ωρος | [Κ]αλότιμος | Φιλήμων | Μιτ[ρ?]οδάτης | Αἰσχ[ί]ν[η]ς? | Στέφανος | Εὐδα[.]ήσιος | Φ[ί]λ[θ]ε[ο]ς | τὸν φίλο[v] | ἥρω[α]; No. 4) Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, no. 7: Σύναμα ζόντα | οἱ φίλοι | μνείας ἔνεκεν | Ἐπάγαθος β΄ | Κάρπος | Εὐφρόσυνος | Δεῖος | Καλότυχος | Φίλτατος | Καλλικλῆς | Θαλλίαρχος | Θάλαμος; No. 5) Takmer 2010, 122, no. 5: οἱ φίλοι τὸν | φίλον Κλαύδιον | Δαφνικὸν | Ἐπάγαθος | Δεῖος | [Φί]λτατ[ος] | [.]

¹⁶ Philip A. Harland, trans. “Grave (frag.) of Claudius Daphnikos Prepared by Friends (III CE) || Sidyma – Lycia”, Associations in the Greco-Roman World, Accessed 23.10.2018, <http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=24313>.

them.¹⁷ Together with two more inscriptions, the close relationship between these texts can be even more convincingly demonstrated. We should first note, however, some corrections to the names in the earlier inscriptions. In light of nos. 6 and 4, lines 4–6 (Ἐπάγαθος [ὁ?] | καὶ Ποσειδαῖος) of no. 1 should be corrected. Thalamos is the deceased in the new inscription (no. 6), and should thus be dated later than nos. 1 and 4. In such a case, we might have expected Deios in no. 1, since he is listed in both nos. 6 and 4. In fact, in its earlier edition these lines were read as “Κάρπος | Δεῖος,”¹⁸ which was also the reading adopted by Frézouls and Morant. This seems preferable for harmonising the inscriptions. An addendum is most probably required for line 4 of no. 5, since the ends of lines 4–6 are broken, while Epagathos in the fourth line should be supplied with a β’ (the upper part of a beta is only barely visible on the photo given by Takmer) and most of the names on the lost bottom part should be those in the other inscriptions. On the other hand, no. 4, the upper part of which is lost, does not seem to have been fully inscribed to the bottom. Frézouls and Morant do not state if the lower part of the stone is complete. Based on the occurrences of the names, we are inclined to believe that this might be a fragment, the bottom part of which is also lost. In no. 4, two names, Kallikles and Euphrosynos, do not appear in no. 1, which may suggest that these were later members of the college, and that no. 4 was later than no. 1. However, as they do not appear in no. 6 we might suppose that they had died sometime between nos. 4 and 6. Additionally, one more funerary inscription, for Kolotykhos, should also be placed between these two, since he is not mentioned in no. 6. The deceased Claudius Daphnikos in no. 5 is not listed in the others, which probably indicates that this inscription was the earliest of these four. Based on this chronological sequence, nos. 4 and 5 should have contained these names among those who appear in the other inscriptions. Presented below are the tentative lists of names, which do not offer definitive restorations but at best a probable chronological ordering:

No. 5 (fragment)	No. 1 (complete)	No. 4 (fragment)	No. 6 (complete)
Epagathos [II]	Epagathos [II]	Epagathos II	Epagathos II
Deios	Deios	Deios	Deios
Philtatos	Philtatos	Philtatos	Philtatos
[Thalliarkhos]	Thalliarkhos	Thalliarkhos	Thalliarkhos
[Karpos]	Karpos	Karpos	Karpos
[Pixas]	Pixas	[Pixas]	Pixas
[Epaphrodeitos]	Epaphrodeitos	[Epaphrodeitos]	Epaphrodeitos
[Demetras]	Demetras	[Demetras]	Demetras
[Diogas]	Diogas	[Diogas]	Diogas
[Epagathos (the young)]	Epagathos the young	[Epagathos (the young)]	Epagathos (the young)
[Thalamos]	Thalamos	Thalamos	Thalamos (deceased)
		Kallikles	
		Euphrosynos	
[Kalotykhos]	Kalotykhos	Kalotykhos	
[Karpos (2)]	Karpos (2)	[Karpos (2) (deceased)?]	
[Quintus Euphrosynos]	Quintus Euphrosynos (deceased)		
Claudius Daphnikos (deceased)			

¹⁷ However, a further problem occurs if this old reading is accepted as correct, because the same name appears on line 15 again and there is no indication (such as a patronymic or a second name) that these are in fact different persons. On the other hand, Frézouls and Morant (op. cit.) state that there was actually no need to distinguish between them, because the collegium was formed in a restricted environment.

¹⁸ Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 82, no. 69.

No. 4: Gravestone for Philetos (figs. 18–19)

A small funerary altar erected for Philetos by his parents, Antiokhos and Elpidous, and found in the Gödence Bahçesi in the Bel district. The upper and lower portions are profiled. On the upper surface is a hollow cutting for liquid offerings. At the bottom is a mortise, indicating that it was fixed onto another element. H.: 22 cm; Diam.: 14 cm; Circumfer.: 43 cm; Lh.: 1 cm

Ἀντίωχος
καὶ Ἐλπιδοῦς
Φίλητον τὸν
4 υἱὸν {υἱὸν}
ἦρωα

Translation: *Antiokhos and Elpidous (honoured through this funerary altar) Philetos, their deceased son.*

L. 1: Ἀντίωχος: The usual form is Ἀντίοχος. However, this form also appears in inscriptions from various regions, not only in personal names but also in the spelling of cities named Antiocheia or their ethnicons; see, e.g., Corsten 1993, no. 1048; Sayar 2000, nos. 165; 506; and TAM V,1, 782.

L. 2: Ἐλπιδοῦς (gen. Ἐλπιδοῦτος): A rare name to be found in inscriptions. Several forms of the name can be found in LGPN VB (p. 134 s.v.), such as Ἐλπιδᾶς, Ἐλπίδης, Ἐλπιδῶς, and Ἐλπιδώ, amongst other similar names. One example from Lycia gives the dative form of the name as Ἐλπιδοῦτι (TAM II, no. 1078).

L. 4: υἱὸν {υἱὸν}: The word is repeated.

Date: The letter forms might indicate the late Hellenistic to early Roman periods.

No. 5: Gravestone for Teimarchos (fig. 20)

Funerary altar of limestone, with a moulded top, and buried below. Findspot: In the cemetery at Ge Mahallesi (near Sidyma). H.: 72 cm; Diam.: 62 cm; Lh.: 2 cm

Δαμόνεικος [καὶ ὁ/ἡ δεῖνα]
οἱ Εἰρελαίμιος
τῶι ἑατῶν ἀ[δελφῶι?]
4 Τειμάρχῳ [ι φι]λο[στοργίας?]
ἔνεκεν [vac.]
καὶ Τατούς ΙΙ ΔΟΙ [--]
τῶι ἑατῆς υἱῶι
8 ἦρωι

Translation: *Damoneikos and so and so, the children of Eirelaimis, (set this up) for their brother (?) Teimarchos on account of affection (?) and Tatous, daughter of ... for her deceased son ...*

L. 2: For the unattested male name Eirelaimis, cf. Αλαιμης, another epichoric male name which has been recorded epigraphically only once to date (in Xanthos, see LGPN VB, 17 s. v.).

L. 6: For Τατούς, see Zgusta 1964, § 1517–31.

L. 7: ἑατῆς = ἑαυτῆς; see Meisterhans – Schwyzer 1900,³ 61, §18,3; 154, § 61,5.

Date: AD 1st cent. at the latest, from the style of the lettering.

No. 6: Gravestone for Agathokles and P(ῑ)indarma (fig. 21)

Funerary altar of limestone, with a moulded top, and buried below. Findspot: In the cemetery at Seki Mahallesi (near Sidyma). The first two lines are quite damaged; the others are in good condition. H.: 65 cm; Diam.: 47 cm; Lh.: 1.5–2 cm

ΕΡ . ΙΛ . ΝΑΣ [---]
 . ΙΙ . . ΡΗΤΩΠΑΙΡΩΙ και
 Αγαθοκλή τῷ πα-
 4 [τρὶ] και Πρινδαρμα τῆ ἐ-
 ατῆς μητρὶ Οσσαρμ[α?]
 ἥρωσ[ιν]

Translation: *So and so (set this up) for his deceased uncle [E]r[ph]igres and for his deceased father Agathokles, and Prindarma for her deceased mother Ossarm(a?).*

L. 1: A name beginning with ΕΡΠΙΔΑ- is possible.

L. 2: The line can be restored as [E]ρπ[ιγ]ρη τῷ πάτρῳ (Eρπιγρης is attested in Olympos and Xanthos; see LGPN VB, 155 s.v.). For the usage of πάτρως instead of θεῖος, which was more common in Lycia, cf. TAM II 547.

L. 4: Πρινδαρμα: Either the first *rho* was redundantly carved by the stonemason or this previously unattested name is closely related to the other name in the next inscription, also unattested (i.e., Πινδαρμα). The relationship between all these individuals is not explicit. One explanation would be that Ossarma was Agothokles' second wife and P(ῑ)indarma was born with her first husband. If Prindarma was identical with the Pindarma of the next inscription, then Ossarma's first husband would be Iason.

L. 5: Οσσαρμ[α?] is an epichoric name which has not hitherto been recorded.

L. 6: ἥρωσ LAPIS.

Date: AD 1st cent. at the latest, from the style of the lettering.

No. 7: Gravestone for Na (fig. 22)

Funerary altar of limestone. Reused as a spolia in the garden wall of Ramazan Çimen in Seki Mahallesi (near Sidyma). Severely damaged moulding at the bottom. On the shaft are carved two figures, a woman and a child. The head of the woman is broken; she stands in frontal pose and is depicted wearing a long *chiton* and *himation* and putting her right hand on her shoulder, while the child puts his left hand on his shoulder. Beneath the relief is an inscription of three lines neatly carved. H.: 76 cm; Diam.: 47 cm; Lh.: 1 cm

Σερισυμμας Βοήθου και Πιν-
 2 δαρμα Ἰάσονος Να τῆ ἐατῶν
 θυγατρὶ φιλοστοργίας ἔνεκεν.

Translation: *Serisymmas, the son of Boethos, and Pindarma, the daughter of Iason, (erected this funerary altar) for their daughter Na, on account of affection.*

L. 2: For the epichoric female name *Na*, see Zgusta 1964, § 1007–1. The name seems to be attested rarely in inscriptions and, apart from this, there has only been one (albeit dubious) example from Sidyma to date; see LGPN VB, 309 s.v.

L. 1–2: To the best of our knowledge, Σερισυμμας and Πινδαρμα are documented here for the first time. For the probable identification of Pindarma with the Prindarma of the previous inscription, see the commentary on l. 4 of no. 6.

L. 3: φιλοστοργία may signify the affection of parents for their deceased children (as in our case), or further that of husbands for their wives, or of wives for their husbands. For the term, see Robert 1965, 38–40 and Wörrle 2012, 455.

Date: Early Roman (AD 1st or 2nd cent.), from the style of the lettering.

No. 8: Gravestone for Asklepiades (fig. 23)

A small rectangular limestone altar with acroteria. Text on the shaft; other faces are uninscribed. Housed in the garden of the Fethiye Museum, having been transported there from Boğaziçi Village (near Sidyma). H.: 59 cm; L.: 27 cm; D.: 26 cm; Lh: 2–2.5 cm

Ἀσκληπιάδην
 Εὐνοία[ς] Σιδυμέα
 Ἀλέξανδρος
 4 ΟΛΣΕΑΣΟΞ
 ΛΣΩ . ΙΔ
 . . ΣΤΩ
 . . ΠΟΛ
 8 . . ΤΟ . Ε . ΙΣ
 ΣΩ

Translation: *Alexandros (honoured through this funerary altar) Asklepiades from Sidyma, the son of Eunoia ---.*

L. 2: For a freedwoman named Εὐνοία in Arykanda, see LGPN VB, 164 s.v. That Asklepiades is named with a matronymic rather than patronymic suggests that he was born to a non-citizen father. If so, his father would have still been a slave at the time the inscription was carved, or died prior to his manumission. In this case, Eunoia might also have been a freedwoman, just like her namesake in Arykanda.

Date: Roman imperial period

No. 9: Building inscription concerning a hospital (fig. 24)

Limestone block. Two clamp holes are visible, one on the moulding and one on the bottom surface, suggesting that it was connected to another block and presumably belonged to a hospital building (see below). Findspot: The cemetery at Ge Mahallesi (near Sidyma). H.: 20–21 cm; L.: 120 cm; D.: 61 cm; Lh: 5 cm

[οὔτος] ὁ οἶκος λιμὴν ἐστίν [- -]
 2 [ξέ?]νων κέ ἰατρῶν νοσοῦντ[ων - -]
 [- - γ]ὰρ ἔλεως τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν.

Translation: *This house is a harbour --- of the strangers(?) and a clinic for the (people) who are ill – ... pity those who fall sick!*

Because of the missing letters on both the left and the right of the block, the full content of the text cannot be reconstructed sufficiently, but it most probably recorded a metrical building inscription composed of three hexameters.

L. 1: οἶκος is mostly employed in a funerary context (see the list of attestations in Kubinska 1968, 113–14), but considering the general content of the inscription it is highly probable that here it denotes a ξενοδοχεῖον (guest-house, hospital) or νοσοκομεῖον (hospital). The ξενοδοχεῖον was a well-known Christian institution that provided medical care and shelter for both pilgrims and the

needy and poor; see Szabó 1983, 61–2; Risse 1999, 82; and Bosselmann-Cyran 2011, 1509–510. The metaphorical characterisation of a hospital as a harbour where people take shelter is noteworthy. There are only a few epigraphical attestations for this term: see Şahin 1978, 37–9, no. 4 (Pylai) = SEG 28, 1063 (cf. Robert 1979, 271–75) and MAMA III, 347 (Korykos; albeit dubious); for νοσοκομείον, see Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire 1910, 217 (Euchaita) and SEG 36, 1350. ξενεών, another term for these buildings, is also only infrequently attested in the inscriptions; see, e.g., Waddington 1870, no. 2327; 2524; SEG 36, 1350; and SEG 37, 1435. For the term also cf. Mazzoleni 1995, 308–9.

L. 2 *ιατρῖον* = *ιατρεῖον*; for the frequent interchange of *ει* and *ι*, see Gignac 1976, 189–90. For a parallel expression, see Greg. Nyss. *De s. Theod.* 46.745.37–38: *ιατρεῖον νόσων ποικίλων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος*. The term has two meanings: one is an office where doctors exercised their practice (cf. Samama 2003, 37–8 and Nissen 2010, 118), while the other is a surgery or remedy, see LSJ, s.v. The first meaning is here much the more probable. Apart from our new inscription, there are only three other known inscriptions (two from Delos and one from Cos) in which *ιατρεῖον* is mentioned; see Nissen 2010, 118–24 who compiled the literary, epigraphic, and papyrological sources for this term and provides an extensive commentary.

L. 3: *ἔλεως* = *ἔλεος*; see Gignac 1976, 277.

Date: Both the lettering style and the content indicate an early Christian date (probably AD 5th/6th cent.).

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Fig. 1 The remains of the road from Sidyma to Karadere



Fig. 2 The remains of the road leading from the northern pass of Sidyma



Fig. 3 The steps of the Pinara – Xanthos road

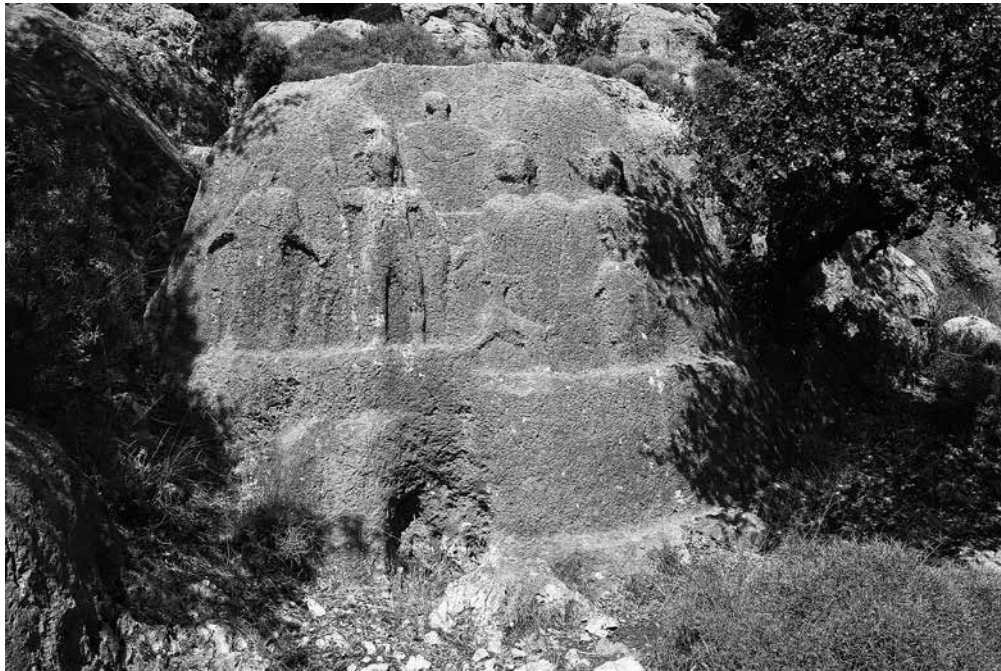


Fig. 4 The rock-cut relief at Bahçebaşı



Fig. 5 The cisterns at Seki village



Fig. 6 The church at Kızılca



Fig. 7 A stone press at Seki



Fig. 8 A chamasion on the northern side of Seki village



Fig. 9
The remains of an
illegal dig at Seki



Fig. 10
A chamasion with
lid intact on the
western side of the
Seki cemetery



Fig. 11 Milestone of C.
Pomponius Bassus Terentianus



Fig. 12 Milestone of C.
Pomponius Bassus Terentianus



Fig. 13 Milestone of Diocletian
and Maximian



Fig. 14 Milestone of Diocletian and Maximian



Fig. 15 Milestone?



Fig. 16 Gravestone for Thamos



Fig. 17 Gravestone for Thamos



Fig. 18 Gravestone for Philetos



Fig. 19 Gravestone for Philetos



Fig. 20 Gravestone for Teimarchos



Fig. 21 Gravestone for Agathokles and P(r)indarma



Fig. 22 Gravestone for Na



Fig. 23 Gravestone for Asklepiades



Fig. 24 Building inscription in the cemetery at Ge Mahallesi (near Sidyma)

Glass Finds from the Monastery at Olba

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Abstract

The majority of the glass finds discovered during the excavations at the monastery of Olba consists of fragments belonging to lamps, goblets, and window panes that indicate the use of glass for illumination. In addition to these, fragments of bowls, plates, jars, or flasks were also recorded. As almost all the glass fragments were found within the earth fill, it is not possible to build a chronology through stratigraphy. The only location that gives numismatic evidence for dating is the stone basin. The densely corroded coins from the basin suggest a date starting from the sixth century AD. The overall study of the archaeological evidence from the monastery, as well as the typological research into the glass material, reveal that the glass finds belong to a period starting from the fifth century and ending in the seventh century AD.

Keywords: Rough Cilicia, Monastery of Olba, Late Antique Glass, Glass Lamps, Glass Goblets, Window Glass

Öz

Olba Manastırı'nda yapılan arkeolojik kazılar sırasında bulunan camlar belirgin bir grubu oluşturmaktadır. Bunların çoğunluğu mekânların doğal ve yapay aydınlatmasını sağlayan kandil, kadeh ve pencere camı parçalarından oluşur. Ayrıca, kaseler, tabaklar, kavanoz ve şişeler de ele geçmektedir. Manastır'ın yer aldığı yamacı kaplayan dolgu toprağı içinde ele geçmiş olduklarından stratigrafi uyarınca bunlar için bir kronolojinin oluşturulması mümkün değildir. Manastır'da tarihlemeye kullanılabilecek numizmatik verileri sadece "taş tekne" verebilmektedir. Çok aşınmış durumda olmakla birlikte, burada ele geçen sikkeler MS 6. yy.'a aittirler. Manastır genelinde yapılan kazılarda elde edilen diğer arkeolojik veriler ve cam buluntular üzerinde yapılan tipolojik değerlendirme MS 5. yy.'dan başlayarak, MS 7. yy. sonuna dek olan bir sürece işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dağlık Kilikia, Olba Manastırı, Geç Antikçağ'da Cam, Cam Kandiller, Cam Kadehler, Pencere Camı.

Introduction

Olba in Rough Cilicia (Mersin Silifke Örenköy) has been one of the better documented sites in the region since the nineteenth century. James Theodore Bent was the first to visit the site and to publish the monuments of Olba.¹ The recorded inscription on the wall of the Roman aqueduct is exceptionally important since it provides direct evidence for the localization of the site.²

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¹ Bent 1891, 222.

² Hicks 1891, 270, no. 71.

The archaeological work carried out since 2001 at Olba has proven that the acropolis hill was inhabited as early as the Late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age. The processes of Hellenization and Romanization of Olba have been confirmed by archaeological and architectural evidence.³

Christianization is another of the major phases in the history of the site. Literary as well as material evidence supports the fact that Olba was home to an early Christian community. The cave–church discovered below the Şeytanderesi Gorge, a few kilometers south of the acropolis hill, reveals the presence of early Christians at the site.⁴

After Christianity was recognized in the Roman world, Olba was recorded as a bishopric in the church organization of the time.⁵ This event also marked the transformation of Olba from a pagan to a Christian site. Many churches were constructed, probably starting from the fourth century AD onwards. The monastery, dating to the fifth century AD and located on the eastern slope of the Eastern Gorge, was built on top of an earlier Roman villa.⁶ The marvelous mosaic floor that came to light after the excavations belongs to the villa and was dated to the second–early third centuries AD, during the time when Olba was growing as a typical Roman town in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁷

The construction of the monastery as a large building complex is usually interpreted as a part of the building activity that took place in the region during the reign of Zeno the Isaurian.⁸ The excavations carried out at the monastery after 2011 provided much information about the history and planning of this magnificent complex, which continued to be in use until the seventh century AD (figs. 1–2).⁹

The aim of our study is to present the glass finds discovered during the excavations of the monastery. This material is important in that it gives a full view of glass use at a Christian monastic complex in Rough Cilicia, and it will be evaluated in relation to the other archaeological evidence that was discovered during the excavations.

Glass from the Monastery at Olba

The glass that came to light during the excavations in the monastery belongs to the earth fill covering the slope where the building complex is located, thus it is impossible to date the material according to the stratigraphy. Nevertheless, it is still possible to classify the material under certain categories that are typical for the Late Antique Period.

³ For the process of Romanization in Olba, see Erten 2009, 76–85.

⁴ Erten, Özyıldırım and Akçay 2010, 278–79, figs. 6–7.

⁵ Özyıldırım 2003, 145–49; Özyıldırım 2012, 105–18.

⁶ For the earlier publications on monastery, see Headlam 1892, 22; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 97, fig. 116; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 369–70; and Hill 1996, 252, fig. 55, pl. 113.

⁷ Erten 2016, 61–91.

⁸ Canevello and Özyıldırım 2009, 16–28.

⁹ For the results of the recent excavations in the monastery, see Özyıldırım 2012, 105–18; Özyıldırım 2016, 181–201; Özyıldırım and Yeğin 2017, 47–68; and Özyıldırım and Yeğin 2018, 165–90.

1. Lamps

The most common group discovered during the excavations of Olba are the glass lamps (figs. 4–5). This material has previously been studied, classified, and published.¹⁰ Our aim here is to give a complete view of the artificial illumination of a Late Antique religious building complex through the glass lamps discovered in the monastery.

The implements produced in order to light the lamps are metal wick-holders (fig. 3.3–4). Numerous wick-holders, either with tube-shaped or circular recesses and produced to be applied to the rims of glass lamps, were discovered in many sectors excavated in Olba, including the monastery. Metal wick-holders were designed to be suitable for use on all kinds of glass lamps, whether handled or stemmed, and even on glass goblets functioning as lamps. Another type, represented by a couple of examples in Olba, are the conical terra cotta wick-holders with a vent at the bottom (fig. 3.5–7). The discovery of many examples of this type in the neighboring site of Elaiussa Sebaste reveals their common use in the region.¹¹

Although no fully preserved lamps were discovered in the excavations, it is still possible to identify their general appearance and details. The fragments of glass lamps found in the excavations of the monastery of Olba can be studied under two sub-groups: handled lamps, and stemmed lamps.

1(a). Handled Lamps (fig. 4)

Handled lamps are one of the basic forms of the Late Antique period, and consist of two parts: a bowl (serving as a receptacle for the oil), and three applied handles attached to the rim for suspension. Metal lamp-hangers with three suspension chains with hooks at the ends were designed for use in combination with handled glass lamps. In addition to one well-preserved example, many fragments belonging to bronze lamp-hangers were discovered both in the monastery and other sections in the excavations of Olba,¹² indicating the frequent use of handled glass lamps at the site (fig. 3.1–2).

Detailed study of the handled lamp fragments from various locations within the monastery indicates the presence of some different sub-groups according to the shaping of the handles and rims. The lamps have either vertical or loop handles, and the rims can be classified as either rounded or folded. Only one fragment belonging to a lamp with a vertical handle and a rounded rim was found in the excavations of the Northern Church (Type: Olba 1(b)1) (fig. 4.10). All other examples seem to have rims folded outwards, but a close examination reveals that there were several varieties of shaping among them. The vertical handle either connects to a curved (Type: Olba 1(b)2) [fig. 4.1–2] or an S-profiled (Type: Olba 1(b)3) [fig. 4.3–7] shoulder. Another type is the vertical handle connected to a spherical body (Type: Olba 1(b) 4) [fig. 4.8–9]). The reason for this variety in terms of details must be a result of the workmanship of separate glass workers or workshops, rather than a difference of chronology.

Another type of glass lamp discovered during the excavations of the monastery are the examples with loop-handles (fig. 4.13–15). Although a large number of this type were excavated in the theater of Olba, only a few fragments (three pieces) were found in the monastery. The

¹⁰ Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2018, 139–64.

¹¹ Gençler Güray 2007, 157–60; Gençler Güray 2010a, 234–44.

¹² Erten 2013, 106–11.

loop-handled type of lamps from Olba have already been studied in detail and published.¹³ One of the characteristics of this type is the long extension below the rim, applied to the body either as a plain strip of glass or a strip with horizontal-parallel lines formed when the glass was hot. Another feature of the type worth mentioning is the cut-off rim, which appears to be typical for the loop-handled lamps (fig. 4.11–12).

One question concerning handled lamps is how their bases were shaped. As there were no complete lamps from Olba, it was not possible to answer this question. Based on parallel examples found elsewhere in the eastern half of the Roman Empire, it was suggested that the handled lamps of Olba had a concave base. Subsequently, a fragment discovered in 2018 in the Northern Church—with an S-profiled body, out-folded rim, and straight handle preserved down to the bottom—confirmed that the type has a concave base (fig. 4.3). Thus, it seems clear that the seven concave bases found in the excavations at the monastery belong to handled lamps (fig. 4.16–22).

1(b). Stemmed Lamps (fig. 5)

Stemmed glass lamps specially designed to be used together with metal polycandela can be regarded as very common elements in the scenery of Late Antique interiors. The bronze polycandela discovered both in the monastery of Olba and in the surrounding region reveal not only the widespread use of this lighting device, but also the use of glass lamps.

The excavations in the monastery of Olba yielded a number of stemmed lamps with hollow stems. The majority of the stemmed lamps were discovered within the stone basin, which yielded a rich collection of finds that included a bronze polycandelon (fig. 5.19). The diameter (2.5 cm) of each insertion hole on the polycandelon matches the measurements of the lamps, such as the well-preserved example from the stone basin (fig. 5.1). The width of the section that connects the body to the stem of this glass lamp is exactly 2.5 cm.

As there are no well-preserved examples, it is rather difficult to reconstruct the stemmed lamps in detail, but some types can be determined based on the shaping of the stem-bases as straight-cut, oval with pontil mark, or slightly concave (fig. 5.1–18). Another base form recorded at Olba is the massive, button-shaped type belonging to the conical lamps,¹⁴ but these examples were not represented in the collection of glass finds from the monastery.

2. Goblets

Glass goblets, used either for illumination or as simple household goods (drinking vessels), are among the most frequent finds in Late Antique contexts of Eastern Mediterranean sites,¹⁵ including in Asia Minor.¹⁶ The Olba monastery is no exception to this, as numerous fragments belonging to the bases, stems, bodies, and rims of goblets were excavated there (fig. 6).¹⁷ As

¹³ Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2018, 143, 153, 154, 158, lev. 1.2.2, lev. 2.2–5, lev. 7.1.

¹⁴ Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2018, 149, 156, pl. 5.

¹⁵ For the spread of glass goblets in the ancient world, see Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 91, n. 6.

¹⁶ The pioneering publication on Late Antique glass from Asia Minor is on excavation finds from Sardis: von Saldern 1980; several works on material from a number of excavations were published afterwards; see Anemurium Necropolis Church: Stern 1985, 35–64; Demre St. Nicholas Church: Acara and Olcay 1998, 249–66; Amorium: Gill 2002; Olcay 2001, 77–87; Olympos: Uçkan and Öztaşkın 2017, 11–28; Olba: Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 95–118; Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2018, 139–164.

¹⁷ For the glass goblets found in the excavations of the theater at Olba, see Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 89–112.

there are no complete examples among the finds, suggestions about the forms of the goblets must be based on the shaping of their bases.

After a careful study of the base discs, it is possible to establish three basic groups, as follows:

- Olba Group 1: Goblets with folded conical base discs, cylindrical hollow stems (fig. 6.1–19): This type has been recorded as the most frequent group in the theater of Olba¹⁸ and is known from many Late Antique settlements in Asia Minor, including the neighboring sites of Elaiussa Sebaste and Soli–Pompeiopolis.¹⁹
- Olba Group 2: Goblets with massive conical base discs and massive stems (fig. 6.20–22): These examples constitute the second most common group of lamps among the finds of the theater of Olba.²⁰ The type has also been recorded in the region at sites such as Diocaesarea, Elaiussa Sebaste, and Kilise Tepe.²¹
- Olba Group 3: Goblets with massive base discs pulled out from the body (fig. 6.23–24): Fragments of these goblets have been found during excavations of the theater of Olba.²² Examples of the same type are recorded at several findspots in Asia Minor (such as Sardis, Saraçhane, Amorium, and the Agora of Smyrna), and have previously been recorded and named “B1b” by Çakmakçı.²³

The diameters of the bases vary between 3.5 and 6 cm. The glass rim fragments found together with goblet bases provide data for the reconstruction and basic description of the rims, which were either thickened and rounded in flame or folded outwards.

As no complete goblets have been discovered in Olba in the theater, monastery, or elsewhere, their heights and the shaping of their bodies can only be estimated. According to fully preserved glass goblets from various findspots, it can be suggested that their heights varied between a minimum of 6–7 cm and a maximum of 13–14 cm.²⁴ Their bodies were probably U-shaped, bell-shaped, or poppy-shaped, as has previously been suggested for the glass material from Kourion Basilica, Cyprus, where no complete goblets were found.²⁵ Although the majority of the body fragments are plain (fig. 7.2–24), one of the examples was spirally fluted (fig. 7.1), suggesting a two-step shaping (pattern-blowing) during production (i.e., first blowing into a mould and afterwards free-blowing by rotating in order to create the spirals).²⁶ It is worth noting that another body fragment with the same type of spiral flute but belonging to a lamp was also found in the monastery (fig. 4.3).

¹⁸ Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 93–5.

¹⁹ Elaiussa Sebaste: Gençler Güray 2009, 331, drawing 26; Soli–Pompeiopolis: Gençler Güray 2010b, 143, fig. 3/8–9; the type has previously been identified and named by Çakmakçı as “Type A1b”: Çakmakçı 2009, 53, 62, Table 3.

²⁰ Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 95, 101.

²¹ Diocaesarea: Kramer 2012, 41, cat. no. 566–67 (Form II.12), Taf. 64; Elaiussa Sebaste: Gençler Güray 2009, drawing XXVI, no. 347; Kilise Tepe: Collon 2007, 507, 797, fig. 453, no. 2106.

²² Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 95, 101, lev. 1.

²³ Çakmakçı 2009, 54, 63, Table 4.

²⁴ Erten and Akkuş Koçak 2017, 98.

²⁵ Young 1993, 40.

²⁶ Stern 2001, 27–201.

3. Window Glass (fig. 8)

The history of the use of window glass for the natural illumination of interiors goes back to the Roman imperial period.²⁷ The later use of window glass for the natural lighting of church interiors can be explained by two aspects: one is the importance given to light in Christian liturgy, and the other is the continuation of the old Roman tradition of illuminating large spaces within monumental buildings (especially baths) via windows with glass panes that provided both light and heat from the sun.

Olba is one of the sites where window glass was widely used. The acropolis hill, the theater, and the monastery are findspots that revealed numerous glass pane fragments.

Starting from the Roman imperial period, two main techniques were practiced for the production of window panes: casting and cylinder-blowing. Crown-glass discs, which were also in use, can be interpreted as something other than ordinary window glass, which is absent in Olba. The window glass panes discovered at Olba are all cast.

All fragments of window glass from the monastery came from the excavations of the stone basin and trenches M-2 and M-3, which are located in the central section of the building complex, where the ruins of a two-storey church were discovered (figs. 2, 8). The basement of the church was probably used as a cellar or storeroom without windows. The second floor, which constitutes the main space of the church and has an apse, had windows with glass panes. All the glass fragments found in this section are blue in colour, cast, and probably belong to the same type of panes.

For the window glass fragments from the stone basin, there is no evidence for the original specific location. They probably belong to a group taken away from one of the buildings in the monastery complex and piled up in the basin.

The total weight of the window glass fragments unearthed in the monastery is 176.5 g, with 87 g of this being composed of blue panes and 20.15 g of green panes. The remaining 69.35 g from the M-2 and M-3 trenches are also of blue glass. Therefore, it is safe to say that the majority of the window glass in the monastery was blue.

The surface, direction of oblong bubbles within the glass texture, and thickness of the pane all reflect the production technique. In this regard, it should be noted that all the window glass fragments from the monastery at Olba indicate casting. The shiny surfaces on the upper side, matte surfaces on the lower side, thickness (2–5 mm), and relatively irregular edges are also due to casting into moulds.

4. Plates and Bowls

Among the finds of the monastery, there is a limited number of fragments belonging to bowls and plates (fig. 9). The classification of these was made according to the diameter of their rims, which are either folded or thickened and rounded in flame.

4(a). Plates and Bowls with Folded Rims (fig. 9.1–3)

The fragments of glass belonging to plates and bowls with rims folded outwards were discovered in trenches (M-1 and M-4) that encompassed and surrounded the area of the central church building and the vaulted tomb of the monastery. Both pieces were made of transparent

²⁷ Whitehouse 2001, 31–43; Erten 2015, 155–61.

natural green glass, one with a diameter of 14.2 cm and the other identified as a plate owing to its larger diameter (24.4 cm). Another bowl fragment from Trench M-4 has a diameter of 14 cm, with its rim folded inwards. Evaluation of the same types of bowl and plate from the neighbouring sites of Diocaesareia and Elaiussa Sebaste reveals that a base fragment from the monastery (fig. 9.6) could be similar.²⁸

4(b). Plate and Bowl with Rims Thickened and Rounded in Flame

Only two specimens found within the stone basin in the monastery represent this group (fig. 9.4–5). One is a plate with a diameter of 20.6 cm and made of transparent green glass. It has a thick thread of glass below its rim, in the same colour as the body. The other is a bowl made of bluish–green glass and with a diameter of 11 cm. A blue glass thread was applied below its rim. The same type of bowl is quite frequent among the finds of Elaiussa Sebaste, and was dated to the mid–fifth to the first half of the sixth centuries AD according to the archaeological data. It has been suggested by the excavators that the lack of parallels of this type may indicate a local production.²⁹

5. Vessels with Glass Thread Decoration (fig. 10)

The glass thread is a common type of decoration in the Late Antique period. It has been stated that the spiral thread around the necks of bottles and flasks was frequent in the sixth and seventh centuries AD.³⁰ A number of flask fragments featuring thread decoration were discovered in the excavations of the monastery of Olba. One was found in the Northern Church and is the neck and rim fragment of a vessel made of light blue, transparent glass with a rim thickened and rounded in flame and a cylindrical neck slightly tapering downwards with a projecting roll³¹ and four rows of blue thread wound around the neck (fig. 10.1). The vessels (especially jars) with projecting rolls around their necks seem to have been quite common in the Syro–Palestinian region in the Late Antique period, and it has been stated that the presence of the projecting roll is an indication that the vessel was not designed for pouring or drinking, as the bulge traps liquid.³² As only a small section of the rim of the fragment from Olba was preserved, it was not possible to determine the diameter of the rim; however, the neck with a projecting roll indicates that the vessel could be a jar.

Two neck fragments, one with three rows of red/brown thread and the other with blue thread decoration, were found during the excavations of the Northern Church at the same spot (fig. 10.1–2). They could belong to jars or flasks, known to have been popular vessels of the time, that featured glass thread decoration.

Another flask fragment from the monastery is different from the others in that the blue glass thread was not applied to the neck but rather around the rim (fig. 10.3). This type is known in Olba, as parallels were found on the surface during surveys at the site.³³ Vessels with similar blue thread decoration below the rim were also recorded on bowls and beakers from Elaiussa

²⁸ Kramer 2012, 39, Taf. 61, no. 502; Gençler Güray 2009, 74.

²⁹ Gençler Güray 2009, 75–6; drawing XV–XVI. Gençler Güray states that, because of the lack of similar examples, no comparisons were made for the dating or determination of the distribution in order to evaluate this rim profile.

³⁰ Stern 2001, 30; Antonaras 2012, 197–99, cat. nos. 288–92; Dussart 1998, 92–3, 259, pl. 19.1–2, pl. 19.7.

³¹ For the use of the projecting roll in glass vessels, see Stern 2001, 28.

³² Stern 2001, 150, 229–34, cat. nos. 116–20.

³³ Erten 2003, 149, fig. 7.

Sebaste³⁴ and Beirut.³⁵ In addition to these examples with glass thread decorations, three rim fragments belonging to flasks, two with a funnel mouth and one with a cylindrical neck, have also been discovered in the monastery (fig. 10.4–6).

Conclusion

The glass found in the monastery at Olba constitutes a group which can be described as very typical of finds from Roman sites in the Eastern Mediterranean. The majority of the fragments (approximately 85 percent), belonging to lamps and goblets as well as window glass, reveals the growing use of glass for the illumination of interiors. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the artificial lighting for the rooms of the monastic structure at Olba was provided by glass lamps, with natural lighting being provided by windows covered by glass panes.

The overall evaluation of the glass material from the monastery of Olba indicates dates between the fifth and the seventh centuries AD, precisely overlapping with the period of construction, use, and abandonment of the monastic complex. As previously stated, a number of glass fragments were discovered within the stone basin in the monastery, along with some coins. Although most of them are densely corroded, the late antique copper coin finds from the basin (two *nummi* and five *folli* could be identified) indicate a date starting from the reign of Anastasius I (r. 491–518 AD), as he was the first emperor to introduce the copper “*folli*” in 498 AD.³⁶ Thus, for the glass finds from the stone basin, a date of the sixth century AD onwards can safely be suggested.

The similarity of the colour and texture of the glass material used in the lamps, goblets, and window glass may suggest a common source and/or workshop operating in the region. Although there is a great deal of glass material from the excavations at Olba, we do not yet have any evidence for glass making or glass working at the site. Future archaeological investigation may produce results that will enable us to understand whether or not there was a primary or secondary glass production at Olba.

Other forms of glass discovered in the excavations at the monastery—such as goblets, bowls, plates, flasks, and jars—indicate a certain level of glassware use (certainly less than pottery) in the monastery, probably in the “*agape meals*”³⁷ held in the dining rooms by the monks, who were tired from working in the fields or agricultural workshops since, according to St. Basileus’ rules of monastic life, they were required to perform labour as well as worship.

³⁴ Gençler Güray 2009, figs. 155, 196–7, 208–10.

³⁵ Foy 2000, 264, 12–6.

³⁶ Grierson 1999, 2.

³⁷ “*Agape*” is a kind of communal meal or “love feast” considered to be a Christian tradition; it had developed alongside the Eucharist, but later became separate in liturgy: Smith 2003, 285; for a more detailed evaluation, see Keating 1901.

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Fig. 1 Aerial photograph of the monastery at Olba.

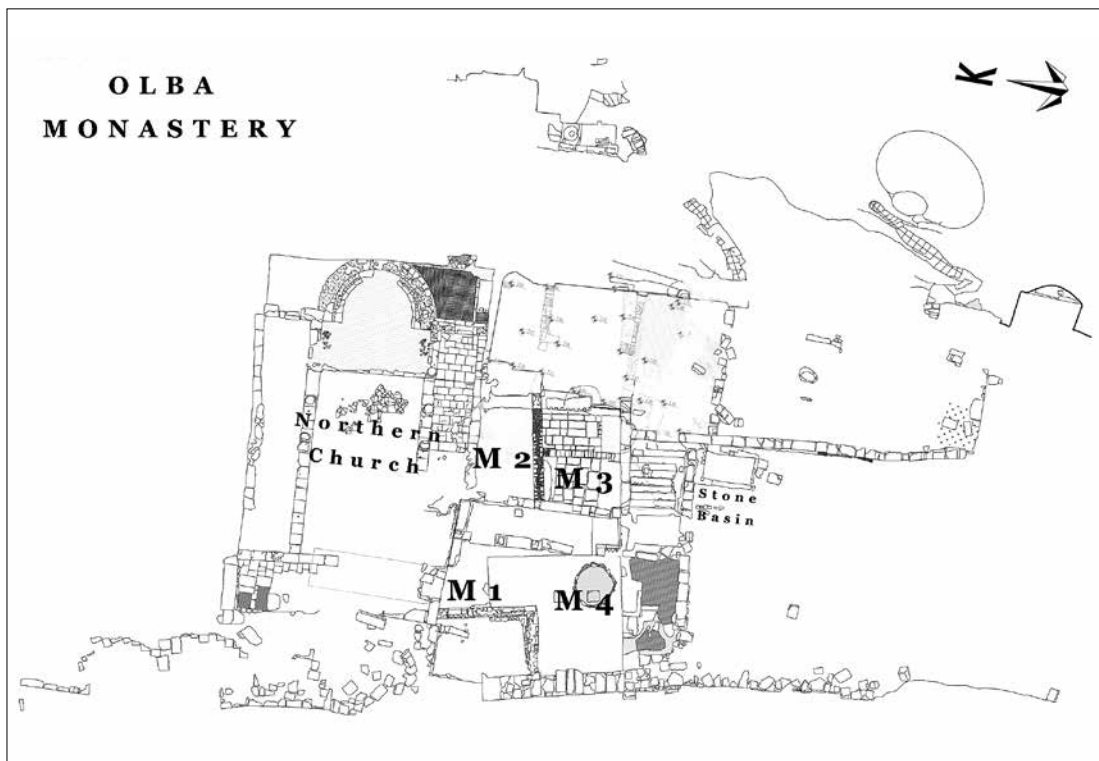


Fig. 2 Plan of the monastery at Olba.

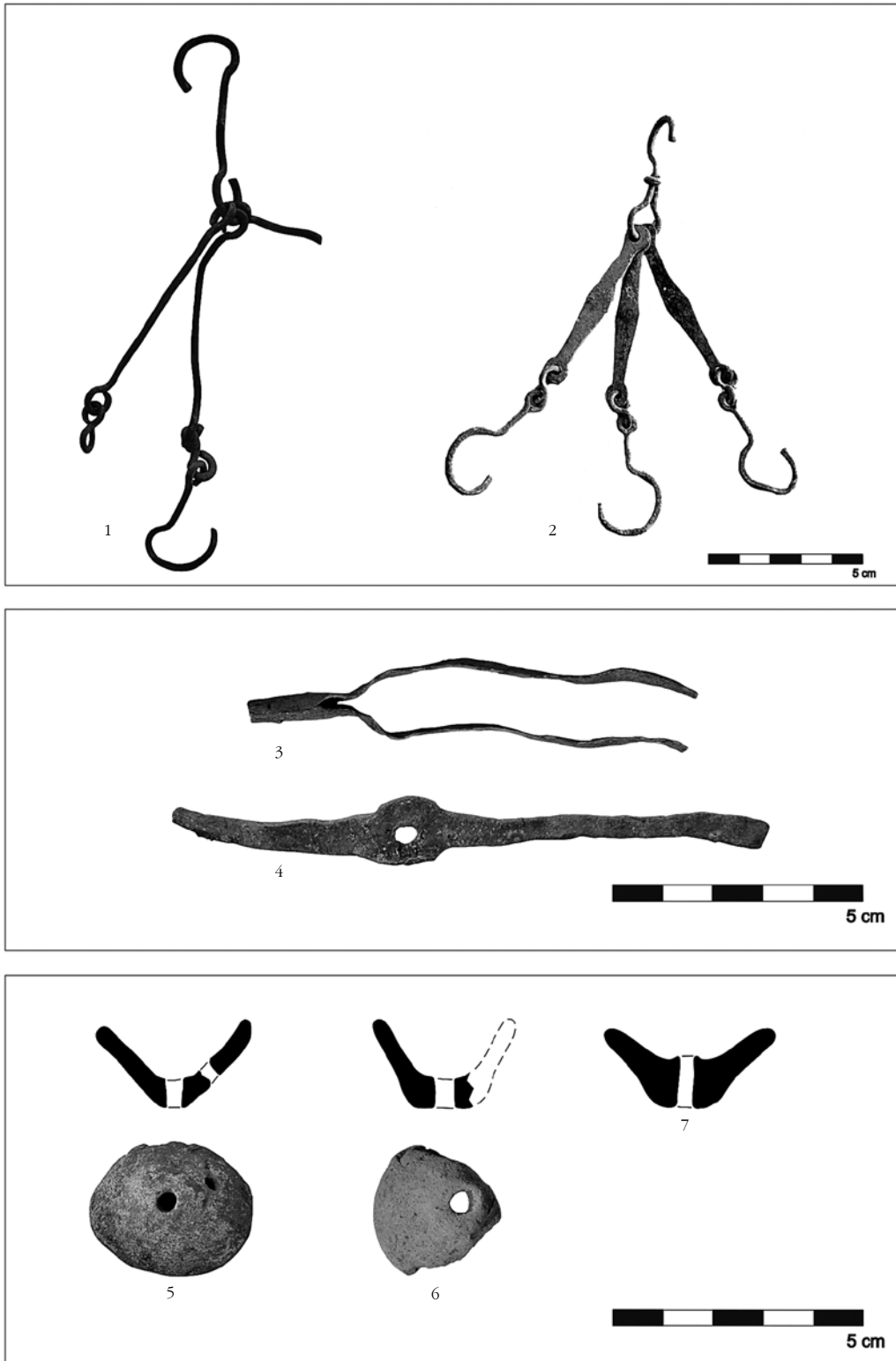


Fig. 3 Metal lamp hangers (1-2), metal wick-holders (3-4) and terra-cotta wick-holders (5-6-7) from the Monastery at Olba.

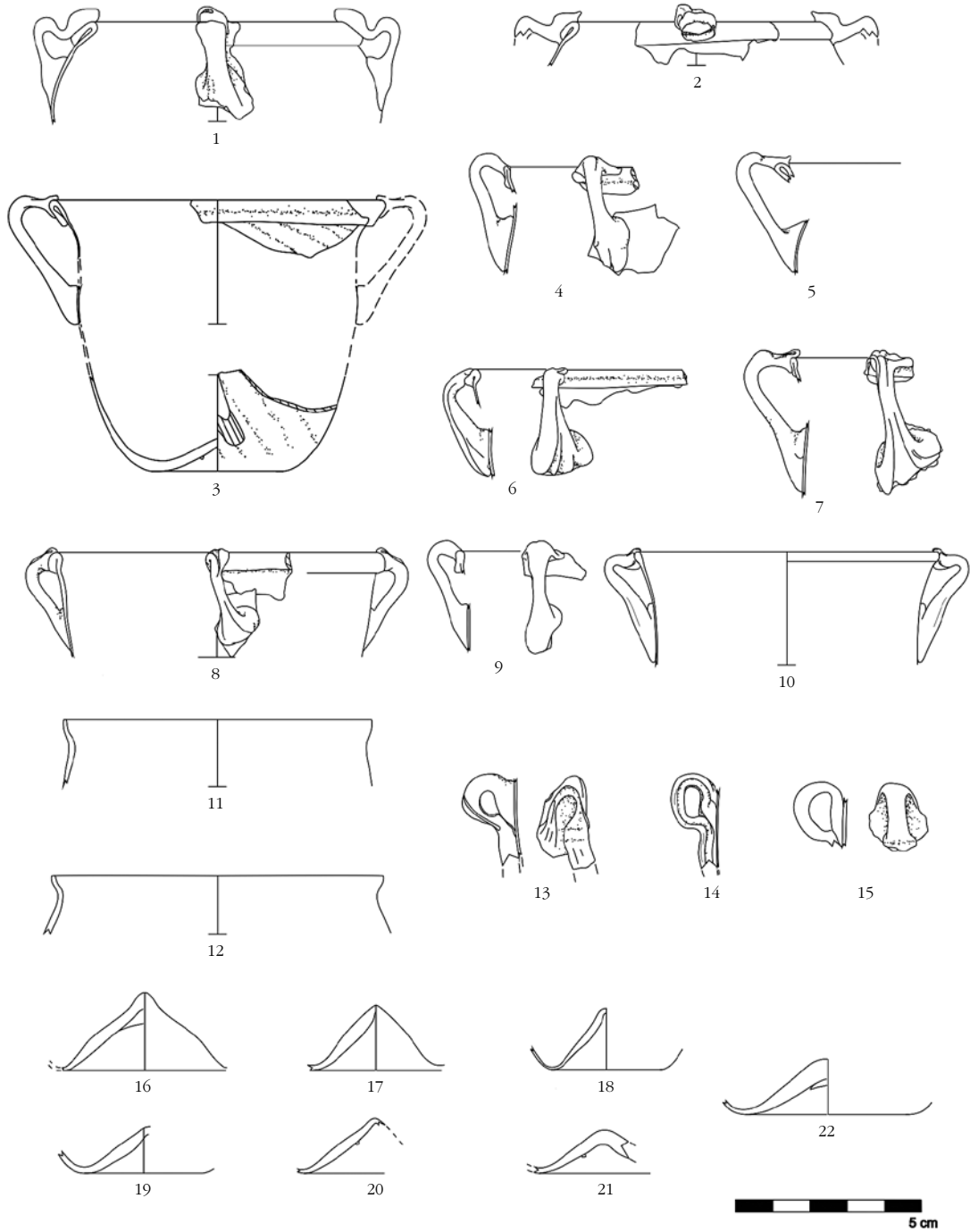


Fig. 4 Handled lamps (rims, handles, and bases) from the monastery at Olba.

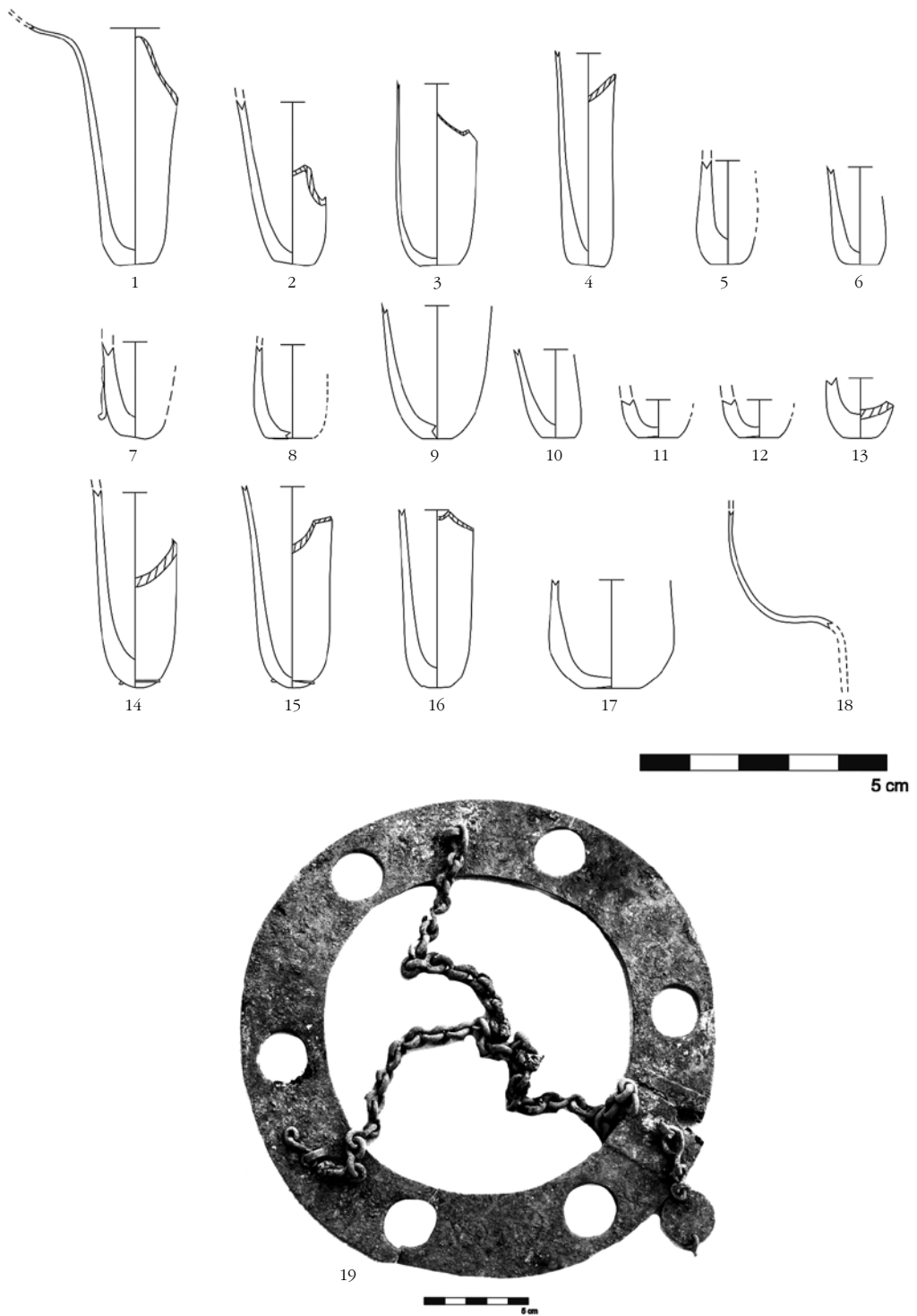


Fig. 5 Stemmed lamps and bronze polycandelon from the monastery at Olba.

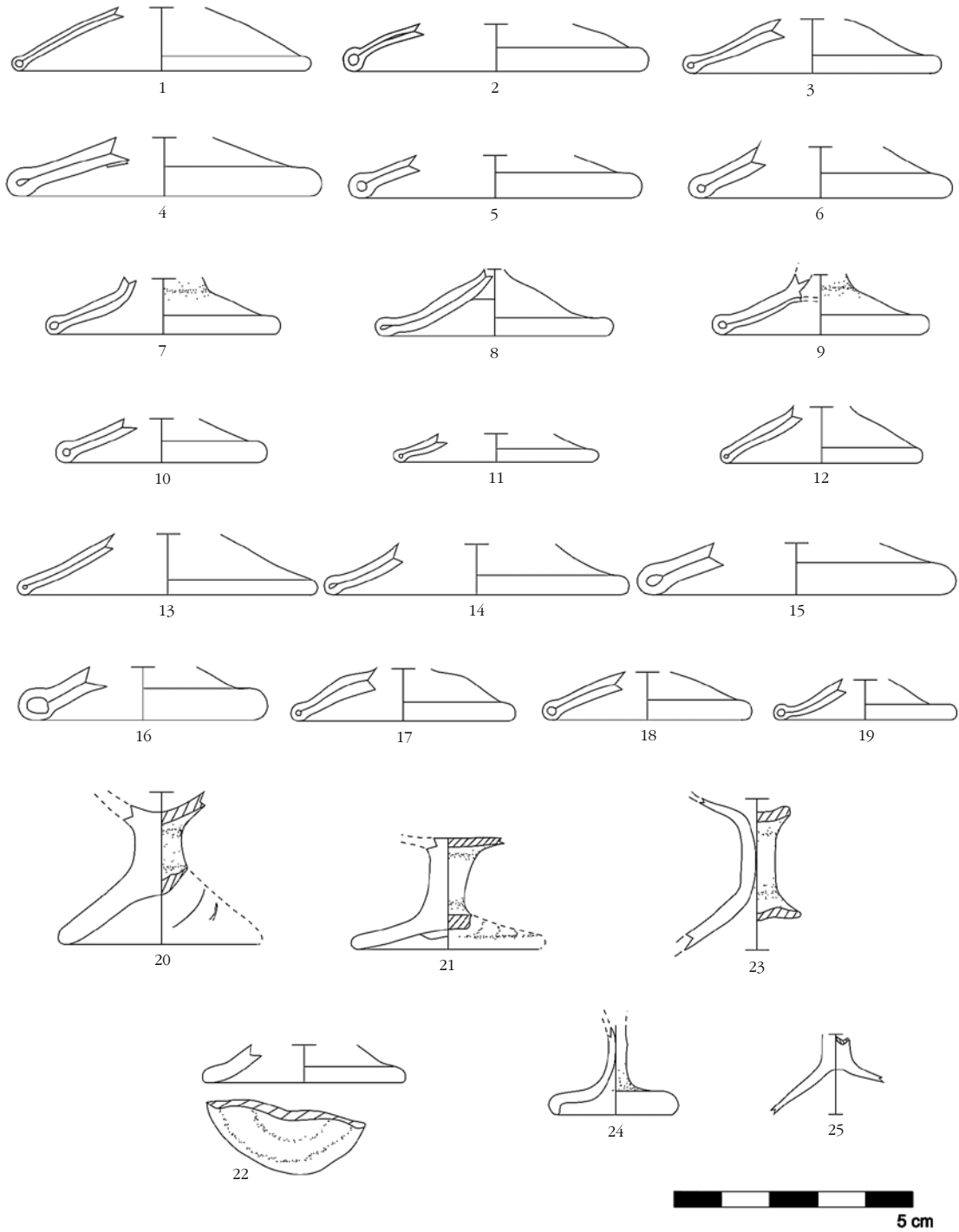


Fig. 6 Goblets (bases) from the monastery at Olba.

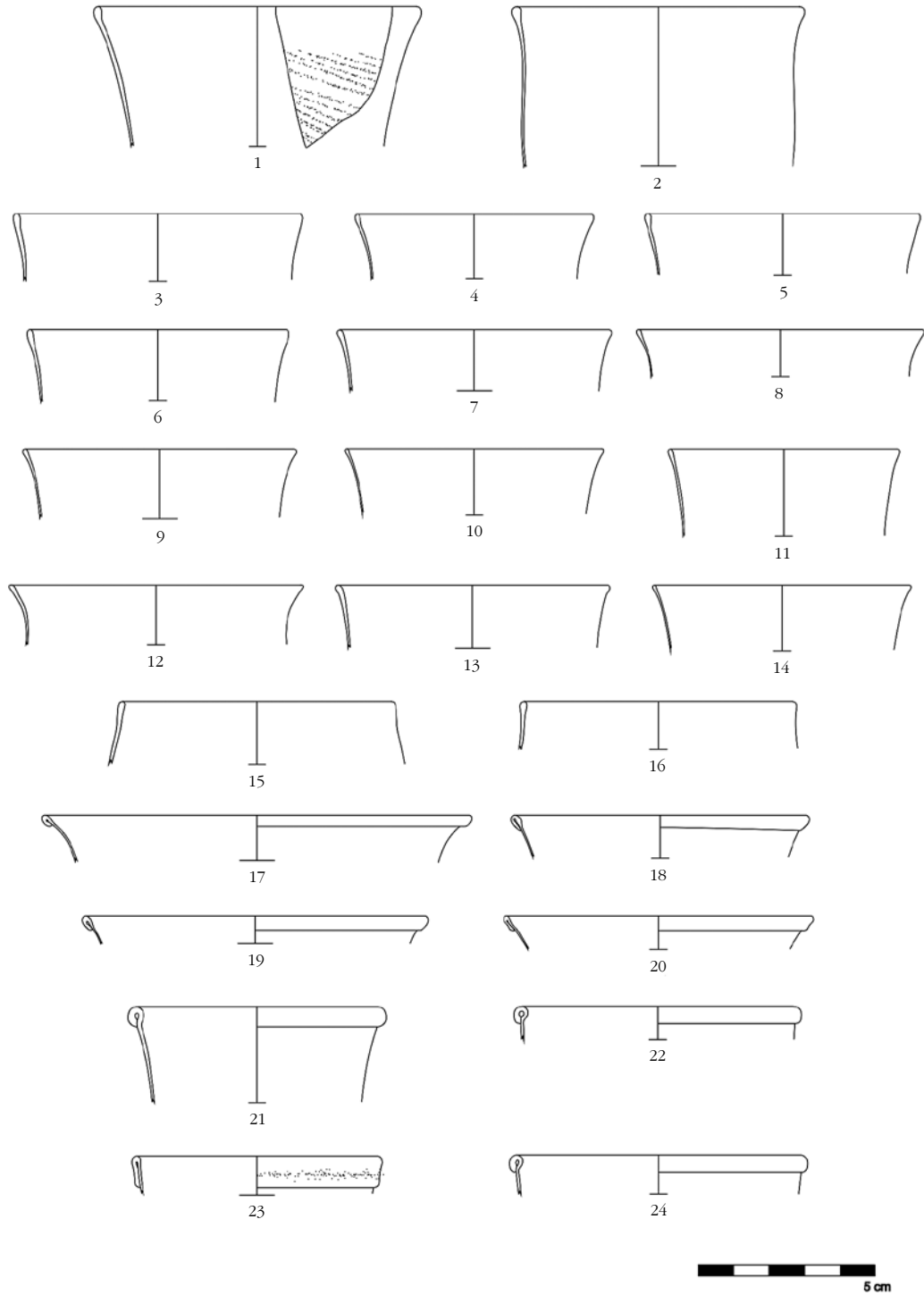


Fig. 7 Rims belonging to lamps and goblets from the monastery at Olba.

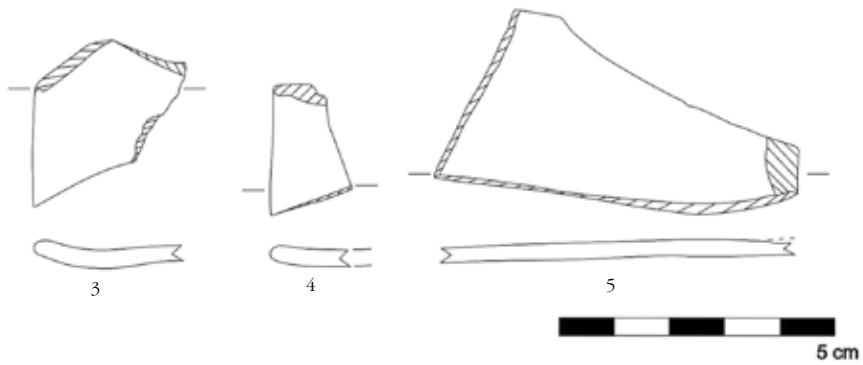


Fig. 8 Window glass pane fragments from the monastery at Olba.

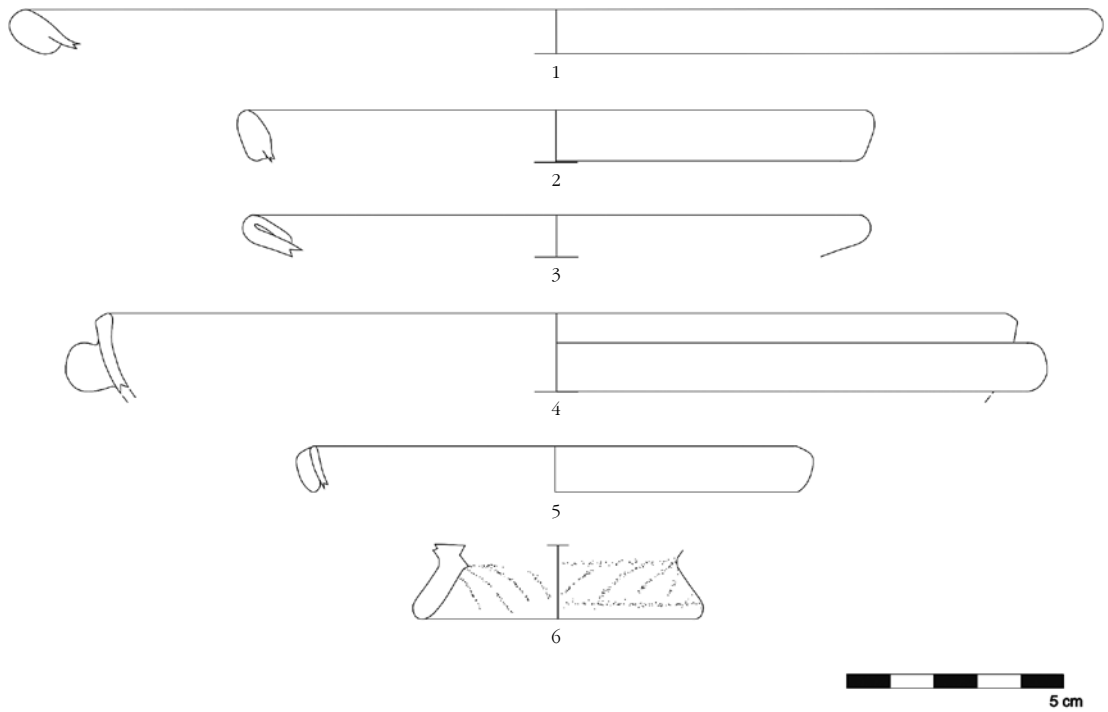


Fig. 9 Bowls and plates from the monastery at Olba.

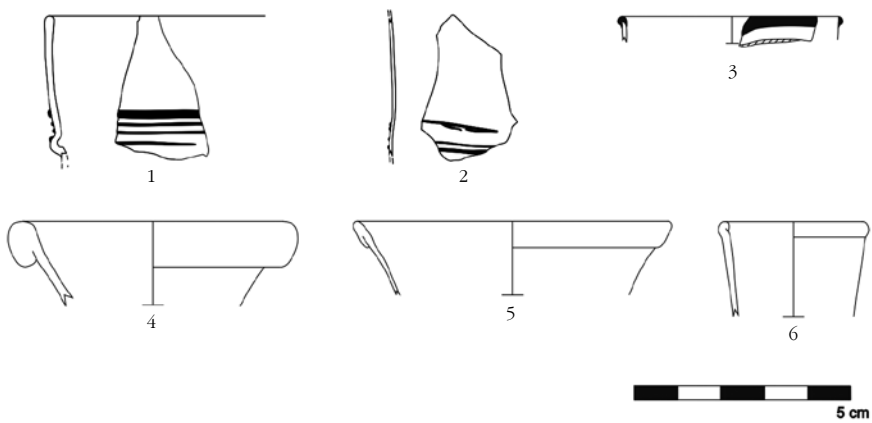


Fig. 10 Vessels (jars and flasks) with and without glass thread decoration, from the Monastery at Olba.

The Role of James Brant in the Process of Structural Changes in British Consulates

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Abstract

British consulates in the Ottoman Empire were financed and selected by the Levant Company. In the meantime, a duality in the administration of the consulate system emerged. As a result, it was decided that British consulates should undergo a process of structural change. Consuls were subsequently appointed directly by the monarch, and the company was dissolved in 1825. In the following years, on the one hand the number of consulates was increased, while on the other hand spheres of duty were differentiated and came to acquire a degree of influence, including the ability to intervene in internal affairs. James Brant played a significant role in this process, individually participating in the establishment of the consulates in Trabzon, Erzurum, Batumi, Samsun, and Kayseri. This study investigates the process of structural change in British consulates in the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th century and Brant's influence in this process. Additionally, in-depth information is provided concerning Brant's Trabzon and Erzurum consulships.

Keywords: James Brant, Lord Palmerston, Trabzon consulate, Erzurum consulate, exequat

Öz

İngiltere'nin Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki konsoloslukları, Levant Company tarafından finanse ediliyor ve seçiliyordu. Zamanla konsolosluk sisteminde bir çift başlılık ortaya çıktı. Bunun üzerine İngiliz konsolosluklarında yapısal değişim süreci başlatılmasına karar verildi. Bu çerçevede, konsolos tayinleri 1825 yılından itibaren doğrudan kraliyet tarafından yapılmaya başlandı ve şirket tasfiye edildi. Sonraki yıllarda bir yandan konsoloslukların sayısı artırılırken, diğer yandan görev alanları farklılaştırılarak zamanla içişlerine müdahaleyi de kapsayan bir nitelik kazandı. Bu süreçte James Brant önemli bir rol oynadı ve Trabzon, Erzurum, Batum, Samsun ve Kayseri konsolosluklarının kurulmasında etkili oldu. Çalışmada, 19. yy.'ın ilk yarısında İngiltere'nin Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki konsolosluklarında yaşanan yapısal değişim süreci ve Brant'ın bu süreçte oynadığı rol açıklanmıştır. Ayrıca Brant'ın Trabzon ve Erzurum konsoloslukları hakkında, bu kapsamda, bilgiler verilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: James Brant, Lord Palmerston, Trabzon Konsolosluğu, Erzurum Konsolosluğu, Konsolosluk Beratı

Introduction

Events that occurred in the Near East at the end of the 18th century made it mandatory for Britain to change her policy towards the Ottoman Empire. The new British policy regarding these bilateral relations fluctuated greatly between 1791 and 1833. During this period, when Russia moved to capture Ottoman territories, the Royal Navy appeared swiftly before the

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Dardanelles. British statesmen, who viewed British economic and military interests on Ottoman soil as indispensable, were determined, if necessary, to protect the Ottoman Empire despite the Ottoman Empire itself, and British ambassadors and consuls stationed in Istanbul played a critical role in the execution of such a policy of protection.

Those statesmen, diplomats, intellectuals, and journalists who were effective in setting up the new British policy towards the Ottoman Empire, as well as their ideas and influence and their ultimate impact on the Ottoman future, has so far been studied in various degrees of depth. This study focuses on British consuls active in the relevant period who have remained outside the academic purview in terms of their role in designing and implementing the overall British policy. The structural changes in and the expansion of the consular network from 1825 onwards call for explanation based on British and Ottoman archival sources. James Brant, one of the most extraordinary figures of the period, will serve as the specific area of investigation for this study. In particular, Brant's role in the structural change of British consulates and the establishment of new consulates in Trabzon, Erzurum, Batumi, Samsun, and Kayseri will be explained. Moreover, the study will also examine Brant's terms as a British consul in Trabzon and Erzurum between 1830 and 1856.

The Beginning of Structural Change in the Consulate System

The first British embassy on Ottoman soil was opened in 1583. Subsequently, British consulates in Ottoman port cities were established. The Levant Company, which paid the salaries of ambassadors and consuls, were decisive in assigning the latter.¹ As the 19th century began, however, either the increase in the importance of Turkey for British political, military, and economic interests, or the emergence of a duality within the embassies and consulates themselves, made structural change unavoidable.² First of all, the authority of the Levant Company in assigning the ambassadors to be sent to Istanbul was terminated. From 1804 onwards, the salaries of the entire consulate staff were paid through the royal budget.³ Thereafter, in 1825 Foreign Secretary George Canning secured the enactment of a law aimed at solving the attendant problems. According to this law, only the King/Queen was authorized to assign consuls and the administration of consulates handed over to the British government. In the same year, the Levant Company was completely dissolved under the influence of ambassador Stratford Canning's reports. As a result, consulates were freed of the inherent duality and inefficiency of the previous era.⁴

In subsequent years, political, military, and economic developments elevated the importance of the Ottoman Empire in British politics. In fact, from the end of 1833 the preservation of Ottoman independence and territorial integrity formed Britain's official policy. Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston implemented an agenda to fulfill reforms for the strengthening of the Ottoman Empire in accordance with Canning's reports.⁵ The necessity for the ambassador at Istanbul and the consuls in the provinces to apply the policy of protection necessitated further structural change for consulates.

¹ Berridge 2009, 28, 31, 33, 77; Horn 1967, 353; Laidlaw 2010, 20–1, 36.

² Wood 1925, 533; Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 20, 26.

³ Horn 1967, 364; Wood 1964, 87–8.

⁴ Cunningham 1993, 196; Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 30, 35, 60; Bailey 1940, 471.

⁵ Rodkey 1929, 571 et seq.; Dönmez 2014, 71 et seq.

Palmerston decided to use the consulates as an effective means for the implementation of the protection policy. The British ambassador in Istanbul was put in charge of handling the sultan and the Sublime Porte, while the consulates were assigned to inspect Ottoman military and civil administrators in the countryside. They were charged with reporting any developments to headquarters.⁶

Canning was reappointed as an ambassador to Istanbul in 1841 following the resolution of the Muhammad Ali crisis, remaining in the post until 1858. In this capacity, he endeavored to improve and systematize the consulate system, and he submitted reports to the Foreign Secretary to this end, thereby further elevating the degree of change.⁷ Besides Canning, James Brant also made an important contribution to the process of structural change in British consulates via his reports and memorandums, documents that were not in fact expected from a consul. During this period, British influence on the Sublime Porte became significant, with the reports of British consuls becoming sufficient to procure the dismissal or transfer of Ottoman officials. Canning, through his influence on the palace and Sublime Porte, ensured that the reports he sent to London against Ottoman governors were put into effect. As the demands of the consuls were thus met, their domination and influence in the region surged.

The network of British consulates in the region was rapidly expanded in accordance with the protectionist British policy and Britain's struggle, during the terms of Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen, to keep the area free of Russian and French influence. Brant's warnings concerning the Russian threat and his reports on the advantages of trade with Iran were instrumental in the opening of new consulates, particularly in areas close to the Russian border. As a result, the number of British consul generals, vice consuls, and consulates in Ottoman territory increased from 13 in 1825, to 19 in 1834, and to 36 in 1846.⁸ This number further rose to 51 in 1852.⁹

James Brant and the Establishment of the Trabzon Consulate

James Brant (1879–1860) was born in London. His father was a silk merchant, while his mother was a child of a Levantine family from Smyrna. Brant's first encounter with Turks came in 1805, when he was working at his uncle's factory in Smyrna along with his elder brother Richard William. While based there, Brant would also take business trips to different parts of Europe. After working for a many years in Smyrna, he returned to Britain in 1823. He then moved to Norway three years later before returning once again to Britain in 1829.¹⁰

While in Smyrna, Brant had the opportunity to become quite familiar with the Turks and the Levant region. Combining his time here with his experience in Europe, he realized that the Near East would be able to generate huge profits by selling raw materials to the West and the West's end products to the Near East just at a time when the industrial revolution was beginning to flourish. This idea would turn him from a young merchant into a diplomatic one who would come up with ideas on Britain's Near Eastern policy and, though indirectly, steer this policy.

⁶ Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 46.

⁷ TNA, FO, 881/724, Canning to Palmerston, 10 March 1848; TNA, FO, 881/724, Canning to Clarendon, 19 January 1857; TNA, FO, 881/724, Canning to Clarendon, 30 January 1857; Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 59–60.

⁸ Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 34, 54–8.

⁹ Berridge 2009, 292–94.

¹⁰ TNA, FO, 881/724, Brant to Clarendon, 30 May 1856; Buckingham 2011, 6–7. After terminating his partnership in Norway with Charles Dunderdale, on 30 January 1829 he returned to London. *London Gazette*, 18589, 30 January 1830.

Between 1774 and 1806, the Black Sea was opened to international trade by treaties signed between European states and the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ Though Britain signed a favorable treaty in 1799, Black Sea commerce was not sufficiently beneficial, and it was within this context that Brant foresaw the advantages of conducting commerce through countries along the Black Sea coast, particularly Iran. Trade with Iran could be conducted via the Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz route, thus bypassing the Caucasus-Georgia route¹² controlled by Russia. The conditions of the time were well suited to taking action in this direction. A short time before, Brant's brother Richard William had been appointed as consul at Smyrna.¹³ Russian troops had withdrawn from Erzurum, which had been captured during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828–1829. According to the plan, Brant's brother as well as his maternal uncle, John Lee, would operate in Smyrna, while he would work in eastern Anatolia, cooperating with the London companies with whom they were in contact in order to implement the commercial targets they dreamed of.

In this context, Brant decided to take action so as to have a consulate opened in Trabzon. He first met with the leading merchants of London, and then applied to Foreign Secretary Aberdeen to get the consulate established in line with the references he had received in London. According to the reference letter, the merchants with whom Brant had met wanted to trade through the port of Trabzon, where they would be asked to take part in the vice consulate. Due to Trabzon's location, trade through this port could connect Iran, the Black Sea, and the cities in the north of these regions, such as in Anatolia. Istanbul and Smyrna had the advantage of ease of connection by sea. Brant also claimed that, since he had lived in the region for 12 years and was familiar with the people, as well as having been a member of the Levant Company for 20 years and having a brother who was the consul in Smyrna, he was well suited for the job.¹⁴ The merchants of London also supported Brant with a joint petition they sent to Aberdeen. However, the establishment of a consulate in Trabzon was not considered convenient due largely to cost. Brant then informed the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, John Backhouse, of the advantages of trade in the region and the demands of the British merchants and stated that, if necessary, he would agree to work with very little salary.¹⁵ All in all, the persistence of the British merchants and the concession regarding salary proved effective, and Brant was appointed as Trabzon vice consul with a low salary of 200 pounds per year on March 2, 1830.¹⁶ According to his instructions, he was under the authority of Istanbul and was asked to use the rights provided via existing agreements to British citizens in Ottoman lands by notifying that he had been assigned to increase British trade in the region.¹⁷

The demand to open a British consulate in Trabzon as soon as possible was conveyed to the Sublime Porte through the British embassy. As presented to Sultan Mahmud II, it stated that France and certain other states had consulates in Trabzon, that it was inconvenient that Britain

¹¹ Kasaba 1993, 33; Turgay 1993, 436.

¹² This was the line reaching the ports of Sukhum, Poti, and Batumi from Tabriz-Tbilisi. See Turgay 1993, 442.

¹³ *London Gazette*, 18646, 30 June 1829.

¹⁴ TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Aberdeen, 16 January, 1830. Before this, several recommendations were made to build British trade from the port of Trebizond rather than through the Persian Gulf. Issawi 1970, 18–9.

¹⁵ TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Backhouse, 12 February 1830.

¹⁶ TNA, FO, 78/195, Backhouse to Brant, 02 March 1830; TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Backhouse, 08 March 1830; *The Morning Post*, 19498, 26 March 1830. Brant reportedly was ready to go on a mission, thanking him for being a vice consul in his response to Backhouse. TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Backhouse, 08 March 1830.

¹⁷ TNA, FO, 78/195, Aberdeen to Brant, 31 March 1830. Before leaving London, Brant asked that the British representative in Iran be informed that a consulate was opening in Trabzon. This situation shows that he was planning to take immediate action towards commercial activities with Iran. TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Bidwell, 28 April 1830.

was not allowed to operate in the same environment, and that the British had the right to make such a request according to the current charter. The sultan found these reasons sufficient for the compulsory *exequatur*¹⁸ to be issued.¹⁹

In the meantime, Trabzon already hosted the consulates of countries like Russia, Iran, and Sardinia. France had also long had a consulate in the city, but the French consulate had been closed since 1827. In 1829, in a report to the French foreign ministry, Victor Fontanier requested the recommissioning of the consulate, mentioning, just like Brant, the advantages of trade with Iran. During the period when Brant was appointed to the consulate, the French government appointed Fontanier as the new Trabzon consul. At the same time, both Brant and Fontanier were going to Trabzon for similar purposes.²⁰ A rivalry between them thus seemed unavoidable.

After having completed his preparations in London, Brant first traveled to Istanbul and met with Consul General John Cartwright, where he received a letter of permission from the Sublime Porte stating that he could begin working as a consul in Trabzon, though the *exequatur* had not yet been prepared. Later, Brant visited Ambassador Robert Gordon, who presented to him the consular instructions.²¹ After completing his work in Istanbul, Brant reached Trabzon by sea on August 18, 1830.²² Thus the first British consulate in Trabzon was established.

Erzurum was a center of transactions between the West and the Near East from ancient times thanks to its geographical location.²³ As his next step, Brant attempted to open a consulate in Erzurum in order to transfer the Iranian transit commerce handled through the Russian-controlled Caucasus route to the Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz route. He applied to Foreign Secretary Palmerston, but his plan was not approved by the Board of Trade due to cost,²⁴ and so the establishment of a consulate in Erzurum was initially dismissed. However, Brant was informed that the subject could be re-evaluated if he would accept to work without a salary.²⁵ As Brant was determined on the matter, he soon renewed his request based on this.²⁶

During this initial period of Brant's activity, great political and military developments were underway in the Near East. Not long after the Greek Revolt of 1821 and the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828–1829 related to it, the governor of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, rebelled against Ottoman rule in the final months of 1831. Not only was the scale of this revolt uncontrollable, but also Muhammad Ali's son Ibrahim Pasha took the Ottoman grand vizier prisoner while he was en route to Kütahya. The significant progress of Egyptian forces compelled Ottoman statesmen to accept Russian aid and allow the Russian navy to anchor in Istanbul (February 20,

¹⁸ *Berat*.

¹⁹ BOA, HAT, 46520, 1830.

²⁰ Yılmaz 2014, 157–8, 163. Fontanier came to Trabzon shortly after Brant in November 1830. Yılmaz 2014, 176–77.

²¹ The instructions stipulated the effects of the recent military movements of Russia against the Ottoman and Iranian people, gathering information on the Armenians and Turks who had migrated to Russian territory and preparing a report on the defense of Erzurum against any new Russian invasion. In addition, it was necessary to determine whether the Russians had established influence in Trabzon and whether Russia had issued a special privilege to Russian and Iranian merchants to investigate mineral resources in the region. BL, add MSS. 42512, 05 August 1830.

²² TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Aberdeen, 19 August 1830.

²³ Arkan 1973, 30.

²⁴ For the text of the Board of Trade, see TNA, FO, 78/195, from Lack to Backhouse, 17 June 1831.

²⁵ TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Bidwell, 20 January 1831; TNA, FO, 78/195, Backhouse to Brant, 02 June 1831; TNA, FO, 78/195, Foreign Office to Brant, 20 July 1831.

²⁶ TNA, FO, 78/195, Brant to Bidwell, 18 December 1831.

1833).²⁷ Russia had also for some time had influence over Iran due to its military successes as well as the agreements it had signed. All these events had a negative impact on Brant's plans.

In a report Brant prepared at this time, he made important assessments about the Russian danger. According to the report, Russia was making plans to conquer the Ottoman lands. As part of such plans, Russia would first conquer Trabzon and Erzurum, then the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, and then Baghdad and Basra, which would pose a threat to British India routes. Brant's predictions were based on intelligence that he had recently acquired. A Russian general had visited the pashas of Trabzon and Erzurum and said that if Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt moved to Anatolia, he could move the Russian army to Trabzon, Erzurum, and Sivas in order to protect the Ottoman Empire. Brant predicted that Russia would put pressure on Iran after gaining control of these regions, and thereby prevent British trade. As a solution to the problem, he believed that a comprehensive reform should be implemented. Although the Ottoman Empire had wide resources, these resources could not be fully utilized due to the management system in place. First of all, he stated, the monopoly system should be abolished and bad management on the part of Ottoman pashas prevented so that a more correct use of resources could be carried out. If need be, the sultan should be pressured towards such steps. Otherwise, Ottoman lands might fall under Russian control and British interests be severely damaged.²⁸ This report was written on March 26, just three months before the signing of the Treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi (July 8, 1833). The report coincided with the sultan's abortive calls to the British government for aid and the latter's rather tardy maneuver in favor of the Ottoman Empire. Brant's ideas contributed greatly to the regulation of British foreign policy and drew the outer boundaries of the protectionist policy²⁹ that would be implemented after 1833.

Though Brant prepared some reports on military and political issues, his primary focus was on commerce. He had already obtained privileges to export merchandise, in addition to his official duties. The company he founded, James Brant and Co., began to convey British goods to the port of Trabzon via companies in London as well as Brant's connections with British merchants in Istanbul and Smyrna.³⁰ His first task was to transform Trabzon into a trade hub for the commercial route towards Iran. In this regard, it was very important that a trade agreement between Iran and Britain be set up. Palmerston found Brant's ideas useful and wanted him to investigate how and under what terms an agreement could be made. Brant therefore requested to take a trip to Iran to determine trade opportunities and agreement terms.³¹ His request was approved.³² In the meantime, the fact that the Muhammad Ali crisis was now under control owing to an agreement struck between the sultan and the Egyptian governor also offered a suitable stage for this work.

Brant traveled to Iran in the final months of 1833. In his reports from his trip, he emphasized the importance of trade with Iran and expressed his belief that Russian influence on Iran should be broken so that British influence might be increased. Iranian trade should be removed from Russian control and rerouted through the Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz line. It was in this context that Brant also proposed that a British consulate be opened in Tabriz. Another

²⁷ For more see Aksan 2010, 387, 390–96.

²⁸ TNA, FO, 78/223, Brant to Ponsonby, 26 March 1833.

²⁹ Rodkey 1929, 573–74; Dönmez 2014, 107.

³⁰ *The Morning Post*, 21689, 31 July 1840; Turgay 1993, 441, 443; Issawi 1970, 19.

³¹ TNA, FO, 78/215, Backhouse to Brant, 28 June 1832; TNA, FO, 78/215, Brant to Backhouse, 17 September 1832; TNA, FO, 78/215, Brant to Backhouse, 02 October 1832.

³² TNA, FO, 78/229, Bidwell to Brant, 24 May 1833; TNA, FO, 78/229, Brant to Bidwell, 18 July 1833.

important event that occurred in the meantime was the death of Abbas Mirza, the heir to the Iranian throne after Ali Shah.³³ Brant sent London his first report about his journey to Iran on March 6. This report provided detailed information about the advantages of the trade to be conducted through the port of Trabzon, as well as about the current situation in the region. In addition, he claimed that if Britain did not act quickly, Russian influence in the region would increase greatly and British interests would be affected.³⁴

Brant wanted to go directly to London to talk face to face with the foreign minister and his merchant friends about the consequences of his Iranian trip and in particular about the measures to be taken in relation to Russian influence. First, he reported that he wanted to conduct additional investigations in Anatolia, particularly in areas close to the Russian border.³⁵ After completing his research trip, Brant returned to Trabzon and sent the second part of his report about Iran to London.³⁶ Palmerston was impressed by Brant's activities and the detailed information he provided about the region, and thus he approved his request to come to London and, prior to that, to conduct investigations in Anatolia.³⁷ Meanwhile, Brant was also planning to impress the British government with the new reports he had prepared and to impose his demand for a consulate in Erzurum.

In the meantime, a commission to investigate the British consulate was constituted by the House of Commons. Learning this, Brant sent a paper to Palmerston that included proposals on structural change for consulates in Ottoman territories. The report, entitled *Views on Our Consulate Structure*, recommended, with slight modification, the adoption of the style of the French consulate, which he wrote was "well-respected due to its highly organized and efficient structure." Brant embraced the opinion that disorganization was the greatest problem of British consulates in the Ottoman Empire, and thus that measures had to be taken to solve this problem. First, he stated, it should be determined which professions could be assigned as consuls. A system of consensus should be adopted in the appointments of vice consulates, consulates, and consulates general. Such an arrangement would motivate consuls towards being more successful in their work and aiming at promotion in their profession. Another issue was that foreigners might be appointed as vice consuls and kept equal to other British citizens. In the French system, vice consulship had been dissolved and a rating system implemented (first class, second class, consul general, etc.). Officials were promoted on the basis of their terms of service, with those who had served for 30 years being entitled to retirement with full salary. In addition, if consuls desired, they could be appointed honorary consuls. In Brant's report, he outlines the detailed circumstances of the French system, such as the system of interpreters, the chancellery, and clerks. He believed that their process of selection, education, and salary should be taken as a model. Attention should be paid to merit in the appointments, and people with a sufficient knowledge of Turkish be preferred. The prestige of the consuls should be maintained, allowing them to live a decent life, while the consular staff should be given a salary sufficient to keep them away from corruption. Furthermore, while the French consulate system was practiced in the same way throughout the world, the British system had differences

³³ TNA, FO, 78/229, Brant to Bidwell, 12 September 1833; TNA, FO, 78/229, Brant to Bidwell, 20 November 1833. Brant reported that he was on his way to Iran in his article dated 12 September. He wrote his article from Tehran on 20 November.

³⁴ TNA, FO, 78/241, Brant to Palmerston, 06 March 1834.

³⁵ TNA, FO, 78/241, Brant to Bidwell, 13 May 1834.

³⁶ TNA, FO, 78/241, Brant to Palmerston, 05 September 1834.

³⁷ TNA, FO, 78/241, Backhouse to Brant, 20 September 1834; TNA, FO, 78/328, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 21 August 1834; TNA, FO, 195/116, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 25 September 1834.

in practice in every country, and especially in the Levant region. As such, Brant proposed, the system should institute a common structure within the framework of general principles. In the French system, consuls were forbidden to conduct trade in any manner, which Brant stated to be proper: a consul should only be temporarily permitted to engage in commerce if it was the first time that he was beginning a commercial activity in a new place. In addition, consuls should not be changed too frequently, nor should they be allowed to work for too long a period of time in the same place.³⁸

John Bidwell, who was in charge of British consulates, demanded the propositions of Brant regarding a regulation on which the consulates in the Levant region obtained after a capitulation encompassing the right to judge.³⁹ Brant consequently sent a report to the foreign secretary entitled *Views on the Consulate's Right to Judge in the Levant*, which stated that he had no experience of judging and explained in depth the problems in juridical and criminal cases between British nationals and British subjects, or between them and Europeans or Muslims. In this context, he demanded that the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the consuls must be made precise. Moreover, the authority of consulates must be expanded even as far as the right to arrest, if necessary.⁴⁰ Brant thus started to influence the foreign secretary towards developing the system both quantitatively and qualitatively via his proposals on opening consulates in Tabriz and Erzurum and on the structural change called for in the consulate system.

Within the scope of a permission obtained in advance, Brant prepared for a new trip in the summer of 1835. This trip was meant to identify changes on the Ottoman-Georgian border after the signing of the Treaty of Petersburg (January 29, 1834) between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. What is more, he was also charged with examining the governance, agriculture, mines, commercial efficiency, and level of civilization in Anatolia and regions in which Armenians were settled⁴¹ (fig. 1). On this trip, he visited cities and towns in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, gathering a great deal of information, particularly in a commercial vein, about these regions.⁴²

Finally, Brant's efforts managed to rapidly boost the traffic of British goods in the port of Trabzon. This accorded him more respect in the eyes of British statesmen.⁴³

The Establishment of the Erzurum Consulate and the Expansion of the Consulate System

Having completed his inspections, Brant traveled to Britain to present his observations directly to the British government in 1836. During the journey, he was occupied with preparing his report on Anatolia.⁴⁴ After three months of meeting with statesmen and traders in London, he

³⁸ TNA, FO, 78/241, Brant to Bidwell, 14 October 1834; TNA, FO, 78/241, Brant's Report, 12 October 1834.

³⁹ TNA, FO, 78/265, Brant to Bidwell, 24 March 1835.

⁴⁰ TNA, FO, 78/265, Brant's Report, 23 March 1835. In 1837, on the authority of the queen, a law was passed to regulate the jurisdiction of the consulates in the Ottoman territories. The authorities and the rights of consuls in this context were determined in 1843 and 1864. Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 48, 63.

⁴¹ TNA, FO, 78/328, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 21 August 1834; TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Palmerston, 11 May 1836. For a map of the journey, see the appendices.

⁴² TNA, FO, 78/265, Brant to Ponsonby, 24 June 1835; TNA, FO, 78/265, Brant to Palmerston, 01 October 1835. Palmerston wanted to extend his travels into the Caucasus. TNA, FO, 78/265, from Bidwell to Brant, 14 June 1835. However, Brant did not fulfill this plan because, as he claimed, it was not possible to obtain useful information due to conditions in the region. TNA, FO, 78/265, Brant to Bidwell, 25 October 1835.

⁴³ Turgay 1993, 442–44; Yılmaz 2014, 177, 189.

⁴⁴ TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Bidwell, 28 January 1836.

presented detailed reports on his latest travels to the foreign secretary in May.⁴⁵ In the meantime, Palmerston had him prepare a memorandum on the alternatives related to the likely lender of the Ottoman Empire. This shows how well regarded his ideas were.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Brant held talks with the foreign minister and other statesmen about taking action in relation to his warnings about Russia's Ottoman policy regarding influence in the northeastern territories and in the north of Iran, which were aligned against British interests. It would be a major threat to Britain if Russia took control of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, thus threatening the route to India through the Persian Gulf. Other reports from the region also supported Brant's claims in this matter. Palmerston decided that Britain should adopt a policy of expanding its consular network, as Tsar Nicholas I had founded an Erzurum consulate in 1834 and appointed a consul general there. Britain thus decided to increase the number of its consulates in Ottoman territory.⁴⁷ In this regard, Brant's long uttered demand to establish a consulate in Erzurum was approved by William IV, with Brant being appointed to the post on April 29, 1836. He was granted a salary of 600 pounds per year, with 200 additional pounds per year to go to the staff of the consulate.⁴⁸ The area of authority comprised Erzurum, Trabzon, and Sivas.⁴⁹

Following his successful meetings in Britain, Brant travelled to Istanbul,⁵⁰ where he delivered the second part of his report⁵¹ on Anatolia. He met with Consul General John Cartwright and Ambassador Lord Ponsonby. The Sublime Porte offered an exequatur, but it was limited to Erzurum and Trabzon because there were no British subjects in Sivas⁵² (fig. 2). After completing his operations in Istanbul, Brant traveled to Trabzon on March 12, 1837 via a steamboat only recently put into service. Brant successfully implemented his plans. In a letter he sent to John Bidwell, he mentioned that his expectations of trade with Iran were very high.⁵³ After having Henry Suter⁵⁴ assigned as Trabzon vice consul, he established the first British consulate on April 15, 1837.⁵⁵ Brant put effort into developing sound relations with the pashas, with whom he would experience intense quarrels in later years. While in Trabzon, he visited the

⁴⁵ TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Palmerston, 11 May 1836. Brant's 1835 journey through Anatolia in 1835 was published by the Royal Geographical Society. For more, see Brant 1836.

⁴⁶ In his memorandum on this issue, Brant suggested that the Egyptian governor Mehmed Ali Pasha pay the tax debt, or that he should take a loan from European banks. TNA, FO, 78/298, Brant to Palmerston, 13 April 1836.

⁴⁷ Vereté 1970, 329–333.

⁴⁸ TNA, FO, 78/289, Palmerston to Brant, 15 September 1836; *London Gazette*, 19379, 29 April 1836; *The Standard*, 2802, 03 May 1836; Dönmez 2014, 232.

⁴⁹ TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Bidwell, 11 May 1836; TNA, FO, 78/289, 14 May 1836. After Brant's offer, it was decided to appoint Henry Suter as a consular officer to Trabzon. TNA, FO, 78/289, Palmerston to Brant, 15 September 1836. There was a Russian consulate in Erzurum. France asked the Consul Fontanier, who had begun working in 1830, to move the consulate center to Erzurum. In the end, however, it was not possible to open a French consulate in Erzurum until 1843. Yılmaz 2014, 168–72.

⁵⁰ TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Bidwell, 02 December 1836.

⁵¹ TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Palmerston, 08 November 1836.

⁵² BOA, HAT, 46604, 1837; BOA, A. DVN. DVE., 98/17, 01 February 1837; TNA, FO, 78/314, Brant to Palmerston, 30 April 1837; TNA, FO, 78/301, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 04 February 1837. Brant stated that the Sublime Porte had not accepted the demands at the first request. If applied after some time, an exequatur could be obtained for Sivas as well. *Ibid.* For the exequatur for Erzurum and Trabzon, see BL, add. MSS. 42512, 01 February 1837.

⁵³ TNA, FO, 78/314, Brant to Bidwell, 13 March 1837. British entrepreneurs began steam cruises in the Black Sea in 1836. Issawi 1970, 19. The circumstances had a significant impact on the development of British trade through the port of Trabzon. For more see Baskıcı 2012, 37 et seq.

⁵⁴ The appointment of Henry Suter as vice consul of Trabzon was agreed upon in London by Brant. TNA, FO, 78/289, Palmerston to Brant, 15 September 1836.

⁵⁵ TNA, FO, 78/314, Brant to Palmerston, 15 April 1837.

governor of Trabzon, Osman Pasha, to deliver Palmerston's letter. He also met with the governor of Erzurum, Esad Pasha, for similar purposes.⁵⁶

The following year, Brant obtained permission from Palmerston to leave for a voyage to regions in which Kurds lived.⁵⁷ He started this voyage on June 16, 1838, together with naval officer A. Gifford Glascott, and subsequently prepared a comparatively detailed report and map of the regions where Kurds were settled.⁵⁸

Under the influence of Ponsonby and Brant, Palmerston decided to take concrete steps towards increasing the number of British consulates.⁵⁹ Brant was thus ordered to open a consulate in Batumi and appoint a vice consul.⁶⁰ He appointed Frederick Guarracino to this post.⁶¹ Around the same time, Brant offered to open another consulate in Samsun. This proposal was welcomed by Palmerston, and Brant was asked to identify and appoint a suitable person.⁶² Brant chose Richard Whyte Stevens as the Samsun vice consul.⁶³ Palmerston also approved Edward W. Bonham as the Tabriz consul, having accepted Brant's 1833 offer to found a consulate in Tabriz.⁶⁴ Moreover, the consulate that was opened in Mosul was put under the authority of Brant and he was asked to give necessary instructions to Christian Rassam, who was appointed as vice consul.⁶⁵

In 1841, Brant offered to open a consulate in Kayseri for further expansion of British trade. Suter, the vice consul of Trabzon, was to be appointed to this new consulate, which was connected with Samsun and Tarsus.⁶⁶ Palmerston found this request reasonable and established a consulate in Kayseri, officially appointing Suter as consul there. Brant expressed his appreciation and gratitude to the foreign secretary for all these developments, which were "the

⁵⁶ TNA, FO, 78/314, Brant to Palmerston, 30 April 1837.

⁵⁷ TNA, FO, 78/289, Brant to Palmerston, 03 November 1836.

⁵⁸ TNA, FO, 78/366, Brant to Palmerston, 14 July 1839. Brant's travels were published by the Royal Geographical Society. For more, see Brant and Glascott 1840. This report has been translated into Turkish and published as a book. For more, see Brant 2014.

⁵⁹ Palmerston asked Ponsonby about the opening of a consulate in Bursa and the appointment of the merchant D. Sandison as consul there. In his response, Ponsonby stated that the expansion of the consular network in Ottoman territory was necessary for the protection of British interests and influence, and that therefore the opening of new consulates should not be postponed due to cost. He also emphasized the importance of selecting consuls like D. Sandison for the establishment of a guiding effect on local Ottoman administrators. TNA, FO, 195/145, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 05 January 1838; TNA, FO, 78/329B, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 16 January 1838; Kocabaşoğlu 2004, 61. Palmerston took these warnings into account and appointed Sandison to this post. TNA, FO, 195/148, Palmerston to Ponsonby, November 09, 1838. Ponsonby suggested Sandison in 1836, stating the importance of opening a consulate in Belgrade. TNA, FO, 78/273, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 07 February 1836. However, G. Lloyds Hodges was ultimately appointed to the Belgrade consulate. U. Durham L., Ponsonby Papers, GB 033/GRE-E/481/6/2, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 17 January 1837; Wilson 2018, 21. Palmerston asked Hodges to closely monitor all Russian activities, which were part of a bid to increase its influence in Serbia. TNA, FO, 195/138, Palmerston to Ponsonby, 24 February 1837.

⁶⁰ TNA, FO, 78/314, Palmerston to Brant, 06 June 1837; TNA, FO, 78/314, Brant to Bidwell, 08 August 1837.

⁶¹ TNA, FO, 78/367, Brant to Palmerston, 10 August 1839; TNA, FO, 78/401, Brant to Palmerston, 06 April 1840. Palmerston authorized Brant to appoint Guarracino as the Batumi consul. TNA, FO, 78/367, Brant to Palmerston, 19 November 1839.

⁶² TNA, FO, 78/367, Bidwell to Brant, 19 August 1839.

⁶³ TNA, FO, 78/401, Brant to Bidwell, 15 January 1840; TNA, FO, 78/401, Bidwell to Brant, 30 October 1840; TNA, FO, 78/443, Brant to Bidwell, 18 March 1841.

⁶⁴ TNA, FO, 78/314, Palmerston to Brant, 15 June 1837.

⁶⁵ TNA, FO, 78/367, Palmerston to Brant, 31 December 1839; TNA, FO, 78/401, Brant to Palmerston, 10 March 1840. Rassam was assigned to the authority of Taylor, who was appointed as the Baghdad consul in the following days. TNA, FO, 78/443, Palmerston to Brant, 10 August 1841.

⁶⁶ TNA, FO, 78/443, Brant to Bidwell, 26 January 1841.

proof of the confidence in him.”⁶⁷ In the same year, relations with Iran devolved for a time due to the Herat issue before recovering,⁶⁸ after which a trade agreement was signed with Iran, an issue whose importance Brant had been stressing ever since the first years of his consulate.⁶⁹

All these successive developments created a suitable environment for Brant to implement his plans. However, then his uncle John Lee, the largest commercial connection in Smyrna, passed away.⁷⁰ Soon afterward, the Ottoman Empire and Iran came to the brink of war due to border disputes. This problem was solved by an agreement that emerged from official talks held in Erzurum between 1843 and 1847.⁷¹ Brant, though, was unable to secure any progress in his plans for trade with Iran, and he ended his business in 1847. He was inclined to believe that almost all of his projects had been prevented by the Sublime Porte and local Ottoman officials, and he was also prompted to this decision by the health problems he had experienced in recent years, by the problems with the Egyptian governor, and by the disagreements between the British and Iran and the Ottomans and Iran. Even so, he continued his efforts with regard to the development of British trade in the region. For this purpose, in 1851, he offered a detailed project to the Sublime Porte concerning the building of a modern road between Trabzon and Erzurum.⁷² Nevertheless, this project ultimately failed due to unidentified causes.

During the Crimean War (1853–1856), Erzurum became a place on the border with Russia after Kars was taken in 1855. Wartime difficulties dissolved the last of Brant’s savings and commercial aspirations, and he was immediately appointed to the Damascus consulate on his own will. Brant left Erzurum in September 1856. With this, the plan to implement Ottoman-Iranian transit trade aimed at achieving great profits, which had been initially launched in Trabzon in 1830 and subsequently continued in Erzurum, was completely abandoned.⁷³

Despite all the difficulties, Brant did not give up his attempts at implementing structural change for British consulates. In February 1857, he informed Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon about the expansion of the consulates in the Ottoman Empire via a memorandum prepared in London and on which he had spent nearly one year of work before leaving for his new post in Damascus. According to Brant’s memorandum, the consulates played an important role in the Ottoman reform process, and in order to increase their influence in this direction, a consulate needed to be opened in all settlements that were under the administration of an Ottoman pasha, and not only in regions where British subjects were living. The consuls, their

⁶⁷ TNA, FO, 78/443, Brant to Palmerston, 18 October 1841.

⁶⁸ British-Iranian diplomatic relations were disturbed after Fath Ali Shah’s siege of Herat, which was held by Mohammed Mirza (1837). Searight 1979, 100.

⁶⁹ The trade agreement between England and Iran is dated 28 October 1841. Hurewitz 1975, 280. Before the trade agreement with Iran, the Treaty of Balta Limani (August 16, 1838) had been signed between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, at which time British merchants had been granted significant privileges. For more see Pamuk 2005, 205–09; Dönmez 2014, 221–29.

⁷⁰ <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/166195569/john-lee>, 19 November 2018.

⁷¹ Aykun 1995, 39 et seq. The Ottoman and Iranian armies came into conflict in 1842. Brant played an instrumental role in the retreat of armies to their borders and accompanied the Ottoman army during the withdrawal from Bayezid. Aykun 1995, 67–70.

⁷² TNA, FO, 78/870, Palmerston to Brant, 10 July 1851. In fact, the road construction of the Trabzon-Erzurum-Bayezid route was started by the Ottoman government in 1850, but ultimately did not produce the desired result. Tozlu 1997, 59–63.

⁷³ Nevertheless, the trade along the Trabzon-Erzurum-Tabriz line showed great improvement in both directions as compared to the period when Brant had started the consulate. The number of goods going from Trabzon to Tabriz increased by a factor of 13 between 1830 and 1851, and the number of goods going from Tabriz to Trabzon more than doubled during the same period. The increase in the number of goods to Iran went up by a factor of 19 in 1867. Issawi 1970, 26–7; Quataert 2004, 940.

numbers thus increased, could help to ensure the advancement and implementation of reforms through their influence and pressure on the pashas. They would protect Ottoman administrators from local intrigues and prevent them from oppressing the people. In addition, they would ensure that non-Muslims and foreign traders could perform their commercial activities in comfort thanks to the protection they would provide, and what is more they would also create a market for British goods in their region. Brant had earlier, especially during his time at the consulate of Erzurum, made numerous complaints about local administrators and even managed to secure their dismissal. Another issue he emphasized in the memorandum was the systematization of this mechanism through the British ambassador and the warning or dismissal of pashas filed by the consuls. Any demands in this regard, he noted, must be fulfilled instantly; otherwise, the influence of the consulates would be doomed to diminish. According to Brant, "A pasha must be respectful and favorable towards a consul and ambassador must rely on the reliability and mediation of consul." When a new ambassador was assigned to the Istanbul embassy, it would be important to ensure that the consuls were correctly informed about the new ambassador's character, qualifications, ideas, and desires. The Levant was a special region due to its particular conditions, and therefore the ambassadors and consuls appointed to the region must be chosen from among people who had already gained experience there. Furthermore, the consular profession should be made more attractive by measures such as higher wages, promotions, rewards, and ranking for services.⁷⁴ As can be seen, Brant's long-standing ideas regarding the structural change of consulates and their potential effects had not been fundamentally changed, but instead had developed and improved. The memorandum was published by Clarendon as a confidential print distributed to members of the government and to representatives of the British offices, which shows that he was a highly reliable person.

Conclusion

The course of the structural change in British consulates in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century ran parallel to changes in British policy in the region. At a time when the importance of the Ottoman Empire in the European balance of power was not yet fully understood, the number of consulates in Turkey was very limited, and even these were more in the nature of merchant consuls. After the British government decided to adopt the integration of Ottoman territories as official state policy in 1833, the number of consulates increased rapidly. The increase in the number of consulates between 1825 and 1852 from 12 to 51 demonstrates this policy shift clearly. As part of this process, British consuls, apart from their routine tasks, were transformed into controllers of protectionist policy as followers of the reform process and as local administrators.

James Brant had initially chosen to be a diplomat in a bid to obtain large profits through trade-based plans that shaped the activities of the consulate in the early years, the efforts made to open new consulates, and Brant's travels and relations with Ottoman administrators. Trabzon, Erzurum, Batumi, Samsun, and Kayseri all played a direct role in the establishment of consulates. In his reports and memorandums to the foreign secretary, Brant proved instrumental in the process of structural change applied to British consulates and to the further dissemination of consulates.

⁷⁴ TNA, FO, 881/591A, Brant to Clarendon, 14 February 1857.

Ultimately, Brant's commercial dreams were hindered by factors such as the Muhammad Ali crisis, tensions between Iran and Britain and the Ottoman Empire, the proposed modernization of the Trabzon-Erzurum road and the Sublime Porte's refusal to accept such projects, and disagreements with Ottoman officials. For this reason, in 1847 Brant completely abandoned his commercial pursuits, which had a significant effect on the frustrations of Ottoman officials in embracing a more confrontational attitude. In the reports he sent to London, Brant emphasized issues like management problems, corruption, bribery, and the injustice suffered by Christians. In the end, he served as a kind of role model for Palmerston's new consulate type of British consulates.

From the early years of the consulates of Trabzon and Erzurum, Brant had warned the British foreign secretary about the Russian threat and about problems in the Ottoman administration, and he had argued that a protective and interventionist policy should be followed. However, while these ideas were voiced in the 1830s, it was only in the 1870s, under the Disraeli and Gladstone governments, that a parallel policy would finally be applied with full force.

For many years, Brant served in the consulate of Britain to the Ottoman Empire, and in the process of structural change in the British Near Eastern policy and consular system, he was far more than an ordinary consul. He was seen by British politicians as one of the most experienced people, someone who knew Ottoman politics and the region, and he had a great influence on them through his ideas.

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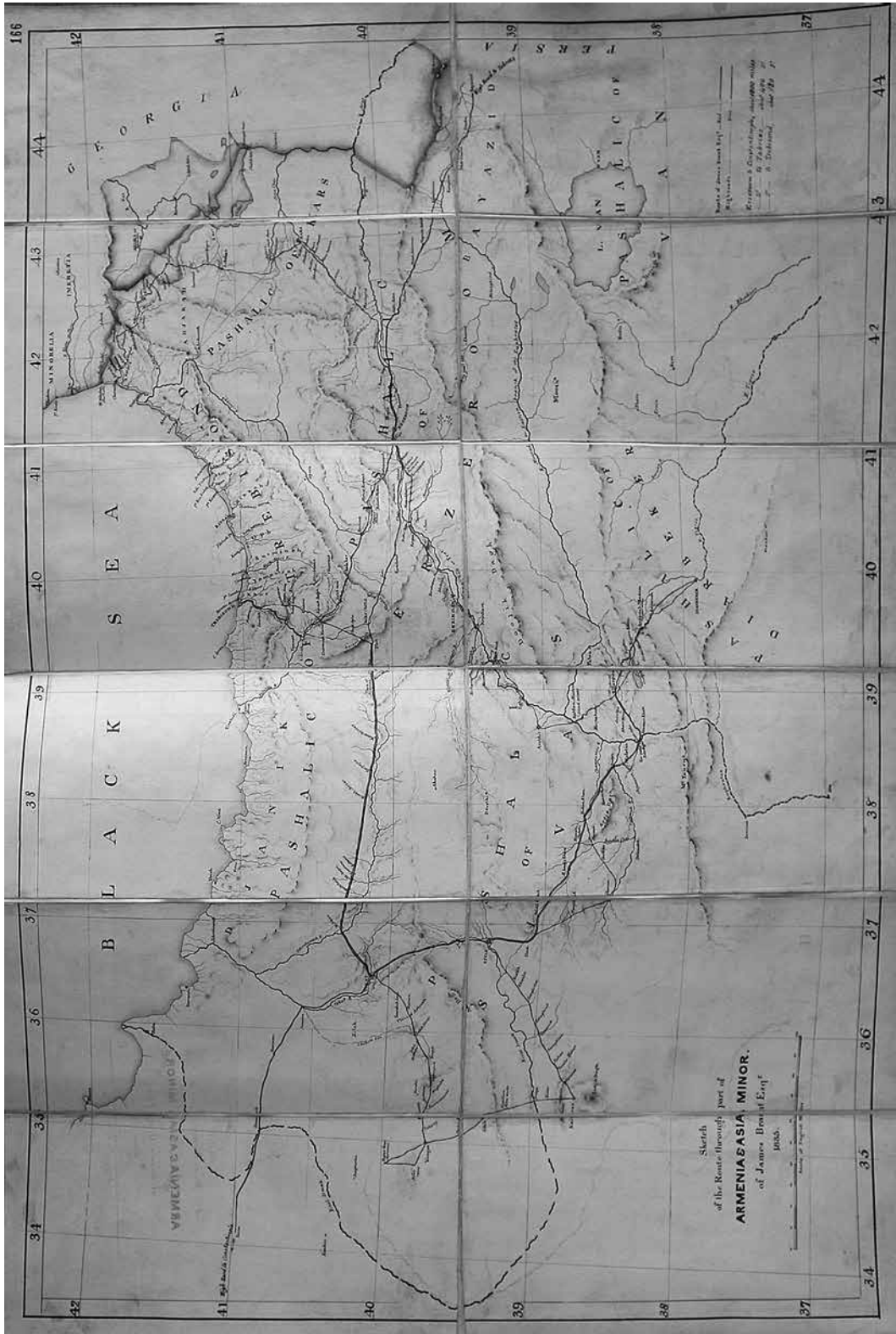


Fig. 1 A map from James Brant's travels to Armenia and Anatolia in 1835 (TNA, FO, 78/289).

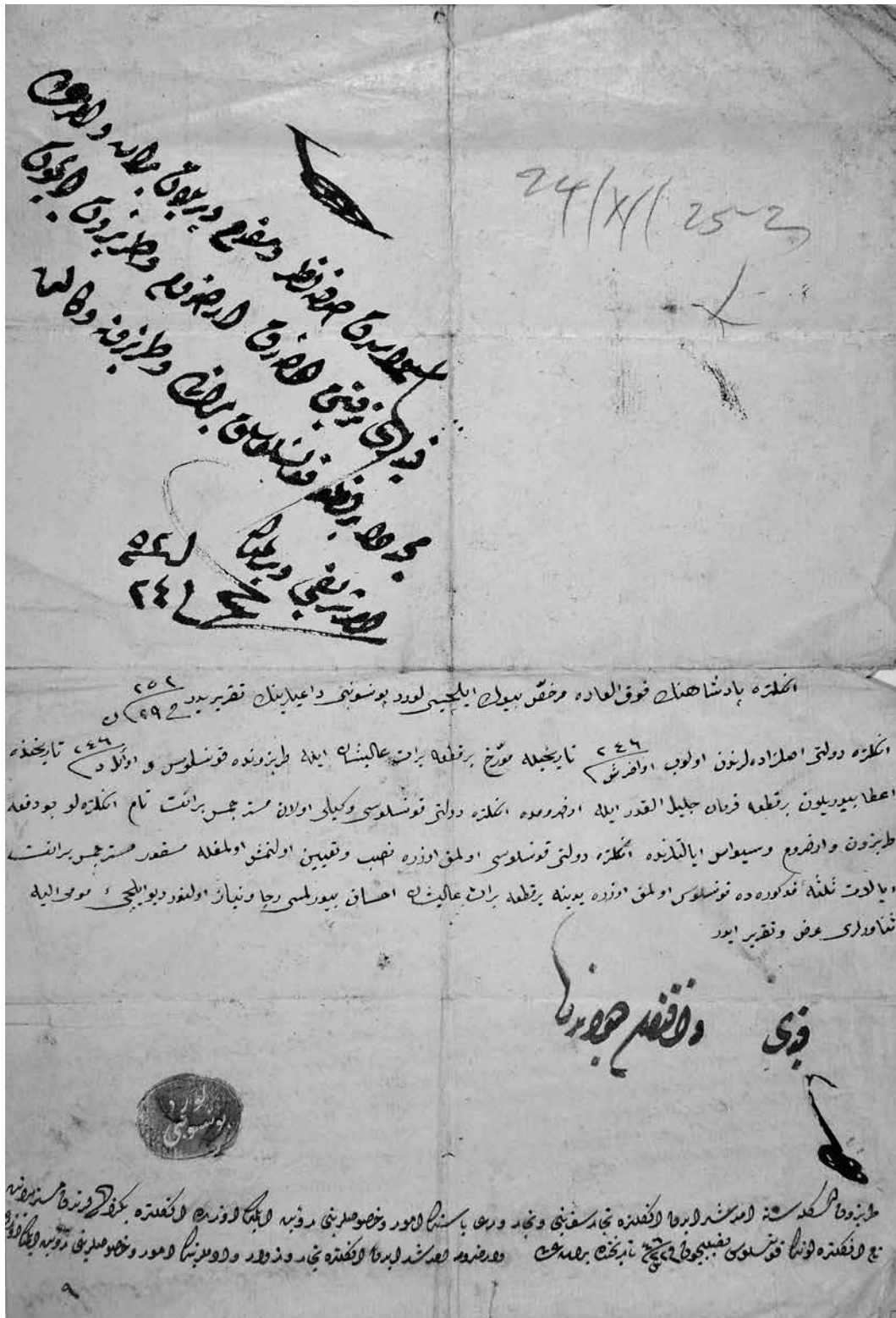


Fig. 2 The exequatur request of the British ambassador for Erzurum consulship, with the Sublime Porte's approbation (BOA, A. DVN. DVE., 98/17, February 1, 1837).

The Role of the Islands and Islanders in the Illegal Felling and Smuggling of Timber from the Ottoman Mediterranean and Aegean Coastlines in the 19th C.

Fatma ŞİMŞEK*

Abstract

In Anatolia's geography its coastal regions with forest cover extending from the coast to the mountains, has provided its richness to civilizations. From the mountains to the coast the numerous rivers and streams and the proximity of forest cover to the rivers and coast were among the significant factors facilitating the supply and transportation of timber. However, as these factors facilitated timber supply and transportation, they also facilitated all kinds of smuggling activities. When the central control of the Ottoman State declined, control over the long coastline from the land became more difficult. Settlements on the coast were few, and smugglers could easily reach, fell and transport of any kind of timber with their local collaborators. It was not only the physical conditions on the coast that increased the smuggling of timber. It is also necessary to consider the nearby islands of the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas as for the inhabitants of the islands where the natural resources were scarce or inadequate, all kinds of smuggling-looting activity were quite risk-free, profitable branches of business. After the Greek Independence, with the increase in the construction of vessels on these islands, Greek shipping centers demand for timber increased and with it timber smuggling from Anatolia. The Ottoman government wanted to take tighter measures, but did not succeed in preventing the smuggling of timber to the islands.

Keywords: Greek Islands, Smuggling, Forests, Timber, Shipping, Ship-Building

Öz

Anadolu coğrafyasının özellikle sahillere dağlara doğru yükselen orman örtülü kıyı bölgeleri, kurulan uygarlıklara zenginliğini cömert şekilde sunmuştur. Dağlardan sahile kadar inen akarsu-ırmak sayısının fazlalığı ve kıyı boyunca orman örtüsünün denize yakın olması; kereste teminini ve nakliyesini kolaylaştıran önemli etkenlerdir. Ancak kereste temini ve nakliyesini kolaylaştırıcı bu coğrafi etkenler, her türlü kaçakçılık faaliyeti için de kolaylık sağlamaktaydı. Osmanlı merkezi kontrolünün giderek zayıfladığı dönemlerde uzun kıyı şeritlerinin karadan-denizden kontrolü de zorlaşmaktaydı. Yerleşimin çok sık olmadığı bu kıyılardan kaçakçılar yerel işbirlikçileri ile her türlü keresteye kolaylıkla ulaşabilmekte veya nakledebilmekteydi. Kereste kaçakçılığını artıran sadece kıyıların fiziki şartları değil bu kıyıların az ötesinde Akdeniz'de ve Ege Denizi'nde var olan adalar ve adalar dünyasını da göz önünde bulundurmak gereklidir. Çünkü doğal kaynakların kıt ya da yetersiz olduğu adalarda yaşayanlar için her türlü kaçakçılık-yağmacılık faaliyeti oldukça risksiz ve kârlı iş kollarıydı. Yunan bağımsızlığından sonra Akdeniz ve Ege'deki adalarda artan inşaa faaliyetleri ile gelişmeye başlayan Yunan gemicilik merkezleri Anadolu'dan kereste kaçakçılığını artırmıştı. Bu nedenle hükümet daha sıkı tedbirler aldı ise de adalara yönelik kereste kaçakçılığını önlemekte pek başarılı olamadı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yunan Adaları, Kaçakçılık, Ormanlar, Kereste, Gemicilik, Gemi İnşası

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Throughout history forests have played a crucial role for humanity, meeting some of the fundamental requirements (providing materials for heat, shelter, building construction, furniture, etc.) and a basic material for defense-warfare, (timber employed in fortifications and foundations, for ship, and cart, metal smelting, weapon construction, etc.). In particular, the favorable climate and geographical conditions in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions of Anatolia are the main reasons for the existence of large forests and the diversity of trees in these regions. However, the fact that similar conditions exhibit great differences in these regions resulted in forests of varied quality and type within this topography. This, on the other hand, meant the development of human-nature relations, namely different production-consumption (market) relations. On the other hand, the Black Sea was in communication-interaction networks with different environments compared to those found in the Mediterranean and Aegean regions, and therefore the Black Sea should be treated within a separate context. In consequence, it has been necessary to limit the scope of this research to just the Aegean and Mediterranean regions, which have relatively similar characteristics and a related network of influences and communications.

For the Ottoman State, the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, in respect to its forest resources, provided broad opportunities to meet its timber requirements, naval construction being the first of these requirements. Ottoman maritime activity developed in particular due to the maritime experience and knowledge of the Greeks living on the shores and on the islands of the Mediterranean and because of the presence of extensive forests providing high quality timber.¹ The Ottoman State, compared to European states that had lost much of their forests due to agricultural expansion in the Medieval period² and in consequence of charcoal production for iron ore smelting, did not really lack in timber reserves, even during periods of intense use. However, it can be stated that the extensive shipbuilding activities, which began after the losses at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, placed pressure on the state. McNeil's suggestion that timber from Ottoman forests grew short after this period of intense shipbuilding in 16th century³ is to be questioned and seems somewhat exaggerated. This study shows rather that these activities made the accessing and the shipping of suitable timber easier. Indeed, after the peak periods of timber use, even in the second half of the 19th century in Ottoman lands 8 million hectares of forests were found, usually extending along the coastal mountain ranges and extending about 80 km inland.⁴

It is deficient and a meaningless effort to explain the increasing control and pressure upon forests in Ottoman lands based solely upon the issue of meeting the needs of the people and the Ottoman navy. In order to approach the subject from a broader perspective and make sounder inferences, this study is limited to the 19th century. This because, the regional and global political, social and financial changes provide us with significant data regarding this

This study was presented at 10th International Symposium on History of Turkish Sea Trading, between April 12–13, 2018, in Girne but it has not been published. This study has developed from this paper as a result of ongoing researches, studies and evolutions in the light of more detailed data on the subject.

¹ Gencer 2001, 59; Bostan 2003, 71; Berktaş and Terzioğlu 2007, 105–6.

² The most important lands meeting Europe's need for wood were the South Baltic regions. Wazny 2005, 122; *idem*, [Source: https://www.academia.edu/6966383/Historical_timber_trade_and_its_implications_on_dendrochronological_dating]. 331.

³ The author states that the forests from which timber for navy supplies were 50 km inland from the coasts of the Black Sea, North-east Aegean and Marmara in 17th century. McNeil 2003, 395–96.

⁴ For the information presented by Osman Ragıp who was one of the first foresters of the Ottoman State and wrote in *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1862, see Evcimen 1977, 83–9.

issue. The major regional factor was the financial and social changes experienced on the Anatolian coastline and on the Mediterranean islands after the secession and independence of the Greek state.

The Mediterranean Islands and the Forests in Anatolia

The presence of various large and small islands along the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts impacted upon the natural resources of Anatolia more than has been thought and accordingly, upon commercial and social relations.⁵ In order to see this, we should mention being “islander” or coming from an island. Except for the large islands, such as Cyprus and Crete, Greek islands, comprising small islands, with the need to meet their deficit from external sources, which arose from insufficient agricultural production.⁶ Due to the imbalance between population pressure and natural resources, privileged occupational and production methods such as fishing, maritime trade and shipping developed on these islands.⁷ On the other hand, these specialized groups caused a continuous external migration. For example, the overpopulation of the islands were sent, due to their maritime related skills and experience, to the navies of states such as the Ottoman and Russia.⁸

As mentioned above, ship building activities along the Anatolian coasts and on the islands continued. For this reason, timber, which enabled ship building activities that was one of the most significant and broad branches of industry, was provided from other hinterlands. Crete obtained its timber needs from the Black Sea, Thessaloniki, Syria, Trieste⁹ and Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid.¹⁰ Pine cones required for the leather factory on Chios were provided from Bergama.¹¹ A significant part of the timber needed for the shipbuilding in the Rhodes shipyard was delivered against payment from the forests of Anatolia.¹²

In fact, while the existence of forests was something known on some Mediterranean islands, it is even observed that on Rhodes, the timber from the black pine forests were yearly farmed out (1876).¹³ On the other hand, on Chios, aside from gumwoods, there were turpentine trees from which oil was obtained.¹⁴ However, it can be understood that the forests on the islands had been ravaged to a large extent or they were insufficient to meet the requirements regarding the timber quality and quantity due to violations, overexploitation, internal disturbances or

⁵ For the number, names and their distances to each other of the islands at Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid province see *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet Salnamesi* 1293 (1876) 129–40, Although they seemed to be sprinkled onto the sea, there was a certain order in the distribution and grouping of the Aegean islands. For detailed info. see Yılmazçelik and Ertürk 2005, 5–6; Ak 2014, 287.

⁶ In this regard, the illegal grain trade of the islands in the Mediterranean may give us an idea. For instance, cattle and grain delivered to Chios from Anatolia see Yalçinkaya 2000, 785.

⁷ Asdrachas 2017, 5.

⁸ *BOA*, HAT. 267–15525, 29 Z 1204 (9 September 1790); *BOA*, AE. SABH.I, 70–4863; Panzac 2016, 118; Asdrachas 2017, 32.

⁹ Girit Vilayet Salnamesi, 1292 (1875) 159, Since the ancient times, timber was exported from the Black Sea to Mediterranean see. Menoledakis 2016; Ginalis 2014, 11.

¹⁰ For the delivery of timber required for the shipyard pool on the island see. *BOA*, A:MKT.MHM, 394–20, 23 B 1284 (20 November 1867).

¹¹ Ayoğuz 1991, 242.

¹² Önen 2013, 238.

¹³ From where these timbers would be cut and the names of those who won the tenders are given as well. *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet Salnamesi*, 171–73.

¹⁴ Yalçinkaya 2000, 785.

wars. Thus, a French forest officer who visited Cyprus in 1873 relates that only a small portion of the forest remained in the north line due to timber felling. On the other hand, it is claimed that in the 19th century, the Egyptian government, which lasted for a short period of time, destroyed the forests in the coastal plains.¹⁵ Although it is known that timber was provided from the Samaria forests for Crete,¹⁶ the forests of Crete almost run short of timber according to data from 1875.¹⁷

Despite the fact that the Ottoman government wanted to maintain external dependence in a form to court both parties, the physical and real conditions did not let this happen. For example, for the repair and reconstruction of the houses which suffered damage due to the earthquake on Rhodes in 1857, the Antalya and Menteşe sanjaks were ordered to send timber at an affordable price.¹⁸ It is understood that, due to the large quantity of timber required, and in order not to allow traders who want to turn this into a major profit generating opportunity, managers were asked to determine a local market rate according to the type of timber and to encourage traders in this direction.¹⁹

With their inadequate resources, variable and fragile structures, the islands are among the lands which are affected most by even the smallest political-military change that affects their course within the geography where they are located. For this reason, a rapid social and financial change-transformation is observed regarding the Mediterranean islands following the Greek revolt-war of independence and afterwards. After Ottoman troops took over the regions where rebellion broke out, thousands of people came to Syros island from Ayvalık, Chios, Kasos or other near islands, and these migrations are included in the works of this period's itinerants in detail.²⁰ As a matter of fact, the traces of such change were observed not only in the islands but also in Anatolia. The Ottoman government no longer trusted the Greeks and terminated the duties of the Greeks in the shipyard and preferred the employment of experienced Arabian seamen and captains.²¹ As a result, those groups who were specialized in maritime affairs and navigation and who had migrated from the islands and Anatolia, not only made the Syros coasts an active trading port but also one of the most significant wooden ship building centers in the Mediterranean.²² This population successfully maintained other specialized activities, such as timber and carpentry, related to maritime affairs that they have been carrying out within their own structure, with continuous ship orders placed by traders and sailors from Greece, the Black Sea and from other parts of the Mediterranean.²³ The people of Lemnos who lived in Euboea were particularly preferred and were hired for the timber trade.²⁴

Syros being in the first place, these islands were the major shipbuilding centers located in the Mediterranean and Aegean and they acquired an important portion of the most essential material, timber, from the forests of Anatolia. Although the main focus of this study is

¹⁵ There was a forest to the South of the island where pine trees were dominant, see (Harris 2007, 13).

¹⁶ Yıldız 2017, 250.

¹⁷ *Girit Vilayet Salnamesi*, 159.

¹⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 280–13, 26 § 1273 (21 April 1857), Lef. 1–2.

¹⁹ BOA, A.MKT. UM, 283–85, 14 L 1273 (7 June 1857).

²⁰ Hartley 1833, 58; Randolph 1998, 46–9.

²¹ Batmaz 2009, 223.

²² Delis 2015, 45.

²³ Delis 2014, 226.

²⁴ Delis 2015, 109.

on smuggling activities in the 19th century, it should be noted that the Anatolian forests, from coasts to mountains, beginning from antiquity have undergone felling by different civilizations (Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Venetians, Genoese, Byzantine) including the Ottoman State.²⁵ The Greeks' interest in and use of forests dates back to very ancient times. For example, during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC.) between Athens and Sparta, Greeks made use of the western coasts of Anatolia.²⁶ Undoubtedly, this was due to the fact that timber transport was easier by the coast, as well as the destruction of Greece's forest resources in a very early period. In addition, Thirgood mentions the negative impact of wars on forests and says that the forests that could not be reached in Greece during the war of independence were severely damaged.²⁷

In fact, the phenomenon of deforestation which became apparent around Europe and Mediterranean from the early modern period. As mentioned, the forests in Europe started to be depleted in the Medieval period particularly with the aim of clearing forests for agricultural lands.²⁸ In the late 18th century, there was serious decline in the forests around Barcelona, Genova, Naples and Messina, all significant ports of Mediterranean. For this reason, forest products were highly valued. Due to this decline, from the 17th century onwards, the price of fire woods around the Mediterranean increased, almost doubling.²⁹ Moreover, the increase in timber prices as a result of the decline in forests has been suggests as one of the reasons for regression experienced in the Mediterranean in 16th–17th centuries.³⁰ In particular, maritime European states obtained a solution to the timber problem related to shipbuilding, through the untapped forests on the continents they had just discovered, with discovery of new continents and the discovery of new forest resources. For this reason, they either imported timber from those lands or moved their shipyards overseas.³¹

Under these conditions, Anatolian became the scene for the smuggling of all kinds of timber, particularly for shipbuilding, because of its advantage in terms of forest cover. Instead of a single kind and type of timber, timbers of different quality and measures, as also water and rot resistant types of timber, were required for shipbuilding. Due to this reason, different diffusion areas and the height of the main trees existing in the Mediterranean and Aegean forests³² determined the methods and frequency of the intended felling and smuggling. Over the course of time, this led to the depletion of the timber resources of forests in different regions to different degrees.

The interest of islanders was not solely in timber smuggling for the shipbuilding centers such as Chios or Syros. The islands attached to Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid province illegally provided timbers from the forests of the Anatolian coasts and they built unauthorized ships. We learn

²⁵ Bingöl 1990, 15.

²⁶ On the other hand, Macedonian forests were the timber source for Athenians during their naval warfare against Persians and they provided abundant and continuous timber from there (Psoma 2015, 1–7), see. Source: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518967.2015.1048120>

²⁷ Thirgood 1981, 20–40.

²⁸ McNeil 2003, 398.

²⁹ Hughes 2005, 98–9.

³⁰ Braudel 2008, 51.

³¹ At the same time, labor force being cheaper compared to main lands is one of the other reasons of this change. Özveren 2000, 24; McNeil 2003, 398; Hughes 2005, 98–9.

³² The most common pine species and the basis of Mediterranean flora are calabrian pine, oak, black pine and lastly cedar zones. Yeşilkaya 1994, 56; Terzioğlu, Bilgili and Karaköse 2007, 20. To see the other tree species' natural spread range see. *Orman Atlası* 2017, 40.

from the writings of the Governor of Bahr-i Sefid in 1856 that most of the 100 ships, which were built annually on the Bahr-i Sefid islands, were unauthorized. Particularly Megisti and Kasos islands that the governor describes as “almost like a big shipbuilding factory” deserved that reputation due to their illegal building activities.³³ The number of ships built in a year was 30 on Megisti and 34 on Kasos.³⁴

What was the meaning of these islands’ unauthorized shipbuilding? As understood from the complaints, this question was closely related to Syros, a significant ship market. The governor of Bahr-i Sefid reported that unauthorized ships were brought to Syros and other ports and were sold there.³⁵ At the same time, other islands in the vicinity could also serve as a market for these illegal ships. Ship sales to foreigners, which was forbidden at first, became free upon the edicts released on May 13, 1839 and May 14, 1847, due to the fact that it would enhance trading activity.³⁶ This meant an increase in illegal shipbuilding activities and as a matter of course, more illegal tree felling in forests. These illegally constructed ships sailed to Syros or other ports with cargoes of illegal timber, generally cut from the forests on the coasts, in order to be sold there.³⁷ The islanders must have made great profits as a result of the sales that did not cost any money for materials nor pay any tax. For this reason, the islands (islanders), which suffered all kinds of natural shortage in resources, did not hesitate to participate in all kinds of pillage and smuggling activities, timber being in the first place.³⁸

In 16th century, an average of 1500–2000 oak trees were required for the construction of a ship.³⁹ Based on this number, we can roughly calculate how many hectares of forest were cut for an average ship. Since the distance between the trees is not known precisely and the forests of the period were all natural, the distance between the trees can be considered as 5–10 meters. In this case, the area of 1 tree ranged from 25 to 100 square meters and this meant the use of forests in areas ranging from a minimum of 5 hectares to a maximum of 20 hectares for an average ship.⁴⁰ However, beginning from 17th century, with the introduction of galleons of larger sizes, more timber became necessary for construction. Whether authorized or not, this is an important point in terms of understanding how much timber felling for shipbuilding consumed forests. The most frequently used and demanded timber was oak. The reason for the lack of oaks and their poor quality in the lower lands of the Mediterranean basin was continuous-unplanned felling made for shipbuilding. Besides, the fact that oak was in demand abroad and sold for a high price increased the quantity of illegal felling of oak trees.⁴¹

³³ *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 73 (26 May 1856) lef. 1.

³⁴ Ainsworth 1860, 315; *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 73 (26 May 1856) lef. 1.

³⁵ *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 1273 (26 May 1856); see (Şimşek 2019, 203–8)

³⁶ *BOA, İ.MVL*. 198–6148, 11 M 67 (16 November 1850), *BOA, MVL*. 53–38, Undated; *BOA, İ.HR.* 68–3339, 6 Za 1266 (13 September 1850).

³⁷ *BOA, İ.MVL*, 291–17058, 2 L 73 (26 May 1856) lef. 1; *BOA, A.MKT.* UM, 314–90 (29 May 1858).

³⁸ The goods carried by ships grounded near the islands were like a golden opportunity for islanders. These merchant ships were generally insured, and their plunder created big issues between insurance companies and the Ottoman Government (Şimşek 2017, 107–20).

³⁹ Hughes 2005, 98, 99; Until the 17th century, a typical Ottoman ship was of 13–15 meters of length and could carry 100 tons of load (Çizakça 1999, 109). On the other hand, for an Ottoman galleon 15.904 oak and pine timber was required in the 18th century (Yiğit 2009, 22).

⁴⁰ I would like to thank Assistant Professor A. Kavgacı from Batı Akdeniz Ormançılık Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Western Mediterranean Forestry Institute) for sharing such precious information with me.

⁴¹ Oak timbers of small size were used for making barrels and the timbers which were brought to coast with horses and donkeys were sold from there (Sachsischer 1935, 56–76).

Greeks dealing in the legal or illegal timber trade could easily access the timber they wanted of different quality and quantity due to the network they established with both local shopkeepers and local administrators. The lawsuit (worths 14.700 piastre) related to receivables and payables between Dimitri, who was a certificated European Merchant, and İsbatoğlu Hacı Ahmet, who was from Alanya and in the timber business,⁴² and another case (worth 50.000) between Frenkoğlu, Mustafa Paşa and İmam Bey from Adana⁴³ were most probably the results of such relations. When there was a need, these local people were also employed by the Ottoman government for the delivery of timbers to various locations.⁴⁴ Based on the contracts, only the specified amount of timber could be obtained from the forests. However, the amount written in the contracts was on paper and in practice, merchants could fell as much as they wished. For instance, Hacı Ali Efendi, a timber merchant from Antalya, cut 223 cubic meters of trees, that is more than the amount specified by the license agreement.⁴⁵ Tree felling, which was unauthorized or above the license, were worrisome for those forests belonging to the state shipyards as well, and the Governor of Bahr-i Sefid writes of such a worry in a letter dated December 15, 1850.⁴⁶ The Kaptan Paşa stated that the negligence of the local officers and administrators regarding the transfer of the illegal timber from the coasts played a role, and this was in fact the confession of there being collusion between the responsible officials, authorized groups and the smugglers.⁴⁷

Smuggling was carried out from the islands, which were close to each other and to the coasts, and was both more organized and more profitable due to their commercial experiences and connections. They made large profits due to these activities which they operated almost without any risk by themselves, or through the agency of people from the mainland. Thus, the result of the investigation conducted by Nazif Efendi, who was a fiscal official from Rhodes assigned upon command to investigate and uncover those who felled the timber useful for the shipyard in Köyceğiz in 1857, revealed these kinds of activities. According to this, Andona and Nikola from Kasos had 445 big timbers, 118 timbers at the pier except from those which were cut from the forests. According to inquiry, captains from Kasos had carried out this illegal trade with their ships for 7 to 8 months. On the other hand, Captain Dimitri from Symi had 600 trees used for outriggers (a curved tree which forms the frame of the ship) and beams (joists used for the shipboard).⁴⁸ In 1862, it was reported from Kos island that Yorgi, who had a Timur farm near Gökburun in the Menteşe sanjak, cut pine timbers in the forests near his farm and sold them to non-Muslims and these timbers would be transferred to the islands.⁴⁹

Based on the fact that, in August 21, 1858, the Kaptan Paşa's opinion was asked about the illegal timber felling of some villagers, these timbers must have been shipbuilding timbers.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it was complained that in Mytilene, people carried out illegal felling in the

⁴² BOA, A.MKT, 207–21, 27 B 1265 (18 June 1849).

⁴³ A.MKT.UM, 510–17, 9 Za 1277 (19 May 1861).

⁴⁴ This person -Hacı Ahmet- was appointed to somewhere near Egypt for the timber supply in 1849. BOA, A.MKT, 207–21.

⁴⁵ BOA, BEO, 662–49583. Gurre-i Safer 1313 (July 1895).

⁴⁶ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 42–33, 9 Safer 1267 (14 December 1850).

⁴⁷ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14, 29 Şevval 1273 (22 June 1857).

⁴⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 277–02, 7 Ş 1273 (7 April 1857).

⁴⁹ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 528–54, 27 Z 1278 (25 June 1862).

⁵⁰ BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 138–4, 11 M 1275 (21 August 1858).

forests which belonged to the shipyard.⁵¹ The government focused on this issue, with concerns that the amount of forests the shipyard would benefit from, would decline, and that this would impede the shipyard jobs and the öşür tax on timber would be reduced. For this reason, the officers were asked to protect the forests and not to allow felling and the loss and wasting of the timber of the shipyard, and not to send out unlicensed lumber. It was also demanded that the forests should not have been given to tax farmer (*mültezim*) and that guards in the proper number should have been employed.⁵²

Another indecency happened regarding the forests was the illegal felling made in order to open fields for farming. It is possible to present numerous examples concerning this issue such as orders sent to administrators about the forest fires deliberately started to open fields for farming, from Rhodes in 1859,⁵³ and from various other places in 1853,⁵⁴ and the letter sent to the Menteşe district governorship in June 25, 1862 about the burning of large trees, from which the shipyard would benefit, in order to open up to farming upon a license obtained from the agricultural officials at Cezayir-i bahr-i sefid.⁵⁵ In order to prevent such damage, those who would like to make agricultural production in empty and rough places were required to follow the instructions given by the agricultural directors and the instructions to avoid damage to the trees for naval shipyard use, was constantly repeated.⁵⁶

Factors which Made Smuggling Easier

In fact, even in the forests of the Tersane-i amire, such illegal felling was recorded from the very early periods, and one of the main reasons for this was the large price differential between the prices determined by the state and the prices that were paid by the merchants.⁵⁷ In an atmosphere where market relations were more decisive, compared to the prices the state determined, it was very difficult for the local administrators to fulfill the orders of the central administration regarding the timber demand. As the trade in timber was very profitable, it was easy to find buyers, and the central administration could not properly control this trade, it was impossible to block the smuggling and intervene in this sector. Rich people who were in the business of timber trading bought the forest products such as timber, wood, tar and bitumen from their sellers for a low price and then sold them on with large profits. Under these circumstances, those people became poor and incurred debts.⁵⁸ Thus, the government strictly ordered that both these people and the *tabtacilar*, who provided timber for the armory and the shipyard, should be protected against such interventions.⁵⁹

Forests being close to the coasts was very important for the timber supply. Especially, tree felling and transporting the long tree trunks in quantity without damage, which were needed

⁵¹ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 132–26, 10 Ra 1278 (15 September 1861).

⁵² BOA, A.MKT.UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁵³ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37 Gurre-i B 1269 (1 April 1853); BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46, 17 B 1269 (26 April 1853).

⁵⁴ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46 (26 April 1853); BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37 Gurre-i B 1269 (1 April 1853).

⁵⁵ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 528–54, 27 Z 1278 (25 June 1862).

⁵⁶ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46, 25 Ra 1269 (6 January 1853).

⁵⁷ Dursun 2014, 53–4.

⁵⁸ The order sent to the *Mubassil, Cadi* and *Viceroy*s of *Alanya* about the villagers of the Dim community of *Alanya*, who were in a difficulty due to such interventions, ordering to delay their debts and to prevent anyone from interfering with their work; BOA, DVN. MHM, 3–14, 20 N 1262 (11 September 1846).

⁵⁹ BOA, A.AMD. 88–71 (1274); BOA, A.MKT.DV, 219–49, Lef 1, 26 § 1278 (26 February 1862).

for the construction of the ships, was very hard when the conditions of the period are considered. Due to this reason, transportation was carried out by sea, which was easier-faster and cheaper compared to transportation overland. For the transportation of the timber, cut from the mountains, to the sea, the rivers and streams, which existed in the places where the felling was made, had been used since antiquity, so that timber could be brought kilometers from the coast without effort.⁶⁰ However, contrary to the Black Sea,⁶¹ most of the running water that reaches the Mediterranean and Aegean Sea dries up in the summer and this caused transportation problems.⁶² When the conditions were not suitable, horses, donkeys and mules were used in transportation.⁶³

Anatolian coastlines are long, indented and close to the islands and this made the control of the coastal regions harder, but at the same time, made smuggling easier. Besides, there were various suitable points for ships to approach on this long coastline and this made all kinds of illegal portage possible.⁶⁴ At these desolate and deserted zones where there was no settlement, smugglers could cut and transport timber easily.⁶⁵ The Governor of Adana warned the government about the smuggling which took place along the province's 90 hours long coastline due to the absence of a patrol ship.⁶⁶ Likewise, the Lieutenant Governor of Teke complained that the piers and ports which were located along the Teke coasts that extended from Mekri township to İcel sanjak could not be checked. Consequently, both administrators asked for a patrol ship.⁶⁷ The district governor of Menteşe and the township assembly wrote up a text, dated May 29, 1858, about the implementation of a strict control over the coastal forest from where timber sourced.⁶⁸

Lawlessness and the corruption of the foresters and the poverty of the local people were most important factors which made such cooperation with the smugglers easier. People who had a draught animal or a wheel could agree with the smugglers and played an important role in the transportation of the felled timbers to the coast. For this reason, the government prepared a punishment instruction about boaters and barges who mediated in goods smuggling in July 28, 1860 and sent it to the local administrators in the provinces.⁶⁹ Consequently, the waggoneers who transported the smuggled timbers of the merchant Şidri from Chios to

⁶⁰ Meiggs 1983, 186; Although there was a carriage way, the timbers cut from the forest, which were 5–15 hours away from the sea, were brought to the coast via the Menderes stream. Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid Vilayet Salnamesi, 101–2.

⁶¹ In Black Sea, almost every month of the year there is precipitation. This situation enabled the flow of rivers to be suitable for timber transportation. For this reason, it is not a coincidence to observe shipyards in the Eastern Black Sea that were rather established in the cities close to the mouths of streams (Alaçam 1982a, 179–80; 1982b, 224–43).

⁶² In the Mediterranean, the lowest level of running waters is observed in September–October. On the other hand, in the Aegean region, despite similar summer droughts, the lowest level is generally observed in August (Sachsischer 1935, 75; Akyol 1948–1949, 1–34; Erinç 1957, 99–100).

⁶³ Bozkurt 2001, 98–9.

⁶⁴ Beaufort 2002, 24.

⁶⁵ BOA, A.MKT. UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁶⁶ BOA, DH.MKT, 1668–127, 27 S 1307 (23 October 1889); Gümüş 2012, 37.

⁶⁷ BOA, DH.MKT, 36–98; BOA, BEO, 435–32593, 11 M 1312 (15 July 1894), BOA, BEO, 450–33698, 3 S 1312 (6 August 1894).

⁶⁸ BOA, A.MKT. UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁶⁹ This enactment was sent to places such as Trabzon, Canik, Sinop, Ordu, İzmir and Varna. BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 189–64, 9 M 1277 (28 July 1860).

the coast were arrested in 1862.⁷⁰ On the other hand, foresters could tolerate such corruption for their personal interests. For instance, although there was illegal felling in the forests which belonged to the shipyard of Düzce, the officials did not follow this decision and colluded.⁷¹ In some cases, tax farmers, responsible for the *öşür* tax on timber, could come to terms with the islanders and tolerated the illegal felling of timber.⁷² According to the Kaptan Paşa, who was in charge of the shipyard forests, it was important to investigate and prevent the destruction of forests, caused by the community engaged in the timber business, by administrative officials such as township directors.⁷³

One of the other inveterate problems related to the fight against smuggling was the lack of sufficient officials due to the state's fiscal problems. The İçel sanjak was always one of the centers of smuggling and the inadequate number of foresters is stated among those factors which increased the quantity of smuggling.⁷⁴ Besides, due to the length of the coastline, the places where smuggling activities happened, and the piers, the control of these was almost impossible.⁷⁵

Denunciations and Penalties

Denunciations

As in all forms of smuggling, denunciations played an important role in the capture and punishment of criminals in timber smuggling. For this reason, the government was generally informed about such activities through denunciations and the information given by local administrators. For example, forest officer Ömer Resmi and his two forest keeper friends informed that 40.000 timbers were about to be smuggled in Anamur by ships.⁷⁶ Another example shows that Hasan Bey, the District Governor of Köyceğiz, informed that the merchant⁷⁷ Kiga Bey, the District Governor of Samos island, reported the existence of vast amount of ship timber at the coast at Gavurköy which was attached to İzmir.⁷⁸ Likewise, upon a denunciation about the depredation of the forests at Anamur and Gülnar townships of İçel sanjak, various kinds of illegal timbers, more than 7.000 in number were found.⁷⁹ Regional administrators were employed to understand whether these denunciations were real or not, and to take the necessary actions. Thus, although merchant Hacı Mehmet Ağa declared that he cut the timbers for the restoration of the mosque, it was understood as a result of enquires that those timbers were for beams.⁸⁰ However, not every denunciation was real. For instance, the denunciation about another Hacı

⁷⁰ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 534–49, 19 B 1278 (20 January 1862).

⁷¹ A similar order was sent to the Kocaeli tax collector and the cadis of İznik as well. BOA, A.DVN, 21–43, 16 M 1263 (4 January 1847).

⁷² BOA, A.MKT.UM, 314–90, 15 L 1274 (29 May 1858).

⁷³ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14, 29 L 1273 (22 June 1857).

⁷⁴ BOA, DH.MKT, 2034–82, 04 C 1310 (24 December 1892).

⁷⁵ BOA, DH.MKT, 1489–67, 13 Ca 1305 (26 February 1888).

⁷⁶ BOA, BEO, 190–14247, 19 Nisan 1309 (22 April 1893) lef. 1–2.

⁷⁷ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8, 20 C 1275 (25 January 1859).

⁷⁸ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 286–14.

⁷⁹ This smuggling activity was reported to central through a telegram dated to 4 July 1309 (18 July 1893) from Adana Province and in order to take necessary actions an order was sent to Ministry of Forestry and Mining dated to 4 M 311 (18 July 1893). BOA, BEO, 241–18023, 4 M 1311 (18 July 1893)

⁸⁰ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8, 20 C 1275 (25 January 1859).

Mehmet Ağa, likewise from Köyceğiz township, which claimed that he had cut the timbers of the shipyard was groundless.⁸¹

In some cases, after the cutting, timbers were hidden at the coast to be transported at a suitable time and under proper conditions. A Greek merchant from Chios secretly brought 120 timbers which was suitable for the construction of ships from the state forests to the place called Değirmenaltı near the castle of Sultaniye. When it was reported that he would smuggle these timbers out of the country after the ships were loaded at night, all the timber that had been loaded on the ships was confiscated.⁸² Thus, due to the denunciation it became possible to put the timbers under protection that were worth 20.000 liras and were about to be smuggled via the sea route from İçel sanjak in 1889.⁸³

An investigation was carried out in Gavurdağı, attached to İzmir, due to the numerous ship timbers piled on the beach, and it was understood that they were to be sent to Syros island by the merchants of Chios for shipbuilding.⁸⁴ So indeed, it is observed that some islanders became specialized about subjects such as the provision and selling of some commercial goods. As a matter of fact, without such a specialization, the construction and sale of these ships which required large-scale cooperation and networking on the Greek islands could not be carried out so effectively. At the same time, the reasons why the islands were specialized in the production of certain types of ships was the ease they had in accessing the basic construction materials that shaped their experience and the networks of cooperation which provided this facility.

Penalties

As the status of the forests were different, based upon their ownership status in the Ottoman State, the legal and protective actions taken by the government changed as well.⁸⁵ The focus here is on the “shipyard” forests which are important for this subject. The Ottoman State considered naval needs a priority and was therefore very strict and protective in the preservation of the forests reserved for the shipyards and armory.⁸⁶ Those who harmed these forests were generally punished with penal servitude.⁸⁷ Firewood and construction timbers were allowed to be taken outside of the country based upon certain conditions. However, not only the foreign sale, but also the felling of timbers from which the shipyards benefited was strictly forbidden.⁸⁸

After the Tanzimat, modernization efforts were observed in all areas of the state. As a result of the regulations made in the area of forestry, the understanding and practices in this field also changed. However, with the regulations prepared in subsequent periods, the attempt was made to unite under a single administration the forests which were of different ownership

⁸¹ It was understood that Mehmet Ağa had 3 load timber and they were not suitable for the shipbuilding. *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 277–02, 7 § 1273 (2 April 1857).

⁸² *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 534–49, 18 B 1278 (20 January 1862).

⁸³ *BOA*, DH.MKT. 1660–52, 27 M 1307 (23 September 1889).

⁸⁴ *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 286–14.

⁸⁵ Forests were separated into 3 main groups in accordance with the terrain they were on; state, waqf and property. For detailed information see Koç 2005, 233; the forest from which people met their needs free of charge were called “*Cibal-i Mübaba*.” (Birben 2010).

⁸⁶ Continuous orders were sent to local administrators regarding the protection of these forests. *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 42–33, 9 S 1267 (14 December 1850).

⁸⁷ Forests belonging to the shipyard were not allowed to be used for the needs of people, nor for commercial purposes until they lost these qualities. Koç 1999, 147.

⁸⁸ *BOA*, A.MKT.UM, 427–17, Gurre-i S 1277 (25 August 1860) lef. 1.

status, including the shipyard forests. Therefore, the penalties and their methods changed. According to the Forest Regulation of 1870, if those who harmed the forests were Ottoman subjects, they were judged by the Nizamiye Court.⁸⁹ If they were of Greek origin, they applied to the Greek consulates. Because, according to the treaties signed with Greece, the state from which goods were smuggled had the right to impose the penalty determined according to the laws of that country and the relevant consuls or representatives in that place would be informed.⁹⁰ An investigation would be carried out with an official from the consulate and, if necessary, the goods would be confiscated.⁹¹ If the consulate did not charge an official, Ottoman officials would have sole responsible.⁹² Consuls and their deputies were not really keen on cooperation on these subjects and sometimes such reluctance was also recorded in the Ottoman documents.⁹³

Sometimes, the process of lawsuits was prolonged, and therefore fines were imposed because of the possibility that the illegal timber could be damaged. On the other hand, the timbers confiscated were sold and put into a subdivision of the treasury. For instance, Ali Rıza Efendi and Açıkbâş Yordan Ağa, timber merchants from Antalya, had illegally cut 187 meters and 687 cubic decimeter of pine timbers and they were fined 85 liras in cash, each meter calculated as 45 piastre, by the İzmir Trial Court.⁹⁴ Moreover, according to the cadaster technicians, these timbers, which were exposed for 3 years, were about to be decayed. It was decided that, this fine should be paid to the Teke Subdivision of the Treasury. The amount to be put into the treasury as a result of sales and the criminal action was about 19.000 piastre.⁹⁵ 838 illegal trees, which were recovered in Rhodes, were sold and the money was transferred to a subdivision of the treasury.⁹⁶ Likewise, on July 24, 1895, Hacı Ali Efendi, timber merchant from Antalya, had felled more than was specified in his felling license and the reason for the compensation settled as 65 lira was to the benefit of the treasury.⁹⁷

Fines covered not only the timbers, but also other forest products such as woods, pine bark, and charcoal. Thus, when the ships loaded with smuggled pine bark were captured at İçel in 1891, their captains were fined 5.100 gurus.⁹⁸ In fact, such applications show that the government acted itself almost like a seller of timber products, rather than punishing such crimes. Besides, when the types and the application methods of the penalties are examined, there is the impression that the government benefited fiscally from these crimes, rather than seeing them as penal sanctioning. Nevertheless, the method followed was a pragmatic solution to the existing problems. In this way, both the timbers recovered were prevented from decaying and the fiscal penalties contributed to the treasury. The idea of conferring the administration of

⁸⁹ Cin 1978, 320.

⁹⁰ BOA, HR.ID.810-26.3, 7 M 1275 (17 August 1858)

⁹¹ BOA, HR.ID.810-26.2.

⁹² BOA, HR.ID.810-28.3, 3 June 1284 (15 June 1868)

⁹³ This situation was also reported to the Greek Embassy, since the consul of the Chania consul had been insensitive about the punishment of the person who smuggled goods to Crete. BOA, A.MKT.UM, 148-32, 27 S 1270 (29 November 1853).

⁹⁴ BOA, BEO, 582-43595, lef. 1.

⁹⁵ BOA, BEO, 582-43595, lef. 3; For the writing of *Meclis-i Mabsusa* about this direction dated to 29 Ş 1312 (25 February 1895) see. BOA, BEO, 582-43595, lef. 2.

⁹⁶ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105-37.

⁹⁷ The order sent to the Ministry of Forestry and Mining, BOA, BEO, 662-49583, Gurre-i Safer 1313 (July 1895)

⁹⁸ BOA, DH.MKT, 2034-82.

forests and mines, which were considered to be the major sources of income, to the treasury in 1867 was perhaps one of the most concrete indications of the state's approach to generating income for the treasury from the forests.⁹⁹

Another important point regarded those timbers captured was the issue of whether these timbers could be used by the tersane-i Amire or not. If the timbers captured were suitable for the shipyard, such as the smuggled timbers of the Greek Hristaki¹⁰⁰ and the merchant Şidri from Chios,¹⁰¹ they were purchased and transferred to İstanbul. If not, they were auctioned in their province, as stated above.¹⁰²

What made the penalties given by New Forest regulations more systematic, detailed and persuasive was the detailed classification and description of the crimes. Hence, 13 villagers were sentenced to imprisonment for 7-15 days as they had harmed trees and plants which were natural or grafted. The local authorities who tolerated the crime were warned.¹⁰³ It was decided that those who harmed the state, people or the shipyard would be punished in accordance with the criminal code.¹⁰⁴ Crimes' being committed before or after the new regulations determined the penalty to be given. As a matter of fact, timbers of the merchant Hacı Mehmet Ağa were confiscated because he had cut wood from the forest belonging to the shipyard in the Menteşe sanjak. However, Mehmet Ağa was given permission to return to his hometown because the mentioned tree felling took place before the new law and there was no clarity in the old laws. It was stated that such crimes would be punished in accordance with the new law.¹⁰⁵

The Problem of Coastal Regulation or Nonregulation

Assigning a steamer in order to protect the coasts and fight against all kinds of smuggling activities made things easier for the local administrators. Thus, the government gave order in this direction to crew members, who were responsible for the protection of the coasts, in order to prevent illegal timber transportation. During their coastal patrols, the steamers sometimes caught smugglers in the very act, and in some cases, they were sent to the area as a result of denunciations. The steamer Hayrettin, which was responsible for the protection of the Adana coasts, ran into ships loaded with pine bark in Anamur and Kızılkilise in 1891 and it was understood as a result of the investigation that the load was illegal, because, the Melez Pier, Yumurtalık and its vicinity attached to Anamur, were among those areas from which forest products were being smuggled.¹⁰⁶

Likewise, another smuggling case took place two years later and this incident reveals the problems caused by the lack of steamers from which Ottoman suffered regarding coastal security. The Hayrettin steamer which had been assigned to the Adana province was employed

⁹⁹ BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 382–60, 17 M 1284 (21 May 1867).

¹⁰⁰ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 154–48, 20 C 1270 (20 March 1854).

¹⁰¹ Out of the 120 timbers captured, 83 were sent to İstanbul upon the order of Kaptan Paşa. BOA, A.MKT.UM, 534–49, 19 B 1278 (20 January 1862).

¹⁰² Concerning the money given to Greek Hristiko as a return for the timbers he had cut paying the fee; BOA, A.MKT.UM, 154–48, 20 C 1270 (20 March 1854).

¹⁰³ BOA, A.MKT.MVL, 105–37, 13 B 1275 (16 February 1859).

¹⁰⁴ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 120–46, 25 Ra 1269 (6 January 1853).

¹⁰⁵ BOA, A.MKT.UM, 342–8.

¹⁰⁶ BOA, DH.MKT, 2034–82; BOA, DH.MKT, 50–27, Lef. 9, 10, 14 Ra 1311 (25 September 1893).

for another problem, and therefore nothing much done to interdict the sailboats loading the timber stored on the shores. Consequently, another steamer was asked to be sent to the province, even for just a temporary period.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, the government, in a response to the Teke Lieutenant's demand for an exclusive steamer in February 18, 1890, emphasized the inadequacy of the number of steamers and tried to solve the problem by expanding the mission area of the other steamers in such a way as to cover the Teke Sanjak.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the advisory committee in Meclis-i Vala, stated that the crew members of the ships assigned in the region would direct their attention to their original mission and so that they could not pay the required attention to the orders regarding the protection of the forests.¹⁰⁹

Smuggling also meant a decline in some tax revenue. As there was no tax guard at the Kazıklı, Germe, Gümüşlük, Gökabad and Taraça piers, which were attached to the İzmir tax office, there was a quantity of illegal timber trade transacted at these piers.¹¹⁰ For this reason, the steamers, which were in the employ of governors and lieutenant governors near İzmir, were asked to control Lesbos, Ayvalık, Çeşme, Chios, Kuşadası, Bodrum, Rhodes, Köyceğiz, Mekri and the Antalya coasts respectively.¹¹¹ In fact, the absence of guards caused smuggling problems not only due to the long and indented coastline and islands, but also in areas proximate to the capital İstanbul, such as from Üsküdar, Beyoğlu and Galata.¹¹²

The government charged 23 available steamers with the protection of the various coastal areas¹¹³ and, as they were always on the move, it was costly. For this reason, expanding the duty area of the steamers, which had been assigned to protect any coast, did not mean the reduction of costs, even if it reduced the problem of an inadequate number of the steamers. Because, in that century, due to the coal shortage and high costs of the Ottoman State, existing steamers could not even reach their original places of duty.¹¹⁴

It would be unfair to describe the islands as places that did not follow the orders and demands of the government and violated the law when it comes to timber. They could turn into brave actors, from which the government would ask help, due to their maritime abilities and variety of ships. Thus, for the transportation of the timbers from the Köyceğiz vicinity, which were required for the construction of 3 ships at Suez, ships were hired from Symi and Megisti. These ships were also important for the Ottoman State regarding the transportation of soldiers and the provisions.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ *BOA*, DH.MKT. 50–27, Lef. 9, 10, 14 Ra 1311 (25 September 1893).

¹⁰⁸ The Chania steamer at Rhodes and the Hayrettin steamer at Adana were to be sent to Teke in case of need. *BOA*, DH.MKT, 36–98; *BOA*, BEO, 435–32593, *BOA*, BEO, 450–33698.

¹⁰⁹ *BOA*, İ.MVL, 391–17058, 10 R 1274 (28 November 1857) lef. 4

¹¹⁰ *BOA*, DH.MKT, 148–67, 13 Ca 1305 (26 February 1888); see examples of other lawlessness in these regions, see Duggan 2019.

¹¹¹ *BOA*, DH.MKT, 1489–67, 13 Ca 1305 (26 February 1888).

¹¹² *BOA*, İ.MVL, 579–25992, lef. 1; It was assigned to Rüsumat Emaneti (Institution which was responsible for the regulation of customs and officials there) for the regulation of the salaries. 12 C 1284 (11 October 1867)

¹¹³ *BOA*, DH.MKT, 36–98; *BOA*, BEO, 435–32593, *BOA*, BEO, 450–33698.

¹¹⁴ Gencer 1986, 19–32; Quatert 2009, 347–50; Quatert 2011. 60.

¹¹⁵ *BOA*, C.BH, 81–3897, 24 Ra 1159 (16 April 1746).

Conclusion

While studying the timber smuggling carried out to the Mediterranean islands or other lands, from the Anatolian coasts, the main focus has generally been on being islands or islanders.¹¹⁶ We think that it would be better to interpret being an island or an islander with regard to the essential relation formed between mainland-islands and islands-islands rather than unilateral conventional themes such as “isolation” or “dependence”. Thus, these islands on the world of water and under the rule of different states have continued to be both part of a state and to maintained their individuality due to their different connections and activities with various places.¹¹⁷ With the expression of Braudel; no island can be sure about its life the day after by its very nature of being an island,¹¹⁸ this relation-connection network among these islands both with each other and the mainland was the most important element for their continual existence.¹¹⁹

Particularly within the conjuncture of the 19th century, we can consider the shipping and timber activities of the islanders, as detailed above, on the basis of a relationship, beyond definitions such as “dependence” and “isolation,” and which changes according to time and conditions. Along with their dependence on Anatolia in terms of timber, the fact that the centralized control, which was already weak, was not able to control these areas sufficiently, was another factor that increased their isolation. On the other hand, this situation made it easier for the islanders to be involved in illegal actions such as unauthorized shipbuilding and timber smuggling, of which the government did not approve. As they are related to each other, illegal shipbuilding and timber smuggling have always been combined together in official correspondence concerning the subject. Despite the governments’ various measures and approaches concerning this issue, the conditions current in the 19th c. negatively influenced their effective application.

We can state that pressure of consumption on those areas of the Anatolian forests¹²⁰ in which illegal felling and transportation of illegally felled timber was possible and were exposed to such smuggling activities, continued beyond the 19th c. In the subsequent period, despite the production of iron ships from the 19th century onwards as a result of industrialization, the relationship between shipbuilding and timber has never vanished. This relationship has continued until pit coal replaced charcoal in 18th century for the melting of metal (iron) required for some parts of ships and their cannons.¹²¹ Moreover, as industrialization did not develop at an equal rate in all parts of the world, wooden ships continued to be built into the 20th century along the Anatolian coasts and on the islands. At present, the use of wood as a part of modern habits of consumption continues its considerable pressure upon the forests.

¹¹⁶ About the idea that a more dynamic conception, based on changing conditions, is needed to define the islands, rather than dependence and isolation explanations which are not explicit see. Hadjikyriacou 2017, xi.

¹¹⁷ Asdrachas 2017, 6–18.

¹¹⁸ Braudel 1989, 90.

¹¹⁹ Kopaka 2009, 183.

¹²⁰ According to the 2017 forest inventory the total forest land in Turkey is about 22,342 million hectares with about 482,391 hectares of cedar. Orman Atlası 2017, 11.

¹²¹ McNeil 2003, 399.

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Evaluating Repairs and Interventions of the Fethiye Camii through the Perspective of Contemporary Conservation Ethics and Principles

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Abstract

Fethiye Camii is located in Istanbul in the Fatih district amidst the historic neighborhood of Çarşamba. The current structure is comprised of the churches of the Monastery of Pammakaristos in the XIV. Regio built during the Byzantine period. From the monastery, nothing but two churches, four cisterns and a burial chamber survive. In the Ottoman rule, Pammakaristos was first in use as a monastery for nuns and a little later it was put in use as the Greek Patriarchate. At the end of the 16th century, the churches of the monastery were converted to a mosque called Fethiye to commemorate the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia. The monument has come to our day under this name. In 1963, a section of the monument was inaugurated as the Fethiye Museum. Fethiye Camii has possessed various identities and has served many functions and communities over time. Currently the monument presents complex problems of architectural history and conservation. Multiple repairs throughout its long history have resulted in various transformations in its physical appearance. The very recent restoration work begun in the museum section in April 2018 has demonstrated the necessity of evaluating the monument's state of preservation. This article examines its past repairs according to internationally accepted values and puts a special emphasis on 20th century repairs.

Keywords: Constantinople, Istanbul, Middle and Late Byzantine Period Churches, Fethiye Camii and Museum, Pammakaristos Monastery Churches, preservation, conservation, repair, intervention, contemporary principles of conservation.

Öz

İstanbul İli, Fatih İlçesi, Katip Musluhittin Mahallesi'nde yer alan Fethiye Camii, Çarşamba olarak bilinen tarihi semtte konumlanır. Yapı, Bizans Dönemi'nde kentin XIV. bölgesinde yer alan Pammakaristos Manastırı'nın kiliselerinden dönüştürülmüştür. İki kilise, dört sarnıç ve bir de mezar odası dışında hiçbir yapısı günümüze ulaşamayan Pammakaristos, İstanbul'un fethinin ardından önce kadınlar manastırı, sonra patrikhane olarak kullanılmıştır. Manastırın kiliseleri 16. yy. sonunda Azerbaycan ve Gürcistan'ın fethi anısına "Fethiye" ismiyle camiye çevrilmiş ve yapı günümüze kadar bu isimle gelmiştir. Ancak 1963'te bir bölümü "Fethiye Müzesi" olarak işlev kazanmıştır. Fethiye Camii zaman içinde çeşitli kimlik ve işlevlere sahip olmuş, birçok topluluğa hizmet etmiş bir yapı olarak, günümüzde karmaşık mimarlık tarihi ile çok çeşitli koruma sorunlarıyla yüz yüzedir. Uzun tarihi boyunca geçirmiş olduğu birçok onarım, fiziksel görünümünde çeşitli dönüşümler ile sonuçlanmış ve 2018 Nisan ayı içinde müze bölümünde başlayan restorasyon, yapının mevcut durumunun ve geçmiş onarımlarının değerlendirilmesini gündeme taşımıştır. Makale kapsamında bu onarımlar ele alınmakta ve yapının son yüzyılı özel bir vurgu ile değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konstantinopolis, İstanbul, Orta ve Geç Bizans Dönemi Kiliseleri, Fethiye Camii ve Müzesi, Pammakaristos Manastırı Kiliseleri, koruma, onarım, çağdaş koruma ilkeleri.

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Introduction

The earliest visual document on the Fethiye Camii (former churches of the Pammakaristos Monastery) is the engraving preserved in Crusius' *Turco-Graecia* which was drawn according to the records of Stephan Gerlach, an envoy to Istanbul in 1577–1578. In this engraving the structure, still serving as a monastery at that time, is seen on a wide plain surrounded by perimeter walls, including the churches in the center, subsidiary monastic buildings along the perimeter walls, and several wells in the courtyard that suggest the existence of underground cisterns. During the reign of Sultan Murat III (1574–1595) Pammakaristos was taken from the Greeks, and at the end of the 16th century the adjacent churches of the monastery were converted to a mosque called Fethiye to commemorate the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia. It has come to our day under this name. The structure is still in use as a mosque; however, a part of it has served as the Fethiye Museum since 1963. In this article, both the museum and the mosque will be named wholly as Fethiye Camii, unless a specific remark is made concerning one of these two distinct sections.

Fethiye Camii, which has possessed various identities and has served many functions and communities over time, is currently comprised of complex problems regarding architectural history and conservation. Multiple repairs throughout its long history as well as more recent ones in the 20th century resulted in various transformations of its physical appearance. This article summarizes these past repairs and puts a special emphasis on the 20th-century ones by evaluating the current state of preservation of the edifice before the very recent restoration work began in April 2018 in the museum part. It is crucial to understand the past interventions in order to comprehend the structure today which bears the traces of its long history on the fabric of its walls and structure. The previous repairs, therefore, should be regarded as past experiences from which ideas can be drawn for better conservation and preservation of the monument.

To achieve the above-mentioned goals, the article initially presents the location and the components of the former monastery according to their current state of existence. This is succeeded by a short history of the structure which informs the reader on the dates of its dedication and conversion to a mosque. It then proceeds with a precis of the architectural features mentioning its spatial formation, characteristic features, and plan-types. The core of the article is the section dealing with the phases of the construction and known repairs. This section is succeeded by a resumé of its current conservation problems which depicts its current state of preservation. The conclusion finally, draws attention to principles from internationally accepted charters of ICOMOS regarding the current restoration in the museum part and suggests some proposals for providing a better state of preservation for such an important edifice.

Location and Components of the Former Monastery

Fethiye Camii, the case study of this article, is located in Istanbul's Fatih district in the Katip Musluhittin quarter of the historic neighborhood of Çarşamba by the Golden Horn. Çarşamba is surrounded by Balat on the north, Fener on the northeast and the neighborhoods of Kara-Gümruk, Kesme-Kaya, and Kariye on the west. Fethiye Camii overlooks the Golden Horn from the fifth hill of the historical peninsula, and is situated on a broad plain leveled as an artificial terrace (fig. 1). During the Byzantine period, the structure was the Church of the Monastery of the Theotokos Pammakaristos in the XIV. Regio.¹ Pammakaristos is one of the epithets of

¹ Eyice 1995, 300.

Virgin Mary meaning “all-blessed”. From the monastery nothing but the churches and several underground structures survive. The churches are two adjacent structures comprising the main Church of Mary on the north and a grave chapel dedicated to John the Baptist on the south. The north church at the same time was the *katholikon* of the Monastery of Pammakaristos.² As for the underground structures, they consist of cisterns to the northeast, south, and west of the adjacent churches as well as a burial chamber, and another cistern under the north church (figs. 2, 3).

Among these cisterns, the one on the northeast was explored by two German scholars in the late 19th century and was registered as a cultural asset under the name of the Fethiye Sarnıcı in the 1940s. It is known to have been used as a shelter during World War II.³ The cistern on the west was examined by Wulzinger, and both cisterns were dated approximately to the 14th century.⁴ Wulzinger stated that ventilation shafts of the cistern to the west were located to the front of the east and west facades of the school west of the Fethiye Camii⁵. These shafts are today completely covered. The current condition of these two cisterns is unknown, since they are currently unreachable. Concerning the cistern located 150 meters to the south of the Fethiye Camii, several reports were found in the archives of the Committee for the Preservation of Cultural Assets of Istanbul, which revealed that the above-mentioned cistern was damaged by illegal construction. Today, the illegal structures built upon the cistern are still standing, and the latest observation about the structure belongs to Kerim Altuğ, who indicates that the cistern is in a low-state of preservation and full of debris.⁶ The cistern under the naos of the north church, which has a cruciform plan with a “narthex” to the west, was examined by Mango and Hawkins.⁷ Its entrance was from a hole on the west corridor of the central area at the north church. And the barrel-vaulted burial chamber lies underneath the northern two bays of the western arm of the exonarthex, according to Hallensleben.⁸ However, it is currently not possible to observe either the burial chamber or the cistern under the naos, due to the current blockage of their entrances by cement mortar.

A Short History of the Fethiye Camii

To continue, it would be useful to give some information on the initial construction date for the Fethiye Camii. The oldest known source for an initial dedication date for the structure is an inscription which used to rest in the apse of the main church. The inscription was destroyed during its conversion to a mosque. However, it was recorded on a manuscript in the theological college at Halki and the manuscript eventually perished in a fire in 1894.⁹ The inscription records that the church was endowed by “John Comnenos and his wife, Anna of the Doukas family”.¹⁰ However, it does not mention whether the church was built anew or an existing building repaired. John Comnenos is thought to be the father of Alexios I and husband of

² Hallensleben 1963–1964, 128.

³ Forschheimer and Strzygowski 1893, 75.

⁴ Wulzinger 1913, 374–76.

⁵ Wulzinger, *ibid.*

⁶ Altuğ 2003, 390.

⁷ Mango and Hawkins 1962–1963, 321.

⁸ Hallensleben 1963–1964, 177.

⁹ Mango 1951, 61.

¹⁰ Mango 1951, 61.

Anna Dalassena, who died in 1067.¹¹ Based on this vague epigraphic data, Hallensleben proposes the first half of the 11th century for an initial building/repair date for the construction,¹² while Mango and Hawkins suggest a date in the 12th century¹³ taking into account the elaborate articulation of the surfaces of the Comnenian church¹⁴ (fig. 3). A northern annex to the main church was probably added after 1261.

At the end of the 13th century, sources mention that the military commander Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes met a priest named Kosmas and put him in charge as the abbot of his own monastery, the Pammakaristos.¹⁵ In January 1294, Cosmas was raised to the rank of patriarch. In this way, we learn that the monastery was established by Michael Glabas before 1294.¹⁶ In a poem by the poet Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–1345), a painting of Pammakaristos is mentioned on which Michael Glabas is depicted as the owner of the monastery.¹⁷

When Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes passed away, the south church (parekklesion) was probably added as a burial chapel for him in the second decade of the 14th century. There are several clues supporting this acceptance. An ornamental brick inscription, which was transliterated by A.M. Schneider as “*Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes the protostrator and landlord,*” was found on the southern wall of the parekklesion during the repair in 1938.¹⁸ In addition to the brick inscription, the epigram of Manuel Philes written for Michael Glabas, and carved on the marble cornice of the southern wall of the parekklesion is still *in situ*. Moreover, during the restoration by the Byzantine Institute (1960–1963), an inscription in mosaic “*Sister Martha presented this church for her husband Michael Glabas*” was revealed in the apse of the parekklesion, thus the relationship was more deliberately proved.¹⁹ Maria/Martha must have erected the burial chapel for her husband Michael around or shortly after his death in 1315. Consequently, the parekklesion is clearly associated with the above-mentioned burial chapel.

For the addition of the exonarthex, Hallensleben comes to a conclusion based on the notes of three German travelers – Gerlach, Schweigger and Breuning respectively – which speak of paintings of two couples from the family of the emperor on the south arm of the exonarthex. One of the couples is thought to be Andronikos Palaiologos III and his wife Anna, who got married in 1326 and died in 1341.²⁰ Therefore, according to Hallensleben, between 1326 and 1341, the exonarthex would have been added/re-arranged, and the picture placed.²¹ This can be assumed as the last significant intervention during the Byzantine Era.

After the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, Pammakaristos was left to the Greeks and in use as a monastery for nuns.²² A short time later, near the Church of the Holy Apostles,

¹¹ Comnena 1928, 163–64.

¹² Hallensleben 1963–1964, 134.

¹³ Mango-Hawkins 1962–1963, 329.

¹⁴ This elaborate articulation is partly seen as niches on the west wall of the narthex. But two of them are filled, and the other two were converted to closets by the current users.

¹⁵ Pachymeres 2009, 183.

¹⁶ Pachymeres *ibid.*

¹⁷ Hallensleben 1963–1964, 134.

¹⁸ Schneider 1939, 195.

¹⁹ Underwood 1956, 298.

²⁰ Hallensleben 1963–1964, 138.

²¹ Hallensleben, *ibid.*

²² Janin 1975, 18.

the increase in the Muslim population caused the Patriarch Gennadios to feel insecure so he wanted to move the Patriarchate from the Church of the Holy Apostles to the Church of Pammakaristos.²³ Upon the approval of this request by Mehmed II, Pammakaristos was put into use as the Patriarchate, and the women's monastery was relocated to the Monastery of Trullo (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii), located near the Pammakaristos.²⁴ During the period that Pammakaristos monastery was in use as the patriarchate, it was enriched with relics and icons.²⁵

The archival records of the Patriarchate do not include any reports on the state of the structure for nearly 130 years after the conquest of the city. But some information on the external appearance of the structure during this period may be obtained from the records of three German travelers to Istanbul. In 1573 the theologian Stephan Gerlach came as an envoy and spent 5 years in Constantinople. According to his records and descriptions, an engraving was drawn and this drawing was published in the Crusius' book *Turco-Graecia* in 1584.²⁶ After Gerlach, Salomon Schweigger came to Constantinople in 1578 as an envoy for 3 years. His diary was published in 1608 in Nuremberg wherein his visit to the Pammakaristos monastery together with Gerlach is described in detail.²⁷ Engravings drawn on wood along with Gerlach and Schweigger's narrative descriptions present the monastery's structures situated on a wide plain with trees surrounded by walls.²⁸ One year later Hans Jakob Breuning visited the Patriarchate of Constantinople during his journey to the East in 1579. His trip notes, published in 1612 in Strasbourg, gives a description of the Monastery of Pammakaristos.²⁹

Regarding its conversion to a mosque, Ayvansarayi states that, during the reign of Sultan Murad III (1574–1595), on the 1000th anniversary of the Hegira (1590), the Pammakaristos Monastery was taken from the hands of the Greeks due to a fight and was converted to a mosque with the name Fethiye to commemorate the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia.³⁰ For the completion date of the conversion, Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger suggests a later date of 1593/94, due to the evidence she detected in *Târih-i Selânikî I* and as well to the comparison of the name of the structure's neighborhood recorded in *Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri I* (1546) and *Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri II* (1600).³¹ She argues that the structure was taken from the Greek community in 1587, the date also given by western scholars such as Mango as the date for its conversion to a mosque. In fact, in 1587 an agreement was signed between the Persian Shah Abbas and the Ottoman State confirming the conquest of Georgia, Dağistan and Azerbaijan.³² But the structure was probably left untouched for a couple of years, and in 1590 the edifice was brought again to the Ottoman State's agenda for conversion to commemorate the victory for its conquests. However, from a manuscript dating to the end of the year 1593, which Effenberger detected, a certain "Yahya Bey" is mentioned who is a *binâ emîni/construction*

²³ Janin, *ibid.*

²⁴ Müller-Wiener 2007, 144.

²⁵ Hallensleben 1963–1964, 139.

²⁶ Crusius 1584, 190.

²⁷ Schweigger 2004, 147.

²⁸ Schweigger, *ibid.*

²⁹ Breuning 2004, 67.

³⁰ Ayvansarayi 2001, 215.

³¹ Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 40.

³² İnalçık 2015, 181–82.

inspector for the Fethiye Camii. He is given another duty by the state.³³ This document sheds light on the fact that the conversion continued to the end of the year 1593 and also suggests a *terminus post quem* for the completion of its conversion. There is another issue mentioned by Effenberger –the earthquake which took place on 5 May 1593 and is seen as the reason of the ongoing work.³⁴ An earthquake which took place on 4th Shaban 1001 (6 May 1593) is mentioned in Tarih-i Selaniki.³⁵ This can be a very important indicator to explain the major changes in the building during its conversion to a mosque. Some of these had not been seen in other transformed churches such as the construction of a domed addition to its east. But there is another manuscript –*Masarif-i Şebriyari Ruznamçesi* (diary notebook for expenses) found in the Ottoman archives– which belongs to the Chief Architect Dalgıç Ahmet Ağa. In this notebook, Ahmet Ağa lists the Fethiye Camii among the works he was responsible for during his period of service as chief architect between 1598–1605.³⁶ Therefore, the conversion might have been completed during his period of service, even if it had begun in the period of service of Chief Architect Davud Ağa (1587–1598). The conversion occasioned an extensive spatial variation, especially in the north church.

After the conversion, some structures were constructed around the mosque. A madrasah was built by Sultan Murad III's Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha in the courtyard of the mosque³⁷ which was rebuilt by Architect Kemalettin Bey at the beginning of the 20th century.³⁸ Today the madrasah is used as the “Fethiye İmam-Hatip Secondary School”. We come to know from the Hadikat'ül-Cevami that a fountain adjacent to the inner courtyard door and a *fevkâni* primary school above the outer courtyard door was built at Fethiye Camii by Kethüda Mehmet Ağa, the son-in-law of the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Pasha.³⁹ On the Pervititch map, a fountain can be seen on the west side of the present southwest door of the edifice.⁴⁰ Tanışık, on the basis of its inscription in five verses, states that the fountain was built by Çorlulu Ali Pasha in 1718 and demolished around 1943.⁴¹

Around the mosque, a partial courtyard wall is visible on the Pervititch map.⁴² The map dates back to 1929, and the walls's presence can as well be learned from documents in the archives.⁴³ After evaluating archival documents, Mazlum discovered two doors on the walls of the courtyard, one of which was as a grand “kebir” door.⁴⁴ However, for both of the doors, the dimensions given in the documents differ from the dimensions of the present courtyard door which was restored in the “2001 landscaping project around Fethiye Museum”.⁴⁵

³³ Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 39.

³⁴ Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 40.

³⁵ Selânikî Mustafa Efendi 1989, 312–13.

³⁶ Esemenli 1993, 431.

³⁷ Ayvansarayı 2001, 215.

³⁸ Yavuz 1981, 40.

³⁹ Ayvansarayı 2001, 215.

⁴⁰ Pervititch Insurance Map 1929, plate no. 26.

⁴¹ Tanışık 1943, 116.

⁴² Pervititch Insurance Map 1929, plate no. 26.

⁴³ Archives of the Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, document number: EV.HMH.3228.

⁴⁴ Mazlum 2004, 173.

⁴⁵ Mazlum, *ibid.*

The Architecture of the Fethiye Camii: A Precis

Fethiye Camii is a complex structure comprising several buildings dating back to Mid, and Late Byzantine Periods, as well as some Ottoman additions. Therefore, a precis is essential which explains its spatial formation and main architectural features. To begin, it will be beneficial to start with the various units of this complex: the north church and its northern annex, a domed Ottoman addition, the south church (tomb chapel/parekklesion), the exonarthex which surrounds the structure from the west and south, and a minaret in the southwest corner of the exonarthex. Underneath the naos of the north church is a cistern, while a burial chamber lies under the north wing of the west arm of the exonarthex (fig. 3). Eyice classifies the north church as the ambulatory type found in Byzantine church architecture.⁴⁶ Similar plans in Constantinople may be seen in the south church of Fenari Isa Camii and Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii. In this plan type, the area under the main dome is surrounded by low, barrel-vaulted corridors on the north, south, and west sides (fig. 4). The main dome rises like a tower above the roof level of the surrounding corridor. The main dome of the north church is the pumpkin-type divided into twenty-four segments; it has a high, dodecagonal drum pierced by twelve windows. The central space is lit by the windows in the tympana of the arches supporting the dome, as well as by the windows of the main dome. The south church belongs to the cross-in-square plan type which has widely been applied across Constantinople in structures such as Vefa Kilise Camii, the north church of Fenari Isa Camii, Bodrum Camii, and Hırma Ahmet Paşa Camii. Today Fethiye Camii has two different functions. While the south church, its narthex, and the south arm of the exonarthex are used as a museum, the north church, its northern annex, its narthex, and the west arm of the exonarthex function as a mosque (fig. 3).

The main gate of the mosque opens into the western arm of the exonarthex, which is divided into five bays covered with shallow domical vaults. The first two bays in the north, separated from the exonarthex, are used as a worship area for women. The central bay functions simply as an entrance hall, while the bay to its south is used as a hodja-room. The southernmost bay at the intersection of the west and south arms is part of the museum.

The exonarthex connects to the narthex through the women's prayer rooms, the entrance hall (the middle bay), and the hodja-room. The narthex is divided into four bays covered with cross-vaults. The northernmost bay is spatially like an extension of the northern annex, while the other three bays of the narthex connect to the naos via arched openings between hexagonal piers. The naos is composed of a central square under the main dome, which is connected with the bema, the prothesis and the diakonikon in the east, and with the northern annex through arched openings. The apses of the bema and the pastophoria were replaced in the Ottoman era by a triangular addition with a blunt edge towards the east (fig. 3). This space is covered with a dome rising on a low octagonal drum without windows. The mihrab is located on the southeastern wall of this domed addition.

In 1957, Mango and Hawkins observed four marble slabs and an opus sectile floor at the southeast corner of these slabs. They belonged to the original floor in the center of the western corridor.⁴⁷ However, the current condition of these remains is unknown because this area is covered by a carpet on wooden floors resting on a concrete layer poured over the original pavement.

⁴⁶ Eyice 1980, 22.

⁴⁷ Mango and Hawkins 1962–1963, 323.

The northern annex is a narrow and long corridor divided by arches into four bays. In the east, it terminates in a small bema and an apsed niche. On its north wall were arcosolia (burial niches) which cannot be seen today.⁴⁸ The first three bays from the west are covered with oblate sail vaults. The easternmost bay is covered with a dome on a high-drum. This dome is divided into eight units with flat and wide ribs forming a star shape (fig. 3). There are windows in the units between the flat ribs. The bema of the northern annex is covered with a barrel vault, while the conch of its apse is cut off by a wall on which a heating device has been placed today (fig. 4). Mango and Hawkins noted traces of the original decoration in 1957. Among these are floral motifs in the soffits of the arches and curving motifs around the windows of this dome.⁴⁹

The entrance to the museum is located at the corner bay of exonarthex on its southern facade. The marble jamb of the arched entrance reflects the characteristics of 16th-century Classical Ottoman art. However, the current door wings are unsuitable iron elements. Entering the door, visitors descend via a single marble step to the floor paved with hexagonal bricks. The three bays of the exonarthex, all covered with shallow domical vaults, connects to the narthex of the parekklesion (the south church) in the east. This narthex opens into the three-aisled naos of the south church. The four columns marking the corners of the central square nave of the naos carry the ribbed dome rising on a high dodecagonal drum, pierced by twelve windows (fig. 5). The three-aisled naos opens to the bema from the central nave, while the side aisles provide passage to the pastophoria. The naos ends on the eastern façade with a distinctly protruding main apse and shallow pastophoria apses. On the floor of the parekklesion bema is the entrance to a crypt, which is today blocked.

A staircase was built into the thickness of the western wall of the narthex. The stairs ascend to the gynaikeion composed of three bays. The middle bay is covered with a cross-groined vault, and the side bays with two small pumpkin domes on octagonal drums pierced by eight windows (fig. 4). The minaret is attached to the southwest corner of the exonarthex.

The decoration of the north church is partially preserved. In contrast, the rich decoration of the south church, including frescoes, mosaics marble wall revetments, and floors, is in a great state of preservation. The latter has been thoroughly examined and published as a monograph by Mango.⁵⁰ The 14th-century mosaics of the Fethiye, Kariye, and Vefa Kilise Camii have specific significance since they represent a revival of the Hellenistic traditions in Palaiologan art in Istanbul.⁵¹

Fethiye Camii's architectural and spatial characteristics, building materials, and decorative elements such as opus sectile floors, mosaics and frescoes, possess a unique historic, spiritual and aesthetic heritage value.⁵² As such, this monument enables us to comprehend the construction and decoration techniques, the aesthetic values, and the architectural and social environment of the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods in the capital.

⁴⁸ Mango 1978, 24.

⁴⁹ Mango and Hawkins 1962–1963, 328.

⁵⁰ Mango 1978.

⁵¹ Eyice 1980, 63.

⁵² For detailed information on the heritage value, see De La Torre 2002, 9.

Phases of Construction and Known Repairs of the Structure

Fethiye Camii is composed of structures/buildings and structural elements from different periods, thus a complex architectural case. To be able to discuss the modifications and interventions that it has undergone across time, it is crucial to understand all the phases of construction after its initial dedication in the Comnenian period. After all, each repair and change has somehow modified the architectural integrity of the structure. A chronological order will be presented next based on the previous research of scholars who worked on the structure, as well as the author's observations made mostly during the writing of her doctoral dissertation.

Byzantine Era

According to the above-mentioned initial dedication, the domed central space and aisles surrounding it on the north, west and south sides form the core of the north church. With the cistern beneath them, they belong to the first phase (Comnenian Period) of the structure. After 1261 the building was repaired, and an annex was built to the north. The parekklesion was added around 1315. Between the years 1326–1341 a final intervention was made in this period, and considered to be the addition of an exonarthex surrounding the structure from the north, west, and south.

Ottoman Era-16th century

In the last decade of the 16th-century, when it was transformed into a mosque, the structure was subject to major interventions. The pastophoria apses and the main apse were destroyed, and a domed addition was brought to the eastern side that overlapped the dismantled apses. The columns of the triple arcades on the west, south and north sides around the domed central area of the north church were removed, and large-span arches were built in their stead so as to secure the maximum amount of space (fig. 8).

The walls between the north annex and the north aisle, the narthex and the west aisle and the parekklesion and the south aisle were removed in the north church. This was done to obtain a uniform place of worship. In place of these walls, large-span pointed arches were substituted. In the parekklesion, the columns on the north side bearing the loads from the dome were also removed, and large-span arches were built instead. The passages between the naos-narthex and the narthex-exonarthex were enlarged by building large-span round arches (figs. 6, 7). The belfry at the southwestern corner of the building was probably removed and a minaret added in its place.

Ottoman Era-17th century

In the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi reports that the interior space had ample daylight, and the mosque had a minaret and a large courtyard where the poor were treated well.⁵³ In this period, in comparison to the current situation, sixteen additional windows provided light to the interior, thus giving a brighter interior space.

Ottoman Era-18th century

For information regarding 18th-century repairs of the structure, two documents on estimated cost and one document on expenditure records were found in the Ottoman Archives of the

⁵³ Karaman and Dağlı 2008, 261.

Turkish Prime Ministry. These have been thoroughly examined by Mazlum. Based on these documents, Mazlum found out that the monument had been restored in 1729, 1759, and 1766-1767. However, most traces of these repairs have been obliterated or concealed by the repair initiated by Sultan Abdülmecid in 1845.⁵⁴

The first document dates back to 15 Muharram 1142 (10 August 1729). It declares that after fire damage at Fethiye Camii, a report on its estimated repair cost⁵⁵ was prepared on site.⁵⁶ The renovation of fifteen pieces of interior and exterior marble window jambs of the mosque was one of the largest expenditure.⁵⁷ The Ottoman-period rectangular windows with jambs placed at the exonarthex, north annex and on the eastern wall of the prothesis of the north church were filled up in the 1938 repair of the Vakıflar. The same type of rectangular windows of the parekklesion were filled up in the 1962–1963 repair by the American Byzantine Institute (fig. 10).

Today, out of these sixteen rectangular windows with jambs, only one exists on the eastern façade of the northern annex and four on the domed Ottoman addition. However, none have jambs of marble but jambs of concrete instead. The estimated cost report specifies that timber “wings” (covers) will be installed in ten windows.⁵⁸ Today there is no cover in any window; yet the timber cover of a window can be seen in a photo by van Millingen⁵⁹ in the parekklesion.

According to the estimated cost report, twenty-eight “glass walls” (i.e., transenna windows, both interior and exterior, located in the elevated, upper parts) were required.⁶⁰ Today all of the “glass walls” of the Fethiye Camii have been renovated in an unsuitable way. In the north annex and exonarthex, the original double windows (interior and exterior) have been replaced by unsuitable single windows of colored glass, and PVC elements have been attached to these windows.

In the estimated cost report, the requirement for three doors from a walnut tree is listed. These are probably the entrance doors to the mosque and the museum, and the door between the exonarthex and narthex of the north church. Today there are poor-quality, unsuitable timber doors instead of walnut doors at the above-mentioned places. The repair program states that brick was planned to be laid in the floors of the sofas.⁶¹ In Ottoman mosque terminology “sofa” is usually used to signify outer verandas. Since today, the exonarthex is still paved with hexagonal bricks on its southern arm and southern part of its western arm. The sofa mentioned in the manuscript brings to one’s mind the exonarthex.

The Ottoman document indicates that an outer porch (*taşra sofa*) with timber studs covered with lead existed. Under its roof a painted wooden ceiling with round slats and stone would be laid around this outside sofa.⁶² The remains of this outdoor portico were seen by Van

⁵⁴ Mazlum 2004, 168.

⁵⁵ Archives of the Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, document number: EV.HMH.3228 .

⁵⁶ Mazlum 2004, 169.

⁵⁷ Mazlum 2004, 168.

⁵⁸ Mazlum 2004, 170.

⁵⁹ Van Millingen 1912, plate no. 39.

⁶⁰ Mazlum, *ibid.*

⁶¹ Mazlum 2004, 171.

⁶² Mazlum 2004, *ibid.*

Millingen and thought to be the foundation walls of a third narthex to the church.⁶³ Because it already existed in the estimated cost report, this outdoor portico was probably added prior to 1729.

Information about a second comprehensive repair of the Fethiye Camii in the 18th century can be learned from the estimated cost report⁶⁴ dating to 15 Zilkade 1172 (10 July 1759). The largest expenditure item of this repair was the replacement of the lead covering the domes and roof.⁶⁵ The last major repair of the Fethiye Camii in the 18th century, according to the records⁶⁶, was carried out after the 1766 earthquake from 20 Ramadan 1179 (2 March 1766) to 10 Shawwal 1180 (11 March 1767). The report gives no clue regarding any repair for damages from an earthquake, therefore the structure must have survived this earthquake with very light damage, according to Mazlum's interpretation.⁶⁷

Ottoman Era-19th century

In the first half of the 19th century, a repair occurred during the reign of Sultan Abdülmedic that is noted on an inscription panel dated to 1845 and located on the entrance portal of the mosque.⁶⁸ Mazlum suggests that during this repair a sultan's lodge, which had never been mentioned in any 18th-century documents, was added to the mosque.⁶⁹ However, a sketch of the southern façade of the building by Albert Lenoir shows timber additions next to the western facade and large masonry steps that served to reach the timber structure (fig. 8).⁷⁰ Lenoir is known to have visited Constantinople once in 1836. In this case, Sultan Abdülmedic must have repaired an existing sultan's lodge or reorganized the existing timber addition as a sultan's lodge.

The sultan's lodge was reached by stone stairs on the southern facade. The building was located on the southern arm of the exonarthex and also covered its front (south) façade. It stretched above the narthex hall until the northern facade, appearing as a thin, long compartment (fig. 9). The connection of the lodge with the interior of the mosque was from the western arch of the main dome by a royal tribune (*bünkar mahfili*) that opened to the worship space from above (fig. 11). Photos of this wooden addition, dating back to 1925, show that it was in moderately good condition (fig. 9). Now we can obviously observe that it has evolved into a low-quality, single-storey structure prior to the repair in 1937 (fig. 10).

Republican Era-20th century

The first restoration of the Fethiye Camii in the Republican Era took place between 1936–1938 by the Pious Foundations.⁷¹ Süreyya Yücel was the architect responsible for the work. As part of this repair, the wooden sultan's lodge, which by then had turned into a low-quality addition

⁶³ Van Millingen 1912, 149, plate no. 50.

⁶⁴ Archives of the Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, document number: EV.HMH.5172.

⁶⁵ Mazlum 2004, 173.

⁶⁶ Archives of the Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, document number: EV.HMH.5543.

⁶⁷ Mazlum 2004, 175.

⁶⁸ Eyice 1980, 23.

⁶⁹ Mazlum 2004, 169.

⁷⁰ Lenoir's sketch is given with the current photo of the cornice on the south facade because it was detected that under the sketch St. Theodosie, which refers to Gül Camii, was written by mistake and the sketch actually depicts the Fethiye Camii.

⁷¹ Altan 1938, 296.

with external masonry staircases and a wooden royal tribune, were removed. The royal tribune at the time was not affected by external weather conditions and was obviously in good condition as seen in archival photographs (fig. 11). Therefore, the reason for its removal is not clear. However, when the outer wooden addition was removed, it was practically unreachable. So it might be thought that it would have been convenient to remove this part which did not seem to have any function.

The second major change within the context of this restoration has been determined by comparing photos published in “Arkitekt” journal and in other archives – the filling of 13 ground-level, rectangular windows at the narthex, exonarthex, northern annex facades, and eastern facade of the prothesis. The arched openings above the filled rectangular windows were double (exterior+interior) windows before the intervention and were replaced by single windows with a square network. Altan also states that the dogtooth cornice of the roof and wall surfaces were repointed.⁷² After the repointing, we observe that traces of the large-span arch on the north facade of the inner narthex vanished. Cleaning all the south church mosaics and frescoes – until then only the dome mosaics were able to be seen (fig. 12) – and renewal of lead coverings of the dome were the main items of the restoration work.⁷³

Since Süreyya Bey had passed away, an interview was conducted with his son, Erdem Yücel, about the work of his father at Fethiye Camii. This interview revealed that the documents and photographs of this repair were given to İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı. After the death of İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, his archives were donated to the Tarık Us Library in the Beyazıt Mosque Complex. But nothing related to the Fethiye repair existed at the Tarık Us Library. After the 1938 repair, the building was handed over to the Directorate of Museums and not opened until 1955. Consequently it remained neglected and became dilapidated.⁷⁴

After the first repair in the Republican Era, Fethiye Camii was registered as a cultural asset for the first time in 1939 with registration number 383. The first register file is kept in the “Encümen Arşivi” at Istanbul Archaeology Museums. The plan attached to this file has various inaccuracies; the minaret was misplaced and the projection of the vaulting system was not well transferred.

A second repair in the Republican Era for the Fethiye Camii was carried out in 1955. Due to the Byzantine Congress held that year in Istanbul, Byzantine monuments including Fethiye Camii were intended to be “shown clean” and “well maintained” and repairs of some of the monuments were carried out.⁷⁵ C. Tamer was the architect responsible for the 1955 repairs. Tamer’s book about her repairs at the Byzantine monuments of Istanbul provides no text with an explanation; however, a few photographs of the 1955 repair exist. A comparison of the photographs before and after the repair reveals that the domes of the gynaikeion and the Ottoman dome were covered with lead-imitating concrete. The broken windowpanes were replaced; plant growth on walls supporting the main dome like a tower were cleaned; joints were repointed; and decayed stones of the minaret base were also replaced.⁷⁶

In 1959, after the Byzantine Congress, restoration of the Fethiye Camii was addressed a third time. The controlling supervisor of this repair, which gave way to more comprehensive

⁷² Altan, *ibid.*

⁷³ Eyice 1995, 301.

⁷⁴ Eyice 1995, 301.

⁷⁵ Tamer 2003, 121.

⁷⁶ Tamer 2003, 123–29.

changes, was again Cahide Tamer.⁷⁷ The Ottoman engravings visible until then were destroyed due to the complete rasping of the plaster in the interior. Archive photographs show two different motifs of engraving. The motifs seen in Van Millingen's book were the baroque style (fig. 11). A 20th-century photograph in the Dumbarton Oaks Archives captured the motifs after Millingen's examination and shows a different style (fig. 6).

The vast majority of the original marble cornice at the domed central space with carved acanthus leaves was renovated in this repair (fig. 6). The timber covers of the rectangular Ottoman windows were also removed.⁷⁸ Worn stone surfaces of the northwest pier of the main dome were repaired with new stones.⁷⁹ After this repair, the building was divided into two parts for use as a mosque and a museum separated by fixed wooden partition walls. Exterior stone renovations, especially on the north wall, are remarkably excessive (fig. 13). The northern church was subsequently opened for worship as a mosque.⁸⁰

The fourth restoration was between the years 1960–1963. The restoration work was carried out by the Byzantine Institute in the south church which had been reserved as a museum. Mosaics and frescoes were cleaned, and some additions and interventions received when the building was transformed into a mosque were removed in order to return it to its form in the Byzantine Era. The work of the Byzantine Institute shed light on the history of the building by analysing thoroughly the structure and uncovering the inscription in the mosaic at the *pareklesion* apse. The documentation of the work was carried out precisely and meticulously by means of drawings and photographs.

The most comprehensive interventions made by the Byzantine Institute by the approval of the *GEEAYK* (High Council of Real Estate Antiquities and Monuments in Turkey) on 12.05.1963 (decree no: 2038) included:

- 1) removing the Ottoman-period pointed arch in the naos and replacing it with concrete columns that mimic marble columns in appearance,
- 2) disguising the pointed arch on the north wall of the naos from the museum side (inside the mosque the arch is still visible) (fig. 14),
- 3) reconverting the rectangular apse window of the prothesis to a tripartite opening (fig. 15), and
- 4) reconverting the rectangular windows of the south and east facades to tripartite openings (fig. 15).

In the repairs made by the Pious Foundations in the years 1938, 1955 and 1959 respectively, as well as during the Byzantine Institute repair in 1962–1963, radical restoration decisions were taken that gave way to changes in the historical additions of the edifice which were documents of its long past. The reconstructions, the loss of traditional materials and elements, and the excess use of cement-based materials proved to be harmful interventions for the building. The Byzantine Institute's repair is accepted as superior to those of the Pious Foundations in the way that meticulous documentation of each intervention was recorded by means of documentation, photographs and/or drawings. Thus, each intervention can be traced and examined, whereas the Pious Foundations left no record of its repairs except for a few photographs. However,

⁷⁷ Tamer 2003, 153.

⁷⁸ Tamer 2003, 160, plate nos. 20, 21.

⁷⁹ Tamer 2003, 160, plate nos. 18, 19.

⁸⁰ Eyice 1995, 301.

the Athens Charter suggests as early as 1931 that one should pay respect for the building's history and its qualified additions with the following statement: "*When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it is recommended that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period*".⁸¹ Deleting all traces of the Ottoman period cannot be taken as a proper attitude according to the modern preservation and conservations ethics and principles for the repairs of either the Byzantine Institute or the Pious Foundations.

Currently the interior of the parekklesion presents brick surfaces without plaster, and all wall surfaces are pointed with cement mortar. Neither the surfaces without frescoes and mosaic ornamentation underneath should have been rasped of their Ottoman plaster nor the timber covers of the windows should have been removed. If not, the edifice would have been enriched with Ottoman and Byzantine elements presented together as a document of changes of its long past (fig. 12). Using the technical means of the period, concrete chimney and lintels have been inserted in the traditional fabric to present the frescoes of the southern arm of the exonarthex (fig. 5). Rather simpler solutions requiring less intervention should have been found. After the restoration by the Byzantine Institute, the parekklesion with the southern arm of the exonarthex was inaugurated as a museum under the direction of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.

After the restoration work carried out by the Byzantine Institute, there has not been an extensive repair work in the museum part until 2018. As a result of negotiations with the Directorate of Surveying and Monuments of the Ministry of Culture of Turkey, it was detected that only simple emergency repairs had been made since 1972. However, no documentation or record related to these exists. Yet it was learned in the Archives of the Archeological Museum (Encümen Archives) in the file about the structure that a permission request dating to 1976, with a suggested project attached by the Directorate of Surveying and Monuments was presented to the High Council of Real Estate and Ancient Monuments in Istanbul. This project proposed visitor toilets and a caretaker residence to be constructed in the courtyard of the Fethiye Museum.⁸² The project proposal was accepted by the council, and the suggested buildings were constructed.

Republican Era-21st century

In a 2001 directive from the Provincial Directorate of Tourism, a unit under the Directorate of the Hagia Sophia Museum, a budgetary item under the name "restoration and landscaping work" was generated for the Fethiye Museum. Within the scope of this work, the rundown courtyard wall was rebuilt. The courtyard was rearranged; it was covered with grass and new lighting fixtures installed; and some information signs were placed. The most important change was the transportation of various architectural elements from the courtyard of the Hagia Sophia Museum. These elements include bases, column shafts, and architraves belonging to the second Hagia Sophia built in 408 CE. However, these are not related to Fethiye Museum.

In the Archives of the Pious Foundations, no relevant information or document was found for the mosque regarding any repair after 1959. However, it was observed that the users of the mosque made constant interventions and built unsuitable new additions. In 2007, without any project or permission, the neighborhood guild coated the roof with lead (utilising very bad

⁸¹ Url-1.

⁸² Monuments High Council/Registration no: 234/10.06.1976.

workmanship) and poured concrete on the existing floor pavement and at the entrances to the cistern and the burial chamber in order to block them. The walls of the mihrab were covered with poor-quality, shiny ceramics, and outdoor air conditioning units were affixed to various parts of the facades.

The Repairs of its Minaret

During the conversion at the end of the 16th century, the addition of a minaret is highly probably within the scope of changes. Therefore, as an indispensable unit of the structure after its conversion to a mosque, the phases of the minaret bear crucial importance as a particular unit that affects the general physical appearance of the monument. The minaret is known to have undergone many changes and rebuilt several times since the monument's conversion to a mosque. The earliest mention of the minaret is by Evliya Çelebi in the 17th century.⁸³ Among the 18th-century documents related to the repairs of the structure, one for the minaret and re-coating of its cap with lead was found in the estimated cost report in the earliest one dated to 10 August 1729.⁸⁴ In the second comprehensive repair dated to 10 July 1759, the renewal of the minaret's parapet (*müşebbek*=cobweb) parapet is mentioned.⁸⁵ The earliest photograph of Fethiye's minaret dates to 1877. Neither on it nor on other later photographs can a parapet (*müşebbek*=cobweb) be seen. Therefore, the minaret was probably rebuilt after 1759 in baroque style, which resembles its appearance in the earliest photograph.

Archive photographs prove that the base, pedestal and body of the minaret remained almost the same from 1877 to 1981 except for some minor changes. However, a photograph dating back to 1981 found in a dissertation⁸⁶ demonstrates that all parts except the base of the minaret were rebuilt in 1981. However, this restoration did not take into account the previous form and proportions of the minaret at all (fig. 16).

Current Problems of Preservation Threatening the Monument

To summarise, it would be beneficial to review the current problems of conservation regarding Fethiye Camii. These would depict the current state of preservation for the monument before coming to the conclusion. This section allows the reader to comprehend an integral outline regarding the results of the repairs and interventions to the structure as well as changes to its nearby environment, as mentioned above. The current problems can be summed up under the following headings:

- Change of urban patterns around the structure

Today we cannot perceive the artificial terrace on which the monument is located due to the dense and high housing around the structure. The edifice was described by many scholars, envoys, and pilgrims as "overlooking the Golden Horn from a broad artificial terrace" since the 16th century. This terrace and the appearance of the monument on it was a significant character of the Fethiye Camii in the urban fabric. The perspectives, views and focal points as well as the relationship between the buildings with green and open spaces are important features for

⁸³ Karaman and Dağlı 2008, 261.

⁸⁴ Mazlum 2004, 172.

⁸⁵ Mazlum 2004, 173.

⁸⁶ Sözer 1981, plate no. 1.

the preservation of historic towns and areas.⁸⁷ Around Fethiye Camii, such interrelationships were mostly lost in the last quarter of the 20th century, as we can now see from the archives' photographs.

- Unqualified repairs without any proper project and consequent loss of additions and traces having historical value and contributing to the building's negligence

As noted above, Fethiye Camii was exposed to a gradual denuding of architectural detail throughout the past century. In the last 20–30 years, the interventions to the structure have been particularly relentless: a plastic and air-conditioning onslaught, concrete poured into all the exits of its underground units, miscellaneous threats and irreversible replacements aided by the complacency of the owners or current users of the monument who wanted to use fully the building practices of the 21st century.

- Problems arising from the users.

This problem is closely related to the above-mentioned issues and problems that have arisen both from the current users as well from the distribution of the authority for the maintenance of the monument among different state bodies. The courtyard to the east of the structure is especially very badly maintained with unused articles dumped in it.

- Functional problems

The functional partition of the structure separating the museum and mosque prevents its perception as a whole. The gynaikeion of the parekklesion, though a very interesting spatial unit, was used as the dressing room of the museum staff and closed to visitors. However, even just climbing its stairs would give many visitors a spatial experience of the Middle Ages.

- Presence of a visitor toilets and a caretaker residence and fragments of the second Hagia Sophia exhibited in its courtyard

The house for the guard including a visitors' toilet was constructed in 1976. Today it presents a shanty structure in the courtyard and used by a family with no relation to the museum. In addition, the parts of the columns and the architrave of the Second Hagia Sophia (built in 408 CE), brought to its courtyard in 2001 by the Hagia Sophia Museum Directorate, have neither relevance with the museum nor are even contemporaneous with the edifice. Therefore, they can lead to misperceptions regarding the monument's history for the museum visitors.

- The deterioration of building materials

The use of an excessive amount of cement mortar in previous repairs by the Pious Foundations and the Byzantine Institute poses an important problem today for the traditional building materials affected by the negative effects of the cement mortar such as efflorescence and decomposition. In the museum, except the dome of the naos, all the roofing material is lead-imitating concrete. Therefore this causes extreme water leakage to the interior through the roof. Moreover, there are problems with the use of reinforced concrete. Its detrimental effects, also valid for the cement mortar, for the traditional materials and structures were not known.

⁸⁷ Urf 2, 2011, 11.

- Other problems

Finally, it should be argued that Fethiye Camii is sometimes construed by the public as the product of a foreign culture. Its historical importance and contribution as a cultural asset in the multi-layered cultural fabric of the city is not sufficiently appreciated in all strata of society. However, its Ottoman-Era additions were equally harmed throughout the past century, such as its minaret which was dismantled and reconstructed by the neighborhood guild. Fethiye Camii during the last hundred years has been under continuous interventions, and its original Byzantine and Ottoman elements and decorative components destroyed. The cisterns or other assets associated with Fethiye Camii have been harmed by various interventions and new construction. The monument lacks a protection zone around it and is devoid of constant maintenance and supervision. This is particularly the case of the cistern to the south of the Fethiye Camii which is in private ownership. Thus it could be controlled so as to prevent damage by the interventions of its users. As a final remark, the recently constructed ablution fountain north of the Fethiye Camii in 2017, through its design and large mass, clashes with the medieval structure.

As the owner of these cultural assets, the General Directorate of Pious Foundations seems to be unable to take efficacious action. When it comes to the repairs of these assets, the field-work agenda is not determined to take into account the climatic conditions. Moreover, their measured drawings, restitution and restoration projects are contracted out to firms with insufficient experience and qualifications. The supervision of the projects by conservation or preservation boards or scientific committees poses problems such as inexperienced and unqualified board/committee members. Most of the time a conservation architect with experience and expertise for the period in which the relevant structure was constructed, is unavailable. This prevents proper analysis and interventions for problems arising during repair.

Conclusion

The thorough analysis provided in this article regarding the interventions carried out in the Fethiye Camii confirms that the history of the monument and its additions have not been fully respected. This is especially the case with the repairs during the 20th century, although they postdated the earliest international charters for preservation/conservation such as the Athens Charter (1931) and the Carta del Restauro (1932). Indeed, many important traces of the monument's long history were suppressed or entirely deleted due to the political agenda of these repairs.

Fethiye Camii with its subsidiary structures such as the cisterns nearby and the Ottoman madrasah rebuilt by Architect Kemalettin all constitute a complex that has witnessed a long history and multiple functions. In addition, the complex comprises several intangible values such as continuity, identity, and traditional land use. As it is suggested in the Valletta Principles of ICOMOS for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns, and Urban Areas, it is fundamental to consider heritage as an essential resource and part of the urban ecosystem.⁸⁸ Therefore, any future conservation project is suggested to be inclusive and should take all structures of this complex into consideration. As a result, this article wants to draw attention to the urgent need of a conservation zone around the structure. Such a zone should immediately be implemented for which a multi-disciplinary council of experts must be in charge of

⁸⁸ Url-3.

new additions (such as the new ablution fountain), repairs, and/or any kind of intervention within the zone.

As for the ongoing restoration work which started in April 2018 in the museum section of the Fethiye Camii, it is expected to hold the acknowledgment and use of available research and expertise to accomplish a qualified preservation according to the international standards as recommended by ICOMOS charters, principles, and documents. The structures that constitute the Fethiye Camii complex have a rich history. Thus their building materials, techniques and assembly present a number of challenges both in diagnosis and implementation beyond the mere application of restoration techniques. It should be kept in mind that the conservation, reinforcement and restoration of such a significant architectural heritage require a multidisciplinary approach. A full understanding of the structural and material characteristics is required. Information on the structure in its original and earlier states is essential along with the techniques used in its construction, the alterations and their effects, and interventions that have occurred. Each intervention should guarantee safety and durability with the least harm to heritage values.⁸⁹ Only with such a methodology can this important edifice reach the high level of conservation that it deserves.

⁸⁹ Url-2.

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Fig. 1 The domes of the Fethiye Camii and the Golden Horn view from its minaret balcony (Esmer 2012, 453).



Fig. 2 Fethiye Camii, site plan with the nearby cisterns (Esmer 2013, 46).

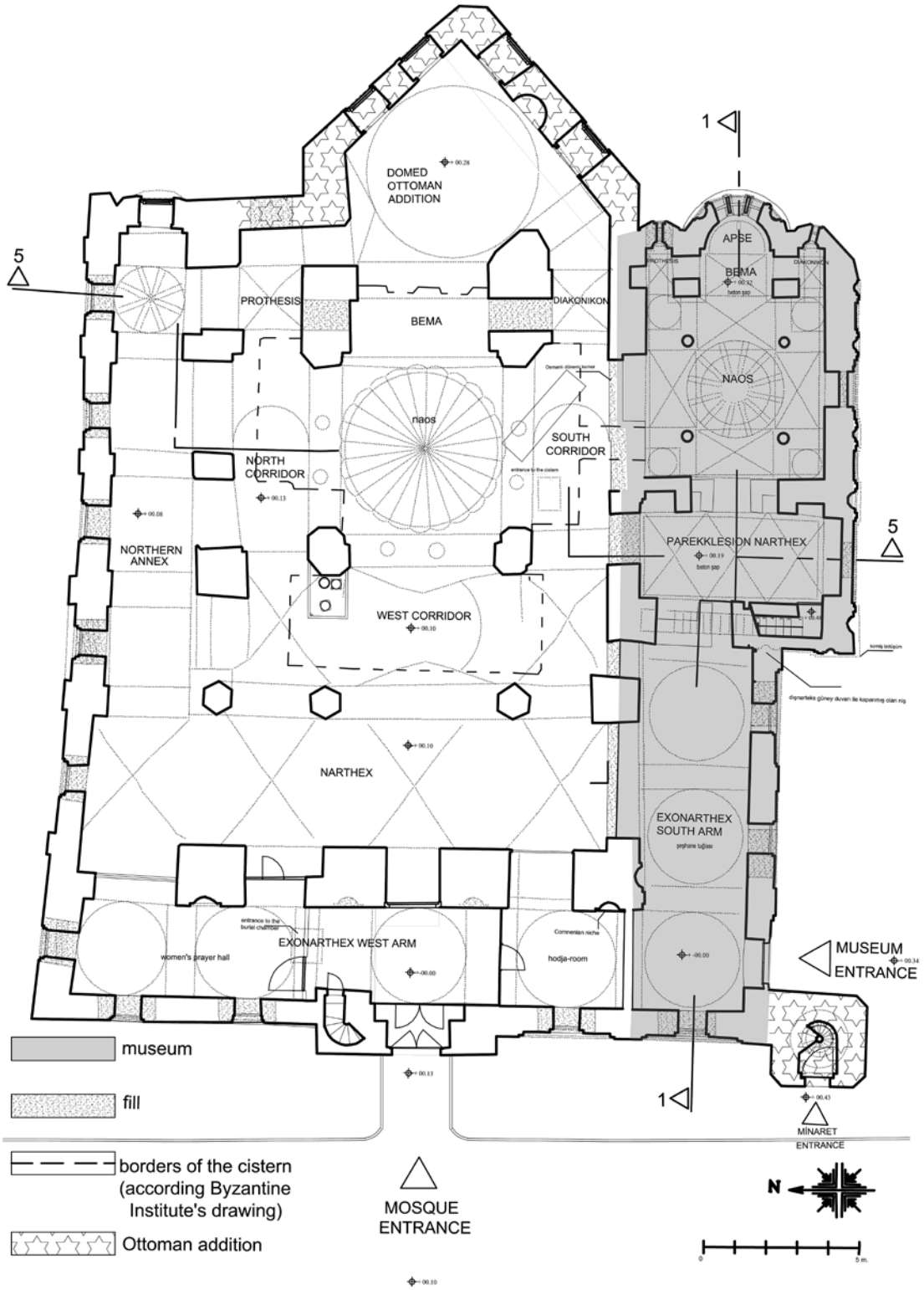


Fig. 3 Fethiye Camii, plan (Esmer 2013, 45).

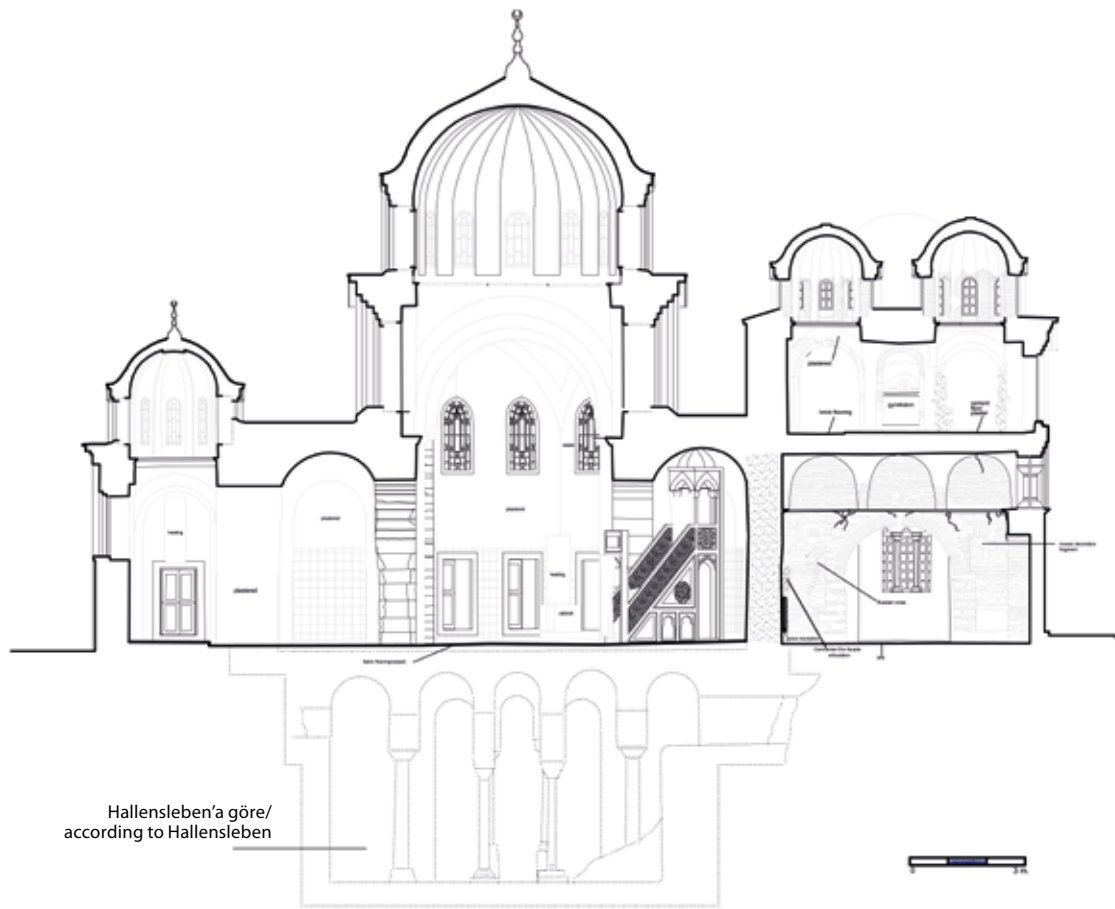


Fig. 4 Cross-section 5-5 (Esmer 2012, 446).

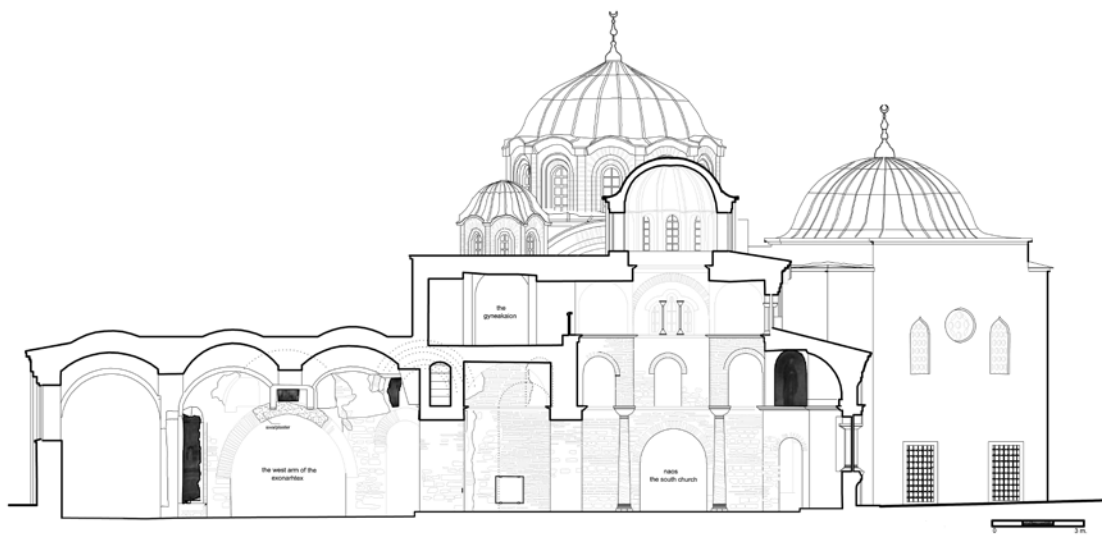


Fig. 5 Cross-section 1-1 (Esmer 2012, 444).



Fig. 6 The domed central area of the North Church, south arch, in 1957 (DO, ICFA, H.57.916).

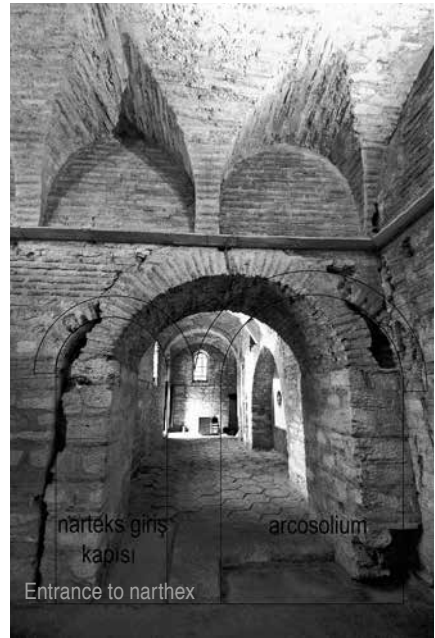


Fig. 7 The parekklesion, north end of the west wall of the narthex (Esmer 2012, 527).

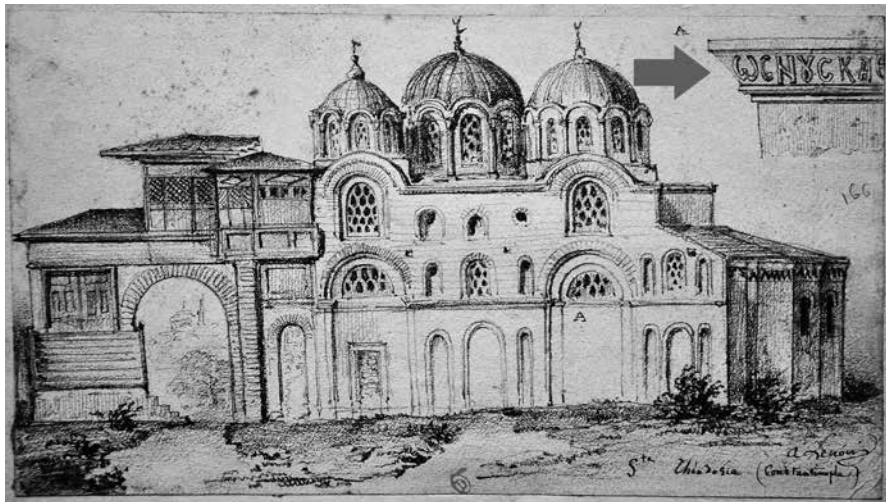


Fig. 8 Lenoir's sketch of the Fethiye Camii South Façade and below the current photograph of the part of the cornice with epigram shown in detail by Lenoir is seen (Archives de l'INHA; Esmer, 2010).



Fig. 9 Fethiye Camii, North Façade, Sender, 1925 (DAI, neg. no. 31897).

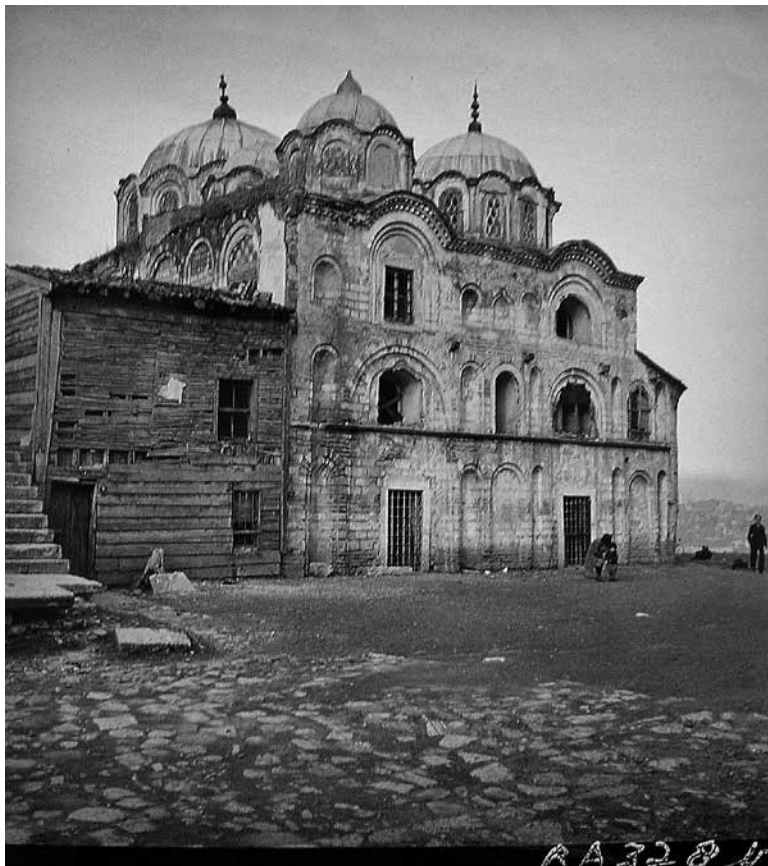


Fig. 10
Parekklesion, south
façade (DO, ICFA,
Artamonoff,
neg. no. 3284, 1937).

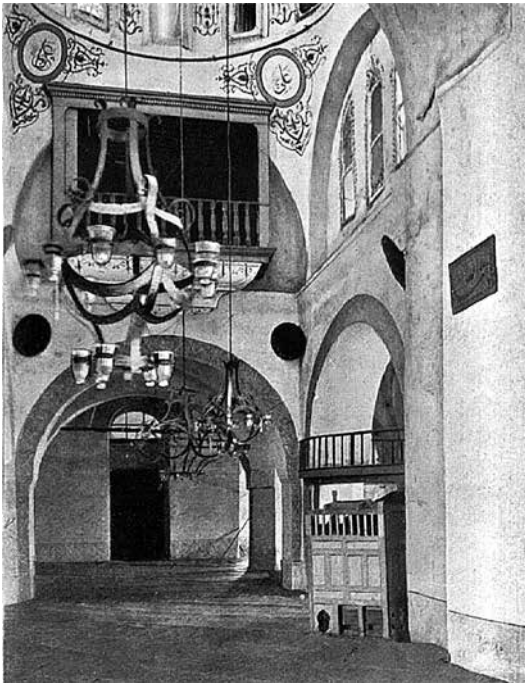


Fig. 11 Fethiye Camii, royal tribune (hünkar mahfili) (van Millingen 1912, plate no. 37).

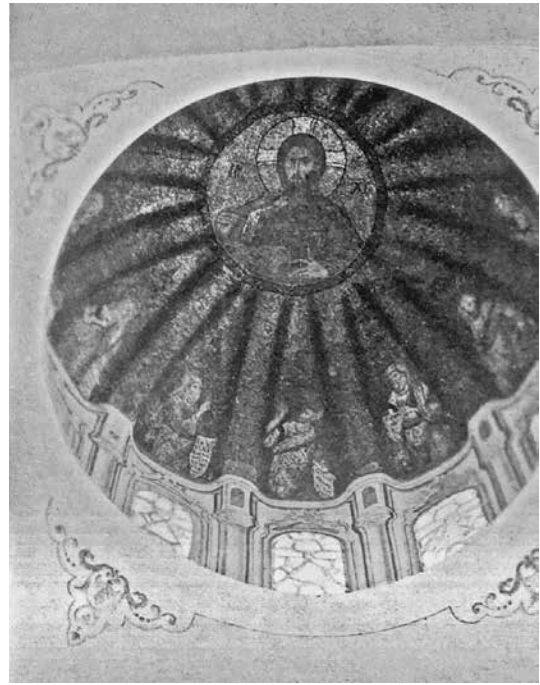


Fig. 12 Parekklesion, main dome, Byzantine mosaics with the Ottoman engravings (van Millingen 1912, 155).

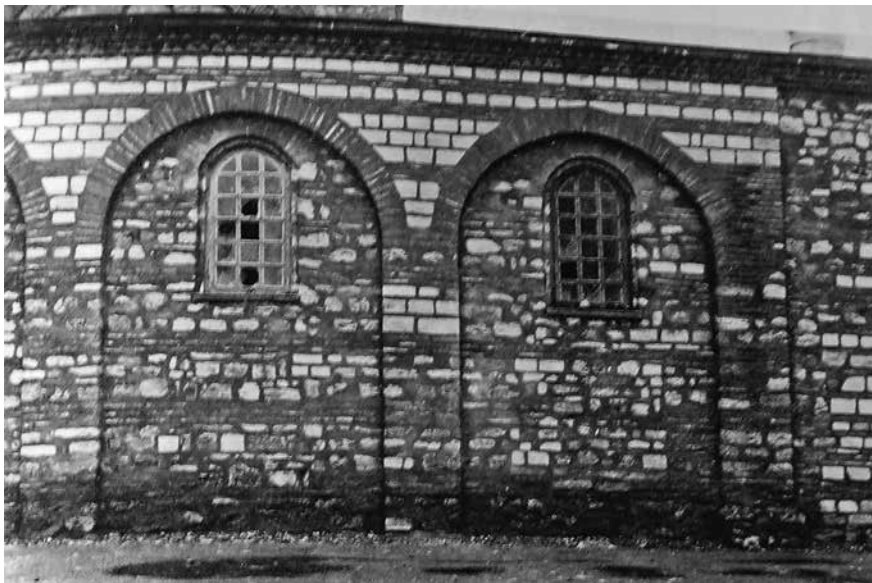


Fig. 13 North façade of the North Annex, 3rd and 4th bays (Hallensleben 1963–1964, plate no. 69).

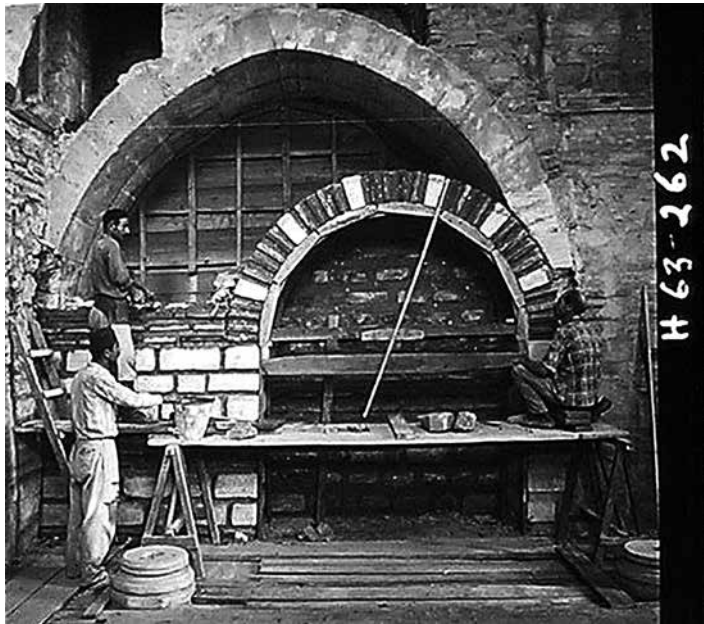


Fig. 14
The parekklesion, north wall and the column bases in 1963 (DO, ICFA, neg. no. H.63.262).



Fig. 15
Fethiye Camii, east façade (DAI, neg. no. 6481, beginning of 20th century).

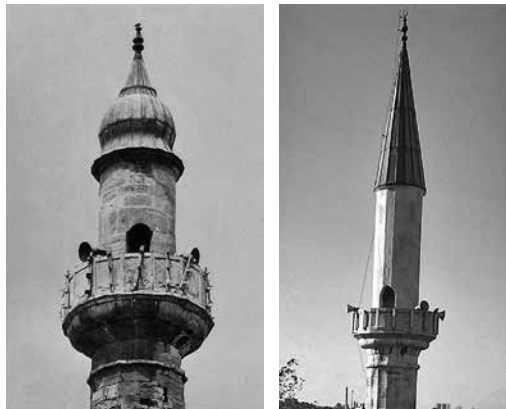


Fig. 16
Minaret in 1976 and after its reconstruction (DAI, neg. no. R9765, W. Schiele 1976; Esmer 2012, 545).

