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# ADALYA

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# Contents

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Güzel Öztürk<br><i>Cultural Continuity from the Ka`rum Period to the Hittite Empire Period in Light of Stamp Seals and Impressions</i> .....                  | 1   |
| Müge Bulu<br><i>Contextualizing the Consumption of Syro-Cilician Ware at Tell Atchana / Alalakh (Hatay, Türkiye): A Functional Analysis</i> .....             | 37  |
| Gülgüney Masalcı Şahin – Özlem Sir Gavaz<br><i>New Tablet Fragments on Dreams from the Boğazkale Archive</i> .....  | 75  |
| Aytaç Dönmez – Halil Mert Erdoğan<br><i>Xanthos West Agora III: Dynastic Nele</i> .....   | 97  |
| Oğuz Tekin<br><i>Weights of Alexandria in the Troad: Forms, Types, Units, and Chronology</i> .....  | 127 |
| Erkan Alkaç – Beste Tomay<br><i>Amphora Stamps of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Myra and its Harbor Neighborhood of Andriake</i> .....               | 149 |
| Mehmet Özhanlı<br><i>New Votive Plates Discovered in the Temple of Men and its Sanctuary in Pisidian Antioch</i> .....  | 171 |
| Asuman Coşkun Abuagla<br><i>Nominative and Genitive Endings of Some Epichoric Personal Names in Light of Inscriptions from Tymbrida</i> .....                 | 185 |
| Nergis Ataç – Guntram Koch<br><i>Figürliche Reliefs frühchristlicher Zeit in Kleinasien (4.-6. / 7. Jahrhundert n.Chr.)</i> .....                             | 197 |
| Orçun Erdoğan – Hatice Pamir<br><i>The Temple Church at Epiphaneia in Cilicia Pedias and its Terracotta Frieze</i> .....                                      | 233 |
| Yavuz Selim Güler<br><i>A Roman Steelyard with a Control Inscription from the Roman Imperial Period in the Pera Museum</i> .....                              | 257 |
| Mehmet Önal – Sevcan Ölçer<br><i>Research on the History, Function and Architectural Features of the Harran Saqiyas</i> .....                                 | 265 |
| Seçkin Evcim<br><i>The Discovery in Olympus (Lycia) of One of the Oldest Known Paintings of Christ Pantocrator with a Discussion of its Iconography</i> ..... | 289 |

Reyhan Yirşen

*The Problem of Piracy in Commercial Relations between the Ottoman State and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (Sicilyateyn) between 1740 and 1804* ..... 319

Ahmet Kısa

*Antalya Junior High School as the First Example Reflecting the Ottoman Modern Educational Approach in Antalya* ..... 337

Evren Dayar

*Three Periods of Antalya in the 19th Century* ..... 363

# Cultural Continuity from the Kārum Period to the Hittite Empire Period in Light of Stamp Seals and Impressions

GÜZEL ÖZTÜRK\*

## Abstract

New archaeological findings have further strengthened the view that the characteristic features of “Hittite” culture and art began to appear strongly in the late phase of the so-called “Kārum period” (late 18th century BC). This art and culture took root from the local Anatolian style, which emerged as a result of the synthesis of the interaction of Anatolian people with the cultures of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, and continued its uninterrupted existence for centuries. Stamp seals and impressions are one of the most important works of visual art that provide us with the most comprehensive information about the so-called “Hittite” elements seen on many archaeological materials of different qualities. The aim of this study is to analyze both the typological and iconographic characteristics of stamp seals and impressions from other important centers of the period, especially the new finds from Kültepe/Kaneš-Neša. Thus, the results of this analysis on the stamp seal art should demonstrate the effects of cross-cultural continuity from the Kārum period (1950-1710 BC) to the end of the Hittite period (1710/1650-1200 BC). Furthermore, by evaluating both the philological and archaeological findings, it is argued that not only the Hittite artistic style but also the first signs of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing

## Öz

Arkeolojik yeni bulgular, “Hitit” kültürünün ve sanatının karakteristik özelliklerinin Kārum Dönemi’nin geç evresinde (MÖ 18. yy. sonu) güçlü bir şekilde görülmeye başladığı görüşünü daha da kuvvetlendirmiştir. Bu sanat ve kültür, Anadolu insanının Kuzey Suriye ve Mezopotamya kültürleri ile etkileşimi sonucu sentezle ortaya çıkan yerli Anadolu sanatından kök alarak yüzyıllar boyunca kesintisiz bir şekilde varlığını sürdürmüştür. Farklı nitelikteki birçok arkeolojik materyal üzerinde görülen bu “Hititli” unsurlar hakkında en kapsamlı bilgiyi sağlayan görsel sanat eserlerinin başında damga mühür ve baskıları gelmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, başta Kültepe/Kaniş-Neša’dan ele geçen yeni bulgular olmak üzere, dönemin diğer önemli merkezlerinden ele geçen damga mühür ve baskılarının hem tipolojik hem de ikonografik özelliklerinin analiz edilmesidir. Böylece, Kārum Dönemi’nden (MÖ 1950-1710) Hitit Dönemi (MÖ 1710/1650-1200) sonuna kadar kültürlerarası devamlılığın damga mühür sanatı üzerindeki etkileri gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Filolojik ve arkeolojik bulguların birlikte değerlendirildiği bu çalışmada, sadece Hitit sanat üslubunun değil aynı zamanda Anadolu hiyeroglif yazısının ilk işaretlerinin de Kārum Dönemi’nin geç evresinde etkili olan yerli kültürden kök bulduğu iddia edilmektedir.

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find their roots in the local culture that was influential in the late phase of the Kārum period.

**Keywords:** Cultural continuity, stamp seals and sealings, Hittite culture and art, Anatolian hieroglyphs

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kültürel devamlılık, damga mühür ve mühür baskıları, Hitit kültürü ve sanatı, Anadolu hiyeroglifleri

## Introduction

### Chronology and Continuity between the Kārum Period to the Early Old Hittite Dynasty

At the beginning of the second millennium BC, foreign traders arrived in Anatolia mostly from Assyria in northern Mesopotamia and to a lesser extent from Syria. They established a network of nearly forty commercial settlements, which started a new period known as the Old Assyrian Trade Colony period or Kārum period.<sup>1</sup> It is known from both archaeological and philological sources that foreign merchants brought with them to Anatolia not only the raw materials they would trade, but also a complex administrative-legal system, writing, commercial knowledge, technology along with artistic and religious innovations that would affect the socio-political structure of the society.

The cuneiform documents from Kültepe/Kaneš-Neša<sup>2</sup> and Boğazköy (ancient Hattuša) provide important information about the political history of Anatolia in the 19th and 18th centuries BC (which is just before the establishment of the Old Hittite Kingdom), while the archaeological findings of various kinds clearly show how this period formed a major basis for Hittite art and culture. Philological and archaeological sources indicate that Assyrian trade in Anatolia continued between 1950-1710 BC (according to the Middle Chronology). This commercial system was interrupted for a few years (about three or five years) by the destruction of Kaneš, apparently by a fire that left a thick level of ash across the site which can be dated to approximately 1835 BC.<sup>3</sup> However the destruction was short-lived, and the local inhabitants resumed business as usual by about 1832. This interruption, which served as a milestone in the archaeological and historical context, allowed the Kārum period to be divided into two phases: early and late. In this context, the early period up to 1835 BC is contemporary with the lower town II settlement at Kültepe, while the period from 1832 BC to 1710 BC is contemporary with the lower town Ib settlement, and the period between ca. 1710 BC and 1650 BC with Kültepe Ia or the early Old Hittite period (see table 1).

The Old Assyrian texts found in Kültepe (ca. 23,000) have made it possible to determine the sequence of kings who ruled in the city in the 18th century BC. Thus, the kings who ruled in the Ib level of Kültepe were Inar and Waršama, whom we know to have been father and son, and then around 1750 BC, the Kuššara king Piṭḫāna conquered Neša which seems to have reached its political apogee at the time of these two kings, dominating part of Central Anatolia.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to a text found in the Hattuša archives, referred to in the archaeological literature as the “Anitta Text,”<sup>5</sup> we know that after Piṭḫāna, his son Anitta succeeded to the throne

<sup>1</sup> Balkan 1955; Larsen 1976; Veenhof 2003, 2010; Barjamovic 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Kültepe is the modern name, Kaneš is the ancient name during the Kārum period, and Neša is the Hittite name.

<sup>3</sup> Günbattu 2008, 117.

<sup>4</sup> Balkan 1955, 20; Forlanini 1995, 130; Kryszat 2008, 164-65; Veenhof 2008, 170; Günbattu 2014, 41-42; Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Neu 1974, 12-13. According to Kloekhorst and Waal, the fact that this originally Nešite composition was present in the Hittite archives at Hattuša implies that, at a certain point in time, it was transferred from Neša to Hattuša; see Kloekhorst and Waal 2019, 194-95.



of Neša. We also learn that in approximately 1728 BC, Anitta won a victory over his rival, the Hatti king Piyušti, and cursed the city of Hattuša.<sup>6</sup> Based on the surviving texts, King Zuzu is thought to have been the last known king of Kaneš, succeeding Anitta and reigning there from ca. 1725-1710 BC. There are not a few uncertainties about King Zuzu. One of the main uncertainties concerns his relationship with his predecessor, Anitta. The cuneiform documents reveal that Zuzu, who is recognized as one of the local rulers of Kaneš, was referred to with the titles “king,” “great king” and in Kt 89/k 369 “great king of Alabzina.”<sup>7</sup> It is therefore suggested that he may not have been the son of Anitta, but rather a usurper from outside Neša.<sup>8</sup> However, since the toponym Alahzina does not appear anywhere else in the Old Assyrian corpus, it is difficult and unclear to assess this title. Moreover, based on the phrase a-ni-ta ru-ba-e ša a-ku-wa “Anitta, King of Amkuwa” on a tablet from Alişar, it seems that his predecessor Anitta could use different titles depending on which city he was in.<sup>9</sup> From this point of view, the fact that Anitta’s successor Zuzu is mentioned in only one tablet with the title “great king of Alabzina” suggests that Alahzina was part of the Nešite kingdom at that time.<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 1. Comparative second millennium BC stratigraphy of major sites frequently mentioned in the text (by G. Öztürk).

| ANATOLIA   |  | KÜLTEPE/KANEŞ-NEŞA |            | ALIŞAR |         | BOĞAZKÖY-HATTUŞA |            |                 | ACEMHÖYÜK | KAMAN KALEHÖYÜK | KONYA KARAHÖYÜK | KAYALIPINAR | ALACA HÖYÜK |
|--|--|--------------------|------------|--------|---------|------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Period / Date<br>(Middle Chronology ca. BC.)                         |  | Upper Town         | Lower Town | Mound  | Terrace | Büyükkale        | Lower Town | Northwest Slope | Mound     |                 |                 |             |             |
| <b>Proto-Kārum Period.<br/>(2050-1950)</b>                           |  | 10                 | IV         | 5b     |         |                  |            | 9               | V         |                 | IVa             |             | IV          |
| <b>Early Phase of Kārum Period<br/>(1950-1835)</b>                   |  | 9                  | III        | ↓      | 12      | V                | 5          | 8d-c<br>8b      | IV        |                 |                 |             |             |
| <b>Late Phase of Kārum Period<br/>(1832-1710)</b>                    |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| <b>Kings of Kaneš</b>  |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| Hurmeli — 1790   |  |                    |            |        | 11b-a   |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| Inar 1790-1775   |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| Waršama 1775-1750  |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| Pithana 1750 —   |  | 7                  | Ib         | 5a     | 10c     | IVd              | 4          | 8a              | III       | IIIc            | II              | 5a          |             |
| Anitta — 1725  |  |                    |            | ↓      |         |                  |            |                 | ↓         |                 |                 |             |             |
| Zuzu 1725-1710   |  |                    |            | ↓      |         |                  |            |                 | ↓         |                 |                 |             | II-4        |
| <b>End of Kārum Period/Early Old Hittite Dynasty<br/>(1710-1650)</b> |  | 6                  | Ia         |        |         |                  |            |                 | II        |                 |                 |             |             |
| <b>Early Old Hittite Dynasty</b>                                     |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| Huzziya I (?)  |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 | I         |                 |                 |             |             |
| Labarna I (?)  |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 | ↓         |                 |                 |             |             |
| Hattusili I  |  |                    |            |        |         |                  |            |                 |           |                 |                 |             |             |
| <b>Old Hittite Period<br/>(1650-1500)</b>                            |  | —                  | —          | —      | —       | IVc              | 3          | 7               | —         | IIIb            |                 | 4b          | II-3b       |
| <b>Middle Hittite Period<br/>(1500-1350)</b>                         |  | —                  | —          | —      | —       | IVb              | 2          | 6               | —         |                 |                 | 4a<br>3     | II-3a       |
| <b>Hittite Empire Period<br/>(1350-1200)</b>                         |  | —                  | —          | 4c     | 10b-a   | IVa<br>IIIa-c    | 1a-b       | 5               | —         | IIIa            | —               | 2c-a        | II-2        |

The lower town level Ib settlement of Kültepe was inhabited for more than 100 years and eventually destroyed by a fire. Although it is not yet known with certainty who was responsible for the fire that ended this stratum, the end of lower town level Ib can be dated with relative certainty on the basis of the Old Assyrian tablets (kt 01/k 207). The latest text from this level dates to 1718/1717 BC.<sup>11</sup> It is therefore accepted that the end of the lower town Ib settlement

<sup>6</sup> Barjamovic et al. 2012, 39.  
<sup>7</sup> Donbaz 1989, 84-85; 1993, 143-44; Kryszat 2008, 164-65.  
<sup>8</sup> Kryszat 2008, 210.  
<sup>9</sup> Gelb 1935, 1-2.  
<sup>10</sup> Kloekhorst 2021, 568.  
<sup>11</sup> Günbattı 2008, 111; Barjamovic et al. 2012, 40.

can be dated a few years later to about 1710 BC.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of archaeological data, T. Özgüç states that no new palace, fortification or large buildings were built on the upper town of Kültepe after this destruction, and the entire fortress was reduced to ruins. However, the architectural data from the lower town of Kültepe show that this area was quickly rebuilt after the fire that destroyed level Ib, and that the later level Ia houses were built directly on top of the level Ib settlement. The archaeological materials from the lower town level Ia of Kültepe is limited, and so far no texts dating to this period have been uncovered. However, the archaeological data clearly indicate that the lower town level Ia continued to be inhabited for several decades. On the basis of imported finds, such as “pilgrim flasks” and “Syrian bottles” discovered from lower town level Ia at Kültepe,<sup>13</sup> researchers conclude that at least some foreign travelers or merchants continued to come to the city during this period. This suggests the existence of a still functional administrative system and at least some government buildings.<sup>14</sup>

Besides the archaeological data mentioned above, the most important philological document that allows us to formulate some hypotheses in order to understand the continuity between the Kārūm period and the early Old Hittite dynasty is the “Zalpa text.”<sup>15</sup> The historical part of the text mentions several rulers who are described as having led various campaigns against Zalpa and who were respectively titled *ABI ABI LUGAL* “the grandfather of the King,” *LUGAL ŠU.GI* “the old King,” and *LUGAL* “the King.” There are different proposals in the literature for defining these three individuals,<sup>16</sup> but in the context of this study, the following argument put forward by Beal will be followed: “the King” = Hattušili I, “the old King” = his predecessor Labarna I who was the husband of Hattušili I’s aunt Taḫananna, and “the grandfather of the King” = Labarna I’s predecessor, probably called Huzziya I, the father of his wife Taḫananna and thus the grandfather of Hattušili I.<sup>17</sup> Huzziya I is the first to be mentioned in a list of early Hittite kings, both in the “cruciform seal” and in the “offering lists to the royal ancestors.”<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it makes sense to assume that it was indeed Huzziya who rebuilt Hattuša.<sup>19</sup>

In fact, the hypothesis that Boğazköy was rebuilt long before the reign of Hattušili I was put forward by Neve at a very early date, but has been generally ignored by scholars.<sup>20</sup> However, the new archaeological evidence unearthed in the Boğazköy excavations not only supports this idea, but also allows for a reevaluation of the historical events mentioned in the texts. The new excavations carried out in the southern corner of Büyükkale in the North terrace of the upper city clearly show that there was an uninterrupted settlement during the transition from the Kārūm period to the Old Hittite period. For Hittite buildings were built directly on the base of the buildings dated to the Kārūm period, without any gaps, and the direction of the buildings belonging to both periods was found to be unchanged.<sup>21</sup> In addition, radiocarbon dates

<sup>12</sup> Barjamovic et al. 2012, 40, 51.

<sup>13</sup> Emre 1995, 183; 1999, 45.

<sup>14</sup> Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51-52; Kloekhorst 2021, 557.

<sup>15</sup> It consists of two parts, mythological and historical, and is called the “Zalpa-text” because both parts are related to the city of Zalpa. This text describes mythological events between the cities of Zalpa and Neša, as well as military conflicts between Zalpa and Hattuša; cf. Otten 1973.

<sup>16</sup> Hoffner 1980; Klinger 1996.

<sup>17</sup> Beal 2003, 22-25; Kloekhorst 2021, 558.

<sup>18</sup> Dinçol et al. 1993, 104-6.

<sup>19</sup> Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51; Kloekhorst 2021, 559.

<sup>20</sup> Bittel et al. 1984, 89.

<sup>21</sup> Schachner 2014, 95-97.

obtained from animal bones unearthed west of the Great Temple support the view that there was no cultural interruption between the two periods.<sup>22</sup> In this context, if we follow the argument of Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen, the person referred to in the Zalpa text as “the king’s grandfather,” i.e. Huzziya I, had control between Hurama and Hattuša including Kaneš, all of which was under his control. According to this observation, Huzziya I began his career as king of Hattuša, which he may have rebuilt at the beginning of his reign, ca. 1710 BC (see table 1). Thus, Barjamovic et al. suggest that Huzziya was the ruler who rebuilt Hattuša after the destruction of Anitta, and that he or his successor may have caused the end of the lower town Ib settlement at Kültepe and the destruction of the Waršama Palace in the upper town.<sup>23</sup>

Some scholars have argued that Kaneš and its environs probably became a provincial city administered from Hattuša during this period,<sup>24</sup> resulting in a significant decline in the level of wealth in the Ia stratum compared to the previous period. However, another argument would be that before the early Hittite kings Huzziya I and Labarna I, as well as Hattušili I, moved the royal court to Hattuša in the early part of his reign, Kaneš-Neša was the capital and may have been used as a military base for campaigns against Zalpa.<sup>25</sup> Although their views on its nature and character differ widely, many Hittite scholars assume some form of continuity between the last kings of Neša known from Old Assyrian texts (the names of the last three being Piṭhāna, Anitta and Zuzu) and the dynasty of Hattušili I.<sup>26</sup> The date of the end of the lower town Ia settlement at Kaneš is not yet clear. However, on the basis of archaeological data, Özgüç, Emre, and Kulakoğlu suggested that the settlement at Kaneš continued during the reigns of Abi-ešuh and Ammi-ditana, who ruled in Babylon in 1711-1684 BC and 1683-1640 BC respectively.<sup>27</sup> All of these data, both archaeological and philological, are extremely important in proving that there was no cultural and historical discontinuity between the end of the Kārum period and the kings of the early Old Hittite Dynastic period, about whom little is known.

Stamp seals and impressions, which provide us with extensive knowledge about the second millennium BC, constitute the most important historical documents after cuneiform documents. In the first quarter of the second millennium BC, long-distance trade between Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia and Syria enabled people of different ethnicities, languages, and cultures to live together. This resulted in an artistic richness of a scale and diversity previously unknown in Anatolian history. The art of the seals is one of the most important artifacts of this multicultural expression, proving that the cultures of these different geographies influenced each other. The artistic style that started to develop in Anatolia as of the beginning of the second millennium BC is well known thanks to the seals, impressions, and various works of art of different qualities unearthed in settlements located in Central Anatolia such as

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<sup>22</sup> Schachner 2018, 101.

<sup>23</sup> Barjamovic et al. 2012, 51. As we know from dendrochronological studies, Waršama’s Palace was built on top of the Old Palace that had been destroyed by fire. It was constructed with timber that was cut in 1835/1832 BC, with repairs made with timber cut in 1813/1810, 1811/1808, and 1774/1771 BC; see Barjamovic et al. 2012, 36, fig. 12. This palace was also destroyed by fire, but the exact time of this fire is not clear. However, considering the fact that this palace is the latest palace structure unearthed in the upper city of Kaneš, it is concluded that the Kaneš kings after Waršama (Pithana Anitta and Zuzu known for certain from texts) also used this palace. This implies that the fire that destroyed it should be dated to at least after the reign of Zuzu; see Kloekhorst 2021, 565.

<sup>24</sup> Barjamovic et al. 2012, 52.

<sup>25</sup> Kloekhorst 2021, 557 and 573. The Hittite dynasty of Labarna also originated from Kuššara such as Pithana and his son Anitta, and it was in that city that Hattušili I, Labarna’s successor, died, although he had transferred his capital to Hattuša; see Archi 2021, 256.

<sup>26</sup> Gilan 2015, 200-1; Kloekhorst 2021, 566.

<sup>27</sup> Özgüç 1968a, 61; Emre 1995, 183; 1999, 45; Kulakoğlu 1996, 74; 2008, 18.

Kültepe, Boğazköy, Acemhöyük, Alişar, Konya-Karahöyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Yassıhöyük, and Kayalıpınar (fig. 1). The basis of this understanding of art is the “Anatolian style” that emerged as a result of the interaction of Anatolian people with the cultures of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia.<sup>28</sup> This style actually emerged from the second half of the third millennium, before the Hittites became a political power in Anatolia, and continued to develop during the Kārum period which laid the groundwork for Hittite art.<sup>29</sup>

The new findings uncovered by archaeological excavations that have gained momentum in the last decade have further strengthened the view that the origin of the artistic style described as “Hittite” began to be clearly seen particularly in the late phase (ca. 18th century BC) of the settlements of the Kārum period. The most important innovation, especially in the late phase of this period, is the decline in the use of cylinder seals and the repopularization of stamp seals, the local seal type of Anatolia. This is seen not only by the types of seals that form the basis of the Hittite stamp seals, but also in the variety of motifs engraved on these seals and the characteristic features of the art style. As a result of all these identifiable cultural expressions, the stamp seals unearthed in the late phase and contemporary level of the Kārum period of the settlements paved the way for the formation of features that will be interpreted as “prototypes of the Hittite style” both typologically and stylistically.

## Seal Types

Although the variety of motifs engraved on stamp seals in the late phase of the Kārum period is not as rich as those on the cylinder seals, the most important feature that makes the seals of this period different from previous periods is the preponderance of mostly figurative, floral and astral motifs engraved on the impression surfaces, rather than geometric motifs. From the Old Hittite period following the Kārum period to the end of the Empire, we can see that different types of stamp seals continued to be widely used in Anatolia over time. As A. Dinçol and B. Dinçol pointed out, the Hittite words “to seal” and “seal” were produced from the verb “to press” (= šai-/šiya-), which clearly shows that the traditional sealing action among the Hittites was not applied by rolling as in cylinder seals, but by pressing in a way that directly indicates the use of stamp seals.<sup>30</sup>

Stamp seals dated to the Kārum period have a rounded and knobbed, conical, prism, or animal-shaped handles consisting of a lion, bird, monkey, and different impression surfaces such as angular, foot-shaped, or disc-shaped. The most remarkable of the new seal forms, which first appeared in the late phase of this period and continued to be used in the Old Hittite period, are the stamp-cylinder seals. These are the result of the combination of the cylinder seal brought to Anatolia by Assyrian merchants and the local stamp seal form.<sup>31</sup> The base of this new type of seal is designed as a rectangular or cylindrical shape, while the lower part is in the form of a stamp. Thus, the stamp and the cylinder function are combined in a single seal. The handles of this type of seal are made in the form of a handle or conical with a rounded top. The examples found in Kültepe are important as they are the only evidence for the time being that this type of seal had been used in Anatolia since the second half of the 18th

<sup>28</sup> Özgüç 1965, 3; 1966, 1; Emre 2002, 486.

<sup>29</sup> Özgüç 1965, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 429.

<sup>31</sup> Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 428.

century.<sup>32</sup> Besides Kültepe, the earliest examples of this type of seals come from two different stamp-cylinder seal impressions on a total of 46 sealed clay bullae found at Sarıkaya Palace in Acemhöyük level III dated between King Anitta and Hattušili I.<sup>33</sup> Samples from Konya-Karahöyük level I<sup>34</sup> and seals unearthed from Alişar level 10T<sup>35</sup> are also among the earliest examples of this type of seals (fig. 2.1-2).

This group of finds is important for showing that the stamp-cylinder seal type, which we know thanks to a small number of examples at the end of the 18th century BC, was in use on a considerable scale. The “Tyskiewicz seal” is the earliest evidence for the use of rounded or tuberheaded conical handle stamp-cylinder seals in the early 17th century BC, in other words the Old Hittite period.<sup>36</sup> The Aydın seal dating to the first half of the 17th century BC, as well as the seals preserved in the Louvre Museum and the Fine Arts Museum in Boston dating to the middle of this century, are important findings showing this continuity (fig. 2.3-6).

Another feature encountered for the first time in this period is that the conical handles of the seals are made in the form of a hammer-head. A seal preserved in the Berlin Museum is important as it represents a new type of example in this group.<sup>37</sup> While the cylindrical body of this seal is divided into eight sections with deep grooves, the stamp base is designed in the form of an eight-leaf rosette in accordance with these sections. The Berlin seal is considered to be the first sign of the transition to hammer-headed stamp seals, which consist of four-sided faces with slightly rounded corners and a cube body. These were used from the second half of the 17th century BC.<sup>38</sup> Thanks to all these features, the Berlin seal represents a different shape from the examples of Tyskiewicz, Aydın and the Louvre. One of the most outstanding examples of cube-bodied hammer-headed seals is the Tarsus seal, which has five impression areas on the side of its base.<sup>39</sup> Similar to hammer-headed seals, decorated on four faces of the cube-shaped base, are those known from the Borowski Collection.<sup>40</sup> Additional examples are preserved in the Louvre<sup>41</sup> and British Museums,<sup>42</sup> and those from the Bitik settlement<sup>43</sup> (fig. 3.1-4). This type of seals, with the creation of different types of printing areas, continued to be used until the 14th century BC, i.e. the beginning of the Hittite Empire period. Thus, it is understood that the use of cylinder seals in Anatolia came to an end.<sup>44</sup>

Another version of the hammer-head stamp seals, which have different variations according to the shape of the base, are the examples upon which the side faces of the cylindrical base are left blank and only the bottom part is used as the impression face. The examples uncovered at

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<sup>32</sup> Dinçer 1943, 77; Özgüç 1968a, pl. 31.1a-b; Özkan 2010, 150, fig. 8; Özgüç 2005, 252, no. 320.

<sup>33</sup> Özgüç 2015, 168 and 170, figs. 133-34. In light of the philological and archaeological data, Özgüç has determined that Sarıkaya Palace was in use for approximately 300 years, from the beginning of the second millennium BC until the mid 17th century BC.

<sup>34</sup> Alp 1994, 259-61.

<sup>35</sup> von der Osten 1937, 211, figs. 248.d 1822; 212, 249.e 2310.

<sup>36</sup> Boehmer 1975, fig. 375.a; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 38, fig. 24.a.

<sup>37</sup> Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 39, fig. 24.c.

<sup>38</sup> Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 429.

<sup>39</sup> Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 54, fig. 39; Darga 1992, 70, nos. 49-50.

<sup>40</sup> Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 58, fig. 45.

<sup>41</sup> Delaporte 1923, pl. 101.1a, A.1026; 3a, A.1028; 4f, A.1029; 5a, A.1030.

<sup>42</sup> Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 55, fig. 40.

<sup>43</sup> Anık 1944, pl. 60.17; Özgüç 1993, 484, fig. 12.a-e.

<sup>44</sup> Dinçol and Dinçol 2002, 429.

Boğazköy, Alaca Höyük, Alishar, and Seyitömer clearly show that this type of seal was first seen in Anatolia in the late phase of the Kārum period and early Old Hittite period (fig. 4.1-3).<sup>45</sup> Examples from the sites of İnandıktepe, Alaca Höyük, Maşat Höyük, and Beycesultan, as well as seals in the Walter's Art Gallery in Boston, and the Afyon Museum, show that hammer-headed stamp seals continued to be used until the 15th and early 14th centuries BC.<sup>46</sup> Thanks to the typologies and stylistic features of these examples, which were unearthed through systematic excavations, it is understood that the seals in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum<sup>47</sup> and the Walters Art Museum,<sup>48</sup> or the seal from the Niğde region<sup>49</sup> all belong to the 17th-16th century BC (fig. 4.4-8).

The most common seal type in the late phase of the Kārum period and early Old Hittite period are those with tuber or rounded heads, conical handles, and disk bases. The conical handles of these seals with a large hole were either left empty or decorated with horizontal grooves. These types of seals are well known thanks to the samples unearthed from Kültepe, Alishar, Boğazköy, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Yassıhöyük, and Konya-Karahöyük (fig. 5).<sup>50</sup> On the seals, in the center of a frame with a rope border, there are depictions of one or more of the following: a guilloche, solar disc, "*signe royal*," rosette, a double-headed eagle, a lion, a bull, a griffin, sphinxes, and gods and goddesses. These stamp seals are usually disc-based, but there are also variations made in the form of two-, three- or four-leaf clovers, or animal heads in the form of anaphora. These reveal the richness of Anatolian sealing. The samples unearthed from settlements such as İnandıktepe, Eskiypapar, Alaca Höyük, and Boğazköy are important in terms of showing that this type of seal continued to be used in Anatolia until the 16th-15th centuries BC.<sup>51</sup>

## Motifs and Compositions

### 1. Rosette

The rosette motif is well known thanks to the seals and impressions uncovered from the late phase of this period (late 18th and early 17th century BC) from the settlements of Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Alishar, Kaman-Kalehöyük, and Konya-Karahöyük. The latter site has the richest collection in Anatolia<sup>52</sup> (fig. 6.1-12). Although the motif is designed to fill the entire seal area

<sup>45</sup> For Boğazköy: Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 2.22, 2.23, 3.31, 3.37, 3.38; for Alaca Höyük: Koşay 1938, 62, pl. 47.AL/A 89; for Alishar: von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.d 975; for Seyitömer: Bilgen and Bilgen 2015, 113, fig. 130.

<sup>46</sup> For İnandıktepe: T. Özgüç 1988, pl. 64.1a-c; for Alaca Höyük: Koşay and Akok 1973, pl. 43. Al.t.120, Al.t.124 and Al.p.51; for Maşat Höyük: Özgüç 1978, pl. 52.3a-c; for Beycesultan: Lloyd and Mellaart 1956, pl. 12.c; Walters Art Museum seal: for Gordon 1939, pl. 8.70; for the Afyon seal: Alp 1969, pl. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Dinçol 1983, nos. 1-2; Darga 1992, 72-73, nos. 53-58.

<sup>48</sup> Gordon 1939, pls. 8.70, 9.72; Dinçol 1983, pl. 2.2.

<sup>49</sup> Özgüç 1971, 17, pl. 1.

<sup>50</sup> For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pls. 30.2, 31.2, 32.1-6, 33.1-6, 34.1, 36.1-6, 37.1 and 6; Özgüç 2005, 251, nos. 317-19; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 356-57, cat. nos. 481-87; for Alishar: Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1478, b 1854; von der Osten 1937, 212-14, figs. 249-51, c 666, c 2656, d 1140, d 1906, d 2067, d 2222, d 2681, d 2878, d 2970, e 555, e 632; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pls. 2.12-15 and 17-20, 3.23-26, 4.37-40 and 4.42-43, 5.44-48, 7.66-72, 8.74-81, 9.93 and 9.95; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 1.5 and 1.8-15, 2.25, 3.38, 5.48, 5.50 and 5.53, 6.58-59, 7.70, 8.82-8.84; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 1988, 356, fig. 10.4; 2005, 30, fig. 56; for Yassıhöyük: Omura 2013, 322, fig. 13; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, pl. 19.46-48.

<sup>51</sup> For İnandıktepe: T. Özgüç 1988, pl. 64.2; for Eskiypapar: Sipahi 2013, 70, fig. 3; for Alaca Höyük: Anık 1937, pl. 223. Al.551; Koşay 1951, pls. 79.7, 80.1 and 4, 81.2-3; Koşay and Akok 1966, pl. 32.f 93; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pls. 2, 3.23-25, 7.70-71, 8.74-77; Bittel 1970, pl. 7.

<sup>52</sup> For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pl. 37.6a-b; Öztürk 2019, pls. 31.1, 3 and 32.1; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 2015, 166,

alone in the center of the stamp seals, it is sometimes used in combination with one or more of the following: stairs, zigzag, helix, guilloche, spiral, triangle, crescent, dot motifs, or animal rows, which are placed between the bands surrounding the motif.

The rosette motif on the three seal impressions is formed with a series of small circles placed around a small circle in the center (fig. 6.1-3 and 6.6). These impressions were unearthed during the recent excavations on the upper town of Kültepe (fig. 6.2-3). The closest stylistic similarity with the rosette motif on these stamp seal impressions, one of which was used as a stopper, is seen in the stamp seal impression on the cuneiform envelope notarised by king Waršama of Kaneš. (fig. 6.1 and 6.6). The closest examples stylistically similar to the rosette motif on these seal impressions uncovered from the lower and upper town of Kültepe were found at Kaman-Kalehöyük.<sup>53</sup>

A clay stamp seal from lower town level Ib at Kültepe has an eight-leaf rosette motif in the center surrounded by a band of triangles (fig. 6.5). The delimitation of the seal composition area with a rosette in the center and a frame of triangles continued to be used in 17th century BC and 15th century BC Tabarna seals following the late phase of the Kārum period.<sup>54</sup> This motif, seen as a group of three with Hittite hieroglyphic signs on the seals of Hattušili I (17th century BC), was used alone. It replaced the hieroglyphic signs as seen on the seals and seal impressions of the kings named Huzziya, Alluwamna and Tahurwaili (fig. 6.13-15).<sup>55</sup> When the royal stamp seals of this period are examined, their composition consists of a naturalistically engraved six- or eight-petaled flower rosette motif. They are surrounded by a two-line cuneiform inscription on the outside band, and the rosette is enclosed in a circle in the very center of this band. Leaving aside the differences in the compositional scheme, the closest stylistic parallel to the floral rosette motif, seen in the 17th century BC and 15th century BC royal seal impressions, is found in the seal impressions from Konya-Karahöyük<sup>56</sup> and in a seal from Alişar (fig. 6.9 and 6.11-12).<sup>57</sup>

Apart from these seals, the gold ring with a rosette of a seven-petaled flower, recovered from lower town level Ib of Kültepe, can be considered among the pioneering examples of Hittite seals in terms of style.<sup>58</sup> In this context, this ring was produced using precious raw materials such as gold and lapis-lazuli and can be thought to belong to one of the kings of Kaneš when evaluated together with the symbol on it.

The flower rosette motif, thought to symbolize the sun, continued to be used in the Hittite Empire period (14th to 13th century BC), but in a different way from previous periods. At this stage, it is observed that the Hittite art had developed and evolved into a new direction, and there are notable differences in the style of the depicted works of art. The rosette motif, whose chronological development was followed to a certain extent within the historical development

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fig. 132; for Alişar: von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.b1462; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 2005, 30, fig. 57; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, figs. 238-49, 251.

<sup>53</sup> Omura 2005, 30, fig. 66.

<sup>54</sup> This anonymous group of artifacts is known as the “Tabarna seals” in archaeological literature because the owner of the seal is directly identified with the title “Tabarna.” This is opposed to the legend in Hittite hieroglyphics indicating the king to whom the seal belongs on the seals of the Old Hittite period; cf. Güterbock 1940, 45; 1942, 32, 42; Beran 1967, pl. 11.146.a.

<sup>55</sup> Darga 1992, 69, no. 48; 72, nos. 51 and 52.

<sup>56</sup> Alp 1994, figs. 244, 247-49.

<sup>57</sup> von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.b 1462.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Özgüç 2005, 227, no. 281.

of Hittite art, continued to be used in the middle of the winged sun disc, which is a royal symbol and title, on king-queen seals and monumental stone reliefs of the Hittite Empire period.<sup>59</sup> This motif takes the form of a double rosette with winged sunburst on the seal impressions and stone reliefs of Tuthaliya IV, one of the leading kings of the Hittite Empire period. All these data clearly show that it is not a coincidence that the envelope with the names of the local kings of Anatolia discovered from lower town level Ib of Kültepe was authenticated with a stamp seal containing a rosette motif and that this motif was a “royal symbol” from the earliest periods.

## 2. Helix, Guilloche and Spiral Band

Helix,<sup>60</sup> guilloche,<sup>61</sup> and spiral band motifs, known from examples unearthed from the settlements of Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Konya-Karahöyük, Alışar, Kaman-Kalehöyük, and Boğazköy, were first used on stamp seals from the late phase of the Kārum period and early Old Hittite period.<sup>62</sup> These motifs were widely used in numerous different settings, either as seal frames or as the main motif of the seal, either alone or in combination with each other or with other geometric motifs (fig. 7). When the stamp seals using these motifs are examined from a typological point of view, they mostly draw attention as nodular heads, conical handles and disc bases.<sup>63</sup> These findings, which constitute an important reference point in terms of chronology, also shed light on the dating both the seals acquired through purchase in private collections or in various museums around the world, and the findings obtained without a specific context.

The findings from Boğazköy<sup>64</sup> show that stamp seals with helix and guilloche band motifs continued in use throughout the 17th century BC and the 15th century BC (fig. 7.9-14). These motifs were used in the Hittite period as the outer frames of stamp seals with hammer or tuber heads and disc bases, as in the pioneering examples. In particular, the evidence shows that the guilloche motif is preferred as the frame of the seal, which includes the Hittite hieroglyphic signs and cuneiform writing in the center of the stamp or figurative depictions on different subjects. On the other hand, this motif is also used sometimes as an interior decoration band to separate two friezes on different subjects.

## 3. “*Signe Royal*”

The motif examined in this study is referred to as the “*signe royal*,” which is represented by a cross enclosed in a circle with a dot in the center of which the arms do not meet, and by four “S” motifs that are placed symmetrically between each arm of the cross. Usually the parts between the arms of this “S” helix are filled with a dot. This motif, first described by H. de

<sup>59</sup> Darga 1992, 74.

<sup>60</sup> This motif consists of “S-shaped” spirals of three, four or six loops.

<sup>61</sup> It is recognized from the cylinder seals of the early phase of the Kārum period and continued to be widely used on the stamp seals of the late phase of this period.

<sup>62</sup> For Kültepe: Özgüç 1959, pl. 5b; 1968b, pl. 36.1a-b, 2a-b, 3a-b; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 1986, 50, fig. 4.3; 2015, 257, fig. 133.Ac.St.5; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, 229, figs. 196-98, 201. It is also possible to see stamp seals with a seal pattern similar to the Kültepe seal on some of the moon-shaped loom weights unearthed from this settlement; cf. Alp 1994, pls. 106.302-3 and 306, 107.307-10, 110.322-23, 111.330-31, 112.332-34, 114.339-42, 160.489, 161.492; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 2003, figs. 78-79; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pl. 4.40, 7.73. In terms of style and composition, these artifacts belonging to the late phase of the Kārum period are grouped as early Old Hittite seals.

<sup>63</sup> An exceptional example is a stamp seal with a spiral motif on the impressed surface and a disc-shaped base in the form of a monkey sitting on a handle, purchased as originating from Kültepe; cf. Özgüç 1968a, pl. 35.

<sup>64</sup> Beran 1967, pls. 2.86, 103-18, 3.128 and 135, 9.87, 93-102, 10.124-26 and 135.



Genouillac<sup>65</sup> as “*signe royal*” or “Hittite King sign,” first appears on stamp seals in Anatolia from the late phase of the Kārum period.<sup>66</sup> This motif, which appears on different types of archaeological materials such as terracotta vessels, metal weapons, terracotta weights, discs and plates as well as stamp seals, has been defined using different names by various researchers. The fact that this motif was seen on objects of different qualities found in different contexts make us think that it could not have had a single purpose of use. The “*signe royal*” motif, which continued to be used in Anatolia until the end of the first millennium BC, shows periodic and regional differences or similarities in form.

The evidence shows that this motif was frequently used on pottery as well as stamp seals and impressions found in important centers in Central Anatolia such as Kültepe, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Kayalıpınar, Alishar, Boğazköy, and Achemhöyük (fig. 8).<sup>67</sup> When the typological characteristics of the “*signe royal*” stamp seals are examined, a clear preference can be observed for seals with the following features: rounded top, conical handles, horizontal rope hole at the top of the handle, and disc-shaped bases, which were widely used in Anatolia, especially from the second half of the 18th century BC, and generally preferred. This motif continued to be in use on seals and ceramics unearthed from Alaca Höyük, Eskiyaşar, Boğazköy, Boyalı Höyük, İmikuşağı and Elbistan-Karahöyük settlements during the Old Hittite period.<sup>68</sup>

The use of the “*signe royal*” motif on stamp seals continues, although with a decrease, during the Hittite Imperial period. Even though the data regarding this period are limited to the “*signe royal*” stamped pottery pieces found in Boğazköy,<sup>69</sup> medallions were found in the Uluburun Shipwreck as well as a hammer-headed stamp seal in the Beycesultan settlement.<sup>70</sup> These findings indicate that cultural continuity had been maintained since the beginning of the second millennium BC, and the “*signe royal*” motif provides some key evidence for this conclusion.

## Gods

### 1. Protector God of the Fields

The first of the gods reflecting the “Hittite style” in the scenes on the stamp seals and impressions of the Kārum period is the “Protector God of the Fields.”<sup>71</sup> The Protector God of the

<sup>65</sup> De Genouillac 1926, 33.

<sup>66</sup> It is stated that the interior decoration of the crescent standard on the Anatolian-style cylinder seals found in the lower town level II at Kültepe is similar to the “*signe royal*” motif seen in level Ib and the imprints seen on stamped pottery. Based on these findings, Özgüç states that the “*signe royal*” motif was first used as an astral symbol in Anatolia in the early phase of the Kārum period; see Özgüç 1965, 33.

<sup>67</sup> For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pl. 36.6; Özgüç 2005, 158-59, nos. 177 and 179; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 357, cat. nos. 487-88; for Kaman-Kalehöyük: Omura 1988, 356, fig. 10.4; for Kayalıpınar: Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2019, 252, fig. 22.1-2; for Alishar: von der Osten 1937, 214, figs. 251.d 1906; 220, 257.d 1628, d 2838, e 1218, e 1251, e 1584, e 1611; for Boğazköy: Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 1.9; for Achemhöyük: Özgüç 1971, 21, fig. 2; 1977, 376, fig. 5; 1991, 298, 303, figs. 6, 18.

<sup>68</sup> For Alaca Höyük: Koşay 1951, pls. 49.1-2, 77.1a-b and 77.3, 79.7; Koşay and Akok 1973, pl. 36, Al.r. 29; for Eskiyaşar: Toker 2002, no. 82; Özgüç 1988, 145, pl. d.3; for Boğazköy: Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 51, fig. 35 and pl.14.144; Calmeyer-Seidl 1972, 22, fig. 4, A.40; for Boyalı Höyük: Sipahi 2010, 736, fig. 4; İmikuşağı: Sevin and Derin 1986, 188, fig. 13; Sevin 1987, 305, 324, figs. 12, 17c; for Elbistan-Karahöyük: Özgüç and Özgüç 1949, 43, pl. 48.14.

<sup>69</sup> Beran 1967, 49.

<sup>70</sup> For Uluburun see Yalçın et al. 2006, figs. 105-8; for Beycesultan see Lloyd and Mellaart 1956, pl. 12.c.

<sup>71</sup> The identity of this deity has been established by the iconography of the deer god seen in the frieze on the silver deer rhyton preserved in the N. Schimmel Collection, and the <sup>D</sup>LAMA inscription on the front of the god's head, which led to the identification of this deity as <sup>D</sup>LAMA LIL, the Protector God of the Fields; cf. Darga 1992, 39.

Fields is depicted standing on a stag and identified for the first time thanks to the cylinder seals and impressions of the Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements in the early Kārum period. These are expressed in the local style.<sup>72</sup> When we look at the iconographic features of the god standing on his stag in a stepping position, he is depicted holding in one hand the sacred bird and rabbit, which are identified with him, and holding a *kalmuš* on his shoulder with the other hand. He usually wears a skirt with a short front and a long back, leaving his front leg exposed. On the head of the god is a skullcap or a cone-shaped headdress with horns.

Based on the stamp seal impressions discovered from Acemhöyük, we can see that the depictions of the god continued to be used in the late phase of the Kārum period (fig. 9.1). When we look at the iconographic features of the god, it is noteworthy that, unlike the examples on the cylinder seals, he wore a narrow, short skirt that ended above the knee. In this instance he also wore a hornless skullcap. The common feature is that the god is again shown in a stepping position on a stag, holding a bird with his outstretched hand and a *kalmuš* with the other hand resting on his shoulder. When the physiognomic features of the god are examined, this example has rounded lines and a muscular structure, unlike the long thin body lines seen in cylinder seals. The physical proportions of the deity are well-balanced, while the calf muscles and kneecaps are naturalistically rendered. Iconographically, it exhibits stylistic features parallel to the deities of the Old Hittite and Empire periods.

In addition to the Eskiypar relief vessel fragments, the following are clearly the product of an art style that is more advanced than contemporary works of art with similar depictions. This includes the Yeniköy stele, known very well from the relief art of the Hittite Empire period, the Altınyayla stele, and the depictions of the god, Dingir Lama Lil, which is seen in the frieze on the silver stag rhyton preserved in the Nobert Schimmel Collection (fig. 9.2-5).

## 2. The Weather (Storm) God

One of the most frequently encountered subjects in the Anatolian group of cylinder seals dated to the Kārum period is the “God Standing on the Bull.” At the beginning of the second millennium BC, Anatolian people often depicted their gods adorned with unique attributes to express and explain their identities, which in turn contributes to our understanding of the pantheon of the period. As N. Özgüç points out, the Anatolian group of cylinder seals developed and diversified by following the Weather Gods seen on cylinder seals dating to the Kārum period. Many of these names are known through Hittite texts. This god, which has iconographic features identified with the God of Weather, is seen on a bull, which is considered to be his sacred animal. Sometimes it is in the position of stepping with both feet and sometimes with one foot. The god holds the bull’s halter in one hand and a mace, spear, axe or boomerang in the other, which he rests on his shoulder. In terms of the god’s attire, he usually wears a long dress with a short front and a long back, leaving one leg exposed, as we see in the Protector God of the Fields. He wears a conical headdress with one or more horns, topped with a crescent moon.

In the stamp seals and impressions found at Acemhöyük, the God of Weather is standing with both feet on a bull, holding the bull’s halter with one hand and his spear resting on his shoulder with the other (fig. 10.1). Wearing a conical headdress with multiple horns on his head and a robe that leaves one leg exposed, he displays close iconographic and stylistic similarities with the weather gods known from the Anatolian group of cylinder seals of this period.

<sup>72</sup> For Kültepe: Özgüç 1965, 24, pl. 21.62-64; Özgüç 2005, 253, no. 323; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 1980, fig. 3.23; Özgüç 2015, 115, fig. 119.

In the scene on the impression surface of a stamp seal found in Kültepe, the God Standing on the Bull is seen holding the bull's bridle with one hand and swinging his mace with the other (fig. 10.2). In this seal, the god is wearing a horned conical headgear and a short, narrow skirt. When Hittite artworks are analyzed, one of the types of clothing worn by the gods is a skirt with an open front and a long back, which extends over a short-skirted undergarment. This type of clothing is seen on the god Kumarbi, the Moon God, and the Storm God of the Hatti country in the procession of the gods at Yazılıkaya.<sup>73</sup> In this context, the clothing models for these gods, seen in the rock reliefs of the Hittite Empire period, were developed after being inspired by the short-front, long-back dress model that leaves one leg exposed, which we started to see for the first time on the divine figures engraved on stamps and cylinder seals dating to the Kārum period.

The stylistic features of the God of Weather, seen on the Kültepe seal, present parallel features with the Dövolek, Karaman Mut, and Konya statuettes, which include one of the metal figurines of the Old Hittite period. Additionally, when we examine the artwork depicted in Hittite iconography, the Storm God is usually displayed with a bull or, as we see on the İmamkulu rock relief, the fist-shaped vessel and the seal impression of Muršili III dating to the Hittite Empire period, on or behind a chariot with a bull<sup>74</sup> and swinging a mace in one hand (fig. 10.3-5). The rock reliefs of Malatya-Arslantepe show that such iconography continued to be used in Anatolia until the end of the Late Hittite period. The evidence shows that, the God of Weather, seen on seals uncovered from the Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements, represents the prototype of the art defined as "Hittite," not only in terms of stylistic features, but also iconographically.

### 3. Bull

Among the various scenes depicted on the cylinder seals dating to the early phase of the Kārum period, "bull worship" is one of the most prominent subjects considered unique to Anatolia.<sup>75</sup> The bull was recognized as the sacred animal of the God of Weather/Storm (Teshshup in the Hittite period), since it is usually depicted on Anatolian cylinder seals in the position of stepping on a bull with one foot.<sup>76</sup> In fact, it is accepted that the clay bull rhytons, mentioned as *bibru* in Hittite texts, date to the Kārum period and are known from many sites in Central Anatolia. The silver bull-shaped vessel, one of the outstanding artefacts of the Hittite Empire period, was most likely dedicated to the Storm God and used for making offerings to the god in religious ceremonies. The new discoveries in Ortaköy-Şapinuva, known to have been the capital of the Hittites, have revealed important data on this issue. In one of the scenes engraved on terracotta clay molds uncovered from Şapinuva, the Storm God is depicted holding a bull rhyton while sitting on his throne. This scene proves conclusively that not only the bull rhytons from Karum and the Hittite period, but also a pair of clay bull-shaped vessels found in settlements such as Inandıktepe, Boğazköy/Hattuša, Ortaköy/Şapinuva, Oymaağaç/Nerik, Kuşaklı/Şarišša or Kayalıpınar/Şamuha are sacred objects related to the Storm God.

<sup>73</sup> Seeher 2011, 57, fig. 53 (rock relief no. 35); 59, fig. 57 (rock relief no. 39); 64, fig. 62 (rock relief no. 41).

<sup>74</sup> The cuneiform ritual text found in Boğazköy shows that the pair of clay, bull-shaped vessels represent Hurri and Sherri, the sacred animals of the Storm God. The pair of bronze bull statuette recovered from Horoztepe are one of the most important finds proving that this culture dates back to the third millennium BC.

<sup>75</sup> Özgüç 1965, 22.

<sup>76</sup> It should not be forgotten that there are seven different types of Weather God depictions on the Anatolian style cylinder seals found in Kültepe. In the texts of the Hittite Empire period, there are more than ten names of Weather Gods.

Scenes of worshipping the God of Weather standing on a bull, which has an important place in the Anatolian pantheon, are frequently seen. Again, on the seals produced in this style, instead of the God of Weather, his sacred animal the bull is depicted from time to time. Thus, it stands to reason that the bull is worshiped as in the Weather God, who is shown in anthropomorphic form. An important point that into the scenes is that sometimes gifts brought by the worshipers were placed on the altar in front of the bull that was worshipped.

The scene of bull worship continued in use on stamp seals, which are the local seal type, in the late phase of the Kārum period. There is an impression of the king's stamp on a commercial tablet found in Ib level of Kültepe. Thanks to the inscription on it, we know it belongs to the "Great King of Alabzina, Zuzu." The composition area of the seal is surrounded by a row of spiral and spiral motifs (fig. 11.1). In the center of this frame is the depiction of a large, powerful bull. The figure (?) in front of the bull is thought to represent a worshiper.<sup>77</sup>

It is clear that the bull, whose head and body are depicted realistically, is a prototype of the bull seen on the royal stamp seals of the Old Hittite period, unearthed in the Boğazköy excavations (fig. 11.2-3). The bull was placed in the very center of the royal stamp seals during the Hittite Empire period and continued in use under the winged sun disc and with hieroglyphic signs containing the names and adjectives of the king-queen. Most of our information on this subject is based on the seal impressions of Muwatalli II (1290-1273 BC), one of the important kings of the Hittite Empire period. These are found in the Nişantepe Archive in Hattuša in 1990-1991 (fig. 11.4-5). Among them are royal seals of the aedicula type, showing the full figure of the bull in the center of the seal composition. Considered in this context, it has been suggested that the bull may be first and foremost a hieroglyphic sign<sup>78</sup> and represents part of the spelling of Muwatalli's name (the syllabogram *muwa*, *mu*<sup>79</sup>).

The scene of bull worship, which first appeared in Anatolia during the late phase of the Kārum period, continued to be used in the friezes on the İnandiktepe vase, which is one of the most outstanding examples of relief vases from the Old Hittite period. The same scene can be found on the relief orthostats of Alaca Höyük and the Hanyeri rock relief, dated to the Hittite Empire period (13-12th centuries BC) (fig. 11.6-7).

The bull depictions, whose earliest examples are known from Kültepe and that continued in use on the royal stamp seals of the Old Hittite and Empire periods, undoubtedly have more than one meaning. The images of the bull, seen in different contexts on seals, relief vessels or relief orthostats, and rock monuments, may have been used as a symbol of the Storm God, as well as symbolizing the power and might of the king.

## Goddess

In light of the stamp seals and seal impressions unearthed in Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements, it is possible to say that the worship of the goddess who sat on her throne was frequently depicted on the seals in the late phase of the Kārum period. Showing common iconographic and stylistic features, these goddesses, who are seen in a sitting position on an animal that serves as a backless stool or throne, are depicted with the lower part of the head and body in profile and the upper part of the body seen from the front. Goddesses with short

<sup>77</sup> Özgüç 1996, 272.

<sup>78</sup> Herbordt 2010, 123-24, fig. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Laroche 1960, nos. 105, 107; Hawkins 2005, 428-29.

necks display a stocky and hunched posture. When we look at the facial physiognomy of the goddesses in these works, they best reflect the female facial physiognomy of the Kārum period art: plump cheeks, large nose covering the face, large mouth, and small round jaw line. They have almond-shaped eyelids with large round eye sockets and crescent-shaped eyebrows with adjoining middle. The disk-shaped headdresses of the goddesses usually cover their ears or are shown placed behind a large ear and resting on a short, flat forehead. Thanks to all these iconographic features, it is clear that the Goddesses exhibit the pioneering features of the Hittite art style (fig. 12.1-3).

Apart from the stamp seals, the Kültepe ivory figurine dating to the late phase of the Kārum period, the Boğazköy female statue head dating to the Old Hittite period, and the metal goddess statuettes from Alaca Höyük, Çiftlik and the Schimmel Collection (which constitute another important artifact group of this period) show parallel iconographic features (fig. 12.4-8). This facial physiognomy and headdress form, first encountered in the goddess figures of the Kārum period, were used in the rock reliefs of Eflatunpınar, Gavurkale, Fraktin, and Kayalıpınar, and in the reliefs of Queen Puduhepa, dating to the Hittite Empire period (fig. 12.9-11).

In addition to the continuity of all features of female physiognomy throughout these two periods, another element that appears on the seals for the first time is the altar model. This altar, usually encountered in scenes of worshipping the seated goddess in the seals and impressions discovered from the Kültepe and Acemhöyük settlements, is similar in type to the fruitstands unearthed in the Kültepe excavations. The most characteristic feature of the altar, which appears on seals depicting the worship of the seated goddess, is bread left on top of it to be offered to the goddess. We can say that this altar model continues to be used in the seal art of the Old Hittite period, based on the seal impression discovered from Boğazköy and on the same subject.<sup>80</sup> The sphinx gate orthostats of Alaca Höyük, dating to the Hittite Empire period, and this type of altar seen in the Fraktin rock relief, are important elements that show the continuity between the cultures of the second millennium BC.

## Mixed Creatures

### Double-headed eagle

This motif became popular in the late phase of Kārum period and is usually limited to a band in the form of a guilloche, spiral, or rope strip, but is sometimes seen alone directly in the center of the seal without any frame. When the typological characteristics of seals with the motif of a double-headed eagle are examined, it is characteristic that stamp seals with rounded conical tops or hammer-heads and disc bases are generally preferred. The common features seen in every example of double-headed eagles are as follows: the heads are separated from each other from the neck onwards while the body, tail, and claws are shown together. Another common feature of these eagles is that the body is always shown from the front while their heads are in profile. Apart from these elements, none of the eagles are the same in detail. These differences are in the internal scans of the body, tail or wings as well as clearly seen in the shape of the heads, claws and beaks. The engraving of double-headed eagles alone, and as a coat of arms on stamp seals, is seen for the first time in the late phase of the Kārum period. It later becomes one of the characteristic features of Old Hittite stamp seals.

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<sup>80</sup> Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 15.145.

The double-headed eagles, discovered during the 2011 and 2012 excavation seasons in the upper town of Kültepe, provide new iconographic contributions to the seal art of this period (fig. 13.1-3).<sup>81</sup> In the first example, the double-headed eagle is placed in the center of the stage. It differs from other examples found in Anatolia in that it is enclosed in a frame created by combining grille, window, and meander motifs. Sculpted with simple workmanship, it is devoid of detail, making the eagle's thick body and stout short legs spread to either side. The hook-like talons are also completely different from other eagles. An analysis of the Anatolian seal repertoire shows that the double-headed eagle motif is always engraved on stamp seals with disc-shaped bases. This seal impression from Kültepe is the only example that breaks away from this standard. Examples of this motif on square or rectangular bases have so far only been found on the rectangular side surfaces of Old Hittite hammer-head stamp seals.<sup>82</sup> The evidence shows that the Kültepe seal impression belongs to a hammer-head stamp seal used in the late phase of the Kārum period. In the first of the other examples with double-headed eagle motif, the wings, body and tail of the eagle are rendered flat without any hatching, thus presenting a stylized depiction. Despite only a small part of the seal being unearthed intact, its impression exhibits stylistic features similar to this example. The stamped impression was made at least twice. The way the eagle's tail and claws are depicted, and the filling of the spaces between the head, wings, and feet with triangles, shows that these two seal impressions are iconographically similar (fig. 13.2-3). The filling of empty spaces on the surface of the seals with geometric symbols, such as swastika, crescent or triangle, is characteristic of stamp seal art, which is first dated to the late phase of the Kārum period. The most striking of these geometric symbols are the triangles. Seen on the stamp seals of the Old and Middle Hittite period following this period are the “*Ankb*” sign meaning life and the “*aššu* / triangle” sign for health/goodness frequently used together along with the name of the seal owner written in Hittite hieroglyphic signs.<sup>83</sup> In light of this information, these triangular symbols encountered on stamp seals with depictions of double-headed eagles may indicate a similar meaning and function with the Hittite hieroglyphs engraved on Old Hittite stamp seals, beyond being a filling motif placed randomly on the seal's surface.

In Anatolia, the depiction of the double-headed eagle is known from settlements such as Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Boğazköy, Kayalıpınar, Konya-Karahöyük, Alishar, and from the stamp seals of Anatolian origin taken to museums around the world (fig. 13.4-9).<sup>84</sup> In the seal repertoire of the Konya-Karahöyük and Kültepe settlements, stamp seals and seal impressions with this motif are in the majority. All of these finds, dated to the late phase of the Kārum period, are engraved in a standardized composition. This clearly indicates that the stamp seals were produced in local seal-making workshops in Anatolia.

This motif is rooted in the Anatolian seal art of the Kārum period and continued in use on the stamp seals of high-ranking officials of the Hittite Empire period, either in their center

<sup>81</sup> Öztürk 2019, pl. 47.1-3.

<sup>82</sup> Delaporte 1923, pl. 101.1a-b, A.1026

<sup>83</sup> Herbordt 2006, 100; Darga 1992, 72.

<sup>84</sup> For Kültepe: Özgüç 1968a, pls. 3.1.A, 3.2, 7.C; 1991, 307, figs. 26-28; 1996, 277, fig. 8.C; Özgüç 2005, 251, nos. 314-16; Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 352, cat. no. 468, 356-57, cat. nos. 482-85; for Acemhöyük: Özgüç 1977, 380, figs. 8-9; 1991, 307, figs. 27-28; for Boğazköy: Beran 1967, pl. 4.37-40; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 4.44, 6.61; Seeher 2011, 69, fig. 68; for Kayalıpınar: Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2011, fig. 9.3; for Konya-Karahöyük: Alp 1994, 178, figs. 74-78; for Alishar: Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1854; for the Louvre: Delaporte 1923, pls. 99.8b, A.986, 99.10b, A.987.

with Hittite hieroglyphic signs or between the friezes surrounding their surface (fig. 13.10-11). We continue to see this motif in the rock reliefs of the Hittite Empire period at Alaca Höyük Sphinxed Gate and Yazılıkaya Room A, however, this time in a different iconography as a carrier under the feet of godly figures (fig. 13.12-13).

## The Bull-Man

The upper part of the body and the face of these mixed beings, which belong to the group of bull hybrids, are depicted as human. However, the lower part of the body is depicted as a bull. The bull-men motif, first seen on cylinder seals impressions of the early Kārum period,<sup>85</sup> is an imported one that started to appear in Anatolian art under the influence of Old Babylonian culture.<sup>86</sup> The most common version of this motif, seen in different scenes and in different forms on the Anatolian group cylinder seals, is represented by bull-men holding a stand.

When the iconographic features of the bull-men are examined, they are distinguished from naked heroes by their horned heads, bearded faces that always extend to the trunk, long tails that start above the hips, and hooved feet. Bull-men holding a standard were unearthed in the recent excavations at Kültepe, and can be seen on two stamp seal impressions, examined within the scope of this study (fig. 14.1-2).<sup>87</sup> The diameters of the seals on which they are stamped are the same, as are the composition and iconographic features. These data prove that both impressions are stamped with the same seal. In the first impression almost the entirety of the single stamp of the seal is seen, whereas only parts of the stamp can be seen in the other impression. The most important element that differentiates the depictions of the bull-men holding a standard, which we know from a small number of earlier examples on stamp seals, is that they are wearing a skullcap-shaped headdress without horns on their rounded heads. Their faces are beardless, and they do not have hair that grows on both sides of their heads ending in a spiral. These symbols, such as the swastika, crescent and triangle, are seen in the empty parts of the seal's surface outside the main scene and were not placed randomly to fill the seal surface. They were engraved on the seal surface for a similar purpose, like a logogram or hieroglyphic sign, as mentioned in the seals with double-headed eagle motifs. Both the compositional and iconographic features of the scene on the stamp seal impression suggest that this work has freed itself from the visual elements of the Old Babylonian style and bears the stylistic characteristics of the local stamp seal art crafted by Anatolian masters. The bronze plate from Alaca Höyük,<sup>88</sup> the reliefs of Yazılıkaya Room A,<sup>89</sup> and the bull-man depictions on the İmamkulu rock reliefs<sup>90</sup> dating to the Hittite Empire period exhibit stylistic characteristics parallel to the stamp seal impressions analyzed in this study (fig. 14. 3-4). In light of these data, we can conclude that both the transition of the bull-man motif and the composition of the art of the Hittite Empire period developed by taking its iconography from the Kültepe stamp seal impressions.

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<sup>85</sup> Özgüç 1991, 308; Özgüç 1965, pls. 1.2, 2.7, 19.57, 25.75, 28.54; Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pl. 1.CS 5.

<sup>86</sup> Özgüç 1965, 29.

<sup>87</sup> Öztürk 2019, pl. 46.1-2.

<sup>88</sup> Bittel 1976, fig. 246.

<sup>89</sup> Seeher 2011, 51, fig. 45.

<sup>90</sup> Seeher 2011, 169, fig. 175.

## Conclusion

Archaeological data obtained from settlements in Anatolia point to an uninterrupted development without major changes in the cultural context from the beginning of the third millennium BC to the 17th century BC, in other words, until the Old Hittite period. In light of our current knowledge, the Hattians lived in the geography defined as the Hittite core region – the region between the Kızılırmak arc – during the said date range.

While the cuneiform documents found at Kültepe and Boğazköy shed light on the political history of Anatolia in the late 18th and early 17th centuries BC, the archaeological findings of different qualities show that this period constituted a great influence for Hittite art and culture. In particular, the historical texts known as the “Anitta Text” and the “Zalpa Text” found at Boğazköy, the names of kings in the eponym lists (*limmum*) found at Kültepe, and the bronze spearhead with the inscription “*King Anitta’s Palace*,”<sup>91</sup> tell us that the Hittites were ruling Hatti long before they established a political authority. This evidence makes clear that the Hittites were present in Anatolia from the period when many regional kingdoms such as Kaneš, Hattuš(a), Kuššara, Zalpa and Purušhaddum ruled, and that they had political-cultural relations with these kingdoms. Furthermore, the rulers of this early Hittite dynasty, which we can identify thanks to the historical records of the late phase of the Kārum period, even defined their language as neš(um)nili, referring to the native Anatolian city of Kaneš-Neša and their origin as Neša.<sup>92</sup>

Written texts and other archaeological evidence clearly point to a direct connection between the first kings of the early Hittite dynasty and Neša. On the other hand, as Neve pointed out very early on, the lower town at Hattuša was rebuilt shortly after Anitta’s destruction and the subsequent curse.<sup>93</sup> This fact has been largely ignored in the literature, which has instead accepted the assumption that Hattušili I was the new founder of Hattuša, due to his name. However, Neve’s insight has once again been confirmed by the excavations carried out at Hattuša. Therefore, it supports the view that the reconstruction of Hattuša, after its destruction around 1728 BC, can be dated to ca. 1720-1710 BC. Thus, these data prove that Hattuša was rebuilt some sixty to seventy years before the traditionally established date of Hattušili I’s accession (1650 BC). The chronological parallel of these dates with the lower town level Ia of Kültepe further strengthens the assumption that Kaneš may have been the center of the royal palace during the reigns of Huzziya I and Labarna I and the first period of Hattušili I’s reign. All this evidence proves once again the correctness of T. Özgüç’s statement that “Kaneš-Neša was the oldest capital city of the Hittites” and that Hittite art was born in this center.<sup>94</sup>

This study presents a qualitative analysis of the stamp seal art, which provides evidence of the cultural interaction that emerged in the Kārum period as a result of the aforementioned political interactions. As a result, many features that originated from Hittite seals, both in form and artistic style, began to shape a persistent theme in the late phase of this period (18th century BC). And new findings have since revealed that this continued until 1200 BC. Outside of the stamp seals and impressions discussed above, the recent findings uncovered at the lower and the upper town of Kültepe provide important data on the transition from the Kārum period to the Old Hittite period.

<sup>91</sup> Özgüç 1999, 55, pl. 107.1a-c.

<sup>92</sup> Neu 1974, 132-33.

<sup>93</sup> Bittel et al. 1984, 89.

<sup>94</sup> Özgüç 2003.



The God of War, depicted on the gold folio uncovered in 2006 in the lower town Ib level of Kültepe, exhibits stylistic and iconographic features parallel to the depictions of gods that we know very well from the relief art of the Hittite Empire period.<sup>95</sup> Compared to other depictions from artifacts dated to the late phase of the Kārum period, it is clear that this deity on gold folio is the product of a more advanced artistic style not only for Kültepe, but also for other contemporary artifacts with the same depiction. In addition, the relief pottery fragments found in the excavations carried out in the southwest of the upper town of Kültepe in 2021 offer new and important contributions to the archeology of the second millennium BC. It is also important to note the depiction of a lyre played by a figure sitting on a stool, which we see on one of these relief pieces dated to the late phase of the Kārum period. This lyre is stylistically similar to the depictions of the lyre seen in the Inandiktepe vase, one of the most distinguished examples of Old Hittite relief vases, and at the same time proves that to be its prototype.<sup>96</sup>

Another conclusion of this study is that not only visual artwork but also Hittite hieroglyphic writing may have taken root as early as the late phase of the Kārum period. As is known, the oldest texts from Anatolia are cuneiform tablets written in the Old Assyrian language. These belonged to Assyrian merchants who settled in Anatolia in the early second millennium BC. After the end of this period in Anatolia around 1700 BC, this variant of writing was abandoned. From this period onwards different types of writing played a role in Anatolian history. Although it is accepted that the type of writing known as Hittite hieroglyphic script began with Hattušili I (1650-1620 BC), the founder and first king of the Old Hittite, there are hypotheses that hieroglyphic writing in Anatolia is much older than the Old Hittite period. Its origins can be traced back to the early second millennium BC, based on some signs seen on seals and vessels. Hawkins read the marks engraved on a jug dated to the late phase of the Kārum period at Kültepe and identified the words “good” (BONUS), “life” (VITA), and “writing” (SCRIBA).<sup>97</sup> Poetto stated that these signs can be attributed morphologically to the Hittite linguistic domain rather than “randomly designed symbols.”<sup>98</sup> When we look at the earliest seals and seal impressions of the Hittite period, we see that the most common signs are “scribe” (directly related to “SCRIBA”), which represents the title of the seal owner. The other most common signs are those representing the words “good” and “life.”<sup>99</sup> Moreover, the fact that symbols such as flower rosettes, vases, triangles, stars, as well as full bull depictions and animal heads, which we know from Hittite period seals, are also used on stamp seals dating to the late phase of the Kārum period, suggests that these symbols may be among the first hieroglyphic signs in Anatolia. This evidence implies that Anatolian hieroglyphics began as a simple pictographic script used for basic economic and administrative records and evolved over time into a full-fledged writing system.<sup>100</sup>

In conclusion, the Hittite elements that we see on the ceramics made in different forms are among the richest material cultural remains of the Kārum period. This evidence as well as a large number of archaeological materials representing different aspects such as architecture, relief art, depictions of gods and goddesses, metal vessels or weapons, proves the cultural and historical continuity between the Kārum period and the Old Hittite period with certainty.

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<sup>95</sup> Kulakoğlu 2008, 14, fig. 1, (Kt 06/k 168).

<sup>96</sup> Kulakoğlu et al. (forthcoming).

<sup>97</sup> Hawkins 2010, 96, fig. 1, no. 37.

<sup>98</sup> Poetto 2019, 17.

<sup>99</sup> Hawkins 2018, 96, 110.

<sup>100</sup> Waal 2012.

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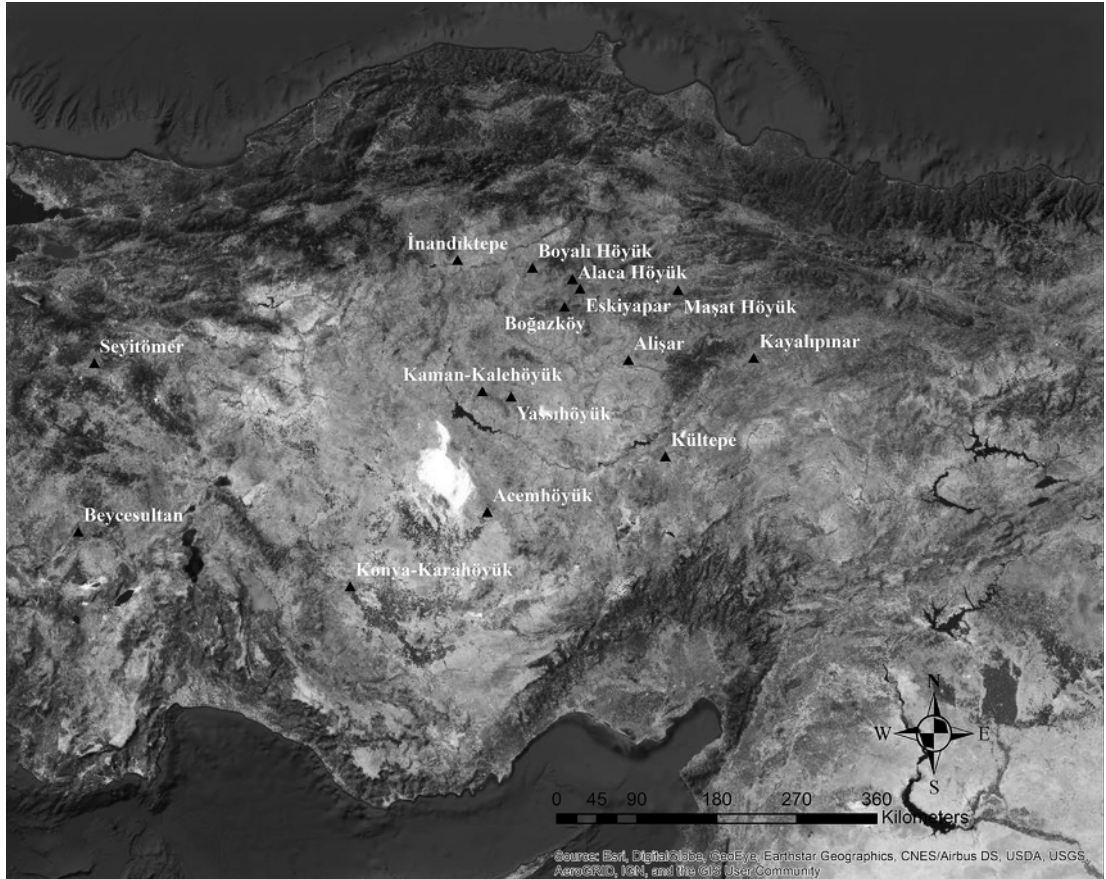


FIG. 1 Map of the sites frequently referenced in the article (map created by Y. Rıdvanoğulları and G. Öztürk using ArcGIS World Imagery).



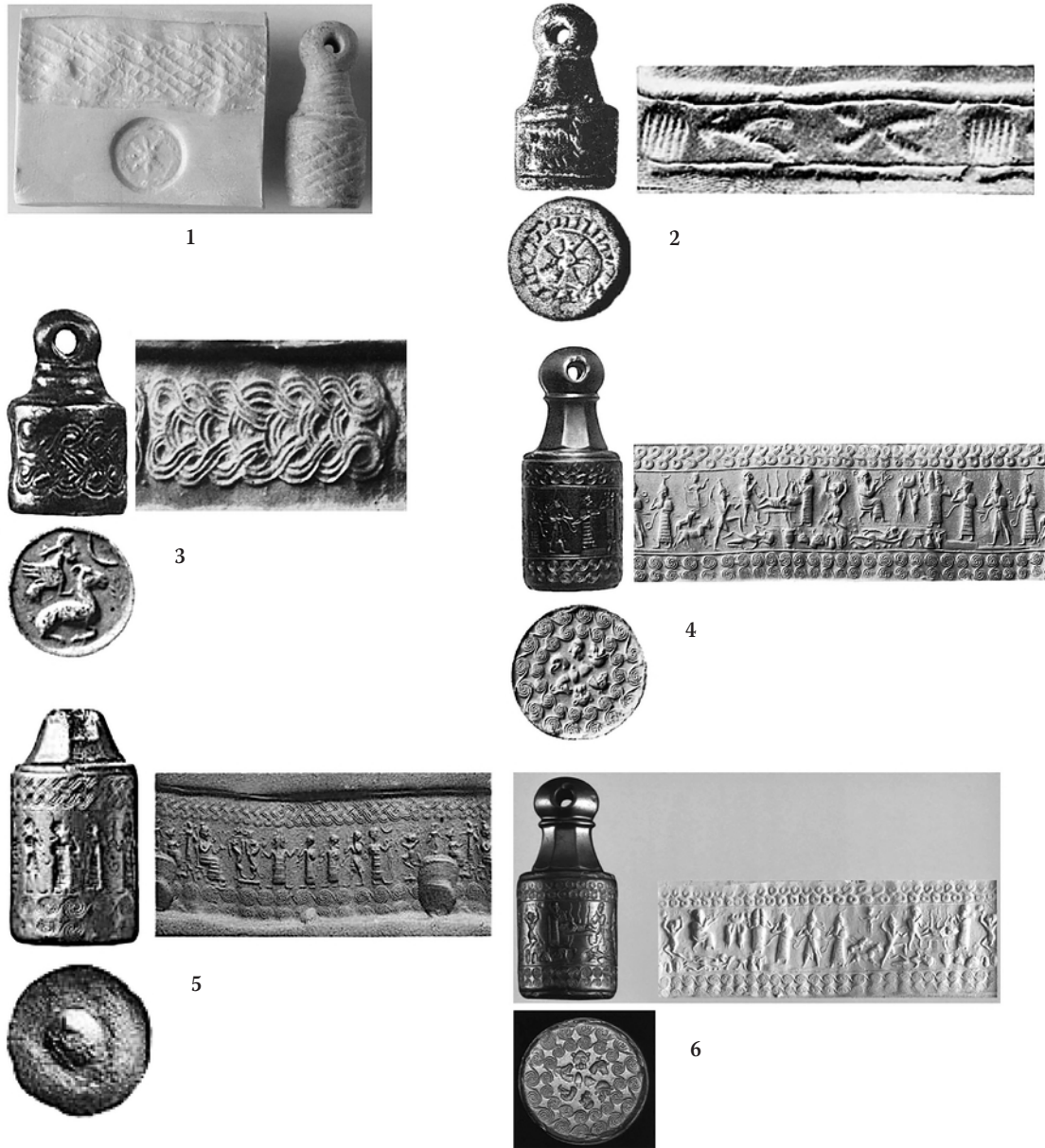


FIG. 2 Stamp-cylinder seals. 1. Kültepe, late 18th century BC (Özkan 2010, 150 fig. 8); 2. Alişar, late 18th-early 17th century BC (von der Osten 1937, 211, fig. 248.d 1822); 3. Louvre Museum, 17th century BC (Delaporte 1923, pl. 100.4a-c, A.1008); 4. Tyskiewicz seal, 17th century BC (Boehmer 1975, fig. 375.a; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 24.a); 5. Aydın seal, 17th century BC (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 24.b; Delaporte 1923, pl. 96.24a-c, A.927); 6. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17th-16th century BC (Müller-Karpe 2008, 176, cat. no. 101).

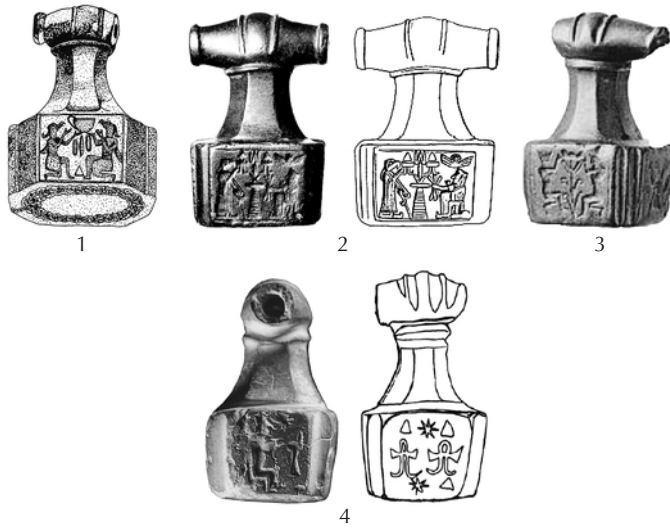


FIG. 3

Hammer-headed stamp seals with cube impress faces, 17th-15th centuries BC.  
 1. British Museum (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 40); 2. Tarsus seal (Boehmer 1975, fig. 375.c; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 39); 3. Louvre Museum (Delaporte 1923, pl. 101.3a, A.1028); 4. Bitik (Özgüç 1993, 484, fig.12.a; Jacob 2002, 553, cat. no. 96).



FIG. 4 Stamp seals with hammer-headed handles and disk bases. 1. Seyitömer (Bilgen and Bilgen 2015, 113, fig. 130); 2. Alışar (von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.d 975); 3-4. Boğazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pls. 3.37 and 14.136); 5. Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Dinçol 1983, nos. 1-2); 6. Niğde seal, Kayseri Museum (photo by author; see also Özgüç 1971, pl. 1); 7. Walters Art Museum (Gordon 1939, pl. 9.72); 8. Maşat Höyük (Özgüç 1978, pl. 52.3a-b). 1-3. late 18th century BC; 4-8. 17th-14th centuries BC.

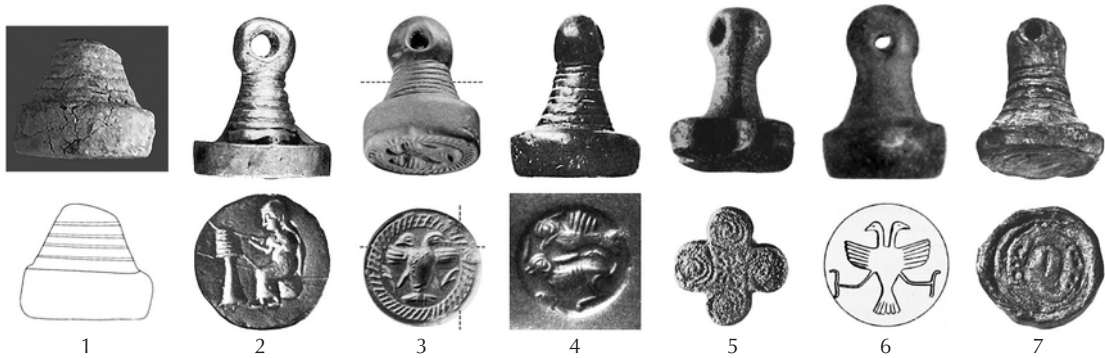


FIG. 5 Stamp seals with tuber or rounded heads, from late 18th to 16th century BC. 1-2. Kültepe (1. Photo and drawing by author; 2. Özgüç 1968a, pl. 30.2); 3-4. Boğazköy (Seeher 2011, 69, fig. 68; Beran 1967, pl. 7.67); 5. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, pl. 19.48); 6. Alişar Höyük (Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1854); 7. İnandıktepe (T. Özgüç 1988, pl. 64.2).

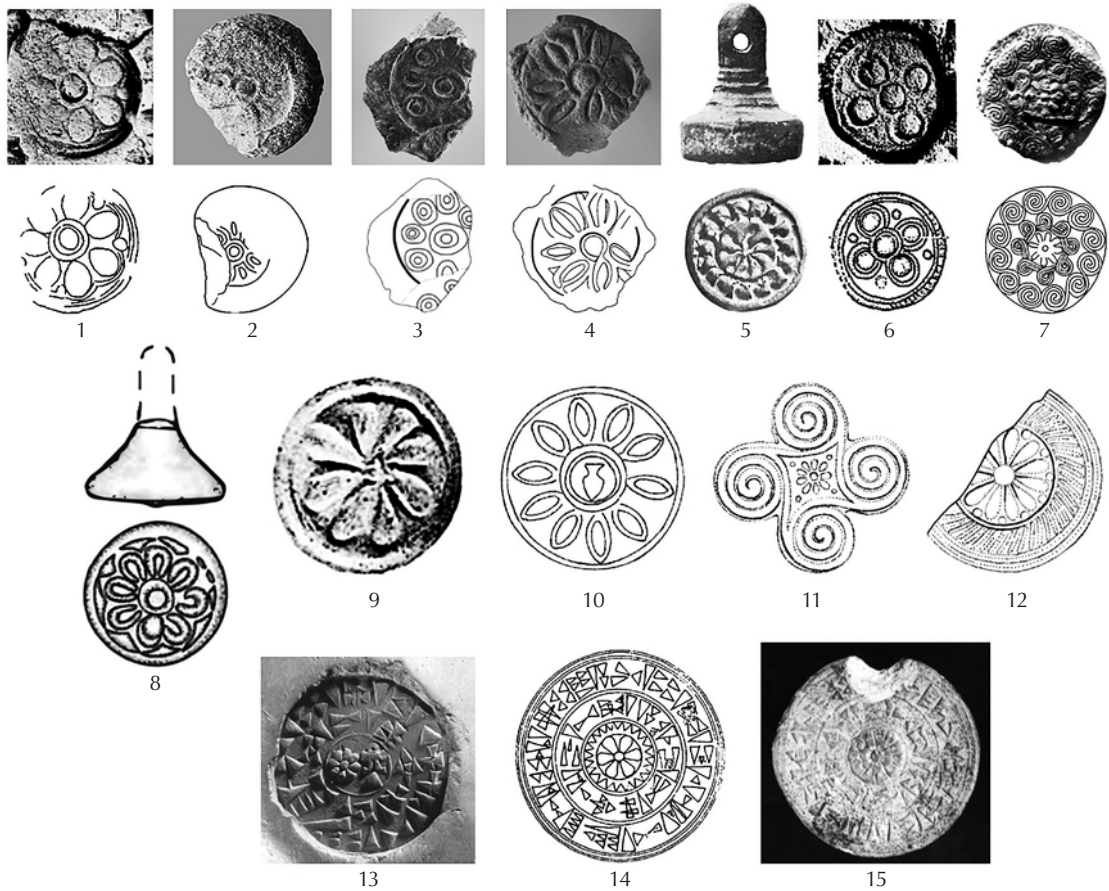


FIG. 6 Stamp seals and impressions with rosette motifs. 1-7. Kültepe (2-4. Photo and drawing by author; 1 and 6. Özgüç 1996, figs. 2.2e, 3.3e; 5. Özgüç 1968a, pl. 38.6a-b; 7. Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pls. 18 and 76, St. 40); 8. Kaman Kalehöyük (Omura 2005, 30, fig. 57); 9. Alişar (von der Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.b 1462); 10. Acemhöyük (Özgüç 2015, 166, fig. 132); 11-12. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, figs. 244, 248); 13-15. Seal impressions of Huzziya, Alluwamna and Tahurwaili (Darga 1992, nos. 48, 51-52). 1-12. late 18th century BC; 13-15. 16th-15th centuries BC.

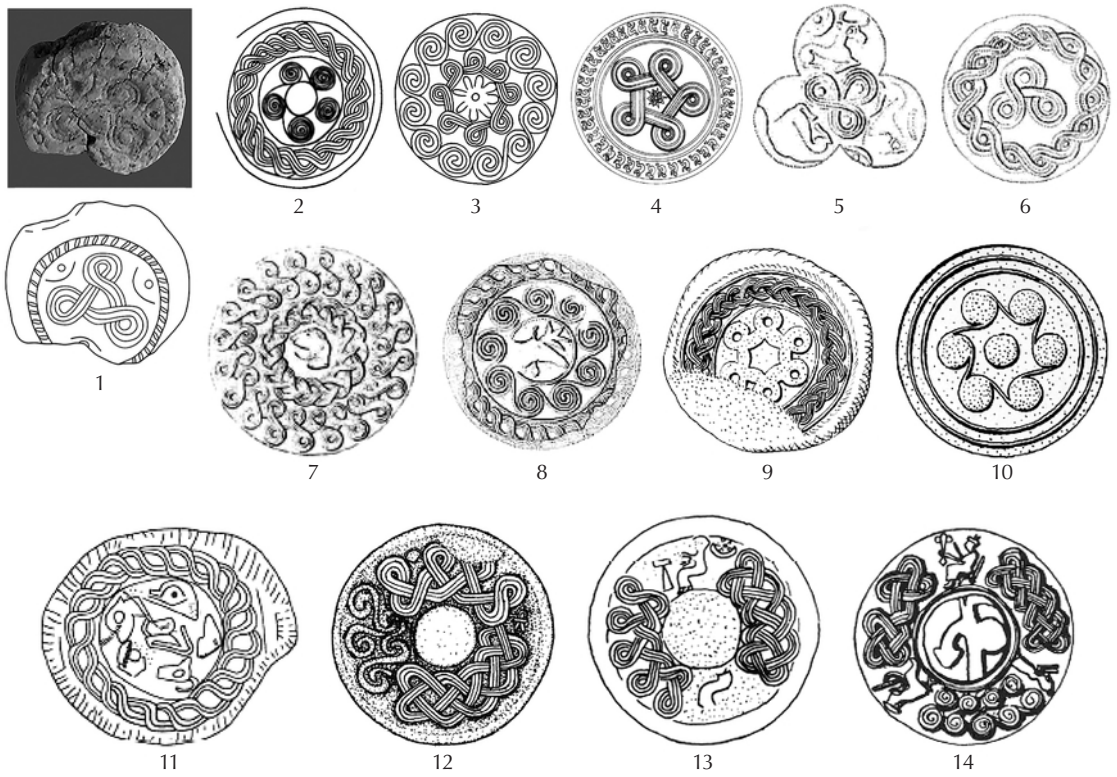


FIG. 7 Helix, guilloche and spiral band motifs, from late 18th century to 17th-15th centuries BC.  
 1-3. Kültepe (1. Photo and drawing by author, 2-3. Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pl. 20, St.50 and 18, St.40);  
 4. Achemhöyük (Özgüç 2015, 257, fig. 133, Ac.St.5); 5-8. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, figs. 59-60, 198,  
 201); 9-11. Boğazköy (Beran 1967, pl. 2.86, 2.89; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 30.h);  
 12. Alaca Höyük (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 29); 13. Korucutepe (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987,  
 fig. 30.e); 14. Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, fig. 30.b.2).



FIG. 8 Stamp seals and impressions with signe royal, late 18th century BC and 17th-16th centuries BC. 1. Kültepe (Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, cat. no. 487); 2. Louvre Museum (Delaporte 1923, pl. 98.14a-b, A.968); 3-4. Acemhöyük (N. Özgüç 1988, 19; Özgüç 1971, pl. 2.1); 5. Alışar (Osten 1937, 214, fig. 251.d 1906); 6. Boğazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 14.144a-b); 7. Alaca Höyük (Koşay 1951, pl. 79.7); 8. Beycesultan level Ib (Lloyd and Mellaart 1956, pl. 12.c).

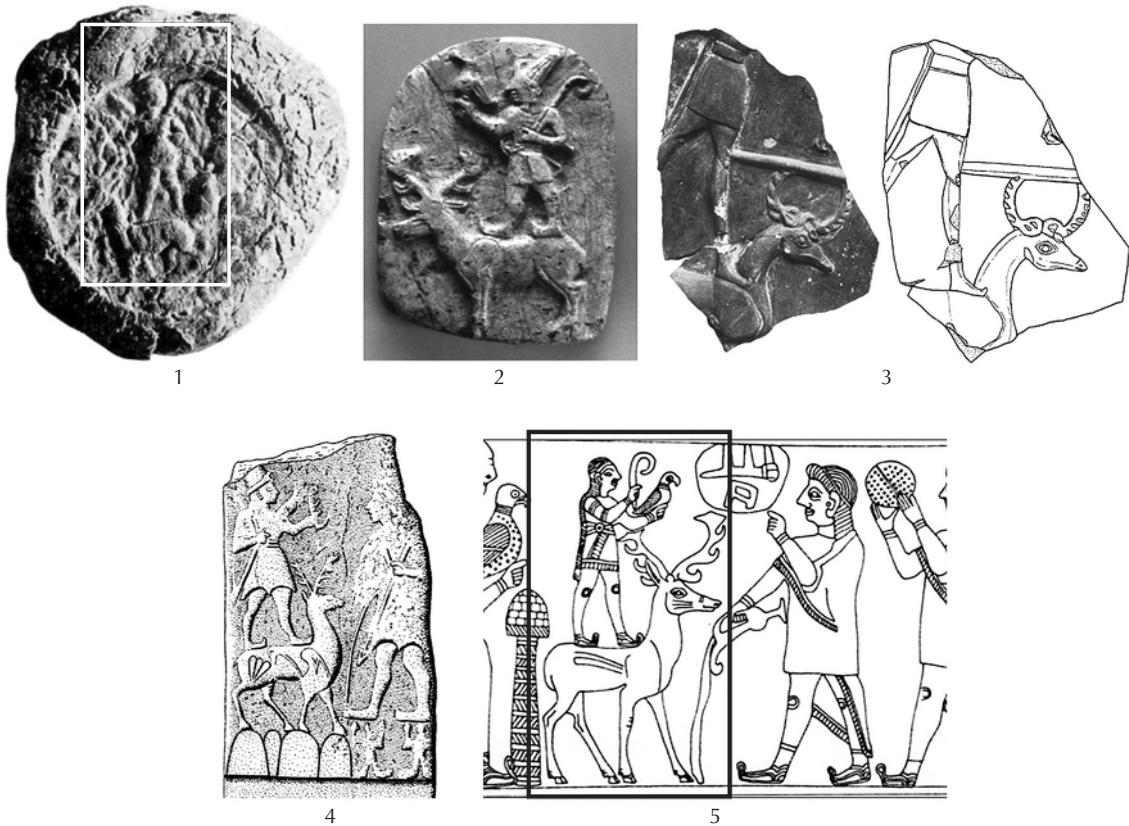


FIG. 9 God <sup>D</sup>LAMA LIL. 1. Acemhöyük (Özgüç 1977, pl. 10.26); 2. Çorum/Yeniköy stele (Müller-Karpe 2008, 180, fig. 56, cat. no.106); 3. Eskiypar (T. Özgüç 1988, pl. L.3 and 171.57); 4. Altınyayla stele (Müller-Karpe 2003, fig. 2); 5. N. Schimmel collection silver stag rhyton (Müller-Karpe 2008, 181, fig. 57, cat. no. 107).

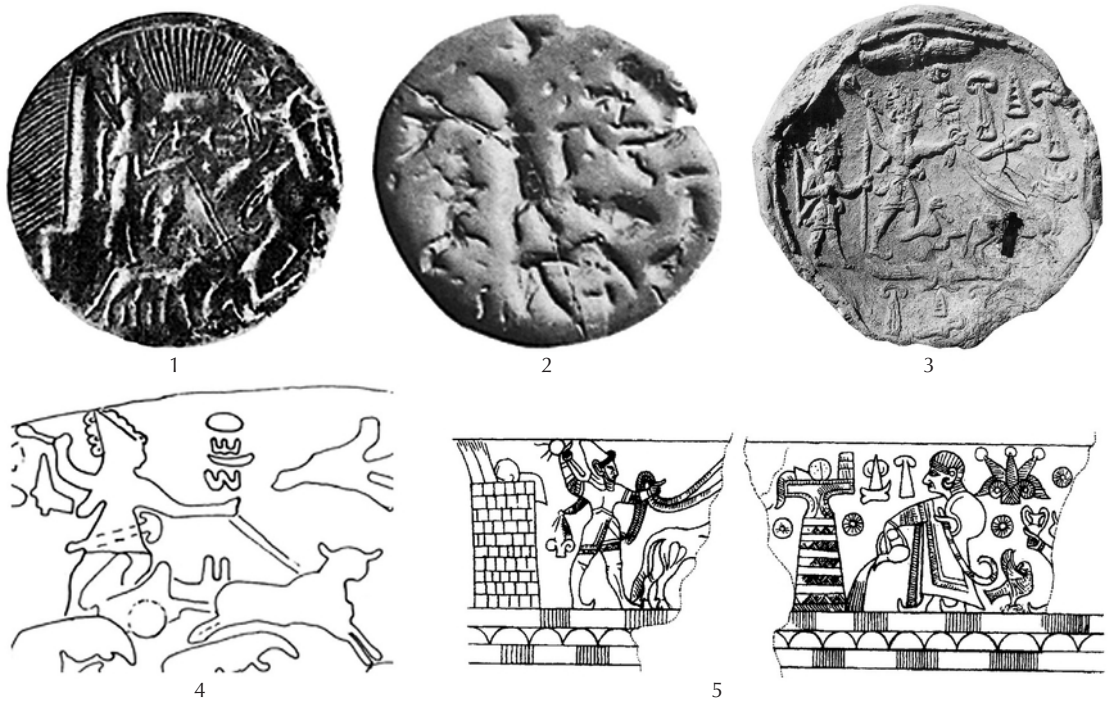


FIG. 10 Weather (Storm) God. 1. Acemhöyük, late 18th century BC (Özgüç 1977, pl. 9. 24a-b and see also 1980, figs. 23-24); 2. Kültepe, late 18th century BC (Özgüç 1968a, pl. 30.1b); 3. Boğazköy, stamp seal impression of Muršili III, 13th century BC (Neve 1993, cover image); 4. İmamkulu rock relief, 13th century BC (Kolhmeyer 1983, fig. 33); 5. Fist-shaped vessel, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Müller-Karpe 2008, 182, fig. 58, cat. no. 108).



FIG. 11 Full bull and bull worship scene. 1. Kültepe, late 18th century BC (Özgüç 1996, 272); 2-5. Boğazköy, Old Hittite and Hittite Empire period (2-3. Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, pl. 11.117a-b; Herboldt 2006, 99, fig. 6); 4. Seal impressions of Muwatalli II (Herboldt 2010, 124, fig. 1a); 5. Seal impressions of Muwatalli II and Tanuhepa (Herboldt 2010, 124, fig. 1c); 6. Alaca Höyük relief, Hittite Empire period (Mellink 1970, fig. 2); 7. İnanlıktepe relief vase, Old Hittite period (Özgüç 1988, figs. 64-65).



FIG. 12 Discus-headed goddess. 1-2. Acemhöyük stamp seal and impression (Özgüç 1977, pl. 15.39; 2002, 237, fig. 5b); 3. Kültepe stamp seal impression (Özgüç 2005, 279, no. 375); 4. Kültepe, seated goddess statuette (Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 127, fig. 3); 5. Boğazköy, female statue head with discus headdress (Darga 1992, no. 95); 6. Stamp seal from Niğde region, Kayseri Museum (Özgüç 1971, 18, fig. 1); 7. Stamp seal from Walters Art Gallery (Dinçol 1983, pl. 2.2); 8. Çiftlik statuette (Bittel 1976, no. 97); 9-10. Boğazköy, seal impressions of queen Puduhepa (Darga 1992, no. 208) 11. Fraktin rock relief (Kohlmeyer 1983, fig. 25).



FIG. 13 Double-headed eagle. 1-3. Kültepe (photos and drawings by author); 4. Kayalıpınar (Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 2011, fig. 9.3); 5. Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1994, 178, fig. 76); 6-7. Acemhöyük (Özgüç 1977, 380, fig. 9; 1983, 419, fig. 8); 8. Alişar (Schmidt 1932, 145, fig. 182.b 1854); 9-11. Boğazköy (Beran 1967, pl. 4.40; Herboldt 2005, pls. 56.700b, 607b); 12. Alacahöyük relief (T. Özgüç 2002, 175, fig. 6); 13. Reliefs of Yazılıkaya, Room A, nos. 45-46 (Seeher 2011, 64, fig. 62).



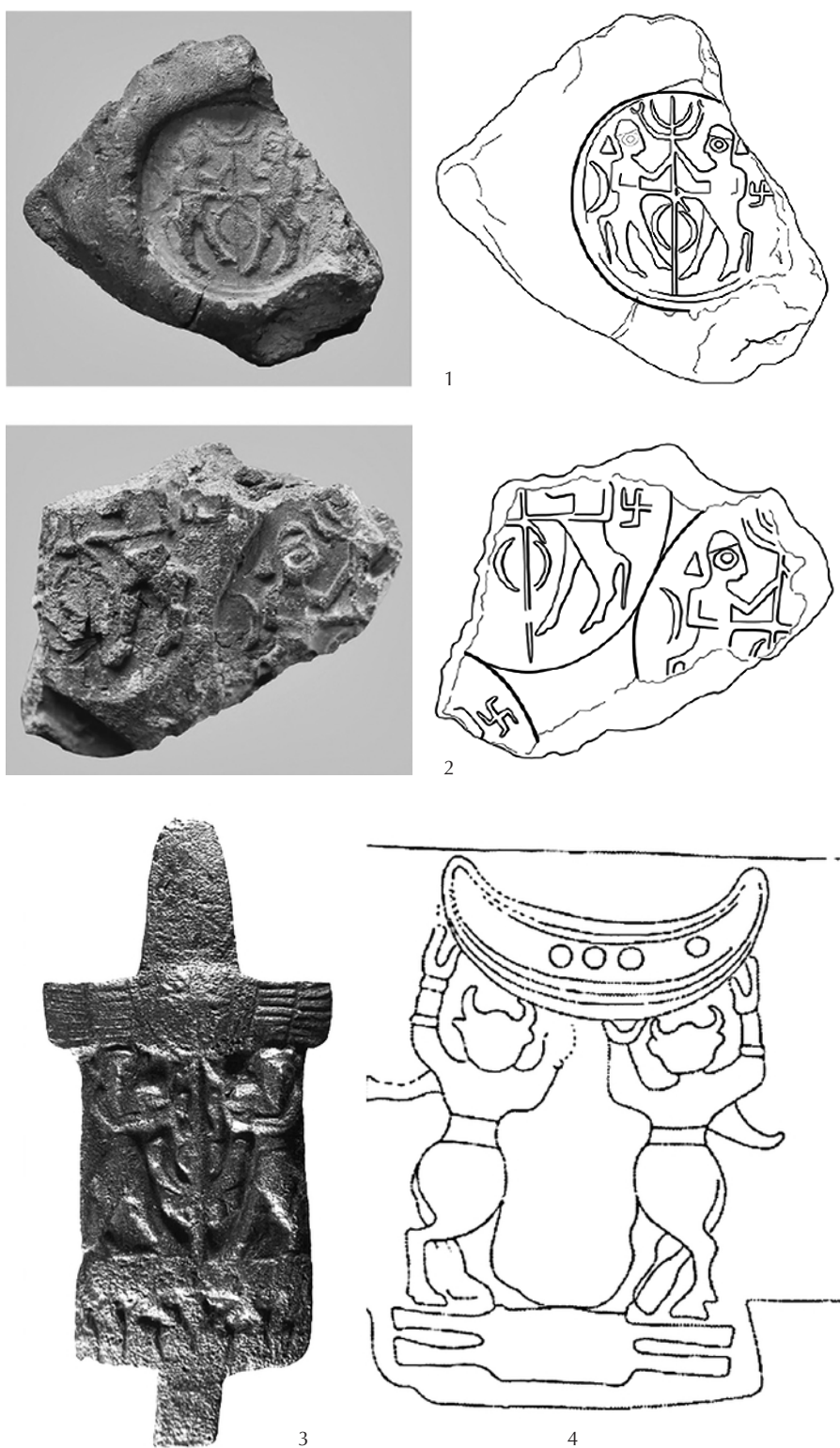


FIG. 14 Bull-Man. 1-2. Kültepe (photos and drawings by author); 3. Alaca Höyük bronze plate (Bittel 1976, fig. 246); 4. Reliefs of Yazılıkaya, Room A, nos. 28-29 (Seeher 2011, 51, fig. 45).



# Contextualizing the Consumption of Syro-Cilician Ware at Tell Atchana / Alalakh (Hatay, Türkiye): A Functional Analysis

MÜGE BULU\*

## Abstract

Syro-Cilician Ware was the prevailing painted pottery style of the Amuq Valley, Cilicia and northwestern Syria in the first half of the second millennium BC and is characterized by its specific painted motif arrangements applied on particular vessel shapes. This paper investigates the consumption of this ware type at Tell Atchana / Alalakh (modern Hatay, Türkiye) in the Amuq Valley as a case study. Embracing a multi-dimensional approach, a functional analysis is conducted based on technological and morphological characteristics of the vessels as well as the nature of selected contexts from different parts of the site. The results have shown that Syro-Cilician Ware was likely appreciated as a serving set, in either abbreviated or elaborated variations, which completed a larger consumption set consisting of other ware and shape types. This is a pattern that reoccurs throughout both time and space at Tell Atchana / Alalakh, except for rare cases, signifying its role within the food and / or drink consumption traditions at the site. Moreover, several lines of evidence further point to the possible symbolic function of Syro-Cilician Ware, which appears to be reflected in the bird motif.

**Keywords:** Tell Atchana / Alalakh, Amuq Valley, Syro-Cilician Ware, Middle Bronze Age, functional analysis, ancient foodways

## Öz

Belirli seramik formları üzerine işlenmiş öz-  
gün boyalı motif düzenlemeleriyle nitelendirilen Suriye-Kilikya Boyalıları, MÖ ikinci binyılın ilk yarısında Amik Ovası, Kilikya ve Kuzeybatı Suriye'de yaygın olarak görülen boya bezekli seramik geleneğidir. Bu makalede, Amik Ovasında yer alan Aççana Höyük / Alalah kenti (Hatay, Türkiye) özelinde Suriye-Kilikya Boyalıları'nın kullanımı incelenmiştir. Çok yönlü bir yaklaşımın benimsendiği çalışmada, seramiklerin teknolojik ve morfolojik özelliklerinin yanı sıra, kentin farklı bölümlerinde buldukları bağlamlarla ilişkili olarak da değerlendirildiği bir işlevsel analiz yapılmıştır. Söz konusu analizin sonuçları, Suriye-Kilikya Boyalıları'nın, sadeleştirilmiş ya da genişletilmiş varyasyonları olmakla birlikte, farklı mal ve form gruplarının da var olduğu daha geniş bir yeme-içme setinin tamamlayıcı bir parçasını oluşturan bir servis seti olarak kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Aççana Höyük / Alalah kentinde istisnai durumlar dışında aynı örüntüye farklı zaman ve mekânlarda rastlanması, Suriye-Kilikya Boyalıları'nın kentin yeme-içme âdetlerindeki önemine işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca, bir dizi farklı veri seti incelendiğinde bazı seramiklerde kuş motifinin işlenmiş olması, Suriye-Kilikya Boyalıları'nın muhtemelen sembolik bir işlevinin de olabileceğini göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Aççana Höyük / Alalah, Amik Ovası, Suriye-Kilikya Boyalıları, Orta Tunç Çağı, işlevsel analiz, antik yeme-içme âdetleri

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## Introduction

The Middle Bronze Age<sup>1</sup> (ca. 2000-1600 BC, hereafter MBA) in Anatolia and the Near East witnessed the development of an aesthetic trend in painted pottery production. Distinct geometric, figural and / or floral motifs applied on specific vessel shapes define the painted pottery traditions observed in the settlements of the Levant, inner Syria, the Amuq and Cilicia in Anatolia. One of these traditions was Syro-Cilician Ware (SCW), in reference to its main geographical distribution area, which is Cilicia in the west, the inner northwestern Syrian sites in the east and south, and the Amuq that connects those two regions. SCW is not only the prevailing painted pottery tradition of its main distribution area, but also as evidenced by its much wider distribution to central Anatolia,<sup>2</sup> Cyprus<sup>3</sup> and the Nile Delta<sup>4</sup> as imports, it was the materialized reflection of interregional networks of interaction prior to the zenith of internationalism in the following Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1200 BC, hereafter LBA).

Before and after the first classification and evaluation of this painted pottery as a particular ware type by Veronica Seton-Williams,<sup>5</sup> SCW has been examined as part of the site and survey assemblages in the Amuq,<sup>6</sup> Cilicia,<sup>7</sup> Syria,<sup>8</sup> Islahiye Plain<sup>9</sup> and Kilis Plain;<sup>10</sup> included in comprehensive studies regarding different painted pottery traditions in the broader Near East;<sup>11</sup> or published as selected vessels from museum collections or excavated sites.<sup>12</sup> In the latter two cases, different names that were used to describe the ware type, the vessel shape and motif repertoire, as well as its origin, distribution and chronology has been much discussed and therefore will not be repeated here.<sup>13</sup> However, in the current literature, SCW has been studied through imperfect datasets and mainly as comparative material to the other painted pottery traditions of the MBA Eastern Mediterranean, namely, Habur Ware and Levantine Painted Ware. Moreover, it has also often been used as an index fossil for broad brush dating and for

<sup>1</sup> This paper does not intend to make a statement about the absolute chronology of Tell Atchana or the broader Syro-Anatolian region, and it follows the Middle Chronology that has been embraced at the Tell Atchana Excavations. See Yener et al. 2019c.

<sup>2</sup> From Kültepe / Kanesh (Özgüç 1950, 1955) and Acemhöyük (Öztan 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Merrillees and Tubb 1979.

<sup>4</sup> Bagh 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Seton-Williams 1953.

<sup>6</sup> The Amuq material comes from two rounds of surveys (Braidwood 1937; Yener 2005; Bulu 2017a; Yener et al. 2017) and the excavations conducted at Tell Atchana / Alalakh (Woolley 1955; Heinz 1992; Yener and Akar 2013a, 2014), Toprakhisar Höyük (Akar and Kara 2018, 2020), Tel al-Judaidah (Swift 1958) and Chatal Höyük (Pucci 2019).

<sup>7</sup> The Cilician material comes from multiple sites detected in various surveys (Gjerstad 1934; Seton-Williams 1954; Mellaart 1958) and the excavations conducted at Kazanlı (Garstang 1938), Mersin Yumuktepe (Garstang 1940, 1953; Jean 2010, 2019-2020), Tarsus Gözlükule (Goldman 1956; Slane 1987), Sirkeli Höyük (Garstang 1938; Hrouda 1997; Ehringhaus 1999; Ahrens et al. 2010; Novák and Kozal 2013; Novák et al. 2020; Kozal 2022), Kinet Höyük (Gates 2000, 2011) and Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al. 2014; Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020).

<sup>8</sup> SCW was reported from the excavations conducted at Tell Mishrifeh / Qatna (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1927, 1930; Iamoni 2012), Hama (Ingholt 1940; Fugmann 1958), Ras Shamra / Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949; Courtois 1978), Tell Mardikh / Ebla (Matthiae 1980, 1984, 1989; Nigro 1997, 2002a, 2002b), Tell Tuqan (Nigro 2002b, 312, fig. 16; Peyronel 2008; Baffi 2010) and Umm el-Marra (Curvers et al. 1997; Schwartz et al. 2000) as well as various sites surveyed during the Tell Rifa'at survey in the River Qoueiq region (Tubb 1981).

<sup>9</sup> From the excavations conducted at Tilmen Höyük (Alkim 1969; Marchetti 2008) and the cave site of Sakçegözü (Waechter et al. 1951).

<sup>10</sup> From the excavations conducted at Oylum Höyük (Özgen and Helwing 2001; Çatalbaş 2008; Engin 2020).

<sup>11</sup> Hrouda 1957; Tubb 1981, 1983; Gerstenblith 1983; Bagh 2003; Bieniada 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Margueron 1968; Wild-Wülker 1977-1978; Dündar 2008; Merrillees and Tubb 1979; Jamieson 2005; Bulu 2017b.

<sup>13</sup> For the most recent literature review of SCW, see Bulu 2021, 11-43.

cross-site comparisons. Therefore, the main focus of the former studies has been its physical characteristics based on macroscopic analysis, and further technological and functional aspects have remained understudied.

While the functional aspects of Habur Ware and Levantine Painted Ware have recently been examined,<sup>14</sup> those of SCW were given less attention in the former studies. Among them, Nigro<sup>15</sup> suggested that all painted wares retrieved from the palatial and funerary contexts of Tell Mardikh / Ebla, including SCW, pointed to a specialized function that was related to funerary banquets at the site during the MBA. Taking this intra-site interpretation to a regional level, Jamieson<sup>16</sup> argued that the pitchers decorated with the “eye” motif gained a symbolic meaning by reflecting zoomorphic representation of birds and that the appearance of such vessels in funerary contexts in the broader northwestern Syria pointed to shared funerary practices encountered at various sites. While Nigro and Jamieson embraced a contextual approach in their interpretations, Bieniada,<sup>17</sup> who focused on the stylistic and functional origins of Habur Ware and incorporated SCW into his discussion as well, mainly focused on the morphological characteristics while making an inference on the functions of SCW and Habur Ware. Pointing out the consumption of different beverages in Eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia, he suggested that SCW vessels were used for mixing, serving and drinking wine in the West, whereas Habur Ware vessels were used for storing beer and consuming it with straws in the East.<sup>18</sup>

In the interpretation of the functional aspects of SCW, instead of focusing on one, all characteristics regarding technology, morphology, and context should be taken into account, because the choices that were made in each aspect would have an effect on the production and utilization of the end product. This would vary at a site and / or region-specific level. While Nigro’s and Jamieson’s interpretations remain limited to some of the Syrian sites, and therefore cover only one of the main distribution areas of SCW, Bieniada’s broader interpretation based solely on vessel shape types misses the fact that it was associated with burial practices and likely had a symbolic function at Syrian sites. A preliminary overview based on contextual information retrieved from excavated sites has already pointed out the differentiated utilization of SCW within and outside its main distribution zone.<sup>19</sup>

Providing an in-depth analysis from one of its main distribution areas as a case study, production and consumption of SCW at Tell Atchana / Alalakh has recently been investigated by the author as her Ph.D. dissertation, based on published and unpublished datasets retrieved from the stratified contexts of the renewed excavations at the site.<sup>20</sup> In this paper, the consumption aspect is discussed through a functional analysis of the SCW based on both technological and morphological characteristics, as well as the contextual information. Following a brief theoretical background, the technological and morphological characteristics of SCW are presented to make an inference about what these vessels might have been designed for. The results of this analysis are then contextualized in three selected MBA loci of use from different parts of the site, through a detailed analysis of all pottery assemblages retrieved from each

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<sup>14</sup> Bieniada 2009; Marcus 2021.

<sup>15</sup> Nigro 1997, 274; 2002b, 312.

<sup>16</sup> Jamieson 2005, 81.

<sup>17</sup> Bieniada 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Bieniada 2009, 170-77.

<sup>19</sup> Bulu 2017b, 109-10.

<sup>20</sup> Bulu 2021.

context. This approach enables us to see whether SCW vessels were consumed at Alalakh in a single way, or if there was a differentiation within and between different sectors of the site. Furthermore, the possible symbolic function of at least some of the SCW vessels and their likely ritual / religious significance to the inhabitants of Alalakh is also discussed.

## Theoretical Background for Functional Analysis

Pottery can be considered a “tool,”<sup>21</sup> that is and has been manufactured to be used for fulfilling either one particular or a variety of needs. A vessel would have a techno-, a socio- and / or an ideo-function in a given context, all of which could be interrelated and ultimately affect the design of that particular object.<sup>22</sup> Techno-function would refer to its utilitarian characteristic, and provides fruitful insights as to how and for what reasons it might have been used. The techno-function of pottery can be investigated via morphological characteristics, constituents of the ceramic paste, surface treatments and firing.<sup>23</sup> The socio-function and ideo-function of a vessel, on the other hand, would refer to its non-utilitarian and more special use, such as being containers, consuming media or gifts in a ritual context, grave goods in burials or prestigious objects representing status and / or power.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, specific vessel shapes and decorative aspects of vessels that were used for communication or “information exchange,”<sup>25</sup> as well as marking social boundaries, identity and / or gender, would also reflect the non-utilitarian function of pottery.<sup>26</sup>

A vessel would have an intended function and an actual function.<sup>27</sup> The intended function refers to what that particular vessel was designed for, whereas the actual function is what that vessel was used for. In the functional analysis of pottery, the intended function can be inferred based on the technological and morphological attributes of a vessel, since specific technological choices are made from paste preparation to firing by considering whether that vessel would meet what it was designed for. For instance, coarser pastes with heavy tempering would be a desired characteristic for cooking pots, whereas tempering with organic materials results in a porous fabric, which makes a vessel lighter, and increases its portability, as well as makes it ideal for short-term water storage.<sup>28</sup> In terms of surface treatments, while smoothing the surface increases the permeability of a vessel, burnishing or applying a slip to a vessel’s surface would increase resistance to abrasive processes.<sup>29</sup> Finally, while higher firing temperatures result in a less porous fabric with a higher strength for impact and abrasion resistance, lower firing temperatures result in a more porous fabric, which increases the thermal shock resistance and permeability of a vessel.<sup>30</sup> The morphological attributes of a vessel also have an impact on its intended use regarding its capacity, stability, accessibility and transportability.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Braun 1983.

<sup>22</sup> Skibo 1992, 33-34.

<sup>23</sup> Skibo 1992, 34; 2013, 35.

<sup>24</sup> Tite 2008, 228; Skibo 2013, 5.

<sup>25</sup> Wobst 1977.

<sup>26</sup> Schiffer and Miller 1999; Skibo 2013, 15; Hegmon 1992, 1998.

<sup>27</sup> Rice 1987, 207-42; Skibo 1992, 35-42.

<sup>28</sup> Rice 1987, 231; Skibo 2013, 36-41.

<sup>29</sup> Tite 1999, 218; Skibo 2013, 16, 119-21.

<sup>30</sup> Skibo 2013, 46-47.

<sup>31</sup> Rice 1987, 211-26; Orton and Hughes 2013, 246-61; Skibo 2013, 30-31.

Making an inference about the actual function, on the other hand, requires identifying the use-alteration traces on the vessels<sup>32</sup> as well as the nature of the contexts, if available, which provides essential information in comprehending the ways in which a vessel was used.<sup>33</sup> Preserved residue in the vessels that can be subjected to instrumental analysis also provides information regarding the actual contents.<sup>34</sup> For the investigation of possible function and / or importance of pottery assemblages, as well as the ways in which they were used in a given society, the ideal case is to examine the intended function in conjunction with their actual function.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, incorporating textual and iconographic evidence, as well as ethnoarchaeological studies and ethnographic parallels, if available, would result in a more synthetic analysis. Such an approach, with varying types of available evidence, has already been embraced in a number of studies that focused on function and uses of pottery, not only at Tell Atchana and the Amuq,<sup>36</sup> but also at other second millennium BC sites of the neighboring regions.<sup>37</sup>

Based on technological and morphological attributes, ceramic vessels have been broadly categorized as being containers for three main purposes: storage, processing and transfer.<sup>38</sup> These three categories are also divided into sub-categories, based on whether the contents are dry or liquid, hot or cold, the frequency of content movement and / or access, duration of use and distance.<sup>39</sup> In addition to those three purposes, as suggested by Pucci,<sup>40</sup> “consuming” could be treated as the fourth main category, which encapsulates the activities of eating, drinking, pouring and serving. Overall, as mainly being associated with food- and beverage-related activities, functional analysis of ceramics, along with other types of evidence, provides significant information regarding ancient foodways in a given context, from domestic everyday practices to occasional events such as feasts and rituals, and the nature of the preparation, storage, distribution and consumption of food and beverages.<sup>41</sup>

In this paper, a multi-dimensional approach is embraced to make a better inference about the ways in which SCW was used at Tell Atchana / Alalakh, and the intended function of the vessels has been investigated together with their actual function. The technological aspects from paste preparation to firing, as well as the morphological (shape and size) attributes, were taken into account for their likely intended function. Due to the absence of any residual analysis conducted on SCW, as well as the fragmentary nature of the assemblage which limits the investigation of use-alteration traces, the actual function has been inferred based on the contexts that they were retrieved from. In addition to the architectural and artefactual characteristics of contexts, the pottery assemblages retrieved from particular units have been studied as a

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<sup>32</sup> Skibo 1992, 2013.

<sup>33</sup> Hodder 1981; Ellison 1984, 63; Tite 1999, 207; 2008, 228; Stockhammer 2012, 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Heron and Evershed 1993; Evershed 2008; Stockhammer 2016, 92-93; Barnard and Eerkens 2017.

<sup>35</sup> Rice 1987, 201-11; 1996, 138-41; Skibo 2013, 4-5; Tite 1999, 207; 2008, 228.

<sup>36</sup> Bulu 2016; Horowitz 2019; Pucci 2019, 2020; Montesanto and Pucci 2019-2020; Montesanto 2020b.

<sup>37</sup> Gates 1988; Pfälzner 1995; Pulhan 2000; Otto 2006, 2014; Duistermaat 2008; Perini 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Henrickson and McDonald 1983; Rice 1987, 208-9, fig. 7.1; Smith 1988; Skibo 1992, 35; 2013, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Henrickson and McDonald 1983; Smith 1988; Rice 1987, 209, fig. 7.1. However, recent archaeometric studies using residual and chemical analyses have shown that liquid and dry contents were contained in similar vessel shape types and therefore have proven that making inferences about contents solely based on morphological characteristics would be erroneous. See Beck et al. 2004; Knappett et al. 2005, as cited in Pucci 2019, 201.

<sup>40</sup> Pucci 2019, 201.

<sup>41</sup> Sinopoli 1991, 122; Dietler and Hayden 2001; Bray 2003; Ökse 2015; Spataro and Villing 2015; Çilingiroğlu and Godon 2018.

whole.<sup>42</sup> This has enabled tracing which SCW vessels were used in a given context, their role within the assemblage and their relationship with other ware types.

## Tell Atchana / Alalakh

Tell Atchana / Alalakh is located near the main branch of the Orontes River in the Amuq Valley, 20 km away from the Reyhanlı district of modern Hatay, in the southernmost part of Türkiye (fig. 1). It is the largest mound in the valley at ca. 22 ha and was the capital city of the regional kingdom of Mukish, named Alalakh in the second millennium BC. The site was initially surveyed and identified by Robert Braidwood in the 1930s,<sup>43</sup> and the first round of excavations at Tell Atchana was conducted by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1930s and 1940s.<sup>44</sup> Woolley identified 18 occupation levels during his excavations, from Level XVII to Level 0, which were concentrated on the northern and northwestern parts of the site (now referred to as the Royal Precinct). While Woolley's large-scale exposures contributed to the understanding of the MBA and LBA of Alalakh, there were also various errors in site stratigraphy and the pottery sequence. A more accurate revision of Tell Atchana's problematic stratigraphy was necessary, and new data acquired through systematic excavations has been provided by another round of research conducted at the site under the direction of K. Aslihan Yener in 2000-2019<sup>45</sup> and Murat Akar since 2020.<sup>46</sup>

The earlier periods of Alalakh pre-dating Level VII were investigated in two soundings;<sup>47</sup> therefore, knowledge of the MB I and early MB II phases is limited and very partial. Level VII, or Period 7 in the new terminology,<sup>48</sup> at the end of MBA, is the best-known phase of MBA Alalakh, which is defined by a monumental palace complex (the Level VII Palace), a temple, a tripartite city gate and a fortification wall.<sup>49</sup> During this period, Alalakh was a vassal of the kingdom of Yamhad centered in Aleppo.<sup>50</sup> The city participated in international networks, as evidenced from objects, technologies and iconography, such as the frescoes found in the Level VII Palace, stone vessels and statues, and a stone / obsidian workshop, ivory / bone inlays, objects, and elephant tusks, and cylinder seals, all of which reflect cultural contacts with the Levant, Mesopotamia, the Aegean, Egypt and central Anatolia.<sup>51</sup>

After the destruction of the city at the end of the MBA, likely as part of the military campaigns of the Hittite king Hattušili I,<sup>52</sup> Alalakh became a vassal of the Mitannian Empire during LB I<sup>53</sup> (Periods 6-4, ca. 1600-1400 BC). The prominent elements of Mitannian culture at Alalakh

<sup>42</sup> For the details of recording and processing of pottery assemblages at Tell Atchana Excavations, see Horowitz 2019, 199; Yener et al. 2019a, 7-9.

<sup>43</sup> Braidwood 1937.

<sup>44</sup> Woolley 1955.

<sup>45</sup> Yener 2010; Yener et al. 2019c.

<sup>46</sup> Akar et al. 2022, 2023.

<sup>47</sup> Woolley 1955, 11, 34, figs. 2, 18.

<sup>48</sup> As opposed to the term "Level" used by Woolley, the term "Period" has been used for the periodization of the Yener Excavations (Yener 2013, 13). Therefore, throughout this article, the term "Level" is only used when referring to structures exposed by Woolley, such as Level VII Palace.

<sup>49</sup> Woolley 1955; for city-scape plans, see also Yener 2005.

<sup>50</sup> Wiseman 1953; Lauinger 2015.

<sup>51</sup> Woolley 1955; Collon 1975, 1982; Akar 2017; Yener 2007a, 2007b, 2021; Healey 2020; Akar et al. 2021.

<sup>52</sup> Bryce 2005, 71.

<sup>53</sup> Smith 1949; Wiseman 1953; von Dassow 2008; 2022, 484-91; Akar 2018.



can be traced not only in the complexity of the social hierarchical structure, as documented in the Level IV texts,<sup>54</sup> but also in its architecture, both public and domestic, and in the aesthetic choices made in local production industries, including pottery, metal and glass-making.<sup>55</sup> In the following LB II (Periods 3-1, 1400-1300 BC) the Hittites took political control of the city and incorporated it into their empire.<sup>56</sup> The site was mostly abandoned around 1300 BC, although a small area around the temple appears to have continued in use into the 13th century BC, after which there was a limited reoccupation in the Iron Age.<sup>57</sup>

## New Syro-Cilician Ware Corpus from Tell Atchana / Alalakh

SCW was the prevailing painted pottery tradition at the site during the MB II (Period 9-7, ca. 1800-1600 BC), and examples retrieved from this period constitute 74% of the whole SCW assemblage. However, new excavation results demonstrated that it continued to be produced and consumed in the LB I (Period 6-4, ca. 1600-1400 BC) in smaller quantities (21%), and sporadically appeared (5%) in LB II (Periods 3-2, ca. 1400-1350 BC) as well. A total of 1255 SCW sherds that belong to a minimum number of 685 individual vessels (MNI)<sup>58</sup> have been analyzed in this study. 259 of the SCW vessels have a diagnostic fragment, i.e., rim, handle, base or spout, whereas 426 of them consist of non-diagnostic body sherds. For the macroscopic classification of technological and morphological characteristics of SCW assemblages, the pottery ware and shape typology used at Tell Atchana Excavations was mainly followed. However, while the LB II ceramics of Tell Atchana have been extensively studied and published,<sup>59</sup> the studies of LB I and MB II assemblages are still ongoing and have only been partially published.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, modifications and additions were made to the original typology during the study of the SCW assemblages where necessary. Moreover, the production technology was further investigated through ceramic petrography and Neutron Activation Analysis on selected sherds, so as to make an inference about the different stages of production from raw material procurement to firing.<sup>61</sup>

The SCW vessels have either a fine or a medium-coarse fabric prepared from locally available calcareous clays and very fine to very coarse sand-sized inclusions. The majority of the vessels (84%, MNI: 576) were manufactured with the use of a medium-coarse fabric, which is characterized as having inclusions in varying sizes and amounts, but there are also vessels (16%, MNI: 109) manufactured with a fine fabric representing a compact paste with very few or no visible inclusions. Neither fabric types were deliberately tempered with organic materials, which resulted in dense fabrics with minimum pores. The vessels were mainly (87%, MNI: 576) fashioned by the use of a rotary kinetic energy (hereafter, RKE).<sup>62</sup> Although not encountered in

<sup>54</sup> von Dassow 2008.

<sup>55</sup> Horowitz 2017; Dardeniz 2018; Johnson 2020; Yener and Akar 2020.

<sup>56</sup> Yener and Akar 2013b; Yener et al. 2019c.

<sup>57</sup> Yener 2013; Yener et al. 2019b, 341; Montesanto and Pucci 2019-2020; Montesanto 2020a.

<sup>58</sup> In the context studies of Tell Atchana Excavations, the MNI numbers are primarily indicated for the diagnostic sherds in a given context. However, since the body sherd fragments of SCW vessels can also be identified as individual vessels during the study of a context assemblage as a whole, the MNI numbers were also indicated for such non-diagnostic sherds.

<sup>59</sup> Horowitz 2019.

<sup>60</sup> Horowitz 2015, 2017; Bulu 2016; Akar et al. 2021.

<sup>61</sup> Bulu 2021.

<sup>62</sup> This research follows the terminology used in Roux 2019 for different stages of pottery production.

higher amounts (13%, MNI: 85),<sup>63</sup> another potting tradition in which the combination of hand modeling and the use of RKE was adopted was also encountered within the assemblage.

The finishing techniques are characterized as wet-smoothing, either with the use of a RKE (87%, MNI: 578) or hand smoothing (13%, MNI: 83). Executing further surface treatments, such as burnishing (10%, MNI: 71) or application of a slip (0%, MNI: 2), was not a common tradition among the SCW vessels. The only instance where a vessel was both slipped and burnished is seen in a single example, which is also confirmed to be a non-local tradition through petrographic analysis.<sup>64</sup> The SCW vessels were mainly hard fired at approximately the same temperatures and in an oxidizing atmosphere, which resulted in acquiring products with oxidizing surface colors ranging from cream and tan to pink and light red. However, those with slightly higher and / or lower firing temperatures, as well as those that were produced in an insufficient oxidizing atmosphere, which resulted in cross-sections with slightly darker cores, also occasionally encountered.<sup>65</sup>

The SCW assemblage is represented by a limited number of vessel shapes in comparison to the much wider range of shapes that are seen within the Tell Atchana local pottery assemblages.<sup>66</sup> Pitchers (fig. 3.15-17) constitute the most frequent shape type attested within the SCW corpus<sup>67</sup> (22%, MNI: 152). These are characterized by having a trefoil rim, a narrow neck, a strap handle (or rarely a twisted handle), a globular body and a flat, convex or disc base. The second most frequent shape type is the krater (19%, MNI: 127), which has a rather intermediate form with a wide mouth and rounded or carinated shoulder (fig. 2.10-14). It has three sub-types: the biconical kraters (fig. 2.10), necked kraters (fig. 2.13) and holemouth kraters (fig. 2.14). Bowls (8%, MNI: 55) constitute the third most frequent shape type and are divided into three main sub-types: the s-curve bowls (fig. 2.1-3), carinated bowls (fig. 2.4-5), and shallow bowls (fig. 2.6-7). Jars (5%, MNI: 32) are mainly small-sized, thin-walled globular jars with an outturned rim (fig. 3.3). There are also medium-sized wide-mouthed (fig. 3.5) and narrow-mouthed globular jars (fig. 3.4) as well as short-necked (fig. 3.1) and bottle-necked jars (fig. 3.2). The other shape types encountered in much lower amounts are juglets (2%, MNI: 15, fig. 3.12-13), side-spouted jars (1%, MNI: 9, fig. 3.8-10), krater / jars (1%, MNI: 4, fig. 3.11), cups (1%, MNI: 3, fig. 2.8-9), irregular-shaped vessels (0%, MNI: 2, fig. 3.6-7), and a single example of a jug (0%, MNI: 1, fig. 3.14). There are also reused SCW sherds (0%, MNI: 3), which were cut around their edges and given a rounded shape.

Almost all of the SCW vessels at Tell Atchana have a monochrome paint decoration in different shades of red, brown and gray (or black), whereas bichrome paint decoration is only seen on three sherds. Painted decorations of SCW vessels consist of geometric, animal, floral and figural motifs. The other decorative techniques rarely found within the assemblage are adding applique types of clay pieces, raising horizontal lines, or incising single or multiple horizontal lines. These are exclusive to closed vessels, mainly pitchers but also jars.

<sup>63</sup> The hand-modeled handle and spout fragments within the assemblage, preserved without the body part that they were originally attached to, have been categorized separately as hand-modeled attachments (MNI: 24), since these parts could belong to the products of either potting tradition.

<sup>64</sup> Bulu 2021, 222.

<sup>65</sup> Bulu 2021, 240.

<sup>66</sup> Horowitz 2015, 2019; Bulu 2016; Akar et al. 2021.

<sup>67</sup> In addition to the designated vessel shape types, the corpus also consists of non-diagnostic body sherds that were classified as open (0%, MNI: 1), closed (35%, MNI: 239), or unknown shapes (6%, MNI: 42) due to their fragmentary conditions.

Regardless of the vessel shape, the top of the rim, the shoulder and the handle (where applicable) of all SCW vessels were adorned with painted motifs (figs. 2-3). The top of the rim is mainly decorated with a line of dots, vertical dashes or diagonal dashes; however, a horizontal line running on top of the rim is also rarely seen (fig. 3.1). The highest variety in the motif arrangement occurs on the shoulder decoration of SCW vessels. In the most basic or simple arrangement, the shoulder of the vessel is adorned with sets of vertical (figs. 2.1, 3.5) or diagonal lines (figs. 2.10, 3.3); the panel between each set is left empty. The coarser version of this arrangement would result in thicker bands instead of lines. The other basic arrangement is the application of alternating diagonal lines (figs. 2.13, 3.1), in which no empty panel was created between each set of lines. In the more elaborate motif arrangements, the empty panel between sets of vertical or diagonal lines would be decorated further with geometric, animal, floral or figural motifs (figs. 2.3, 14, 3.4, 6, 8, 16-17).

Having additional painted decorations compared to the other shape types, the most lavishly decorated vessel shape is the pitcher. The complete and partially complete examples show that all pitchers have the eye and eye frame motifs right below the trefoil rim; the bottom of the neck is adorned with multiple horizontal registers of geometric motifs; the handle is decorated with the branch or branch-like motifs; and the area below the handle was decorated with a tassel motif (fig. 3.15-17). The shoulder decoration predominantly consists of a single register, but a two-registered decoration is also encountered. Different from all of the variants above, the continuous cross-hatching applied to the shoulder is also seen on pitchers, although rarely (fig. 3.15).

The overall distribution of motif types per vessel shape demonstrates that the animal and figural motifs were almost exclusively seen on pitchers, whereas floral and geometric motifs were used to decorate other shape types as well. The contextual distribution of these motif types indicates that, while vessels with geometric, animal and floral motifs are seen in all areas of the site, those with figural motifs are exclusive to Area 1, the Royal Precinct (fig. 4). Among the animal motifs, while stylized depictions of goats and other quadrupeds are seen in different areas of the site, the bird motif is exclusive to Area 1.<sup>68</sup> The possible reason for such a phenomenon might be related to the importance and / or symbolic function of birds at the site, which is further discussed below.

## The Intended Function of Syro-Cilician Ware Vessels

In this section, the technological and morphological characteristics, classified and outlined above, are evaluated in order to make inferences about the intended function(s) of SCW vessels, that is, what they might have been designed for. The interpretations have not only been made through considering classifications and analysis results of previous studies in the literature cited above, but also based on common-sense observations.

The fabric constituents and coarseness clearly confirm that the SCW vessels of Tell Atchana were not used for food or drink processing with heat. This would require a coarse and heavily tempered fabric,<sup>69</sup> as is the case for the cooking pots of the site.<sup>70</sup> In addition, the absence of highly porous fabrics implies that none of the SCW vessels were intended to be particularly

<sup>68</sup> Bulu 2021, 228-30.

<sup>69</sup> SCW vessels with a fabric similar to that of cooking pots are attested at Kinet Höyük; see Gates 2000, 85.

<sup>70</sup> Horowitz and Çakırlar 2017; Horowitz 2019; Akar et al. 2021, 86.

light in order to be used for long-distance transportation or for short-term water storage.<sup>71</sup> In terms of surface treatments, since both open (bowls and kraters) and closed shapes (jars, pitchers and juglets) appear with burnished surfaces, burnishing was likely applied for aesthetic reasons (such as having a shiny surface) rather than practical ones (such as reducing permeability). The thicknesses of the body walls also do not point to any correlation with the latter reason(s). Mainly ranging between 0.3 cm and 0.8 cm, the vessel walls of the majority of the SCW vessels are not particularly thick, rarely exceeding 1 cm. Nevertheless, kraters usually have thicker body walls (mainly between 0.6 cm and 1 cm) in comparison to other medium-sized vessels, such as pitchers and jars. This might indicate that the majority of the SCW vessels were not intended to be used for keeping contents fresh and / or on steady heat for a long period of time. Finally, the similar relatively hard-fired fabrics also point to the fact that SCW vessels were intended to have dense and non-porous fabrics, which would give them a higher resistance to impact and abrasion. This might have been a desired characteristic, given the short-distance mobility of SCW vessels due to their small to medium sizes, as well as their being resilient during certain serving-related activities.

## Bowls and Cups

Representing the most frequently attested bowl type within the SCW assemblage, the s-curve bowls (fig. 2.1-3) have out-turned rims and a rounded or carinated shoulder that makes an “s” profile. Similarly, carinated bowls with an opening mouth (fig. 2.4) also have the same outward curve with their flared rims. Therefore, these SCW bowls are suitable for either eating and / or drinking liquid or semi-liquid contents directly from these vessels, or for consuming solids with the use of a utensil.<sup>72</sup> Since all of the s-curve and carinated bowls examples are of a small size (the rim diameter range is 9-16 cm and 9-12 cm, respectively), they could have been used for eating and / or drinking single portions. Constituting the least common open shape within the SCW repertoire, the cups (fig. 2.8-9) also have an s-profile with flared rims, though they are deeper and much smaller in size (rim diameters 6 and 9 cm). Therefore, cups would be suitable for drinking and / or pouring their liquid contents, while being held in one hand for either function.

On the contrary, rounded shallow bowls (fig. 2.7) and hook-rimmed shallow bowls with bent-in rims (fig. 2.6) would not allow direct consumption of food or drinks, but would be suitable for holding liquid, semi-liquid or solid contents that could be accessed easily.<sup>73</sup> The same can also be suggested for the carinated bowls with closing mouth (fig. 2.5), which lack an out-turned rim. Therefore, these bowl types were likely used either for eating with a utensil or for serving. While the small-sized carinated bowls with a closing mouth (rim diameters 7-13 cm) would be suitable for eating a single portion, the hook-rimmed shallow bowls (rim diameter range 14-21 cm) and the rounded shallow bowls (rim diameter 20 cm) would also be suitable for multiple servings because of their slightly larger sizes.

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<sup>71</sup> Rice 1987, 231.

<sup>72</sup> Pucci 2019, 210.

<sup>73</sup> Pucci 2019, 201.

## Kraters

Based on the function of kraters known from Classical Greece, which were used for mixing wine and water, kraters of the Bronze and Iron Ages have also been considered as serving vessels, specifically for mixing liquids.<sup>74</sup> Regardless of the subtypes, the wide mouths of SCW kraters would allow access to their contents. This implies that the contents were likely served via a utensil, such as a ladle, or bowls / cups dipped directly into them. However, until this is supported via archaeometric analysis, it is not possible to determine whether a particular krater was used for mixing and serving liquids, since the shape is also suitable to contain and / or serve a semi-liquid food as well. Regardless of this ambiguity, the reason to use an open shape like a krater for serving could be related either to the visibility of its contents or, as typically suggested by default, to the necessity of mixing the content at certain intervals.

SCW kraters appear in two sizes: the small-sized ones have a rim diameter range of 14-17 cm (fig. 2.12), while the medium-sized ones have a rim diameter ranging between 18-32 cm (fig. 2.10-11, 2.13-14). Generally speaking, although kraters have medium to large rim diameters, their small-sized counterparts with identical profiles and typical rim types within the SCW assemblage have been classified as a sub-type. Based on the size difference, while the medium-sized kraters might be suitable for serving large quantities of food / beverages to a larger group of people, the small kraters might have been used to serve smaller quantities to smaller groups. Alternatively, if they were used together with the medium-sized ones, the contents of small kraters might also have been some sort of side-food.

Despite the differences in vessel sizes, both small- and medium-sized SCW kraters, along with their contents, would be suitable for transportation.<sup>75</sup> The only handle types attested on SCW kraters are the knob handles (fig. 2.11), which were very likely added for decorative purposes rather than practical / functional ones. The typical outward bent rim types of kraters (everted, flanged or rail), on the other hand, might have served as handles for easier transportation. Alternatively, those rims could have enabled stretching a covering material, such as a cloth or leather, across the vessel opening or to hold a lid. Kraters with a lid ridge rim, which has a single groove running on top (fig. 2.13), also supports the possibility of them being covered with lids. These either retained the heat of their contents or prevented contamination before, during or after use. The slightly thicker body walls of kraters might be related to this function, such as for serving hot contents, when a lid or some type of material that could be quickly fastened around a suitable rim type would help keep the contents warm.

## Pitchers, Juglets and Side-spouted Jars

The morphological characteristics of SCW pitchers indicate that they were intended to be used for pouring liquids, likely the beverages that were consumed in the bowls and cups discussed above. The complete / partially complete examples show that their sizes range from small to medium and large (fig. 3.15-17), which implies that pitchers were used for pouring different quantities of liquids contained in those vessels, likely for consumption by groups of individuals of varying sizes.

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<sup>74</sup> Hendrix et al. 1996, 39; van Wijngaarden 2002, 283; Bieniada 2009, 170-77; Pucci 2019, 212; Horowitz 2019, 241.

<sup>75</sup> Pucci 2019, 212.

The SCW juglets are mainly preserved as sherds. The only example with a preserved rim, neck and handle (fig. 3.13) implies that their full profiles were likely similar to much smaller versions of pitchers and jugs. Due to their small size and being closed vessels, they might have been used for preserving and / or pouring (if they originally had a trefoil rim) small amounts of liquids. The limited quantity might be related to the higher value of the content (such as oil) in comparison to those poured from the pitchers. Alternatively, they might have been used for pouring other types of liquids, such as sauce.

The SCW side-spouted jars with a closed spout on the upper body (fig. 3.9-10) and a basket handle (fig. 3.8) also point to pouring activities. These jars are medium-sized (rim diameters 12-15 cm), and their closed spouts would enable a much slower pouring activity in comparison to a trefoil-rimmed pitcher. Only one of the side-spouted jars has a much smaller size (rim diameter 6 cm), and its partially complete spout is in the form of an animal head (fig. 3.9). Similar to the juglets, the small-sized versions of side-spouted jars might have been used for pouring a precious liquid.

### Jars and Krater / Jars

Due to their closed shapes, jars in general are mainly associated with storage-related activities. Representing the most frequently attested jar type within the SCW assemblage, the globular jars might have been used for short-term storage purposes. The medium-sized, narrow-mouthed ones (fig. 3.4) would be suitable for liquid storage, since their narrower opening (rim diameter range 8-12 cm) would prevent spilling. Due to their out-turned rims, the contents of these jars could also have been easily poured into another container. The medium-sized, wide-mouthed jars (fig. 3.5, rim diameter range 13-16 cm), on the other hand, could have been used for both dry and liquid storage, the contents of which might either be retrieved with a utensil or poured. Since the small-sized versions of these jars (rim diameter range 8-13 cm) have an s-profile (fig. 3.3) similar to those of the bowls and cups discussed above, they would also be suitable for the direct consumption of liquids. Similarly, the small-sized, short-necked jars with straight rims (fig. 3.1) might have been used for short-term storage and / or drinking purposes. The bottle-necked jars (fig. 3.2), on the other hand, which are probably globular jugs with a single handle on the shoulder,<sup>76</sup> would be suitable for liquid storage by preventing their contents from spilling. Their narrow openings suggest that their contents were not meant to be accessed easily, but were likely to be poured. All of the SCW jars are small- to medium-sized vessels, which means that they could be transported easily when full. Therefore, the SCW jars might have been used for short-term storage or short-distance transport.

As a somewhat intermediate shape, a krater / jar (fig. 3.11) has the flared rim and upper profile of a globular jar, but it also has a wider mouth than a jar, similar to that of a krater (rim diameter range is 19-26 cm). Their available morphological characteristics suggest that their contents could have been accessed easily with a utensil, or they could have been poured by tilting the vessel, enabled by the flared rim. Therefore, they might have been used for short-term storage purposes.

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<sup>76</sup> For complete examples of this vessel shape, see Matthiae 1989; Gates 2000, 97, fig. 6, no. 8.

## Other Shape Types

The single example of a jug, which is only fragmentarily preserved, has a rolled out rim, a tall neck and a strap handle (fig. 3.14). The preserved profile indicates that it might be suitable for preserving liquids rather than pouring / serving them.<sup>77</sup> Lastly, two examples of irregular-shaped vessels (fig. 3.6-7) are also fragmentarily preserved, but they might have originally been animal-shaped vessels, whose unpainted counterparts are known from the Woolley excavations at the site.<sup>78</sup> If this were the case, they originally might have had perforations that would enable them to store any liquids and / or to pour them out, which could imply a rather non-utilitarian function.

## The Archaeological Contexts of Consumption: The Actual Function

In this section, the actual function of the SCW vessels is examined through a multi-dimensional approach that combines their intended functions discussed above and the contexts that they were recovered from. During the renewed excavations at Tell Atchana / Alalakh, SCW examples have been retrieved from 13 different excavation squares located in Areas 1, 3 and 4, dating from MB II to LB II (fig. 4).<sup>79</sup> SCW was the widely preferred painted pottery style of the MBA, and its production and use gradually decreased being replaced by other local painted pottery traditions during the LBA.<sup>80</sup> For a better understanding of SCW's actual function when the ware type was most commonly used, three selected MB II contexts exposed in two different parts of the site will be presented here. Furthermore, the role of SCW vessels in a given context will be evaluated by comparing them to the other ware types<sup>81</sup> that they appeared together with. This approach will demonstrate whether there was a pattern in the consumption of SCW vessels, or if there was a differentiation within and between different sectors of the site in terms of how they were appreciated.

One of the best-preserved contexts excavated at Tell Atchana so far is a palace kitchen that was exposed in local phase 3c of square 33.32 (Period 9, MB II), located in the courtyard of the Level VII Palace.<sup>82</sup> Due to its destruction by fire, the preservation of this context is remarkable and it provides the most helpful information regarding the actual function of SCW vessels. The context consists of a fully exposed southern room (Room A) and a partially exposed northern room (Room B) connected to each other through a doorway (fig. 5). Room A is defined with a horseshoe-shaped hearth, an elevated platform in which three pithoid jars were found *in situ*, and a bench-like feature along the southern wall of the room. However, the architectural features of the partially exposed Room B are limited to a semicircular and a rectangular bench. Both rooms yielded considerable amounts of pottery ranging from discarded sherds to *in situ* vessels from the destruction event. The functional analysis of this palace kitchen has already shown that Room A was mainly associated with food processing and storage, whereas Room B predominantly yielded evidence for serving-related activities, indicating that the latter could have been used as a staging area for storing these vessels.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Pucci 2019, 218.

<sup>78</sup> Heinz 1992, pl. 78.

<sup>79</sup> Bulu 2021.

<sup>80</sup> Horowitz 2015, 2019, 2022.

<sup>81</sup> For the detailed description of MBA ware types of Tell Atchana, see Horowitz 2015; Bulu 2016; Akar et al. 2021, 83-87.

<sup>82</sup> Bulu 2016.

<sup>83</sup> Bulu 2016, 309-11, fig. 8.

While the SCW examples of Room A are restricted to fragmentary sherds of a pitcher and closed vessels, those retrieved from Room B are preserved as partially complete examples of two pitchers and a juglet, as well as fragmentary sherds of an s-curve bowl and a krater. The overall distribution of vessel shape types retrieved from Room B (fig. 6a) shows that, while the bowls are predominantly of Simple Ware, there is only one example of a SCW bowl. On the contrary, the two pitchers, as well as the single example of a juglet, only appear as SCW vessels. The only exceptions are the kraters retrieved from this room, which are of both ware types.

The difference in vessel shape types and the fact that SCW vessels are present in very small quantities in comparison to the Simple Ware assemblages indicates that the SCW vessels might have functioned as a serving set (fig. 7). Referring to the intended functions described above, pitchers (fig. 7.7, 7.10) might have contained liquids related to the consumption activity, which could be directly poured into the bowls of individuals (fig. 7.1-3). The smaller-sized juglet (fig. 7.6), on the other hand, might have been used for containing and pouring another type of liquid that was not consumed as a beverage, such as a sauce or oil. If kraters were used for serving food, the three kraters (fig. 7.4-5, 7.9) retrieved from Room B might have contained different dishes. The SCW krater, with its painted decoration, might have been reserved for the most “special” dish. The appearance of SCW s-curve bowl as a single example (fig. 7.8) implies that it may have been used as the utensil to remove the contents of the kraters and to serve them into the bowls of individuals. Alternatively, it might have been used by the most important and / or the highest-ranking individual during the consumption activity, while the rest of the people used the Simple Ware counterparts.

The coexistence of three kraters (both Simple Ware and SCW) and two SCW pitchers might be indicative of the potential use of kraters. One of the pitchers is large-sized (figs. 3.17, 7.10) and could contain a large quantity of liquids to be consumed by a big group of people. If this assemblage was meant to be used for a consumption event (such as a feast), the suggestion that these three kraters as well as the pitchers were all used for serving liquids is somewhat questionable. This would mean that at least two different types of beverages were served from at least five different vessels. For this reason, and assuming that food consumption would also take place during the same event, kraters might have functioned as vessels for serving food rather than beverages. As suggested above, the relatively thicker walls of kraters, and their rim types which are suitable for holding lids, could be related to retaining the heat of their contents. This could be food rather than beverages, although it is also possible that they were serving hot beverages in the kraters. This suggestion remains tentative, since the question of what any of the SCW vessels originally contained can only be answered through future residue analysis.

The second context comes from square 32.57, located in the courtyard of the Level IV Palace. Local phase 5 (Period 7, MB II) of this square is defined by a partially exposed monumental building, whose exterior area to the east was consistently used as a street (fig. 8). Seven sub-phases that were traced in this building through continuous modifications in the arrangement of spaces and the raising of floors, as well as the scarcity of *in situ* remains, suggest that it was constantly renewed over a long period of use. In local phases 5g, 5f and 5b, an apsidal extension was added to the southern part of this building. Based on its close proximity to the Ishtar Temple to its southeast, ritual-related objects retrieved from and around this building, and the architectural similarity to apsidal structures from Anatolia, the Aegean and the Near East, the function of this “Apsidal Building” has been suggested as a temple or cult building.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Yener 2015a, 2015b; Akar et al. 2021, 78, 88.



Retrieving SCW vessels from this particular building implies that their consumption was not limited to palatial contexts but also included ritual ones. In local phase 5b of this building, while the eastern room has only yielded a single SCW bowl, the assemblage retrieved from the room within the apsidal extension provides the most information regarding the function of SCW vessels (fig. 6b). This room yielded a large amount of Simple Ware bowls and jars, along with much smaller amounts of jugs, kraters and pitchers. The SCW vessels retrieved from this room also appear as a serving set consisting of seven pitchers, a krater and a juglet. Considering that this structure was likely a cult building, the quantity of SCW pitchers found might be associated with serving liquids involved in consumption activities that took place during rituals. Alternatively, the SCW pitchers might have been used for libations, if these were performed during the rituals. A religious text from the Level VII Palace archives mentions 100+ large and 300 small pots of oil among the offerings made to the Ishtar temple by King Yarimlim.<sup>85</sup> These pots do not necessarily represent SCW vessels; however, if at least some of these liquid offerings were poured during rituals, the SCW pitchers and juglets might be likely candidates for this activity. This suggestion is also supported by the presence of SCW vessels in the Temple Sounding excavated by Woolley, which testifies to the role of SCW vessels in religious activities during the MBA.<sup>86</sup>

Representing the third context, square 45.44 in Area 3 is located on the northeastern slope of the mound, and the investigations in this area yielded the city's fortification wall with multiple modification phases from MB II to LB I (Periods 7-4). The results have shown that the area to the west (interior) of the city wall was characterized as domestic and industrial spaces, whereas the area to the east (exterior) of the city wall was consistently used as the cemetery of the site.<sup>87</sup> Local phase 5 (Period 7, MB II) is defined by domestic structure that is attached to the MB II fortification wall of the city, which was only partially exposed due to the limits of the square to the west (fig. 9). The structure consists of a southern room where two distinct floor deposits were identified, and a northern room.

Retrieving SCW vessels from this part of the site shows that consumption of this painted pottery style was not associated only with palatial and / or ritual contexts but also with domestic ones. Moreover, although the Area 3 contexts are represented by limited exposures, the nature of the SCW assemblages and their association with other ware and shape types are not very different from what is seen in Area 1. The SCW vessels from the two different floors of the southern room are limited to a side-spouted jar, a pitcher and a krater. This again constitutes a serving set that appears with Fine Simple Ware and Simple Ware bowls and cups, as well as Simple Ware kraters and single examples of a small-sized jar and a jug (fig. 6c). The SCW repertoire from the northern room shows a much larger variety, and consists of three bowls, a pitcher, and small- and medium-sized kraters. They appear as a serving set similar to those retrieved from the Area 1 contexts and were accompanied by Simple Ware kraters, pitchers and juglets, the contents of which were likely consumed with the Simple Ware bowls and cups.

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<sup>85</sup> ALT (=Excavation registration number for Alalakh cuneiform tablets) 126; Wiseman 1953, 63.

<sup>86</sup> Heinz 1992, pls. 3, 65.

<sup>87</sup> Ingman 2017; Akar et al. 2021, 82-83.

## Symbolic Function

In addition to the technological and morphological characteristics and their contextualization, which yielded information regarding what SCW vessels might have been designed and used for, the painted decoration of SCW must have functioned to fulfill non-utilitarian needs as well, such as conveying messages and representing specific values or identities. There have been a number of studies which have attempted to make inferences about the possible meanings and functions of the geometric motifs depicted on ceramics.<sup>88</sup> Closely related with SCW, one of these studies<sup>89</sup> suggested a correlation between textile motifs and the painted pottery (specifically the cross-hatched motifs) during the late third through second millennia BC in the eastern Mediterranean. The author focuses on their “non-garment” function for “dressing” objects. The suggestion of “dressed” pots stems from vessels with textile fragments and vessels with rope-patterned decorations. In addition to the many reasons for dressing pots from practical to symbolic, this study has suggested that the anthropomorphic vessels with painted motifs, or literally “dressed” ones, may represent a metaphorical association between people and their dresses or tattoos and they could have been used as a manifestation of identity and power in a society.<sup>90</sup>

The detailed technological analysis of SCW vessels has shown considerable variety detected in the decorative aspects, from the choices of motif types to the ways in which they were executed to the level of care given to their execution, especially in pitchers.<sup>91</sup> This phenomenon might be related to them being manufactured by different potting groups, which has been detected through the traces of different technical behaviors during production.<sup>92</sup> Alternatively, it might be associated with the customers’ specific demands that resulted in non-standardized and rather customized products. This might represent materialized reflections of certain groups / families at Alalakh, through which their identities and / or power was expressed. The specific motifs on the SCW vessels, without a doubt, had certain meanings for the Alalakhians. However, making inferences about this aspect would be extremely challenging (and very likely erroneous), if not impossible. Nevertheless, various types of evidence might provide useful insights regarding the reasons for depicting one specific motif among many: the bird.

Depictions of different animals and floral elements on SCW vessels might reflect the effort of representing the natural life at and around the site. However, the bird motif might have had a different meaning or function than the others. When we look at the SCW vessels from other sites within its distribution zone, goat or other quadruped motifs are part of the motif repertoire of pitchers. However, those with a bird motif are almost exclusively seen at Tell Atchana. The only exceptions would be the single examples from Hama<sup>93</sup> and Ayia Pareskevi.<sup>94</sup> Considering the fact that vessels decorated with bird motifs have been found in all MBA levels of both the

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<sup>88</sup> Bernbeck 1999; Campbell 2010; Cruells et al. 2017.

<sup>89</sup> Wilkinson 2014.

<sup>90</sup> Wilkinson 2014.

<sup>91</sup> Bulu 2021, 223-32.

<sup>92</sup> Bulu 2021, 215-37.

<sup>93</sup> Ingholt 1940, pl. 17, no. 3

<sup>94</sup> Merrillees and Tubb 1979, 225, fig. 2, pl. 24, nos. 1-2. The example from Tarsus Gözlükule (Goldman 1956, pl. 315, no. 1085) has a bichrome paint decoration, which might also belong to the Cypriot Bichrome Ware tradition; see Kozal 2017, 179, cat. no. 96. The pitcher from the Antalya Museum (Dündar 2008) also has bird motifs but was acquired through confiscation, therefore the provenance is unknown.

Woolley and Yener excavations (fig. 10),<sup>95</sup> SCW vessels with the bird motif might be regarded as the most specialized products of Alalakh, signaling the provenance of this style. The reason for such specialization might be related to the importance and / or symbolic function of birds for the Alalakhians.

This argument can be supported with several lines of evidence. To begin with a natural one, modern Hatay is located along a major bird migration route,<sup>96</sup> and it must have been the same case for the Mukish Kingdom during the Bronze Age. Therefore, the Alalakhians, and probably other populations residing at different settlements in the Amuq, very likely witnessed the passage of various types of birds during the migratory seasons, and they might have hunted them to eat and / or to keep them for non-utilitarian purposes. The recovery of bird bones among the faunal remains of Tell Atchana confirms their presence at the site.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, birds similar to those on the SCW pitchers are also seen on some of the seals from Tell Atchana.<sup>98</sup>

Cuneiform texts from the site also provide evidence for the importance of birds. Fowlers, who received grain for birdfeed, and bird-keepers are mentioned in the Level VII Palace (MB II) archives.<sup>99</sup> Within the archives of Level IV (LB I), a bird-catcher is listed as belonging to the *ebelle* class, representing the second highest ranking group within the social stratification of the society, which included craftspeople and / or skilled personnel employed by higher-ranking parties.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, while one tablet<sup>101</sup> records buying birds, another tablet<sup>102</sup> records the distribution of eight birds to certain individuals during specific occasions, an activity in which the king was involved. The presence of specialized occupations such as bird-catcher and fowler, as well as the buying and distributing of birds, might be related to the need for these animals for religious purposes.<sup>103</sup> In a text from the Level VII archives,<sup>104</sup> 300 birds are mentioned as part of the offerings made to the Ishtar temple on behalf of the King Yarim-lim. The birds might have been used for omens as well.<sup>105</sup> This can be inferred from the mention of a diviner named Kuzzi who was a significant official in the Level VII texts.<sup>106</sup> Yet another tablet from Level I / II<sup>107</sup> written in Hittite shows that an individual called Pirwannu, who might be a king of Alalakh, sent birds to a Hittite king. He asks if the king was pleased with this gift and whether he wants more of them. This particular text signifies the high value (and perhaps also the religious meaning) of the birds that lived at and / or migrated through Alalakh. These were used as royal gifts to send to the Hittite “lord” that this possible Alalakhian king served as a vassal. Although no SCW examples with the bird motif have been found in LB II contexts, this lexical tablet implies that the importance of birds at Alalakh continued into this period.

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<sup>95</sup> Woolley 1955; Heinz 1992; Bulu 2017b.

<sup>96</sup> Çalışkan 2008.

<sup>97</sup> Çakırlar and Rossel 2010, 145, table 12.1; Çakırlar et al. 2014, 270; (Canan Çakırlar personal communication, 2019).

<sup>98</sup> Collon 1982, nos. 30-32, 58 and 65.

<sup>99</sup> AIT 18, AIT 243, AIT 268, AIT 273, AIT 274 and AIT 281, Wiseman 1953, 12; Lauinger 2015, 51, 79.

<sup>100</sup> von Dassow 2008, 262, table 4.4.

<sup>101</sup> AIT 269, Wiseman 1953, 86.

<sup>102</sup> AIT 355, Wiseman 1953, 99; von Dassow 2008, 58.

<sup>103</sup> Minunno 2013, 89-91.

<sup>104</sup> AIT 126, Wiseman 1953, 63.

<sup>105</sup> Wiseman 1953, 12; Collon 1975, 113; Minunno 2013, 90.

<sup>106</sup> Lauinger 2015, 82, 390.

<sup>107</sup> AIT 125, Wiseman 1953, 62.

Another fragmentary tablet,<sup>108</sup> retrieved as a surface find during the renewed excavations and listing the Sumerian names of birds, contributes further to the possible significance of birds at Alalakh.

Connections to bird motifs are also present in other types of ceramic evidence throughout the occupation of the site. Animal-shaped vessels in the forms of birds occur not only in the MBA<sup>109</sup> but also in the LBA, such as the example painted in Nuzi Ware style.<sup>110</sup> Birds continue to appear among the motifs of other painted pottery styles throughout LB I.<sup>111</sup> As previously suggested by other scholars,<sup>112</sup> the SCW pitchers themselves may represent birds. These different types of evidence thus point to the significance of birds for Alalakhians, and they very likely had a symbolic meaning related to the religious activities that took place at the site. In addition to their recovery from the Temple Sounding of the Woolley excavations, the restriction of pitchers with the bird motif to Area 1 of the renewed excavations also confirms this suggestion.

## Conclusions

This paper presented a functional analysis of SCW vessels from Tell Atchana / Alalakh by combining their technological and morphological characteristics with the nature of the contexts that they were recovered from. The results show that the intended and actual functions of SCW vessels are compatible and that most of the recovered examples seem to have had a serving-related purpose. This is clearest in the appearance of a well-defined and consistent serving set that appears throughout both time and space at Tell Atchana. The set in its basic form consists of a pitcher, a krater, an s-curve bowl, and a juglet, although it can occur in either abbreviated or elaborated variations in different contexts. It is also consistently accompanied by Simple Ware vessels, which seem to complete the larger consumption set, with SCW vessels used to serve and Simple Ware vessels used for eating / drinking.

The MB I exposures at the site are only known from the previous excavations. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the first appearance of this serving set. But it is clear that it had formed and was in use at least by the late MB II. Its presence in contexts throughout the site - in the Royal Precinct and outside - demonstrate that SCW was not only used by the royal administration and / or elite, but was also utilized in both domestic and ritual contexts. Linkages to the ritual use and importance of SCW vessels at Tell Atchana are also implied by the reoccurring bird motif. Based on the textual and iconographic evidence, birds seem to have had a special, likely ritual or religious significance to the inhabitants of Alalakh. This appears to be reflected in the SCW bird motif.

Although it has not been elaborated here, the use of SCW vessels as a serving set evidently continued into LB I with variations on the MB II set, and much rarely encountered in LB II.<sup>113</sup> Therefore, the pattern of SCW consumption at Tell Atchana does not change drastically throughout the occupation of the site. The only exception is the single appearance of a SCW vessel in an infant burial, dated to the LB I / II transition period.<sup>114</sup> In contrast to northwestern

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<sup>108</sup> A03-R1001+A03-R1139, Lauinger 2010, 85.

<sup>109</sup> Heinz 1992, pl. 78.

<sup>110</sup> Woolley 1955, 350-51, pl. 103d.

<sup>111</sup> Woolley 1955, pls. 94a, 95, 104.

<sup>112</sup> Jamieson 2005, 80; Bieniada 2009, 175, 179.

<sup>113</sup> Bulu 2021, 275-85.

<sup>114</sup> Akar 2019, 18, fig. 2, no. 25.

Syria, where SCW seems to be associated with MB II burial practices, this example is the only case of a SCW vessel found in a grave at Tell Atchana, with no MB II graves containing SCW, although MB II graves are well-attested at the site, and pottery is the most common type of grave goods in that period.<sup>115</sup>

The wide geographical distribution of SCW raises the question about the extent of regional and interregional encounters, and their consequent effects on not only the production but also the consumption of this particular ware type. Thus, future work is needed to explore the case of SCW at a regional level and to investigate patterns of production and consumption among contemporary settlements within the Amuq Valley and its surroundings. One specific site is Toprakhisar Höyük in the Altınözü highlands above Alalakh, where early MBA levels have recently been excavated<sup>116</sup> and now is under study by the author. This will allow us to comprehend consumption traditions of a specific ware type from different proxies with diverse functional attributes.

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<sup>115</sup> Ingman 2020a, 2020b; Akar et al. 2021.

<sup>116</sup> Akar and Kara 2018, 2020, 2022.

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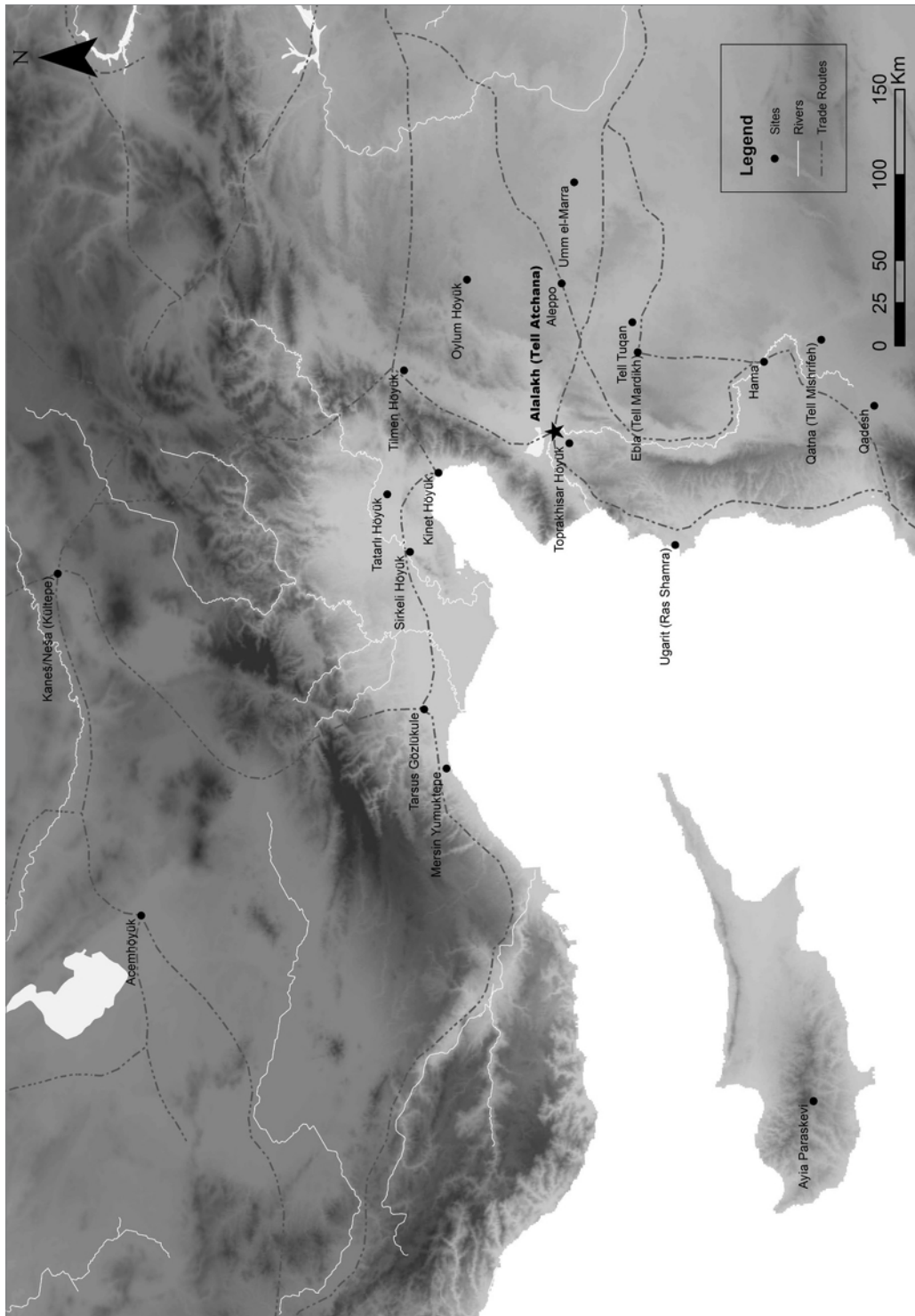


FIG. 1 Map showing the location of Tell Atchana / Alalakh and other contemporary settlements in the neighboring regions (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

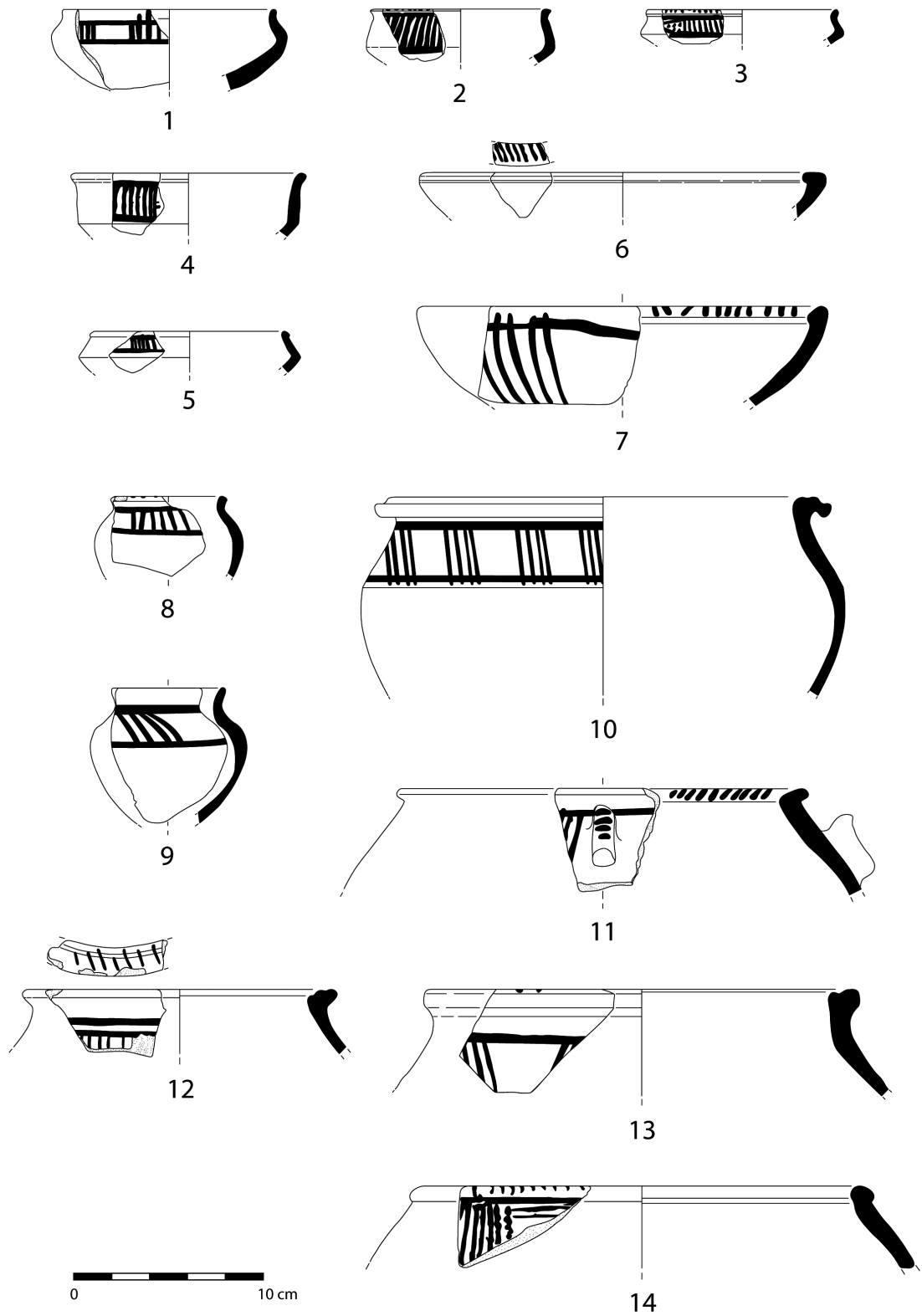


FIG. 2 New Syro-Cilician Ware corpus from Tell Atchana (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).



- 1- AT19010.14, s-curve bowl. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5f (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 11 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: brown (10YR 4/1).
- 2- AT22262.1, s-curve bowl. Findspot: Square 33.32, Local Phase 3c (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 9 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/4), paint: brown (10YR 5/2).
- 3- AT24126.1, s-curve bowl. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 3 (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 10 cm. Fine fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: cream (10YR 7/2), paint: black (10R 4/1).
- 4- AT24125.1, carinated bowl. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 2 (Period 8, MB II). Rim diameter: 12 cm. Fine fabric. Exterior surface: tan (7.5YR 6/4), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 5/4), paint: brown (7.5YR 5/2).
- 5- AT24508.1, carinated bowl. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 2 (Period 8, MB II). Rim diameter: 10 cm. Fine fabric. Exterior surface and cross-section: cream (2.5Y 7/2), paint: brown (7.5YR 4/2).
- 6- AT26080.2, hook-rimmed shallow bowl. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 2 (Period 8, MB II). Rim diameter: 20 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: tan (7.5YR 6/4), cross-section: tan (5YR 5/4), paint: brown (10R 5/6).
- 7- AT23666.1, rounded shallow bowl. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 4 (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 21 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/4), paint: black (2.5Y 6/2).
- 8- AT19013.1, s-curve cup. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5f (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 6 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/4), paint: red (10YR 4/1).
- 9- AT19034.1; s-curve cup. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5g (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 6 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: tan (10YR 6/4) and pink (7.5YR 7/4), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4).
- 10- AT12855.1, biconical krater. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5b (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 22 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface and cross-section: cream (2.5Y 7/2), paint: brown (7.5YR 5/6).
- 11- AT23666.2, medium-sized krater. Findspot: Square 33.32, Local Phase 4 (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 21 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: brown (10YR 5/2).
- 12- AT23137.2, small-sized krater. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 3 (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 16 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/4), paint: brown (10YR 5/1).
- 13- AT18086.2, necked krater. Findspot: Square 45.44, Local Phase 5 (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 22 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 5/4), paint: red (10R 4/4).
- 14- AT10598.1 holemouth krater. Findspot: Square 33.32, Local Phase 3b (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 23 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: pink (7.5YR 7/4), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: red (2.5YR 5/6).

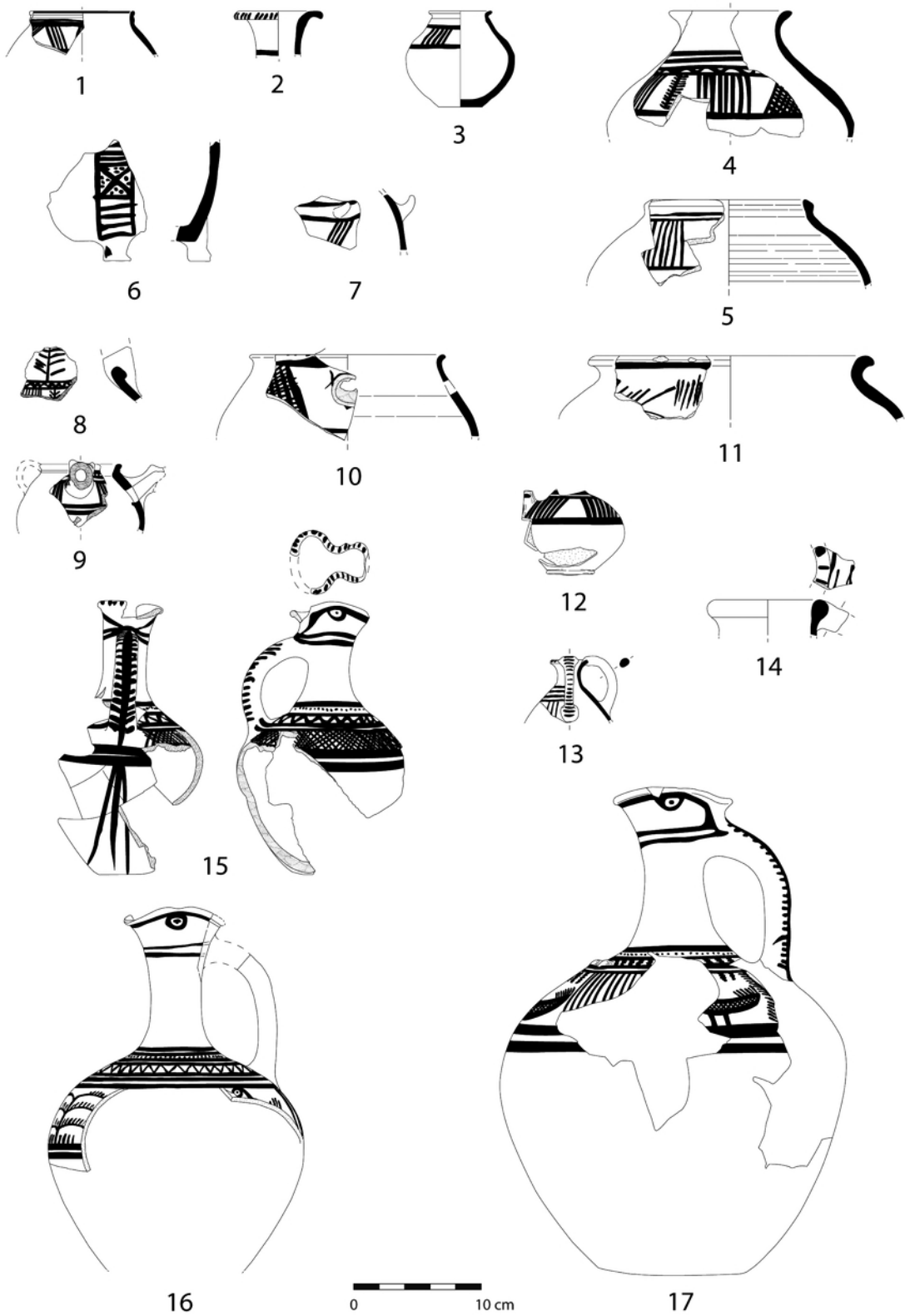


FIG. 3 New Syro-Cilician Ware corpus from Tell Atchana (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

- 1- AT26628.3, short-necked jar. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 2 (Period 8, MB II). Rim diameter: 8 cm. Fine fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 8/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 7/4), paint: red (2.5YR 5/4).
- 2- AT19022.2, bottle-necked jar. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5g (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 7 cm. Fine fabric. Exterior surface: cream (10YR 7/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/2), paint: brown (7.5YR 5/2).
- 3- AT12903, small-sized globular jar. Findspot: Square 32.54, Local Phase 2d-2c transition (Period 3, LB II). Rim diameter: 7 cm. Fine fabric. Exterior surface and cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: brown (5YR 5/4).
- 4- AT22266.1, narrow-mouthed globular jar. Findspot: Square 33.32, Local Phase 3c (Period 9, MB II). Rim diameter: 9 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: green (5Y 7/2), cross-section: gray (2.5Y 6/2), paint: brown (10YR 4/1).
- 5- AT12346.102, wide-mouthed globular jar. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5a (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 12 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: pink (5YR 7/4), paint: brown (7.5YR 4/2).
- 6- AT13745.1, irregular-shaped vessel. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5b (Period 7, MB II). Maximum height: 9,4 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: tan (7.5YR 6/4), cross-section: brown-gray-brown (7.5YR 5/4-10YR 4/2-7.5YR 5/4), paint: red (5YR 4/4).
- 7- AT23167.4, irregular-shaped vessel. Findspot: Square 33.53, Local Phase 3 (Period 9, MB II). Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: tan (7.5YR 6/4), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/4), paint: red (10R 4/4).
- 8- AT1698.3, side-spouted jar. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 2b (Period 5, LB I). Maximum height: 2,15 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: pink (7.5YR 7/4), cross-section: cream (2.5Y 7/2), paint: brown (5YR 5/4).
- 9- AT19409.1, side-spouted jar. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5g (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 6 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (5YR 6/4), paint: black (10R 4/1).
- 10- AT24258.3, krater / jar. Findspot: Square 64.72, Local Phase 6 (Period 6, LB I). Rim diameter: 15 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (5YR 6/4), paint: brown (10YR 4/1).
- 11- AT23695.1, side-spouted jar. Findspot: Square 32.53, Local Phase 2d (Period 4, LB I). Rim diameter: 15 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (5YR 6/4), paint: brown (10YR 4/1).
- 12- AT10595, juglet. Findspot: Square 33.32, Local Phase 3c (Period 9, MB II). Base diameter: 3,5 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: tan (10YR 6/2), paint: brown (10YR 4/1).
- 13- AT17108.2, juglet. Findspot: Square 45.44, Local Phase 4 (Period 6, LB I). Rim diameter: 3 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: pink (5YR 7/4), cross-section: tan (5YR 6/4), paint: red (2.5YR 5/4).
- 14- AT18096.2, jug. Findspot: Square 45.44, Local Phase 5 (Period 7, MB II). Rim diameter: 8 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: tan (5YR 6/4), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: red (7.5R 5/4).
- 15- AT19024.2, pitcher. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5f (Period 7, MB II). Base diameter: 5 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: tan (10YR 7/4), cross-section: tan (7.5YR 6/4), paint: red (10R 4/4).
- 16- AT17591, pitcher. Findspot: Square 32.57, Local Phase 5f (Period 7, MB II). Maximum height: 28,5 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: green (5Y 7/2), cross-section: light gray (5Y 7/1), paint: brown (10YR 4/1).
- 17- AT10539, pitcher. Findspot: Square 33.32, Local Phase 3c (Period 9, MB II). Base diameter: 10,5 cm. Medium-coarse fabric. Exterior surface: cream (2.5Y 7/2), cross-section: cream (2.5Y 7/2), paint: black (5YR 4/1).

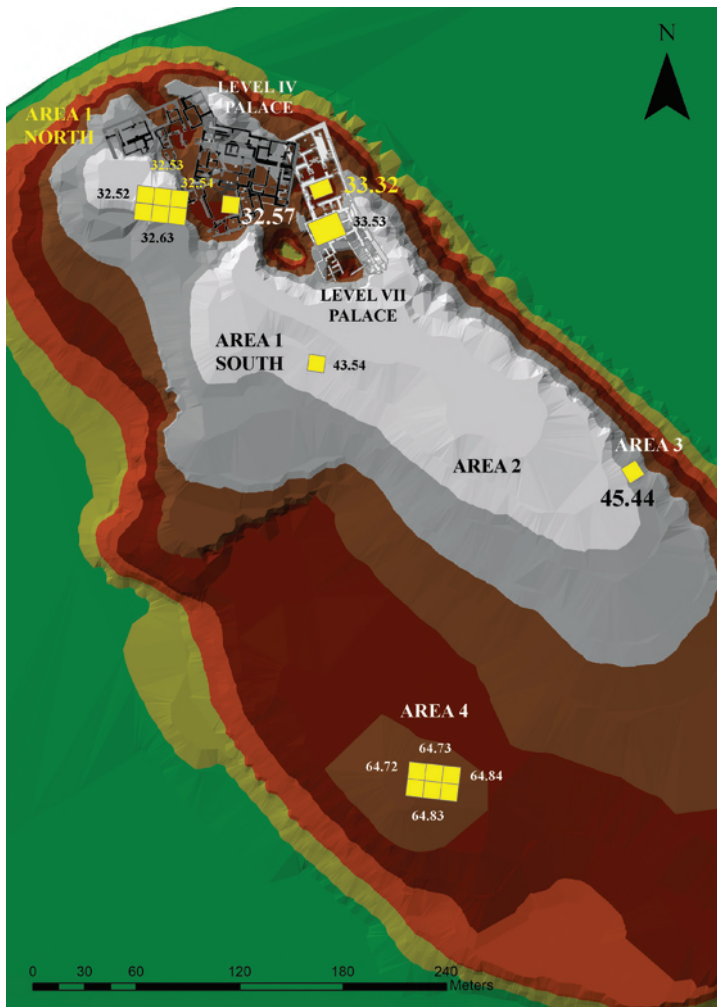


FIG. 4  
Map of Tell Atchana, showing the location of the areas and squares that yielded SCW examples in the renewed excavations (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

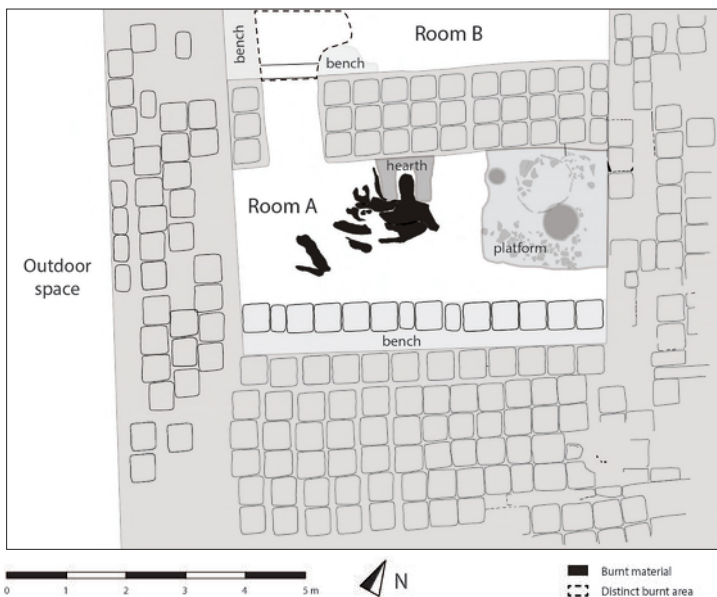


FIG. 5  
Plan of square 33.32, local phase 3c, Palace Kitchen (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

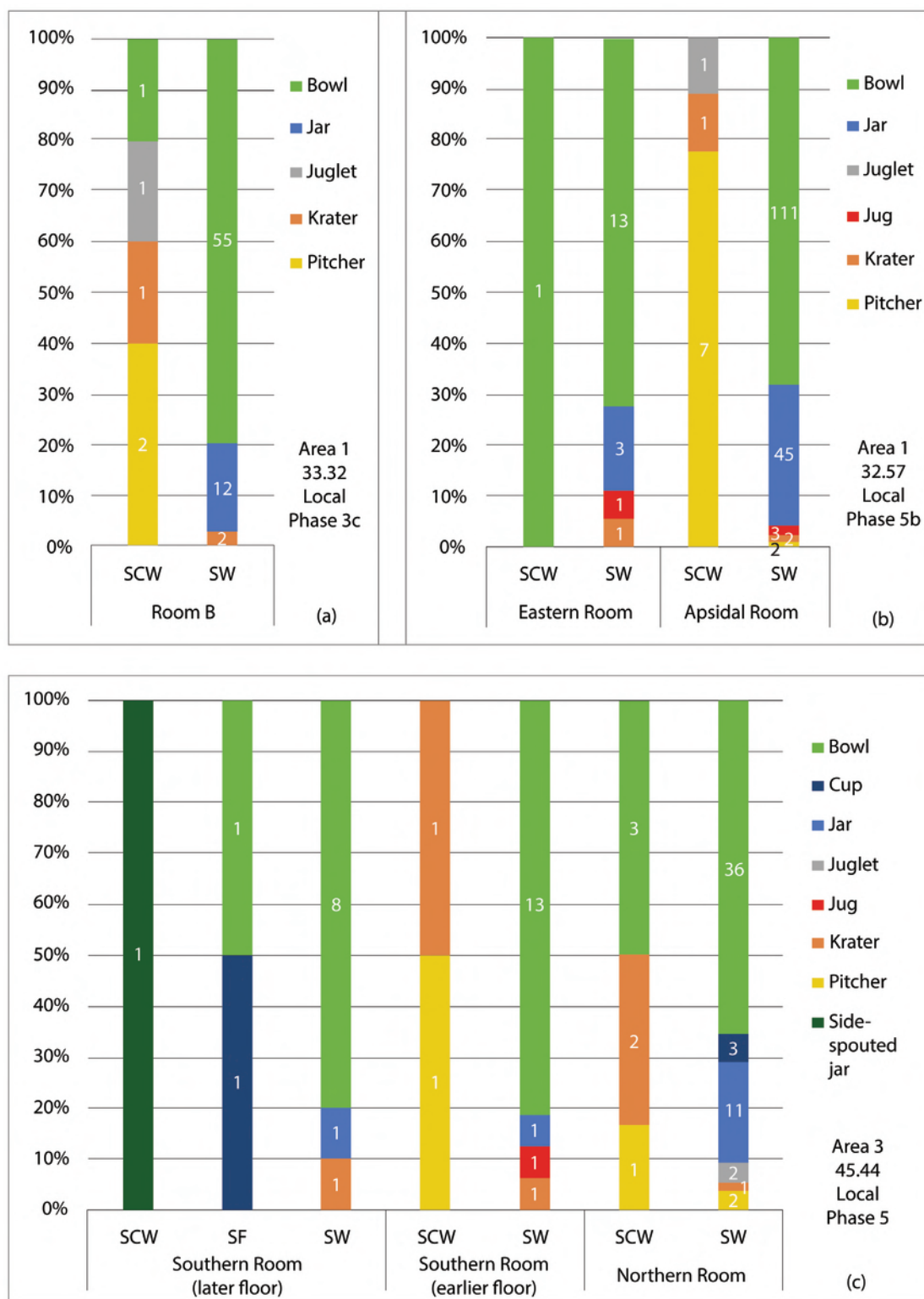


FIG. 6 Distribution of shape types in Syro-Cilician Ware (SCW), Simple Ware (SW) and Fine Simple Ware (SF) from the MBA contexts of square 33.32 (a), square 32.57 (b) and square 45.44 (c). The numbers in the charts indicate minimum number of individual vessels for each shape (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

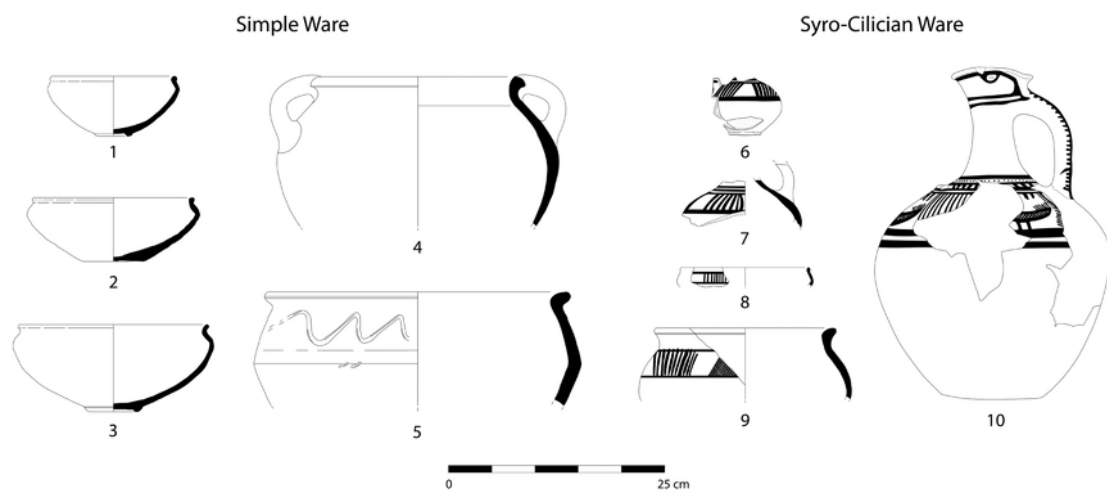


FIG. 7 The SCW serving set as part of a larger consumption set from Room B of square 33.32, local phase 3c, Palace Kitchen (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

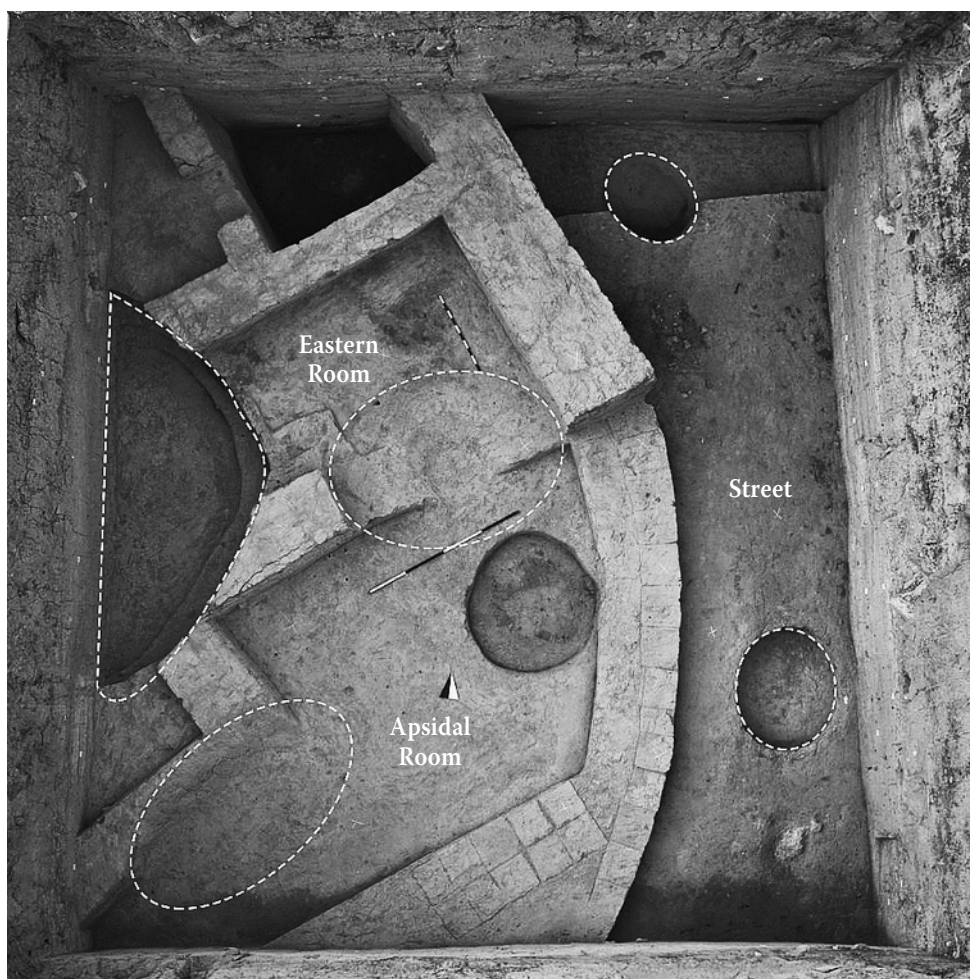


FIG. 8 Aerial view of square 32.57, local phase 5b, Apsidal Building. Features indicated in yellow belong to later phases (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

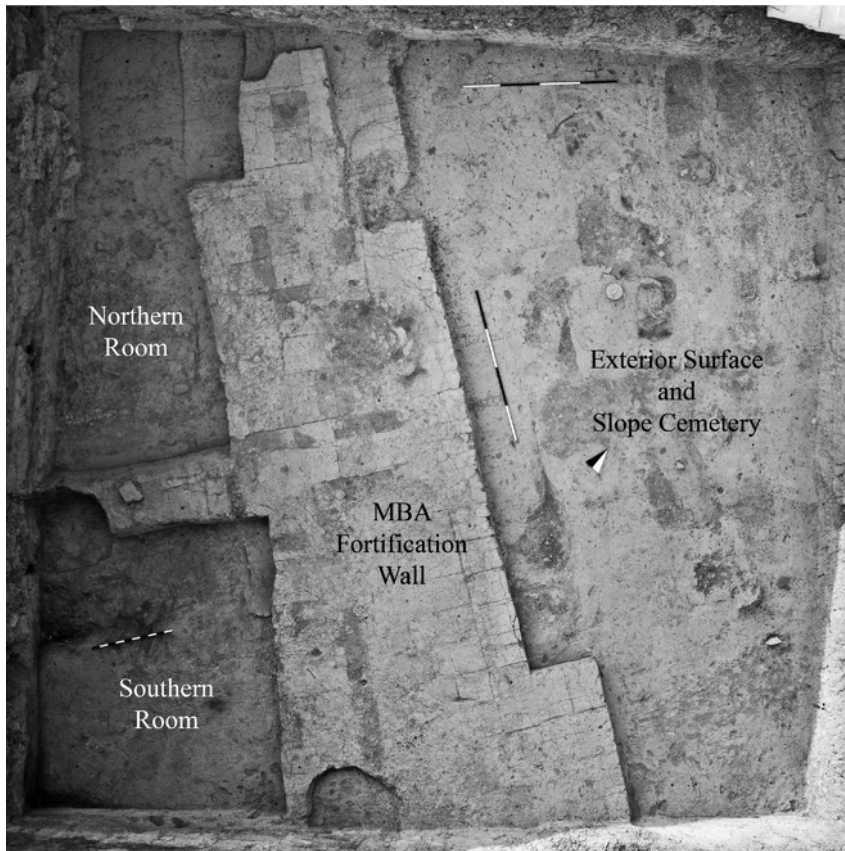


FIG. 9  
Aerial view of square 45.44, local phase 5, Domestic Structure (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).

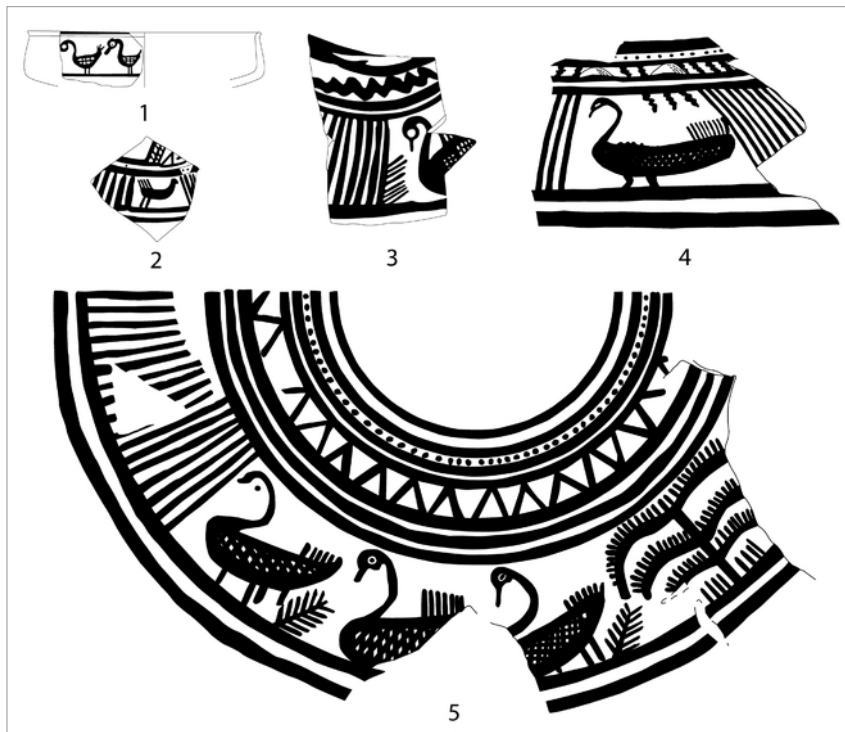


FIG. 10  
A selection of SCW vessels with the bird motif from Tell Atchana.  
1- Level XIV (Heinz 1992, pl. 85, no. 3),  
2- Level X (Heinz 1992, pl. 65, no. 77),  
3- Level XII (Heinz 1992, pl. 77, no. 26),  
4- Period 9, detail from AT10539 depicted in fig. 3.17 (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive),  
5- Period 7, detail from AT17591 depicted in fig. 3.16 (©Tell Atchana Excavations Archive).





# New Tablet Fragments on Dreams from the Boğazkale Archive

GÜLGÜNEY MASALCI ŞAHİN – ÖZLEM SİR GAVAZ\*

## Abstract

The tablets introduced in this study are fragments brought to the Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum from Berlin to Türkiye in 1987. These Hittite tablet fragments contain dream-oath content, and we provide the transliteration and translation of the Bo 7832 and Bo 7863 fragments. Moreover, we interpret these tablets philologically and determine their place in the series. Over a hundred texts providing information on dreams or containing dream reports have been identified in the Hittite cuneiform archives. We believe that the two unpublished fragments examined in this study will contribute to the existing literature on dreams.

**Keywords:** Hittites, Boğazkale, cuneiform tablets, dream

## Öz

Çalışmada tanıtılacak tabletler, 1987 yılında Berlin'den Türkiye'ye, Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'ne geri getirilen fragmanlardır. Hititçe tablet fragmanları rüya-yemin içerikli olup, çalışmada, Bo 7832 Bo 7863 nolu tablet fragmanlarının transliterasyonu ve tercümesi verilecek, filolojik yorumu yapılacak ve seri içindeki yeri belirlenecektir. Hitit çivi yazılı arşivinde, rüyalar hakkında bilgi veren ya da rüya raporlarını içeren yüzün üzerinde metin tespit edilmiştir. Bizim bu çalışmada inceleyeceğimiz şimdiye kadar yayınlanmamış bu iki yeni fragmanın da rüya literatürüne katkı sağlayacağı kanısındayız.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hititler, Boğazkale, çivi yazılı tabletler, rüya

## Introduction

The Hittite tablet fragments under consideration are dream-oath tablets. Dreams are the most special and valuable tools of the subconscious and were routinely interpreted and recorded in ancient societies with the aim of communicating with the gods. Sleep is explained as a state of rest in which the reactivity of the consciousness to external stimuli is completely lost or weakened, and activity is greatly reduced. Until a few centuries ago, dreams were associated with magic, prophecy, and mysterious events. More recently, they have begun to be interpreted physiologically and psychologically. The first scientific explanations of dreams were based on neurophysiologic studies in the 1800s.<sup>1</sup> Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) was the first to suggest that dreams be interpreted psychologically. According to Freud, dreams

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<sup>1</sup> Güven 2015, 16.

are transferences of our thoughts while awake to a sleep state, and often focus on one's conflicts. Within dreams, repressed desires are satisfied and what lays hidden can be revealed.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Freud described dreams with the following: "Dreams encounter resistance as they try to make their way to the unconscious material that replaces them, hidden behind them. So we can conclude that there must be something important hidden behind the replacement."<sup>3</sup>

In ancient times, it was believed that dreams were sent by external sources, most often the gods. It was also thought that dreams, being inner guides, were gifts from the divine to humanity, and their main function was to help people.<sup>4</sup> Even without adhering to this view, it could well be argued that dreams are important tools with which to decipher the spirit world, as well as to reveal the fears, sociological and psychological problems, concerns, wishes, and desires of both individuals and society.<sup>5</sup> In fact, we could generally say that dreams are a kind of reflection of reality, and thus believed to have oracular or healing powers in ancient times.

### Dreams among the Hittites

There is a body of work in academic literature that focuses on dream perception in the ancient Near East.<sup>6</sup> There is also research on the dream phenomenon of the Hittites, which is the subject of our study.<sup>7</sup> Dreams were extremely important for the Hittites. Indeed, they believed that they were guided by the gods regarding the present and the future. Hittites planned their whole lives based on the messages they received from the gods, whether orders, advice, or requests. Or they resolved certain questions that they could not answer through their revelatory dreams. In cuneiform texts, the Hittite words *tešḫa-*, *zašḫai-*, *duntarriyašḫa-*, and Sumerian Û, MA.MÚ, Û.NUN, Û<sup>TUM</sup> mean "dream, sleep."<sup>8</sup>

The identity of the god seen in a dream was sometimes uncertain. In these cases, oracles were used to clarify the messages.<sup>9</sup> In particular, the KIN oracle was used.<sup>10</sup> Apart from communicating with the gods, the dream was interpreted as a window to the world of the dead.<sup>11</sup> Two different categories of dreams were mentioned, namely good dreams and bad dreams. Šanezzi *tešḫa* were defined as dreams that bring positive or uplifting news.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Freud 1972; Ökse 2021, 157.

<sup>3</sup> Freud 2016, 128. Carl Jung, a Swiss psychoanalyst and contemporary of Freud, stated that dreams occur when the will and consciousness disappear (Jung 1993, 40-41). Contrary to Freud who sees suppressed emotions and forbidden wishes as the source of dreams, Jung associates dreams with the ego and the subconscious (Sambur 2005, 113). He emphasizes that every dream should be understood as an expression of the subconscious (Fordham 1983, 126). According to Austrian physician and psychiatrist Alfred Adler, dreams are a universal activity of the human mind, and like any spiritual manifestation, they arise through innate forces in every individual. They are a phenomenon that is difficult to understand (Adler 2005, 276). While Freud sees dreams as a person's attempt to make sense of past events, Adler states that dreams are intended to help people to evaluate their future and to find solutions to their problems (Adler 1984, 111). They are not, however, prophetic, and it would be incorrect to believe that dreams foretell the future (Adler 2003, 82-83).

<sup>4</sup> Covitz 2000, 13; Çetin 2010, 259.

<sup>5</sup> Ünal 2013, 476.

<sup>6</sup> Oppenheim 1956; Zgoll 2006; Noegel 2007; Hamori and Stökl 2018; Kahya 2019.

<sup>7</sup> Mouton 2007; Beckman 2010; Ünal 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Friedrich 1952, 297; Tischler 1994, 335-41; Beckman 2010, 26; Ünal 2013, 479.

<sup>9</sup> KUB 5.11 i 44, 56, vi 49; Mouton 2007, 193-99.

<sup>10</sup> KUB 52.72 obv. 5-12; Mouton 2007, 186-91.

<sup>11</sup> Mouton 2007, 317.

<sup>12</sup> Ünal 2013, 483.

It was believed that bad dreams (HUL Û) were caused by magic, and, in turn, magic was necessary to eliminate them.<sup>13</sup> It was also stated that bad dreams could be caused by psychological disorders.<sup>14</sup> For example, Mursili II suffered facial paralysis after a traumatic event in the Anatolian campaign, and he saw the issue many times in his dreams.<sup>15</sup> Dreams with sexual themes were also considered bad dreams.<sup>16</sup>

People who interpret dreams were often seen as <sup>MUNUS</sup>ENSI, “fortune tellers, seers” in Hittite texts.<sup>17</sup> However, the texts also contain the names of specific dream interpreters. In KUB 48.118 (lines 6-7), dated between the periods of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV, “Gazzuwala’s wife was the Queen’s dream interpreter,” and by extension served as the dream interpreter for the king as well.<sup>18</sup>

People called <sup>LÚ</sup>DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*niyanza* (*šiuiniyanza*), literally “god man,” were thought to be the messengers of the gods. Other translations include “man of god, ecstatic.”<sup>19</sup> “spokesperson of God,”<sup>20</sup> and “prophet.”<sup>21</sup> Precise interpretation, however, remains a challenge as references in the texts are scant.

There were more than one hundred dream records in the Hittite archives, most of which belonged to the king, queen, and royal class. The absence of public records was due to the fact that the Hittite archives were written by the royal circles. As such, it was essentially a royal archive. Nearly all of the cuneiform documents left by the Hittites were recorded to facilitate the activities of the king, who was the high priest of the gods, the commander-in-chief of the military forces, and the chief judge.<sup>22</sup>

For these reasons, it was understood that dreams were sometimes used as a tool to legitimize or justify the actions of kings and queens. However, the unconscious feelings, wishes and psychological states of the royal members were also revealed, to a certain extent, by the dream records.

Dreams were primarily used to identify, absolve and atone for sin.<sup>23</sup> Kantuzili’s prayer illustrates this point: “[Now] may My God open his innermost soul to me with all his heart and may he tell me my sins, so that I may acknowledge them. Either let My God speak to me in a dream and may My God open his innermost to me.”<sup>24</sup>

Mursili II wanted to learn the causes of the disease through dreams in his plague prayers: “[Or] if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a man of god declare it, or, according to what I instructed all the priests, they shall regularly sleep holy.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Mouton 2010, 2:517; 2007, 54-55.

<sup>14</sup> Ünal 2013, 485.

<sup>15</sup> Ünal 2003, 2:27-28.

<sup>16</sup> Oppenheim 1956, 227.

<sup>17</sup> Friedrich 1952, 271; Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 413-14; Rüster and Neu 1989, 316; Ünal 2016, 115.

<sup>18</sup> de Roos 2007, 123; Mouton 2007, 270.

<sup>19</sup> Goetze 1957, 147.

<sup>20</sup> Prechel 2008, 219.

<sup>21</sup> Beckman 2010, 27.

<sup>22</sup> Beckman 2010, 26.

<sup>23</sup> Ünal 1983, 39-40.

<sup>24</sup> KUB 30. 10 obv. 24'-25'; Rieken et al., eds., hethiter.net/: CTH 373 (Expl. A, 11.12.2017).

<sup>25</sup> KUB 14.8 rev 41'-44'; Singer 2002, 60.

Dream records and contexts changed during the period of King Hattusili III and Queen Puduhepa. In this period, dreams often became a tool for legitimizing political goals.<sup>26</sup> During the reign of King Hattusili III, divine justification of the ruler and his actions was the primary function of dreams. They served to identify future rulers, royal marriages, cures for diseases, gifts demanded by the gods for a god or temple, or the rites required to be performed.<sup>27</sup>

There were more realistic and psychologically reflective dream records in this period as well. In particular, dreams describing Queen Puduhepa's longing for her hometown and her deceased father are examples of this.<sup>28</sup>

Mouton stated that the types of documents in which dreams were transferred were votive texts, oracle texts, prayers, religious ceremonies, legends, historical texts, and letters.<sup>29</sup> As has been widely established, important meanings have been attributed to dreams of virtually every type, many of which have been recorded. For instance, fortune texts seek to divine the results of a dream, and votive texts are written as a result of the dream. Dreams were routinely recorded in order to strengthen political power, present glimpses into the past in historical texts, or to give parts from life. Messages from the gods through dreams have been classified as supportive, stimulating, or conveying needs.<sup>30</sup>

Hittite texts contain examples of “sacred sleep” known as *istibare*, that is, the religious practice of sleeping with the intention of experiencing a divinely inspired dream. Here people would sleep in order to receive information about a given subject or gain insights into the future by making inferences about certain upcoming events. In the texts, the expressions *šuppa šeš* (“clean, holy sleep”), *tešḫaš šuppuwar* (“sanctity of sleep”), and *šuppa šešuwar* (“sacred sleep”) were equivalent to *istibare*. For example, in lines 17-18 of the KBo 17.65 (reverse), during a birth ritual, the dream was intended to answer whether the birth would be easy: *nu-za-kân kuit kuit ŠA<sup>Ē</sup>šinaḫši uddar tešḫit uvanna paizzi*. This means: “he goes through the dream to see about the birth house.”<sup>31</sup>

Hittite texts recorded that vows to the gods were confirmed by dreams beforehand. In Puduhepa's dream, a dedication was made to the goddess Hepat, and the dream mentioned that this was the goddess of the city of Uda.<sup>32</sup>

Bo 7832 (figs. 1-4)

Museum number: Bo 7832

Measures: 73 x 62 x 40mm

Color: Light Brown

Obverse: The last lines of the left margin are partially preserved. The lines on the left side of the right side are broken. There are three paragraph lines on both sides. The upper and lower parts of the tablet are broken.

Back side: There are three paragraph lines on each side. The middle part of the tablet - the beginning of the right side and the last part of the left - is preserved.

<sup>26</sup> Ünal 1983, 40.

<sup>27</sup> Beckman 2010, 28-29.

<sup>28</sup> KUB 31.77 i; Ünal 2014, 450.

<sup>29</sup> Mouton 2007, 315.

<sup>30</sup> Mouton 2004, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Beckman 1983, 132; Ünal 2013, 480.

<sup>32</sup> Mouton 2007, 44, 261.

## Transliteration

## Obv I

x+1 ] QA-TAM-MA

2' D]UTU<sup>šī</sup>

3' m]a-ni-ab-zi

4' ]x-ḫu-wa-ar

5' ...

6' D]UTU<sup>šī</sup>

7' ]x-zi

8' ] NAM.RA

9' ] É.LUGAL

10' ] x x x x UDU

## Obv. II

x+1 [... A-N]A<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-[na2' ŠĀ<sup>EZEN4</sup> ša-at-l[*a-aš-ša*<sup>33</sup>3' I-NA<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na<sup>URU</sup>4' ŠĀ<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-n[a

5' pī-eš-kān GAM-ma-[

6' A-NA<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>P[Ú-na7' ŠĀ<sup>EZEN4</sup> ša-at[-*la-aš-ša*8' <sup>URU</sup>GIDRU-aš i-wa-ar[i-an-zi?9' ŠĀ<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-n[a

10' GAM-ma a-ri-ia i-x [

11' A-NA<sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-n[a12' 2 UDU-aš<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na<sup>URU</sup>[13' Û<sup>TUM</sup> ŠĀ GAL LÚ[.MEŠ14' A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ḫat-ti-wa[

15' nu x [. . ] x x x

## Rev. I

1' .....]x-x-x

2' [.....]

3' a-pī-iz-wa-at-ta

4' GAM-an ar-ḫa

5' ]- da-az

6' x

<sup>33</sup> KUB 13.4 i 41; KUB 46.57 obv 26; KUB 31.92 9; KBo 22.246 iii 22; KBo 26.156 rev 3; Bo 6251 obv 16.

- 
- 7' *še-er a|r-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-ar [ú-wa-nu-un<sup>34</sup>*  
 8' *[.....-]ar-za ka-ru-ú da-a-iš*  
 9' *[.....]x NAM.RA-ia*  
 10' *[..... ka-ru-]ú DÛ-an*
- 
- 11' KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Hat-ti*  
 12' DINGIR<sup>URU</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> *PÛ-na*  
 13' *]nu-wa-kán*  
 14' *]x-x-x-x*

## Rev. II

x+1 *ar-ḫa ʿÛʿ[<sup>TUM?</sup>*

- 
- 2' *ŠA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> x[*  
 3' *UGU na-a- [ú-i*  
 4' *ka-ru-ú [*
- 
- 5' *A-NA<sup>DU</sup>[TU<sup>URU</sup>PÛ-na*  
 6' *I-NA KUR[*  
 7' *e-eš-du [*  
 8' *A-NA I x[*
- 
- 9' *ŠA GA[M*  
 10' *ŠA? [*  
 11' *t[i*

## Translation

## Obv. I

- x+1 ] Thus  
 2' H]is Majesty  
 3' a]dministers  
 4'  
 5'  
 6' ] His Majesty  
 7' and

- 
- 8' ] deportee(s)  
 9' ] house of the king  
 10' ] sheep

## Obv. II

- x+1 [...]to Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna  
 2' ] on šatlašša festival  
 3' in the city of Arinna

---

<sup>34</sup> KUB 24.5 obv.8'. See Kümmel 1967, 8.

---

4' of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna  
 5' given below  
 6' to Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna  
 7' on šatlašša festival  
 8' They make it according to the city of Ḫattuša.

---

9' of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna [  
 10' he/she investigates [  
 11' to Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna [  
 12' two sheep (for) the Sun Goddess of Arinna...city of

---

13' the dream of the chief of men...  
 14' to the land of Ḫatti  
 15' and [  
 ]

## Rev. I

1' .....]x-x-x  
 2' [.....]

---

3' from there to you  
 4' down away  
 5'  
 6'

---

7' prayer of presenting  
 8' [ ] ... he/she formerly put  
 9' [ ] NAM.RA  
 10' [ formerly] did

---

11' Lan]d of Ḫatti  
 12' of the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna  
 13' and  
 14' x

## Rev. II

x+1 out of? sleep/dream?

---

2' of the god  
 3' Above yet  
 4' Formerly

---

5' to the Sun Goddess of the city of Arinna  
 6' in the country  
 7' to be... [  
 8' to... one ....

- 
- 9' below  
 10' of ...?  
 11' ...

## Philological Comment

Obv. I 3'

*manialḫzi* Sg. Prs. 3. *maniyab-* “to administer, govern, handover, deliver.”<sup>35</sup>

The text of KUB 5.12 rev. 8-10 (CTH 582) belonging to an oracle fragment is related to the dream and the verb *maniyab-*, and reads as follows<sup>36</sup>:

- 8 DUTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-za-kán ku-it Û-an a-uš-ta za-aš-ḫi- [ ya-wa  
 9 nu-wa-mu me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ŠA<sup>D</sup>IŠ<sup>TAR</sup> URU[  
 10 ud-da-ni-ya da-ma-a-in UN-an ku-wa-at-[qa?  
 11 DUTU<sup>ŠI</sup>-ma an-ni-ša-an ku-it A-NA TUP-[PÍ?  
 12 ʾku<sup>7</sup>-u-un me-mi-an EGIR-an ʾar<sup>7</sup>-nu-nu-un x [  
 13 ku-iš ma-ni-ya-ab-ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi A-N[A
- 8 Of the fact that my Sun saw a dream ‘In (my) dream [  
 9 and said to me: [. . .] from Šaušga from the city of [NV  
 10 and for the matter another person maybe[re  
 11 but because previously my Sun for the tablet  
 12 I transmitted this word [  
 13 who ruled fo[r

Obv. II 2'

EZEN<sup>4</sup> *šatlašša*: Name of a festival.<sup>37</sup> Celebrations were held in Hattuša for the Hurrian and Luwian gods. The festival of *šatlašša* was also mentioned, together with eighteen festivals, in CTH 264, which contains instructions for the temple staff.<sup>38</sup> The festivals of thunder - *biyarra*,<sup>39</sup> *pudaḫa*,<sup>40</sup> and *šatlašša* - were celebrated for Tešup of Aleppo and the related gods,<sup>41</sup> some of which belonged to a more ancient tradition.<sup>42</sup>

Obv. II 13'

Û<sup>TUM</sup> ŠA GAL LÚ[.MEŠ

Similarly, in the line numbered KUB 48.122 +KUB 15.5 obv ii 24', 'Û<sup>TUM</sup> ŠA ʾGAL<sup>7</sup>' is mentioned. This word refers to the dreams of a high-ranking official. Also among the dream records

<sup>35</sup> Friedrich, 1952, 135; Tischler 1990, 119-21; Puhvel 2004, 44-52; Ünal 2016, 336.

<sup>36</sup> Mouton 2007, 230.

<sup>37</sup> Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51, n. 32; Haas 1994, 556; Tischler 2004, 956; Ünal 2007, 2:622; for other texts cited, see KUB 13.4 i 41; KUB 46.57 obv. 26; KUB 31.92 9; KBo 22.246 iii 22; KBo 26.156 rev. 3; Bo 6251 obv. 16.; KBo 8.82 rev.13.

<sup>38</sup> KUB 13.4 i 39-45; KBo 50.276b I 3'-8'; Sturtevant 1934, 368; Süel 1985, 26-29; Groddek 2008b, 183.

<sup>39</sup> EZEN<sup>4</sup>*biyara-/biyarra-/hierra-* “name of a festival,” KUB 13.4 i 40; KUB 18.18, 17; Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51, n. 31; Tischler 1983, 241; Puhvel 1991, 304; Ünal 2007, 1:217.

<sup>40</sup> *pudaḫa-/puteḫa-* “name of a festival”; Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51, n. 30; Güterbock and Hoffner 1997, 400-1; Tischler 2001, 673; Ünal 2007, 2:557.

<sup>41</sup> KBo 22.246 iii 22'-23'; Groddek 2008a, 236.

<sup>42</sup> Souček and Siegelová 1974, 51; Taracha 2009, 137.



of the officials were the dreams of LÚUGULA.10 “leader of the 10”<sup>43</sup> or GAL LÚMEŠEDI “chief guards.”<sup>44</sup>

Rev. I 7'

*arkuwar tiyauwar* (from *dai-*) “prayer of presenting/setting,”<sup>45</sup> a ritual performance describing “presentation of pleading.”<sup>46</sup> This ritual was recorded many times in the texts. Muwatalli’s prayer to the assembly of the gods through the god of the lightning storm, described in the rituals performed for the gods, is quoted as follows:

KUB 6.45+ 1111/v+ KUB 30.14<sup>47</sup>

A iv

- 46 *nu-kán ku-e A-WA-TE*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *A-NA* <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> ŠÀ-ta.  
 47 *na-at-za A-NA* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ar-ku-wa-ar DÛ-zi* GIM-an-ma-kán.  
 48 *ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ya-u-wa-at kar-ap-ta-ri.*

46-48 The words/things which are in His Majesty’s heart invokes them to the gods. When the presentation of the plea is finished.

KBo 11.1<sup>48</sup>

Obv.

- 24' DUB.1.KAM ŠA <sup>D</sup>U *ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ya-u-wa-aš A-NA* <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> *at-kán* K[AxU-az]  
 25' 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 -ra-a a-ni-ya-an QA-TI

24-25' First tablet of the presentation of pleading to the god of the storm, as dictated [by] His Majesty (is) finished.

KUB 52.14<sup>49</sup>

ii

- 20' . . . . -t/š]a A-NA <sup>D</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>Ne-ri-[i]k.  
 21' *ku*-[e<sup>1</sup>-da-ni GE<sub>6</sub>-an-ti Û-an a-[u]š-ta.  
 22' *ke*-[e<sup>1</sup>-ez ke-e-ez-ya G<sup>IS</sup>BANŠUR<sup>III.A</sup>.  
 23' *n]a-at Û-UL ku-it-{ki?} i-e-er.*  
 24' ] *ar-ku-u-wa-ar ti-ya-u-wa-aš-ša.*  
 25' ] *zi-la-aš* SIG<sup>5</sup>.  
 20' ] . . . for the storm god of Ner[*i*]k  
 21' ] during which night he/she saw a dream  
 22' ] . . . on this side and on (the other) side of the tables  
 23' ] we didn’t do anything  
 24' ] and presenting of pleading  
 25' ] the oracle (is) favorable.

<sup>43</sup> KUB 48.124 13'-20'.

<sup>44</sup> KUB 22.66 8'-15'.

<sup>45</sup> Friedrich 1952, 31; Puhvel 1984, 1:149; Ünal 2016, 542.

<sup>46</sup> Singer 1996, 49.

<sup>47</sup> Singer 1996, 28.

<sup>48</sup> CTH 382, Prayer of Muwatalli II to the weather god of Kummanni; Mouton 2007, 126.

<sup>49</sup> Mouton 2007, 238.

*arkuwar tiyauwaš* might be considered to be related to prophecy. Since dreams were also considered to be signs from the gods, this type of prayer is likely to have been associated with dreams. However, Bo 7832 reverse i line 7', just after *arkuwar tiyauwaš* in line 8'. *ka-ru-ú da-a-iš* ("he/she used to put") and the word "NAM.RA" in line 9' indicates the existence of a substitution ritual.

### Bo 7863 (fig. 5-6)

Museum number: Bo 7863

Measures: 45 x 55 x 22 mm

Color: Brick red

Description: The lower right and left parts of the tablet are broken. The lines on the left margin are also broken. The back of the tablet is completely destroyed and is without writing.

### Transliteration

- 1 <sup>D</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>Zi-*ip-pa-la-an-da* [
- 2 *še-er Û-at nu A-NA* <sup>D</sup>]U
- 3 *É-ir ar-ḫa pa-ra-ši-pí* [
- 4 *nu A-NA DINGIR*<sup>LIM</sup> *É-ir an-da* [
- 5 ]x -it < *ḫa-aš-pa-an nu-kân* [
- 6 ]<sup>Γ</sup>*ú<sup>1</sup>-e-ri-ia-an-zi nu šu-*
- 7 ]x-a-*ḫa-an-na* <sup>P</sup>Ú*Za-d*l-
- 8 *šu-up-p]í-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-z*i
- 9 ]x *ti-an-z*i
- 10 ...-]ir nu [...]
  
- 1' Storm god of the city of Zippalanda
- 2' On the dream to the [Storm] God
- 3' the house is completely destroye[d
- 4' and to the god in the house [
- 5' ]which was destroyed and [
- 6' ...] they called and [
- 7' ]Mount Daḫa (?) Za[[-? spring
- 8' ]they were [pur]ified.
- 9' ]x they put
- 10' ]x and [

### Philological Comment

1

<sup>D</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>Zi-*ip-pa-la-an-da* "Storm god of the city of Zippalanda."

During the reign of Hattusili III, the state pantheon considered the local storm god to be the son of Zippalanda, and the main deities were chiefly associated with humidity. Their festivals were celebrated in autumn and spring.<sup>50</sup> In local tradition, Zippalanda was the son of the "Sun Goddess of the Earth," although the official state pantheon declared him to be the son of the

<sup>50</sup> Popko 1994, 33.

Sun Goddess of Arinna. Zippalanda also had the characteristics and attributes of a plant god. At the request of the “man of the storm god,” the weather god of Zippalanda would awaken from his “sweet sleep” atop Mount D/Taha.<sup>51</sup>

IBoT 4.92<sup>52</sup>

- x+1 [(ta LÚ)]<sup>DU</sup> *te-ez-zi a-ra-a-i*<sup>DU URU</sup> *Zi-ip-l[a-an-da]*  
 2' [š]*a-ni-iz-zi-ya-az te-eš-ḫa-az*  
 3' *ka-a-ša-wa-at-ta ta-ba-ar-na-aš* LUGAL-*u[š]*  
 4' ŠA AMA-KA ŠA<sup>DU</sup> UTU<sup>URU</sup> *A-ri-in-na*  
 5' LÚ<sup>SANGA</sup> I-NA<sup>HUR.SAG</sup> *Da-a-ḫa tu-e-el*  
 6' *a-aš-ši-ya-an-ti pé-e-da-i*
- x+1 Storm god's man says: “Get up, the Storm God of Zippa[landa]  
 2' from sweet sleep!  
 3' Look, you Tabarna, the king  
 4' of your mother, the Sun Goddess of Arinna.  
 5-6' Her priest is taking you to the beloved mountain of Daḫa”.

5

< *ḫašp-/ḫašpa-* “to destroy, handle, come to grips with, dispose of.”<sup>53</sup>

KUB 13.4. I.<sup>54</sup>

- 40' *e-šu-un nu-kân* KUR-TU<sub>4</sub> *ḫu-u-ma-a[n...]*  
 41' *ḫa-aš-pa-ḫa* A-NA NAM.RA[.MEŠ-*ma* EGIR -*an-da Ū-UL pa-a-u-un*]

40-41' I had *destroyed*... the entire land, [I did not go] after the civilian captives.

The word we read as “*ḫa-aš-pa-an*” in Bo 7863 line 5<sup>55</sup>, likewise obv. I 5 . . . :*ḫa-aš-pa-an* . . .<sup>56</sup>

7

<sup>HUR.SAG</sup>D]aḫanna, Daha Mountain<sup>57</sup>

D/Taha Mountain, located near to the city of Zippalanda (and becoming its holy mountain), was an important religious center. In the texts, Daḫa Mountain is specified in reference to the Guardian God of Daha Mountain (<sup>D</sup>LAMMA), the Pleiades of Daḫa Mountain (DIMIN.IMIN.BI), and Guardian God of Prairies (<sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LÍL).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>PÚ</sup>Za-a[l-

<sup>PÚ</sup>/TÚL = *luli-/luliyā-* “lake, pond, well, spring, basin.”<sup>59</sup> The text in question was referred to as ‘<sup>PÚ</sup>Za-*x*’ by del Monte and Tischler, and discussed under the title “Zarimma.”<sup>60</sup> However, it seems

<sup>51</sup> Haas 1994, 446, 738.

<sup>52</sup> Dupl. KUB 41.29; Archi 1979, 1:29.

<sup>53</sup> Tischler 1983, 201; Puhvel 1991, 232; Ünal 2016, 174; 2007, 1:194.

<sup>54</sup> Hoffner 2009, 304.

<sup>55</sup> Oettinger 1979, 194.

<sup>56</sup> Fuscagni 2007, 167.

<sup>57</sup> del Monte and Tischler 1978, 374.

<sup>58</sup> Popko 1994, 38.

<sup>59</sup> Ünal 2007, 1:411.

<sup>60</sup> del Monte and Tischler 1978, 558; Fuscagni 2007, 167.

clear that the syllable after <sup>PÚ</sup>Za in Bo 7863 i line 7 is not *-ri-*, although it is broken halfway through. Accordingly, we read it as *-a]l-*.

## Discussion

There were key terms that came to the fore in both dream fragments. One of them is the “substitution ritual.”<sup>61</sup> This ritual, as described in Hittite texts, involved appointing a proxy or a bodyguard for the king as a means of preventing his death or, at least, minimizing his fear of death.

Substitution rituals involving appointing a proxy or bodyguard - examples of which can be found in Hittite texts - were essentially applied to prevent the death of a king or to appease a king afraid of death. If a king’s death was prophesied or seen by the king himself in a dream (i.e., if his death was reported through insight or fortune telling), then the ritual to be performed was clear. First, a person was determined from among the prisoners of war (NAM.RA) to replace the Hittite king. In Hittite texts, this person is referred to as Hittite *tarpašša-*, Luwian *tarpalli-/tarpanalli-/tarpaššabit-*, or Akkadian *PŪHU*. This means “deputy of animate or inanimate beings who take the place of a person or thing and undertake his sins.”<sup>62</sup>

The king would remove his clothes, which were then put on the person who would replace him. Once done, the gods were enjoined to take the deputy rather than the king.<sup>63</sup> Bryce stated that a male captive was appointed as a proxy when invoking a god, and a female one for a goddess.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, the sequencing of the words <sup>D</sup>JUTU<sup>ŠT</sup> (“His Majesty”) in obv. i line 2, *m]a-ni-ab-zi* (“[he] rules”) in obv. i line 3, and (LÚ)NAM.RA (“deportee(s)”) in obv. i line 8 raises the question as to whether the words *tarpašša*, *tarpalli*, or *PŪHU* are mentioned in the broken parts of the text. Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer this question definitively. In addition to these, the expression GAM *ariya-* (“to question by divination”) in obv. ii line 10 is also important since the imminent death of the king is informed through dreams or divination, such as bird signs or reading portents in animal livers.<sup>65</sup>

This is well illustrated in the text describing when King Mursili II dreamed of the issue that resulted in facial paralysis. He then appointed a proxy to solve the problem.<sup>66</sup> It is understood from the text that the king had a dream years after he was rendered speechless by facial paralysis, and he then consulted an oracle to interpret this dream. The oracle identified the Storm God of the City of Manuziya as the cause of illness. The oracle determined that an ox should serve as a substitute for the king. This, in addition to sacrificed birds, would ostensibly appease the Storm God of Manuziya City and remedy the king’s facial paralysis.

One of the gods mentioned in the documents and introduced in the study is <sup>D</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>Zippalanda (“Storm God of Zippalanda”), and the other is <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>Arinna (“Sun Goddess of Arinna”).

<sup>61</sup> See Kümmel 1967; Dinçol 1985; Goedegebuure 2002; Reyhan 2003; Schwemer 2020.

<sup>62</sup> *CAD P*, 496-500.

<sup>63</sup> Çilingir Cesur 2020, 166.

<sup>64</sup> Bryce 2003, 224.

<sup>65</sup> See KBo 15.2 rev. 5-10; Kümmel 1967, 60-63.

<sup>66</sup> CTH 486 obv. 11-23; Lebrun 1985; Görke, ed., [hethiter.net/:CTH 486](http://hethiter.net/:CTH 486)

In the above-mentioned text, the God of Zippalanda wishes to be awakened from his “sweet sleep.” In another text, the king is depicted offering a sacrifice to the god. In the records of Queen Puduhepa’s dreams, a dedication is made to the Storm God of Zippalanda.<sup>67</sup> The queen, who saw that the city of Ankuwa was burned to ashes in her dream, offers the city of Zippalanda to the storm god by having a silver model of it made. Here, the model of the city is given as a substitution. As can be seen in previous examples, the dream texts and the “substitution” texts are intertwined and related. The example of Sun Goddess of Arinna was mentioned in a few passages as follows:

KBo 16.98 Obv. ii<sup>68</sup>

10 <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup>PÚ-na ku-it e-ni-eš-ša-an te-eš-ḫa-ni-eš-kit-ta-ri  
 11 nu-kán GIM-an <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> IŠ-T[U] KUR <sup>URU</sup>Kum-ma-an-ni UGU a-ar-bi  
 12 nu-za-kán LUGAL-iz-na-an-ni e-[e]š-ḫa-ḫa-ri nam-ma-za EZEN<sub>4</sub> <sup>MEŠ</sup>  
 13 DÛ-mi...

10 Because the Sun Goddess of Arinna keeps appearing (to me) dream of it thus,  
 11 if (I), His Majesty, I rise from the land of Kummanni,  
 12-13 I will settle down in royalty and, besides that, I will make feasts ...

KUB 5.24 + KUB 16.31 + KUB 18.57 (CTH 577)<sup>69</sup>

II

12 Û<sup>TUM</sup> MUNUS.LUGAL I-MUR nu-wa-kán ŠÀ Û<sup>TI</sup> A-NA <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>  
 13 me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ki-i-wa <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na ŠA I kur  
 14 ku-wa-at-qa ut-tar EGIR-ḫa SUD-at EGIR-an-da-ma-wa-za-kán  
 15 <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup> Û-an a-uš-ta nu-wa-kán za-aš-bi-ya ŠÀ <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na  
 16 túḫ-ḫu-u-wa-iš ma-a-an ku-iš-ki ki-ša-an-za  
 17 nu ma-a-an ka-a-aš Û<sup>TUM</sup> ku-it im-ma ku-it  
 18 i-ši-ya-ab-ta na-at GAM-an ar-ḫa GAR-ru

12-13 A dream (of) the queen. She saw (a dream): In the dream, she said to His Majesty: “The Sun Goddess of Arinna  
 13-14 wanted to prolong this, Kur’s affair somehow other.” But then,  
 15-16 His Majesty saw a dream and in (this) dream something like smoke (has) appeared in Arinna.  
 17-18 If this dream revealed anything, let it be discarded.

As it is understood from the texts above, both the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Zippalanda City Storm God are two gods often encountered in dream texts. On the other hand, in the prayer text of Puduhepa, which we refer to for the identity of the Hittite Chief Goddess, the Sun Goddess Arinna and Hapat are mentioned as follows:

<sup>67</sup> KUB 15.1; Ünal 1981, 448; de Roos 2007, 94.

<sup>68</sup> CTH 577; Mouton 2007, 192.

<sup>69</sup> van den Hout 1995, 256-57, 262-65.

KUB 21.27 (CTH 384)<sup>70</sup>

obv.I

- 3 <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na-za GAŠAN-IA KUR-e-aš *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš* MUNUS.LUGAL-aš  
 4 *nu-za-kán I-NA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-ti <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na ŠUM-an da-iš-ta  
 5 *nam-ma-ma-za ku-it* KUR-e <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN *i-ia-at*  
 6 *nu-za-kán Ḫé-pát* ŠUM-an da-iš-ta  
 7 *am-mu-uq-ma-za* <sup>f</sup>Pu-du-ḫé-ḫa-aš an-na-al-li-iš GEMÉ-[K]A
- 3 Sun Goddess of Arinna, my dear, you are the queen of all lands.  
 4 You named yourself the Sun Goddess of Arinna in the Land of Ḫatti.  
 5-6 You also named yourself Ḫepat in the land of the cedar.  
 7 I, Puduḫepa, have been your servant from time immemorial.

As can be understood from this passage, the Sun Goddess of Arinna is worshiped under the name of Hepat in the Land of Kizzuwatna, which is called the land of Cedar and where many Hurrians live.

## Conclusion

For ancient and traditional societies, dreams were the guiding voice of the sacred. Besides their many functions, they were generally accepted as a means of communication with the god(s). The dream fragments introduced in this study are also directly related to the gods, and evidence the fact that dreams had a guiding function in the Hittite belief system. These established a bond between the gods and their believers, and were a way to rectify mistakes or unfavorable situations. In both fragments, there is a bond established with certain gods, and rituals or dedications were made to end negative situations.

In fragment Bo 7832, there is a connection between the *šatlašša*- festival performed in the city of Arinna for the Chief Goddess of the Hittite Country, the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the offerings to the goddess, and dreams. This was likely referring to the prophecy communicated by the goddess through dreams. However, the details and consequences of this prophecy must have been contained in the broken parts of the tablet. Moreover, in this fragment, rev. i on line 7, *arkuwar tiyauwar* (“prayer of presenting / setting”) is highly significant. Was the prayer in question made during the sacrificial ceremony to ward off any negative situations reported to the people as a result of an oracle? Or did it refer to a rite of substitution? Furthermore, immediately after line 8, do ‘*ka-ru-ú da-a-iš*’ (“he / she had formerly offered”) and the word “NAM.RA” in line 9 line indicate the existence of a substitution ritual? Is the Bo 7832 fragment about a king whose death was foretold in a dream, who then appointed a proxy for himself from among his captives, and thus presented himself to (and invoked) the god? Unfortunately, due to the tablet’s highly damaged state, these interpretations and evaluations remain open to debate.

In Bo 7863, the second tablet fragment introduced, we see the storm god of Zippalanda - one of the most important gods in the Hittite pantheon - along with the purification rites to be performed on Mount *Daba* and at the *Za-ak* spring. This may well be related to preventing the negative and destructive effects seen in a dream, and the return of domestic relief and peace.

<sup>70</sup> Goetze 1957, 137; Erkut 1992, 160; Trémouille 1997, 37; Rieken et al., eds., hethiter.net/: CTH 384.1 (Expl. A, 29.10.2017).

Hittite dream texts are important in terms of emphasizing the special bond between the dreaming king / queen and the gods. They also reveal the dreamer's inner world. We believe that the contents of the two tablet fragments introduced in this study will contribute to the repertoire of Hittite dream texts.

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FIG. 1  
Photograph  
of Bo 7832  
obverse.

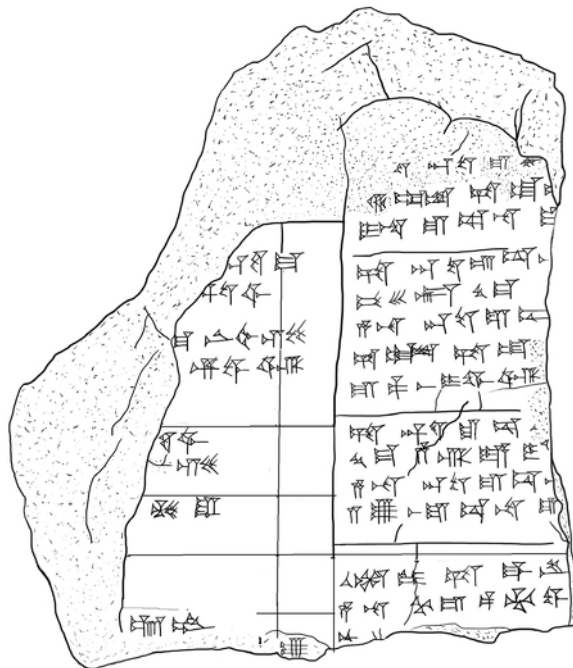


FIG. 2  
Copy of Bo 7832  
obverse.

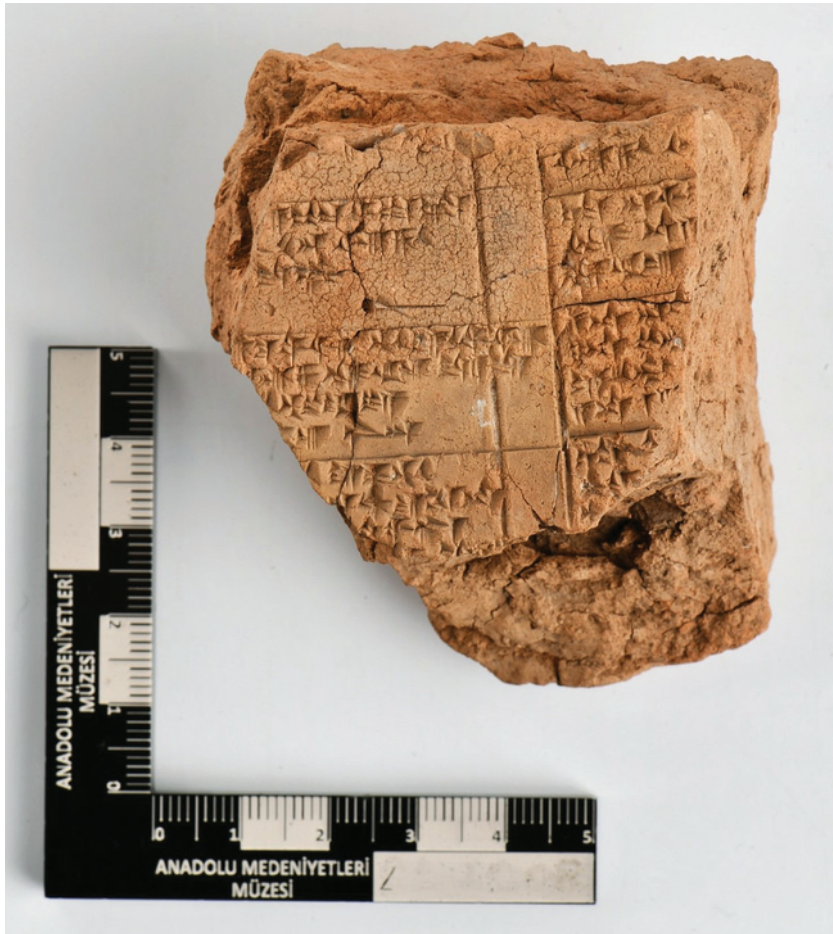


FIG. 3  
Photograph of  
Bo 7832 reverse.

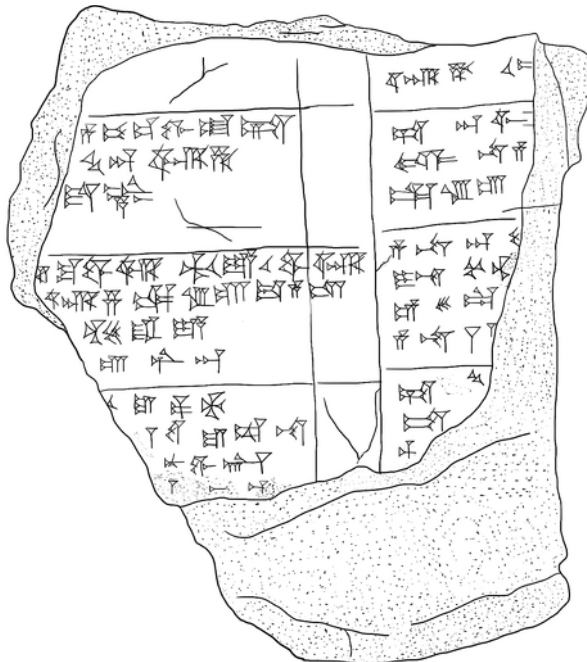


FIG. 4  
Copy of Bo 7832  
reverse.



FIG. 5  
Photograph of  
Bo 7863 obverse.

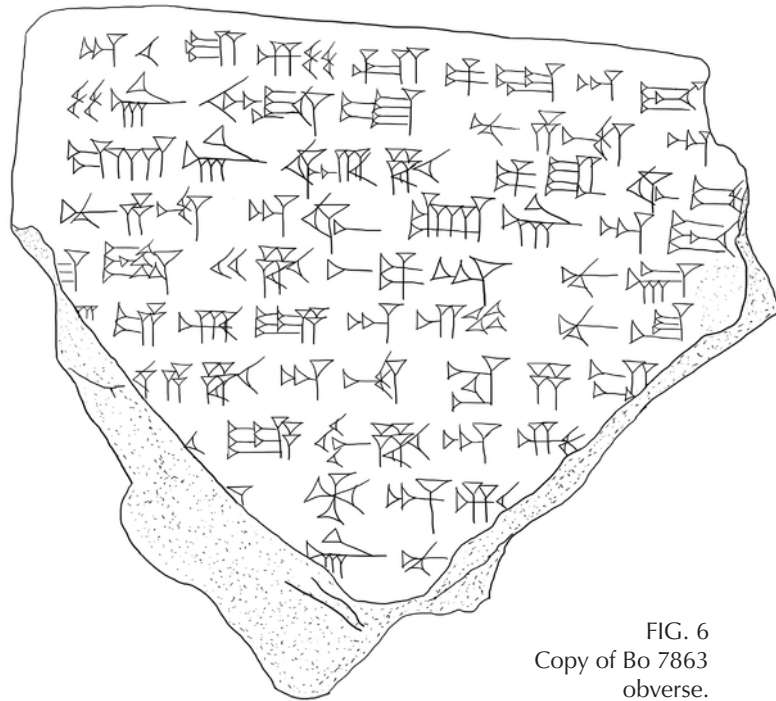


FIG. 6  
Copy of Bo 7863  
obverse.



## Xanthos West Agora III: Dynastic *Nele*

In memory of Prof. Dr. Burhan VARKIVANÇ

AYTAÇ DÖNMEZ – HALİL MERT ERDOĞAN\*

### Abstract

New evidence obtained from excavation of the West Agora of Xanthos indicates that the first functional formation of the area may have taken place around 530-480 BC. This happened just after the founding of the Xanthos Dynasty during the time of the Dynast Kheziga (Kossika) or his son Kuprlli (Kybernis). Our comparisons with the agora of Avşar Tepesi, dated to the Early Classical period, revealed that these areas were a Lycian design. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggest that ceremonies for the purpose of ancestor cult, victory celebrations, and worshipping the gods occurred here. In addition, comparisons are made between our results and Oreshko's pairing of "acropolis *nele*", reveals that these two places, called agora and acropolis in Greek inscriptions from the late fifth century BC, may have been identified *nele* by the Lycians as only one area. It follows that these areas called *nele* have quite different characteristics from the Greek agora. Therefore, it shows that Lycian *nele* were only termed "agora" in translations on the Inscribed Pillar Monument and the Kudalije Sarcophagus. This occurred because of the lack of a more accurate and appropriate synonym for *nele* in ancient Greek. In addition, considering the early existence of the cult area of agora gods worshiped in the *nele*, whose sacred and religious function was a priority, it was initially created under

### Öz

Ksanthos Batı Agora kazılarında elde edilen yeni veriler, alanın işlevsel olarak ilk oluşumunun Ksanthos Hanedanlığı'nın kuruluşunun ardından MÖ 530-480 yılları civarında, Hanedan Kheziga (Kossika) ya da oğlu Kuprlli (Kybernis) zamanında gerçekleşmiş olabileceğini göstermektedir. Erken Klasik Dönem'e tarihlendirilen Avşar Tepesi agorası ile yaptığımız karşılaştırmalar, içerisinde ata kültü ritüellerinin, zafer kutlamalarının ve tanrılara tapınım amaçlı törenlerin yapılmış olduğuna epigrafik ve arkeolojik kanıtlar bağlamında işaret edilen bu alanların Likya'ya özgü bir tasarı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca, elde ettiğimiz sonuçlar ile Oreshko'nun "*nele akropolis*" eşleştirmesi üzerinden yaptığımız karşılaştırmalar, beşinci yüzyıldan itibaren Yunanca yazıtlarda agora ve akropolis olarak adlandırılan bu iki ayrı mekânın, Likyalılar tarafından yalnızca bir alan olarak *nele* ismiyle adlandırılmış olabileceğini ortaya koyar. Dolayısıyla Likçe'de *nele* olarak adlandırılan bu alanların bir Yunan agorasından çok farklı özelliklere sahip olmaları, Yazıtlı Dikme Anıtı ve Kudalije Lahdi üzerinde sadece çeviri amaçlı agora olarak ifade edildiklerini göstermektedir. Ayrıca kutsal ve dini işlevi ilk sırada geldiği anlaşılan *nele* içerisinde tapınım gören agora tanrıları kültü, alanın erken varlığı da göz önünde bulundurulduğunda ilk olarak Anadolu kültürü etkisinde oluşturulduğu ancak Klasik Dönem'de Atina'nın yoğun etkisi

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the influence of Anatolian culture. However, due to the significant influence of Athens in the Classical period, it became paired with the Greek twelve gods.

**Keywords:** Xanthos, agora, *nele*, Gods of Agora, Lycia

nedeniyle Yunan On İki Tanrısı ile eşleştirildiği düşünülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ksanthos, agora, *nele*, Agora Tannıları, Lykia

Xanthos is the most important and powerful city of the Lycian Dynastic period in Western Lycia.<sup>1</sup> In the city, where excavations have been carried out since the 1950s, a dynastic palace surrounded by walls and monumental temenos-tombs from the seventh century BC were found.<sup>2</sup> The West Agora (figs. 1-2), where quantities of the early finds were made, is located on the western flank of Xanthos and on the northern slope of the Lycian Acropolis. The agora, around which there are examples of Lycian Dynastic period (545-362 BC) tomb architecture, particularly pillar-tombs<sup>3</sup>, exhibits the Roman Imperial period (first century AD) form in its present-day architectural remains.<sup>4</sup> It had the function of a state agora during the Roman Imperial period, and was later transformed into the center of religious and commercial activity through the addition of two churches, a chapel and workshops, as well as a winery when the area was changed in the Byzantine period. The area was abandoned due to the Muslim raids during the second half of the seventh century AD. It later became a simple settlement in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with traces from the Late Byzantine period<sup>5</sup> (13th century AD) of Seljuk-period nomadic culture.

“[δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει...”<sup>6</sup>

“to the Twelve Gods in the holy temenos of the agora...”<sup>7</sup>

As known from the Greek poem on the Inscribed Pillar dated to late fifth century BC in the northeast corner of the agora,<sup>8</sup> this area had a Classical period phase. It is also known from this poem that the dynast Kherei dedicated the monument to the “Twelve Gods” and had it built inside the sacred temenos of the agora.<sup>9</sup> However, the problems related to this phase

<sup>1</sup> Keen 1998; des Courtils 2003; Işık 2016a, 2016b; Varkıvaç 2017.

<sup>2</sup> The large structure, thought to be a temenos-tomb in the southeastern part of the city, is quite interesting. A block with a Neo-Hittite god relief (mother-child) on the walls of this building and two orthostates, one with a bull and the other with a lion relief, are dated to the seventh century BC; see Varkıvaç 2018, 931-32. For the reliefs also see des Courtils 2003, 43; Işık 2016b, 455-56.

<sup>3</sup> For a general evaluation of the pillar tombs, see Draycott 2007, 103-34.

<sup>4</sup> For the agora of the Roman Imperial period, see Dönmez 2018a, 219-47.

<sup>5</sup> For the Byzantine period, see Dönmez 2018b.

<sup>6</sup> *TL* 44c, 22. Lycian inscriptions given as *TL* 44 refer to *TAM* 1.

<sup>7</sup> Translated by T. Bryce: Bryce 1986, 96. For the translation as “pure Temenos” see Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 132: “reine Temenos”.

<sup>8</sup> For the historical content of the inscription, see *TAM* 1, 38-56; Childs 1981, 63; Bryce 1986, 107-20; Borchhardt et al. 1997-1999, 17-22; Keen 1998, 130-39; Bousquet 1992, 155-70; des Courtils 2003, 49-51; Schürr 2012, 2009, 2007b; Thonemann 2009. For the latest reviews on this subject, see Müseler and Schürr 2018; Müseler 2020; Hyland 2021; Oreshko 2021; Sasseville 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Mörholm and Zahle 1976, 87; Bryce 1982, 332; Nieswandt 2011, 7, 327; 1995, 20, 24; Lotz 2017; Müseler and Schürr 2018, 382; Müseler 2020. For those who argue that the owner of the tomb is Kheriga, see Laroche 1974, 142-46; Bousquet 1992, 167-72; Keen 1998, 129-31; 1992, 55, 59; Eichner 2006, 233-36; Thonemann 2009, 167; Oreshko 2021; Sasseville 2021, 163.



still continue today. The first of these is that an architectural trace of the “pure Temenos” of the Classical period agora mentioned in the poem has yet to be found.<sup>10</sup> The second problem is the debate on whether this area shows the influence of Greek culture, since an agora is mentioned in the inscription. And does it represent a design and culture specific to Dynastic Lycia, given the use of the Lycian word *nele* on the monument? Under these circumstances we believe that the few remnants of a wall dated to the Classical period uncovered during the agora excavations in 2014<sup>11</sup> and 2015<sup>12</sup> are connected only with the Inscribed Pillar Monument.<sup>13</sup> Fortunately, thanks to the new architectural and archaeological finds obtained from the excavations in 2016 that are presented in this article, we reached a part of the “pure Temenos” of the agora mentioned in the Greek verse. This evidence is important for solving the first of the above-mentioned problems and brings new interpretations into the discussion about the second question. So much so, this new evidence has made it necessary to date the area to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period.

## Description

The remains of the classical agora, the subject of this study, lie in an east-west direction on the north of the temenos (T) wall of the Inscribed Pillar Monument unearthed in 2015 (figs. 3-4). However, because this area was in a position where vital activities in Xanthos continued uninterrupted until the Middle Byzantine Period (10th and 11th centuries AD), only three blocks (A-B-C) and trenches (Q) remained from the wall. Building walls dated to the Roman Imperial (R) and Middle Byzantine periods (M) overlie the remains of the wall (fig. 5). The direction of the trenches forming the wall is almost parallel to the temenos wall of the Inscribed Pillar.

Block B is in the middle and better preserved than the other two blocks (A, C) and broken in the upper part. Block B is 1.20 m wide, and its preserved height is 0.75 m. The eastern face of B rises vertically, while its western face rises slanting towards block A, with which it meshes. The thickness of the wall cannot be observed precisely because of the late-period wall located just above the block. Thus, the observable thickness of block B is 0.35 m. The surface of the block is trimmed and smooth (figs. 5-6).

The westernmost block A has been damaged considerably compared to block B which it abuts, and only a very small section of it has survived to the present day. The preserved height of this block is 0.20 m, and its width is 0.36 m. The surface of this block is flat and smooth, with the same features as block B. Block A, like block B, sits quite flat on the wall trench.

<sup>10</sup> From the 1950s, when archaeological research began in Xanthos, until 2007, many excavations have been carried out around the monument in order to reach the remains of the Classical period agora mentioned in the inscription. However, no such find of this has occurred. For the work carried out around the Inscribed Pillar Monument in the 1950s, see Demargne 1958, 79; 1953, 156; 1952, 168; 1951, 63. Although the West Agora excavations were carried out under the then head of excavations, des Courtils, to find traces of the Classical period agora structure, no early finds were made. des Courtils interpreted this situation as indicating all the remains of the early structure may have been cleared away while the new agora structure was built during the Roman Imperial period. For the same idea see also Kolb 1998, 42. For the work carried out in the West Agora during the time of des Courtils, see des Courtils et al. 1997, 317-18; des Courtils and Laroche 1998, 457-58; 2003, 54; des Courtils et al. 2007, 319-20; 2006, 280.

<sup>11</sup> Dönmez and Yanardağ 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Dönmez 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Three blocks unearthed at the northwest corner of the monument in 2014 and 2015, along with the surviving trench of the wall surrounding the monument, showed that the Inscribed Pillar had a temenos wall; see Dönmez and Schür 2015.

The easternmost block C, most of which is under the late period wall, looks almost like a piece of rubble, because its outer surface has been severely damaged. Despite this, the fit of the block upon the wall trench is quite similar to the other two blocks in terms of consistency of the junction angles with block B and the type of stone. In this context, the observed height of this block - the eastward continuation of the wall - is 0.60 m and its width 0.36 m. When viewed from above, the upper parts of the two blocks (C-B) are at the same height, and they join each other at a flat angle, approximately 0.20 m wide, on their side surfaces. The two blocks are curved inwards from the point where the joints of these side faces end. This probably evidences anathyrosis workmanship and shows that the backs of the blocks were left in a roughly curved shape.

On the south side of the blocks, a second row (E) made of stones of various sizes can be observed (fig. 7). The height of this wall, built using the logaden masonry<sup>14</sup> technique with irregular workmanship, is 1.65 m. Unfortunately, this side of the wall remains under the ruins (R) thought to belong to the building of the Artemis Kombike sanctuary dating from second-third centuries AD.<sup>15</sup> However, the eastern continuation (E) of the wall running southwards emerges (fig. 8) at the point where the building remains associated with the Artemis sanctuary come to an end. This wall extension, of which about two m are visible, is also logaden-built. Another large block of wall F is located at the point where the east end of the remains of wall E terminates (fig. 9). Although the Middle Byzantine period structure (M) passing over this block does not allow us to see its front and side surfaces that are on the same axis as the other blocks (A-B-C), it can be seen that the workmanship of the back of block F was left rough.<sup>16</sup> There is a 0.30 m gap between the block and wall trench Q.<sup>17</sup> The wall trench is traceable 3 m further east from this block. However, it is not possible to follow the trench further east from this point, since it passes under the modern asphalt road.

To the west of blocks A, B and C the wall bed, which moves into earth fill, can be followed for a distance of 14 m. Its westward continuation cannot be observed (fig. 10). In this part of the wall bed there is a 10 m long wall (H) extension inside the bed and logaden-built during the Hellenistic Period (fig. 11). However, the stones inside this wall are smaller and irregular in size compared to the other wall, and its axis is not in the same direction as the wall bed. The height of the wall trench north of the wall bed varies between 0.17 m and 0.22 m.

There is another wall bedding trench, with a width of 0.50 m, and lower by an average of 0.17 m, running south from the point where the wall bedding trench, upon which blocks A, B and C sit, ends. Inside the wall bed here, on the southern border of the blocks, there is a square block (D), with a width of 0.46 m, a depth of 0.42 m, and a height of 0.35 m. However, the upper part has been destroyed. All three visible faces of the block show smooth and

<sup>14</sup> Logaden masonry can be defined as bastard masonry or dry wall that generally offers a style wherein the stones of the wall is are unworked and their joints do not meet. For detailed information see Akarca 1987, 113; Erdoğan 2017, 65-66.

<sup>15</sup> Dönmez et al. 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Similar wall masonry is seen in the podium structure on Aşar Tepesi (Zagaba), located in the area defined as the agora and thought to have a sacred function. It is dated to Early Classical period; see Thomsen 2002, 107, figs. 45-46.

<sup>17</sup> In masonry from the Lycian region, especially in the early periods, working the bedrock is found almost as a common style feature in wall foundations. In the examples where the bedrock has been shaped to act as the wall bed, distance or height differences may occur between the wall and the wall bed, especially depending upon the topography; see Marksteiner 1997, 112-13.

burnished<sup>18</sup> workmanship. The block sits quite neatly on the flattened wall bed. This indicates that the block has remained *in situ*. Similar bedding is observed at the westernmost end of the bed trench (Q). At this point, the south of the wall building trench, with an approximate height of 0.15 m, was trimmed to a width of approximately 1.20 m (fig. 6).

## Reconstruction of the Wall

The finds examined provide very important information for the reconstruction of the wall. In this context, the three blocks marked A, B and C show themselves, both from their shape and by their very smooth fit to the wall foundation bed, to be the original blocks of the wall and so reveal the architectural texture of the building. The remains of logaden-built walls (E) to the north and east of the blocks also constitutes the second side of the wall.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, block F - located in the easternmost of the wall trenches, whose front side cannot be seen due to the late-period wall upon it, and whose back surface is rough-worked - should also be one of the blocks belonging to the inner masonry of the wall. The presence of a gap of approximately 0.30 m between this block and the wall construction trench shows that this part was also logaden-built (E). We determined this to be the second side of the wall.<sup>20</sup> In this context, the oval-shaped and roughly worked back face of this large block F in its eastern section indicates that the unseen reverse faces of the central blocks A, B and C are similar. The central position of blocks A, B, C and E clearly shows how wide the wall trench is. This is because the blocks here can be traced in both directions as they sit on the wall trench, providing both the inner and outer wall surfaces. Thus, the distance between the northern wall trench and the southern one, whose blocks sit on the trench, is 1.20 m. In summary, the wall has an arrangement in which trapezoidal<sup>21</sup> or polygonal masonry may be posited, due to the obtuse angle of the particularly intact western edge of the block, which is quite damaged. The reverse side has an inner wall consisting of large blocks of oval form and bastard masonry, and an outer logaden wall knitted with stones of various sizes surrounding this wall from behind. The length of the wall is 25 m, and the total width of the trench in which the wall sits is 1.20 m.

<sup>18</sup> For Parement Dressé or Tooled Face see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 130. It is believed this craftsmanship began to appear in the Archaic period and is found especially in temples of the fifth to fourth centuries BC; see Orlandos 1968, 172.

<sup>19</sup> This masonry technique is also called Hollow Wall; see Tayla 2007, 2:578. The masonry organization expected in double-skinned walls is the connection of parallel wall extensions that stand apart from each other, suitable for the weft-warp system. However, in early periods, instead of this bond system, the spaces between the two walls were filled with organic materials, especially of materials bonded with clay; see Vitruvius, *De arch.* 2.4.1, 2.5.1; Marksteiner 1997, 112-13.

<sup>20</sup> The walls built in this style are known in the Lycian region, especially in the wall configurations related to fortifications from the Classical period. Basically, the sizes of the blocks generally differ between the two walls. The front wall, which provides the visible façade, is built with larger blocks. The backs of these large blocks were left convex, and the other walls built with smaller stones fit into the gaps formed by these bulges. For such practices observed since the Classical period, especially in structures related to fortifications in the Lycian region, see Marksteiner 1997, 114; also Erdoğan 2022.

<sup>21</sup> The angle change of the horizontal or vertical joints in the block eliminates masonry forms, such as rectangular isodomic and rectangular pseudo-isodomic. For blocks in which such angle changes are detected, only trapezoidal-isodomic or trapezoidal pseudo-isodomic are possible. Sequential polygonal or ordinary polygonal are the only masonry techniques that can be used. For masonry with trapezoidal blocks, see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 98; Scranton 1941, 70-98; Orlandos 1968, 135-39. For masonry with polygonal blocks, see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 97-98; Orlandos 1968, 132-34; Scranton 1941, 45-69; Akarca 1987, 113; Winter 1971, 78-80; Saner 1995, 28-29; Erdoğan 2022, 2017.

The second wall trench, 0.50 m wide, is located approximately 0.17 m lower and just south of blocks A, B and C. This indicates another arrangement in front of the wall. Another approximately square block (D), located in front of the three blocks and properly seated in this trench, supports our assumption that there is a different arrangement concerning the wall's façade. In this context, this arrangement in front of the wall may indicate an interlocking architectural configuration. It is quite possible, in terms of similar examples in the city, that another large orthostat block, cut with the same form and size as the small block, was located from the lower part of this small block (D) and aligned with the wall bed.

The most important feature within the city, comparable for a possible architectural arrangement that might be located in front of the wall, is the unidentified building in the Southeast Sector. There are two north-south oriented walls with a distance of approximately 35 m between them. Different opinions have been presented about the function of this structure,<sup>22</sup> created by two 17 m-long walls built of large blocks in the Lesbos style.<sup>23</sup> As a result of the excavations made around the walls, it was understood that two orthostat blocks, one with a bull relief and the other with a lion relief, were placed on the small rectangular blocks standing *in situ* on the eastern wall with one corner aligned to it.<sup>24</sup> In this arrangement, the neatly cut rectangular slot in a lateral corner of the lower part of the bull relief orthostat block fits perfectly over the rectangular *in situ* block in the wall.<sup>25</sup> Thus, a frieze-shaped row of bull and lion reliefs was formed on the wall. In this context, the presence of a block on this small block is similar to the relief blocks in the Southeast Sector, in front of the wall blocks unearthed to the north of the agora. A row of reliefs may have been set up inside the wall. At present this is a possible interpretation.

## Dating

We have three pieces of evidence for the suggested dating of the wall. The first is the date of the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar Monument. The second is the typological and stylistic dating provided by the wall, and the third is the pottery sherds recovered from the excavations around the wall.

First is the expression, “in the pure Temenos of agora,” on the north face of the Inscribed Pillar Monument. The date 425-400 BC, when this pillar of the dynast Kherei was built, gives us a *terminus ante quem* for dating the wall.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the workmanship of the trench on the wall line and the trenches of the temenos wall of the Inscribed Pillar, unearthed in 2015, are quite similar to each other. However, as mentioned in the Lycian inscription on the Inscribed

<sup>22</sup> des Courtils 2012b, 154-55: “a monumental gate that may belong to a palace, city walls or a tomb”; Cavalier 2006, 350: “a prestige structure like a palace or a tomb”; Özüdoğru 2008, 89, 92, 148: “a city entrance or a monumental tomb arranged with embossed orthostats” or “a sacred structure in the local architectural tradition, with the same function as the orthostats in Zincirli or Karatepe Güney Kapı”; Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2013, 11: “a Pre-Persian East Gate”; Varkıvaç 2018, 928: “the walls should be the delimiter of a podium or terrace encountered in later monuments of the city such as the G Monument and the Nereids Monument.”

<sup>23</sup> In early studies, this work is defined as the “Lesbos Masonry Technique” with reference to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*; see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 98; Orlandos 1968, 129-30; Scranton 1941, 27; Akarca 1987, 113-14; Saner 1995, 29. However, this workmanship is essentially a joint work encountered in polygonal masonry; see Erdoğan 2017, 61-62. Despite this fundamental difference, masonry with this craftsmanship developed in Hellas before the Persian Wars, in the sixth century BC; see Scranton 1941, 44. This recommendation is also consistent with the Southeast Sector of Xanthos.

<sup>24</sup> Varkıvaç 2018, 925, fig. 10.

<sup>25</sup> For the reconstruction of wall and blocks, see Varkıvaç 2018, 925, fig. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Dönmez and Schür 2015, 145.

Pillar, Kherei erected his pillar near a holy building<sup>27</sup> belonging to the gods of the agora<sup>28</sup> and to the graves of his grandfather and father.

In addition, Kherei, in the continuation of his statement in Greek verse, says that no one has ever had a stele like the Inscribed Pillar erected within the “pure temenos.” Therefore, the tombs of his grandfather and father were in the agora before Kherei erected the Inscribed Pillar. So Kherei states that the most magnificent of the tombs here is his pillar monument, and he sees himself greater than other dynastic members.<sup>29</sup> The tomb that Kherei mentions in the inscription may be the “House-Tomb,”<sup>30</sup> thought to belong to his father Harpagos and dated to 460-440 B.C. Therefore, the terminus ante quem of the wall is earlier, since the tomb of the father was placed in the temenos of the agora, as stated in the inscription.

This dating parallels the typological and stylistic dating of the wall. Thomas Marksteiner, one of the pioneering researchers concerning the architecture of Lycian walls, argues that this type of wall employs a technique especially favored for fortification structures during the Classical period.<sup>31</sup> In addition, the surface workmanship<sup>32</sup> observed on the wall points to a certain period compared with other examples in the Lycian region. Workmanship of flat surface or burnished surface can also be observed on the Embankment Wall (?) at Trysa,<sup>33</sup> in the Southeast Sector at Xanthos,<sup>34</sup> and the tower of the South Gate of the city.<sup>35</sup> All of these structures have been dated to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period.

Surface workmanship of various kinds such as bossage were employed intensely in the Hellenistic period, and a change in polyorctic approach related to this may undoubtedly be cited as the reason.<sup>36</sup> However, the pottery sherds recovered from the excavations conducted around the wall, and especially in the wall bed, date the wall to an earlier date. These three blocks (A, B, C) and the wall remains (E) forming the second wall with logaden composition were not dismantled in later periods, and the next layer was laid directly above it. In this context, especially the lowest level of the blocks and the heavy black-figure imported pottery sherds (fig. 12a-e), uncovered in the wall bed ditch during excavations, are dated between 540 and 525 BC.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Schürr 2009, 172; Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145.

<sup>28</sup> Schürr 2007a; 2001, 114; Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145; Eichner 2005, 29; Thonemann 2009, 169.

<sup>29</sup> Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145.

<sup>30</sup> Demargne 1958, 21; des Courtils 2003, 46, figs. 12-13.

<sup>31</sup> Marksteiner 1997, 114.

<sup>32</sup> Also, for Parement Dressé, Tooled Face, or *αργολιθοδομη*, see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 130.

<sup>33</sup> Marksteiner 1993, 45.

<sup>34</sup> Erdoğan 2017, 47-51; Varkivanç 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Erdoğan 2017, 41; Kökmen Seyirci 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Winter 1971, 85-86.

<sup>37</sup> Six fragments of an imported volute crater were recovered from the wall bed south of the blocks and the spaces between the blocks (fig. 12a). There are rows of palmette leaf motifs in black-figure technique on yellow slip, one of the characteristic features datable to 540-525 BC, on the part below the meander motif on the mouth of the pieces. While the three pieces are thought to belong to the lower part of the body, they also have rays and tongue motifs, also characteristic of this period. For this see Beazley 1956, 280, no. 55; *CVA* 36, 15-16, figs. 5, (pls. 2251-252) 6.6, 7.1-4; Cohen 2006, 84, no. 16; Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 81, no. 3. In addition, a small kylix fragment with a warrior figure in the black-figure technique, dated to a similar period as the crater, and an amphora mouth fragment (c) with a vertically broken handle and a broken oil lamp fragment, which are local wares, were found in the bedrock spaces between the wall channel beds and the blocks (fig. 12 c-f). The ceramics in the upper layer reflect a mixed context, especially Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. This successive mixed context, although questionable in terms of dating, may indicate chronological continuity around the wall. Again, three pieces carrying geometric motifs recovered from this layer have earlier features than the other pieces (a).

This dating agrees well with the similarly dated wall-crown blocks found in the immediate vicinity of the wall. About 10 m north of the excavated temenos, blocks with Ionic kymation decoration dated around Late Archaic-Early Classical period (sixth or early fifth century BC) were found during excavations carried out in 2005 (fig. 13).<sup>38</sup> The discovery close to the temenos wall, together with the dimensions of the blocks, the historical context between them and the wall, and the absence of any other building in the immediate vicinity to which these blocks may have belonged: these all strengthen both our proposal in dating the wall and the possibility that these blocks belonged to the temenos wall. Examples of wall-crown arrangements at the top of temenos walls are encountered here and in other cities in Lycia. The temenos wall built of polygonal blocks in the Lesbos style and dated to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period in the Southeast Sector is one of the similar examples in the city to date.<sup>39</sup> There is a wall-crown on the upper parts of the single-row blocks. Although it is later dated, the closest similar example, in terms of architectural order, is the Heroon of Trysa. There is a 0.32 m high wall-crown decorated with an Ionic kymation on the top row of the temenos wall of the heroon (380 BC).<sup>40</sup> Another example from the city is the Nereid Monument. Although it is not a temenos, the top of the podium wall of the monument with similar characteristics ends with a kymation-decorated wall-crown.<sup>41</sup>

Our evaluation of these finds indicates that the uncovered remains belong to the wall that defines the area referred to as the “pure Temenos” in the poem on the Inscribed Pillar Monument. Also, the finds show this area was in use around 530-480 BC. This dating corresponds to the earliest period of the dynasty that ruled Xanthos<sup>42</sup> after the Persian invasion by the Median commander Harpagos in 546 BC, about 100 years before the dynast Kherei built the Inscribed Pillar Monument. This dynasty may possibly be of the “Lineage of Karikas,”<sup>43</sup> mentioned in the Greek poem on the pillar monument. The possible Lycian equivalent of Karikas is thought to be Kheziga.<sup>44</sup> This connection is established via the commander named Kybernis mentioned by Herodotus. Herodotus tells us that in 480 BC, Kybernis, son of Kossika, commanded a unit of 50 Lycian warships in support of the Persian navy at the Battle of Salamis.<sup>45</sup> In this context, the letters “KYB” on the earliest coins<sup>46</sup> used in Lycia are thought to

<sup>38</sup> des Courtils et al., 2006, 282, fig. 11. In the Ionic kymation decoration on the façade of the block, the eggs have an oval appearance approaching a triangular form, and the egg walls are quite thin. The arrow-shaped decorations have suffered the most wear since they are located in the upper corner. They start a little below the middle of the eggs and have a larger surface compared to the egg shells. In the Ionic kymation decoration, the form of the eggs and the arrow-shaped decorations are inseparable from the eggs. For similar examples dated to the Late Archaic period (530-500 BC), see Schneider 1984, 333-43; Koenigs 1986, 113, pl. 11.1; Boardman 1959, 177-78, pl. 26a, n. 15; Tuchelt 1984, 205, pl. 54.2; Buschor 1957, 21, suppl. 19.1. For similar examples dates to the Late Archaic period (500-480 BC); Ateşlier 2001, 150, figs. 13-16; Thieme 1993, 49, pl. 9.3; Boardman 1959, 180-86, pl. 26C, n. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Varkıvanç 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Marksteiner 2002, 157, fig. 192; Landskron 2015, 393, pl. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Coupell and Demargne 1969, 59-66, pls. 24-27, XVIII.

<sup>42</sup> On the date of the establishment of the Xanthos dynasty, for 545 BC see Keen 1998, 79-82; for 530 BC see Müseler 2018, 25; for 550 BC see Kolb 2016, 36.

<sup>43</sup> “Κα[-]ικα γένος” (TL44c 31): “...It was Him who crowned the lineage of Karikas through the most beautiful deeds”; see des Courtils 2003, 53; Işık 2016b, 436.

<sup>44</sup> This is a controversial pairing. For those who complete the name as Κα[ζ]ικα and match it with Kheziga, see Bousquet 1992, 173; Keen 1998, 81-82; Thonemann 2009, 169; Kolb 2016, 38; Işık 2016b, 441. For those who complete it with Κα[ρ]ικα and matched it with Kheriga, see TAM 1; Schür 2007b, 32. “Καρικα γένος” (c31) Kheriga see Müseler and Schür 2018, 394-95.

<sup>45</sup> Hdt. 7.92-98.

<sup>46</sup> Mørkholm and Neumann 1978, 6, M1, M2; Vismara 1989, 70-72, no. 35.

represent Kybernis.<sup>47</sup> It is mostly accepted that the Lycian equivalent of Kybernis is Kuprlli.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, since Kybernis was a ruler in Xanthos from 525-480 BC, it is probable that his father Kossika, or Kheziga, ruled the city from approximately 540-525 BC.<sup>49</sup> In this historical context, the temenos wall uncovered in the dynastic agora may have been built for the first time during the dynasty of Kheziga or his son Kuprlli / Kybernis.

When we compare this dating within the architectural context of the area, we only have a Wrestler's Relief dated to 530-525 BC.<sup>50</sup> This relief with exactly the same features as the marble slabs surrounding the burial chambers of other pillar tomb monuments in the area, taken with its find location, form and dimensions, probably belongs to the burial chamber of a pillar monument.<sup>51</sup> In this context, especially considering the tombs around the dynastic agora, the most appropriate view advanced to date is that the Wrestler's Relief may belong to the first phase of the Sarcophagus Pillar Monument.<sup>52</sup> While the sarcophagus on the pillar is dated to the fourth century BC,<sup>53</sup> the excavations carried out in the hollow pillar produced finds of imported Attic ceramics dated to 540-525 BC.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, the first phase of the monument should belong to this date. Probably the only building in the agora that conforms to this dating is the Wrestler's Pillar, thought to belong to Kheziga F (figs. 15-16).<sup>55</sup>

“stta?l]ti: n̄tepi: Puwejehe: θurt[tahi: tezi?:  
se-n̄tewē: Erbbinahe: tezi: χu[gahi: ehbije]hi:  
se-n̄tewē: teθθi: ehbij[ehi: prnawi?]<sup>56</sup>  
se-n̄tewē: mahana: neleze[ (a, 24-27).”

“(It should stand?] onto Puweje's,<sup>57</sup> the unc [le's, sarcophagus (or monument)]<sup>58</sup>  
and] opposite Erbbina's sarcophagus (or monument), [his] grandfather's,  
and opposite his father's [house-tomb?]  
and opposite the gods of the agora.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Shahbazi 1975, 46; Işık 2016a, 174; Kolb 2016, 38.

<sup>48</sup> Shahbazi 1975, 48-49; Bryce 1982, 330; Keen 1998, 96; 1992, 53-56; Işık 2002, 107, n. 5; Özüdoğru 2008, 144; Kolb 2016, 38; Işık 2019, 548; Dönmez 2021, 114.

<sup>49</sup> Keen 1992, 63; 1998, 82; Kolb 2016, 38.

<sup>50</sup> Demargne 1958, 44, pl. 13. For different dating see Akurgal 1961, 134 (530 BC); Marksteiner 2002, 238-39, no. 12 (525 BC). Also see Draycott 2007, 107, fig. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Keen 1992, 63. For another view see Işık 2016a, 174. The relief was recovered from the pillar section of the Sarcophagus Pillar. This embossed block, found in an inverted position and 2.30 m below the floor cover, was reused to protect Hellenistic sepulchre; see Demargne 1958, 50-51; Marksteiner 2002, 238-39; des Courtils 2003, 59-60, fig. 18.

<sup>52</sup> Keen 1992, 63.

<sup>53</sup> Demargne 1958, 51.

<sup>54</sup> des Courtils 2003, 59; Cavalier and des Courtils 2012, 247-50.

<sup>55</sup> Keen 1992, 63.

<sup>56</sup> Oreshko completes the sentence with the term *arawazije*, as opposed to Schürr's *prnawi*: “*se n̄tewē: teθθi: ehbijebi arawazije*” / “and in front of [the monument] of hi[s] father”; see Oreshko 2021, 106.

<sup>57</sup> The use of this term is also quite problematic. While Schürr and also Tekoğlu (Tekoğlu 2017, 65) treat the word as a personal name, Oreshko states that the term *puwejehñ* means inscribed or painted: “*tezi puwejehñ*” / “inscribed / painted monument”; see Oreshko 2021, 113, 115.

<sup>58</sup> For *tezi* as “monument” see Oreshko 2021, 105, 113-14.

<sup>59</sup> Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145.

The second tomb built in the dynastic agora is the Harpy Monument dated to 480 BC. In historical context, this monument may belong to one of Kherei's two grandfathers - Kuprlli<sup>60</sup> (Kybernis) or Erbinna I.<sup>61</sup> The inscription only mentions the location of Erbinna's tomb, although the names of both appear in the inscription. However, in the inscription, the word *tezi*, the Lycian architectural term applied to Erbinna's tomb,<sup>62</sup> is preferred. This term has been analyzed by Neumann in several ways: as sarcophagus, monument or chamber.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, if *tezi* is accepted as a sarcophagus, it could be posited that the Harpy Monument belongs only to Kuprlli. If it is considered to be a monument or a chamber, it could belong to Erbinna also.<sup>64</sup> In the case of the Harpy Monument being attributed to Kuprlli alone, it is conceivable that a sarcophagus of a similar date, longer extant, must have been located in the agora. We think that the Harpy Monument more likely belonged to Erbinna, since the inscription does not mention a tomb belonging to Kuprlli. If this is the case, it suggests that the tomb of Kuprlli / Kybernis<sup>65</sup> or Erbinna was placed next to the tomb of Kheziga. There would therefore have been two tombs in the agora around 480 BC.

Probably the third tomb built in the agora is the one located on the east and known as the "House-Tomb." This feature of the tomb, the only different type among the pillars in the area, probably belonged to Harpagos, the father of Kheriga and Kherei.<sup>66</sup> It is not known whether Harpagos was a dynast,<sup>67</sup> since no coins minted in his name have been found. He must have had aristocratic status because he was married to Kuprlli's daughter Ignota.<sup>68</sup> The tomb may therefore have been built employing a different architectural style. The Inscribed Pillar also states that the pillar is located directly opposite the tomb of tomb owner's father.<sup>69</sup>

The "House-Tomb" provides probable indications concerning the architecture of the dynastic agora. Located in the southeast corner of the dynastic agora and running north from the northeast border of this tomb, there is a wall line with an exposed length of seven m. This lies right on the edge of the modern asphalt road (fig. 14). Polished workmanship is observed on the surfaces of the large polygonal blocks encountered in the masonry.<sup>70</sup> Along the edges the miter work and the joints are combined in perfect harmony.<sup>71</sup> In terms of workmanship and typological features, the wall exhibits features almost identical to the walls of the Lycian Acropolis.<sup>72</sup> In addition, the northeast orientation of the wall is not parallel to the outer wall

<sup>60</sup> Demargne 1958, 44; Shahbazi 1975, 49; Keen 1998, 96; Özüdoğru 2008, 15; Cavalier and des Courtils 2012. For the opposite view see Işık 2016b, 441.

<sup>61</sup> For Erbinna II as a dynast in the beginning of the third century BC and son of Kheriga, see Thonemann 2009, 169.

<sup>62</sup> *se-jñtewē: Erbbinabe: tezi: χulgabi: ebbijelbi:* (a, 25)

<sup>63</sup> Neumann 2007, 355. Also see Tekoğlu 2017, 65. For *tezi* as "sarcophagus" see Schür 2009, 172; 2020, 103; Eichner 2017, 283; for *tezi* as "monument" see Oreshko 2021, 105, 113-14.

<sup>64</sup> Thonemann notes: "If the tombs of Arbinas I and his son Harpagos are still in existence (which is by no means certain), it is possible that they are to be identified with the Harpy-monument and the theatre-pillar respectively"; see Thonemann 2009, 184, n. 19.

<sup>65</sup> For the Kybernis cult around the Harpy Monument see Cavalier and des Courtils 2012.

<sup>66</sup> *"ebē ñniñ: stallāl: m=e|n=adē : χjer[ē i: ar]ppa-χub"*: "Diese Stele, die hat errichtet Xerēi, Kind des *Arppaxu*"; see Lotz 2017, 156.

<sup>67</sup> The name of Harpagos is mentioned in the inscriptions from the city of Phellos; see Thonemann 2009, 168, n. 7.

<sup>68</sup> Thonemann 2009, 169.

<sup>69</sup> Dönmez and Schür 2015, 145.

<sup>70</sup> Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 130; Orlandos 1968, 172.

<sup>71</sup> Erdoğan 2017, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Metzger and Coupell 1963, 11-14, pl. 10; Marksteiner 1993, 35-36; Marksteiner 1994, 300-1; Erdoğan 2017, 21-22. Also, for the surface work encountered in the masonry, see Scranton 1941, 25.



of the Roman agora. However, since this orientation lies under the modern street, it has not yet been possible to excavate its continuation. Nevertheless, this orientation does tell us something. This wall runs from south to north and meets on almost the same axis the dynastic agora's northern temenos wall, whose northern part is exposed and whose unexposed continuation lies beneath the modern asphalt road to the east. In addition, the axis of this wall line, which runs north from east of the House-Tomb, also extends along the same plane as the axis of the eastern face of the Inscribed Pillar Monument. In this context, this wall may have functioned as the eastern boundary wall of the dynastic agora. Its typological and stylistic features suggest that this wall was probably built at the same time as the House-Tomb. This dating indicates the wall was added approximately 60-70 years after the wall to the north.

This situation can be explained in two ways. The first possibility is that when the dynastic agora was built in the Late Archaic period, only a north-running wall was required. The need in this section may have been due to the fact that the northern side of the area rises to the north with a very great difference in level above the agora plain. This sloping height is unlike others, so at this point the wall functions not only as a boundary marker but also to prevent any flow of earth from the north. The fact that the outer face of the north-facing wall was logaden-built with an irregular composition indicates that the wall was not visible from the north and that there was therefore no human habitation at this point. The second possibility is that this part of the wall was built together with the northern wall, but was later demolished for some reason and later rebuilt around 450 BC when the walls of the Lycian Acropolis were rebuilt after the attack of the Greek commander Kimon (fig. 15).<sup>73</sup>

The fourth tomb built inside the dynastic agora is the Theater Pillar, dated around 440 BC, and thought to belong to Young Kuprlli (480-440 BC). It was built to the south of the dynastic agora, like the other two tombs erected there. The last tomb built inside the agora is the Inscribed Pillar Monument. Unlike the other tombs, this tomb built at the northernmost point of the dynastic agora and has been almost certainly shown through the latest studies to belong to Kherei (fig. 16).

## Analogy

The general framework for understanding the public square in the Dynastic period emerged from combining the old and new findings at Xanthos. It is as follows: a dynastic palace was surrounded by a wall, and just north of it a wide square bordered by walls contained temple tombs with a temenos and various cult structures. The dynastic public squares in the Lycia region, such as the agoras of Avşar Tepesi and Alazeytin and the gathering places of Gölbünt and Asarcık, have similar layouts and thus are comparable with the Xanthos example.

Located in Central Lycia, the Avşar Tepesi settlement was completely abandoned in the fourth century BC. The well-preserved settlement, uninhabited during the later Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, is very important for showing what kind of layout Dynastic Lycian

<sup>73</sup> It is believed that around the 470s BC, the Athenian commander Kimon partially captured Xanthos and during this invasion, a fire broke out in the Lycian Acropolis, see Metzger and Coupell 1963, 22-26. This dating coincides with the time when the Lycians joined the Delian League. Despite Metzger's assessment based on the data obtained from the acropolis excavations, des Courtils 2009 excavation did not provide evidence to support or refute his view. However, Courtils stated that while he accepted Metzger's chronology to a certain extent, he did not support Metzger's hypothesis about Kimon. See des Courtils et al. 2010, 291-93; des Courtils 2012b, 154. Also see Draycott 2015, 105.

cities had in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>74</sup> There is a square of approximately 2700 m<sup>2</sup> defined as the agora. This square is dated to the early fifth century BC<sup>75</sup> and located just below an acropolis surrounded by walls and with a nearby dynastic residence.<sup>76</sup> The agora is partially surrounded by walls and contains two pillar tombs, a rock tomb, a temple podium, a warehouse and the remains of foundations thought to belong to a wooden tribune.<sup>77</sup> Kolb states that the tribune was used as a kind of theater, from which to watch ceremonial activities taking place in front of the temple.<sup>78</sup> In addition, Thomsen emphasized that political meetings could have been held in the agora, whose sacral and sepulchral functions were clearly defined.<sup>79</sup>

Another example for comparison is at Gölbent. In this dynastic site located to the north of Xanthos, there is a level terrace partly leaning on retaining walls and two funerary pillars. This area, determined as a meeting place by des Courtils,<sup>80</sup> is dated to the Classical period and has a plan similar to Xanthos. A similar situation is encountered at the Asarcık settlement, which belongs to Xanthos. An elevated terrace and pillar tombs in an area measuring approximately 1000 m<sup>2</sup> are dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>81</sup> All similarly formed areas in Lycia, including the Xanthos agora, are interpreted by des Courtils as forming the most important gathering area of the city. des Courtils also states that these areas are quite different from the Greek agora.<sup>82</sup> Another example is the agora dated to the sixth century BC in Alazeytin, a Lelegian settlement near Kaunos. There is a tribune, a temple and temple tombs in the square below a dynastic palace.<sup>83</sup>

As seen from these examples, this layout, which includes a large square just below the dynastic palace and tombs and temples of the dynastic members within this area, was a form preferred throughout Lycia in the late sixth and fifth centuries BC. As observed, especially in the examples at the Avşar Tepesi and Alazeytin agoras, the area was bordered by walls at some points. In this context, the temenos wall uncovered in the Xanthos agora is similar to these walls. However, the sacral features of these walls, as indicated in the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar, can be explained by the presence of temples and temple tombs with a temenos belonging to the ancestor cult, especially in Xanthos. The understanding that there is a temenos around the Inscribed Pillar has grown particularly over recent years. In this case, it shows that both the gods and the members of the dynasty were worshiped within the *nele*, so the members of the dynasty were also deified.

<sup>74</sup> Kolb 1998, 40-47; 2016, 42; Thomsen 2002.

<sup>75</sup> Thomsen was rather hesitant in making this dating. However, the dating of the area due to the dense Archaic pottery finds recovered there should be dated at least as Late Archaic-Early Classical period; see Thomsen 2002, 112.

<sup>76</sup> Thomsen states that the Dynasty residence located on the eastern part of the agora may have been located in the acropolis in the first phase, and later was moved to the agora for possible political reasons in 400 BC; see Thomsen 2002, 125; also see Kolb 1998, 41.

<sup>77</sup> Kolb 1998, 40-47, figs. 7-11; Thomsen 2002, 103-31, fig. 45.

<sup>78</sup> Kolb 1998, 41. For the 3D reconstruction of the agora, see Kolb 2016, 43, fig. 5.

<sup>79</sup> Thomsen 2002, 131.

<sup>80</sup> des Courtils 2012a, 290, fig. 3.

<sup>81</sup> des Courtils 2012a, 290, fig. 4a-b.

<sup>82</sup> “Only empty and informal spaces observed inside the habited zone of certain Lycian sites, in the vicinity of dynastic tombs, suggest that there could have been places of gathering, but we do not know anything about the religious, funerary or political, that these gatherings presented. In spite of the explicit mention which is made of it in the Greek language in the inscription TL 72, 44, neither Xanthos nor any other city of Lycia seems to have possessed in the dynastic period a civic center which could fully correspond to the Greek word ‘agora’”; see des Courtils 2012a, 301.

<sup>83</sup> Işık 2019, 530; 2010, 75, fig. 18.

## Agora or Nele?

Xer [ēi: n̄te: sttalā] tuwete: ti ebēñnē: neled[e: Arñna: brppi:] tukedri: tuwete

“Kher [ēi] who put up this [stele] (in the) neled[e at Xanthos] has placed on it a statue.”<sup>84</sup>

The initial evaluations of the term *nele* were made by Neumann and Melchert, who interpreted this word as “settlement.”<sup>85</sup> However, with the interpretation of the Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription TL 72<sup>86</sup> found in Kyaneai, it is now clearly understood that *nele* was actually used in the sense of “agora”.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, most linguists have accepted this interpretation in their analysis of Lycian sentences.<sup>88</sup> The term Lycian *nelede* on the Inscribed Pillar was paired with ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει in the Greek section by Schürr, first interpreted as “Agora-Temenos”<sup>89</sup> and then as “pure temenos.”<sup>90</sup> Kolb, on the other hand, preferred the terms *nele* and *nelede* to mean “agora”, without separating them from each other.<sup>91</sup> The latest evaluation of *nele* was made by Oreshko who states that the word means “acropolis” rather than “agora”.<sup>92</sup> In addition, Oreshko interpreted *nelede* not as a temenos but as the fortifications surrounding the acropolis.<sup>93</sup> In this context, Oreshko states that the places emphasizing the victory in the captured cities should be the acropolis rather than the agora.<sup>94</sup> Although Oreshko’s linking of the acropolis with *nele* seems quite logical, why was the term “agora” used in Kyaneai for a similar match? Since this situation refutes Oreshko’s interpretation, it makes sense to accept the agora / *nele* pairing. However, Oreshko’s suggestion, namely the fortification pairing, may also be plausible. It is known that in this area the gods were worshiped, sacrifices were made, and the victories of the dynasty were celebrated. Therefore, the walls uncovered around this area, whose sacred quality cannot be denied, do have a temenos function. In this context, it is highly probable that the walls surrounding the place called *nele* and set within its own special structure were also called a *nelede*. Oreshko’s suggestion of a “*nele* acropolis” may also be correct in a way, because the agora and the acropolis are located adjacent to each other both in Xanthos and the dynastic settlements at Zagaba (Avşar Tepesi). In addition, the walls we uncovered in Xanthos almost unite the area with the acropolis section (fig. 17). In this case, the Lycians may have given only one name to these two areas and named them both *nele*.

<sup>84</sup> Mūseler and Schürr 2018, 388.

<sup>85</sup> Melchert 2004, 43; Neumann 2007, 238.

<sup>86</sup> For the publication of TL 72, see Neumann and Zimmermann 2003; also see Christiansen 2019, 83; Kolb 2018, 394.

<sup>87</sup> *mabāi nelez[i]: θεοί οι ἀγοραῖοι*.

<sup>88</sup> Dönmez and Schürr 2015; Kolb 2018; Neumann and Zimmermann 2003; Sasseville 2021; Hüllden 2006; cf. Oreshko 2021.

<sup>89</sup> Schürr 2009, 159.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Agora’ ist demnach lykisch *nele-* und davon muß *nelede* abgeleitet sein, denn es ist ja unwahrscheinlich, daß viermal die enklitische Partikel *-de* abzutrennen wäre. Folglich dürfte *nelede*, dem in a, 41 ff. ein ‘Athenaion’ korrespondiert, dem ‘reinen Temenos’ der griechischen Verse entsprechen, das offenbar den Zwölf Göttern der Agora geweiht war”; see Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145; also Hüllden 2006, 331-32.

<sup>91</sup> “... eine Agora (*nele*), auf der Agora (*nelede*)”; see Kolb 2018, 606.

<sup>92</sup> Oreshko 2021, 125.

<sup>93</sup> Oreshko 2021, 126.

<sup>94</sup> “Zagaba: *nele=de* and Êtri: Tuminehi: *nele=de* may be interpreted ‘(victory) at Zagaba / Lower Tumnessos, (up to / including) its acropolis’”; see Oreshko 2021, 126. He also equates *nele=de* with TL44c “many acropolises’ conquered by the author ([πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλες ... [π]έρσας”); Oreshko 2021, 125.

However, in the Greek text of the Inscribed Pillar Monument, the square where political and sacred meetings were held, such as victory celebrations, sacrifices to the gods, and public announcements, may have been called the “agora.” The other part - the dynasty’s living and administrative area - may have been known as the “acropolis.”

The Lycian section of inscription states that the Inscribed Pillar is located opposite the gods of the agora. So what and where is the structure that belongs to the gods of the agora stated in this Lycian text? Some researchers argue that the agora may have had a structure at some point within the square similar to the altar of twelve gods in the Athenian Agora.<sup>95</sup> However, the excavation and sondage work undertaken in the square has not produced any evidence of such a temple or altar. In addition, when we look at the example of Aşağ Tepesi, the earliest agora structure known in Lycia, we do not encounter an altar dedicated to the gods. However, there is a podium thought to belong to a temple. Işık thinks that this temple in the West Agora could be under the foundations of the West Church, adjacent to the Roman agora. Işık also argues that the area is sacred by association with the “Temple of Twelve Gods,” because the stele is dedicated to the Gods of the Agora, as stated in the inscription.<sup>96</sup>

The indications obtained from these inscriptions suggest different problems. The first is whether their own public square, which the Lycians call *nele*, did in fact fulfill the function of a Greek agora, while the second concerns the origin of the cult of the gods of the agora. In this regard, some researchers mention that it is not yet clear whether the *nele* areas really served an agora function.<sup>97</sup> A different view of some is that the use of the Greek term is a strong indicator that these cities should be understood as a polis based upon the Greek model, especially considering the inscriptions in Xanthos and Kyaneai.<sup>98</sup> Advocates of this view particularly think that the cult of the “Agora Gods” must be in imitation of Athens, an acquired culture, at least when they became a member of the Delian League in the middle of the fifth century BC.<sup>99</sup> However, the finds concerning these issues permit a differing interpretation. Firstly, the evidence obtained through excavation shows that the dynastic *nele* existed in the years around 530-480 BC. In addition, the sacred temenos named *nelede*,<sup>100</sup> unearthed north of the area and mentioned in the inscription, shows that this area had been a sacred place since then. Therefore, these show that the relationship of this area with the gods dates back at least to the Late Archaic period, according to the current evidence. Thus, this place is a unique area with its pillars and other tombs, so quite different from the Greek agora, when comparisons are made. Although we do not know exactly what kind of activities were carried out in this area, the term “agora” must have been the preferred Greek translation for these sacred areas called *nele* by the Lycians on the inscriptions, since it was a gathering place whose first and main function was a public square. Otherwise, to speak of a purely cultural transfer, the Lycians would have used only the term “agora” to name their squares. In this context, we know that

<sup>95</sup> Schürr 2001, 114; 2007a; Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145; Eichner 2005, 29; Thonemann 2009, 169; Schürr 2020, 102.

<sup>96</sup> Işık 2019, 530.

<sup>97</sup> Kolb 2016, 43; 2018, 709; see also Oreshko 2021, 125.

<sup>98</sup> In Kyaneai, where Kolb was researching, the inscriptions “Agora Gods” in both Lycian and Greek are found on the inscription on a sarcophagus dated to 400 BC; see Kolb 1998, 42.

<sup>99</sup> Ancient writers relate that the Lycians were included in the Attica-Delos League together with the Carians by the Athenian commander Kimon around 470 BC: Thuc. 1.100; Diod. Sic. 11.60. In addition, since it is stated in the inscription that the tomb of Kherei’s grandfather Kuprilli is also located in the dynastic agora, it is thought that this functionality in the area began during his reign (470-440 BC); see Schürr 2020, 104.

<sup>100</sup> “Da ist nelede also mit einem Heiligtum parallelisiert”: Schürr 2020, 105; cf. Oreshko 2021, 125.

the word *nele* was used at least in the late fifth century BC. If this were in fact a situation related to Hellenization, there should have been agoras with stoas in Xanthos and Lycia by the third or, at the latest, the second century BC. Yet we know the earliest example of such structures to be the Upper Agora in Xanthos, dated to the second half of the first century BC.<sup>101</sup> The early second century BC is the time when architectural structures representative of Hellenistic culture began to be built throughout Lycia. These places, certain in their sacred and cult function and which the Lycians called *nele*, are undoubtedly different from a Greek agora. In addition, to be understood as a polis based upon the Greek model, a city must have not only an agora but also other public buildings such as a theater. The earliest phase of the Xanthos Theater was built in the second century BC.<sup>102</sup> This is a somewhat strange position for a city to find itself in, given that it allegedly adopted the Greek polis model in the fifth century BC.<sup>103</sup>

In this context, we know that the word *nele* was used at least in the late fifth century BC. This is also true for the gods of the agora. Since the second quarter of the fifth century BC, the depictions of the gods of the Greek pantheon were preferred iconographically over the depictions on the Harpy monument and on the coins<sup>104</sup> However, the Greek gods corresponding to the Lycian gods had quite different characteristics, especially in the matching made on the Inscribed Pillar monument. For example, it is understood today that there is no common bond between Athena and the Anatolian goddess Malija, who are paired with each other.<sup>105</sup> A similar situation exists in the pairing of Trqqas with Zeus,<sup>106</sup> while Işık argues that these pairings are simply translational equivalents.<sup>107</sup> In addition, Bryce and other Lycian researchers think that the belief in the twelve gods, referred to as *Mabai Tusnti* in the Lycian text on the Inscribed Pillar, may be related to the Hittite gods on the Yazılıkaya at Hattusa, not to the Greek pantheon.<sup>108</sup> In this context, the cult of the Agora Gods, referred to as *Mabâna Neleze* both on the Inscribed Pillar and on the Kudalije Sarcophagus in Kyaneai, must have been a cult related to the Lycians' own local beliefs and traditions. It is also thought that Komba (Gömbe), located only 35 km northwest of Xanthos, is the cult center of the Twelve Gods and that this cult is related to Artemis Komba.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, the sanctuary of Artemis Komba<sup>110</sup> (R) (figs. 1, 3, 5, 7),

<sup>101</sup> des Courtils 2012a, 293, fig. 5.

<sup>102</sup> Dönmez 2022.

<sup>103</sup> For a new reassessment of the Hellenization of Lycian cities as a Greek Polis, see Daems 2020.

<sup>104</sup> For the religious structure of Lycia in the Classical period, see Özdemir 2015.

<sup>105</sup> Özdemir 2015, 114.

<sup>106</sup> Bryce 1986, 177.

<sup>107</sup> Işık 2010, 77.

<sup>108</sup> Bryce 1986, 179-80; Keen 1998, 206-7. Işık 2016b, 438. "The Lycian Twelve Gods are in no way related to the Ancient Greek gods known as the Twelve Olympians; those in Lycia are of Anatolian Hittite origin. The Ancient Greek poem on the stele of Xanthos mentions the names of the Twelve Gods, who are probably identical to the Twelve Gods mentioned in the inscriptions of the stelae found at Komba" (Akyürek-Şahin 2016, 542). Cf. Schürr 2013.

<sup>109</sup> Lebrun 1998, 146.

<sup>110</sup> "The building is comprised of a platform measuring 5.00 x 8.00 m and limestone floor slabs of varying widths and 0.20 m in height. There is a 2.25 m-wide space opening immediately to its west, whose floor was compressed with a lime-based material. This space is 0.4 m lower than the terrace floor. Excavations conducted in the area revealed two small votive altars measuring 0.113 m and 0.143 m in height underneath the tiles of the collapsed roof. They feature an inscription that reads, 'To Artemis Kombike (votive).' Immediately next to these, a terracotta temple model 0.185 m in height was found. Between its columns, which features the façade of an Ionic temple, is a goddess figurine possibly depicting Artemis of Gömbe mentioned in altar inscriptions. Immediately next to the altar and the model is a small bowl, possibly used during rituals. The handle of a bronze vessel (hydria?) and appliqué materials of floral motifs, an iron lance, bronze fragments of what appears to be a three-legged table, lead and bronze bowls, as well as the skull and bone fragments of a bovine were also discovered. Of the finds,

located just north of the inscribed Pillar in West Agora, probably indicates the permanent cult of the Twelve Gods mentioned on the pillar.<sup>111</sup> In this context, the cult structure of the Agora Gods mentioned on the pillar may have taken place somewhere at this point.

## Conclusion

- The wall unearthed north of the Inscribed Pillar Monument is a northern part of the Dynastic *Nele* / agora recorded in the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar. Since this wall is dated to 530-480 BC, the first known existence of the Dynastic *Nele* dates back to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period. In this context, the Xanthos Dynastic *Nele* may constitute the earliest prototype known in Lycia of a Dynastic *Nele*. These areas, located right next to the dynastic palace, may have been called *nele* as a single unit together with the palace. Then they may named for the first time as an acropolis and agora from the fifth century BC.
- The only monument in the area during this period may have been the Wrestler's Pillar belonging to the dynast Kheziga. Also, there would have been another temenos wall in the east, which merged with the one in the north, and enclosed the area. The presence of the modern asphalt road prevents this wall from being exposed at present. However, some Classical-period wall remains to the east indicate that the wall in this direction may have been renovated during the construction of the House-Tomb built in the middle of the fifth century BC. This tomb is thought to belong to Harpagos, the father of Kherei. A further reason for this possible renewal may be linked to the attacks by the Athenian commander Kimon in the 470-460s BC. Like the walls of the Lycian Acropolis, which was destroyed as a result of these attacks, this part of the temenos may have been destroyed and then rebuilt in the 450s BC.
- Although the existence of the Dynastic *Nele* lasted into the middle of the fourth century BC, cultic activities in the area continued until the end of the first century BC. This is shown by the tombs dated to the Late Hellenistic Period around the Harpy Monument, which are thought to be related with the cult of Kybernis particularly. The most radical architectural change to the area was realized first with built the theatre in the second century BC, then after in the Early Imperial Period with the addition in c. AD 60-80 of a square-shaped agora structure surrounded by stoas on all four sides. However, the preservation of all the tombs erected in the area during this period is an indication that the innovations were only to the outward look of the setting; there was no cultural change to the belief in the cult of ancestors.
- The Dynastic *Nele* is a sacred and honored space where the tombs of the ruling family were placed. It also served functionally as a gathering place. Most probably within the *nele*, meetings were held that were attended by the public under the leadership of the ruling family, and victories were celebrated. In addition, when we think that the Xanthos dynasty had control of Lycia as its sovereign city from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC, it is possible

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the altar votives, the goddess figurine on the model's façade, the altar bowls, and the animal bones strongly suggest that the area was designed as a sanctuary. Furthermore, the iconography of Artemis of Komba, often defined by the inscriptions of the votive altars with which it is found, is encountered for the first time here. This is critical in determining the goddess's area of worship in Xanthos. The most widely worshipped local goddess of Lycia reflects depictions of local and Ionian goddesses with her attire, necklace, bare breasts, and long sheath. That this unique and eclectic iconography still existed in the 3rd century A.D. should be emphasized..." (Dönmez et al. 2017).

<sup>111</sup> For the Lycian local gods and goddesses of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, see Efendioğlu 2010.

that political meetings attended by neighboring civic administrators were also held in the *nele*. However, it is not possible to talk about a democratic environment, especially because of the existence of a hereditary monarchy. For this reason the word “agora,” used as the equivalent of *nele* in the inscriptions, can be understood as only an approximate translation denoting the city center. This situation certainly cannot be related to the adoption of the Greek polis city model.

- The presence of the Dynastic *Nele*, together with the Southeastern Sector Structure (fig. 18) of an approximately similar date, show that Xanthos had sanctuaries surrounded by temenos walls in both the eastern and westernmost parts of the city, which dated from the Late Archaic-Early Classical periods.

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FIG. 1 West agora aerial photo. Excavation archive.

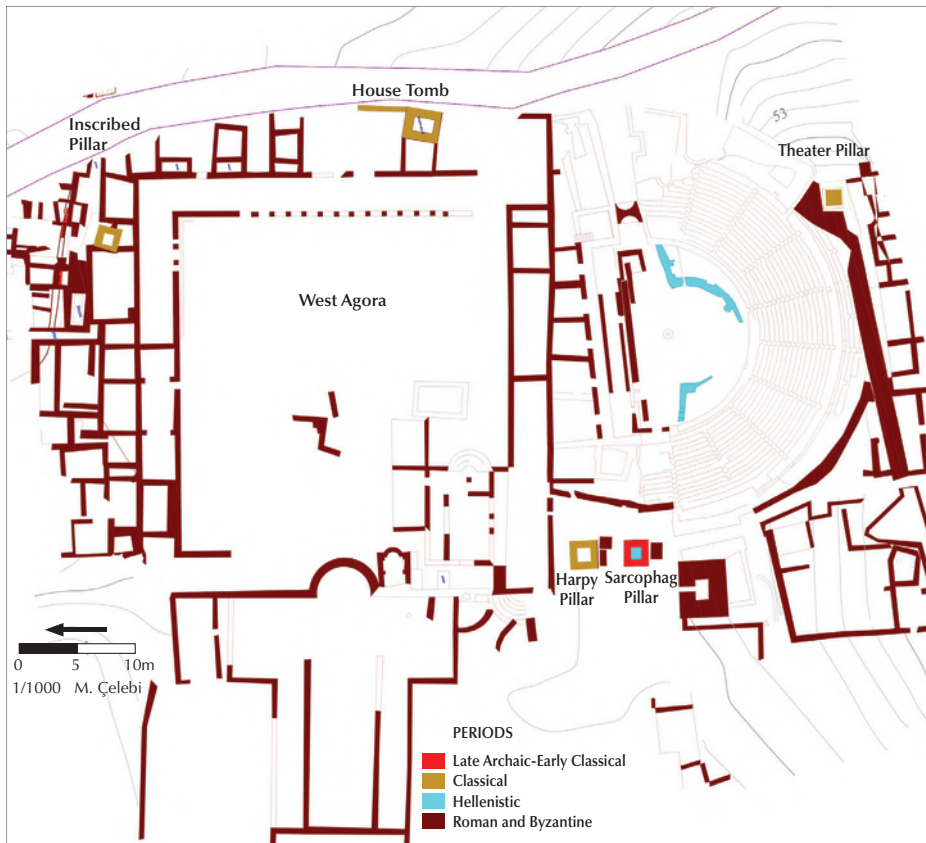


FIG. 2 West Agora plan. Drawing M. Çelebi.



FIG. 3 Remains of the Dynastic *Nele* / Agora Photo. by A. Dönmez.

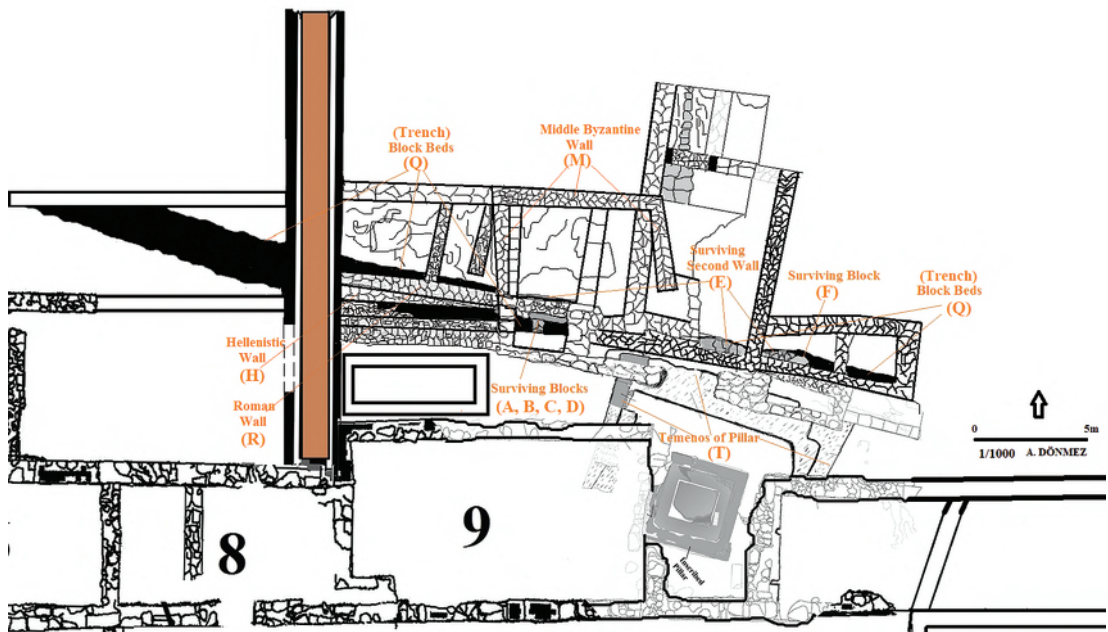


FIG. 4 The ruins of the Dynastic *Nele* / Agora. Drawing by A. Dönmez.

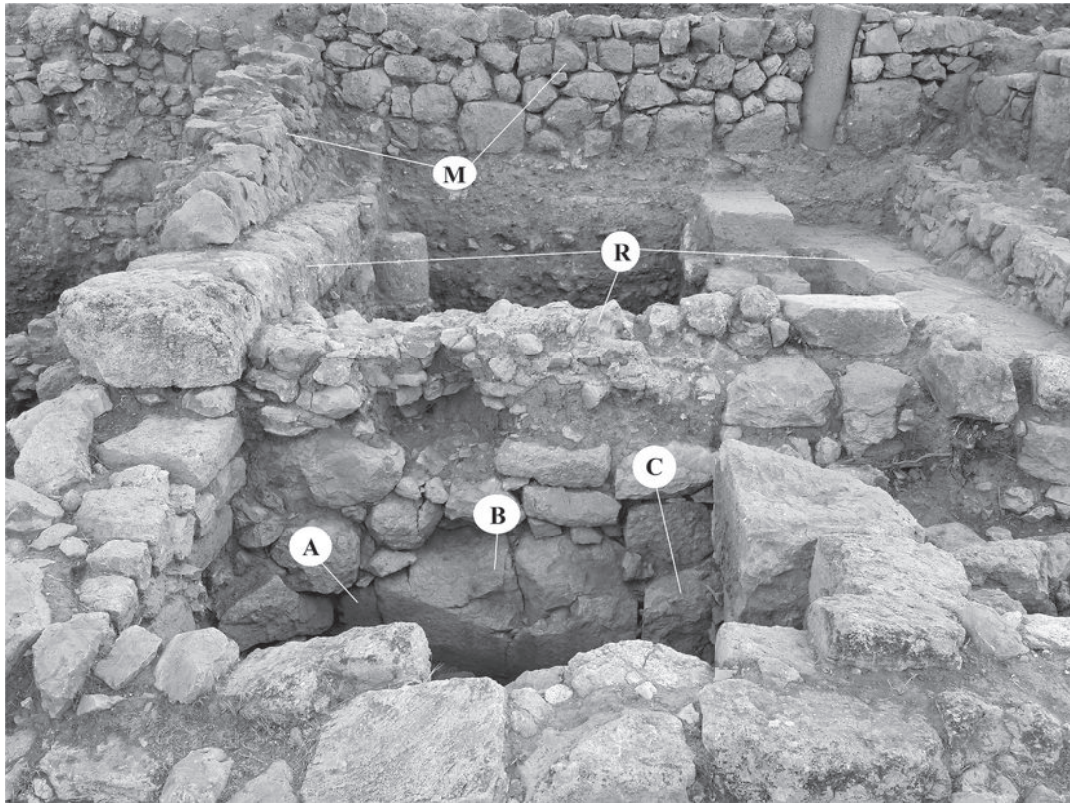


FIG. 5 Remains of the Dynastic Agora. Wall blocks (A-B-C). Photo. by A. Dönmez.

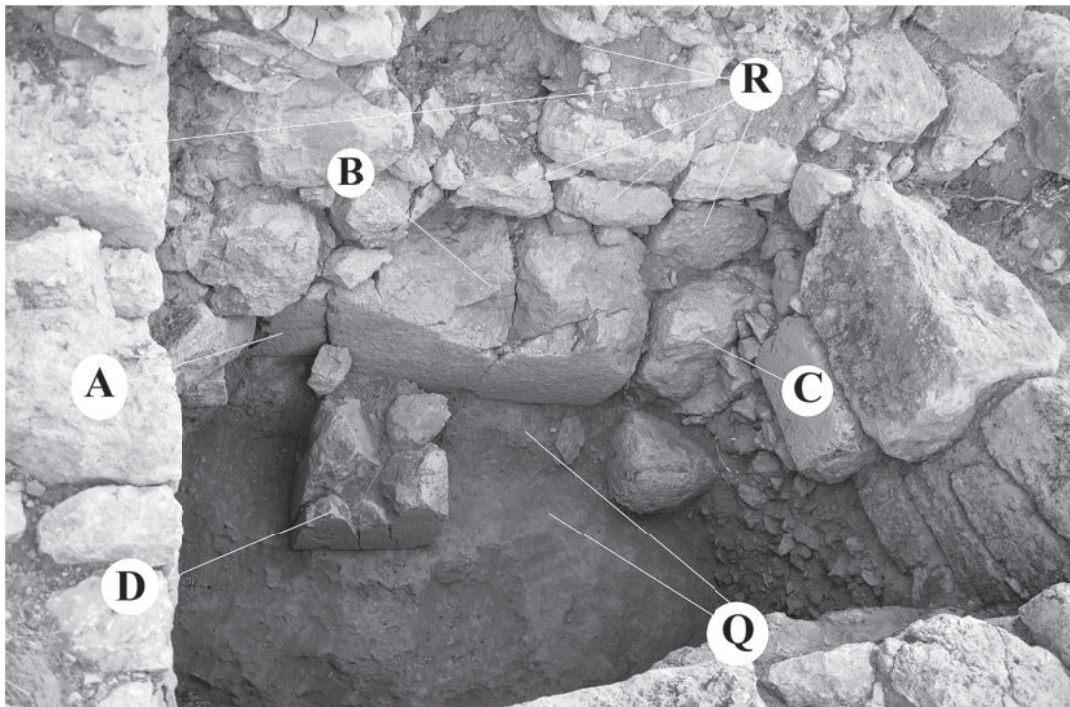


FIG. 6 Blocks (A-B-C-D).

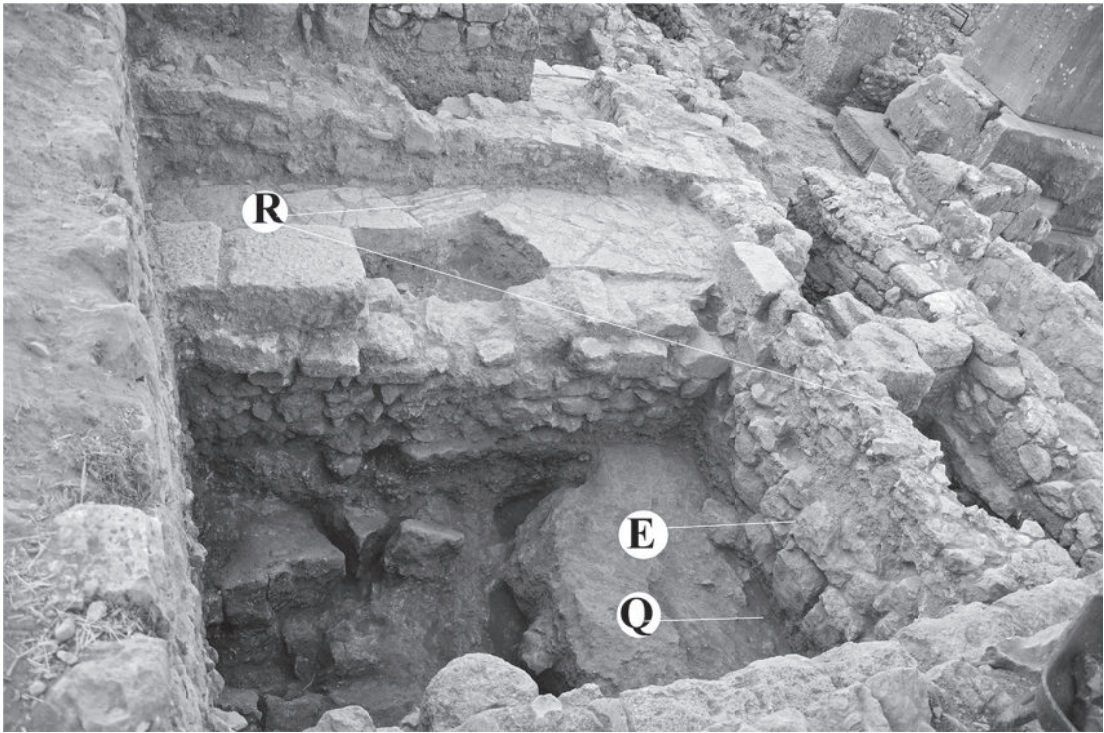


FIG. 7  
Second side of the wall. Logaden  
masonry (E) and the Artemis  
Kombike Sanctuary (R).

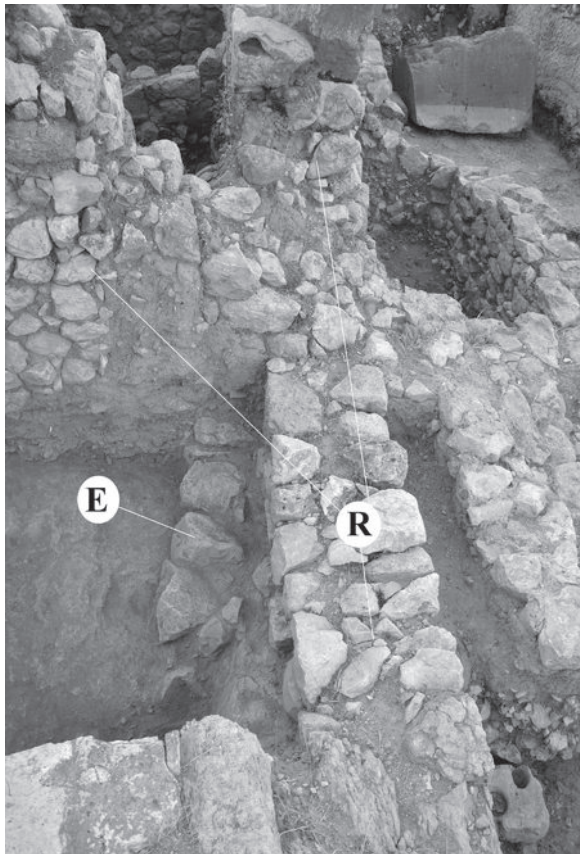


FIG. 8  
Remains of the wall  
continuation to the east (E).



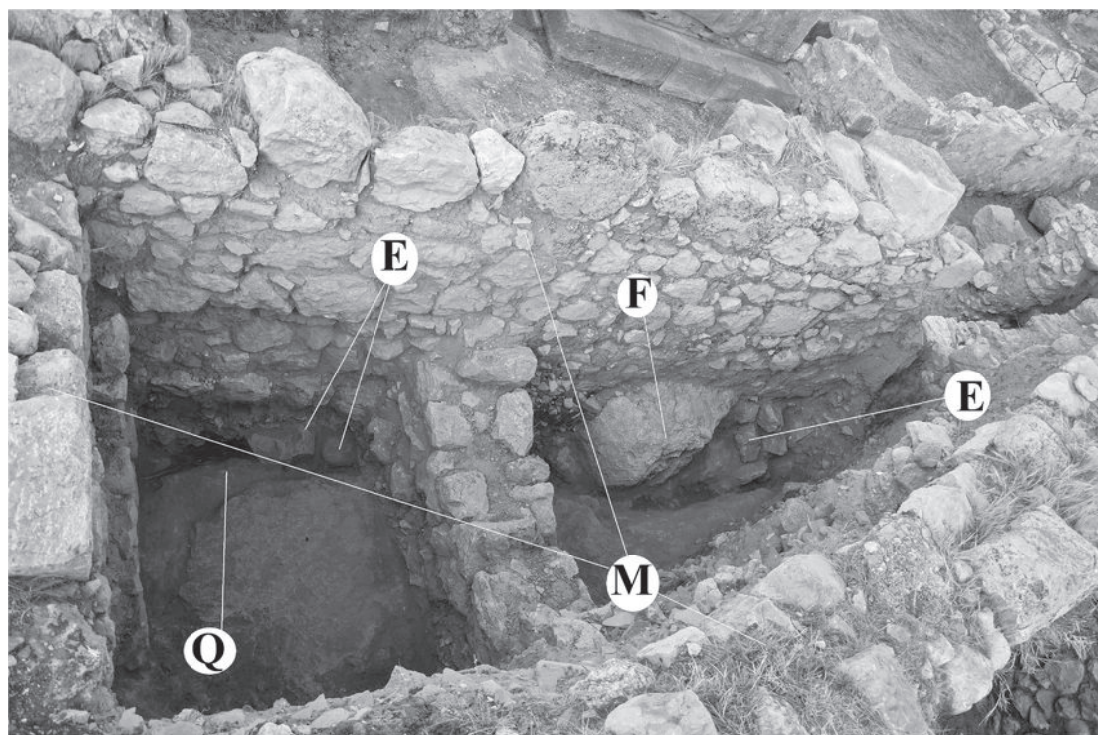


FIG. 9  
Big block (?) and the  
remains of the second wall  
(E) leaning against it.

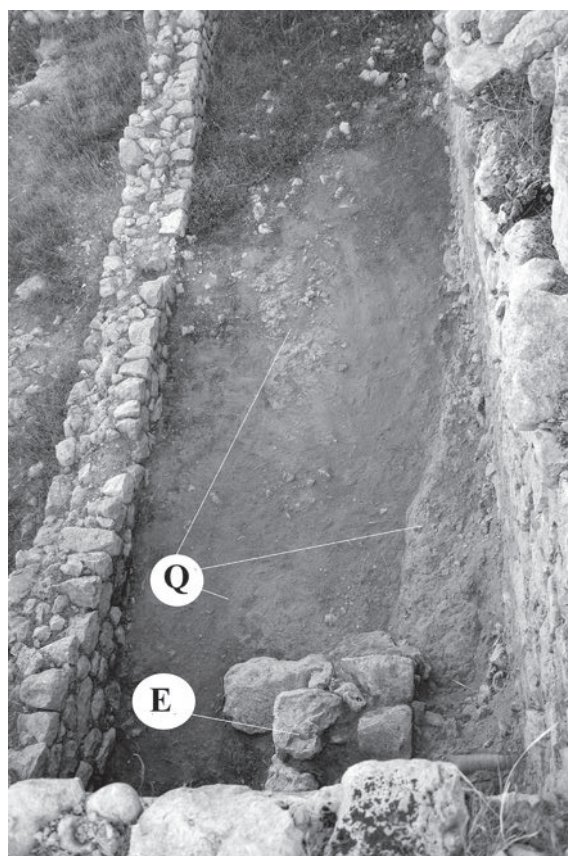


FIG. 10  
Wall bedding trench  
traces to the west.

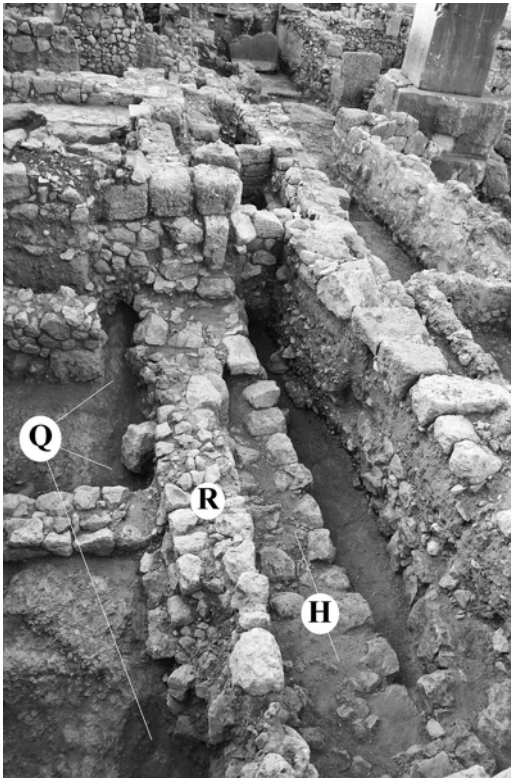


FIG. 11 Walls and trenches to the west.



FIG. 12 Pottery sherds dated to Late Archaic period. Drawings C. Öz.



FIG. 13 Wall-crown blocks ornamented with an Ionic kymation.



FIG. 14 East Wall (Temenos?) of *Nele* / Agora dated to the Classical period? (460-450 BC).

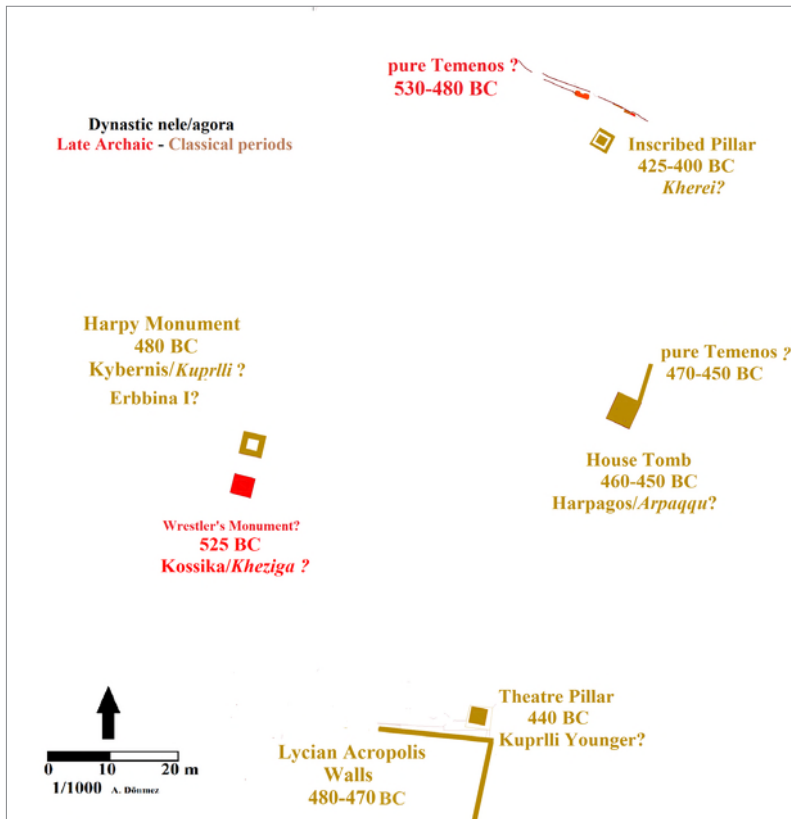


FIG. 15  
Dynastic Nele / Agora.

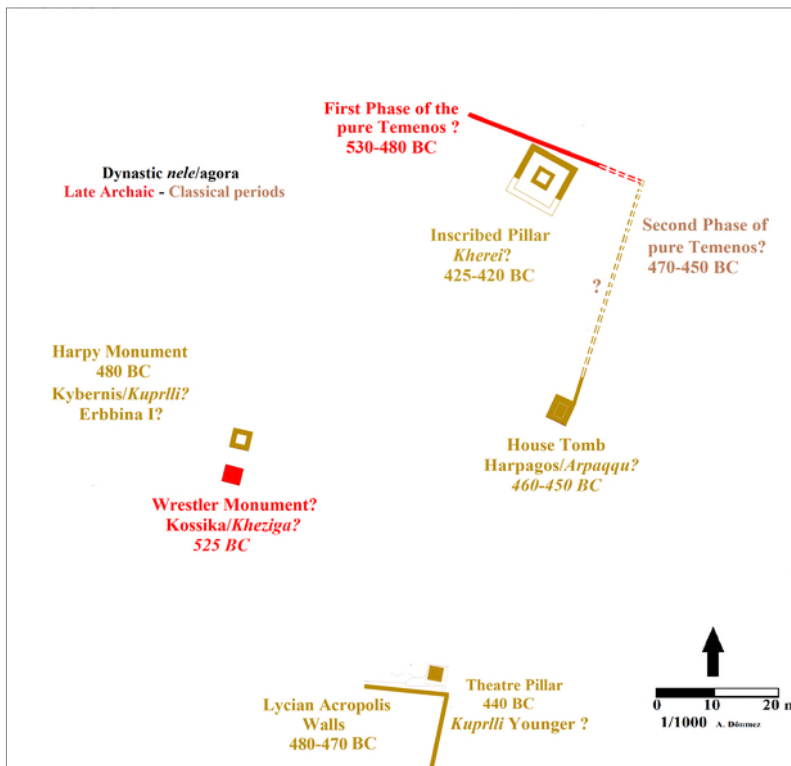


FIG. 16  
Dynastic Nele / Agora.  
(530 / 480-400 BC).



FIG. 17 Agora and Acropolis.



FIG. 18 Temenos wall of south west sector building in Xanthos. Late Archaic-Early Classical period.

## Weights of Alexandria in the Troad: Forms, Types, Units, and Chronology

OĞUZ TEKİN\*

### Abstract

As part of the Corpus Ponderum Antiquorum et Islamicorum project, this article aims to provide a general overview of the weights of Alexandria in the Troad and discusses the 51 surviving balance weights that have come down to our present day. Most of the weights feature a depiction of a grazing horse along with the city's abbreviated ethnicon inscribed (i.e., ΑΛΕ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝ). Sometimes there are symbols (bunch of grapes, ear of corn, small circle) in a field but rather between a horse's legs. In Alexandria, both on coins and weights, the horse was used as a state emblem (parase-mon) due to its importance for the city, and it is generally depicted facing to the right. On a few weights, there is a depiction of a kithara instead of a horse. The city's coins dating to the Hellenistic period also depict a kithara, which is similar in form to those found on the weights. The units of the 51 weights in the table vary from five-mna to distateron. The largest unit known today is the five-mna, which also bears the magistrate's name. The examples in the table provide insight into the weight of the Alexandrian mna. Since most weights include unit names (or rather a unit mark), understanding their units is easy. However, the variation in mass of those bearing the same unit name creates difficulty in identification, indicating that the standard of the Alexandrian mna was increased over time. The weights of Alexandria date to the period of 301-12 BC.

**Keywords:** Alexandria, Troas, horse, kithara, weights

### Öz

Corpus Ponderum Antiquorum et Islamicorum projesinin bir parçası olan bu makale, Troas'taki Aleksandreia ağırlıklarına genel bir bakış sunmayı amaçlamaktadır ve günümüze kadar ulaşmış olan 51 terazi ağırlığını ele almaktadır. Ağırlıkların çoğunda, kent'in kısaltılmış ethnikon'unun eşlik ettiği (yani ΑΛΕ veya ΑΛΕΞΑΝ) otlayan bir at tasviri yer alır; bazen ana sahnenin bir yerinde ama daha ziyade atın bacakları arasında semboller bulunur (üzüm salkımı, buğday veya arpa tanesi, "o" şeklinde küçük bir yuvarlak). Aleksandreia'da, hem sikkelerde hem de ağırlıklarda at, şehir için önemli olduğundan devlet arması (parase-mon) gibi kullanılmış ve genellikle sağa dönük olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Birkaç ağırlıkta ise at değil, bir kithara tasviri yer alır. Kentin Hellenistik Dönem sikkelerinde de kithara tasviri vardır ve ağırlıklardakiyle benzer formdadır. Makaledeki tabloda yer alan 51 ağırlığın birimleri, beş-mna'dan distateron'a kadar değişmektedir. Bugün bilinen en büyük birim beş-mna'dır ve üzerinde magistrat adı yer alır. Tablo'daki örnekler, Aleksandreia mna'sının ağırlığı hakkında bir fikir vermektedir. Çoğu ağırlık, birim adlarını (veya daha doğrusu birim işaretini) taşıdığından, birimlerini anlamak kolaydır. Ancak, aynı birim adı taşıyanların ağırlıklarındaki değişkenlik, teşhiste zorluk yaratır ve Aleksandreia mna'sı standardının zaman içinde yükseldiğini işaret eder. Aleksandreia ağırlıkları MÖ 301 ile 12 arasındaki döneme tarihlenir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Aleksandreia, Troas, at, kithara, ağırlık

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Alexandria (present-day Dalyan village) is situated at a strategic point where the Sea of Marmara connects the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea (map).<sup>1</sup> Before Alexandria, there was another settlement called Sigia located here.<sup>2</sup> In the late fourth century BC, Antigonos I Monophthalmus, one of Alexander the Great's successors, established a new city named Antigoneia here by bringing together the populations of neighboring cities through synoecism, symbolically under his name. The city was also a member of the Iliion League, which was founded by Antigonos. In 301 BC, Lysimachus, another successor of Alexander the Great, changed the city's name to Alexandria in honor of Alexander's memory,<sup>3</sup> following his victory over the Seleucid kingdom. After the defeat of the Seleucid kingdom by the Romans, Alexandria became an independent city. The city's status as a Roman colony was established in the late first century BC (somewhere between 30-12 BC) during the Augustan period, and its official name became Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troas or Troadensis. The colonial city of Alexandria Troas was one of the most significant centers that facilitated communication between the Roman Empire and the Eastern provinces.

On the Hellenistic (figs. A-B) and colonial (figs. C-D) coins of Alexandria, a horse is depicted facing left or right, and whose head is lowered and grazing.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the depiction of the horse on the coins of Alexandria is not coincidental. The horse on the city's coins most likely signifies the presence of horse breeding in the city and its surrounding areas, highlighting the importance given to horses. The significance of horses in the Troas region is also known from ancient sources and mythological stories. According to Homer,<sup>5</sup> King Erichthonius, ruling over Troas, had thousands of horses grazing in his pastures. Another legend<sup>6</sup> states that Zeus abducted King Tros' son, Ganymedes, and took him to Mount Olympus to serve him drinks, leaving the king with an immortal pair of horses in return. Troas derives its name from King Tros, who was the son of King Erichthonius and the father of Ganymedes. Just as on the coins, the balance weights of Alexandria also feature a depiction of a grazing horse alongside the abbreviated ethnic of the city, ΑΛΕ, and variations.<sup>7</sup> It seems that the horse, as depicted, served as the city's emblem (parasemon) and was a distinguishing element in identifying Alexandria's weights. The depiction of the grazing horse is believed to have been copied from Neandria, another city in the Troad (figs. E-F).<sup>8</sup>

On the coins from the imperial period, variations of COL AVG TRO indicating its colonial status are seen (figs. C-D). However, on the pre-colonial coins, there is naturally only an abbreviated or full ethnic (ie Α, ΑΛΕ, ΑΛΕΞ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ (figs. A-B).<sup>9</sup> The surviving Alexandrian weights typically bear only the abbreviation ΑΛΕ or rarely ΑΛΕΞΑΝ, which necessitates their dating to the pre-colonial era; however, we cannot always be certain about this.

<sup>1</sup> For the foundation and development of the city see Cook 1973, 198-204; Cohen 1995, 145-48; Ricl 1997; Meadows 2004, 47-49.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo 13.1.47.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo 13.1.26.

<sup>4</sup> Bellinger 1961, A28-A46; A53-A72; A104-A124; A171; A201-A202; A224-A225; A236; A243; A251; A261; A283; A300; A315; A322; A324; A326; A339-A341; A349-A351; A355-A356; A363-A367; A377-A379; A396; A398; A405-A406; A421-A422; A436-A438; A451-A453-A454; A462-A463; A486-A489.

<sup>5</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, 20.219-230.

<sup>6</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, 5.265-66.

<sup>7</sup> Tekin 2016, 93-97; Killen 2017, 215-17; Pondera, search "Alexandria Troas".

<sup>8</sup> Weiss 2008, 721; Wroth 1894, 73-74, nos. 1, 8-11.

<sup>9</sup> Wroth 1894, 9, nos. 4-21; 12, no. 37; 14-15, nos. 45-57; Bellinger 1961, nos. A21-A179.

When we examine the surviving weights from the city, it becomes evident that the mna, a fundamental standard used by other city-states in the Aegean region, serves as the fundamental standard in Alexandria. What piques our curiosity about Alexandria is that, although the mna standard was prevalent during the Hellenistic period, its continuity during the Roman Imperial period remains uncertain, or at least remains unknown to us. In other words, despite the use of weights over nearly three-centuries that were linked to the mna standard, the specific type of weights that succeeded them during the Roman Imperial era remains a mystery. However, considering that shopping without weighing is inconceivable, it is logical to assume that a weight standard and corresponding weights were in use. Today, many weights survive without symbols or ethnic that define the city's identity, but only indicate the name of the unit and, in some cases, not even that. While some of these weights, based on their measurements, can be attributed to the mna standard, the majority adhere to the Roman-specific libra standard. These kinds of weights without symbols or ethnic were likely used in Alexandria's market as well. However, this article only addresses the Hellenistic-period weights of Alexandria. Nonetheless, the anticipation remains that one day we might also encounter Alexandria's balance weights adorned with horse depictions accompanied by COL AVG TROAS / TROAD in the libra standard!

Most of the surviving Alexandrian weights are made of lead, with a small portion being made of bronze.<sup>10</sup> The square shape dominates across various units from large to small; a small number also have suspension holes. The horse, depicted on the majority of the Alexandrian weights, is generally turned to the right, but on quite a few examples it is turned to the left. Indeed, in coins as well, the horse is primarily turned to the right. When looking at the table, it can be observed that the largest known weight within our knowledge is a bronze-coated lead weight with a value of five mna (no. 1).<sup>11</sup> What's interesting is that while the weight's front side is bronze-coated, the back side is left as lead. The weight might have been intentionally manufactured this way, or the bronze coating on the back side could have come off or been removed later. Besides, the horse's tail is depicted over its hind legs in order to fit in the figure.

The city's ethnicon is longer than the standard: ΑΛΕΞΑΝ. Furthermore, the full name of the agoranomos is inscribed outside the standard: ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΟΥΣ. Seeing the name of the agoranomos on Alexandria's weights is not a common occurrence so here is an exception. If the symbol preceding the inscription is indeed a herm, it is known that Hermes was the protector god of marketplaces.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the Π between the legs of the horse, if indicating a unit,<sup>13</sup> is somewhat intriguing due to its placement. This is because abbreviations for units on Alexandria weights are usually positioned below the groundline (in the exergue). However, considering that the exergue is reserved for the agoranomos' name, the most suitable location would again be between the legs of the horse. If Π refers to the unit mark, it is likely the initial letter of pentemnaion, implying that the weight in question holds a value of five mna. It should

<sup>10</sup> Tekin 2016, 93-97; Killen 2017, 215-17; Pondera, search "Alexandria Troas". I would like to thank Özkan Arıkan Türk, İzak Eskinazi, Altan Tokgöz, Haluk Perk as well as to the curators of Pera Museum, Museum of Troy, Louvre Museum, Athens Numismatic Museum, München Staatliche Münzsammlung who allowed me to work or shared information with the weights in their collections. I also benefited from the Pondera Online database, which contributed to my current work. I'm also grateful to Gültekin Teoman, who facilitated communication with collectors and engaged in discussions.

<sup>11</sup> *DarSag* 4.1, 554, no. 23; Robert 1966, 51; Weiss 1990, 138, 3/a; 2008, 720, 4/A; Tekin 2016, 94, table 35, no. 1; Killen 2017, 215, AlexTr b 1; Pondera, 1381.

<sup>12</sup> Tekin 2016, 30-31.

<sup>13</sup> For the use of Π as a unit symbol on the Aenus weight (but it stands for pentemorian) see Tekin 2016, pl. 7, figs. 43-44.

be the control weight of the magistrate responsible for the marketplace rather than belonging to an ordinary shopkeeper or vendor.

The three-mna weight, no. 2 in the table, was previously attributed to Alabanda in the region of Caria due to its discovery location and the legible first two letters of the legend on the weight being A – Λ by the author of this paper.<sup>14</sup> However, considering the clearer examples found in the excavation of Delos (no. 3),<sup>15</sup> an example in an auction catalog (no. 8),<sup>16</sup> and one in a private collection (no. 33), it is evident that the weight in question belongs to Alexandria.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the number of the weights with kithara attributed to Alexandria is currently four. Although the units of these four weights differ (three-mna, two-mna, mna, and tetarton), their obverse compositions are the same. As for no. 2 in the table, in the center, there is a kithara, and on either side is the divided legend A–Λ–[E–Ξ]–A–N along with a bow symbol in the left field. Both the kithara and the bow are associated with Apollo, the city's main deity.<sup>18</sup> In the early Hellenistic coins of the city, we see coins with the head of Apollo / Apollo Smintheus<sup>19</sup> or the head of Apollo / horse.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, on the obverse of Alexandria's second-century BC bronze coins, the head of Apollo is depicted, and on the reverse, a kithara within a wreath (figs. G-H).<sup>21</sup> The kithara here resembles the one on the weights. Similar to the weights, the ethnikon is divided on both sides of the kithara. In the case of the weight no. 2 in the table, the letters E and Ξ in the second row of the ethnikon are faint, and this also makes it difficult to identify the ethnikon. Regarding the unit of this weight; though the letters are not clear, the ambiguous letters of Γ M are located at the bottom. While Γ is more distinct, M is somewhat difficult to read due to slight deformation on it. Only the upper part of the bow symbol, which should be on the left field, can be seen.

The weight<sup>22</sup> no. 3 with a kithara, due to the unit mark M M on it, corresponds to the two-mna unit. It shares a unit weight that matches the weight of the previously mentioned three-mna unit. In other words, the weights no. 2 and no. 3 with kithara have mna values of 422 g and 412.5 g respectively, indicating that this weight could be dated to the first quarter of the third century BC (or even to the end of the fourth century but not before 301 BC). However, Bellinger<sup>23</sup> dated the bronze coins with kithara to the mid-second century BC (164-135 BC); Wroth,<sup>24</sup> on the other hand, dated them after 189 BC. It is reasonable to date the coins and the weights with a kithara to the same period. However, when considering the weights, the proposed date of the mid or early second century BC for the coins with a kithara appears to be quite late in comparison to the weights featuring kithara. In this case, would it be possible to date both the coins and weights with a kithara to the first quarter of the third century BC or

<sup>14</sup> Tekin 2016, 123, table 45, no. 1; pl. 35, fig. 278 (misattributed to Alabanda).

<sup>15</sup> Deonna 1938, 147, B 608-7821, pl. 54, 423J; Henri Seyrig archive, 331; Killen 2017, 183, Del b 1 (misattributed to Delos), pl. 10, 10; Pondera, 2862.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Busso Peus 421, 1235 (misattributed to Kolophon).

<sup>17</sup> For the attribution to Alexandria see also Pondera, 13231.

<sup>18</sup> Among other cities in Troas which used kithara (or lyre) depiction are Hamaxitus and Abydus.

<sup>19</sup> Wroth 1894, 9, nos. 1-3; Bellinger 1961, A21-A24.

<sup>20</sup> Wroth 1894, 9-10, nos. 4-21; Bellinger 1961, pl. 14, L, M; A28-A46; A53-A72; A104-124; A171-A172.

<sup>21</sup> Bellinger 1961, A138-145. Besides, there are small units bearing lyre depiction (A146-147); Wroth 1894, 12, nos. 29-36.

<sup>22</sup> Deonna 1938, 147, B 608-7821, pl. 54, 423J; Henri Seyrig archive, 331; Killen 2017, 183, Del b 1 (misattributed to Delos), pl. 10, 10; Pondera, 2862.

<sup>23</sup> Bellinger 1961, A138-145.

<sup>24</sup> Wroth 1894, 11.



within the broader dating range of the third century BC? On the other hand, if we trust the dating of the coins with kithara, then we would also need to date the weights with kithara to the same period. Consequently, as mentioned above, due to the relatively low mass in terms of mna (422 g, 412.5 g, and 405.6 g) of the weights with a kithara, the third century BC appears to be appropriate for them. This issue arises with the notion that dating the coins and weights with kithara to the same period would be more reasonable and should be examined in more detail in the future.

No. 4 has an unusual mass among all mna units of Alexandria, and in this case, it either has a mass of 1.5 mna (then we can call it as a heavy mna) or maybe two-litra (However, I have doubts about the authenticity of this weight as well as of no. 9 in the Athens Numismatic Museum, especially regarding the posture of the horse's legs and the bunch of grapes, and, of course, the anomalies in their masses). Those between nos. 5 and 9 in the table are the mna units and their (excluding nos. 8 and 9 due to their mass problem) average mass is 425.21 g. The hemimnaion units between nos. 10 and 13 (excluding no. 13) have an average mass of 438.19 g and this figure is consistent with the mna values of other units, except for those that are very light and very heavy.

The mna values of the tetartons between nos. 14 and 35 in the table also weigh from 575.08 g to 392.24 g. However, if we exclude some unusually light ones, it seems that they can "roughly" be grouped into three categories, such as 575 g-508 g, 472 g-439 g, 431 g-405 g. "Roughly" because excessively worn and broken ones can disrupt this grouping. And it is clear that over time, there has been an increase in the standard, and the mass of the mna has increased. On the obverse of these tetartons, there is the letter T or TE which signifies the unit. T is generally and primarily used as an abbreviation for tetarton. Some tetartons with high mass may have been referred to as "heavy tetartons", since they surpass the standard tetarton mass.<sup>25</sup>

In this context, the possibility arises that the heavy tetartons, especially nos. 14-17 in the table, might actually be tritons. If the T letter represents the triton, then the average mass for them would be 429.20 g. This figure was obtained by multiplying the mass of each tetarton by three and then dividing by four. It is also a normal value for the third century BC Alexandrian mna. On the other hand, in many weights between nos. 20-35 in the table, it is evident that the T letter signifies tetarton. Therefore, it is clear that the T letter was used for tetarton in Alexandrian weights. Otherwise, if TP were used for tetarton instead of T, it might easily lead to the misconception of triton, and such confusion in shopping transactions would be implausible.

In summary, it can be stated that the weights nos. 14-17 in the table are heavy tetartons, but since most of the weights between nos. 14-35 carry the T letter, we can also conclude that all are tetartons (without labeling as 'heavy'). Without a doubt, the heavy tetartons chronologically come later than the lighter tetartons. The high mass of tetartons indicates the existence of a period when there was a mna standard exceeding 500 grams, even approaching 600 grams. This is a significant indication for dating them to the end of the second century BC or the first century BC. What is interesting about the tetarton with kithara (no. 33) is that the engraver has not been able to find a place for the bow symbol in the left or right field for it as it was in the bigger units and has wedged it diagonally in the lower right corner. Additionally, there is a short horizontal line under the kithara. This line should probably be the upper part of the first letter of the unit name, tetarton, which is T, but it is not clear due to a small stroke on the vertical line of T. In fact, this is exactly where the unit mark should be.

<sup>25</sup> Of course, if the main standard is a high-mass mna, then the subunits, ie tetartons, will also be of high mass!

The letter O positioned below the groundline (in the exergue) on the obverse of the weights between nos. 36 and 45 in the table indicates that they belong to the ogdoon unit. Their mna values vary from 556.8 g to 400.8 g. Given that the masses of the examples between nos. 36-40 in the table are relatively high, it can be suggested that they are dated later to the end of the second century BC or the first quarter of the first century BC.

The weights between nos. 46 and 51 in the table, weighing between approximately 30-40 grams, could possibly be distateron in unit. We best know the distateron and stater units from Cyzicus, as the unit abbreviations are seen on their weights in these units.<sup>26</sup>

As a secondary symbol on the weights, more often between the horse's legs, there is a single corn grain (nos. 7, 11-13, 18, 20-22, 24-28, 30, 32, 35-40, 42-43, 46, 49 in the table), which does not appear on the coins. Besides the corn grain, at times, a small or large circle (nos. 46, 49-51) or a bunch of grapes (nos. 4 and 9) can also be observed. It is evident that the large o-like symbol or circle in the exergue does not correspond to the unit mark since the masses do not match with the units. Therefore, the o-like object or circle should only be considered as a symbol. Perhaps counterfeiters aimed to make the weights in 1/12 (distateron) units seem as if they were 1/8 (ogdoon)! However, the ones in the ogdoon units have that symbol as solid, while the ones in the 1/12 units have it in the form of a small circle, resembling O letter.

When examining all the examples in the table, it is evident that the mass of the mna was not constant and that there were at least four different mna standards over time: 1) 420-450 g, 2) 450-500 g, 3) 500-550 g, 4) 550-600 g (and above). Undoubtedly, these mass frequencies are quite relative, and there could be even more varied frequencies. For instance, these four mass / standard periods could also be combined into roughly two periods, such as 1) 420 - 500 g and 2) 500-600 g. Nonetheless, in any case, it is clear that over time, there have been instances indicating that the mass of the mna was increased multiple times, a situation that is true for the weights of other city-states in the Aegean world as well.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, while the Attic standard is generally considered, could it be conceivable that the initial stages of the city might have been based on the siglos of the Persian standard in terms of mass content?<sup>28</sup> Finally, let's note that bronze weights, which are of higher quality and durability compared to lead weights, are predominantly used by market officials to check the weights of lead weights.

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<sup>26</sup> Tekin 2016, table 29, nos. 64-90.

<sup>27</sup> Tekin 2016, 20-24; IG II2, 1013, II.29-37; Lang 1964, 18-20; *New Pauly, Antiquity* 15 s.v. "Weights. III. Greece, IV. Rome".

<sup>28</sup> For the possibility of the use of the Persian standard in the early silver coins of Alexandria see, Meadows 2004, 53.

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Pondera. An Online Database of Ancient and Byzantine Weights.

#### **Auctions:**

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| CNG                  | Classical Numismatic Group   |
| Gorny & Mosch        | Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH                              |
| Gradl und Hinterland | Münzen-, Medaillen- und Papiergeldhandel <i>Gradl &amp; Hinterland</i> |
| Leu                  | Leu Numismatik AG  |
| Num. Naumann         | Numismatik Naumann GmbH  |
| Peus                 | Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger  |
| Roma Num.            | Roma Numismatics Limited   |

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TABLE. Weights of Alexandria (asterisks refer to the illustrated weights).

| No. | Met.+Mass+<br>Measure | Main<br>Type | Legend | Secondary<br>Symbol | Unit<br>Mark | Mna in<br>Gram | Note |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------|--------------|----------------|------|
|-----|-----------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------|--------------|----------------|------|

## Five-mna

|    |   |          |                        |      |   |       |  |
|----|---|----------|------------------------|------|---|-------|--|
| 1* | Pb+AE 2575 g<br>(2589 g)<br>122 x 122 x 20 mm | HORSE l. | AAEΞAN /<br>ΔIOKAEIOYΣ | Herm | Π | 515 g | Obv. covered with<br>copper alloy while rev.<br>is left lead.<br>Photo: L. Willocx |
|----|---|----------|------------------------|------|---|-------|--|

Ref.: National Museum, Warsaw. *DarSag* 4.1, 554, no. 23; Robert 1966, 51; Weiss 1990, 138, 3/a; 2008, 720,4/A; Tekin 2016, 94, table 35, 1; Killen 2017, 215, AlexTr b 1; Pondera, 1381.

## Three-mna

|    |                         |         |                     |     |       |       |   |
|----|-------------------------|---------|---------------------|-----|-------|-------|---|
| 2* | Pb 1266 g<br>92 x 95 mm | KITHARA | A-Λ / [E-Ξ] / A-[N] | Bow | [Γ] M | 422 g | - |
|----|-------------------------|---------|---------------------|-----|-------|-------|---|

Ref.: İzak Eskinazi Collection. Tekin 2016, pl. 35, fig. 278a-b (misattr. to Alabanda); Pondera, 13231 (two-mna)

## Two-mna

|    |                             |         |                 |     |     |         |   |
|----|-----------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----|-----|---------|---|
| 3* | Pb 825 g<br>99 x 99 x 10 mm | KITHARA | A-Λ / E-Ξ / A-N | Bow | M M | 412.5 g | - |
|----|-----------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----|-----|---------|---|

Ref.: Archaeological Museum of Delos. Deonna 1938, 147, B 608-7821, pl. 54, 423J; Henri Seyrig archive, 331; Killen 2017, 183, Del b 1 (misattr. to Delos), pl. 10, 10; Pondera, 2862.

## Heavy-mna

|    |                            |          |     |   |   |   |                 |
|----|----------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|---|-----------------|
| 4* | Pb 622 g<br>85 x 78 x 9 mm | HORSE l. | AAE | Bunch of<br>grapes;<br>monogram<br>between legs | - | - | Photo: R. Dylka |
|----|----------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|---|-----------------|

Ref.: Archäologische Museum der Universität Münster. Weiss 2008, 719, 4/1; Tekin 2016, table 35, 2; Killen 2017, AlexTr b 2, pl. 20, 2; Pondera, 13182.

## Mna

|    |                           |          |        |   |   |   |   |
|----|---------------------------|----------|--------|---|---|---|---|
| 5* | Pb 428.23 g<br>51 x 64 mm | HORSE l. | AAE[Ξ] | - | - | - | - |
|----|---------------------------|----------|--------|---|---|---|---|

Ref.: München, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Kruse and Stumpf 1998, 7, no. 8; Weiss 2008, 720, C; Tekin 2016, 94, table 35, no. 4; Killen 2017, 215, AlexTr b 3; Pondera -.

|    |                             |          |        |   |   |   |  |
|----|-----------------------------|----------|--------|---|---|---|--|
| 6* | Pb 425 g<br>77 x 76 x 10 mm | HORSE l. | AAEΞAN | - | - | - | Pierced on the bottom<br>right corner. |
|----|-----------------------------|----------|--------|---|---|---|--|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, 1; Pondera -.

|    |             |          |     |                            |   |   |   |
|----|-------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|---|---|
| 7* | Pb 422.40 g | HORSE r. | AAE | Corn grain<br>between legs | M | - | - |
|----|-------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|---|---|

Ref.: CNG Triton 13, 1284; Tekin 2014, 44, fig. 1; 2016, 94, table 35, no. 5; Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 8; Pondera -.

|    |                           |         |                 |     |   |   |  |
|----|---------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----|---|---|--|
| 8* | Pb no mass<br>105 x 91 mm | KITHARA | A-Λ / E-Ξ / [A] | Bow | M | - | The last [A] seems to<br>be on the bottom right<br>corner. |
|----|---------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----|---|---|--|

Ref.: Peus 421, 1235 (misattr. to Kolophon).

| No. | Met.+Mass+<br>Measure         | Main<br>Type | Legend | Secondary<br>Symbol                   | Unit<br>Mark | Mna in<br>Gram | Note |
|-----|-------------------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|------|
| 9*  | AE 381.50 g<br>76 x 69 x 5 mm | HORSE l.     | AΔE    | Bunch of<br>grapes; o<br>between legs | –            | –              | –    |

Ref.: Numismatic Museum, Athens. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou 1962, 429, 17; Robert 1966, 51; Weiss 1990, 138, 3/d; 2008, pl. 87, B; Tekin 2013a, fig. 1; 2016, 22, 171; Killen 2017, 215, AlexTr b 4; Pondera, 3172.

### Hemimnaion

|     |                                    |          |       |   |   |          |           |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------|-------|---|---|----------|-----------|
| 10* | Pb 230.44 g<br>51 x 46.6 x 11.8 mm | HORSE l. | [AΔE] | ? | ? | 460.88 g | Too worn. |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------|-------|---|---|----------|-----------|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, 2; Pondera-.

|     |                               |          |     |                            |   |         |                         |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|---------|-------------------------|
| 11* | Pb 217.05 g<br>51 x 51 x 6 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | Corn grain<br>between legs | H | 434.1 g | To the bottom right, TP |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|---------|-------------------------|

Ref.: Private Collection. Weiss 2008, 719, 2, pl. 88, Alexandria Troas 2; Tekin 2016, 94, table 35, 6; Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 9; Gorny & Mosch, EA 286, 4815; Pondera, 13183.

|     |                               |          |     |                            |   |         |                         |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|---------|-------------------------|
| 12* | Pb 209.80 g<br>46 x 46 x 9 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | Corn grain<br>between legs | H | 419.6 g | To the bottom right, TP |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|---------|-------------------------|

Ref.: İzak Eskinazi Collection. Tekin 2019, 72, 61; Pondera 13186.

|     |                               |          |     |                            |      |         |                        |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|------|---------|------------------------|
| 13* | Pb 197.1 g<br>47 x 48 x 12 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | Corn grain<br>between legs | [H]? | 394.2 g | Too worn.<br>Low mass. |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|------|---------|------------------------|

Ref.: Özkan Arıantürk Collection. Unpublished.

### Tetarton

|     |                             |          |     |   |   |          |                                     |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|----------|-------------------------------------|
| 14* | Pb 143.77<br>36 x 38 x 9 mm | HORSE l. | AΔE | – | T | 575.08 g | Countermarked with ear<br>of wheat. |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|----------|-------------------------------------|

Ref.: Private collection. Weiss 2008, 719, 3; Tekin 2016, 95, table 35, 7; Killen 2017, 215, AlexTr b 5; Pondera -.

|     |   |          |     |   |     |         |   |
|-----|---|----------|-----|---|-----|---------|---|
| 15* | Pb 143.70<br>(H. Perk: 137.5 g)<br>44 x 40 x 9 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | – | [T] | 547.8 g | – |
|-----|---|----------|-----|---|-----|---------|---|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2016, 216, AlexTr b 10, pl. 20, 3 (tetarton); Perk 2018, 3; Pondera, 13218.

|    |                       |          |     |   |   |       |   |
|----|-----------------------|----------|-----|---|---|-------|---|
| 16 | Pb 143<br>No measures | HORSE l. | AΔE | – | T | 572 g | – |
|----|-----------------------|----------|-----|---|---|-------|---|

Ref.: Gradl und Hinterland 13, 1991; Killen 2017, 215, AlexTr b 6; Pondera, 13194.

|     |   |          |     |   |   |         |                    |
|-----|---|----------|-----|---|---|---------|--------------------|
| 17* | Pb 141.8<br>(H. Perk: 135.5 g)<br>43 x 43 x 10 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | – | T | 567.2 g | Pierced; too worn. |
|-----|---|----------|-----|---|---|---------|--------------------|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum; Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 11, pl. 20, 4=Perk 2018, 4; Pondera 13219.

|     |                            |          |     |                            |              |       |  |
|-----|----------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|--------------|-------|--|
| 18* | Pb 135 g<br>40 x 42 x 8 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | Corn grain<br>between legs | T[E]<br>lig. | 540 g | Pierced. Notice the<br>spiky protrusions on<br>the corn grain. |
|-----|----------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|--------------|-------|--|

Ref.: Özkan Arıantürk Collection. Tekin 2019, 72, no. 62; Pondera, 13187.

|     |                             |          |     |                            |   |       |  |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|-------|--|
| 19* | Pb 134 g<br>44 x 43 x 10 mm | HORSE r. | AΔE | Corn grain<br>between legs | – | 536 g |  |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|----------------------------|---|-------|--|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, 5; Pondera -.

| No.   | Met.+Mass+<br>Measure                              | Main<br>Type | Legend | Secondary<br>Symbol        | Unit<br>Mark | Mna in<br>Gram | Note  |
|---|--|--------------|--------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|---|
| 20*   | Pb 127.1 g<br>(H. Perk: 121.5 g)<br>47 x 47 x 9 mm | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | T            | 508.4 g        | Pierced; too worn.  |
| Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 12, pl. 20, 5=Perk 2018, 6; Pondera, 13220.                           |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 21*   | Pb 118.11 g<br>41 x 43 x 6 mm                      | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | T            | 472.44 g       | –   |
| Ref.: Weiss 2008, 719, no. 4, pl. 88, 4; Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 13; Pondera -.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 22*   | Pb 114.1<br>39 x 37 x 10 mm                        | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | [T]          | 456.4 g        | –   |
| Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Unpublished.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 23*   | Pb 113.3 g<br>48 x 43 x 8 mm                       | HORSE l.     | AAE    | –                          | –            | 453.2 g        | Too worn.   |
| Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Unpublished.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 24*   | Pb 112.84 g<br>44 x 46 x 6 mm                      | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | –            | 451.36 g       | On the bottom right<br>corner, crush.   |
| Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, 7. Pondera -.   |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 25*   | Pb 110.3 g<br>39 x 39 x 11 mm                      | HORSE l.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | ?            | 441.2 g        | Too worn.   |
| Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Unpublished.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 26*   | Pb 109.8 g<br>53 x 54 x 6.5 mm                     | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | [TE?]        | 439.2g         | Too worn, broken<br>at below. The unit<br>mark has an H-shaped<br>appearance. |
| Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, 8; Pondera-.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 27*   | Pb 107.83 g<br>41 x 39 mm                          | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | T            | 431.32 g       | –   |
| Ref.: Roma Num. E-Sale 56, 306; Pondera -.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 28*   | Pb 106.72 g<br>43 x 43 mm                          | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | T            | 426.88 g       | –   |
| Ref.: Leu 14, 904; Pondera, 14242.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 29*   | Pb 104.60 g<br>(105 g)<br>43 x 40 x 9 mm           | HORSE r.     | AAE    | –                          | TE           | 418.4 g        | –   |
| Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Tekin 2013a, fig 2; 2016, 95, table 35, 9, fig. 173; 2019, 72, no. 63; Pondera, 3173. |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 30*   | Pb 103.7 g<br>44 x 44 x 7 mm                       | HORSE r.     | AAE    | Corn grain<br>between legs | T            | 414.8 g        | –   |
| Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Unpublished.  |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |
| 31*   | Pb 102.7 g<br>(H. Perk: 98 g)<br>42 x 41 x 7 mm    | HORSE r.     | [A]AE  | –                          | ?            | 410.8 g        | Too worn.   |
| Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 15, pl. 20, 6; Perk 2018, 9; Pondera, 13221.                          |  |              |        |                            |              |                |   |

| No. | Met.+Mass+<br>Measure        | Main<br>Type | Legend | Secondary<br>Symbol        | Unit<br>Mark | Mna in<br>Gram | Note  |
|-----|------------------------------|--------------|--------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------|
| 32* | Pb 102.7 g<br>46 x 45 x 7 mm | HORSE r.     | AÆ     | Corn grain<br>between legs | T            | 410.8 g        | Worn. |

Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Unpublished.

|     |                               |         |           |                                      |   |         |  |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------------------------|---|---------|--|
| 33* | Pb 101.40 g<br>45 x 45 x 6 mm | KITHARA | A–A / E–E | Bow on the<br>bottom right<br>corner | T | 405.6 g | Small dent on the<br>middle of the bottom<br>edge. |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------------------------|---|---------|--|

Ref.: Altan Tokgöz Collection. Unpublished.

|     |  |          |    |                            |       |  |                         |
|-----|--|----------|----|----------------------------|-------|--|-------------------------|
| 34* | Pb 98.75 g (broken,<br>originally might be<br>ca. 110 g)<br>44 x 43 x 7 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | TA[P] | 395 g<br>(incl.<br>missing<br>part ca.<br>440 g) | Tartemorion (=Tetarton) |
|-----|--|----------|----|----------------------------|-------|--|-------------------------|

Ref.: Pera Museum. Tekin 2013b, 35; 2016, 95, table 35, no. 10; Pondera, 1825.

|     |                              |          |    |                            |   |          |           |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|----------|-----------|
| 35* | Pb 98.06 g<br>46 x 44 x 5 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | T | 392.24 g | Low mass. |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|----------|-----------|

Ref.: Louvre Museum. Weiss 1990, 138, 3 b; 2008, 720, 719-720, 4 D and E (Weiss states that these two weights of 99,78 g and 99,06 g may be identical); Tekin 2016, 95, table 35, no. 1, fig. 175; Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 14; Pondera -.

### Ogdoon

|     |                                    |          |    |                            |   |         |   |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|---------|---|
| 36* | Pb 69.6 g<br>30.2 x 31.18 x 9.1 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | O | 556.8 g | – |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|---------|---|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, no. 10 (incorrectly, hektemorion); Pondera -.

|     |   |          |    |                            |   |         |          |
|-----|---|----------|----|----------------------------|---|---------|----------|
| 37* | Pb 67.10 g<br>(H. Perk: 64 g)<br>33 x 32 x 8 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | O | 536.8 g | Pierced. |
|-----|---|----------|----|----------------------------|---|---------|----------|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 16, pl. 20, 7=Perk 2018, no. 11 (64 g, incorrectly, hektemorion); Pondera, 13222.

|     |                              |          |    |                            |   |          |   |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|----------|---|
| 38* | Pb 65.14 g<br>32 x 32 x 7 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | O | 521.12 g | – |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|----------|---|

Ref.: Garo Kürkman Collection. Tekin 2013a, fig. 3; 2016, 95, table 35, no. 12; Pondera, 3174.

|     |                           |          |    |                            |   |       |          |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|-------|----------|
| 39* | Pb 57 g<br>33 x 32 x 8 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | O | 456 g | Pierced. |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|-------|----------|

Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Unpublished.

|     |                             |          |    |                            |   |         |          |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|---------|----------|
| 40* | Pb 56.7 g<br>32 x 31 x 4 mm | HORSE l. | AÆ | Corn grain<br>between legs | – | 453.6 g | Pierced. |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|----|----------------------------|---|---------|----------|

Ref.: Museum of Troy. Unpublished.

|     |                             |          |    |   |   |       |   |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|----|---|---|-------|---|
| 41* | Pb 54.5 g<br>31 x 28 x 7 mm | HORSE r. | AÆ | – | O | 436 g | – |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|----|---|---|-------|---|

Ref.: Özkan Arıkan Türk Collection. Tekin 2013a, fig. 4; 2016, 95, table 35, no. 13; Pondera, 3175.

| No. | Met.+Mass+<br>Measure    | Main<br>Type | Legend | Secondary<br>Symbol                | Unit<br>Mark | Mna in<br>Gram | Note                   |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------|--------|------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------|
| 42* | Pb 54.17 g<br>31 x 31 mm | HORSE r.     | AAE    | O or corn<br>grain between<br>legs | O            | 433.36 g       | Same mold with no. 43. |

Ref.: CNG EA 212, 140; Tekin 2014, fig. 2; 2016, 95, table 35, no. 14; Killen 2017, 217, AlexTr b 17; Pondera -.

|     |                              |          |     |                                    |   |         |                        |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|-----|------------------------------------|---|---------|------------------------|
| 43* | Pb 53.35 g<br>33 x 31 x 7 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | O or corn<br>grain between<br>legs | O | 426.8 g | Same mold with no. 42. |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|-----|------------------------------------|---|---------|------------------------|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2017, 217, AlexTr b 18, Pl. 20, 8=Perk 2018, no. 12; Pondera 13223.

|     |                                    |          |     |   |     |         |                                  |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------|-----|---|-----|---------|----------------------------------|
| 44* | AE 52.6 g<br>33.4 x 32.7 x 8.55 mm | HORSE l. | AAE | ? | [O] | 420.8 g | Pierced; unit mark half visible. |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------|-----|---|-----|---------|----------------------------------|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Perk 2018, 13; Pondera -.

|     |                         |          |     |   |   |         |   |
|-----|-------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|---------|---|
| 45* | AE 50.1 g<br>30 x 31 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | - | O | 400.8 g | At the top, a dent on the ground line. At the bottom, incised with $\Delta$ and some irregular incisions. |
|-----|-------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|---------|---|

Ref.: İzak Eskinazi Collection. Pondera -.

#### Distateron

|     |  |          |     |  |   |         |   |
|-----|--|----------|-----|--|---|---------|---|
| 46* | Pb 40.2 g<br>(H. Perk: 38.3 g)<br>27 x 29 x 7 mm | HORSE l. | AAE | Large globe<br>or corn grain<br>between legs | - | 482.4 g | - |
|-----|--|----------|-----|--|---|---------|---|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2017, 216, AlexTr b 7= Perk 2018, no. 15; Pondera, 13217. It is not certain that the weights in Killen and Perk are the same; it is not clear since there is no photo in Killen.

|     |   |          |     |   |   |         |                     |
|-----|---|----------|-----|---|---|---------|---------------------|
| 47* | Pb 40.1<br>(H. Perk: 38.55 g)<br>27 x 29 x 6 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | ? | - | 481.2 g | Too worn.<br>Heavy? |
|-----|---|----------|-----|---|---|---------|---------------------|

Ref.: Haluk Perk Museum. Killen 2017, 217, AlexTr b 19, pl 20, 9=Perk 2018, no.14; Pondera, 13224.

|     |                           |          |     |   |   |       |           |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|-------|-----------|
| 48* | Pb 36 g<br>27 x 26 x 6 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | - | - | 432 g | Too worn. |
|-----|---------------------------|----------|-----|---|---|-------|-----------|

Ref.: Pera Museum. Tekin 2013b, no. 36; 2016, 95, table 35, no. 15; Pondera, 1826.

|     |                              |          |     |  |   |          |  |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|-----|--|---|----------|--|
| 49* | Pb 34.61 g<br>29 x 29 x 6 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | corn grain<br>between legs<br>and O-like<br>symbol in<br>exergue | - | 415.32 g | Small dent on the ground line.<br>Same mold with no. 51. |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|-----|--|---|----------|--|

Ref.: Altan Tokgöz Collection. Unpublished.

|     |                             |          |     |                             |   |         |                    |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|-----------------------------|---|---------|--------------------|
| 50* | AE 32.3 g<br>26 x 24 x 4 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | O-like symbol<br>in exergue | - | 387.6 g | Pierced. Low mass. |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|-----------------------------|---|---------|--------------------|

Ref.: Louvre Museum. Weiss 1990, 138, 3/c; 2008, 720, E; Tekin 2016, 95, table 35, no. 16, fig. 177; Killen 2017, 217, AlexTr b 20; Pondera -.

|     |                              |          |     |                             |   |          |  |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|-----|-----------------------------|---|----------|--|
| 51* | Pb 31.74 g<br>28 x 28 x 6 mm | HORSE r. | AAE | O-like symbol<br>in exergue | - | 380.88 g | Broken at the bottom left corner. Same mold with no. 49. |
|-----|------------------------------|----------|-----|-----------------------------|---|----------|--|

Ref.: Altan Tokgöz Collection. Unpublished.





FIG. A Alexandria. 261-227 BC.  
Obv., head of Apollo; rev., horse. AR 2.69 g,  
drachm. Gorny & Mosch 240, 218.



FIG. B Alexandria. 261-246 BC.  
Obv., head of Apollo; rev., horse. AE 16 mm,  
3.25 g. Roma Num. ESale 29, 127.



FIG. C Alexandria Troas. Mid-third cent. AD.  
Obv., City Goddess; rev. horse. AE 22 mm,  
4.41 g. Leu Num. WA 26, 2205.



FIG. D Alexandria Troas. AD 251-253.  
Obv., bust of Volusianus; rev., horse. AE 23 mm,  
5.27 g. Gorny & Mosch 282, 3539.



FIG. E Neandria. Late fourth cent. BC.  
Obv., head of Apollo; rev., horse. AE 20 mm,  
6.47 g. Num. Naumann 122, 274.



FIG. F Neandria. 350-300 BC.  
Obv., head of Apollo; rev., horse. AR 1.83 g,  
hemidrachm. Gorny & Mosch 265, 367.



FIG. G Alexandria. 164-135 BC.  
Obv., head of Apollo; rev., kithara. AE 18.5 mm,  
6.45 g. CNG EA 351, 246.



FIG. H Alexandria. 164-135 BC.  
Obv., head of Apollo; rev., kithara. AE 20.5 mm,  
6.64 g. CNG EA 500, 276.



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# Amphora Stamps of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Myra and its Harbor Neighborhood of Andriake

ERKAN ALKAÇ – BESTE TOMAY\*

## Abstract

The subject of this study is 34 stamped amphora handles found in the theater of the southern city of Myra and its harbor neighborhood of Andriake within the extent of the ongoing work in the Myra-Andriake excavations since 2009. Of these 30 were from the Hellenistic period, 1 from the Hellenistic-Roman periods, and 3 from the Roman Imperial – Late Antique periods. The aim of this article is to classify and date these amphora stamps according to their production centers, to determine whether the names on the stamps belong to the eponym or the fabricant, and to determine the commercial relations of Myra and Andriake.

**Keywords:** Lycia, Myra, Andriake, amphora stamp, amphora, trade

## Öz

Myra-Andriake kazılarında 2009 yılından bu yana devam eden çalışmalar kapsamında, Andriake güney kentte ve Myra Tiyatrosundaki çalışmalarda tespit edilen 34 adet mühürlü amphora kulbu bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Toplamda 30 adet Hellenistik Dönem, 1 adet Hellenistik-Roma ve 3 adet Roma İmparatorluk-Geç Antik Çağ mührü tespit edilmiştir. Makale kapsamında, Myra ve Andriake’de bulunmuş amphora mühürlerini üretim merkezlerine göre sınıflandırmak, mühürleri tarihlemek, mühürlerdeki isimlerin yöneticiye mi yoksa üreticiye mi ait olduğunu belirlemek ve Myra ile Andriake’nin ticari ilişkilerini tespit etmek amaçlanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lykia, Myra, Andriake, amphora mührü, amphora, ticaret

## Myra and the Harbor Neighborhood of Andriake

Myra was one of the important metropoleis of Middle Lycia from the Classical period to the end of Late Antiquity. Today it is located in Demre in the province of Antalya.<sup>1</sup> The earliest architecture detected in the city are the rock tombs dated to the Classical period.<sup>2</sup> After the conquest of the region by Alexander the Great in 333 BC, the sovereignty of the Ptolemies started in 306 BC.<sup>3</sup> According to the information given by Porphyry of Tyre, in this period Patara, Xanthos, Limyra and Andriake were dominated by the Seleucid King Antiochus III in 197 BC.<sup>4</sup> As a result of the Apameia Peace Treaty signed between Rome and Antiochus III in

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<sup>1</sup> Çevik 2021, 360.

<sup>2</sup> Çevik 2016, 224; also for rock cut tombs of Myra see Tıbıkoğlu 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Magie 1950, 1:523.

<sup>4</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 26.

188 BC, Lycia came under the rule of Rhodes.<sup>5</sup> Then independence was given back to Lycia by Rome in 167 BC.<sup>6</sup> It was thought that Tyberissos and Theimiussa were in a *sympoliteia*<sup>7</sup> with the demos they founded together in the Late Hellenistic period with the *isopoliteia* treaty<sup>8</sup> with Xanthos in the second century BC and that the chief mint of the Massikytos region could be in Myra during the Hellenistic Union period.<sup>9</sup> Lentulus Spinther, Brutus' commander, occupied the city by breaking the chains in front of Andriake's harbor in 42 BC to collect soldiers and money from Myra.<sup>10</sup> During the reign of Emperor Nero, the inscription with the customs law was placed in Andriake between AD 60-63, and building activities such as the horrea and commercial agora were carried out by Emperor Hadrian in AD 129.<sup>11</sup> It became one of the important harbor cities of the Mediterranean, which Gordian III allowed to mint coins.<sup>12</sup> With the spread of Christianity in the region, it became a religious and administrative capital by Emperor Theodosius II in AD 408-450.<sup>13</sup> The Arab raids, which started in the seventh century AD, continued in AD 789 and then occupied by the Abbasids in AD 802.<sup>14</sup> In AD 1155-1192, the Seljuks seized the region.<sup>15</sup>

Andriake is known as the harbor settlement of Myra.<sup>16</sup> It was established on the north and south sides of Andriakos, which is known as Kocarçay today, approximately 4.7 km southwest of Myra.<sup>17</sup> Simultaneously with the history of Myra, there is an intense settlement from the Classical period to late antiquity, but the history of Myra and the harbor settlement Andriake is thought to date back to the third millennium BC.<sup>18</sup> Since 2009 in Myra and Andriake, excavations have been carried out in the wine and murex workshops, shops, religious buildings such as churches and synagogues, agora, and Horrea Hadriani. In them commercial amphorae in different forms have been identified which were determined to be produced in many places. Significant data have also been obtained from the stamped amphora handles, which is the subject of the article.

## A. Rhodian Amphora Stamps

### A.1. Rhodian Eponym Stamps

**1.** Andriake, A Church Surface. Rectangular, 4.2 x 1.6 cm. Three line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Ἀριστῶν II. Month: Ἀγρίανιος. Date: c. 167/165 BC. Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ 02-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-.<sup>19</sup> (fig. 1)

<sup>5</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Larsen 1945, 71; Magie 1950, 1:524; Çevik and Bulut 2010, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Schuler 2007, 383.

<sup>8</sup> Dinç 2010, 106.

<sup>9</sup> Troxell 1982, 130.

<sup>10</sup> App., *B Civ.* 4.82; Çevik and Bulut 2010, 27; Çevik 2021, 360.

<sup>11</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Foss 1994, 23; Çevik and Bulut 2010, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Hellenkemper 1993.

<sup>15</sup> Foss 1994, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Çevik 2021, 377.

<sup>17</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 2:435; Çevik and Bulut 2010, 25; Çevik 2021, 359.

<sup>18</sup> Çevik 2021, 358.

<sup>19</sup> It does not exist in www.amphoralex.org. Personal communication with Prof. Dr. G. Cankardeş-Şenol.

Ἐπί Ἀρίστ[ω]-  
 νος  
 Ἀγριανίου

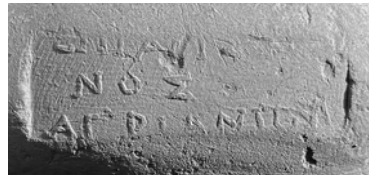


FIG. 1

The stamp bears the name of the eponym Ἀρίστων II and of the month Ἀγριάνιος. It is stated that Ἀρίστων II served in Period IIIe in 167/165 BC.<sup>20</sup> Relations of this eponym with fabricants Ἀμύντας, Ἀντίμαχος, Ἀριστοκλῆς II, Δαμοκράτης I, Δῖος I, Ἑρμῶν II, Ἰάσων I, Ἴπποκράτης and Μαρσύας have been detected.<sup>21</sup> The rose and a bust of Helios were used as symbols on stamps related to Ἀρίστων II.<sup>22</sup>

2. Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 4.6 x 2.0 cm. Three line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Ἀριστείδας III. Month: Βαδρόμιος. Date: c. 111 BC. Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑΣ 03-ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ-002.<sup>23</sup> (fig. 2)

Ἐπί Ἀριστεί-  
 δα  
 Βαδρομίου



FIG. 2

The stamp contains the name of the eponym Ἀριστείδας III and of the month Βαδρόμιος. It is stated that the eponym served in Period Vc in c. 111 BC.<sup>24</sup> The rose and a bust of Helios were used as symbols on stamps related to Ἀριστείδας III.<sup>25</sup> The relations of this eponym with the fabricants Γαλέστης, Δῶρος II, Εὐφράνωρ II,<sup>26</sup> Μενεκράτης II<sup>27</sup> and Φιλοστέφανος II<sup>28</sup> were detected.<sup>29</sup> In Patara, the name of the eponym is found together with the name of the month Ὑακίνθιος.<sup>30</sup>

3. Andriake, Synagogue. Circular. One peripheral inscription line, letters facing inwards. Eponym: Ἀριστόμαχος II (?). Date: c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC. Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ 02-001.<sup>31</sup> (fig. 3)

[Ἐπί Ἀρ]ισ[τομάχου]  
 Head of Helios



FIG. 3

The head of Helios is in the center of the stamp in circular form. Some letters have been identified around this symbol.

When these letters and the Helios symbol are taken together, the name on the stamp is probably

<sup>20</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 192, table 19.

<sup>21</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 191.

<sup>22</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 463, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ 02-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-002; 468, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ 02-002.

<sup>23</sup> Personal communication with Prof. Dr. G. Cankardeş-Şenol.

<sup>24</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 195, table 21.

<sup>25</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 327-40.

<sup>26</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 156, table 12.2.

<sup>27</sup> Jöhrens 2001, 374, table 4. no. 1 a-c.

<sup>28</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 156, no. 34.

<sup>29</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 218.

<sup>30</sup> DüNDAR 2017, 138-39, Rh.77.

<sup>31</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 412, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ 02-001.

the eponym Ἀριστόμαχος II. It is stated that this eponym served in Period VI (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC).<sup>32</sup> This stamp from Andriake is identical to an example in the Alexandria Benaki Collection.<sup>33</sup>

4. Myra, Theater. Rectangular, ? x 1.5 cm. Three line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Ἀριστόνομος. Month: Ἀγριάνιος. Date: c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC. Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-001.<sup>34</sup> (fig. 4)

[Ἐπὶ Ἀρ]ισ-  
το[ν]όμου  
Ἀ[γριανίου]



FIG. 4

The stamp contains the name of the eponym Ἀριστόνομος. According to the same die in the Alexandria Benaki Collection, the name of the month is displayed on this stamp. It is stated that this eponym served in Period VI (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC).<sup>35</sup> It is understood that the eponym Ἀριστόνομος has relations with the fabricants Γαλέστης,<sup>36</sup> Δῶρος II<sup>37</sup> and Φιλοστέφανος II.<sup>38</sup> This stamp from Myra is from the same matrix as an example in the Alexandria Benaki Collection.<sup>39</sup>

5. Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 2.5 x 1.3 cm. Three line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Ἀριστόπολις. Month: Πάναμος. Date: c. 118 BC. Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-004.<sup>40</sup> (fig. 5)

Ἐπὶ Ἀρισ-  
τοπόλιος  
Πανάμ-  
ου

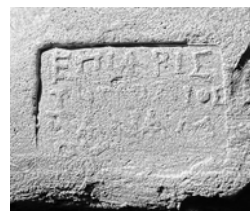


FIG. 5

On the stamp are the name of the eponym Ἀριστόπολις and of the month Πάναμος. It is stated that the eponym served in Period Vc in 118 BC.<sup>41</sup> On some stamps with the name of Ἀριστόπολις, symbols of a rose and a Helios head are seen. Sometimes there are also secondary stamps accompanying to the main stamps.<sup>42</sup> Relations of this eponym with fabricants Ἀνδρόνικος,<sup>43</sup> Γαλέστης,<sup>44</sup> Μενέστρατος,<sup>45</sup> Μίδας,<sup>46</sup> Σώταιρος,<sup>47</sup> Τιμῶλος<sup>48</sup> and Φιλοστέφανος II<sup>49</sup> have been detected.

<sup>32</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 161, table 13.

<sup>33</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 412, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ 02-001.

<sup>34</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 428, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-001.

<sup>35</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 161, table 13.

<sup>36</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 428.

<sup>37</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 226.

<sup>38</sup> Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 312, E33.

<sup>39</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 428, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-001.

<sup>40</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 442, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-004.

<sup>41</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 195, table 21.

<sup>42</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 435-45.

<sup>43</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 435.

<sup>44</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 133.

<sup>45</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 435.

<sup>46</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 156, table 12.2.

<sup>47</sup> Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994, 197, SAH 25.

<sup>48</sup> Jöhrens 2001, 432, no. 268.

<sup>49</sup> Nicolaou 2005, 422, no. 86.

This stamp found in Myra and a stamp in the Alexandria Benaki Collection came out of the same matrix.<sup>50</sup>

6. Andriake, West Bath. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.5 cm. Two line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Ἐστίειος. Month: Ἀγριάνιος. Date: c. 114 BC. Matrix: RE-ΕΣΤΙΕΙΟΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-007.<sup>51</sup> (fig. 6)

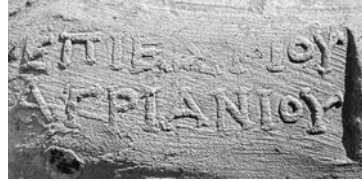


FIG. 6

Ἐπὶ Ἐστι(ε)ίου *sic*  
Ἀγριανίου

On the stamp are the name of the ruler Ἐστίειος and of the month Ἀγριάνιος. It is stated that the eponym served in Period Vc in 114 BC.<sup>52</sup> A bust of Helios and a rose are seen as symbols on stamps related to Ἐστίειος.<sup>53</sup> The relations of this eponym with the fabricants Ἀναξιππίδας,<sup>54</sup> Δῖος II,<sup>55</sup> Εἰρναῖος,<sup>56</sup> Μενέστρατος<sup>57</sup> and Φιλοστέφανος II<sup>58</sup> have been detected.

7. Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 4.5 x 2.0 cm. Three line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Λεοντίδας. Month: Ἀγριάνιος. Date: c. 127 BC. Matrix: RE-ΛΕΟΝΤΙΔΑΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-015.<sup>59</sup> (fig. 7)



FIG. 7

Ἐπὶ ἱερῆ[ως]  
Λεοντίδα  
Ἀγριανίου

The stamp contains the name of the eponym Λεοντίδας and of the month Ἀγριάνιος. It is stated that this eponym served in Period Vb in c. 127 BC.<sup>60</sup> Symbols of a rose and a head of Helios are seen on stamps related to the eponym. Secondary stamps were also used accompanying the main stamps.<sup>61</sup> Relations of the eponym Λεοντίδας with the fabricants Ἀναξιππίδας, Ἀρτίμας, Δαμόφιλος, Διόκλεια, Εὐκλείτος, Εὐφράνωρ II, Μίδας and Σωσίφιλος have been detected.<sup>62</sup>

8. Andriake, West Bath. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.5 cm. Two line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Πεισίστρατος. Month: Κάρνειος. Date: c. 160 BC. Matrix: RE-ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ-001.<sup>63</sup> (fig. 8)



FIG. 8

<sup>50</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 442, RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-004.

<sup>51</sup> Personal communication with Prof. Dr. G. Cankardeş-Şenol.

<sup>52</sup> Finkielsztein 2001, 195, table 21.

<sup>53</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 99-108.

<sup>54</sup> Dothan 1971, 49, fig. 13.2.

<sup>55</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 99.

<sup>56</sup> Finkielsztein 2001, 156, table 12.2.

<sup>57</sup> Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 296, n. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Finkielsztein 2001, 156, table 12.2.

<sup>59</sup> Personal communication with Prof. Dr. G. Cankardeş-Şenol.

<sup>60</sup> Finkielsztein 2001, 195, table 21.

<sup>61</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 16-29.

<sup>62</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 217.

<sup>63</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 238, RE-ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ-001.

Ἐπὶ Π(ε)ισιστράτου *sic*  
Καρνείου

On the stamp are the name of the eponym Πεισίστρατος and of the month Κάρνειος. It is stated that this eponym served in Period IVa in c. 160 BC.<sup>64</sup> The term of the activities of the fabricants of this eponym is the criterion for determining the terms of office of fabricants Ἀριστοκλήης II, Μαρσύας, Νανῖς and Τιμαρχίδας.<sup>65</sup> This stamp from Myra is impressed by the same matrix as the example in the Alexandria Benaki Collection.<sup>66</sup> A stamp with a rose symbol and the name of the month Πάναμος, as well as containing the name Πεισίστρατος, similar one was also found in Patara.<sup>67</sup>

**9.** Andriake, Surface, Field 121. Rectangular. Three line horizontal inscription. Eponym: Τιμοκλήης II (?). Month: ?. Date: c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC. Matrix: RE-TΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ 02-month name ?-. (fig. 9)

[Ἐπὶ Τιμοκ]λε-  
ῦς (?)  
[.....]

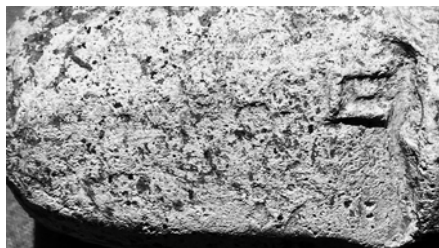


FIG. 9

The inscription on the stamp is heavily damaged, and only a few letters have been preserved. Based on these letters, there should probably be the name of the eponym Τιμοκλήης II on the stamp. The third line should have the name of a month. It is stated that the eponym Τιμοκλήης II served in Period VI (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC).<sup>68</sup>

### A.2. Rhodian Fabricant Stamps

**10.** Myra, Theater. Rectangular. One line horizontal inscription. Fabricant: Ἀφροδίσιος III. Date: c. 124-122 – c. 119 BC. Matrix: RF-AΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ 03-.<sup>69</sup> (fig. 10)

Ἀφρο[δ]ισίο[υ]



FIG. 10

The stamp contains the name of the fabricant Ἀφροδίσιος III. An anchor symbol can be seen below the fabricant's name on the stamps as seen in Kyme,<sup>70</sup> the Alexandria Benaki Collection,<sup>71</sup> and the Hermitage Museum.<sup>72</sup> Relations of Ἀφροδίσιος III with the eponym Τιμαγόρας I (c. 124 – c. 122 BC) and Εὐάνωρ (c. 119 BC) have been detected.<sup>73</sup> Regarding the dates of the eponyms, the fabricant's activity is suggested to be between c. 124 to c. 122-119 BC.

<sup>64</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 193, table 20.

<sup>65</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 213.

<sup>66</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 238, RE-ΠΙΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ-001.

<sup>67</sup> Dündar 2017, 131-32, Rh. 67.

<sup>68</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 161, table 13.

<sup>69</sup> It does not exist in [www.amphoralex.org](http://www.amphoralex.org).

<sup>70</sup> Doğer and Cankardeş-Şenol 1997, 40, no. 8.

<sup>71</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php). RF-AΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣ 03-001, 004, 009-011.

<sup>72</sup> Pridik 1917, 24, no. 546.

<sup>73</sup> Nicolaou 2005, 426-27, no. 111 a-b; 427-28, no. 113 a-b.



**11.** Andriake, Synagogue. Rectangular, 4.8 x 2.0 cm. One line horizontal inscription. Fabricant: Ἐρῦμνεύς. Date: c. 145 – c. 108 BC. Matrix: RF-EPYMNEYΣ-001.<sup>74</sup> (fig. 11)

Ἐρῦ[μ]νεύς

rose grape cluster



FIG. 11

The stamp contains the name of the fabricant Ἐρῦμνεύς. The symbols of a rose and a grape cluster are seen below the inscription on the left and the right. It is stated that the fabricant Ἐρῦμνεύς carried out his activities in Period V (c. 145 – c. 108 BC). An identical stamp is found in the Alexandria Benaki Collection.<sup>75</sup>

**12.** Andriake, Surface, Field 121. Rectangular, 4.8 x 2.0 cm. One line horizontal inscription. Fabricant: Ἐρῦμνεύς. Date: c. 145 – c. 108 BC. Matrix: RF-EPYMNEYΣ-004.<sup>76</sup> (fig. 12)

Ἐρῦμνε[ύς]

rose [grape cluster]



FIG. 12

The fabricant's name appears as Ἐρῦμνεύς on the stamp. About this fabricant see no. 11. The same mold was used to make a stamp for the example in the Alexandria Benaki Collection as well as for this stamp.

**13.** Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 4.7 x 1.6 cm. One line horizontal inscription. Fabricant: Ἱεροκλῆς II. Date: c. 124-c. 122 BC – c. 107-c. 88/86 BC. Matrix: RF-IEPOKΛΗΣ 002-033.<sup>77</sup> (fig. 13)

[Ἱ]εροκλεῦ[ς]



FIG. 13

The name of the fabricant Ἱεροκλῆς II is on the stamp. It is understood that this fabricant has connections with the eponyms Τιμασαγόρας I<sup>78</sup> (c. 124 – c. 122 BC), Σωκράτης (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC), Ἐχέβουλος<sup>79</sup> (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC), Τιμοκλῆς II (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC) and Φαινίλας<sup>80</sup> (c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC). Based on the years of duty of these eponyms, the fabricant was active between c. 124 – c. 122 and c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC.<sup>81</sup> With this stamp, an example in the Alexandria Benaki Collection is made from the same matrix.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>74</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php). RF-EPYMNEYΣ-001.

<sup>75</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php). RF-EPYMNEYΣ-001.

<sup>76</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php). RF-EPYMNEYΣ-004.

<sup>77</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php). RF-IEPOKΛΗΣ 002-033.

<sup>78</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2001, 400, no. 5.

<sup>79</sup> Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 315-16, E 42-43.

<sup>80</sup> Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 309, E 24.

<sup>81</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 258.

<sup>82</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php). RF-IEPOKΛΗΣ 002-033.

### A.3. Unrestorable Rhodian Stamps

**14.** Myra, Theater. Circular. One line circular inscription. Month: Δάλιος. Date: Second century BC. (fig. 14)

[.....] Δάλ[ιου]

rose

Only the name of the month Δάλιος could be identified on the stamp with a rose symbol in the center. The form of the handle on which this stamp is imprinted is similar to the Rhodian amphorae dated to the second century BC.<sup>83</sup>



FIG. 14

**15.** Andriake, Hellenistic city wall. Rectangular, 3.6 x 1.2 cm. Two line horizontal inscription. Date: Second century BC. (fig. 15)

Ἐ[πὶ .....]θ-

[.....]οτου



FIG. 15

The stamp could not be identified due to the heavy damage of some letters. The preposition ἐπί at the beginning of the inscription indicates that the name on the stamp belongs to an eponym. The form of the handle on which this stamp was imprinted is similar to Rhodian amphorae dating to the second century BC.<sup>84</sup>

**16.** Andriake, Field 121. Rectangular, ? x 2.2 cm. Date: Second century BC. (fig. 16)

[.....]

[.....]

The inscription could not be read due to the deletion of the letters on the stamp. The form of the handle is similar to second century BC Rhodian amphorae.<sup>85</sup>



FIG. 16

**17.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular, 4.7 cm x ?. Two line horizontal inscription. Month: Δάλιος. Date: Early first century BC. (fig. 17)

[.....]

Δάλιου



FIG. 17

Only the name of the month Δάλιος can be read on the stamp. The handle form of this amphora is similar to Rhodian amphorae dated to the early first century BC.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 60, pl. 3, figs. 11-12.

<sup>84</sup> Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 60, pl. 3, figs. 11-12.

<sup>85</sup> Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 60, pl. 3, figs. 11-12.

<sup>86</sup> Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 60, pl. 3, fig. 13.

18. Andriake, Synagogue. Circular. Date: Early first century BC. (fig. 18)

[.....]  
rose

In the center of the stamp is the rose symbol. The inscription around this symbol cannot be understood due to the impression. The handle form of this amphora is similar to Rhodian amphorae dated to the early first century BC.<sup>87</sup>



FIG. 18

19. Andriake, Field 121. Circular. Date: Early first century BC. (fig. 19)

[.....]ο[.....]  
rose

Only the letter omicron was detected on the stamp with a rose symbol in the center. The handle form of this amphora is similar to Rhodian amphorae dated to the early first century BC.<sup>88</sup>



FIG. 19

20. Andriake, Synagogue. Rectangular. Retrograde, three line horizontal inscription. Date: First century BC. (fig. 20)

[.....] *retrograde*  
θρ[...]  
[.....]

Only some letters can be identified on the stamp. The handle form of this amphora resembles Rhodian amphorae dated to the first century BC.<sup>89</sup>



FIG. 20

## B. Rhodian Peraea Eponym Stamp

21. Myra, Theater. Circular, R. 2.9 cm. Retrograde, one line circular inscription, letters facing inwards. Eponym: Τίμαρχος. Date: c. 262 – c. 247 BC. Matrix: RE-TIMAPXOΣ-001.<sup>90</sup> (fig. 21)

Τίμαρχος *retrograde*  
dot

There is the name of the eponym Τίμαρχος on this button type stamp with the dot in the center. It is stated that this eponym served in Period Ib in a year between c. 262 and c. 247 BC.<sup>91</sup> The relations of the eponym Τίμαρχος with the producers Δῶρος I and Ἰεροτέλης are understood.<sup>92</sup> This stamp found in



FIG. 21

<sup>87</sup> Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 60, pl. 3, fig. 13.

<sup>88</sup> Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 60, pl. 3, fig. 13.

<sup>89</sup> Şenol 2018, 386, no. 324.

<sup>90</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 53, RE-TIMAPXOΣ-001.

<sup>91</sup> Finkielsztejn 2001, 188, table 17.

<sup>92</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 200.

Myra and the sample found in the Alexandria Benaki Collection came out of the same matrix.<sup>93</sup> The name Τίμαρχος on the stamp in Patara has two inscription lines on the rectangular stamp.<sup>94</sup>

### C. Knidian Amphora Stamps

**22.** Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 2.1 cm x ?. Monogram. Date: c. 280 – c. 240. BC. (fig. 22)

ΕΠΙ(

The letters epsilon, pi and iota are ligatured, and it probably refers to a name beginning with Ἐπι-. The discovery of stamps in the production site bearing the name Ἐπίχαρμος together with ΕΠΙ( monograms are evidence supporting this suggestion.<sup>95</sup> Monograms appearing on Knidian amphorae are dated between c. 280 and c. 240 BC.<sup>96</sup>



FIG. 22

**23.** Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 2.2 x 1.7 cm. Monogram. Date: c. 280 – c. 240 BC. (fig. 23)

Σ

There is a monogram consisting of the letter sigma on the stamp. For Knidian monogram stamps, see no. 22.



FIG. 23

**24.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular, 3.0 x 1.7 cm. Date: After 84 BC. (fig. 24)

amphora

The amphora symbol is used on the stamp. Stamps with this symbol were found in a deposit dated after 84 BC in the Agora of Athens.<sup>97</sup> Late Knidian stamps with amphora symbols were also found in Patara<sup>98</sup> and Kaunos.<sup>99</sup>



FIG. 24

**25.** Myra, Theater. Circular, R. 3.3 cm. Date: Second century BC. (fig. 25)

[.....]

bull's head

In the center of the stamp is a bull's head symbol. The inscription around this symbol could not be resolved. The form of the handle with a bull's head is similar to Knidian amphorae dated to the second century BC.<sup>100</sup>



FIG. 25

<sup>93</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 53, RE-TIMAPXOΣ-001; Cankardeş-Şenol and Canoğlu 2009, 144, B85, fig. 109.

<sup>94</sup> DüNDAR 2017, 92, Rh.13.

<sup>95</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2013a, 183-84, no. 36.

<sup>96</sup> For Knidian monogram stamps see Cankardeş-Şenol 2006, 73; Şenol 1995, 31; Cankardeş-Şenol 2013a, 171.

<sup>97</sup> Grace and Savvastianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 354.

<sup>98</sup> DüNDAR 2017, 330, Kn.58.

<sup>99</sup> Schmaltz 2016, 374, nos. 869-70.

<sup>100</sup> Şenol 2018, 401, no. 333.

**26.** Andriake, Agora. Circular. Date: Second century BC. (fig. 26)

[.....]  
bull's head

In the center of the stamp is a bull's head symbol. Since the handle on which this stamp is printed is broken, the name(s) around the symbol cannot be determined. The handle on which the stamp is imprinted resembles Knidian amphorae of the second century BC.<sup>101</sup>

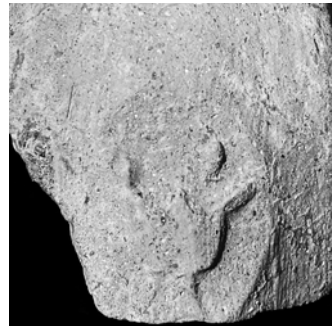


FIG. 26

**27.** Myra, Theater. Rectangular. Date: Second century BC. (fig. 27)

[.....]  
[.....]  
[.....]

The inscription on the stamp could not be resolved. The form of the handle on which this stamp is imprinted resembles Knidian amphorae dated to the second century BC.<sup>102</sup>

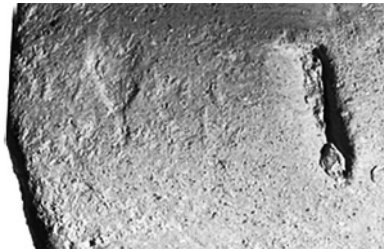


FIG. 27

#### D. Kos Amphora Stamps

**28.** Myra, Theater. Rectangular, 4.6 x 1.7 cm. Retrograde, one line horizontal inscription, double impression. Fabricant: Ἀπολλώνιος. Date: Second half of the second century BC. (fig. 28)

Ἀπολλωνίου *retrograde*

The stamp bears the name of the fabricant Ἀπολλώνιος. The abbreviation Ἀπολλ( found in Paphos was completed with this name.<sup>103</sup> This abbreviation was also found in Miletos<sup>104</sup> (retrograde) and Delos.<sup>105</sup> The stamp with the name Ἀπολλώνιος in Alexandria was recovered from the layer together with Rhodian amphora stamps dated to the second half of the second century BC.<sup>106</sup>



FIG. 28

**29.** Andriake, Synagogue. Rectangular, 4.7 x 1.6 cm. Retrograde, one line horizontal inscription, lunate sigma. Fabricant: Διονύσιος. Date: Second – first centuries BC. (fig. 29)

Διονύσιος *retrograde*



FIG. 29

<sup>101</sup> Şenol 2018, 401, no. 333.

<sup>102</sup> Şenol 2018, 401, no. 333.

<sup>103</sup> Sztetyllo 1991, 93, no. 217.

<sup>104</sup> Jöhrens 2014, 186, no. 55.

<sup>105</sup> [http://amphoralex.org/timbres\\_delos/delos\\_affiche\\_timbre\\_cos.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres_delos/delos_affiche_timbre_cos.php). CO-ΑΠΙΟΛΛ(-001).

<sup>106</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2017b, 237, no. 22, fig. 22a-b; Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 97, no. 44.

The stamp bears the name of the fabricant Διονύσιος. Other stamps with this name were found in Halikarnassos<sup>107</sup> and Paphos.<sup>108</sup> It is generally assumed that Koan amphora stamps date to the second and first centuries BC, depending on the layer and context information. As a result, Koan amphorae were stamped at this time.<sup>109</sup>

**30.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular, ? x 1.3 cm. Retrograde, one line horizontal inscription. Fabricant: Μενοκράτης. Date: Second – first centuries BC. (fig. 30)

Μενοκρά[της] *retrograde*



FIG. 30

The stamp has the inscription Μενοκρά[...] written in retrograde. The inscription is not completely preserved because the handle is broken. However, it is possible to complete this name as Μενοκράτης.<sup>110</sup>

### E. Lamboglia II Amphora Stamp

**31.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular, 3.0 x 1.2 cm. One line horizontal inscription, abbreviated inscription. Date: Late second – first century BC. (fig. 31)

ARIE(



FIG. 31

The stamp with the inscription ARIE( is on the rim of a Lamboglia amphora. This group of amphorae was produced at different points along the Adriatic coast of the Latin peninsula.<sup>111</sup> Wine and olive oil were transported in Lamboglia II amphorae to the centers.<sup>112</sup> The same inscription is engraved on the rim of a Lamboglia II amphora dated to the late second – first centuries BC in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria.<sup>113</sup> Stamps with different inscriptions were also found on Lamboglia II amphorae.<sup>114</sup>

### F. Dressel 30 Amphora Stamp

**32.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.7 cm. Two line horizontal inscription, A and V and A and E are ligatured, abbreviated inscription. Date: End of the second century AD – first half of the third century AD. (fig. 32)

MAVR( CAES(  
TVBVS(



FIG. 32

The rim of the Dressel 30 amphora has a stamp with the inscription MAVR( CAES( TVBVS(.<sup>115</sup> It has been determined that the amphorae of this group, which are used in olive oil transportation,

<sup>107</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol et al. 2023, 247, fig. 33a-b.

<sup>108</sup> Nicolaou 2005, 245, no. 720.

<sup>109</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 52.

<sup>110</sup> For this name see *LGPV* 1, 309.

<sup>111</sup> Carre et al. 2014, 418, fig. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Panella 2001, 192.

<sup>113</sup> Şenol 2018, 278-79, no. 236.

<sup>114</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2013b, 390-92, nos. 5-19.

<sup>115</sup> An identical die on a handle is from Spain, and its transcription is Maur(etaniae) Caes(ariensis) Tubus(uctu); see Carre et al. 1995, 139, no. 455.

were produced in the province of Mauretaniae Caesariensis.<sup>116</sup> A sample from the same matrix as this stamp was found in Ostia. The stamped amphorae of Mauretaniae Caesariensis are dated between the end of the second century AD and the first half of the third century AD.<sup>117</sup>

### G. Tripolitan III Amphora Stamp

**33.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular, ? x 1.4 cm. One line horizontal inscription. Date: Mid fourth century AD. (fig. 33)



FIG. 33

LSACV[.]

There is a stamp with the inscription LSACV[.] on the rim of a Tripolitan III amphora. This amphora group was determined to be produced in Tunisia.<sup>118</sup> It was determined that olive oil was carried with Tripolitanian amphorae dating between the second and fourth centuries AD.<sup>119</sup> A similar form of this amphora is noted as the production of Leptis Magna dated to the second and fourth centuries AD.<sup>120</sup>

### H. African Type IIIA Amphora Stamp

**34.** Andriake, Agora. Rectangular. Lines of horizontal inscription, abbreviated inscription, N retrograde. Date: Late third century AD to the mid fourth century AD. (fig. 34a-b)

ANI(  
KEP(

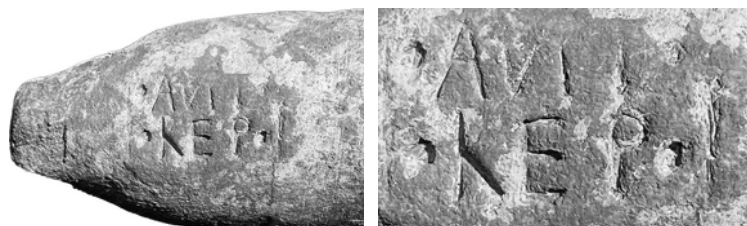


FIG. 34a-b

There is an inscription (probably in Greek) consisting of two lines at the pointed bottom of the African Type IIIA amphora. The letters are englyphic, and there is an englyphic dot at the beginning and end of the inscription on two lines. It was determined that African Type III amphorae were produced in the Zeugitane and Byzacene settlements of Tunisia in North Africa.<sup>121</sup> Amphorae of this group carried wine and olive oil.<sup>122</sup> African Type IIIA amphorae are generally dated to the end of the third to the middle of the fourth century AD.<sup>123</sup> Other examples classified as African Type were also found in other port cities of Lycia – Patara (Types IIA and IIIA)<sup>124</sup> and Phaselis (Type IIIA).<sup>125</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Bezczky et al. 2013, 181-82.

<sup>117</sup> Bonifay 2004, 15, no. 21-22, fig. 4.

<sup>118</sup> Bonifay et al. 2010, 325.

<sup>119</sup> Bezczky et al. 2013, 153.

<sup>120</sup> Bonifay 2004, 104-5, no. 1, fig. 55.

<sup>121</sup> Bonifay 2004, 122; Ghalia et al. 2005, 496-98.

<sup>122</sup> Şenol 2018, 229.

<sup>123</sup> Bonifay 2004, 119-22, figs. 63-65.

<sup>124</sup> Şen-Yıldırım 2012, 154, cat. nos. 2-6, fig. 1; Dündar 2018, 169-70, fig. 6.

<sup>125</sup> Aslan and Orhan 2019, 88-89, fig. 4.

## Conclusion

A total of 34 stamped handles of commercial amphorae of different types and dating from different centuries were found: 13 in Myra and 21 in its port Andriake. These amphorae provide information about the commercial relations of Myra and the Lycian region in which it is located. These amphora stamps are categorized as Rhodes, Rhodian Peraea, Knidos, Kos and Roman amphorae Lamboglia II, Dressel 30, Tripolitan III and African Type IIIA (graphic). All the stamps examined in this article were found outside their stratigraphy or context. In order to date the stamps, similar examples and the forms of the amphorae are taken into consideration.

Amphora stamps documenting the commercial connections established with Rhodes were found in Myra and Andriake. Through these stamped amphorae Rhodian wine was transported from Rhodes to Myra and Andriake. A total of 21 Rhodian and Peraea stamps, 8 at Myra and 13 at Andriake, were identified. Ten of these stamps bear the names of eponyms, and five bear the names of producers. Amongst the Rhodian amphora stamps, the earliest example bears the name of the eponym *Τίμαρχος* who held office in a year between c. 262 and c. 247 BC. This stamped handle belongs to an amphora produced in Rhodian Peraea. The latest Rhodian stamps from the two sites date to the late second - early first centuries BC. In terms of density, the general date of the Rhodian amphora stamps from Myra and Andriake is between the second and early first centuries BC. According to these data, commercial activities of Rhodes with Myra and Andriake, which started around the first half of the third century BC (with Rhodian Peraea), became more intense in the second century BC (with the island) and continued until the early first century BC. A similar historical situation can be observed in Patara, which is the most important source of information for the commercial connections between Rhodes and Lycia. The historical prevalence of Rhodian examples in this city is also in the second – early first centuries BC.<sup>126</sup>

A total of six Knidian amphora stamps, four in Myra and two in Andriake, were found. These stamps reveal that Knidian wine was transported to Myra and Andriake between c. 280 and c. 240 BC and then in the second century BC.

A total of three Koan amphora stamps, one in Myra and two in Andriake, were excavated. These stamps bear the names of the producers *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Διονύσιος* and *Μενοκράτης*. They are dated to the second and first centuries BC. Amphorae belonging to Kos, dated between the fifth century BC and the first half of the first century BC, were found in Patara, and only a few of them were identified as stamped. The stamped examples from this city also belong to the third and second centuries BC.<sup>127</sup>

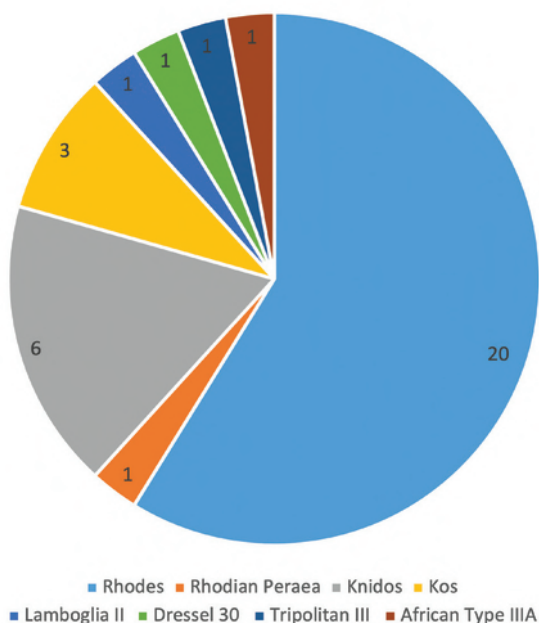


FIG. 35 Dispersion of the handles of stamped amphorae found in Myra and Andriake.

<sup>126</sup> Dündar 2017, 367-70, graphic 6-7.

<sup>127</sup> Dündar 2017, 49-51, Co.1-14; 357, Co.1-2.



A Lamboglia two amphora stamp dating to the late second – first centuries BC was found at Andriake. The lack of detailed studies on Roman amphorae in Lycia has been previously reported in a scientific publication. Apart from Andriake, amphora stamps of Latin origin dating to the first century BC were found in Patara.<sup>128</sup>

It is obvious that the Latin amphorae from this region will provide important contributions to the determination and interpretation of the trade relations between Lycia and the Italian peninsula.

A Dressel 30 amphora stamp from Mauretaniae Caesariensis from the western parts of North Africa dating to the end of the second - first half of the third centuries AD, a Tripolitan III amphora stamp from Leptis Magna dating to the AD mid fourth century, and an African Type IIIA amphora stamp dating to the end of the third – mid fourth century AD were recovered from Andriake. These amphorae show the relations between Andriake and the western parts of North Africa. African type ceramics, especially red slipped ware, have been found in many cities along the Anatolian coastline. Different forms of this group were also found in different cities of Lycia. However, amphorae shipped from this part of Africa are scarce across Anatolia.<sup>129</sup> Any amphorae of African origin to be published from Anatolia will allow a better understanding and interpretation of the trade relations between the two regions in the Mediterranean. In this context, the African amphorae found in Andriake, Patara and Phaselis in Lycia are of great importance.

Although Myra and Andriake are geographically close to Rhodes, Kos and Knidos, the low number of both stamped and unstamped amphorae from the two excavation sites suggests that these Lycian centers were not in intensive commercial relations with the famous wine producers of the Hellenistic period according to the current excavation data. Among these production centers, Rhodes is the most prominent center in terms of the quantity of finds. As in Anatolia in particular, amphorae transported from the Latin peninsula and the western parts of North Africa are also scarce at Myra and Andriake. Still, these groups are evidence of the commercial connections established with Myra and its port of Andriake. We believe that the number of stamped and unstamped amphorae from these regions will increase as the excavations at Myra and Andriake proceed. Any archeological material that can provide information about Myra and Andriake is noteworthy.

| No | Centers or Form | Stamp Inscription and Symbol            | Eponym             | Fabricant | Date                 |
|----|-----------------|---|--------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| 1  | Rhodes          | Ἐπὶ Ἀρίστ[ω]-<br>νος<br>Ἀγριανίου       | Ἀρίστων II         |           | c. 167/165 BC        |
| 2  | Rhodes          | Ἐπὶ Ἀριστ[ε]-<br>δα<br>Βαδρομίου        | Ἀριστείδας III     |           | c. 111 BC            |
| 3  | Rhodes          | [Ἐπὶ Ἀρ]ισ[τομάχου]<br>head of Helios   | Ἀριστόμαχος II (?) |           | c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC |
| 4  | Rhodes          | [Ἐπὶ Ἀρ]ισ-<br>το[ν]όμου<br>Ἀ[γριανίου] | Ἀριστόνομος        |           | c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC |

<sup>128</sup> Dündar 2013, 141; 2018, 168.

<sup>129</sup> Şen-Yıldırım 2012, 159.

| No | Centers or Form   | Stamp Inscription and Symbol                    | Eponym          | Fabricant      | Date                                  |
|----|-------------------|---|-----------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 5  | Rhodes            | Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοπόλιος<br>Πανάμου                     | Ἀριστόπολις     |                | c. 118 BC                             |
| 6  | Rhodes            | Ἐπὶ Ἐστι(ε)ίου <i>sic</i><br>Ἀγριανίου          | Ἐστίειος        |                | c. 114 BC                             |
| 7  | Rhodes            | Ἐπὶ ἱερέ[ως]<br>Λεοντίδα<br>Ἀγριανίου           | Λεοντίδας       |                | c. 127 BC                             |
| 8  | Rhodes            | Ἐπὶ Π(ε)ισιστράτου <i>sic</i><br>Καρνείου       | Πεισίστρατος    |                | c. 160 BC                             |
| 9  | Rhodes            | [Ἐπὶ Τιμοκ]λε-<br>ῦς (?)<br>[.....]             | Τιμοκλῆς II (?) |                | c. 107 – c. 88/86 BC                  |
| 10 | Rhodes            | Ἄφρο[δ]ισί[ο]υ                                  |                 | Ἄφροδίσιος III | c. 124-c. 122 – c. 119 BC             |
| 11 | Rhodes            | Ἐρυ[μ]νεύς<br>rose grape cluster                |                 | Ἐρυμνεύς       | c. 145 – c. 108 BC                    |
| 12 | Rhodes            | Ἐρυμνε[ύς]<br>rose [grape cluster]              |                 | Ἐρυμνεύς       | c. 145 – c. 108 BC                    |
| 13 | Rhodes            | [Ἰ]εροκλεῦ[ς]                                   |                 | Ἰεροκλῆς II    | c. 124-c. 122 –<br>c. 107-c. 88/86 BC |
| 14 | Rhodes            | [.....] Δαλ[ίου]<br>rose                        |                 |                | Second century BC                     |
| 15 | Rhodes            | Ἐ[πι .....]θ-<br>[.....]οτου                    |                 |                | Second century BC                     |
| 16 | Rhodes            | [.....]<br>[.....]                              |                 |                | Second century BC                     |
| 17 | Rhodes            | [.....]<br>Δαλίου                               |                 |                | Early first century BC                |
| 18 | Rhodes            | [.....]<br>rose                                 |                 |                | Early first century BC                |
| 19 | Rhodes            | [.....]ο[.....]<br>rose                         |                 |                | Early first century BC                |
| 20 | Rhodes            | [.....] <i>retrograde</i><br>θρ[...]<br>[.....] |                 |                | Early first century BC                |
| 21 | Rhodian<br>Peraea | Τίμαρχος <i>retrograde</i><br>dot               | Τίμαρχος        |                | c. 262 – c. 247 BC                    |
| 22 | Knidos            | ΕΠΙ(  |                 |                | c. 280 – c. 240 BC                    |
| 23 | Knidos            | Σ   |                 |                | c. 280 – c. 240 BC                    |
| 24 | Knidos            | amphora   |                 |                | After 84 BC                           |
| 25 | Knidos            | [.....]<br>bull's head                          |                 |                | Second century BC                     |
| 26 | Knidos            | [.....]<br>bull's head                          |                 |                | Second century BC                     |

| No | Centers or Form   | Stamp Inscription and Symbol      | Eponym | Fabricant  | Date  |
|----|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|------------|---|
| 27 | Knidos            | [.....]<br>[.....]<br>[.....]     |        |            | Second century BC                                       |
| 28 | Kos               | Ἀπολλωνίου <i>retrograde</i>      |        | Ἀπολλώνιος | Second half of the second century BC                    |
| 29 | Kos               | Διονύσιος <i>retrograde</i>       |        | Διονύσιος  | Second – first centuries BC                             |
| 30 | Kos               | Μενοκρά[της]<br><i>retrograde</i> |        | Μενοκράτης | Second – first centuries BC                             |
| 31 | Lamboglia II      | ARIE(                             |        |            | Second - late first centuries BC                        |
| 32 | Dressel 30        | MAVR( CAES(<br>TVBVS(             |        |            | Late second century AD – first half of third century AD |
| 33 | Tripolitan III    | LSACV[.]                          |        |            | Mid fourth century AD                                   |
| 34 | African Type IIIA | ANI(<br>KEP(                      |        |            | Late third century to mid fourth century AD             |

## Index

Abbreviations: **Rh.:** Rhodes; **Rh. Per.:** Rhodian Peraea; **Kni.:** Knidos; **Ko.:** Kos; **Lam. II:** Lamboglia II; **Dr. 30:** Dressel 30; **Tri. III:** Tripolitan III; **Af. Ty. IIIA:** African Type IIIA; **Fab.:** Fabricant; **Ep.:** Eponym.

### A. Greek personal names and monograms

Ἀριστείδας III, Rh. ep. **2**

Ἀρίστων II, Rh. ep. **1**

Ἀμύντας, Rh. fab. **1**

Ἀναξιππίδας, Rh. fab. **6-7**

Ἀνδρόνικος, Rh. fab. **5**

ANI( KEP(Af. Ty. IIIA, **34**

Ἀντίμαχος, Rh. fab. **1**

Ἀπολλ(, Ko. fab. **28**

Ἀπολλώνιος, Ko. fab. **28**

Ἀρτίμας, Rh. fab. **7**

Ἀριστόμαχος II, Rh. ep. **3**

Ἀριστοκλῆς II, Rh. fab. **1, 8**

Ἀριστονόμος, Rh. ep. **4**

Ἀριστόπολις, Rh. ep. **5**

Ἀφροδίσιος III, Rh. fab. **10**

Γαλέστης, Rh. fab. **2, 5**

Δαμοκράτης I, Rh. fab. **1**

Δαμόφιλος, Rh. fab. **7**

Διόκλεια, Rh. fab. **7**

Διονύσιος, Ko. fab. **29**

Δῖος I, Rh. Per. fab. **21**

Δῖος II, Rh. fab. **6**

Δῶρος I, Rh. fab. **22**

Δῶρος II, Rh. fab. **2**

Εἰρναῖος, Rh. fab. **6**

Ἐρμων II, Rh. fab. **1**

Ἐρυμνεύς, Rh. fab. **11-12**

Ἐστῆσιος, Rh. ep. **6**

Εὐάνωρ, Rh. ep. **10**

Εὐκλειτος, Rh. fab. **7**

ΕΠΙ(, Kni. **22**

Ἐπίχαρμος, Kni. **22**

Εὐφράνωρ II, Rh. fab. **2, 7**

Ἐχέβουλος, Rh. ep. **13**

Ἰάσων I, Rh. fab. **1**

Ἰεροκλῆς II, Rh. fab. **13**

Ἰεροτέλης, Rh. Per. fab. **21**

Ἴπποκράτης, Rh. fab. **1**

Λεοντίδας, Rh. ep. **7**

Μαρσύας, Rh. fab. **1, 8**

Μενεκράτης II, Rh. fab. 2  
 Μενέστρατος, Rh. fab. 5-6  
 Μενοκράτης, Ko. fab. **30**  
 Μίδας, Rh. fab. 5, 7  
 Νανῆς, Rh. fab. 8  
 Πεισίστρατος, Rh. ep. **8**  
 Σ, Kni. **23**  
 Σωκράτης, Rh. ep. 13  
 Σώταιρος, Rh. fab. 5  
 Σωσίφιλος, Rh. fab. 7  
 Τιμαγόρας I, Rh. ep. 10, 13  
 Τιμαρχίδας, Rh. fab. 8  
 Τιμαρχος, Rh. Per. ep. **21**  
 Τιμοκλῆς II, Rh. ep. **9**, 13  
 Τιμῶλος, Rh. fab. 5  
 Φαινύλας, Rh. ep. 13  
 Φιλοστέφανος II, Rh. fab. 2, 5-6

**B. Month names**  
 Αργιάνιος, Rh. **1**, **6-7**  
 Βαδρόμιος, Rh. **2**

Δάλιος, Rh. **14**, **17**

Κάρνειος, Rh. **8**

Πάναμος, Rh. **5**

### C. Devices

Amphora, Kni. **24**

Bull's head, Kni. **25-26**

Dot, Rh. **21**

Head of Helios, Rh. **3**

Rose and grape cluster, Rh. **11-12**

Rose, Rh. **14**, **18-19**

### D. Prepositions

Ἐπί, Rh. **1-9**, **15**

### E. Title

Ἱερέως, Rh. **7**

### F. Latin personal names

ARIE(, Lam II. **31**

MAVR( CAES( TVBVS(, Dr. 30 **32**

LSACV[...], Tri. III **33**

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## New Votive Plates Discovered in the Temple of Men and its Sanctuary in Pisidian Antioch

MEHMET ÖZHANLI\*

### Abstract

There are seven treasury buildings lined side by side next to the road leading to the main entrance on the east of the temple of Men and its sanctuary in Pisidian Antioch. During the excavations carried out in these buildings in 2017 and 2018, marble votive plates as well as ceramic and marble sculptures were unearthed. While most of the votive plates were scattered inside the buildings in broken pieces, two of them were in situ in Building no. 5. Two broken slabs were found in Building no. 7 in a state that they could be completed. Dozens of votive plates were found in the temenos of the temple during the excavations. A sample with decipherable inscriptions among these plates was selected and became the subject of study together with the preserved plates found in the treasury buildings.

The slabs were modeled in the form of a temple façade with a triangular pediment. On the pediment section, the crescent face was upwards; on the lower section, the god Men with crescents on his shoulders or only a crescent were depicted, which was his attribute. The votive inscriptions do not contain any information about the reason they were made; they only give information about who made the offering. Two slabs were found in treasury Building no. 5 affixed to the façade of the altar platform inside the building, on either side of the mounted god Men. While the other two were found scattered in Building no. 7; the one inside the temenos came out of the mound that was dug and piled up in previous years.

### Öz

Pisidia Antiokheia Men tapınağı ve kutsal alanında, tapınağın doğusunda ana girişe gelen yolun kenarında, yan yana sıralanmış yedi tane hazine binası bulunmaktadır. Bu binalarda 2017 ve 2018 yıllarında gerçekleştirilen kazılarda, birçok seramik ve mermer heykeltıraşlık eserlerin yanı sıra çok sayıda mermer adak levhası da açığa çıkarılmıştır. Adak levhalarının büyük bir bölümü kırık parçalar halinde binaların içerisine dağılmış iken, 5 numaralı binada; iki tanesi insitu ve sağlam; 7 numaralı binada; iki adet levha tümlenebilecek biçimde kırık ele geçti. Tapınağın temenosunda yapılan kazı çalışmalarında da onlarca adak levhası parçası görüldü. Bu parçalar içerisinden adak yazıtı okunabilen bir örnek seçildi ve hazine binalarında bulunan sağlam levhalarla birlikte çalışmaya konu edildi.

Üçgen alınlıklı, tapınak cephesi biçiminde modellendirilmiş olan levhaların, alınlık bölümünde ağzı yukarı bakan hilal; gövdelerinde ise omuzlarından ayça çıkan Tanrı Men ya da tanrının sembolü hilaller işlenmiştir. Adak yazıtları, sadece kimlerin adadığı bilgisini verirken niçin adandığıyla ilgili bilgi içermez. 5 numaralı hazine binasında bulunan iki levha, binanın içindeki sunu sekisinin cephesine atlı tanrı Men'in iki tarafına yapıştırılmış biçimde bulundu. Diğer ikisi 7 numaralı binada dağınık bir biçimde ele geçerken; temenosun içerisindeki ise önceki yıllarda kazılıp yığılmış toprak yığının içerisinden çıktı.

Levhaların bulunduğu hazine binalarının son kullanım tarihi, İmparator Julianus dönemidir.

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The last time the treasury buildings in which these slabs were found were used was during the reign of Emperor Julianus. The slabs, dated to the third and early fourth century AD, were made to be applied in the early period and then had a secondary use in the late period.

**Keywords:** Pisidian Antioch, temple and sanctuary of Men, treasury buildings, votive plates

MS 3. ve 4. yüzyıl başlarına tarihlendirilen levhalar, erken dönemde bir yere applike edilmek için yapılmış ve bu son dönemde ikincil bir kullanım görmüşlerdir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Pisidia Antiokheia, Men tapınağı ve kutsal alanı, hazine binaları, adak levhaları

Votive steles/plates<sup>1</sup> constitute an important group among the archaeological and epigraphic data that enable understanding the belief before the divine religions. These votives give important clues about the devotees, the gods, the beliefs, and the rituals of the period. The richest cult in terms of votive plates is the temple and sanctuary of the Moon god Men in Pisidian Antioch. The façade of the temple's southern temenos wall is completely embossed with temple-shaped votive plates decorated with crescents, the most important attribute of the god. Apart from the ones engraved on the wall, there are other higher-quality plates made of marble that have been applied on the wall or elsewhere. These marble slabs of higher quality workmanship offer more detailed information and make important contributions to our understanding of the belief system regarding Men. Excavations of the temple and the sanctuary by W. M. Ramsay and his team uncovered many such votive plates.<sup>2</sup> New ones have been added to these published plates with the ongoing excavations in the sanctuary.

Excavations in the temple, and sanctuary of Men, as well as the treasury buildings to the east of the temple, unearthed many marble votive plates dedicated to the god Men, among other finds. While the marble slabs in the soil piled up by Ramsay's team in the previously excavated temple temenos were broken, the ones found in the treasury buildings were well preserved and in situ. In this study, these newly discovered solid marble votive plates and a broken sample found in the temenos will be introduced to the academic world.<sup>3</sup>

The temple and sanctuary of Men are east of Antioch in the 1600 m high Gemen Grove (Karakuyu), 5 km from the city. The temple and sanctuary were first discovered by Ramsay and his team in 1911, and their excavations started in 1912.<sup>4</sup>

During the excavations, which continued in 1913, drillings were carried out in almost all the structures in the area. As a result of these studies, the plans of many buildings were drawn, and the functions of some buildings were defined. The most comprehensive study of the temple and sanctuary was done by S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens in 1982-1983.<sup>5</sup> After this date, many researchers directly or indirectly have conducted studies on the cult and temple of Men.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The expression "plate" was considered more appropriate for these artifacts, which were flat and made to be applied on a place.

<sup>2</sup> The intact examples of these votive steles are on display at the Yalvaç Archaeology Museum, while the broken pieces are preserved in storage; see Hardie 1912, 111-50.

<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions on the plates were translated by Prof. Dr. Mustafa H. Sayar. We thank him very much for his important contribution. Also, I sincerely thank Mina Şakrak for translating the article into English.

<sup>4</sup> Ramsay 1912a, 45-46; 1912b, 149; 1912c, 226; 1912d, 245-53.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 81-85.

<sup>6</sup> The "votive steles," the subject of this article, are here published for the first time, and there is no other study on them. It is not necessary to review all the studies that have been done so far.

Among these recent studies, the works of G. Labarre,<sup>7</sup> K.A. Raff,<sup>8</sup> and L. Khatchadourian<sup>9</sup> can be mentioned.

The temple was built by leveling the bedrock on the summit of the mountain. It is surrounded by a rectangular temenos extending east-west in Ionic order and in peripteros (6 x 11 m) type. The pronaos of the temple faces east. The temple, built in the Hellenistic period, had rearrangements and additions in the following periods. The main entrance to the temenos is in the east, but there are also smaller gates on the north and south. Other structures in the sanctuary were built by directing them to the temple in the center, depending on the roads leading to the temple and the condition of the land. While there are no civil structures or necropolises in and around the sanctuary, many places used by temple officials and for worship remain until today.

There are two different ways to go from Antioch to the temple area. One way is to exit the west and south gates of the city and pass through its southeast necropolis (Kızılca District). Most of this main road is under the modern one. In certain parts of the road, votive plates engraved on the rocks by the roadside can be seen. The other road goes to the sanctuary by exiting the north gate of Antioch, passing through the lower part of the present-day village of Hisarardı. The northern necropolis runs along both sides of this road. Both roads converge at the assembly square where the only water well in the Karakuyu sanctuary is located. The northern façade of the rock in the south corner of the square is covered entirely with temple-shaped plates (fig. 1).

When Christianity became the official religion of the state, a church and structures attached to it were built on the crag. From here, the road leading to the area of the Odeon/Stadium forked again with one branch going to the south side of the temple from west of the Odeon, while the other went around the eastern gate of the temple through the valley. Numerous artifacts were unearthed inside the temple's temenos and other areas during Ramsay's excavation.<sup>10</sup> Among the finds holding a special place were votive plates proving that the temple was dedicated to the Moon god Men. Apart from Ramsay's reports, these plates are cited in the work of Margaret M. Hardie<sup>11</sup> and J.G.C. Anderson.<sup>12</sup> However, the most comprehensive study of the plates was by E.N. Lane<sup>13</sup> and B. Levick.<sup>14</sup> What distinguishes this Men temple from other temples, apart from its location, are the votive plates found on its southern temenos wall that were made on the 70 m long and approximately 4 m high (fig. 2), and the plates made from marble dedicated to the god Men in the treasury building. The votive plates were carved in the form of a narrow façade of the temple with a triangular pediment with crown and

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<sup>7</sup> Labarre 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Raff 2011, 131-52.

<sup>9</sup> Khatchadourian 2011, 153-72.

<sup>10</sup> The artifacts unearthed during the excavations carried out in this period were taken to the Konya Archaeology Museum. With the opening of the Yalvaç Archaeology Museum in 1966, they were brought to Yalvaç. Since it is not specified how many artifacts were taken to Konya, the number of these artifacts actually returned is unknown.

<sup>11</sup> Hardie 1912, 111-50.

<sup>12</sup> Anderson 1913, 267-300.

<sup>13</sup> Lane 1976, 35-109.

<sup>14</sup> Levick 1970, 37-50; Apart from these studies, all other publications related to the subject will not be repeated here, since Büyükgün summarized them chronologically in his master's thesis titled "Men Kültüyle İlgili Eskişehir, Afyon, Kütahya ve Pamukkale Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Bazı Taş Eserler" ("Some Stone Artifacts Found in Eskişehir, Afyon, Kütahya, and Pamukkale Archaeological Museums Related to the Cult of Men").

corner acroters. In some examples, the columns carrying the roof on the sides are given in the form of plaster together with their bases, reflecting a complete temple façade. In the triangle pediment of the roof, a shield, a crescent with its mouth upwards, and a four-petaled flower or patera are depicted. In some examples this area is left blank. On the plates, crescents accompany the bust of Men, with the moon on his shoulders. The crescents were made according to the number of the people who made the votive, as reliefs or drawn with or without a garland and wreath. The votive inscription is written under the crescents. The symbol and attribute of the god is mostly the crescent of the moon. Apart from the crescent, his other symbols include a patera, cone, thyrsus, and statuette of Nike. Other than these common attributes, the god is less commonly seen with a bunch of grapes, a cornucopia, a torch, a roll, a plate full of fruits, a spear, a shield, labrys, or palm branches.

Depiction of Men with his Phrygian cap and crescents coming out from his shoulders became the norm. The Moon god, always portrayed as young and dressed in oriental attire, wears a short chiton, himation, trousers, and short boots. On one of the votive plates, Men is wearing a Phrygian cap on his head and a V-neck cloth; crescents coming out of his shoulders confirm the accuracy of the standard iconography for the god. All the marble votive plates unearthed during the excavations in the temple temenos were in broken pieces, as mentioned above. Among these pieces, two have busts of the moon god Men with a Phrygian cap, while the others have reliefs of crescents with or without a garland. The broken pieces were recovered from the piles of soil that Ramsay's team had dug up in 1912/1913.<sup>15</sup> Excavations in the treasury buildings unearthed many broken marble votive plates, four of which were intact. Two were found in treasury Building no. 5, while the other two were found in treasury Building no. 7. Those in Building no. 5 were well preserved and in situ, while those in Building no. 7 were found broken, upside down on the floor, and later reassembled.

The treasury buildings line the side of the road leading to the temple's main entrance, facing south to the east of temenos (fig. 3).<sup>16</sup> Building no. 5 is distinguished from Building nos. 1-4 by its in-situ materials. The megaron-planned building measures 3.30 x 4.0 m, with an approximately 2-m high preserved wall. A 1-m high platform was built in front of the building's north wall, and cult objects were placed on and in front of this. The limestone column drum in front of the platform was used as an offering table, and votive items, such as oil lamps and small ceramic pots left on and around it, were preserved as they were placed. On a rectangular base placed in the middle of the platform was a marble statue of the god Apollo approximately 90 cm high. On the edges of the base were placed the goddess Cybele sitting on a marble throne with a lion armrest, a figurine of Apollo, and a marble house altar with reliefs on all four sides. The altar was embossed with an ear of wheat, a bull's head, a serpent, and a caduceus – the staff of the god Hermes. A small statuette of the goddess Hecate stood next to the helmeted marble head of the goddess Athena on the right corner of the platform. The façade of the platform is plastered. Affixed on the plaster were a naked person holding a torch with votive plates, a tabula ansata relief with ten dressed figures, a terracotta relief depicting the nine Muses, and a terracotta figurine of the mounted god Men. Depicted on one of the votive plates is a star inside a horn-shaped crescent, while the other has a bust of the god Men and a votive inscription.

<sup>15</sup> The total number of intact marble votive plates found by the Americans is unknown.

<sup>16</sup> Özhanlı 2019, 158-63.

The seat at the bottom and the pediment acroter of the votive plate where the crescent and star are embroidered are broken (fig. 4). Unlike the other plates, the columns carrying the pediment are not given. The crescent is made as a horn carved on the body of the undecorated plate. The star in the middle of the crescent also gives a flowery appearance with six arms and scratches on them. It's not known by whom it was offered, for there is no inscription on the plate which has a roughly made backside.

With a bust of the god Men in the middle, the votive plate of Gaius Ulpius Firmus is carved with a triangular pediment that has a crescent facing upwards. There are closed palmettes-shaped acroters at the corner and top of the pediment (fig. 5). In the lower part of the triangular pediment, Men is depicted with half-rising crescents on his shoulders and a Phrygian cap. The forehead hair of the god, seen under the head, is short and combed towards the forehead. In the bust, which evidences completely local craftsmanship, proportional disorders are seen on the facial limbs that have been processed from the front. The right eye is smaller than the left eye and the lids of the left eye are thicker. The top of the nose, starting from the eyebrows, descends straight, and the tip of the nose is terminated in a line. The mouth is closed, and the lips are lined thin. While his head touches the upper frame, a blank space is left in the lower part. The lower part of the bust, which wears a pleated V-neck, is finished with a round knot. The last line of the inscription, written on both sides of the head and the body of the god, is placed below the bust (fig. 6).<sup>17</sup> The inscription reads:

“C(aius) Ul-  
 2 pius  
 Firmus,  
 4 C(ai) f(ilius) l(ibens) v(otum)  
 solvit.”

*“G(aius) Ulpius Firmus, son of Gaius, fulfilled (his) vow willingly.”*

This plate is made with very high quality and meticulous craftsmanship. When the excavation of treasury Building no. 7 was completed, it was understood that the plan and accordingly its function changed by making late additions to the building. The building was transformed into a multi-space residence in the last phase of its use. Two votive plates were found in different parts of this building. The lower part of one of the votive plates was discovered in the 2017 excavations, upside-down in the corridor that was added to the structure later. The upper part was found in the corridor leading to the entrance door during the 2018 excavations. The other plate was found next to a male bust at the foot of the south wall in the main hall of the building.

The votive plates of L. Lucius Flavius Junior and Abascantus are completed by combining four different pieces. The middle and right acroters are missing, and there are deficiencies due to fragmentation (fig. 7).<sup>18</sup> The back side is left with rough workmanship. Crescents are depicted facing upwards on the pediment and body of the plate. The one on the body is depicted in the middle of a leaf wreath. Columns carrying the roof are elaborately given as plaster with their bases and capitals. The script of the person doing the offering is written under

<sup>17</sup> Height: 40 cm; width: 21 cm; letters: 1.5 cm (height); 2 cm (width); 2 mm (depth).

<sup>18</sup> Height: 50 cm; width: 36.5 cm; diameter: 4.6 cm; letters: 42.28 mm (height); 36.91 mm (width); 2.21 mm (depth).

the wreath, which is the main decoration of the plate and looks like a complete temple façade. The votive inscription reads;

- L(ucius) Fl(avius) Longus  
 2 Iunior et  
 Abascantus Ser(vus)  
 4 L(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) m(erito) a

*“Lucius Flavius Longus, the junior and the slave Abascantus fulfilled (their) vow willingly, happy (and) rightly.”*

Lane gave very detailed information about the depiction of the wreath on votive steles dedicated to the god Men.<sup>19</sup> Here, too, embroidering a wreath should be related to a personal “victory.”

The middle and right acroter of the votive plate honoring Men by Smyrnaios and his wife are broken and missing (fig. 8).<sup>20</sup> A four-leaf rosette is made on the pediment, and two crescents facing upwards are made inside the garland on the body. The garland is tied with a ribbon at the corners, and the ends of the ribbon are stretched out into crescents in a wave. The inscription of the offeror is visible below the garland. The votive inscription of three lines is written in Greek and reads;

- “Μηνι Ἀσκαηνῶ εὐχήν.  
 2 Σμυρναῖος Ἀπολλω-  
 νιοῦ μετὰ γυναῖκος.”

*“This offering was made for the god Men Askaenos by Smyrnaios son of Apollonios and his wife.”*

A garland is one of the important symbols seen in the Men votive steles of Pisidian Antioch. Here the garland of leaves surrounding the crescents symbolizes a personal success just like the wreath.

The votive plate for Men Askaenos, made by Maximus, Lucius, Thargelius, and Pithia in Temenos, has a different decorative style than the others (fig. 9).<sup>21</sup> The right corner of the plate, made of high-quality white marble, was not found. The pediment is missing and broken. The inscriptions also have missing parts that correspond to the upper right corner of the plate, which is completed by combining the two parts. Grooves were left in the roughly made back side of the plate, probably to ease its insertion into the temple wall. The Greek votive inscription is written with three lines to the top and two lines to the bottom on the upper and lower sides of the crescents forming the main decoration of the plate. The crescents were made as horns and placed in an entwined way. The inscription reads:

- “Μάξιμ[ος ]  
 2 Λούκιος [θαρ]-  
 γέλιος Πιθία

<sup>19</sup> Lane 1976, 62-66.

<sup>20</sup> Height: 30 cm; width: 25 cm; letters: 1.5 cm (height); 1 mm (depth).

<sup>21</sup> Height: 22 cm; width: 19 cm; letters: 1 cm (height); 0.50 mm (depth).

4 [Μ]ηνὶ Ἀσκηνοῦ  
εὐχίην.”

“*Maximos, Lukios, Thargelios, and Pithia made an offering for the god Men Askaenos.*”

The workmanship of the votive plates made of marble is quite similar. Their front sides were made meticulously while the back sides were left rough. It is easy to understand that they were made to be applied somewhere (fig. 10). The boards are attached to the blocks with lead. These plates must have been applied on the temenos wall of the temple or elsewhere when they were made and later reused in the treasury buildings during the reign of the last pagan emperor Julianus. The votives in Building no. 5 are affixed to the wall of the platform. Since the votive plates in the temenos and in Building no. 7 were found broken and scattered, it is not known exactly how they were exhibited.

It is necessary to look at the history of Pisidian Antioch and the temple and sanctuary of Men to give a correct date and to interpret the votive plates. Especially, a chronological index should be made according to the changes done by different administrations in the temple and the sanctuary.

Strabo, referring to other written sources, attributes the foundation of the city of Pisidian Antioch to the Seleucids. While giving information about Antioch, he also reveals detailed data about the temple of Men, which is on top of a mountain right next to the city. The worship of Men, understood to be quite active in Hellenistic northern Pisidia and the surrounding regions according to Strabo, should be evaluated within the history of Phrygian civilization.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, it is highly probable that the origins of the worship and cult area go back to the Early Iron Age. The temple and the sanctuary, which had their heyday in the Hellenistic period, were brought under new regulations by the Roman emperor Augustus and weakened economically.

Despite trying to identify him with the gods of the Greek and Roman pantheons in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods, the god Men always managed to remain as Tyrannos in the region. Pisidian Antioch and the temple of Men are among the pilot cities chosen for the revival of paganism against Christianity, which had gained strength during Emperor Diocletian's reign. Archaeological data prove that the temple and its surrounding structures were repaired, and additions were made during this period.<sup>23</sup> The last arrangement in the temple was made during the time of the last pagan emperor Julianus.<sup>24</sup> During his reign, Pisidian Antioch and its temple and sanctuary of Men were among the regions chosen for the attempted revival of paganism. Within the framework of this attempt, new arrangements and additions were made to the temple and the sanctuary. During Julian's very short reign, it was understood by the excavations in the Oikos that the treasury buildings were repaired, and many cult objects from different periods were brought together.<sup>25</sup> Treasury Building no. 5 reveals how the temple and the sanctuary were arranged during Emperor Julianus' reign with in-situ materials. The fact that the god and goddess statues placed on the platform were used as they were with their old broken and missing parts proves that it was arranged hastily since the temple

<sup>22</sup> Özhanlı 2022, 121.

<sup>23</sup> Özhanlı 2019, 158-63.

<sup>24</sup> Özhanlı 2019, 158.

<sup>25</sup> Özhanlı 2022, 124.

was partially destroyed and looted during Constantine II's reign before Emperor Julianus.<sup>26</sup> However, the death of the emperor by the Persians in AD 363 caused the Christian population in the city to become more vocal, and attacks on pagan beliefs increased. The Christian edict issued by Emperor Theodosius I in AD 391 meant the closure of the temple and the end of the cult of the god Men. After this date, the mission of the new religion was applied to the sanctuary.

Excavations in the treasury buildings show the archaeological data that reveals how the temple was abandoned. The temple was destroyed, and all the stones belonging to the building were used in the construction of the church.<sup>27</sup> Other structures in the sanctuary were similarly demolished. Some of the treasury buildings like no. 2 and no. 5 were destroyed by the pagans themselves. Thus, a precaution must have been taken against looting by Christians. However, the broken and fragmented state of the finds in the other buildings indicates that they were later plundered by Christians. The fact that the lower part of one of the votive plates in treasury Building no. 7 was found in the middle of the corridor and the other part was closer to the eastern exit door supports this view.

Many of the votive plates are embossed on the southern temenos wall of the temple, and those made of marble are generally dated to the period of Diocletian (AD 284-305).<sup>28</sup> Pagan communities (Tekmorion)<sup>29</sup> tried to encourage the youth towards the old religion with festivals and sacrificial ceremonies they financed in the collective struggle against the Christians during this period. The inscriptions on the plates also point to these festivals and sacrificial ceremonies.

Unstated are the fulfilled wishes that made people dedicate these votive plates. These plates and other artifacts found in the treasury buildings were not made for these buildings; they were moved here from other places in the arrangement during the period of Emperor Julianus period. The last time the treasury buildings were used was during his reign (AD 361-363). This period can be suggested as the date these plates were used. Based on the inscriptions and the information of the offerors, we can date the first phase of use for the plates to the third century and the beginning of the fourth century AD.<sup>30</sup> Although it is misleading to precisely date the unscripted plates, the crescent and star plate also points to the same centuries as the other plates. The upper date limit is AD 391.

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<sup>26</sup> Özhanlı 2022, 119, 124.

<sup>27</sup> Özhanlı 2022, 125.

<sup>28</sup> Lane 1976, 66; Levick 1970, 37-50.

<sup>29</sup> Ramsay 1912e, 151-70.

<sup>30</sup> Detailed information about the people who made the offerings is the subject of another study.



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FIG. 1 Votive plates found in the Assembly Area.



FIG. 2 Southern temenos wall.



FIG. 3 Temple and treasury buildings.



FIG. 4 Crescent and star votive plate.



FIG. 5 Votive plate of Gaius Ulpius Firmus.



FIG. 6  
Detail, votive plate of  
Gaius Ulpius Firmus.



FIG. 7 Votive plate of Lucius Flavius Longus Junior and Abascantus.



FIG. 8 Votive plate of Smyrnaios and his wife.



FIG. 9 Votive plate of Maximus, Lucius, Thargelius, and Pithia.



FIG. 10 One of the blocks on which the plates were placed.



# Nominative and Genitive Endings of Some Epichoric Personal Names in Light of Inscriptions from Tymbriada

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## Abstract

This article aims to introduce the genitive endings of some epichoric male and female names with the nominative ending -ι, -α, -εῖς, which are attested on the funerary stelae from Tymbriada on the basis of six published and three unpublished inscriptions. All inscriptions can be dated to the second or third century AD. On the basis of these inscriptions we understand that there is a systematic noun declension specific to this region and that the proper names are both epichoric and generally short. Finding the genitive endings of these epichoric names with new readings will assist scholars working in this field of study in the future. The stelae examined are all preserved in the Isparta Archaeology Museum.

**Keywords:** Tymbriada, epichoric names, declension, genitive case, funerary stelae

## Öz

Bu makalenin amacı Tymbriada antik kentinde bulunmuş yazıtlı mezar taşları üzerinde incelenen, yalın hali -ι, -α, -εῖς olarak biten birtakım erkek ve kadın adını, altı adet yayımlanmış, üç adet yayımlanmamış yazıt ışığında tanıtmak ve bölgeye özgü olduğu anlaşılan bu özel adların bağlı olduğu grup içinde aynı ilgi eki (tamlayan) aldığına dikkat çekmektir. Kanıt olarak sunulan ve MS ikinci ya da üçüncü yüzyıla tarihli yazıtlar üzerinden yapılan yeni okumalar sayesinde bu adların aldığı ilgi eklerinin sistemli bir şekilde verilmesi bu bölgede çalışan ve gelecekte çalışmayı planlayan bilim insanlarına bilimsel açıdan yarar ve katkı sağlayacaktır. Bu makalede incelenen yazıtlı dokuz mezar taşı Isparta Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde kayıt ve koruma altındadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Tymbriada, yerel adlar, isim çekimi, ilgi eki, mezar taşları

## Introduction

The ancient city of Tymbriada is 2 km north of Aksu in the district of Isparta. It was first located by Sterrett at Mirahor (formerly Imrahor), southeast of Lake Eğirdir.<sup>1</sup> Many fragments

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In 2008, with the support of Süleyman Demirel University, an archaeological survey was initiated by Prof. Dr. Bilge Hürmüzlü Kortholt in the district and county of Isparta under the name of Isparta Archaeological Survey (IAS). I deeply thank Hürmüzlü Kortholt, the director of the Isparta Archaeological Survey (IAS), for her support and the grant of permission from the Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü of the Turkish Ministry of Culture to work on the Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Isparta Archaeology Museum. I deeply thank Mustafa Akaslan, director of the Isparta Archaeology Museum and the Uluborlu Museum and archaeologist Özgür Perçin for supplying all materials in the museum related to the Greek and Latin inscriptions. I owe deep thanks to two distinguished archaeologists in the Antalya Archaeology Museum, Benay Özcan Özlü and Gökhan Kayış, for their help and retaking the photos of squeezes used in this article.

<sup>1</sup> Sterrett 1888, 280.

from the site have been reused in the modern village of Mirahor and its cemetery. In 1987 Cl. Brixhe, Th. Drew-Bear, and D. Kaya published an article with forty inscriptions including an appendix of epichoric inscriptions of Pisidia found and copied by W. M. Ramsay (nos. 1-16), J. Borchhardt (no. 18), and Cl. Brixhe (nos. 2, 4, 9, 13) in a small village called Sofular in the territory of Tymbriada in Aksu.<sup>2</sup> This article aims to present the genitive case of some masculine and feminine epichoric names with the nominative ending -ι, -α, -εῖς examined on nine funerary stelae found at Tymbriada.

## Methodology

On the funerary stelae found in Tymbriada and brought to the Isparta Archaeology Museum, it has been observed that certain epichoric names were quite short (of one or two syllables) and difficult to decipher. They did not follow the rules of Greek noun declension, and their genders could not be identified. Previous research on this subject has suggested that there were certain inconsistencies with declensions and genders of these epichoric names. Examining the funerary stelae found at Tymbriada in terms of iconography, it can be seen that there are two distinct types of stelae. The stelae of the first type are small in size and simple in appearance, free from decorations, with one or two figures on the shaft. On the upper parts of these figures are a few dully engraved epichoric names, at least one and at most three in number (fig. 7). On the second type of stelae, which are bigger in size and made with more artistic effort, the figures on the shaft and the inscription are more elaborate (fig. 1). When compared, the funerary stelae made in a simple fashion belonged to a poor family, even though there were one or two figures on the shaft. The names of the other deceased family members were added to the same stele. However, those made with more diligence and with more decorations belonged to a rich family. This explains why the epichoric names in the inscription usually match those figures on the shaft, though there are exceptions. During research in the Isparta Archaeology Museum, I came to realise that some epichoric names were frequently used at Tymbriada, and their nominative and genitive cases were found together or separately in various inscriptions. As is known, the inscriptions found at Tymbriada proved that the city was a Greek polis. It had been under Phrygian influence between the eighth and the third centuries BC before coming under Greek and then Roman rule.<sup>3</sup> The massive inflow of culture from outside to Pisidia took place with the army of Alexander the Great, and then after his death under the rule of the Diadochoi.<sup>4</sup> Although ancient Greek remained a dominant language in the region from the Hellenistic period, local dialects continued to be used until the Roman period.<sup>5</sup> So the local population of the city had to accept the cultures of these civilizations, and this cultural assimilation caused changes in their own burial rituals.<sup>6</sup> Because of this reason the inscriptions from the Roman period, especially on the funerary stelae, continued to be inscribed with Greek characters.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, on the funerary stelae at Tymbriada, just as on other Greek and Roman

<sup>2</sup> See respectively Ramsay 1895; Borchhardt et al. 1975; Brixhe and Gibson 1982; for further details, see Brixhe et al. 1987. For inscriptions from Tymbriada published as a corpus, see Brixhe 2016. For a few epichoric names from Tymbriada and their declensions, see Bru 2016. For an article recently published with some new inscriptions from Tymbriada, see Coşkun Abuagla 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Kaya and Mitchell 1985, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell 1995, 85; Horsley 2000, 50-51.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchell 1995, 173.

<sup>6</sup> Hürmüzlü 2007, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Brixhe and Gibson 1982, 144-45.



stelae, the nominative case of the deceased person's name should have been given followed by a genitive case of his father's name. A major issue arose with identifying the gender of some epichoric names on the stelae, whether they were masculine or feminine. As a solution two distinct methods are used in this article. The first - on the grounds that the funerary stele with the male figure had two epichoric names - determined that the initial name of the deceased person was in the nominative case while the other of his father was in the genitive. This method, when applied to the inscription, revealed the nominative and genitive case of the epichoric names (no. 4).

The second method determined that the name in the genitive case preceded by two names with the same ending belonged to the father, so this was applied to the inscription (no. 7). Some inscriptions in which the names in nominative and genitive cases were clearly legible were quite helpful for the deciphering process (nos. 1, 5). The nominative and genitive cases of some epichoric names of males and females ending in -ι, -α, -εις were found on nine funerary stelae that were analyzed. These were determined by examining similar epichoric names on the other funerary stelae found at Tymbrida. To reach a definite answer to the question whether the names native to Tymbrida were masculine or feminine, this method was followed. Since there were particular differences in the appearance of names on the funerary stelae for the feminine and masculine genders, and all it took to change the gender was changing a letter, it was deduced that Εδα (deciphered on another funerary stele found at Tymbrida),<sup>8</sup> a name in the masculine gender, could be Αδα in feminine. Νι similarly became Νηι, and Νω in the same way Νω.

### 1) The Stele of Meni, Idoua, Ta and Na

On this limestone stele with a pediment and acroteria, there is a bust (faced totally effaced) in the center of the pediment. There are three figures on the shaft in relief but all the faces are effaced. The inscription is above these figures (fig. 1). Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: Study collection 41.

H. 0.535 m; W. 0.42 m; Lh. 0.014-0.019 m. / second - third century AD. Unpublished.

Μηνι Ιδουα Τα Μηνι-

2 ς ν Να Μηνις ν

“Meni, Idoua, Ta, son of Meni, (and) Na, son of Meni (lie here).”

The inscription mentions four deceased people which corresponds to the bust in the center of the pediment and the three figures in relief. The male name Μηνι is in the nominative case, which was proved in light of an inscription found in 2014 at Tymbrida.<sup>9</sup> Although Να is mostly attested as a female gender in Asia Minor,<sup>10</sup> at Tymbrida it is used for men with the declension Να (masc. nom.), Νας (gen.). Like Να, Τα is the nominative of a male name too (gen. Τας).<sup>11</sup> The arrangement of the figures yield the above reading with Meni the father, mentioned as the first person in the center of the pediment. His wife Idoua is on the left side in relief on the shaft while her son Ta is in the middle and her other son Na is on the right side. The

<sup>8</sup> Brixhe 2016, 90-91, no. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Coşkun Abuagla 2018, 178, no. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Zgusta 1964, § 1007-1.

<sup>11</sup> Brixhe et al. 1987, 158-59, no. 30; SEG 37, no. 1202; Adiego 2012, 24; Brixhe 2016, 90-91, no. 34.

patronymic is repeated in order to emphasize that Ta and Na are brothers. The female name *Ἰδουα* (gen. *Ἰδουας*) is neither attested in Asia Minor nor anywhere else so far.

## 2) The Stele of Ba and No

This limestone stele is completely broken on the top. On the shaft there is the broken bust of a man (face defaced) who holds a shield on his left side. The inscription is above the bust (fig. 2). The stele was found in Sofular near Tymbriada. Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 6.9.82.

H. 0.41 m; W. 0.205 m; Lh. 0.0011-0.012 m. / third century AD.<sup>12</sup>

*Βα Νῶ Ρις υ*

“Ba (and) No, sons of Rhi [lie here].”

1: *Βα Νῶμος*, Brixhe et al. 1987; Brixhe 2016, but last three letters (PIC) are clear both on the stone and the squeeze.

The inscription mentions three names, although there is only one figure depicted on the stone. *Βα* is known as a female name,<sup>13</sup> but another inscription found at Tymbriada in 2016 proved that *Βα* (masc. nom.), *Βας* (gen.) is used as a male name in this territory.<sup>14</sup> Brixhe thought that *Βα* is the genitive of a male name *Βας*.<sup>15</sup> The male name *Ρις* (masc. gen.), seen as a patronymic, is attested neither in Asia Minor nor anywhere else. However, for the second name *Νῶ*, there is another inscription showing this name in the genitive case (*Νῶς*) (see below no. 4). In addition, one inscription from the same territory mentions the female name *Νιῶ* in the nominative case. This means that *Νῶ*, a name in masculine gender, can be *Νιῶ* in the feminine.<sup>16</sup>

## 3) The Stele of Neli and Nei

This is a limestone stele with a pediment (broken on the top and the left side) and an acroteria. In the center of the pediment there are traces of a mirror in relief. On the shaft there are two seated women each on a cathedra wrapped with a chiton and a himation. Some little circles are depicted on the stone behind them. Above these figures is an inscription (fig. 3). Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 2.32.94.

H. 0.685 m; W. 0.325 m; Lh. 0.010-0.012 m. / second - third century AD.<sup>17</sup>

*Νηλι υ Νηι*

“Neli (and) Nei (lie here).”

*Νηλι (?) Νηι*, Brixhe 2016.

The name *Νηλι* is also attested in an inscription from Sofular.<sup>18</sup> For *Νηι* there is another example in light of an inscription found at Tymbriada (see below no. 8). These two names

<sup>12</sup> Edition: Brixhe et al. 1987, 137-38, no. 8 (SEG 37, no. 1191); Adiego 2012, 24; Brixhe 2016, 88, no. 25.

<sup>13</sup> Zgusta 1964, § 131-1.

<sup>14</sup> Coşkun Abuagla 2018, 179-80, no. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Brixhe 2016, II.27.

<sup>16</sup> Coşkun Abuagla 2018, 178, no. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Edition: Brixhe 2016, 35-36, no. 19; 93, no. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Brixhe 2016, 84-85, no. 16: *Νηλι Κας* (Neli, daughter of Ka), unless the alternative readings *Νηλικας* (Brandenstein 1933-1934) or *Νη Λικας* (Metri 1956) are to be preferred.

should be nominatives of female names, and the two women, represented in relief, might be either sisters or a mother and a daughter. The declension of these epichoric names should be Νηλι (fem. nom.), Νηλις (gen.) and Νηι (fem. nom.), Νηις (gen.).

#### 4) The Stele of Eddi

This limestone stele has a triangular top. On the shaft there is a man with a himation standing on a ledge and holding his right hand before his chest in relief. There is a line of inscription above the relief (fig. 4). The stele was found in Sofular near Tymbrida. Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 14.4.09.

H. 0.46 m; W. 0.21 m; Lh. 0.015-0.019 m. / third century AD.

Unpublished.

Εδδι Νως ν

“Eddi, son of No (lies here).”

The first name, Εδδι, is already known in light of the inscriptions found at Tymbrida.<sup>19</sup> However, the second name, Νω, is new and occurs in two funerary inscriptions from Tymbrida. These reveal its declension in the nominative and genitive cases (no. 2 nom., no. 4 gen.). The declension of Εδδι should be in this way: Εδδι (masc. nom.), Εδδις (gen.).

#### 5) The Stele of Atourzeta, Staneis and Soumata

This limestone stele has an acroteria. In the center of the pediment there is a bust whose face is effaced. On the shaft there are a standing man, a seated woman, and a little girl on a ledge. Each figure is wrapped with a himation. The woman is touching the girl's arm, while the bearded man holds his right hand in front of his chest. The inscription is inscribed above these figures (fig. 5). The stele was found in Sofular near Tymbrida. Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 13.1.81.

H. 0.635 m; W. 0.36 m; Lh. 0.010-0.013 m. / third century AD.<sup>20</sup>

Ατουρζετα Στανεις

2 Σουματα Στανει

“Atourzeta, Staneis (and) Soumata, daughter of Staneis (lie here).”

L1-2: Ατουρζε?ε Τας Τανεις | Σουμα Τας Τανει, Adiego 2012. Ατουρζ(?)ετα Στανεις ?| Σουματα, Στανει ?, Brixhe 2016.

The inscription in combination with the figures depicted on the stone implies that Ατουρζετα and Στανεις were a married couple, and Σουματα was their daughter. This inscription provides the only examples for these names attested in Pisidia. The declension of these epichoric names is as follows: Ατουρζετα (fem. nom.), Ατουρζετας (gen.); Στανεις (masc. nom.), Στανει (gen.) like the male name Νεις (see below no. 6); Σουματα (fem. nom), Σουματας (gen.).

<sup>19</sup> Brixhe et al. 1987, 136-37, no. 6; SEG 37, no. 1190; Brixhe 2016, 87, no. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Edition: Brixhe et al. 1987, 155-57, no. 28 (SEG 37, no. 1201); Adiego 2012, 24; Brixhe 2016, 90, no. 33.

## 6) The Stele of Neis and Ada

This limestone piece of a stele has a pediment whose acroteria is completely broken. There is a rosette with six leaves in the center of the pediment. On the shaft there are traces of a female figure (face effaced) sitting in a cathedra, of which just the upper part is visible. The one-line inscription is below the pediment (fig. 6). Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: ZMT8.1.03.

H. 0.21 m; W. 0.265 m; Lh. 0.008-0.014 m. / second - third century AD.

Unpublished.

Νεις Ορζου Αζου Αδα

“Neis, son of Orzos, grandson of Azos, and Ada (lie here).”

Νεις as a male name is known in Asia Minor.<sup>21</sup> Its declension is Νεις (masc. nom.), Νει (gen.). The male name Ορζος is attested, as here in the genitive Ορζου, at Kelian in Pisidia (near Seleukeia Sidera and Agrai).<sup>22</sup> Ορζος is the father of Neis. This is followed by another name in the genitive case for the father of Orzos. A similar patronymic usage is known on the basis of a published inscription found in Sofular near Tymbrida.<sup>23</sup> The male name Αζος is so far attested neither in Asia Minor nor elsewhere. However, single examples each from Phrygia and from Isauria exist for the female name Αζης (gen. Αζου).<sup>24</sup> For the female name Αδα, see below no. 9.

## 7) The Stele of Eddi and Tli

This limestone stele has a triangular top. On the shaft there is a well-preserved bust of a bearded man in relief wearing a torque around his neck. The inscription is above the relief (fig. 7). The stele was found in Sofular near Tymbrida. Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 6.7.82.

H. 0.45 m; W. 0.20 m; Lh. 0.009-0.012 m. / third century AD.<sup>25</sup>

Εδδι Τλι

2 Μουσις ν

“Eddi (and) Tli, sons of Mousi (lie here).”

1-2: Εδδι Μι|μουσις, Brixhe et al. 1987; Brixhe 2016.

The first and the last name is already known in light of the inscriptions found at Tymbrida. However, the name Τλι, unattested in Asia Minor or anywhere else, is new. Τλι is a masculine gender name and in the nominative case like the example above no. 4 (Εδδι) and below no. 8 (Οδδι). So its declension should be Τλι (masc. nom.), Τλις (gen.). Μουσι should also be a masculine gender name and different from another male name Μουσις (masc. nom.), Μουσιδος (gen.).<sup>26</sup> Therefore, its declension should be Μουσι (masc. nom.), Μουσις (gen.).

<sup>21</sup> Bean and Mitford 1970, 191, no. 212.

<sup>22</sup> SEG 41, no. 1248.

<sup>23</sup> Brixhe et al. 1987, 135-36, no. 5; SEG 37, no. 1189; Brixhe 2016, 87, no. 23.

<sup>24</sup> LGPN 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Edition: Brixhe et al. 1987, 136-37, no. 6 (SEG 37, no. 1190); Brixhe 2016, 87, no. 24.

<sup>26</sup> Zgusta 1964, § 988-5.

### 8) The Stele of Odi and Nei

This limestone triangular funerary stele is broken on the top. On the shaft there are busts of a man and a woman. The inscription is above these figures (fig. 8). Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 8.2.89.

H. 0.56 m; W. 0.24 m; Lh. 0.014-0.02 m. / second - third century AD.<sup>27</sup>

ν Οδι Νηι ν

“Odi (and) Nei (lie here).”

1: Ποδινη, Brixhe 2016.

According to the busts depicted on the shaft, Odi and Nei can be either a married couple or a brother and a sister. The female name Νηι seems to designate the woman depicted in relief; Οδι is a masculine gender name and in the nominative case like Νηι. The declension of this epichoric male name should be Οδι (masc. nom.), Οδις (gen.); for Νηι, see above no. 3.

### 9) The Stele of Ada and Ni

This limestone funerary stele has a triangular pediment and three acroteria adorned with palmettes. In the center of the pediment there is a rosette. On the shaft there are two figures standing on a ledge a man (face effaced) wearing a himation and a woman with chiton and himation. The inscription is above the figures (fig. 9). The stele was found in Aksu. Isparta Archaeology Museum inventory number: 10.6.81. H. 0.53 m; W. 0.22 m; Lh. 0.008 m. / third century AD.<sup>28</sup>

Αδα Νι

“Ada (and) Ni (lie here).”

1: ΛΑΑΑC, Brixhe et al. 1987.

According to the figures depicted on the stone, Ada and Ni may be either a married couple or sister and brother. The female name Ada and the male name Ni are attested at Tymbrida.<sup>29</sup> The declension of the names is respectively Αδα (fem. nom.), Αδας (gen.) and Νι (masc. nom.), Νις (gen.).

## Conclusion

Examining certain masculine and feminine epichoric names with the nominative ending -ι, -α, -εις in the inscriptions found at Tymbrida, we understand that each name had a genitive ending compatible with the nominative version. In the table below, examined and deciphered epichoric names attested on nine funerary stelae are presented. Those forms not attested in any of the inscriptions but only assumed have been put between brackets.

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<sup>27</sup> Edition: Brixhe 2016, 31-32, no. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Edition: Brixhe et al. 1987, 145-46, no. 20.

<sup>29</sup> Brixhe et al. 1987, 142-44, no. 17; SEG 37, no. 1196; Adiego 2012, 24; Brixhe 2016, 88-89, no. 29.

| Nominative ending -ι : Genitive -ις (fem.) | Nominative ending -ι : Genitive -ις (masc.) |
|--|---|
| Νηι (nom.), [Νηις (gen.)] (nos. 3, 8)      | Εδδι (nom.), [Εδδις (gen.)] (nos. 4, 7)     |
| Νηλι (nom.), [Νηλις (gen.)] (no. 3)        | Μηιι (nom.), [Μηιις (gen.)] (no. 1)         |
|  | [Μουσι (nom.), Μουσις (gen.)] (no. 7)       |
|  | Νι (nom.), [Νις (gen.)] (no. 9)             |
|  | Οδι (nom.), [Οδις (gen.)] (no. 8)           |
|  | [Ρι (nom.), Ρις (gen.)] (no. 2)             |
|  | Τλι (nom.), [Τλις (gen.)] (no. 7)           |

| Nominative ending -α : Genitive -ας (fem.)    | Nominative ending -α : Genitive -ας (masc.) |
|---|---|
| Αδα (nom.), [Αδας (gen.)] (nos. 6, 9)         | Βα (nom.), [Βας (gen.)] (no. 2)             |
| Ιδουα (nom.), [Ιδουας (gen.)] (no. 1)         | Να (nom.), [Νας (gen.)] (no. 1)             |
| Ατουρζετα (nom.), [Ατουρζετας (gen.)] (no. 5) | Τα (nom.), [Τας (gen.)] (no. 1)             |
| Σουματα (nom.), [Σουματας (gen.)] (no. 5)     |   |

| Nominative ending -εις : Genitive -ει (just male names for now) |
|---|
| Νεις (nom.), [Νει (gen.)] (no. 6)                               |
| Στανεις (nom.), [Στανει (gen.)] (no. 5)                         |

To conclude: there is no doubt that similar epichoric names are likely to be obtained from new inscriptions found in the region in future surveys. These can be deciphered without effort from their nominative and genitive endings as determined in the table above.

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(All squeezes and figures belong to IAS Archive and all photos, except fig. 1, have been retaken by archaeologist Gökhan Kayış in the Antalya Archaeology Museum)



FIG. 1 Meni, Idoua, Ta and Na.



FIG. 2 Ba and No.



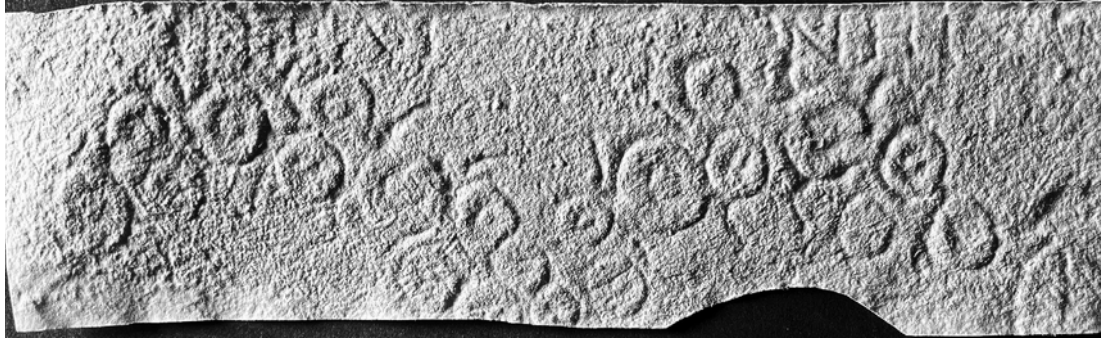


FIG. 3 Neli and Nei.



FIG. 4 Eddi.



FIG. 5 Atourzeta, Staneis and Soumata.



FIG. 6 Neis and Ada.



FIG. 7 Eddi and Tli.



FIG. 8 Odi and Nei.



FIG. 9 Ada and Ni.

## Figürliche Reliefs frühchristlicher Zeit in Kleinasien (4.-6. / 7. Jahrhundert n.Chr.)

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### Abstract

In Asia Minor, only a relatively small number of reliefs with biblical depictions or images of saints from the early Christian period (fourth to sixth / seventh centuries AD) have been preserved. They represent an exceedingly small percentage of what was likely actually produced, with a substantial amount considered to be lost. This makes it difficult to classify the art based on geographic region, in comparison, for example, to the proliferation of the Roman grave reliefs of the second and third centuries. Nevertheless, Asia Minor was of an area of great importance for the theology of early Christianity. Numerous churches from the Early Byzantine period have been preserved or at least documented. Many were large and magnificent buildings, showing excellent masonry techniques, and some had unusual shapes. The churches were richly adorned with capitals, barrier plates, and ambons, as well as floor mosaics. Although only a few remnants of wall paintings and mosaics are preserved today, it can be assumed that most of churches possessed them. While there are portrait sculptures and busts of excellent quality, very few reliefs are based on the Bible. They are almost all very simple pieces, in terms of craftsmanship, with a few exceptions. The existence, not

### Öz

Anadolu'da, Erken Hıristiyanlık Dönemi'ne (dördüncü-altıncı / yedinci yüzyıl) ait İncil ve Tevrat konulu kabartmalar günümüze oldukça az sayıda ulaşmıştır. Bunlar orijinal üretimin sadece çok küçük bir kısmını oluşturur, günümüze ulaşamayanların sayısı çok daha fazladır. Tanınan örneklerle, MS ikinci ve üçüncü yüzyıl mezar taşları gibi bölgesel gruplar oluşturulamamaktadır. Bu kabartmalar, Küçük Asya Erken Hıristiyan teolojisi için büyük önem taşımaktadır. Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne ait çok sayıda kilise korunmuş veya en azından belgelenmiştir. Bunların birçoğu mükemmel duvar tekniği gösteren, bazıları alışılmadık karaktere sahip, büyük ve görkemli yapılarıdır. Kiliseler; sütun başlıkları, bariyer levhaları, ambonlar ve zemin mozaikleri gibi zengin donatılara sahipti. Günümüzde bunlardan sadece birkaç duvar resmi ve mozaik kalıntısı korunmakla birlikte, birçok kilisenin bunlarla donatıldığı kabul edilebilir. Mükemmel kalitede portre heykelleri ve büstleri mevcut iken, konusunu İncil ve Tevrat'tan alan kabartmaların sayısı çok azdır. Kabartmaların neredeyse tamamı, birkaç istisna dışında, işçilik açısından oldukça basittir. Fakat sadece İncil ve Tevrat sahnelerinin alışılmış ikonografisinin yanı sıra, ender ve ünik karakter taşıyan tasvirler Küçük Asya'nın uzak

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only, of the customary iconography, but also rare and unique character depictions of the reliefs of biblical scenes, illustrates the reach of the Byzantine Church in even the most remote areas of that region, shedding light on Late Antique art in Asia Minor as the heartland of the Byzantine Empire.

**Keywords:** Late Antique Asia Minor, sculpture, reliefs, Biblical reliefs

bölgelerinde bilindiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Tüm bu kabartmalar, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun ana damarı olan Küçük Asya'ya ışık tuttuğundan, Geç Antik Çağ sanatının önemli tanıklarındır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Geç Antik Çağ'da Anadolu, heykel, kabartma, İncil ve Tevrat kabartmaları

Der vorliegende Aufsatz möchte einen kleinen Beitrag zur Erforschung der Skulptur der Spätantike, also der frühchristlichen Zeit, in Kleinasien bieten. Architektonische Plastik, Kapitelle, Schrankenplatten, Ambone und anderes, sind in mehr oder weniger großer Anzahl erhalten und in zahlreichen Publikationen vorgelegt, die hier nicht genannt zu werden brauchen. „Historische Reliefs“ haben für die Kunst und Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit hohe Bedeutung, sind aber nur in sehr kleiner Anzahl erhalten. Zu ihnen gehören die Reliefs, die in Nikomedeia (İzmit), der Residenz von Kaiser Diokletian (regierte 284-305 n.Chr.), gefunden wurden.<sup>1</sup> Aus der Spätantike sind in Kleinasien nur zwei Fragmente eines Frieses zu nennen, der zu einem „Historischen Relief“ gehört hat.<sup>2</sup> Die ursprüngliche Verwendung ist nicht bekannt, und die Stücke sind nur vorschlagsweise in das 4. / 5. Jh. n.Chr. zu datieren. Wichtige Zeugnisse der Skulptur der Spätantike sind möglicherweise die Fries-Teile, die bei der Renovierung des Hadrians-Tempels in Ephesos eingesetzt worden sind.<sup>3</sup> Aber auch bei ihnen ist das Problem, dass sie sich zeitlich nicht genauer einordnen lassen, da es keinerlei Parallelen gibt (spätes 4. Jh. n.Chr.?). Ideal-Plastik ist bisher nur in sehr wenigen Beispielen bekannt.<sup>4</sup> Porträts, Statuen und Büsten, die meist vorzügliche Qualität zeigen, sind vor allem aus Aphrodisias, Ephesos und Stratonikeia erhalten.<sup>5</sup>

Weiterhin sind in der Spätantike verschiedenartige Reliefs verwendet worden, die mit figürlichen Darstellungen mit biblischer Thematik im weitesten Sinn, also mit Szenen aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament sowie Bildern von Heiligen, geschmückt waren. Sie fanden sich sowohl in Kirchen wie im privaten Bereich. In Kirchen waren es vor allem Objekte der liturgischen Ausstattung, aber auch beispielsweise ein hervorgehobenes Eingangs-Portal. Zum privaten Bereich gehören Sarkophage und Grabreliefs. Auch in prunkvollen Häusern in der Stadt oder in Villen auf dem Lande könnten derartige Reliefs von christlichen Besitzern verwendet worden sein. Doch gibt es dafür in Kleinasien keine gesicherten Funde.

In den Kirchen gab es eine Reihe von Stücken der Ausstattung, die für die Liturgie erforderlich oder zumindest erwünscht waren: Tempel mit Pfeilern und Schrankenplatten; manchmal mit Pfeilern, die in Säulen übergehen und einen Architrav (Epistyl) tragen; Altar, der in der Regel die Form eines Tisches hatte; bei aufwendigeren Kirchen ein Ziborium; Ambon; Schrankenplatten, die Mittel- und Seitenschiffe trennten; Brüstungsplatten, sofern Emporen vorhanden waren.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Şare Ağtürk 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Dennert 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Scherrer 1995, 120-21.

<sup>4</sup> Brands 2018 (mit weiterer Literatur).

<sup>5</sup> Smith and Ward-Perkins 2016 (mit weiterer Literatur).

<sup>6</sup> Übersichtlich und mit zahlreichen Abbildungen erläutert: Orlandos 1952-1957, 438-566.

Im benachbarten Georgien sind in einzelnen Fällen Reliefs mit biblischen Darstellungen zu finden, und zwar in den Tympana von Türen, auf steinernen Kreuzen, auf Taufbecken und auf blockförmigen Altären sowie auf Reliefs, die in die Außenseiten von Kirchen eingelassen sind.<sup>7</sup> In Kleinasien sind derartige Beispiele nicht belegt. In Armenien sind vergleichbare Darstellungen auf einigen Kreuzen aus Stein sowie wenigen anderen Objekten erhalten.<sup>8</sup> Die Ikonographie und mehrfach auch der Stil sind mit Werken aus dem Byzantinischen Reich verbunden. Aus den Provinzen Syria und Palaestina sind nur einzelne Stücke bekannt.<sup>9</sup> Umfangreich ist das Material aus dem koptischen Ägypten.<sup>10</sup> Neben biblischen Darstellungen und vielen Heiligen finden sich dort auch, und das ist das Außergewöhnliche, zahlreiche Reliefs mit paganer Thematik, die über Jahrhunderte hinweg bis in das frühe Mittelalter hergestellt worden sind.

Die genannten Gegenstände der Ausstattung von Kirchen konnten aus Holz bestehen. So werden von Bischof Paulinos in seiner Predigt aus Anlass der Weihe der Kathedrale von Tyros (südlicher Libanon) im Jahre 317 Chr. die hölzernen Schrankenplatten wegen ihrer vorzüglichen Ausführung ausdrücklich und lobend erwähnt.<sup>11</sup> Derartige Stücke haben sich nur in Ausnahmen erhalten, und zwar lediglich in Ägypten.<sup>12</sup> Wenn bei Ausgrabungen in einer Kirche keine Reste der architektonischen Skulpturen gefunden werden, ist also immer zu bedenken, dass sie möglicherweise aus Holz bestanden haben.

Häufig wurde Stein verwendet. Zum einen handelt es sich um Material, das in der Umgebung des jeweiligen Ortes gebrochen oder über geringe Entfernungen herbeigeht werden konnte, vor allem Kalkstein, vulkanisches Gestein oder lokaler Marmor. Zum anderen war man in weiten Teilen des Mittelmeer-Gebietes sowie in angrenzenden und in Ausnahmen sogar in entfernt liegenden christianisierten Gebieten<sup>13</sup> bemüht, Objekte zu importieren, die aus der Hauptstadt des spätrömischen Reiches, Konstantinopel, kamen und aus Marmor von Prokonnesos bestanden.

Eigentlich hätten schlichte, glatt gesägte und vielleicht etwas polierte Stücke ihren Zweck in der Kirche völlig erfüllt. Aber die Kirchen wurden, wie überall zu sehen ist, so kostbar ausgestattet, wie das die Mittel der Stifter erlaubten. Also mussten die Stücke der Ausstattung in irgendeiner Weise geschmückt werden. Platten und anderes erhielten deshalb eine Rahmung. Bei Exemplaren aus Marmor laufen Profile um, die meist schlicht waren, also nur durch ihre Formen und die Qualität der Ausarbeitung beeindrucken sollten.<sup>14</sup> Bei Stücken aus Kalkstein oder vulkanischem Gestein ließen sich die Profile nicht so exakt gestalten. Deshalb bekamen sie in der Regel umlaufende, mit Ornamenten versehene Bänder.

<sup>7</sup> Iamanidzé 2010, 19-50; Dadiani et al. 2017, 12-91.

<sup>8</sup> Eine zusammenfassende Arbeit zu Reliefs oder allgemein zur Skulptur der Spätantike in Armenien gibt es nicht; einige Stücke sind beispielsweise erfasst in: Thierry and Donabédian 1988; Thierry 2002.

<sup>9</sup> Cluzan 1993, 358-59, nr. 280, 282; Fortin 1999, 289, nr. 312; Goodnick Westenholz 2000, 116-17, nr. 93.

<sup>10</sup> Eine zusammenfassende Arbeit zu Reliefs der Spätantike in Ägypten gibt es nicht; einige Stücke sind beispielsweise erfasst in: Wessel 1963, 9-171; Zibawi 2004, 41-57.

<sup>11</sup> Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* X 4, 37-68, besonders 44; Mango 1972, 4-7.

<sup>12</sup> Teiles eines Altares aus Holz: Auber de Lapierre and Jeudy 2018, 122-25, nr. 36. Bei Fragmenten aus Bargala (Nord-Makedonien) ist die ursprüngliche Verwendung nicht festzulegen; eine biblische Thematik ist nicht zu erkennen: Enss 2020.

<sup>13</sup> z.B. in Adulis (Rotes Meer, Eretria): Heldman 1994; Castiglia et al. 2021.

<sup>14</sup> z.B. Firatlı 1990, 98-99, pls. 59, 180-81.

Als Füllung der Fläche dienten Kreuze sowie Ranken, Blätter und anderes dekoratives Beiwerk. Aufwendiger war es, auf den Flächen von Ambon- oder Schrankenplatten Tiere abzubilden, einzelne bei Ambonen,<sup>15</sup> antithetisch stehende bei längsrechteckigen Schrankenplatten.<sup>16</sup> Selten sind „neutrale“ Gestalten, vor allem Hirten, nur in Ausnahmen Personen oder Szenen aus biblischen Zusammenhängen vorhanden.

Aus Kleinasien ist bisher keine Schrankenplatte aus frühchristlicher Zeit bekannt geworden, die mit einer biblischen Darstellung oder Heiligen geschmückt ist.<sup>17</sup> Das kann am Zufall der Erhaltung oder am Stand der Publikation liegen. Bei Fragmenten ist vielleicht auch nicht erkannt, dass sie zu Schrankenplatten mit einer figürlichen Szene gehören. Insgesamt gesehen, sind derartige Platten im spätantiken und Byzantinischen Reich sehr selten. Aber sowohl aus Konstantinopel wie auf der Insel Thasos oder sogar in der Kirche eines kleinen Dorfes in der Nähe von Damaskus finden sich Exemplare.<sup>18</sup>

Die Pfeiler, in die die Platten eingelassen waren, sind in der Regel nur mit Profilen versehen und haben manchmal oben einen gerundeten Abschluss.<sup>19</sup> Nur wenige Beispiele sind reich geschmückt und tragen auf der Vorderseite des Schaftes sowie in Ausnahmen auch auf der Rückseite Rankenwerk. Über dem Schaft befindet sich bei einigen Exemplaren ein Kubus, der in der Regel auf allen vier Seiten eine gerahmte figürliche Darstellung trägt.<sup>20</sup> Er ragte also über die Schrankenplatten hinaus. An den Seiten und hinten, zum Altar-Raum ausgerichtet, finden sich dort mehrfach Brustbilder von kleinen, meist pausbäckigen Kindern. Da ist ungeklärt, wen sie darstellen sollen und warum sie abgebildet sind. Es kann sich nicht um Engel handeln. Zu einen sind, soweit zu erkennen, niemals Flügel angedeutet. Zum anderen werden Engel noch nicht in frühchristlicher und frühbyzantinischer Zeit, sondern erst sehr viel später als pausbäckige Kinder abgebildet.<sup>21</sup> Weiterhin sind auf Neben- und Rückseiten der Kubusse mehrfach pflanzliche Motive vorhanden. Auf der Vorderseite des Kubus, die zur Gemeinde gerichtet war, sind kleine figürliche Szenen abgebildet, Betende in Chlamys, Hirten, Jagd, in einem Fall eine mythologische Darstellung, nämlich Meleager und Atalante. Auf einem einzigen Exemplar findet sich eine Darstellung aus dem Neuen Testament, und zwar die Auferweckung des Lazarus (figs. 1-2).<sup>22</sup> Sie ist auf drei Gestalten konzentriert, Jesus mit dem Stab, Maria, die Schwester des Lazarus, den kleinen als Leiche eingewickelten Lazarus, der in einem Grab-Tempel steht.

Dieser Templon-Pfeiler sowie ein anderer mit einem Hirten im oberen Feld, die jetzt beide im Garten des Museums für Anatolische Zivilisationen in Ankara stehen, können nicht in Galatia, also Ankyra und Umgebung, in einer lokalen Werkstatt angefertigt worden sein. Alle Bildhauer-Arbeiten aus der Spätantike, die von dort bekannt sind, sind handwerklich sehr einfache Stücke.<sup>23</sup> Es war bisher nicht zu klären, ob die Pfeiler geschenkt, angekauft, beschlagnahmt oder tatsächlich in der Nähe von Ankara gefunden worden sind. Das figürliche Relief ist sehr flach und flüchtig gestaltet und lässt sich nicht genauer datieren. Das vorzüglich

<sup>15</sup> z.B. Firatlı 1990, 99, pls. 59, 182.

<sup>16</sup> z.B. Firatlı 1990, 155-56, pls. 95, 307.

<sup>17</sup> Ulbert 1969, 1969-1970.

<sup>18</sup> Ravenna: Angiolini Martinelli 1968, 57-58, nr. 77, fig. 77b. Konstantinopel: Firatlı 1990, 154-55, nr. 306, pl. 94. Syria und Palaestina: siehe oben n. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Orlandos 1952-1957, 518-19, figs. 479-81; 526, figs. 490-91; 531, fig. 497.

<sup>20</sup> Grabar 1963, 76-80, pls. 26-33; Firatlı 1990, 140-49, nr. 278-94, pls. 87-91; Denker et al. 2011, 78, nr. 128.

<sup>21</sup> Koch 2010, 44-45.

<sup>22</sup> Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, nicht erfasst in: Alpaslan 2001a. Allgemein zur Szene: Koch 2000, 167-68.

<sup>23</sup> Vergleiche z.B.: French 2003, 198-206, nr. 81-86; Mitchell and French 2019, 121-247 (zahlreiche Beispiele).

ausgearbeitete Rankenwerk auf der Vorderseite des Schaftes vertritt die Stil-Stufe von Hagios Polyuktos oder der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel. Der Pfeiler ist somit in die erste Hälfte des 6. Jhs. n.Chr. einzuordnen. Aufgrund der stilistischen Ausführung der Ranke ist er einer Werkstatt in Konstantinopel zuzuweisen. Falls sich herausstellen sollte, dass der Marmor nicht von Prokonnesos stammt, müsste man annehmen, dass der Bildhauer von Konstantinopel nach Galatia gekommen war und sich auf anderen Marmor umgestellt hatte.

Aufwendiger war es, beim Tempion hohe Stützen zu verwenden, die einen Architrav tragen.<sup>24</sup> Für sie ist charakteristisch, dass sie unten die Form der üblichen Pfeiler haben, im oberen Teil aber Säulen sind. Beide zusammen sind meistens aus einem Block gearbeitet, in der Regel hellem Marmor, in Ausnahmen *marmor Thessalicum*.<sup>25</sup> In der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel waren am Architrav ovale (?) Schilde aus Silber angebracht, auf denen in Relief die Büsten (?) von Christus, Maria, Engeln, Propheten und Aposteln abgebildet waren.<sup>26</sup> Die kleinen rechteckigen Reliefs (ca. 38 x 35 cm) mit den Büsten von Christus, Maria und wahrscheinlich ursprünglich den zwölf Aposteln, die in der Polyuktos-Kirche (erbaut 524-527 n.Chr.) gefunden worden sind, waren vielleicht ebenfalls am Tempion angebracht.<sup>27</sup> Ein Tempion-Balken aus frühchristlicher Zeit, der mit biblischen Darstellungen oder Heiligen in Relief geschmückt ist, ist bisher aus Kleinasien nicht bekannt geworden. Da aber Beispiele aus mittelbyzantinischer Zeit mit Relief oder Einlege-Arbeiten erhalten sind, ist es möglich, dass es bereits früher derartige Exemplare gegeben hat.<sup>28</sup>

Bei den Ambonen bietet es sich an, die Platten an den Treppen und oben an den Brüstungen mit Schmuck zu versehen. Auf den Treppenwangen, die eine besondere Form haben und leicht an dem spitzen Winkel oben und dem stumpfen Winkel in der Mitte zu erkennen sind, sind einige Male Tiere, beispielsweise ein Löwe, Schaf, Steinbock oder Pfau,<sup>29</sup> selten Hirten<sup>30</sup> abgebildet. Eine völlige Ausnahme ist eine Platte, die südlich von Ephesos gefunden worden ist und eine biblische Szene zeigt, die Opferung Isaaks durch Abraham (fig. 3).<sup>31</sup> Der profilierte Rahmen ist sehr breit und ganz flach, die Gestalten sind ebenfalls flach. Das Stück ist kein Import aus Konstantinopel, sondern eine lokale Arbeit, wahrscheinlich aus einer Werkstatt in Ephesos, und es lässt sich nur allgemein in das 6. Jh. n.Chr. datieren.

Die Plattformen der Ambone hatten Brüstungen. Sie konnten aus größeren gebogenen Teilen oder aus einzeln gearbeiteten hochrechteckigen Feldern bestehen. Diese waren in der Regel mit umlaufenden Profilen und Kreuzen oder Rhomben geschmückt.<sup>32</sup> Bisher ist nur eine einzige Ausnahme bekannt, die aus Lykia, der Umgebung von Elmalı, stammt (fig. 4).<sup>33</sup> Sie besteht aus hellem Kalkstein und ist vielleicht im 6. Jh. n.Chr. gearbeitet worden. Abgebildet sind Maria und zwei Engel, wahrscheinlich die Erzengel Michael und Gabriel. Die drei Gestalten

<sup>24</sup> z.B. Orlandos 1952-1957, 527-28, figs. 492-93, 532, fig. 498.

<sup>25</sup> Peschlow 1991.

<sup>26</sup> Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis of S. Sophia*. 685-710.

<sup>27</sup> Istanbul, AM Inv. 6173-82: Firatlı 1990, 208-11, nr. 485-93, pls. 123-24; Harrison 1990, 109-11, figs. 135-43; Küllerich and Torp 2021.

<sup>28</sup> z.B. Grabar 1976, 41-42, 45, pls. 5.1, 15.3.

<sup>29</sup> z.B. Firatlı 1990, 99, nr. 182, pl. 59 (aus Yalova).

<sup>30</sup> z.B. Firatlı 1990, 98-99, nr. 180-81, pl. 59 (aus Tralleis [Aydn]).

<sup>31</sup> Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 739: Asgari 1983, 160, nr. C.19; Koch 2000, 140-41 (aus dem Hinterland südlich von Ephesos).

<sup>32</sup> Orlandos 1952-1957, 545-62.

<sup>33</sup> Antalya, AM Inv. 1.30.75: Harrison 1986, 73-74, pls. 2-3.

stehen jeweils in einer Arkade in einem einzelnen Feld. Die Ausführung ist handwerklich überaus einfach. Aber der Auftraggeber wird zufrieden mit seiner Stiftung und der Handwerker stolz auf sein Werk gewesen sein, und die Gläubigen werden den Ambon in ihrer Kirche bewundert haben.

Altäre haben in der Regel die Form von Tischen mit vier Beinen.<sup>34</sup> Da Tücher auf ihnen lagen, ist die Tischplatte nur in sehr wenigen Fällen mit einem Relief geschmückt worden.<sup>35</sup> Selten handelt es sich bei den Haupt-Altären um rechteckige Blöcke. Ein Sonderfall ist ein großer zylinderförmiger Block mit Profilen unten und oben, der aus dunkelrotem vulkanischem Gestein besteht (figs. 5-8).<sup>36</sup> Er kommt aus der Nähe von Kaisareia (Kayseri). Auf der Oberseite ist ein großes Kreuz eingeritzt, er dürfte also ein Altar gewesen sein (fig. 8). Das Außergewöhnliche ist, dass das Rund mit einem umlaufenden Relief geschmückt ist. In der gesamten frühchristlichen und frühbyzantinischen Kunst ist es das einzige Beispiel. Neben pflanzlichen Motiven und einem großen Kreuz ist die Himmelfahrt des Elias eindeutig zu erkennen (fig. 7).<sup>37</sup> Es ist sogar die erweiterte Version abgebildet, in der Elias seinen Mantel, mit dem die Propheten-Gabe verbunden ist, an Elisa (Elisaios) übergibt. Außerdem sind mehrere Tiere sowie ein sitzender Hirt dargestellt, der im Verhältnis sehr klein ist (fig. 5). Man hat ihn als den Heiligen Mamas (oder Mammās) bezeichnet, einen Hirten, der in Kappadokien als Heiliger verehrt wurde und in Kaisareia sein Haupt-Heiligtum hatte.<sup>38</sup> Aber wenn tatsächlich der Heilige Mamas gemeint sein sollte, würde man erwarten, dass er nicht so klein in einer Ecke abgebildet ist, sondern durch seine Größe und möglicherweise noch auf andere Weise hervorgehoben worden wäre. Also muss offen bleiben, ob ein Hirt oder der Heilige Mamas gemeint ist. Die Ausarbeitung in dem spröden Material ist zwar handwerklich nicht sehr gut. Dem Bildhauer ist es aber gelungen, die Szenen lebendig wiederzugeben und den zur Verfügung stehenden Raum gut zu füllen. Das Stück steht in seiner Gattung, den Reliefs, und in der Landschaft, Kappadokia, völlig allein. Es lässt sich also nur allgemein das 6. Jh. (oder vielleicht das frühe 7. Jh. n.Chr.?) als Entstehungszeit vorschlagen. Wenn das Stück im Altar-Raum einer Kirche gestanden hätte, wäre das Relief durch die Templon-Schranken verdeckt worden. Es kann sich also nicht um den Haupt-Altar gehandelt haben, sondern es muss ein zusätzlicher Altar gewesen sein, der vielleicht im Mittelschiff der Kirche aufgestellt war. Parallelen bieten in Alahan Manastır die Westkirche mit zumindest zwei und die Ostkirche mit vier „pedestals“ oder „altars“, die im Mittelschiff bzw. erhöht im Bema der zweiten Phase stehen.<sup>39</sup> Sie haben jedoch eine andere Form und tragen keinen figürlichen Schmuck. Aber auch deren ursprüngliche Funktion ist unbekannt.

Ungewöhnlich ist ein Relief in Tarsus, das aus Kalkstein besteht und vielleicht im 6. Jh. n. Chr. entstanden ist (fig. 9a-b).<sup>40</sup> Es wird von Ornamentleisten in einzelne Felder unterteilt. In dem unteren ist Daniel zwischen den Löwen wiedergegeben. Die freien Flächen werden von pflanzlichen Motiven gefüllt. Im oberen Teil sind in zwei Tondi Sonne und Mond abgebildet. Tarsus, die Geburtsstadt des Apostels Paulus, war auch noch in der Spätantike eine sehr

<sup>34</sup> Orlandos 1952-1957, 448, 473, fig. 434; 528, fig. 493; 531, fig. 497.

<sup>35</sup> Orlandos 1952-1957, 448, fig. 407; 451-52, figs. 410-12.

<sup>36</sup> Kayseri, AM (aus Pusatlı): Kollwitz 1950; Thierry 2002, 104-7; Kadiroğlu et al. 2010, 100, fig. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Zur Darstellung: Koch 2000, 147.

<sup>38</sup> Zum Heiligen Mam(m)as: Tsilipakou and Hadjichristodoulou 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Gough 1962, 176-77, pls. 27b, 30a; Gough 1985, 115-16, fig. 53, pl. 48; Doğan 2010, 183, fig. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Tarsus, AM 980.2.16: Aydın 2003; Durugönül 2016, 128-29, nr. 36; 229, nr. 161 (A. Aydın), (Höhe 0,89, Breite 0,84 m).



bedeutende Stadt. Da sie aber im Verlauf der Kriege zwischen den Byzantinern und Arabern seit dem 7. Jh. n.Chr. immer wieder erobert und zerstört wurde, hat sich fast nichts an Bauten oder Skulpturen aus frühchristlicher und frühbyzantinischer Zeit erhalten. So ist dieses Relief trotz seines fragmentarischen Zustandes ein kostbarer Rest des frühchristlichen Tarsus. Eine Frage ist, wie es verwendet worden ist und wozu es gedient hat. Reliefs frühchristlicher Zeit mit der Abbildung von Heiligen oder biblischer Thematik, die nicht zur Ausstattung einer Kirche gehörten, die für die Liturgie notwendig war, also Schranken- oder Ambon-Platten, sind überaus selten. Keines ist in der originalen Aufstellung, in einer Kirche oder an einer anderen Stelle, gefunden worden. Neben dem Relief in Tarsus mit Daniel sind eines mit dem Heiligen Menas zu nennen, dessen Herkunft nicht bekannt ist,<sup>41</sup> sowie eines mit der Hetoimasia, das in Konstantinopel hergestellt worden ist.<sup>42</sup> Nicht beurteilen lassen sich zwei kleine Fragmente aus Xanthos, die aus Kalkstein bestehen und in sehr grober Arbeit Kopf und Schulter einer bartlosen, frontal abgebildeten Person zeigen.<sup>43</sup> Das gilt auch für zwei kleine Fragmente aus dem Baptisterium in Olympos.<sup>44</sup> Bei dem einen sind Schultern und Teil des Kopfes einer Frau mit Schleier, bei dem anderen ein Teil des Oberkörpers einer Gestalt in Umrisslinien eingetieft.

Die hier genannten drei Reliefs mit biblischen Themen sind die einzigen Beispiele im gesamten Osten des Reiches, die nicht zur liturgischen Ausstattung von Kirchen gehörten, also Schranken- oder Ambon-Platten waren. Ihr ursprünglicher Verwendungszweck ist nicht bekannt.

Ein Fragment mit dem Oberkörper des Erzengels Gabriel in Antalya gehörte zu einem ursprünglich recht hohen Relief (um 500 n.Chr. [?]; figs. 10, 12).<sup>45</sup> Links schließt es glatt, rechts ist ein wulstiges Profil vorhanden, das zur Rückseite umgreift. Auf ihr ist in flachem Relief ein großes Kreuz abgebildet (figs. 11-12). Vorder- und Rückseite scheinen zur selben Zeit ausgearbeitet worden zu sein. Bisher ist nicht untersucht worden, woher der Marmor stammt, und bei der derzeitigen Aufstellung im Museum ist er nach dem Augenschein nicht zu beurteilen. Für die stilistische Ausarbeitung sind in Konstantinopel keine Parallelen zu nennen, auch nicht in anderen Orten, weder beispielsweise in Ephesos noch in Aphrodisias. Dabei muss allerdings mehreres berücksichtigt werden. In Rom ist die Überlieferung an frühchristlichen Sarkophagen sehr reich, „stadtrömischer“ Stil ist also gut bekannt. Da ist es sogar bei kleinen Fragmenten in der Regel möglich zu bestimmen, ob sie zu einem Exemplar aus Rom oder zu einer lokalen Kopie gehören. Die spätantiken Reliefs aus Konstantinopel sind stilistisch überaus vielfältig. Ein für Konstantinopel charakteristischer Stil ist nicht zu erkennen. Das kann ein Blick auf die Sarkophage zeigen, die die größte Gruppe an Reliefs bilden.<sup>46</sup> Aus Ephesos sind wenige, aus Aphrodisias zahlreiche rundplastische Statuen erhalten. Aber es gibt keinerlei Kriterien, das Gabriel-Relief aufgrund des Stils mit irgendeiner oder mehreren von ihnen verbinden. Vom Fundort, Attaleia, ist überhaupt nichts an spätantiken Reliefs oder Skulpturen bekannt. So kann derzeit nur festgehalten werden: Wenn man die Situation in der Spätantike in Konstantinopel und Kleinasien betrachtet, ist anzunehmen, dass das Relief mit Gabriel - und sein Gegenstück

<sup>41</sup> Wien, Antikensammlung Inv. I 1144: Daim 2010, 233, nr. 177; 2012, 267, nr. VII.4 (Herkunft nicht bekannt).

<sup>42</sup> Berlin, SMBK Inv. 3 / 72: Effenberger and Severin 1992, 108-9, nr. 32; Wamser 2004, 82, nr. 100.

<sup>43</sup> Sodini 1976, 337-41, nr. 1, fig. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Sertel 2017, 80-81, nr. 76-77, figs. 76-77, Zeichnung 68-69 („kireç taşı“); 2019, 200, nr. 11, fig. 11, drawing 11 („mermer“).

<sup>45</sup> Antalya, AM Inv. 156 (aus Attaleia): Doğan 2010; Peschlow 2018 (erschlossen wird eine ursprüngliche Höhe der gesamten Platte von ca 2 m).

<sup>46</sup> Deckers and Koch 2018, 1-99, pls. 1-59.

mit Michael - in Konstantinopel hergestellt und auf dem Seeweg nach Attaleia gebracht worden sind. Es wäre aber auch möglich, dass die beiden Reliefs in Attaleia von Künstlern angefertigt worden sind, die aus der Hauptstadt gekommen sind. Es müsste dann ein großer Block an Marmor aus Prokonnesos herbeigebracht worden und die gesamte Infrastruktur vorhanden gewesen sein. Schließlich ist nicht auszuschließen, dass die Reliefs auf dem Landweg von Aphrodisias nach Attaleia transportiert worden oder auch vor Ort von Bildhauern produziert worden sind, die aus Aphrodisias stammen und die Blöcke aus Marmor mitgebracht haben.<sup>47</sup> Weitere spätantike Arbeiten aus Marmor sind aber weder in Pamphylia oder Pisidia noch in Lykia erhalten. Wie immer bei einzelnen Funden aus Marmor wäre die Frage, was die gut qualifizierten Bildhauer sonst hergestellt haben. Wenn man den Blick zurück in das 2. / 3. Jh. n.Chr. und auf eine Gattung an Skulpturen richtet, die besonders zahlreich erhalten ist, die Sarkophage, finden sich Parallelen für die vier Möglichkeiten. In Pamphylia, Pisidia und Lykia gibt es Importe von fertig ausgearbeiteten Exemplaren über das Meer von Athen, über das Land von Dokimeion. Halbfabrikate kamen über das Meer aus Prokonnesos. Zumindest in Side sind Bildhauer nachzuweisen, die aus Dokimeion kamen und vor Ort Halbfabrikate aus Prokonnesos ausgearbeitet haben. Wahrscheinlich in Termessos, sicher in Elaiusa Sebaste, Kilikia, sind Bildhauern aus Athen zu erkennen, die sich von pentelischem Marmor auf lokalen Kalkstein umgestellt und Sarkophage in attischem Stil produziert hatten.

Es ist vorgeschlagen worden, dass zu dem Relief mit Gabriel ein entsprechendes zu ergänzen sei, das den Erzengel Michael zeigt, leicht nach links gerichtet. Die beiden großen Marmor-Platten hätten einen hervorgehobenen Durchgang gerahmt, der zu einem besonderen Raum oder Teil in einer Kirche führte (fig. 13).<sup>48</sup> In ihm könnten beispielsweise verehrte Reliquien aufbewahrt worden sein. Derartige Abschränkungen aus Marmor sind sehr selten erhalten. Es lassen sich nur große Exemplare auf der südlichen Empore der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel<sup>49</sup> sowie Teile nennen, die in der Chora-Kirche wiederverwendet worden sind.<sup>50</sup> Beide haben eine völlig andere Dekoration. Aber die Platten mit Gabriel und dem zu ergänzenden Michael könnten zu einer vergleichbaren Anlage gehört haben.

Im Garten des Museums in Yozgat liegt ein langes Relief, das in zwei Teile zerbrochen ist (fig. 14).<sup>51</sup> Es besteht aus gräulichem grobkristallinem, offensichtlich lokalem Marmor.<sup>52</sup> Die Oberfläche ist stark berieben. Der Giebel am rechten Ende zeigt, dass es sich ursprünglich um ein schmales, vertikal stehendes, ungewöhnlich hohes Relief gehandelt hat, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein Grabrelief des späteren 2. oder des 3. Jh. n.Chr.<sup>53</sup> Bei einer Wiederverwendung, vielleicht im 6. Jh. n.Chr., wurde das Relief gedreht und eine lange figürliche Szene in horizontaler Richtung ausgemeißelt. Die Deutung der Darstellung bietet keine

<sup>47</sup> Peschlow 2018, 235 (erwägt, ob das Relief in Aphrodisias oder von einem Bildhauer aus Aphrodisias in Attaleia hergestellt worden ist).

<sup>48</sup> Peschlow 2018, 241-42, figs. 10-11.

<sup>49</sup> Kähler 1967, 43, pls. 52, 66-69; Peschlow 2018, 242, figs. 12-13.

<sup>50</sup> Hjort 1979, 202-23, figs. 1-19. Hinzu kommt z.B. das Fragment Istanbul, AM Inv. 2765: Grabar 1963, 131, pl. 25, 5; Fratli 1990, 137, nr. 271, pl. 85.

<sup>51</sup> Yozgat, Museum Inv. 243 (aus Alidemirci, südöstlich von Yozgat, antike Provinz Kappadokia; siehe die Skizze bei Wallner 2011, 11): Wallner 2011, 110-12, nr. V.1; Ataç and Koch (forthcoming) (Höhe 2,68, größte Breite 0,59, Dicke 0,26 m).

<sup>52</sup> Wallner 2011, 110 gibt weißen Kalkstein an; nach dem Augenschein handelt es sich um gräulichen grobkristallinen Marmor schlechter Qualität.

<sup>53</sup> Einige ähnliche Stücke sind bei Wallner 2011 abgebildet, jedoch erheblich kleiner. Das größte hat eine Höhe von 1,47 m (22-24, nr. 1.2).

Probleme, es ist der Durchzug der Israeliten durch das Rote Meer (Ex 14,17 - 15,21). Das wird durch die Inschriften hervorgehoben:<sup>54</sup>

links: Φαραὼ ἄρμα[- ?- ]

rechts: Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα στῦλος νεφέλης καὶ στῦλος πυρὸς

λαὸς Μωυσέως

Wagen des Pharaos

Rotes Meer - Wolken-Säule und Feuer-Säule

Volk des Moses

Von links nach rechts sind abgebildet: der Pharaos, der auf einem hohen Kissen auf einem zweirädrigen Wagen sitzt; er wird von vier Tieren gezogen, die Pferde ähneln; ein Ägypter, der mit seinem Pferd zusammengebrochen ist; Moses, der mit Hilfe eines langen Stabes das Wasser des Roten Meeres geteilt hat; sieben Israeliten, die nach rechts schreiten; über ihnen vier Wolken, die aus der Säule weiter rechts herausgekommen sind; als Abschluss rechts die Feuersäule, deren Flamme nach links weht. Auf dem unteren Rand ist in der Mitte, links unterhalb von Moses, ein kleines Kreuz eingemeißelt, dessen Arme sich zu den Enden verbreitern. Es dürfte zusammen mit dem figürlichen Relief und nicht in einer späteren Phase angebracht worden sein.

Völlig unklar ist, wie ein derartig langes und schmales Relief (Länge 2,68 m) verwendet worden ist. Zu einem Gegenstand der liturgischen Einrichtung einer Kirche kann es kaum gehören. Es war nicht, um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, als Architrav-Balken eines Templons geeignet. Denkbar wäre, dass es über einer Tür eingelassen war. Doch irgendwelche Vergleiche dafür sind nicht zu nennen.

In den Provinzen Galatia, Pontus und Kappadokia ist eine größere Anzahl an Reliefs aus der Spätantike erhalten, die in lokalen Werkstätten hergestellt worden sind. Es sind fast alles Grabreliefs, und der überwiegende Teil ist handwerklich überaus einfach. Es scheint nicht ein einziges Stück zu geben, das ikonographisch etwas Besonderes zeigt.<sup>55</sup> Das Relief in Yozgat fällt völlig heraus, zum einen durch die figürliche Darstellung mit einem langen Fries, zum anderen durch die Ausarbeitung mit dem relativ tiefen Relief. Westlich von Yozgat liegt Tavium, und Stücke von dort sind neuzeitlich weit verteilt worden, auch in den Südosten von Yozgat.<sup>56</sup> Ob dazu das Durchzugs-Relief gehört, ist allerdings nicht zu sagen. Es ist völlig offen, wo der Bildhauer ansässig war oder woher er gekommen ist, der in der Lage war, ein derartiges Relief auszuarbeiten. Er hatte zwar höchst bescheidene Fähigkeiten, aber sie übertrafen alles, was sonst in der näheren und weiteren Umgebung hergestellt worden ist.

Eingangs-Türen in die Kirchen, vor allem diejenigen in das Mittelschiff, sind häufig durch die Rahmungen besonders hervorgehoben. Wenn sie aus Marmor bestehen, haben sie gut gearbeitete Profile.<sup>57</sup> Bei Kalkstein können auch Ornamente vorhanden sein.<sup>58</sup> Ein völliger Sonderfall ist die Rahmung der Tür, die vom Narthex in das Mittelschiff der West-Basilika in

<sup>54</sup> Ausführlich zur Inschrift: Wallner 2011, 111-12.

<sup>55</sup> Vergleiche z.B.: French 2003, 198-206, nr. 81-86; Marek 2003 (zahlreiche Beispiele); Wallner 2011, 60-103.

<sup>56</sup> Wallner 2011, 12-13.

<sup>57</sup> Orlandos 1952-1957, 404-12.

<sup>58</sup> z.B. Gough 1985, pl. 32, 35-40 (Alahan Manastir, Ost-Kirche; alle drei Portale sind reich geschmückt, das mittlere hervorgehoben).

Alahan Manastır führt (figs. 15-20).<sup>59</sup> Es ist das am reichsten geschmückte Portal, das überhaupt bei einer frühchristlichen Kirche im gesamten spätantiken Reich erhalten ist.

Auf dem Türsturz halten zwei fliegende Engel einen Kranz mit der Büste Christi (figs. 15-17).<sup>60</sup> Links und rechts sowie weiter unten auf den senkrechten Tür-Gewänden sind vier Büsten von bärtigen und langhaarigen Männern abgebildet, wahrscheinlich den vier Evangelisten (fig. 16).<sup>61</sup> Auf der Unterseite des Türsturzes sind in einer eindrucksvollen Komposition die vier Wesen der Vision des Ezechiel (Hesekiel) und der Apokalypse des Johannes in Relief wiedergegeben (fig. 18).<sup>62</sup> M. Gough hat die Darstellung anschaulich beschrieben:

„In the figure of the angel which centralizes the composition, of the watchful lion, of the ponderous ox, of the flying eagle which covers the junction of the other three, is a solid foundation which emphasizes to the full sweep of the wings to which the viewer’s attention is irresistibly drawn.“

Neben den vier Wesen stehen jeweils ein Baum sowie ein Mann, der auf die Erscheinung hinweist, wahrscheinlich Ezechiel und Johannes.

Auf der Innenseite des Türgewändes ist in relativ flachem Relief und in vereinfachter Ausführung jeweils ein stehender Engel in militärischer Kleidung abgebildet (figs. 19-20). Der linke ist als Gabriel, der rechte als Michael bezeichnet worden.<sup>63</sup> Unterhalb von Michael sind die Büsten von zwei Personen mit deutlich betonten Brüsten, also Frauen, dargestellt, die phrygische Kappen tragen und nach links, zum Mittelschiff der Kirche, ausgerichtet sind (fig. 20).<sup>64</sup> Der Teil auf dem nördlichen Türgewände, unterhalb von Gabriel, ist stärker beschädigt und verwittert. Die Beschreibung in der Publikation könnte aber zutreffen.<sup>65</sup>

“However, at the end of the last season (1973) he [M. Gough] and the writer [G. Bakker] saw the composition lit in a new way; the season was earlier than usual in May-June and the low evening sun accentuated the relief of the carving. It then became clear that the carving depicted a pair of figures wearing Phrygian caps similar to the figures beneath St. Michael.”

Hier sei ein weiteres außergewöhnliches Monument in Alahan Manastır angeschlossen. An dem von Säulen begrenzten Weg der Pilger von der West- zur Ost-Basilika liegt links das Grab des Tarasis, ein Sarkophag in einem Arkosolium, der aus dem anstehenden Felsen heraus gemeißelt worden ist.<sup>66</sup> Durch die Inschrift ist er in das Jahr 462 n.Chr. datiert. Genau gegenüber auf dem Weg der Pilger, auf den Sarkophag und damit nach Norden ausgerichtet, ist ein

<sup>59</sup> Gough 1985, 87-92, pls. 19-22 (durch den frühen Tod von M. Gough ist dieses bedeutende Beispiel frühchristlicher Skulptur [wie auch die Architektur] nur unzureichend dokumentiert worden); Doğan 2010, 176, 182-83, figs. 4-5. Allgemein zu Alahan Manastır: Gough 1985; Ricci 2011; Wetzig 2014.

<sup>60</sup> Gough 1985, 87, pl. 19; Doğan 2010, 183, fig. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Doğan 2010, 183, fig. 5.

<sup>62</sup> *Hesekiel* 1, 5-14; *Offenbarung des Johannes* 4, 7; Gough 1962, 180, pl. 29a; 1985, 87-88, pl. 20.

<sup>63</sup> z.B. Gough 1962, 180-81, fig. 2; 1985, 87, pls. 21-22 (man würde die Benennung eher umtauschen; sie wird hier aber beibehalten); Doğan 2010, 182, fig. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Gough 1962, 180-81, fig. 2; 1985, 90.

<sup>65</sup> Gough 1985, 91. Das ergab eine gemeinsame Überprüfung im August 2022, die den gesamten Tag über bei unterschiedlicher Beleuchtung erfolgte.

<sup>66</sup> Deckers and Koch 2018, 118, nr. 177, pls. 74.1, 75.1.

Monument errichtet, für das es keinerlei Parallelen gibt (figs. 21-22).<sup>67</sup> Auf hohem Sockel steht eine Nische, die architektonisch reich gerahmt ist. Oben neben dem Giebel sind zwei fliegende Engel abgebildet. In der Nische sind drei Arkaden vorhanden, die von Halbsäulen getragen werden (fig. 22). Wie M. Gough gesehen hat, sind in den seitlichen Interkolumnien jeweils ein frontal stehender Mann (der links ist kaum zu erkennen) und in der Mitte wahrscheinlich die *betoimasia* abgebildet.<sup>68</sup>

Darstellungen aus den Alten Testament finden sich sogar auf einigen Kapitellen in Kleinasien. Von der frühchristlichen Basilika in Çardak, Kappadokia, steht noch einiges vom Ost-Teil aufrecht (6. Jh. n.Chr.) und ist 1670 in eine Moschee eingebaut worden.<sup>69</sup> Am Ansatz des Bogens der Apsis sind zwei Pilaster-Kapitelle vorhanden. Ihre Ausarbeitung ist handwerklich zwar überaus einfach, sie sind aber ungewöhnlicher Weise mit figürlichen Darstellungen versehen. Das Kapitell an der südlichen Seite ist stark beschädigt und dunkel verfärbt. Es lässt sich aber Daniel in der Grube zwischen den Löwen erkennen (fig. 23a-b).<sup>70</sup> Auf dem nördlichen Kapitell sind Daniel zwischen den Löwen und links oben der Engel abgebildet, der Habakuk am Schopfe gepackt hat und mit der Schüssel mit Brei und Brot herbeibringt (fig. 24a-b). An den Seiten stehen Palmen, an denen zahlreiche Datteln hängen.<sup>71</sup>

Ein länglicher Block aus Kalkstein mit der Abbildung des betenden Daniel zwischen den Löwen wurde 2018 aus Beyşehir in das Museum in Akşehir überführt (fig. 25).<sup>72</sup> Über die Fundumstände ist nichts bekannt. Auf Vorder- und Nebenseiten läuft oben ein Profil entlang. Die Nebenseiten sind mit dem Meißel geglättet. Der Block verjüngt sich leicht nach unten. Das könnte dafür sprechen, dass er - wie die beiden Kapitelle in der Basilika von Çardak - unterhalb des Apsis-Bogens in der Wand eingelassen war. Obwohl die Darstellung eindeutig ist und von allen Besuchern der Kirche leicht erkannt worden sein dürfte, ist sie mit der Beischrift ΔΑΝΙΗΛ versehen. Für das handwerklich sehr einfache Relief lässt sich nur allgemein eine Entstehung im 6. Jh. n.Chr. vorschlagen.

Im Museum in Uşak befindet sich ein Kämpfer (impost) aus hellem, grobkörnigem Marmor.<sup>73</sup> Er ist auf drei Seiten geglättet und trägt auf der vierten Seite eine figürliche Darstellung, wahrscheinlich in Champlévé-Technik (fig. 26a-b).<sup>74</sup> Sie ist flach und handwerklich sehr einfach ausführt. Zu erkennen sind am linken Rand die Reste einer menschlichen Gestalt, die ein Gewand mit senkrechten Falten trägt. Auf der großen Fläche rechts sind unten zwei langgestreckte Tiere abgebildet, wohl Hunde, die nach links eilen. Darüber jagt ein Hund einen Hasen, ebenfalls nach links gerichtet. Um die Tiere herum ziehen sich Ranken. Der Hintergrund ist grob gepickt, also für die Aufnahme von farbiger Paste vorbereitet. Die Inschrift Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΜΑΣ sichert, dass es sich um den Heiligen Mamas, einen Hirten,

<sup>67</sup> Gough 1985, 125-26, fig. 57, pl. 60.

<sup>68</sup> Gough 1985, 125. Vergleiche n. 53.

<sup>69</sup> Çardak (früher Çardakköy), Selçuklu Cami (früher Eski Cami): Restle 1979, 34-36, Plans 14-15, figs. 36-45; Ekiz 2007 (in der Moschee wird darauf verwiesen, dass sie 1070-1071 eingerichtet worden sei).

<sup>70</sup> Rott 1908, 247-48, fig. 88; Ekiz 2007, 147 (Höhe ca. 0,25, Länge ca. 0,90 m; rechts fehlt ein Teil).

<sup>71</sup> „Stücke zu Daniel“ 2, 32-38; Rott 1908, 247-48, fig. 87; Restle 1979, 35, fig. 44; Ekiz 2007, 147, fig. 6 (Höhe ca. 0,25, Länge ca. 1,05 m).

<sup>72</sup> Akşehir, Museum (Magazin): unpubl. (Höhe 0,27 m, Länge oben 0,63 m, unten ca. 0,53, Tiefe 0,23 m; Rückseite unregelmäßig gebrochen).

<sup>73</sup> Uşak, AM, Inv. 5.20 (75.57), aus Sebaste - Selçukler: Parman 2002, 198-200, nr. U 57, pls. 131-32 (Höhe 0,20, Breite 0,45, Tiefe 0,70 m).

<sup>74</sup> Boyd 1999; Yıldırım 2020.

handelt.<sup>75</sup> Der untere Teil des Kämpfers ist zu einem Rund ausgearbeitet (Höhe ca. 4 cm). Er hat also vielleicht direkt auf einer Säule und nicht, wie allgemein üblich, auf einem Kapitell gelegen.<sup>76</sup> Derartige Kämpfer tragen häufig nur auf der Seite einen Schmuck, die zum Mittelschiff ausgerichtet war, und zwar in der Regel ein Kreuz, mehrfach in einem Tondo oder Kranz. Die anderen drei Seiten sind nur mehr oder weniger grob geglättet. Dieser Kämpfer ist das bisher einzige bekannte Beispiel, bei dem eine Seite mit einer figürlichen Darstellung versehen ist. Es gibt keinerlei Kriterien, ein derartiges Stück zeitlich genauer einzuordnen; es kann nur allgemein das 6. Jh. vorgeschlagen werden.

Ein weiteres außergewöhnliches Kapitell wird im Museum in Karadeniz Ereğlisi (Herakleia Pontike) aufbewahrt (figs. 27-28).<sup>77</sup> Es handelt sich um ein relativ schlankes korinthisches Kapitell aus feinem hellem Marmor, das, wie es den Anschein hat, mit der Säule aus einem Stück gearbeitet war. Auf der Vorderseite ist zwischen Akanthusblättern die frontal thronende Maria abgebildet. Sie ist flüchtig ausgearbeitet, so dass Einzelheiten nicht deutlich werden. Sie trägt ein langes Gewand und ein Maphorion, das über den Kopf gezogen ist. Das Kind hält sie schräg auf ihren Armen mit beiden Händen fest. Es wendet den Kopf etwas von Maria ab und greift mit beiden Händen in das Maphorion. Auf dem oberen Rand steht links ΣΩΤΗΡ, rechts ΑΓΙΑ. Aus der römischen Kaiserzeit gibt es eine größere Anzahl an „Figural-Kapitellen“, die jedoch anders gestaltet sind.<sup>78</sup> Eine gewisse Parallele zu dem Kapitell in Ereğli bieten zwei große Exemplare aus der Spätantike, die in Konstantinopel gefunden worden sind (um 500 oder frühes 6. Jh.).<sup>79</sup> Sie gehören zur Gruppe der Zwei-Zonen Kapitelle mit Tier-Protomen. Auf der Hauptseite ist jeweils ein Engel abgebildet, der frontal auf einem hohen Podest steht. Außergewöhnlich sind ebenfalls zwei Kapitelle aus Konstantinopel, die wegen der relativ geringen Größe zu einem Ziborium gehören können (um 500 n.Chr.).<sup>80</sup> Bei ihnen sind an den vier Ecken Seraphim abgebildet. Weiterhin sind in Konstantinopel in frühchristlicher Zeit einige wenige Exemplare hergestellt worden, die Gesichter tragen, die aus Blättern hervorwachsen.<sup>81</sup> Bei dem Stück in Ereğli sind die Akanthusblätter sehr gut ausgearbeitet. Es könnte aus Konstantinopel stammen, vielleicht aber auch in Herakleia von einem Bildhauer angefertigt worden sein, der in Konstantinopel geschult worden war. Die Art des fein gezackten Akanthus und die Reihen an Bohrlöchern weisen darauf hin, dass das Kapitell in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. oder im frühen 6. Jh. n.Chr. entstanden ist. Es könnte in einer Kirche an einer hervorgehobenen Stelle verwendet worden sein; wegen der relativ geringen Höhe (0,33 m) hat es vielleicht ebenfalls zu einem Ziborium gehört.

Ein Kapitell, das früher im Garten des Museums in Adana zugänglich war, hat nur einen Kranz an Akanthusblättern, wird also relativ klein sein (fig. 29).<sup>82</sup> Auf einer Seite ist oben zwischen den Blättern die Büste einer Gestalt in groben Formen ausgearbeitet. Sie trägt eine Kette

<sup>75</sup> Vergleiche oben den Altar in Kayseri fig. 5.

<sup>76</sup> Parman 2002, 198-200, pl. 132 (vergleiche auch pls. 129, 177). - Für die übliche Verwendung von Kämpfern siehe z.B. Orlandos 1952-1957, 288-324 (mit zahlreichen Abbildungen).

<sup>77</sup> Karadeniz Ereğlisi, Museum Inv. 32: Akkaya 1994, 151, nr. 89, fig. 89; Dresken-Weiland 2009; Kıpıramaz and Yıldırım 2018, 187, nr. 17; 191, fig. 17; Kıpıramaz 2019, 34, nr. 13; 76-79 (Höhe 0,33 m).

<sup>78</sup> von Mercklin 2011.

<sup>79</sup> Firatlı 1990, 177-78, nr. 361-62, pl. 107.

<sup>80</sup> Firatlı 1990, 122-23, nr. 230-31, pl. 74.

<sup>81</sup> Firatlı 1990, 118-20, nr. 223-25, pls. 71-72.

<sup>82</sup> Adana, AM: Nauwerth and Warns 1981, 8, pls. 1-2; Dagron and Feissel 1987, 236, pl. 55.2 (bisher liess sich nicht klären, ob etwas über die Herkunft bekannt ist).

und ist durch die Inschrift ΘΕΚΛΑ als Heilige Thekla bestimmt.<sup>83</sup> Neben der Büste sind an beiden Seiten Kreuze eingetieft. Vielleicht stammt das Kapitell aus dem berühmten und viel besuchten Pilger-Heiligtum der Heiligen Thekla bei Seleukia - Silifke (heute Meryemlik oder Ayatekla).<sup>84</sup> Es könnte dort zu einem Ziborium oder vielleicht auch zur Rahmung eines großen Reliefs aus Marmor, ähnlich dem genannten Menas-Relief,<sup>85</sup> gehört haben.

Schließlich können noch zwei Kapitelle angeführt werden, singuläre Objekte, die jedoch stark beschädigt und unzureichend dokumentiert sind, so dass sie sich schlecht beurteilen lassen. Sie stammen aus dem Kloster Mar Abraham von Kashkar (Nähe von Nusaybin - Nisibis) und sind lokale Arbeiten aus Kalkstein (6. Jh. n.Chr.).<sup>86</sup> Im unteren Teil tragen sie Akanthus-Blätter. Auf dem einen Kapitell ist in der Zone darüber auf den Seiten je ein nackter, horizontal fliegender Engel abgebildet, der einen dicken Vogel in den Händen zu halten scheint. Auf der Vorderseite wächst aus dem Akanthus ein untergliedertes Band heraus, das zunächst eine kleine Schlaufe und dann einen größeren Kreis bildet. In ihm ist eine Büste abgebildet. Wegen der Kleidung wird es einen lokalen Würdenträger, nicht jedoch Christus oder einen Heiligen darstellen. Auf dem anderen Kapitell strecken die Engel jeweils einen Arm zur Vorderseite.<sup>87</sup> In der Hand halten sie einen kleinen Gegenstand, der bestoßen ist. Auf der Vorderseite des Kapitells ist in der oberen Zone in Ranken und Blättern ein Kreuz zu erkennen.

Aus Rom<sup>88</sup> sind aus frühchristlicher Zeit ca. 1250, aus den gallischen Provinzen<sup>89</sup> ca. 580, von der spanischen Halbinsel<sup>90</sup> ca. 150 Sarkophage bekannt. Hinzu kommen einige verstreute Exemplare aus anderen Provinzen. Überwiegend tragen sie figürliche Darstellungen, abgesehen von der lokalen Gruppe in Aquitania, bei der dekorativer Schmuck überwiegt (ca. 250 Stücke; in den genannten 580 Stücken enthalten).<sup>91</sup> In Konstantinopel haben von den erhaltenen ca. 170 Sarkophagen ca. 90 einen figürlichen Schmuck.<sup>92</sup> Sie alle zusammen bieten ein reiches Repertoire an biblischen Darstellungen und sind wichtige Zeugnisse der Bildkunst der frühchristlichen Zeit.<sup>93</sup> In Kleinasien hat diese Gattung der Reliefs keinerlei Bedeutung für unser Thema. Die wenigen Exemplare mit biblischen Szenen, die dort gefunden worden sind, sind aus Konstantinopel importiert worden.<sup>94</sup> In Adrassos - Balabolu, Kilikien, gab es einige Exemplare mit figürlichen Darstellungen, die jedoch keine biblische Thematik haben.<sup>95</sup> Die ca. 100 Stücke, die in lokalen Werkstätten in Kleinasien hergestellt worden sind, tragen nur Kreuze und dekoratives Beiwerk.<sup>96</sup> Bei einer größeren Anzahl handelt es sich um Exemplare

<sup>83</sup> Nauerth and Warns 1981; Koch 2000, 188-89; Şimşek and Yener 2010; Semoglou 2014; Nauerth 2020; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2020.

<sup>84</sup> Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 441-43; Mietke 2009.

<sup>85</sup> Siehe oben n. 42.

<sup>86</sup> Mundell Mango 1982, 64, fig. 19; Keser Kayaalp 2021, 46-49, fig. 2.2.12 (ein Kapitell ist, wie berichtet wird, in das Kloster Mar Gabriel bei Midyat gebracht worden, sei aber dort nicht mehr zugänglich; es wäre wichtig, diese beiden außergewöhnlichen Kapitelle gut zu dokumentieren).

<sup>87</sup> Mundell Mango 1982, 65, figs. 20-21.

<sup>88</sup> Dresken-Weiland 1998; Koch 2000, 219-378.

<sup>89</sup> Koch 2000, 466-517; Christern-Briesenick 2003; Koch 2004, 2012b.

<sup>90</sup> Koch 2000, 519-35; Büchsenschütz 2018.

<sup>91</sup> Koch 2000, 501-14; Christern-Briesenick 2003.

<sup>92</sup> Koch 2000, 199-201, 399-443; Deckers and Koch 2018, 1-99, pls. 1-59.

<sup>93</sup> Koch 2000, 132-202 (ausführliche Liste der Szenen).

<sup>94</sup> Koch 2000, 437-38; Deckers and Koch 2018, 82-84, 86-87, nr. 147-51, 153, pl. 50-51, 53.

<sup>95</sup> Koch 2000, siehe „Register“ 639, pls. 202-3; Deckers and Koch 2018, 114-15, pls. 76.1, 77.

<sup>96</sup> Koch 2000, 558-71; Deckers and Koch 2018, 109-31, nr. 171-274, pls. 60-81.

der paganen Produktion, die in frühchristlicher Zeit wiederverwendet und umgearbeitet sowie mit Inschriften oder Kreuzen versehen worden sind.<sup>97</sup>

Aus Kleinasien ist eine sehr große Anzahl an Grabreliefs und Grabmonumenten erhalten, die aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. bis zum späten 3. Jh. n.Chr. stammen und eine figürliche Darstellung tragen.<sup>98</sup> Sie häufen sich in bestimmten Regionen, vor allem in Byzantium (in Thrakia gelegen) und Kalchedon, Bithynia, Mysia, dem nördlichen Phrygia, dem südlichen Phrygia (Hierapolis, Laodikeia), Lydia und Isauria - Lykaonia. In anderen Gegenden sind verhältnismäßig wenige Stücke bewahrt. Aus frühchristlicher Zeit sind in den Provinzen Kleasiens dagegen nur relativ wenige Grabreliefs oder Grabmonumente erhalten. Sie zeigen meist ganz einfache Arbeit, haben häufig Inschriften und sind dazu mit Kreuzen versehen.<sup>99</sup>

Der Übergang von paganen zu christlichen Auftraggebern ist an den Grabreliefs aus dem nördlichen Teil der Provinz Phrygia gut zu sehen. Bei der weitaus größten Anzahl der paganen Reliefs sind die Auftraggeber abgebildet, meist ganzfigurig, seltener als Büsten. Außerdem gibt es Beispiele mit antithetischen Löwen oder einem Grabes-Portal.<sup>100</sup> Einige Grabreliefs, die völlig in der älteren Tradition dieser Landschaft stehen und aus denselben Werkstätten wie die paganen Stücke kommen, tragen nur Inschriften sowie eingeritzte Kreuze (zweite Hälfte 3. Jh.).<sup>101</sup> Typisch ist der Hinweis „Christen für einen Christen“ (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανῶ) oder „Christen für Christen“ (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς). Sie sind also für christliche Auftraggeber hergestellt worden. Diese verzichteten auf den figürlichen Schmuck, der in den Werkstätten der Gegend geläufig war. Aber Ochsen, Pferde oder beispielsweise Weinreben und Winzer-Messer wurden abgebildet. Denn auch die Christen wollten gern auf die Grundlagen ihres bescheidenen Wohlstandes hinweisen, der es ihnen ermöglichte, derartige Grabreliefs in Auftrag zu geben.

Von der phrygischen Gruppe setzt sich ein Relief ab, auf dem ein Ehepaar abgebildet ist.<sup>102</sup> Es lässt sich aufgrund seines Stiles keiner bestimmten Region in Kleinasien zuweisen. Wie die Inschrift zeigt, ist es von Christen verwendet worden. Ob es in ihrem Auftrag speziell hergestellt worden ist oder fertig ausgearbeitet in der Werkstatt zur Verfügung stand und nur mit einer Inschrift versehen wurde, muss offen bleiben. Das Grabrelief des im Pontos-Gebirge ermordeten jungen Argyrion ist 237-238 n.Chr. datiert und eines der frühesten archäologischen Zeugnisse des Christentums in Kleinasien.<sup>103</sup> Die Darstellung steht aber völlig in der paganen Tradition. Alle diese Reliefs ergeben also nichts für die vorliegende Fragestellung. Aber es gibt eine Ausnahme.

<sup>97</sup> Beispiele: Deckers and Koch 2018, 120, nr. 191, pls. 61.2; 129, nr. 257, pl. 63.2; 128, nr. 249, pls. 67.4-5; 121-23, nr. 195-96, 212, pls. 68.1-2, 69.1-2; 117, nr. 172, pls. 81.2-4; 121, nr. 197, pls. 80.2, 81.1; 124, nr. 224, 226, pls. 79.1-2; 130, nr. 265-66, pls. 80.3.5; 131 nr. 274, pls. 80.1.4.

<sup>98</sup> Das monumentale Werk von E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius (1977-1979) gibt einen vorzüglichen Überblick mit einem Katalog von über 2.300 Exemplaren, die vom 6. Jh. v.Chr. bis in das 3. Jh. n.Chr. entstanden sind. Die Reliefs sind nach der Ikonographie, nicht nach Kunstprovinzen angeordnet. Inzwischen ist eine größere Anzahl neuer Funde publiziert worden.

<sup>99</sup> z.B. French 2003, 198-206, nr. 81-86; Marek 2003 (mehrere Exemplare); Wallner 2011, 60-103; Mitchell and French 2019, 121-247 (mehrere Beispiele).

<sup>100</sup> Lochman 2003.

<sup>101</sup> Gibson 1978; Sotheby's 1990, 425; Drew-Bear 2007, 312-29; Chiricat 2013.

<sup>102</sup> Kütahya, Tuğay Museum Inv. 10624: Drew-Bear 2007, 320-21 (der Fundort ist nicht bekannt; in dem Museum scheinen aber vor allem Stücke aus der Umgebung von Kotyaion - Kütahya gesammelt worden zu sein).

<sup>103</sup> Marek 2000, 137-46; 2003, 119, figs. 174-75; 122 (vgl. 120-21, figs. 176-77, ebenfalls Grabreliefs von Christen).



Ein völliger Sonderfall unter den Grabdenkmälern in Kleinasien ist ein Block, der westlich von Ikonion (Konya) gefunden worden ist und vielleicht aus dem 5. Jh. n.Chr. stammt (fig. 30).<sup>104</sup> Nur die Vorderseite trägt ein Relief. Seitlich sind Pilaster vorhanden. In der Mitte ist in einem Kranz ein Kreuz abgebildet, das auf einem Fuß steht und einen sehr kurzen, verdickten oberen Arm hat („Henkelkreuz“). Im oberen Teil ist der Hintergrund bogenförmig leicht erhöht. Innerhalb des Kranzes sind zwei Fische zum Fuß des Kreuzes ausgerichtet. Außerhalb des Kranzes finden sich jeweils ein winkelförmiger Gegenstand und eine Swastika. Unten ist ein dicker Fisch zu sehen, der gerade einen bekleideten Menschen, Jonas, verschlingt. Die Inschrift oben besagt: „[...] hat dieses (Denkmal) für Mithios und Paulos, seine Onkel, zur Erinnerung errichtet“. Unten steht: „KHTOΣ KE ΙΩΝΑΣ“, also „Ketos und Jonas“. Allerdings ist kein „Ketos“, das Meerungeheuer, das in frühchristlicher Zeit als Mischwesen dargestellt wird, sondern ein Fisch wiedergegeben, der Jonas verschlingt. Aus der Umgebung von Ikonion ist eine größere Anzahl an Grabmonumenten erhalten, die aus der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühchristlichen Zeit stammen. Dieses ist aber das einzige Beispiel, das die Darstellung eines biblischen, und zwar alttestamentlichen, Ereignisses trägt.

Ein außergewöhnliches Grabmonument ist das sehr hohe und breite Relief, das in Anastasiopolis - Dara über dem Eingang eingemeißelt ist, der in einen sehr großen mehrstöckigen Raum mit Gräbern hineinführt (figs. 31-34; Breite ca. 5.25 m).<sup>105</sup> Die neuen Ausgrabungen haben überraschende Ergebnisse gebracht.<sup>106</sup> Es könnte sich tatsächlich, wie schon vermutet worden war, um das Grab handeln, in dem zahlreiche der Personen beigesezt worden waren, die bei der Eroberung von Dara durch die Sasaniden im Jahre 573 zu Tode gekommen waren. Das Grab wäre dann nach 591 n.Chr. angelegt worden, als nach dem Frieden zwischen Römern und Sasaniden die überlebenden, in das Sasaniden-Reich verschleppten Einwohner nach Dara zurückkehren konnten. Durch ein Fenster wird die Szene geteilt. Rechts ist das Relief erheblich tiefer ausgearbeitet als links. Im Feld links ist die Vision des Ezechiel (Hesekiel) von der Wiederbelebung der verdorrten Gebeine dargestellt (fig. 33).<sup>107</sup> Der Prophet stürmt nach links, so dass ein Teil seines Gewandes nach rechts weht. Bei dem im Relief vorstehenden, stark verwitterten Teil links von seinem Oberkörper könnte es sich um zwei Personen handeln, die aus einem Sarkophag auferstanden sind. Unten links liegen Schädel und Knochen, oben fliegen die ausdrücklich genannten vier Winde.<sup>108</sup> Rechts oben kommt die Hand Gottes aus einer Wolke heraus. Bei dem kleinen Feld links und dem Feld mit Giebel rechts vom Fenster sowie bei dem großen Feld rechts ist die Oberfläche so stark verwittert, dass Einzelheiten nicht zu erkennen sind (figs. 32, 34). Mit dem Text in Ezechiel lassen sich die Reste nicht erklären. Es ist vorgeschlagen worden, in dem kleinen Feld links sei Feuer, und unter dem Giebel seien die Drei Jünglinge dargestellt.<sup>109</sup> Im großen Feld rechts ist ein hoher Gegenstand abgebildet, der die Form einer Zypresse hat (fig. 34).<sup>110</sup> Es hat den Anschein, dass links eine Basis mit Profilen unten und oben vorhanden ist. Die Reste darüber könnten eine Person sein, wegen der

<sup>104</sup> Konya, AM Inv. 1986.1.1 (aus Misteia [Çukurkent]): Dresken-Weiland 1995; McLean 2002, 74-75, nr. 212, fig. 251 (mit einer sehr frühen Datierung „III-IV AD“).

<sup>105</sup> Mundell 1975.

<sup>106</sup> Erdoğan 2014; Keser Kayaalp and Erdoğan 2017; Lamesa and Erdoğan 2020; Keser Kayaalp 2021, 98-101, fig. 2.5.3.

<sup>107</sup> Ezechiel 37, 1-14.

<sup>108</sup> Ezechiel 37, 9.

<sup>109</sup> Mundell 1975, 216, fig. 2. Zur Szene (Daniel 1, 1-30) allgemein: Koch 2000, 148-51. Der Vorschlag ließ sich bei unserer Überprüfung vor Ort im August 2022 nicht bestätigen.

<sup>110</sup> Mundell 1975, 216-17, fig. 3 (mit dem Vorschlag, der Rest des kleinen runden Objektes könne die Sonne sein).

Kleidung wohl ein Mann, der auf die „Zypresse“ ausgerichtet ist. Vielleicht handelt es sich, wie auch vorgeschlagen worden ist, um Moses am brennenden Dornbusch.<sup>111</sup> Dann wäre aber die Frage, was die kleine runde Masse oberhalb der „Zypresse“ und die dicke Masse genau unter dem Giebel, links der stehenden Person, bedeuten. Weiterhin ist nicht zu klären, warum links des Feldes mit Giebel ein Wulst und zwei senkrechte Vertiefungen vorhanden sind. Wegen der Verwitterung und der starken Beschädigungen müssen also bei diesem großen und außergewöhnlichen, ja singulären Relief manche Fragen offen bleiben.

In Kleinasien sind einige wenige Fragmente von Tischplatten aus Marmor gefunden, deren Ränder mit figürlichen Darstellungen geschmückt sind.<sup>112</sup> Auf fünf Beispielen sind biblische Szenen abgebildet.<sup>113</sup> Sie schließen sich mit anderen, weit verstreuten Exemplaren zu einer größeren Gruppe zusammen, die wahrscheinlich in Werkstätten in Konstantinopel hergestellt worden ist. Somit sind sie Zeugnisse der hauptstädtischen Skulptur. Es scheint nur wenige Stücke aus lokaler Produktion zu geben, keines davon in Kleinasien.<sup>114</sup>

Hier sollen die sehr wenigen Skulpturen mit biblischer Thematik angeschlossen werden, die aus Kleinasien kommen. Zum einen handelt es sich um eine außergewöhnliche Gruppe vorzüglich gearbeiteter Statuetten aus Marmor (um 280-290 n.Chr.).<sup>115</sup> Vier zeigen Szenen aus der Geschichte von Jonas, eine weitere einen Hirten. Dazu gehören drei Paare von Porträt-Büsten. Nach ihrem Stil sind sie im westlichen Kleinasien zu lokalisieren. Es wäre möglich, dass sie von Bildhauern hergestellt worden sind, die vorher in Sarkophag-Werkstätten in Dokimeion beschäftigt waren. Sie belegen, dass dort im 3. Jh., also bereits in vor-konstantinischer Zeit, die gleiche frühchristliche Bilderwelt bekannt war wie bei den Wandmalereien in Katakomben und auf Sarkophagen in Rom. Die Statuetten und Büsten sind sehr gut erhalten. Das könnte dafür sprechen, dass die Gruppe geschützt in einem Grab aufgestellt gewesen war.<sup>116</sup>

Das andere Beispiel ist ein fragmentierter Tisch-Fuß, der aus Tarsos kommen soll (4. Jh. n.Chr.).<sup>117</sup> Er zeigt zwei Szenen aus der Jonas-Geschichte. Die handwerkliche Ausführung ist viel einfacher als bei den Statuetten. Das Stück lässt sich nicht einer Region in Kleinasien zuweisen. In Kilikien steht kein Marmor an, und somit gab es auch keine Tradition bei der Bearbeitung von Marmor. Der Tisch-Fuß könnte aus Konstantinopel gekommen sein. Allerdings lässt er sich in seinem Stil mit keinem der dortigen Werke verbinden, und er scheint nicht aus prokonnesischem Marmor zu bestehen. In der Hauptstadt ist jedoch die stilistische Breite sehr groß, und es ist auch anderer Marmor verwendet worden. Tischfüße sind in großer Anzahl in fast allen Gegenden des Römischen Reiches erhalten, auch in

<sup>111</sup> Zur Szene (Exodus [2. Mose] 3, 1-5) allgemein: Koch 2000, 142.

<sup>112</sup> Zur Gruppe: Dresken-Weiland 1991. Es sind einige Neufunde bekannt gemacht worden; dabei ist jedoch kein Stück mit einer biblischen Darstellung.

<sup>113</sup> Fıratlı 1990, 93-96, nr. 171-77, pls. 54-55; Dresken-Weiland 1991, 293-300, Kat. K 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, figs. 34, 35, 37-43, 45, 202-05 (aus Didyma, Laodikeia, Samsun, Smyrna).

<sup>114</sup> z.B. Dresken-Weiland 1991, 303-4, Kat. Z 5, fig. 52; 355, Kat. 18, fig. 157.

<sup>115</sup> Cleveland, Museum of Art: Weitzmann 1979, 406-11, nr. 362-68; Spier 2007, 190-92, nr. 21 (alle fünf Statuetten abgebildet); Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 52-53, nr. 1-2; 378; Eastmond 2013, 16, nr. 3-4.

<sup>116</sup> Vergleiche z.B. das Grab in Köln-Weiden: Noelke 2011.

<sup>117</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art Inv. 77.7: Weitzmann 1979, 411-12, nr. 369; Spier 2007, 186-87, nr. 15; Feuser 2013, 232-33, nr. 84 (einer Werkstatt auf Prokonnesos zugewiesen; N. Asgari hat G.K. gegenüber mehrfach betont, dass es auf der Insel äußerst wenige fertig ausgearbeitete Objekte gäbe, vielmehr überaus zahlreiche Halb-Fabrikate in unterschiedlichem Zustand; das würde bedeuten, dass die Werkstätten, in denen die Objekte fertig ausgearbeitet wurden, in Konstantinopel waren; N. Asgari konnte die Ergebnisse ihrer jahrzehntelangen Forschungen leider nicht publizieren).

Kleinasien.<sup>118</sup> Dieser ist aber der einzige, der eine biblische Thematik zeigt. Die ursprüngliche Verwendung ist nur bei sehr wenigen Beispielen bekannt. Das Stück könnte in einem Haus oder auch in einem Grab gestanden haben.

## Zusammenfassung und Weitere Überlegungen

Die hier zusammengestellten Reliefs, ergänzt durch einige wenige rundplastische Werke, sind weit verstreut in Kleinasien. Die handwerkliche Ausführung ist bei fast allen Objekten sehr bescheiden. Es sind immer nur Einzelstücke. Bei den über 2000 Grabreliefs, den über 6000 Sarkophagen oder den Hunderten an Ostotheken, die aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit in Kleinasien erhalten sind (2. bis Mitte des 3. Jhs. n.Chr.), lässt sich eine Reihe von Regionen oder „Kunst-Provinzen“ (deren Grenzen nicht mit denen der römischen politischen Provinzen übereinstimmen müssen) mit ihren Besonderheiten erkennen. So können, um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen, ein Sarkophag in Tyrus (Provinz Syria, heute südlicher Libanon) oder ein Fragment in Lugdunum (Lyon, Süd-Frankreich) Werkstätten in Karia, Sarkophage in Rom oder Neapel der Produktion von Ephesos, Ostotheken aus Tyrus oder Arelate (Arles) sowie in Museen in Karamanmaraş oder Pergamon der pamphylich-kilikischen Gruppe oder eine Ostothek in Dyrrhachium (Durrës, Albanien) einer Werkstatt in Bithynia zugewiesen werden.

Bei den sehr wenigen frühchristlichen Sarkophagen ist es nur in Ausnahmen möglich, lokale Gruppen zu erkennen, vor allem in Korykos und Adrasos. Aber diese Stücke haben keinerlei Verbindungen mit architektonischer Skulptur der gleichen Zeit und derselben Region, auch nicht mit den figürlichen Reliefs in Alahan Manastır (figs. 15-20). Wenn die Fundorte der Brüstung des Ambon in Antalya (fig. 4), des Rund-Altars in Kayseri (figs. 5-8), des Reliefs in Tarsos (fig. 9) oder des Reliefs in Yozgat (fig. 14) nicht bekannt wären, gäbe es keinerlei Kriterien, sie in irgendeiner Region in Kleinasien zu lokalisieren. In Kappadokia ist, als Beispiel, eine Reihe von frühchristlichen Grabreliefs erhalten. Es sind teilweise sehr große Stücke, die zwar sauber gearbeitet sind, aber nur flache Kreuze als Schmuck und dazu vielfach eine Inschrift tragen. Die handwerkliche Ausführung hat keinerlei Verbindung mit den Reliefs in Yozgat und Kayseri. Schon diese beiden Reliefs, die beide aus Kappadokia stammen, sind in ihrer handwerklichen Ausarbeitung völlig unterschiedlich (figs. 5-8 und 14).

In Kilikia gibt es beispielsweise zahlreiche Kapitelle, die aus Kalkstein bestehen, also lokale Arbeiten sind. Eine größere Anzahl hat eine gute Qualität. Sie folgen meist Vorbildern aus Konstantinopel, die aus Marmor von Prokonnesos gearbeitet sind.<sup>119</sup> Manche haben aber auch Besonderheiten. Die außergewöhnlichen Reliefs in Alahan Manastır (figs. 15-20) lassen sich jedoch in ihrem Stil nicht mit den architektonischen Skulpturen, vor allem den Kapitellen, der beiden dortigen Kirchen vergleichen, auch nicht mit anderen Werken in Kilikia oder Isauria.

Unter den hier zusammengestellten Reliefs gibt es ein Stück, das man wahrscheinlich in Isauria - Lykanonia lokalisieren würde, auch wenn die Herkunft nicht bekannt wäre (fig. 30). Für Darstellung und Stil sind dort zwar aus der Spätantike keine Parallelen vorhanden. Aber aus der römischen Kaiserzeit ist eine Reihe von blockartigen Grabmonumenten erhalten, die handwerklich ganz einfach sind und aus einem ähnlichen lokalen Marmor bestehen. Sie schließen sich zu einer für diese Region typischen Gruppe zusammen. Der Block mit Jonas ist aber das einzige Stück das aus der Spätantike stammt.

<sup>118</sup> Firatlı 1990, 20-25, nr. 41-47, pls. 17-19 (ein sitzender Orpheus, sechs Hirten); Feuser 2013 (Katalog mit 176 Exemplaren).

<sup>119</sup> Alpaslan 2001b (wichtig für die Verbreitung des „hauptstädtischen Stils“ bei der architektonischen Skulptur).

Auch bei Werken einer besseren Qualität aus Marmor ist es nur sehr bedingt möglich, sie einer bestimmten Region zuzuweisen. Die Ambon-Platte aus der Nähe von Ephesos ist in ihrem Stil, Besonderheiten der Form oder der Dekoration nicht mit Schrankenplatten oder anderen Reliefs der Stadt zu verbinden. Einige Schrankenplatten in Ephesos setzen sich zwar in Einzelheiten von Exemplaren aus Konstantinopel ab. Es ist aber bisher nicht möglich, eine für Ephesos typische Gruppe zu bilden.

Drei Stücke aus Marmor haben eine gute Qualität, bereiten aber besondere Probleme. Bei dem Kapitell in Herakleia Pontike (Karadeniz Ereğlisi; figs. 27-28) zeigen die Akanthus-Blätter eindeutig hauptstädtischen Stil. Nur eine Untersuchung des Marmors könnte klären, ob das Stück aus Konstantinopel importiert oder in Herakleia von einem Bildhauer gearbeitet worden ist, der aus Konstantinopel gekommen ist. Ein Sarkophag, von dem ein Fragment in Leontopolis (Alaçam, Pontus) gefunden wurde, ist sicher Import aus der Hauptstadt.<sup>120</sup> Das Kapitell könnte also ebenfalls aus Konstantinopel stammen, auch wenn dort keine direkte Parallele nachweisbar ist. Der Tempion-Pfeiler in Ankara, Galatia, kann hier nicht berücksichtigt werden (figs. 1-2), da sich bisher über den Fundort nichts in Erfahrung bringen ließ. Er zeigt beste hauptstädtische Qualität des frühen 6. Jhs. n.Chr. Aber er könnte auch neuzeitlich über den Kunsthandel nach Ankara gekommen sein. Schließlich sei das Daniel-Relief in Antalya auch in diesem Zusammenhang genannt (figs. 10-13). Es ist der einzige Bodenfund an Skulpturen, der aus der Spätantike aus Attaleia bekannt ist. Der Marmor ist bisher nicht untersucht worden, und er lässt sich bei der derzeitigen Aufstellung und Beleuchtung im Museum auch nichts genauer erkennen. Für das Relief sind also zumindest vier Möglichkeiten in Betracht zu ziehen: Es könnte ein Import aus Konstantinopel oder einem anderen Kunstzentrum, beispielsweise, wie vorgeschlagen worden ist, Aphrodisias sein. Es könnte aber auch in Attaleia von Bildhauern gearbeitet worden sein, die aus Konstantinopel oder, auszuschließen wäre das nicht, aus Aphrodisias oder einem anderen Zentrum der Kunst gekommen sind.

Wenn das Gabriel-Relief tatsächlich in Attaleia hergestellt worden ist, müsste man voraussetzen, dass es eine große Marmor-Werkstatt mit mehreren, unterschiedlich qualifizierten Bildhauern und der gesamten Infrastruktur gegeben hat. Große Marmor-Blöcke müssten aus Prokonnesos herbeigebracht worden sein. Die beiden Platten können nicht die einzigen Produkte der Werkstatt gewesen sein. Wenn man das alles berücksichtigt, ist es vielleicht doch wahrscheinlicher anzunehmen, dass die Platten mit Michael und Gabriel in Konstantinopel ganz speziell in Auftrag gegeben worden und dann in fertig ausgearbeitetem Zustand nach Attaleia gebracht worden sind.

Völlig offen ist, was die Bildhauer der einzelnen Reliefs sonst noch hergestellt haben. Weder der außergewöhnliche Rund-Altar in Kayseri (figs. 5-8) noch das Relief mit dem Durchzug durch das Rote Meer in Yozgat (fig. 14) oder das große Felsrelief in Anastasioupolis (figs. 31-34), um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen, waren die einzigen Produkte der Bildhauer. Das gleiche gilt für alle übrigen hier behandelten Stücke. Die Statuetten mit der Geschichte von Jonas sowie die dazu gehörenden Porträts zeigen vorzügliche Arbeit und setzen voraus, dass die Bildhauer bestens geschult waren und zahlreiche Werke geschaffen haben. Der Verlust an Marmor-Skulpturen ist ungeheuer groß, und es dürfte nicht einmal 1% der ursprünglichen Produktion erhalten sein.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Deckers and Koch 2018, 86-87, nr. 153, pl. 53.

<sup>121</sup> Koch 2015b.

Erstaunlich ist, dass sogar in abgelegenen Gegenden in Kleinasien in lokalen Werkstätten die Ikonographie der Szenen bekannt war: auf dem Altar in Kayseri die Himmelfahrt des Elias mit der Übergabe des Mantels an Elisaïos (fig. 7); in Anastasiopolis die Vision des Ezechiel, die, insgesamt gesehen, in frühchristlicher Zeit überaus selten dargestellt worden ist (fig. 33); in Tavium oder einem anderen Ort der Region der Durchzug der Israeliten durch das Rote Meer, sogar mit den Säulen mit Wolken und Feuer (fig. 14); in Alahan Manastir unter anderem die eindrucksvolle Darstellung des Tetramorphen (fig. 18); in einem Dorf in Kappadokia der Engel, der Habakuk am Schopf gepackt hat und mit ihm zu Daniel in die Löwengrube fliegt (fig. 24a-b). Nur der Bildhauer, der das Grab-Monument in Konya hergestellt hat, kannte die geläufige Ikonographie mit dem Ketos nicht und hat - recht unbeholfen - einen Fisch abgebildet, der Jonas verschlingt (fig. 30).

Es ist unbekannt, woher den Bildhauern die Ikonographie der Szenen geläufig war. Waren sie in einem der künstlerischen Zentren gewesen, in dem es derartige Darstellungen gab? Hatten sie vielleicht dort sogar gelernt und Zeichnungen von Reliefs angefertigt, um sie später in eigenen Arbeiten zu verwenden? Gab es Sammlungen von Muster-Zeichnungen? Die Bildhauer werden jedoch wohl kaum in der Lage gewesen sein, ausschließlich nach Zeichnungen die Himmelfahrt des Elias, den Tetramorphen oder anderes auszuarbeiten.

In Konstantinopel ist unermesslich viel an Werken der Skulptur verloren gegangen. Marmor wurde zerschlagen und zu Kalk gebrannt oder, wie auch Kalkstein, als Bau-Material wiederverwendet. Aus Antiochia (Antakya - Hatay) und Alexandria, anderen kulturellen Zentren der Spätantike, ist fast nichts aus der Spätantike erhalten. Reich ist die Überlieferung dagegen in Rom und einigen Regionen im Westen des Reiches, allerdings nur bis in die Jahre um 400 n.Chr. Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer in Yozgat (fig. 14), vielleicht aus dem 6. Jh., hat seine nächsten Parallelen auf einer kleinen Gruppe von stadtrömischen Sarkophagen der Jahre um 400 n.Chr. Die Bildkunst im Westen bricht bald nach 400 n.Chr. weitestgehend ab. Es dürfte also ausgeschlossen sein, dass der Bildhauer im abgelegenen Kappadokia im 6. Jh. Vorlagen für die Darstellung des Durchzuges durch das Rote Meer aus Rom erhalten hat. Es wird vielmehr in Konstantinopel Darstellungen des Durchzuges gegeben haben, auf denen sogar die beiden Säulen abgebildet waren, die nicht zu der im Westen üblichen Ikonographie gehören. Jedoch sind sie verloren.

Nach allem, was von antiker und spätantiker Kunst bekannt ist, ist auszuschließen, dass Bildhauer in Kappadokia die Darstellungen des Durchzuges durch das Rote Meer oder die Himmelfahrt des Elias, Bildhauer in Anastasioupolis die Vision des Ezechiel oder Bildhauer in Alahan Manastir die Darstellung des Tetramorphen aufgrund der Beschreibungen im Alten und Neuen Testament „erfunden“ haben. Die Bild-Schöpfung wird in einem der Zentren der Kunst erfolgt sein, Konstantinopel, Antiochia oder einer anderen Stadt. Von dort müssen Vorlagen an die Bestimmungsorte gekommen sein, nach denen die Bildhauer die Reliefs anfertigen konnten. Für Fußboden-Mosaiken, Wand-Mosaiken und Wand-Malereien werden es Zeichnungen gewesen sein. Bei Reliefs wird man Gips-Abgüsse ausschließen können; es wird sich ebenfalls um Zeichnungen gehandelt haben. Es könnte einzelne Muster-Zeichnungen, aber auch Sammlungen, „Muster-Bücher“, gegeben haben.

Derartige Zeichnungen oder Muster-Bücher bestanden aus vergänglichem Material und sind deshalb aus der römischen Kaiserzeit, der Spätantike und dem frühen Mittelalter nicht bewahrt. Es ist aber glücklicherweise ein Beispiel erhalten, das berühmte „Wolfenbüttler Skizzenbuch“.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Buchthal 1979.

Es handelt sich um Zeichnungen, die ein Künstler in Sachsen (Nord-Deutschland) im zweiten Viertel des 13. Jhs. hergestellt hat. Fraglich ist, ob er die Vorlagen in byzantinischen Handschriften gefunden hat, die in Sachsen vorhanden waren, die er also sehen konnte, oder ob er sogar nach Venedig oder Sizilien gereist ist und dort in den Kirchen die Skizzen angefertigt hat. Einige wenige einzeln erhaltene Blätter zeigen, dass es derartige Skizzenbücher im Mittelalter häufiger gegeben hat. Wenn man annimmt, dass vergleichbare Muster-Zeichnungen oder sogar Muster-Bücher auch in der Spätantike angefertigt worden sind, wird verständlich, wie die Vorlagen für die Reliefs von Konstantinopel - oder einem anderen Zentrum der Kunst - nach Yozgat, Kayseri, Çardak, Anastasioupolis und andere Orte übertragen worden sind.

Aus der Spätantike sind aus Kleinasien und anderen Gegenden des Römischen Reiches nur überaus wenige Skulpturen erhalten. Da hilft es vielleicht, zurück in die römische Kaiserzeit zu blicken, um Hinweise zu bekommen, die zum Verständnis der Situation in der Spätantike nützlich sind. In sehr großer Anzahl sind Sarkophage mit paganer Thematik erhalten, und bei ihnen ist mehreres zu erkennen. Als Beispiele können Exemplare aus Athen dienen, einem der drei Zentren der Produktion.<sup>123</sup> Überaus umfangreich war der Export in weite Teile des Mittelmeer-Gebietes von Exemplaren, die in Athen fertig ausgearbeitet worden waren, also attischen Originalen.<sup>124</sup> Mehrfach ist festzustellen, dass es sich nicht um Originale aus Athen handeln kann, sondern um Stücke, die vor Ort angefertigt worden sein müssen, und zwar von Bildhauern, die aus Athen gekommen sind.<sup>125</sup> Sie hatten sich auf einheimischen Marmor, Marmor von Prokonnesos oder Kalkstein umgestellt oder sogar in einzelnen Fällen pentelischen Marmor kommen lassen. Beispiele sind in Tyros, Elaioussa Sebaste, Tyana, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Thessaloniki, Beroia, Sparta, Nikopolis, Salona, Rom und anderen Orten erhalten. In anderen Fällen hat es den Anschein, dass lokale Bildhauer attische Sarkophage nachgeahmt haben, die sie beispielsweise in der Nekropole ihrer Stadt gesehen hatten. Schließlich gibt es Exemplare, die in ihrer Ausführung so weit von attischen Originalen entfernt sind, dass anzunehmen ist, dass sie nach Muster-Zeichnungen angefertigt worden sind. Bei den Sarkophagen der anderen beiden Zentren der Produktion, Rom und Dokimeion, ist Ähnliches festzustellen.

Für das Verständnis der Situation bei den Reliefs mit Darstellungen von biblischen Ereignissen oder Heiligen in Kleinasien des 4.-6. / 7. Jhs., um die es hier geht, bieten die attischen Sarkophage begrenzte, aber doch einige Hilfe:

- Es ist mit Importen aus einem der Zentren der Herstellung zu rechnen, in erster Linie Konstantinopel. Dazu können das Gabriel-Relief in Antalya (figs. 10-11), das Kapitell in Ereğli (figs. 27-28) sowie der Tempion-Pfeiler in Ankara (figs. 1-2) gehören, sofern er tatsächlich ein Bodenfund aus Galatia ist.
- Wenn sich nach Untersuchung des Marmors herausstellen sollte, dass es keine Originale aus der Hauptstadt sind, könnten das Gabriel-Relief in Antalya, das Kapitell in Ereğli oder der Tempion-Pfeiler in Ankara von Bildhauern gearbeitet worden sein, die aus Konstantinopel gekommen sind.
- Reliefs, die in lokalen Werkstätten als Kopien von importierten Objekten angefertigt worden sind, lassen sich nicht nachweisen. Damit unterscheidet sich diese kleine Gruppe völlig von den architektonischen Skulpturen wie Kapitellen, Schrankenplatten und anderem, bei denen in weiten Teilen Kleinasiens der Einfluss aus Konstantinopel bestimmend war.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 366-475; Koch 2001, 140-62; 2015a.

<sup>124</sup> Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 461-70; Koch 2001, 159-61 (mit n. 454-62); 2015a.

<sup>125</sup> Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 470-75; Koch 2012a, 2018, 2020, 2022.

<sup>126</sup> Alpaslan 2001b.

- Vieles weist darauf hin, dass es Muster-Zeichnungen gegeben hat, durch die Vorlagen für die figürlichen Darstellungen von einem Zentrum der Kunst, wahrscheinlich Konstantinopel, zu lokalen Werkstätten in den verschiedenen Regionen Kleinasiens gekommen sind.

Da alle hier behandelten Reliefs die Situation in Kleinasien, dem Kernland des Byzantinischen Reiches, erhellen, sind sie wichtige Zeugnisse der Kunst der Spätantike, auch wenn mehrere von ihnen handwerklich ganz einfach ausgeführt sind. Ihre Zahl wird hoffentlich durch neue Funde in den Magazinen von Museen oder bei Ausgrabungen erweitert.

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FIGS. 1-2  
Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi:  
Templon-Pfeiler mit der Auferweckung des Lazarus.



FIG. 3  
Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 739:  
Teil eines Ambon mit Abraham und  
Isaak, aus der Nähe von Ephesos.



FIG. 4 Antalya, AM Inv. 1.30.75: Brüstungsplatte eines Ambon mit Maria, Michael und Gabriel, aus der Nähe von Elmali.

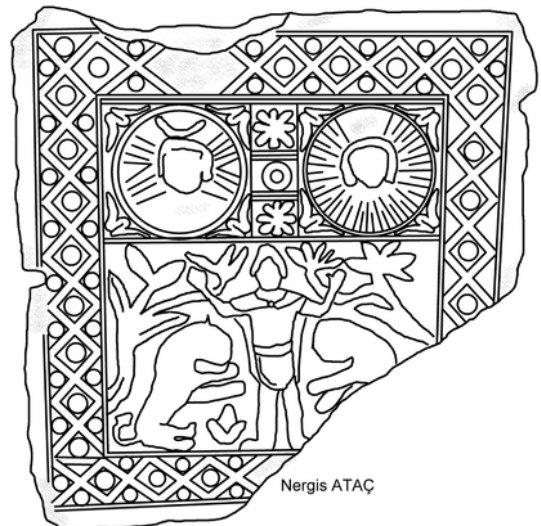


FIG. 9a-b Tarsus, AM: Relief mit Daniel zwischen den Löwen.



FIGS. 5-8  
Kayseri, AM: Rund-Altar mit Himmelfahrt des Elias  
sowie dem Heiligen Mamas (?), aus Pusatlı.

FIG. 10  
Antalya, AM Inv. 156:  
Fragment eines Reliefs mit dem  
Erzengel Gabriel, aus Attaleia (Antalya).



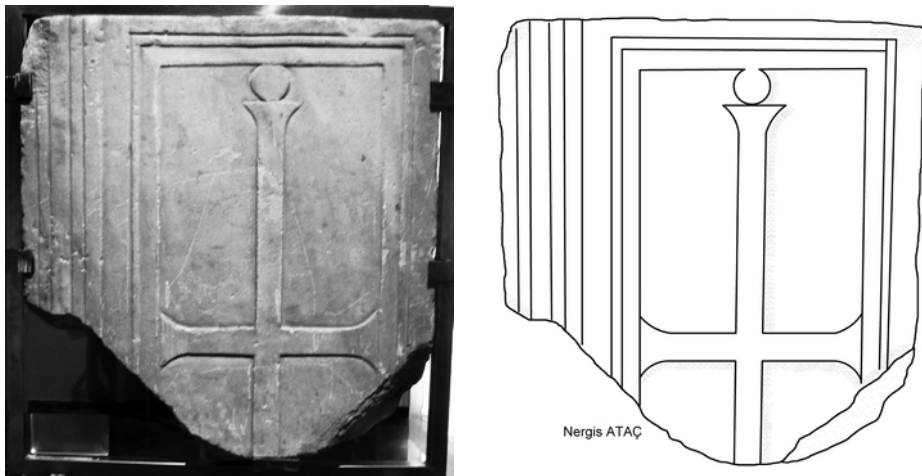


FIG. 11a-b Rückseite des Fragmentes fig. 10.

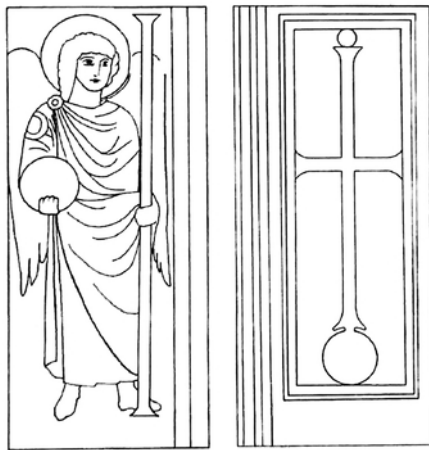


FIG. 12 Rekonstruktions-Versuch des Fragmentes figs. 10-11.

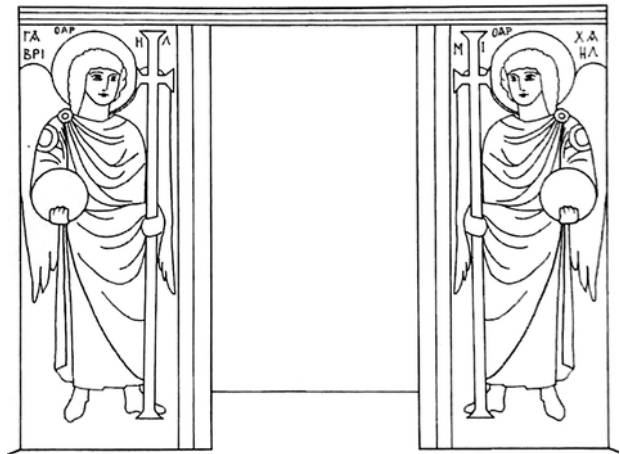


FIG. 13 Rekonstruktions-Versuch des Fragmentes figs. 10-11 in der ursprünglichen Verwendung.



FIG. 14 Yozgat, AM Inv. 243: Relief mit dem Durchzug durch das Rote Meer, aus Alidemirci.





FIG. 15  
Alahan Manastır,  
West-Kirche:  
Portal.



FIG. 16 Alahan Manastır, West-Kirche: Portal, Türsturz.



FIG. 17  
Alahan Manastır,  
West-Kirche:  
Büste Christi  
in Kranz, von  
Engeln getragen.



FIG. 18  
Alahan Manastır,  
West-Kirche:  
Portal, Relief auf  
Unterseite des  
Türsturzes.



FIG. 19 Alahan Manastır,  
West-Kirche: Portal, Erzengel  
Gabriel auf der Innenseite.



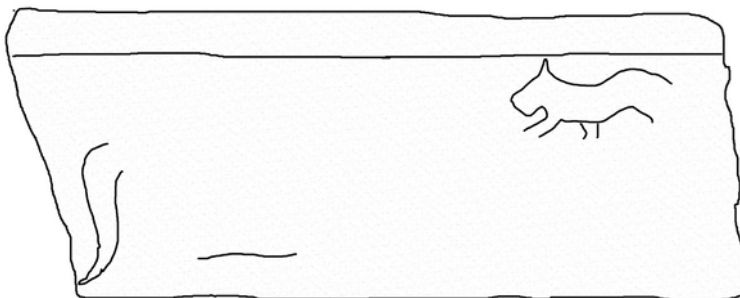
FIG. 20 Alahan Manastır,  
West-Kirche: Portal, Erzengel  
Michael auf der Innenseite.



FIGS. 21-22 Alahan Manastr: Monument gegenüber vom Sarkophag des Tarasis.



FIG. 23a-b  
Çardak, Selçuklu Cami  
(Eski Cami): Kapitell mit  
Daniel zwischen den  
Löwen.



Nergis ATAÇ



FIG. 24a-b  
Çardak, Selçuklu Cami  
(Eski Cami): Kapitell mit  
Daniel und Habakuk.

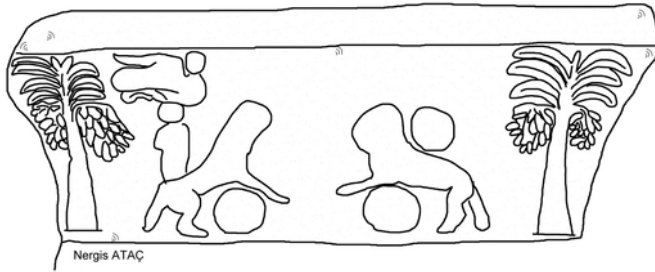


FIG. 25  
Akşehir, AM:  
Kapitell mit Daniel  
zwischen den Löwen,  
aus Beyşehir.



FIG. 26a-b  
Uşak, AM: Kapitell mit  
dem Heiligen Mamas und  
Tieren, aus Sebaste.





FIGS. 27-28  
Karadeniz Ereğlisi,  
Museum Inv.  
32: Kapitell mit  
thronender Maria.



FIG. 29  
Adana, AM:  
Kapitell mit Büste der  
Heiligen Thekla.



FIG. 30 Konya, AM Inv. 86.1.1: Block mit Jonas, der als Grabdenkmal diente, aus Misteia (Çukurkent).



FIGS. 31-34  
Oğuz - Dara -  
Anastasiopolis: Fassade  
des Felsgrabes, das  
vielleicht für die Toten des  
Jahres 573 n.Chr. nach  
591 n.Chr. angelegt ist.

## The Temple Church at Epiphaneia in Cilicia Pedias and its Terracotta Frieze

ORÇUN ERDOĞAN – HATİCE PAMİR\*

### Abstract

A large number of remains have been uncovered during the excavations carried out by the Hatay Archaeology Museum in Epiphaneia since 2006. One of the excavated buildings is the Temple Church first mentioned in 1892. The church lies on an ancient structure, presumably a Roman temple, situated about 40 meters south of the Colonnaded Street. It is a three-aisled church terminated by a semicircular apse with flanking chambers to the east and probably by a narthex to the west. Since only the lowest courses of the building are extant, it is difficult to ascertain the original appearance of the walls. Likewise, the majority of the architectural plastics have been lost. However, partly preserved remains at least show that most parts of the church were paved with mosaics while in other places paved with opus sectile, marble, and brick. The most extraordinary group of the finds is the architectural terracotta fragments. Based upon the forms such as dentils / geisipodes or cyma recta and various ornaments such as staurograms, crosses, swastika, acanthus, eggs and dart-like / ionic cymation and bead and reel-like motifs, these terracotta pieces are examined under three main types. Although no comparable *in situ* example was found in the Byzantine Empire, similar stone pieces from the early Byzantine

### Öz

2006 yılından beri Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi başkanlığında sürdürülen Epiphaneia kazılarında çok sayıda yapı kalıntısı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bunlar arasında en ilginç buluntu grubuna sahip yapılardan biri Tapınak Kilisesi'dir. İlk kez 1892 yılında bahsedilen kilise, Sütunlu Cadde'nin 40 m güneyinde, erken döneme ait bir antik yapı üzerine oturmaktadır. Ana bünyesini doğuda sütunlarla ayrılmış üç nefli bir naos ile batıda olasılıkla bir narteks oluşturur. Apsisin iki yanında dikdörtgene yakın planlı iki oda bulunur. Sadece en alt sıra örgü taşları günümüze ulaşabilen yapının büyük bir bölümü mozaiklerle; kısmen mermer, tuğla ve opus sectile ile döşenmiştir. Kilisede ele geçen en sıra dışı buluntu grubunu mimari terrakotta parçalar oluşturur. Dış kesimi ve kyma rekta gibi farklı tuğla formları ile bezeme kısmındaki staurogram, haç, svastika, akanthus, yumurta-ok ve boncuk dizisi benzeri süslemeleri temel alınarak üç ana tip içinde sınıflandırılmıştır. Her bir tip ve bu tiplerin alt gruplarında karşılaşılan biçimsel ve süsleme özellikleri, benzer bir *in situ* örneği bulunamayan bu parçaların özgününde çatı altındaki saçaklık ile belki de pencere ve kapı gibi mimari öğelerin üst kısımlarında bulduklarına işaret etmektedir. Arkeolojik buluntular ile karşılaştırmalı örnekler, kilise ve terrakotta

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and especially the Roman periods indicate that these architectural terracottas were a part of the entablature of the church. Archaeological finds demonstrate that both the church and the terracotta are dating from the fifth or sixth century.

**Keywords:** architectural terracotta, entablature, modillion, cornice, dentils, staurogram

parçaların MS beşinci ya da altıncı yüzyıla ait olduklarını göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** mimari terrakotta, entablatur, konsol, korniş, dış kesimi, staurogram

The ancient city of Epiphaneia is located in the neighborhood of Yeşilkent-Gözeneler in the Erzincan district of Hatay Province and surrounded by the Taurus Mountains to the north and west, the Amanos Mountains to the east, and the Gulf of Iskenderun to the south. The remains of the city span in an area of approximately 80 hectares (fig. 1).

The pottery sherds found during the surveys provide the earliest data of the city dating from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.<sup>1</sup> Information concerning its name comes from the Hellenistic period. Previously called Oiniandos, the settlement was reestablished with the name Epiphaneia in the second century BC by Antiochus Epiphanes IV or by his successors. The city was annexed to the Province of Cilicia, which was established a few years after the city came under Roman rule in 67 BC. It was also called Traianopolis during the reign of Trajan.<sup>2</sup> Having experienced prosperity for a long period, the inhabitants of the city are thought to have suffered for a while, like many other settlements in the region, after the sack of Sassanids in 260.<sup>3</sup> The region of Cilicia Pedias was again placed under the Province of Cilicia within the borders of the Prefecture of Oriens as part of the new provincial organization during the reign of Diocletian. The last provincial organization was carried out during the reign of Theodosius II. Epiphaneia during this period was subordinated to the Province of Cilicia II (Cilicia Secunda) in the Prefecture of Oriens and maintained its existence in the same administrative unit until the early Muslim conquests.<sup>4</sup>

With respect to ecclesiastical administration, the city during the early Byzantine period became a subordinate / suffragan diocese of the Metropolitan bishop of Cilicia II, Anazarbus, within the Patriarchate of Antioch.<sup>5</sup> Amphiōn, the first recorded bishop of Epiphaneia, is believed to have been martyred during the time of Maximinus Daia in the first quarter of the fourth century. Written sources speak of several bishops who took office in the city and participated in various synods between the fourth and the seventh centuries. Among them are another bishop Amphiōn who bears the same name as the first martyr, Hēsychios, Polychronios, Marinos, Paulos, Kosmas, Nikētas and Basileios.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these, another bishop's name was discovered for the first time in Epiphaneia on a recently unearthed mosaic floor lying in the gallery of the Colonnaded Street. The inscription with the name "Romanos" is dated to the sixth century.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann et al. 2006, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Tobin 2004, 5, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ünal and Girginer 2007, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Sayar 2021a, 426-34; Tobin 2004, 7-8; Koder 2017, 11; Jones 1971, 540.

<sup>5</sup> Koder 2017, 11-12; Haldon 2010, 52, map 4.3; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:250.

<sup>6</sup> Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:250.

<sup>7</sup> Pamir and Yastı 2020, 378.



Epiphaneia must have become part of the Islamic State immediately after the conquest of Cilicia Pedias in 636. During this period of struggle between the Byzantines and the Arabs in which Byzantine rule was completely lost by the early eighth century, the entire region of Cilicia became a borderland. The bishoprics were attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as the population of many cities around Epiphaneia fled to Byzantine territory in the west.<sup>8</sup> Epiphaneia might have suffered a similar fate as its neighboring cities; however, no sufficient evidence concerning the period of the Umayyad Caliphate has yet been detected.

After this period of turmoil, the city was again mentioned in association with the Abbasids. Epiphaneia was fortified with the construction of a fortress during the reign of Caliph Harun al-Rashid and became a regional garrison town throughout the Abbasid rule.<sup>9</sup> The second and the last Byzantine presence in the city seems to have begun soon after Nicephorus' conquest of Cilicia Pedias in 965. With the recapture of Antioch about the same time, the region was once again annexed to the Patriarchate of Antioch. Armenians are known to have been settled here by the Byzantines by the middle of the 11th century, and the region turned into a conflict area for the Byzantines, Armenians, and the Crusaders throughout the 12th century. The city remained in the territory of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia after 1198.<sup>10</sup>

The buildings of the city have been severely damaged, especially in the last 50 years during the course of bulldozing and clearing fields for farming. According to the observations of nineteenth century travelers as well as the results of recent archaeological excavations and surveys, the main visible monuments of the settlement are the theater, odeion / bouleuterion, colonnaded street, water channels / aqueducts, necropolis, bathhouse, and the temple church, all of which date especially from the Roman imperial and early Byzantine periods. Travelers also give information about the gymnasium, city walls, bathhouse, and another church, none of which have been a subject of an exhaustive study.<sup>11</sup> The *fullonio* at Epiphaneia, recounted by Ammianus Marcellinus as the birthplace of the bishop of Alexandria between 357-361, may also be considered as a possible building of the fourth century although the authenticity of the story is questionable.<sup>12</sup> In contrast to the Roman and Byzantine periods, little is known about the medieval buildings of the city. Except for a pottery workshop and barely discernable remains of the city walls,<sup>13</sup> most of the remains attributed to the Medieval Age were found as small-scale constructions (fig. 2).

## Temple Church

When the building was first briefly mentioned<sup>14</sup> and sketched<sup>15</sup> by Heberdey and Wilhelm in 1892, only the lowest courses of the naos, apse, and narthex were extant. The researchers who visited the church in the latter part of the 20th century encountered the same remains.<sup>16</sup> When

<sup>8</sup> Tobin 2004, 8, 13; Koder 2017, 11-13; Sayar 2021a, 436.

<sup>9</sup> Eger 2016, 111-12; Tobin 2004, 13; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:250; Sayar 2021a, 437.

<sup>10</sup> Koder 2017, 12; Eger 2016, 112; Tobin 2004, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Gough 1976; Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 102-4, 127-28; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:250; Tobin 2004, 13-15; Lehmann et al. 2006, 82; Eger 2016, 112-18; Pamir et al. 2022a.

<sup>12</sup> Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:250.

<sup>13</sup> Eger 2016, 112-18; Tobin 2004, 13-15.

<sup>14</sup> Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 18.

<sup>15</sup> For the sketch plan of the building published by the end of the 20th century, see Hild et al. 1982, 195, fig. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Gough 1976; Hill 1996, 166-67; Tobin 2004, 14-15; Bayliss 2004, 94-96; Eger 2016, 117.

Hellenkemper and Hild surveyed the city in 1983, they observed that also the lowest courses of the church were destroyed, and some of its remains had been already bulldozed.<sup>17</sup> The first archaeological excavations at the church started in 2017 and continued until 2021.<sup>18</sup> The church lies on an ancient structure situated about 40 meters south of the Colonnaded Street. The decorated large ashlars scattered around and partly constituting the lower courses of the building such as the bema, nave stylobates, and the main walls suggest that the early building in question was a temple dating from the Roman imperial period.<sup>19</sup>

The building is a basilical church consisting of a nave and two side aisles and terminated by a semicircular apse with flanking chambers. The aisles are separated from the nave by the columns. The wall traces and the mosaic floor on the west demonstrate that the church has a narthex,<sup>20</sup> whose limits are uncertain. The entrance to the naos was provided by seven doors in total. The two steps of the synthronon and the stylobates of the bema have been preserved. The side chambers flanking the main apse are connected to each other by a corridor / passage. The chambers, the east end of which are not completely excavated due to the orchard located immediately to the east, may have been terminated by a semicircular apse or directly by a flat wall judging by the regional counterparts. The lowest courses of the main walls of the naos were built from ashlar blocks while the apse and the flanking chambers from rough masonry consisting of basalt stones. A large number of brick pieces revealed during the excavations suggest that brick must have been used on the upper courses, as previously suggested by the other researchers (figs. 3-4).<sup>21</sup>

With the exception of the flooring, most of the remains of the interior decoration is badly damaged and have been lost. No fresco remains were detected *in situ* except for those pieces found fallen in the debris. Moreover, the multi-colored glass tesserae unearthed in the debris on the east of the apse indicate that the half dome of the apse was covered with mosaics. The remains also show that at least the lower courses of the apse wall facing the corridor / passage were revetted with marble. The excavations revealed that the bema and the apse were paved with opus sectile, the corridor behind the apse with brick slabs, and probably the entire nave with marble slabs. Apart from these spaces, the south and north aisles, narthex, flanking side chambers as well as the floors immediately outside the north and south façades were paved with mosaics. The motifs are predominantly geometric except for two beribboned birds (fig. 5). Since the mosaic floors in front of the façades seem to have been designed in accordance with the original architecture of the church, they cannot be associated with an earlier or later phase. Since no space dividing was observed, these parts of the church might have been used as porticoes. Only a few remains of architectural plastics were unearthed, among which were a fragment of the altar table, a pilaster capital, and several marble revetment fragments, of which some were carved in the champlévé technique. Moreover, a large number of flat tiles (*tegula*) and semicylindrical cover tiles (*imbrex*) were revealed.

<sup>17</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 104.

<sup>18</sup> Pamir and Kara 2019, 328-30; Pamir and Yasti 2020, 381-85; Pamir et al. 2022b, 417-20.

<sup>19</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 103; Hill 1996, 166; Bayliss 2004, 95; Tobin 2004, 5, 15. For a detailed description of the decorated architectural pieces, see Pamir and Kara 2019, 328-30; Pamir and Yasti 2020, 381-83.

<sup>20</sup> The narthex has been severely damaged. This part of the plan was created based upon the sketch plan done in 1892 (Hild et al. 1982, 195, fig. 3) and whose remains were unearthed as part of the archaeological excavation.

<sup>21</sup> Bayliss 2004, 95; Hill 1996, 166. The upper levels of the main walls might have been composed of rows of stones alternating with courses of brick as seen at the Early Byzantine bathhouse in Epiphaneia.

The alterations associated with the medieval phase of the church demonstrate that the building was demolished and totally lost its original function by the end of the early Byzantine period. The most explicit remains of this period are the asymmetric walls of unidentified spaces and the tombs built by destroying the marble and mosaic pavements.

### Terracotta Fragments (figs. 6-15)

The most remarkable discovery of the excavations carried out at the Temple Church is a group of decorated bricks. The total number of these terracotta pieces exceeds 500, the vast majority being found in fragments. However, given the agricultural activities that caused the scattering and the destruction of the material, one may expect that this number was originally much higher.

Although a great number of terracotta fragments have been found scattered around the present surface soil<sup>22</sup> during the surveys because of the bulldozing of the field, systematic excavations have demonstrated that their original positions where they had first fallen are immediately outside the main walls of the church (fig. 6).

These terracotta pieces can be classified into three main types based upon their various forms and decorations employed in molding techniques on the front faces.

### Type 1 (figs. 7-10)

This type is roughly rectangular in shape and consists of a dentil / *geisipodes* employed on the border along the upper long side and a relief on the surface of the front face. *Type 1* is examined under two sub-types as *Type 1a* and *Type 1b*, because of two different types of ornamentation employed in the relief section.

*Type 1a* constitutes the vast majority of the examples of *Type 1* and measures about 32 x 38 cm based upon an almost completely intact example. Their thickness ranges from 2.3 to 3.8 cm. The colors are predominantly 2.5 YR 6 / 8 (light red) and rarely 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). It has four dentils on the border of the upper long side. The depths between each dentil measures 2.50 cm, and each dentil is 3 cm long. On the front face, there is a relief immediately below the beginning of the dentil. Covering the central part of the upper half of this face, it consists of a wreath motif with a diameter of 15 cm and a staurogram (*tau-rho*) measuring 10 x 10 cm. The wreath bordered by two outlines internally and externally is decorated with leaves facing upwards on both sides and a mid-rib in the center.<sup>23</sup> The staurogram in the center of the wreath is formed by adding the circular part of the Greek letter ρ to the vertical arm of the cross. This part of the letter ρ terminates with a line facing downwards at an angle of about 45 degrees. This cross with a double outline resembles the Greek cross in that the arms are equal in length as well as the Maltese cross since the arms enlarge outwards symmetrically and terminate in a concave shape.<sup>24</sup> With the exception of the surfaces of the relief and dentil parts, the majority of the examples have mortar residues on the front and back faces. In addition, shallow lines have been incised on the back faces of some examples, so as to adhere the mortar to the brick. There are traces resulting from using of the molding in the relief part as well as superficial differences in the ornament details.

<sup>22</sup> The level of the present surface soil ranges from +44,60 to +43,90 m.

<sup>23</sup> For a similar pattern see Balmelle et al. 1985, 139.

<sup>24</sup> For both cross types see Kalopissi-Verti and Panayotidi-Kesisoglou 2010, 286; Post 1975, 5; Mergen 2016, 260-61.

*Type 1b* is represented by only a few pieces, and in that regard, it provides the fewest examples of all the three types. It measures about 20-24 x 31 cm based upon two partly preserved examples, while the thickness ranges from 2.9 to 3.1 cm. The colors are very similar to those of *Type 1a* and predominantly 2.5 YR 7 / 8 (light red). It has four dentils on the border of the upper long side. The depths between each dentil and their length measures almost the same as *Type 1a*. On the front face, there is a relief immediately below the beginning of the dentil. Covering the central part of the upper half of this face, it consists of a wreath motif with a diameter of 13 cm and a Latin cross measuring 6 x 10 cm. Horizontal and vertical arms enlarge only at the ends, and in this regard, the cross resembles a cross potent which has vertical bars at the four ends.<sup>25</sup> The wreath encircling the cross is composed of a sawtooth / herringbone pattern without any outline.<sup>26</sup> There are traces resulted from the use of molding in the relief part as well as superficial differences in the ornament details as seen in *Type 1a*.

### Type 2 (figs. 7-8, 11)

Due to the relatively thicker and smaller size of the brick, *Type 2* has the highest number of well-preserved examples among the three types. This modillion-formed type is roughly rectangular in shape and consists only of relief on the surface of the front face. It measures about 10 x 19 cm based upon a large number of well-preserved examples, while the thickness ranges from 4 to 6 cm. The colors are predominantly 2.5 YR 6 / 8 (light red) and rarely 5 YR 7 / 6 as *Type 1a-b*.

The relief, consisting of an acanthus motif and covering a part of the front face, measures 9 x 12 cm. The acanthus leaf is composed of a mid-rib and central veins on both sides. Except for the surfaces of the relief, most of the examples have a lot of mortar residue on the front faces. There are traces resulting from using of the molding in the relief part as well as superficial differences in the ornament details as in *Type 1a-b*.

### Type 3 (figs. 7-8, 12-15)

This type is rectangular in shape and consists of a relief employed on the border along the upper long side with a concave profile. *Type 3* is examined under four sub-types: *Type 3a*, *Type 3b*, *Type 3c*, and *Type 3d* because of four different ornaments executed in the concave relief section. The colors are predominantly 2.5 YR 7 / 8 (light red) as *Type 1a-b* and *Type 2*, while their thickness ranges from 2.5 to 3.5 cm. There are traces resulting from use of the molding in the relief section as well as superficial differences in the ornamental details as in the first two types.

No complete preserved example of *Type 3a* has been found. The largest pieces of this type measure about 18 x 21 cm. The concave section consists of a cross meander / swastika motif with the single return.<sup>27</sup>

*Type 3b* measures about 20 x 39 cm based on an almost completely preserved example. The concave section consists of a row of alternating stylized meanders formed of diverse arrangements of L-shaped motifs and vertical lines.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> For crosses of this sort see Kalopissi-Verti and Panayotidi-Kesisoglou 2010, 286; Gökalp 2009, 34; Mergen 2016, 261-62.

<sup>26</sup> For a similar pattern see Balmelle et al. 1985, 33.

<sup>27</sup> For the variations of the similar motif see Balmelle et al. 1985, 77-78, 81, 83, 86-87; Sezer 2007, 552.

<sup>28</sup> For a similar mosaic example from a building called Balıklarâğı Church in Cilicia, see Tülek 2004, 43, fig. 5.1.

As *Type 3a*, no completely preserved examples have been unearthed. The largest pieces of the *Type 3c* measure about 21 x 26 cm. The concave section consists of a row of alternating eggs and frame motifs. They are clearly separated from each other by deep grooves.

*Type 3d* measures about 19 x 45 cm based on an almost completely preserved example. The concave section consists of a row of the tangent alternating reel-like and horizontal beads motifs.<sup>29</sup>

## Evaluation

There are two settlements containing examples that are very similar to the terracotta fragments found at the Epiphaneia Temple Church in terms of material, form, and ornamentation. Although no *in situ* example was found at either site, these terracotta pieces, along with those of Epiphaneia, provide significant data for us to draw conclusions about their common and regional characteristics.

Located in the Toprakkale district of Osmaniye Province, Deli Halil Settlement is only 2 km away from Epiphaneia. This unfortified settlement mostly consists of such buildings as houses, cisterns, storage cellars, olive presses, and mills.<sup>30</sup> With the exception of a building identified as a temple, no public building was found, and therefore the site seems to be a large-scale village. The settlement is dated to the period between the early fifth to the end of the sixth century based upon the pottery sherds.<sup>31</sup> Although a very small number of pieces were found during the surveys, the forms and the ornamental character of these terracotta fragments are almost identical to the examples of *Type 2* and the *a, c, d* variations of *Type 3* in Epiphaneia.<sup>32</sup>

Another site is situated 10 km south of Epiphaneia in the Dörtüol district of Hatay Province. The settlement consists of two recently excavated basilical churches (Yeniyurt Churches) and a group of unidentified buildings suggested to be along the pilgrimage route.<sup>33</sup> A great number of terracotta pieces were unearthed during the excavations conducted at the two churches, and both were dated to the period between the fifth and the sixth centuries based on the archaeological data. These terracotta fragments were manufactured in three main types and sub-types in terms of form as at the Temple Church in Epiphaneia. The brick sizes and the clay colors also bear strong resemblances to those in Epiphaneia, while there are slightly different variations and additional sub-types in the motifs. In addition, some paint residues were found on the front face of a piece identical to *Type 2* in Epiphaneia.<sup>34</sup>

The common stylistic, historical, and geographic characteristics attested in the terracotta pieces of these three sites, all of which are located in easternmost Cilicia Pedias, definitely point to a local production workshop in the Plain of Issus.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, since none of these fragments were found *in situ*, we may at least present other parallel examples in order to be able to suggest a possible original position of the terracotta.

<sup>29</sup> A very similar example of this variation is to be seen on one of the voussoirs at Alahan West Church; see Gough 1985, 164, fig. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Tülek 2014, 191-95; 2017, 683-84, 687.

<sup>31</sup> Tülek 2014, 195; 2017, 685.

<sup>32</sup> Tülek 2013, 1:266-67, figs. 2-5.

<sup>33</sup> Çelikay 2018, 4, 7, 150.

<sup>34</sup> Çelikay 2018, 134-38, 143-48, 152-54, 161.

<sup>35</sup> For the Plain of Issus recently called "Black Cilicia" due to its characteristic basalt stone, see Tobin 2004, ix, 1.

The stylistic features of each type described above provide some primary clues as to where these pieces might have been originally placed. One of the most remarkable details in this context is the presence of mortar residue on the surfaces of the front and back faces except for the relief sections. Another detail is that the pieces have concave, embossed, and recessed surfaces. These two main characteristics, which do not enable us to reconstruct the original positions of the terracotta on a horizontal surface, indicate that all or a large part of the undecorated sections of the terracotta must have been placed into the masonry of the church's main walls as architectural elements. However, the decorated sections seem to have projected outwards to be viewed from below.

There are plenty of stylistically similar architectural stone or marble elements that are comparable to the pieces at the Temple Church. In most cases, these elements are used as a component of the upper order of antique monuments, that is, entablature. Based upon the terminology of this order, *Type 1* with dentils may be defined as dentils; *Type 2* with acanthus leaf as modillion / console, and *Type 3* with concave profiles as cornice in terms of shape. Some details in the ornamentation also bear some resemblances: With an egg and its frame *Type 3c* resembles *ionic cyma* decoration (egg-and-dart), while *Type 3d* has bead-and-reel with its oval beads and reel-like motifs. Acanthus leaf executed on the front faces of *Type 2* is also a characteristic of the consoles of the geison-cornices.

The other motifs, such as the meanders, staurograms, and crosses adorning surfaces of *Type 1* and *Type 3a-b*, are almost unknown to the decoration repertory of the ancient entablatures. Given the upper order of antique monuments, all these comparable stylistic features of both the terracotta and the stone elements suggest that *Type 1* and *Type 2* belong to a cornice with consoles, while *Type 3* belongs either partially or completely to a cornice and / or to a frieze. It is undoubtedly difficult to precisely determine the exact positions of all the sub-variations of the three types within cornice and frieze. Nevertheless, based upon a very large number of extant examples of stone elements, we may assume that the dentils (*Type 1*) were surmounted by consoles (*Type 2*) and that the pieces of *Type 3* were placed either between the dentils and consoles or at the top of and more likely below them.<sup>36</sup> *Type 3c* and *Type 3d* seem to be in the different rows independently, since both the decoration and the angles of the concave sections differ substantially. The similarity in the dimensions and decorations of the concave sections of *Type 3a* and *Type 3b* indicate that the first two sub-types may belong to the same row. The same is true of *Type 1a* and *Type 1b*, in spite of the fact that *Type 1b* must have been placed at regular intervals or at specific points since only a few pieces were unearthed. In summary, all the types might have been arranged in five different rows independently at the most: *Type 1a-b* and *Type 2* (cornice with consoles); *Type 3a-b*, *Type 3c*, and *Type 3d* (frieze and / or cornice).

Although the Byzantine examples consistent with the order exemplified above are extremely rare, several early Byzantine churches in Cilicia attest both to a regional feature and to the continuation of the tradition to a certain extent. A stone fragment, suggested to have been a part of the entablature placed above a door lintel of the Meryemlik “Kuppelkirche” from the second half of the fifth century, partially repeats the upper order mentioned above with its

<sup>36</sup> For the comparable examples see Willber 1938, 89, fig. 35; Machatschek 1967, pls. 41, 44, 46-47, 49; Vandeput 1997, 274, pl. 41.3; 275, pl. 42.3; 279, pl. 46.1.2; 299, pl. 66.1.2.3; 309, pl. 76.4; 310, pl. 77.2; 320, pl. 87.3; 326, pl. 93.3; 333, pl. 100.1; 339, pl. 106.1; 341, pl. 108.2.3; 343, pl. 110.3; 349, pl. 116.4; 352, pl. 119.2; von Lanckoroński [2005], 1:54, fig. 39; 109, fig. 85; 111, fig. 88; 113, fig. 89; 117, fig. 91; pls. 15, 25-26; Durukan 2005, 109, fig. 4; Türkmen 2007, 216-25; 227-28; 231-35; Niewöhner 2011, 113, fig. 10; Eliüşük 2018, 270, fig. 41; Mörel 2019, 114, fig. 18c-d.

decoration elements such as consoles with acanthus leaves, egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel, and dentils.<sup>37</sup> The West Church at Alahan Monastery, dating from the second half of the fifth century, provides a similar layout. The consoles with acanthus leaves and the friezes with a variation of egg-and-dart motif, both of which once constituted the stone entablature of the west and south façades, are designed in a roughly similar order.<sup>38</sup> The south façade of the so-called Church of the Apostles datable to around 500 is thought to have had a similar stone entablature consisting of consoles with acanthus leaves, egg-and-darts, bead-and-reel, and dentils.<sup>39</sup> Despite the fact that this entablature is composed almost entirely of spolia pieces, an adaptation of this kind is important in that it shows an effort to maintain the ancient tradition by utilizing reused materials.

While the early Byzantine churches present only a small number of parallel stone examples containing all three types together, the elements which may be associated with dentils in *Type 1* and consoles in *Type 2* are seen more commonly on the exterior of the churches. These examples suggest that the terracotta pieces of the Temple Church may have been also placed into other parts of the church façades. For instance, in the early Byzantine churches in Cilicia, stone cornices with consoles akin to *Type 2* are employed not only below the roofs of the naos or above the door lintels, but also above the window lintels or immediately below the roofs of the apses. This is seen, for example, at Adana Karakilise (between the fifth-sixth centuries),<sup>40</sup> Kadirli Ala Cami (Kars Bazaar) (between the end of the fifth century-early sixth century),<sup>41</sup> Alahan East Church (second half of the fifth century),<sup>42</sup> and Mazılık Church (the fourth or early fifth century).<sup>43</sup>

As for outside Cilicia, a number of early Byzantine churches in Lycaonia and Cappadocia also provide similar façade decorations. Although termed as dentils (*Type 1*) in the publications, these stone examples resemble especially those of *Type 2*. Apart from the lower sections of the roof and above the windows and doors, they are also employed in the middle parts of the main walls of the churches.<sup>44</sup> The entablatures of the early Byzantine churches of Syria are designed in a completely different manner. The console-like elements, which may be partly associated with *Type 2* below the roofs of the churches called Kalb Lauzeh, Kal'at Si'man, and Arshin,<sup>45</sup> differ substantially with their huge dimensions and different forms from those in Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia. In addition to these neighboring provinces, a group of mausoleums from the early Byzantine period in Rome and Ravenna bears resemblances to *Type 1* and *Type 2* with their console-like cornice elements placed immediately below the roofs.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 51, figs. 50-51; Hill 1996, 233-34.

<sup>38</sup> Gough 1967, pl. 6; 1985, 161-62, figs. 23-24; 165, fig. 28; pls. 16-17.

<sup>39</sup> Bell 1906, 15, fig. 11; Gough 1952, 117, fig. 8; Posamentir and Sayar 2006, 335, fig. 19; Posamentir 2011, 210-11.

<sup>40</sup> Hill 1996, fig. 94; Sayar 2021b, 29, fig. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Bell 1906, 11; Bayliss 1997, pls. 12b, 13a, 14a; Hill 1996, 179.

<sup>42</sup> Gough 1967, pl. 9c; 1985, pl. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Edwards 1982, pl. 3a; Hill 1996, 208.

<sup>44</sup> For Lycaonia see Ramsay and Bell 1909, 335, fig. 262; 378, fig. 301; 408, fig. 332. For Cappadocia see Doğan 2008, 106-11, figs. 9-20; 134, figs. 66-67; Yirşen 2022, 76, pl. 59; 116, pl. 90b.

<sup>45</sup> Butler 1929, 73, pl. 3.74; 101, pl. 3.101; 131, pl. 3.133.

<sup>46</sup> For Santa Costanza from the fourth century see Doig 2008, 39-40. For Galla Placidia from the fifth century see Deliyannis 2010, 76. For Santa Stefano Rotondo dated to the fifth century, see Krautheimer 1969, 388, fig. 22. For the Mausoleum of Empress Helena from the fourth century, see Brandenburg 2005, 57, fig. 23.

## Conclusions and the Dating of the Terracotta

Although there are some similarities in terms of material and partly in form, the architectural terracotta of Antiquity, which became widespread especially from the Archaic period onwards, differs completely from the examples at the Temple Church in terms of both function and ornament. On the other hand, the terracotta pieces in question bear strong resemblances to the stone elements of the entablatures of Antiquity and particularly of Roman periods in terms of form, ornament and function. From this point of view, the finds of Epiphaneia should be considered as the continuation of the Roman architectural tradition.

It is not possible to identify the original positions of the terracotta pieces precisely, since only the lowest courses of the church walls are surviving and no comparable *in situ* instances exactly alike have been found yet. Nevertheless, as exemplified above, a group of pieces of frieze and cornice from the Roman and early Byzantine periods which are stylistically similar to those at Epiphaneia have provided some clues as to the possible façade design of the Temple Church. As discussed above, these terracotta pieces should be expected primarily in the entablature of the roof. Considering the amount and the findspots of those recovered (fig. 6) as well as the comparable examples from the early Byzantine period, we may suggest that the terracotta enveloped the eaves of the church roof along the north, south, west and east façades. Another possibility is that at least some of the pieces, especially *Type 2*, may have been placed on top of the doors and windows as well as in the middle sections of the façades. This possibility can be considered only as an additional feature rather than an alternative to the order of entablature, since most of the fragments seem more associated with eaves as the examples indicate. The more than 500 terracotta pieces also clearly show that if only the tops of windows and doors had been decorated, the vast majority of them would have remained unused.

Despite the fact that our proposal regarding the exact reconstruction of the façades is quite limited, there is a great deal of data that enables us to determine the period of the church and its terracotta. In the most general sense, when considered primarily only the main features of its architecture, this building with its basilical plan and flanking chambers reflects the characteristics of early Byzantine churches in Cilicia.<sup>47</sup> With the exception of a bronze coin of Constantius II (337-361) found only 12 cm above the narthex floor (+43,72 m), no coins from the period were identified. However, both the mosaic pavements and a group of architectural plastics provide clues for dating. The architectural plastics, including a marble pilaster capital decorated with acanthus leaves and volutes<sup>48</sup> and several fragments of marble revetment decorated with square, rectangular, quadrangle, reel, fish scale, palmette and acanthus,<sup>49</sup> point to a period from the fifth to the sixth centuries. The compositions executed on the mosaic floors also indicate a similar date range. The geometric patterns that can barely be discerned on the largely destroyed *in situ* mosaics are saw-tooth, meanders, triangles, three and two-strand

<sup>47</sup> For the detailed information as to the characteristics of the churches in Cilicia and Isauria, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:85-95; Hellenkemper 1994, 217-37; Hill 1996, 11-61.

<sup>48</sup> For a very similar example from the recently excavated Yeniyurt Church B dated to the fifth or sixth century in Cilicia II in terms of technique, form and ornamentation, see Çelikay 2018, 141-42. The ornament is also very similar to that engraved on the surface of a capital found at Daphne / Harbiye in Syria I / Prima and datable to the latter part of the fifth century; see Stillwell 1941, pl. 35.86.

<sup>49</sup> Although no direct example has been identified, for the similar champlévé examples dating from the fifth and the sixth centuries in terms of technique and partly ornamentation, see Boyd 1982, 323, fig. 1 (Cyprus); 1999, 66, fig. 12; 67, fig. 14 (Cyprus); Kondoleon 2000, 220-23 (Syria I / Prima-Antioch); Yıldırım 2013, 369-72, figs. 154-58 (Pamphylia-Side); 2020 (Pamphylia-Side), 456-60, figs. 1-18; Pedone 2016, 504-5 (Phrygia-Hierapolis).



guilloche, waves, monochrome, bobbins, intersecting octagons, fish scales, grids, circles, and horizontal beads interloped tangentially, while the only figural composition consists of two beribboned parrots. All these geometric patterns are no doubt used not only in the Byzantine period but in Late Antique period as well. On the other hand, many examples from and outside Cilicia similar to the mosaic patterns of the Temple Church, including the intersecting octagons, circles, and horizontal beads interloped tangentially, and the grids, are datable to the fifth and the sixth centuries.<sup>50</sup> Figural compositions of beribboned parrots are very rarely found and are associated with the tradition of the late antiquity / early Byzantine period. The surviving mosaic examples depicting such figures date from the fifth and the sixth centuries too (fig. 5).<sup>51</sup>

It is also difficult to directly date the terracotta, due to their unique character and very small number of comparable examples. Both the Deli Halil Settlement and the churches in Yeniyurt, where almost identical pieces to those at the Temple Church were discovered as well as other comparable examples mentioned above, demonstrate that they must have been used in the same period as the church - about the fifth or the sixth century. Further, some of the motifs employed on the surfaces of the terracotta also indicate the same periods. For example, although the staurogram motif incised on the front faces of *Type 1* was applied to various Byzantine handicrafts and architectural artifacts from the fourth century onwards, most of the examples are dated to the fifth and the sixth centuries.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, with their unique characters, the meander<sup>53</sup> in *Type 3b* and the bead-and-reel like motifs<sup>54</sup> in *Type 3d* find their counterparts on the mosaic and stone decorations in two buildings, both of which date from the fifth century. The other motifs such as the cross on *Type 1b* and the swastika on *Type 3a* are not specific only to a small period of time but were used from Antiquity through the Middle Ages.

In any case, since there is not any convincing evidence indicating that the church continued to be used in its original function after the early Byzantine period, it is safe to suggest that the building fell out of use with the Umayyad domination of East Cilicia in the first half of the seventh century or was already demolished to a certain extent<sup>55</sup> by then. Apart from the fourth-century coin, all the Byzantine coins unearthed at the church are anonymous follies dating between the latter part of the 10th and the 11th centuries.<sup>56</sup> One of them was found between the upper and lower chin of a skeleton revealed in one of the tombs immediately outside the north

<sup>50</sup> For the similar examples see Levi 1947, 2:pl. 71b, 136; Daszewski and Michaelides 1988, 37, fig. 17; 136, figs. 51-52; Campbell 1988, 6, 57; 1998, pls. 10, 46, 70, 117, 199; Piccirillo 1993, 145-46; Tülek 2004, 22, 36, 69, 86, 147, 158, 225; Mayer and Allen 2012, 311, fig. 42; 332, fig. 74; Çelik 2012, 136; Çelikay 2018, 264, 267; Korkut 2020, 92, fig. 108.

<sup>51</sup> For the similar examples see Levi 1947, 1:358; 2:pl. 85d; Zori 1966, 124; Tsafirir and Hirschfeld 1979, 306, fig. 19; Campbell 1988, 6; Piccirillo 1993, 115, 216-17; Kondoleon 2000, 137; Cimok 2000, 292-93; Çelik 2012, 184-85.

<sup>52</sup> For a general information on the staurogram see Longenecker 2015, 106-10; Finney 2017. For the examples datable to the period in question see Ramsay and Bell 1909, 116, fig. 79; 169, fig. 133; Butler 1920, 77, 80, 159, 163; 1929, 230, pl. 3.245; Lorizzo 1976, 34, fig. 13; Frazer 1979, 571; Tchalenko and Baccache 1980, 109, fig. 297; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1980, pl. 37.1; Daszewski and Michaelides 1988, 106, fig. 19; Beckwith 1993, 123, figs. 99-100; Ferrua 1990, 15, 163; Deckers and Serdaroğlu 1993, pl. 6c; Ruggieri 2005, 88, fig. 2.49; İşler 2010, 252, fig. 25; Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 185; Sweetman 2013, 261; Bogdanović 2017, 69, fig. 2.13; Crow 2017, 158-59; Şimşek 2018, 92, fig. 14; 97, fig. 24; Dennis 2018, 128, fig. 6.4; Mitchell et al. 2021, 209, figs. 23-24.

<sup>53</sup> For a similar mosaic example at the Balıklarağı Church in Cilicia dating from the middle of the fifth century, see Tülek 2004, 43, fig. 5.1.

<sup>54</sup> For a very similar example of this variation on one of the stone voussoirs at Alahan West Church dated to the latter part of the fifth century, see Gough 1985, 164, fig. 27.

<sup>55</sup> For a suggestion asserting that an earthquake occurred in the first half of the sixth century and caused some damage in Epiphaneia, see Pamir et al. 2022a, 10, 19.

<sup>56</sup> Two anonymous follies were found in the naos at heights of +43,64 m. and +43,90 m. respectively.

façade.<sup>57</sup> It seems likely that the church was completely turned into a small cemetery when the Byzantines reconquered the region in the second half of the 10th century.<sup>58</sup> The pottery sherds recovered from two graves on the collapsed north wall<sup>59</sup> indicate that more bodies continued to be buried here after the 11th century as well. Although the function and period of the asymmetrical and irregular walls could not be identified, they may be attributed to the Middle Ages because they were built by destroying the pavements, and no design was detected related to the original function of the church.

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<sup>57</sup> Pamir and Kara 2019, 330. The grave was found between the levels of +44,08 m and +43,71 m.

<sup>58</sup> About 60 graves in total were unearthed in the nave, aisles, narthex and outside the main walls of the church. Their levels range from +44,10 m. to +43,44 m. While most of them were built by destroying the mosaic and marble pavements, some of the burials were constructed directly on the pavements or on the collapsed north wall. Based upon the small number of medieval coins and pottery sherds found inside the graves as well as the graves constructed above the north wall, one may suggest that the church was already transformed into a cemetery by the Middle Ages. On the other hand, this is not to say that all of the graves should be attributed only to the Middle Ages, since there are plenty of Early Byzantine burial examples located below the pavement levels of the naos or narthex when the church was still in use, as at the Temple Church in Epiphaneia. For the examples and a comprehensive study on such burials inside the church in the Early Byzantine period, see Yasin 2009, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77-79, 80-84. For similar examples from Cilicia, see Hill 1996, 10, 209, 237.

<sup>59</sup> Pamir and Kara 2019, 330. The top levels of the two graves are +44,00 m.

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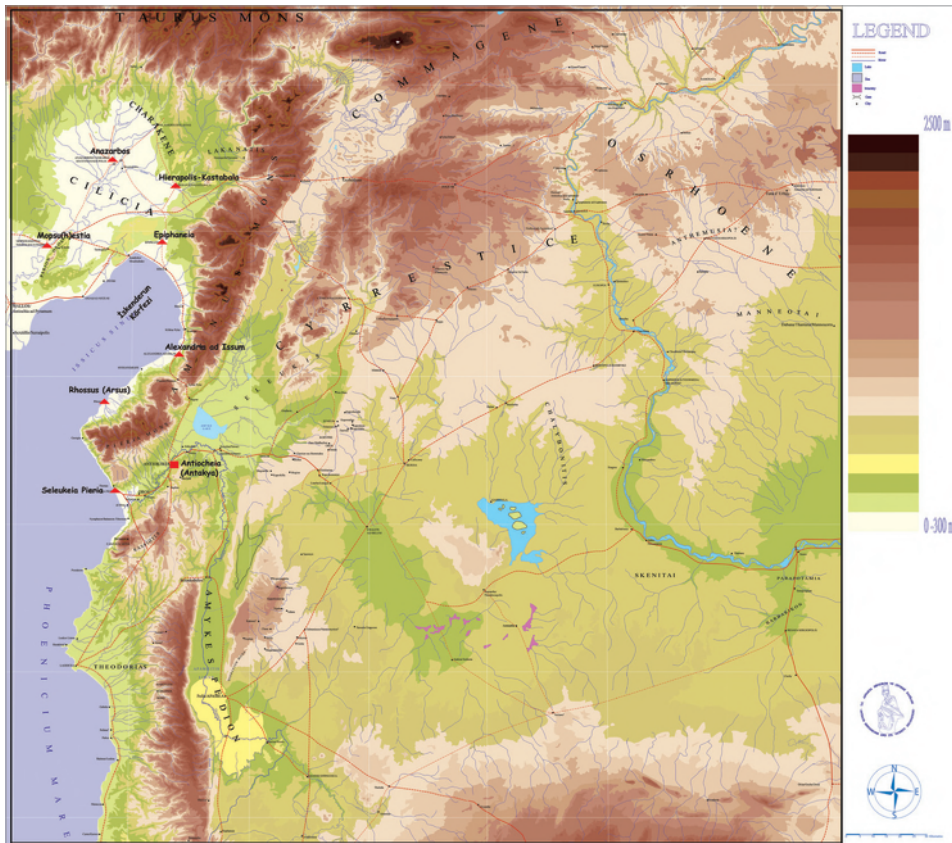


FIG. 1  
Location of Epiphaneia.

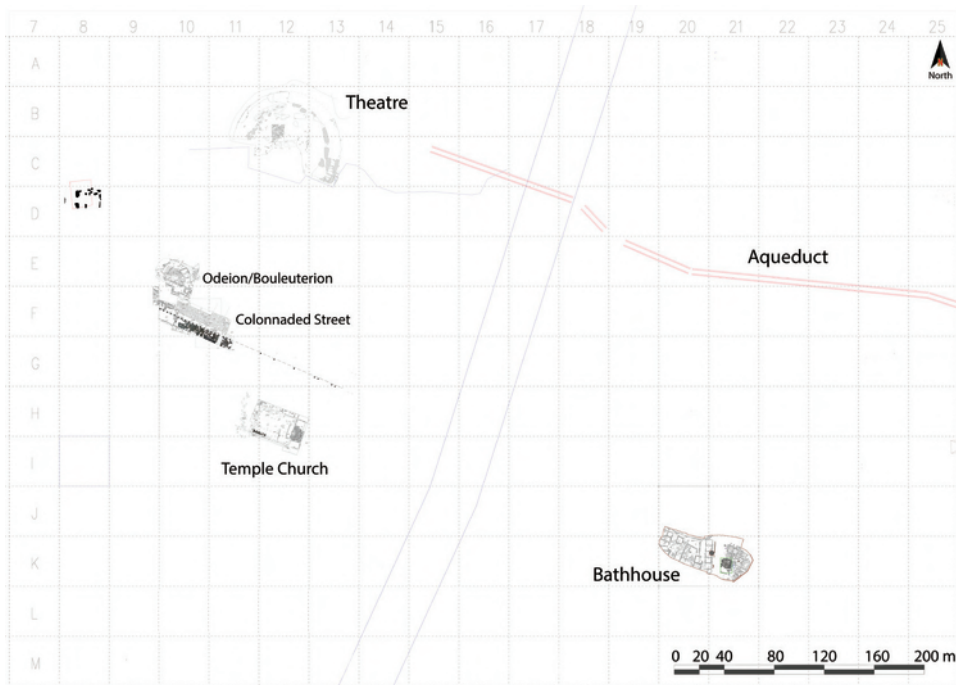


FIG. 2  
Plan of Epiphaneia.

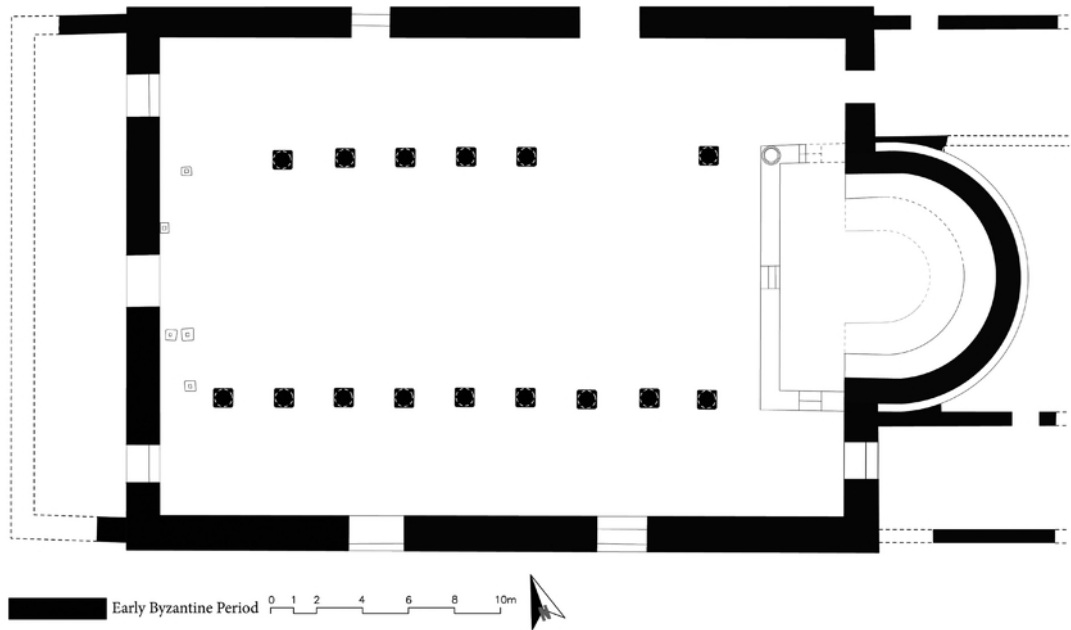


FIG. 3 Epiphaneia Temple Church, ground plan.

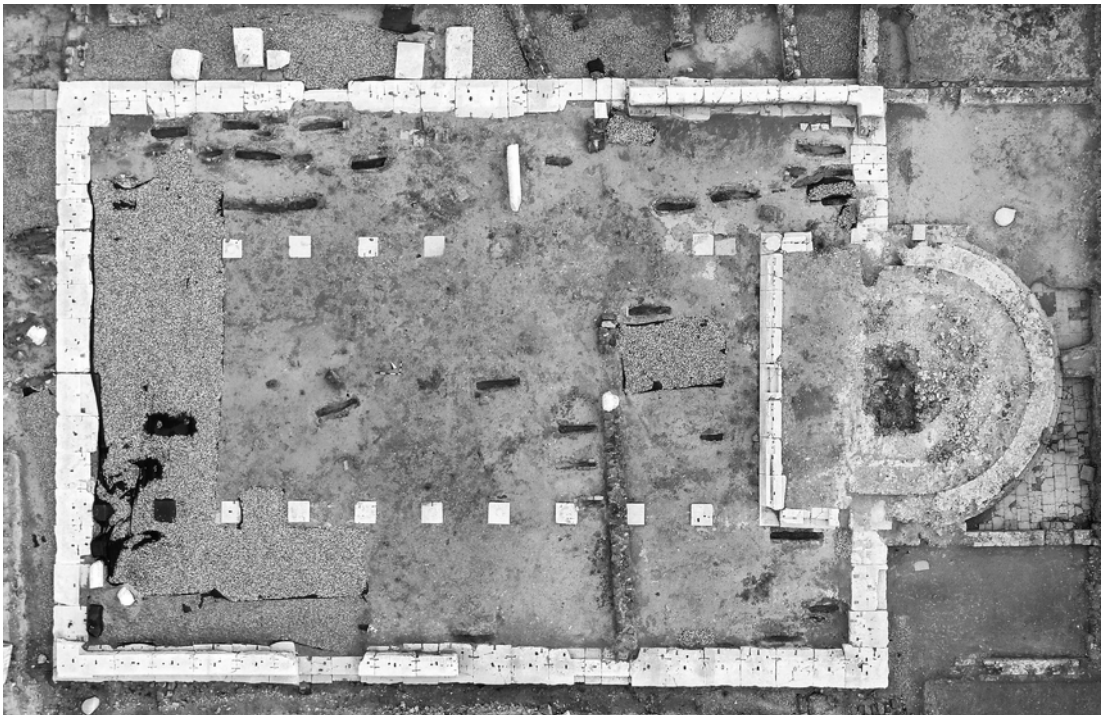


FIG. 4 Epiphaneia Temple Church, aerial view.





south aisle.



south façade, detail of the geometric mosaic floor and one of the beribboned parrots.

FIG. 5 *In situ* mosaic floors in the south aisle and immediately outside the south façade.

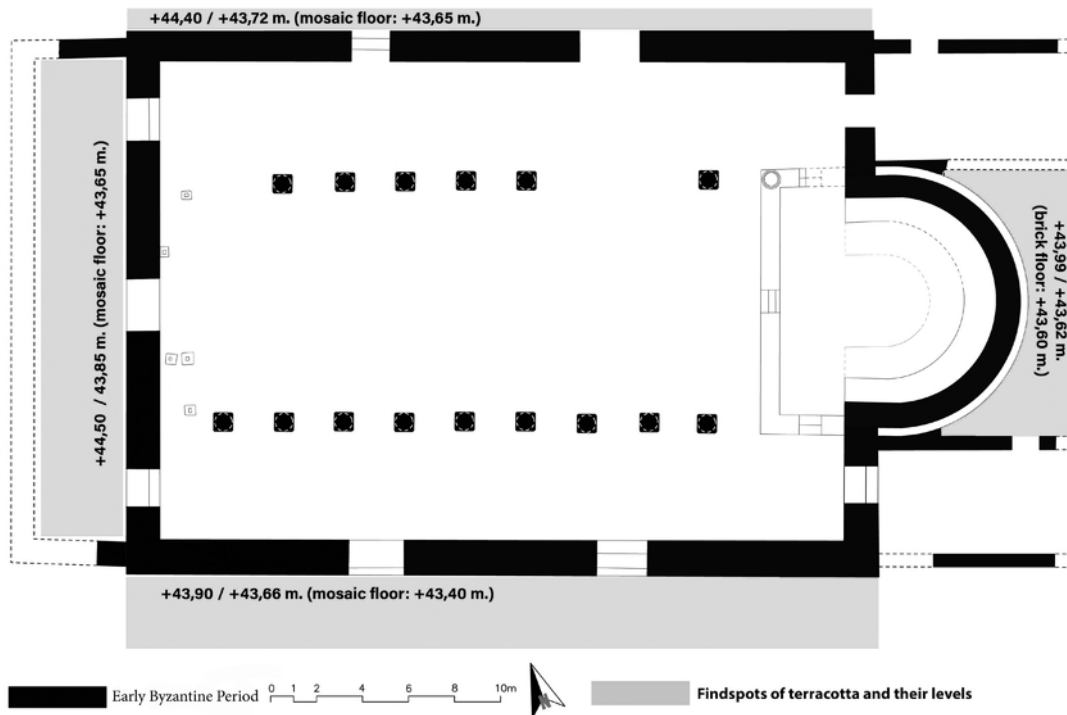


FIG. 6 Findspots of terracotta and their levels.



type 1a



type 1b



type 2



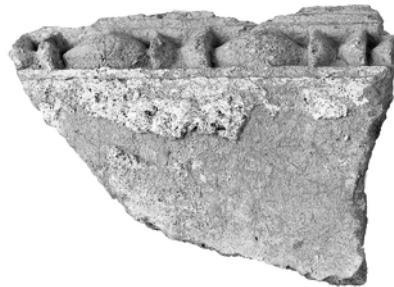
type 3a



type 3b



type 3c



type 3d

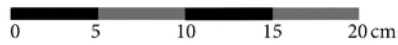


FIG. 7 Terracotta pieces, types 1-3. Selected photos.

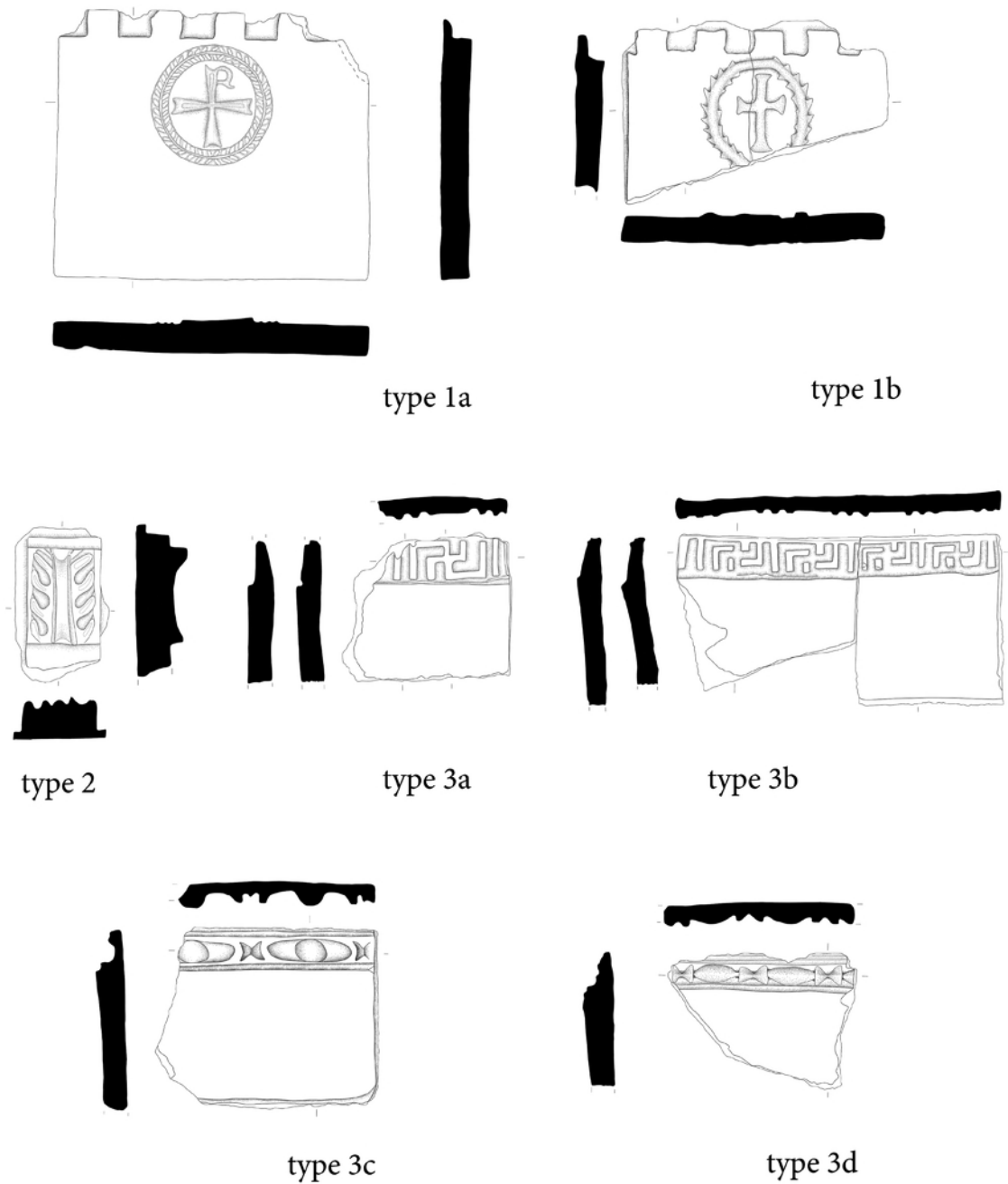


FIG. 8 Terracotta pieces, types 1-3. Selected drawings.

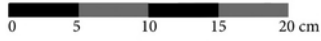


FIG. 9 Type 1a.

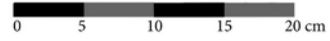


FIG. 10 Type 1b.

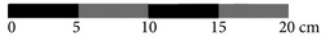


FIG. 11 Type 2.

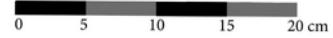


FIG. 12 Type 3a.



FIG. 13 Type 3b.



FIG. 14 Type 3c.

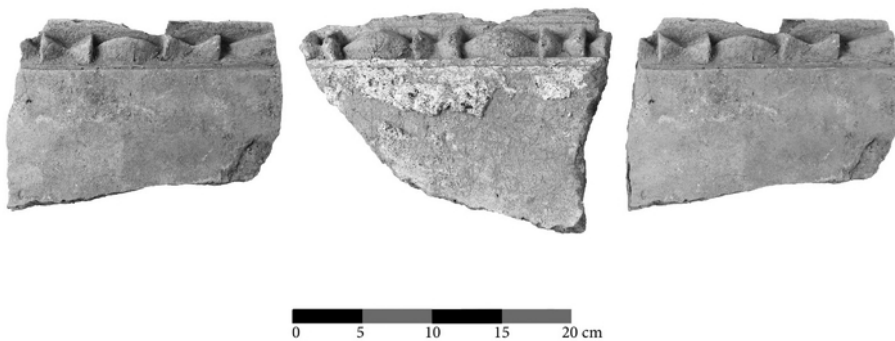


FIG. 15 Type 3d.

(All visuals used in this article belong to the Epiphaneia Excavation Archive of 2016-2021).



# A Roman Steelyard with a Control Inscription from the Roman Imperial Period in the Pera Museum

YAVUZ SELİM GÜLER\*

## Abstract

The Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Pera Museum founded in 2005 stands out as an institution promoting research on the history of measurement with one of its permanent collections: the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection. The collection holds a wide range of steelyards dating to the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods. Among these objects, a Roman steelyard comes into prominence with its unique control inscriptions dated to the reign of Emperor Commodus (AD 180-192). This article introduces an unpublished steelyard, which shows how Romans maintained the integrity of their steelyards. It evaluates the physical characteristics and metrology of the steelyard, and provides an epigraphic analysis of the inscription compared with similar control inscriptions of weighing and measuring equipment from the Roman Imperial period. The inscription contributes to our understanding of the verification process of the steelyard by the officials after its manufacture.

**Keywords:** Commodus, Rome, steelyard, measurement, epigraphy, inspection

## Öz

2005 yılında kurulan Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı Pera Müzesi, Anadolu Ağırlık ve Ölçüleri Koleksiyonu ile ölçüm tarihi üzerine yapılan çalışmaları destekleyen bir kurum olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Müze'nin koleksiyonu, Roma, Osmanlı ve Bizans dönemlerine tarihlenen geniş bir kantar seçkisine sahiptir. Bu eserler arasında, üzerindeki İmparator Commodus Dönemi'ne (MS 180-192) tarihlenen kontrol damgasıyla nadir bir Roma kantarı öne çıkmaktadır ve bu makale, Romalıların kantarlarını nasıl denetlediğini gösteren yayımlanmamış bu kantarı tanıtmaktadır. Makale, kantarın fiziksel özelliklerini ve metrolojisini değerlendirmektedir ve benzer kontrol damgalarıyla kantarın üzerinde bulunan yazıtın epigrafik analizini yapmaktadır. Yazıt, üretimden sonra kantarın resmi merciler tarafından onaylanma sürecini anlamlandırmamızı sağlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Commodus, Roma, kantar, ölçüm, epigrafi, kontrol

## Introduction

A steelyard (Lat. *statera*, Gr. *κάμπανος*) is a weighing instrument with two unequal ends and works with the law of the lever. It consists of a beam scale (sg. *scapus*), suspension hooks (pl. *ansae*), a counterweight (sg. *aequipondium*), and a suspension apparatus (sg. *lancula*). The beam contains unit signs (pl. *puncta*) and pivot points (pl. *fulcra*).<sup>1</sup> Although the principles of a simple unequal-arm balance had been known since the late fifth century BC in Greece, the

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<sup>1</sup> For Vitruvius' explanation of the working principles of a Roman steelyard, see his *De arch.* 10.3.4.

steelyard mechanism developed in the Hellenistic period. The earliest examples of steelyards dated to the first century BC and were found in Italy. Archaeological studies show that steelyard became widespread across the Roman Empire in the first to second centuries AD.<sup>2</sup>

It came into prominence as an important invention in the history of measurement because of its practical usage. The user only needs to read the graduation mark, which the counterweight shows when the steelyard is in equilibrium. In this way, the steelyard as a portable equipment enabled the users to weigh a wide range of commodities.<sup>3</sup> Apart from its practical usage, a complex mechanism lays behind, which should be precise in order to weigh goods and commodities accurately. Therefore, the production and assemblage processes would be monitored carefully, which is rarely verified with inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

This article examines the Roman steelyard with Latin inscriptions of official control from the Pera Museum.<sup>5</sup> First, it describes the physical attributions of the steelyard and assesses the production process of the object. Secondly, the article discusses the metrology of the steelyard to reveal its weighing capacity. In the end, it analyzes the steelyard's inscriptions by providing an epigraphic autopsy and comparing the inscriptions with other known examples of Roman steelyards. Since there is no study focusing on steelyard control inscriptions, the article fills the lacuna in the literature by compiling all the published steelyards with the control stamp from the Capitoline Hill in Rome and evaluates the Pera Museum steelyard within the context of monitoring in the marketplace.

## Physical Characteristics of the Steelyard

The copper-alloy steelyard consists of a steelyard bar square in section cast in a single mould (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Two suspension hooks with spiral-shaped links hang down from the fulcrum holes.<sup>7</sup> There are traces of a lead piece affixed onto the fulcrum bar to calibrate a minor error or an inaccuracy in measurement.<sup>8</sup> The surface of the steelyard is coated with a patina and contains traces of corrosion. Unfortunately, the original counterweight and the suspension apparatus have not been preserved.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For the discussion on the technical development of the steelyard mechanism and the reason why it became widespread during the Roman Imperial period, see Büttner and Renn 2016.

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of the Prefect* compiled by Emperor Leo VI (886-912) provides a testimony stating which commodity should be weighed with a steelyard or an equal-arm balance. Although it is a later source, the account shows that steelyards continued to be used for weighing a wide range of heavier products in the marketplace; see Kolias and Chroné 2010.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of inscribed steelyards from the Roman Imperial period, see table 3.

<sup>5</sup> The Pera Museum acquired the steelyard in 2007 from Haluk Perk, a private collector in Türkiye. The steelyard was registered to the inventory of the Anatolian Weights and Measures Collection with the inventory number PMA 4917.

<sup>6</sup> For the terminology about steelyard equipment used in this article, see Sams 1982.

<sup>7</sup> The steelyard bar, weighing 141 grams in total, is composed of a bar 288 mm long with five sections:

1) Beam scale: 207 mm; thickness: 9 mm; diameter of the biconical finial: 15 mm.

2) Fulcrum bar: 81 mm; width: 13 mm; thickness: 5 mm.

3) Hole for affixing the suspension apparatus: outer diameter: 21 mm; inner diameter: 10 mm.

4) Fulcrum hole 1: outer diameter: 15 mm; inner diameter: 7 mm; suspension hook attached to fulcrum hole 2: max length: 72 mm.

5) Fulcrum hole 2: outer diameter: 14 mm; inner diameter: 9 mm; suspension hook attached to fulcrum hole 3: max length: 74 mm.

<sup>8</sup> For a similar example of an added lead piece on a Roman steelyard, see Zahn 1913, 7.

<sup>9</sup> The counterweight could be made of lead with a biconical or globular shape. For examples with complete steelyard equipment, see Vincze 2019, 58-61.



The beam scale contains graduation marks on two faces and is oriented at an angle of 45 degrees with respect to the fulcrum bar, which facilitates the reading of the graduation marks.<sup>10</sup> The graduation marks are either incised or inscribed with punched dots. Since steelyards needed special adjustments by the producer, the calibration might have been carefully applied by inscribing minor and major increments on the beam scale after the casting of the beam scale.<sup>11</sup>

The steelyard in the Pera Museum can be classified as “Typus Pompeii.”<sup>12</sup> It shares characteristics of this type such as spiral connections of the suspension hooks, a biconical finial, and a large hole for a suspension apparatus on the right side of the fulcrum bar. Since the archaeological context is not known for most of these examples, it is a challenge to understand the spread of the “Typus Pompeii” geographically. Such steelyards with a context were found in Spain and Italy, but there are many steelyards in the inventories of the museums in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Since there is no information about the context of the steelyard in the Pera Museum, it is not possible to understand its origin. There are examples of Typus Pompeii in private collections in Türkiye, but these examples do not have any archaeological context as well.

### Metrology

TABLE 1 Graduation marks.

| Face | Graduation Marks  |
|------|---|
| 1    | I S I S [X] V S I S I S I S I S X S I S I S I S I S V III S I             |
| 2    | I . . . . . S . . . . . I . . . . . S . . . . . I . . . . . S . . . . . I |

The Pera steelyard has two faces with graduation marks on the beam scale. Throughout the article, the faces of the steelyard with graduation marks are referred to as “Face 1” and “Face 2” according to the order of the aforementioned fulcrum holes. On the steelyard, Roman numerals represent major increments in weight, whereas short vertical lines, indicated with “.” marks, show minor calibrations in weight.<sup>14</sup>

“Face 1” has incised-Roman numerals on the beam scale. The letter “S,” which is the abbreviation of a *semis* of a *libra*, shows in punched dots half-*uncia* increments. Discernable marks on “Face 1” show a capacity of weighing between three-*libra* and seventeen-*libra*. On “Face 2” the longer lines stand for the increments in *libra*. Shorter lines, which divide the intervals between the longer vertical lines into twelve equal intervals, represent increments in *uncia*. Therefore, every six-*uncia* was indicated with the letter “S” in punched dots, which is the abbreviation of a *semis* of a *libra*. Therefore, discernable marks on “Face 2” show a capacity of weighing between one-*libra* and four-*libra*. The steelyard, in general, has graduation marks

<sup>10</sup> Kardyras 1998.  
<sup>11</sup> There were several stages in the production and calibration process of a Roman steelyard, which included the manufacturer and the officials for the monitoring; see Corti 2019, 156-58.  
<sup>12</sup> Norbert Franken categorized the Roman and Byzantine steelyards according to their physical characteristics. For the characteristics of the “Typus Pompeii,” see Franken 1994, 77-81.  
<sup>13</sup> The topoi research project (D-5-5), “Between knowledge and innovation: the unequal armed balance,” provides an extensive database of the steelyards from museum inventories and excavations. For “Typus Pompeii” examples, see Büttner et al. 2016.  
<sup>14</sup> Since the Romans hung steelyards from the right, the increments in weight were shown in retrograde numerals. For a discussion on steelyards, see Mutz 1983, 17-21.

indicating weighing capacities between one-*libra* and four-*libra* as well as three-*libra* and seventeen-*libra*. Another limitation is to calculate the real equivalence of the graduation marks in grams because of the missing equipment. These include the suspension apparatus, which was most probably a scale pan, and the counterweight. Therefore, our research can only reveal the theoretical metrology of the steelyard.<sup>15</sup>

## Inscriptions

TABLE 2 Inscriptions.

| Face       | Inscription                   | Transliteration  | Translation  |
|------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 (fig. 2) | IMP ANTONIN<br>CAES AVG · COM | Imp(eratore) Caes(are)<br>Antonin(o) Aug(usto)<br>Com(modus) | During the reign of Emperor<br>Caesar Antoninus Augustus<br>Commodus |
| 2 (fig. 3) | EX · AC · INCAPITOL<br>IO     | Exac(ta) in Capitolio  | Examined in Capitol  |

Inscriptions are found on both sides of the fulcrum bar. These were inscribed with letters in punched dots. The letter heights are between 4–6 mm. The inscriptions provide information about the chronology and reveal the inspection process of the steelyard.

To date, only very few Roman steelyards with inscriptions has been published and examined in detail. Among the steelyard with inscriptions, very few contain inscriptions which help to date the steelyards.<sup>16</sup> These inscriptions on steelyards refer to the names of the emperors Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius with their exact dates (table 3).

TABLE 3 Roman steelyards with “exacta in Capitolio” inscription.

| Museum/Collection   | Context                                      | Length | Date     | Inscription   | Reference                                       |
|---|--|--------|----------|---|---|
| Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli (Inv. no: 74039)                     | Herculaneum (Naples, Italy)                  | N/A    | AD 47    | TI(berio) CLAVD(io) CAES(are) AVG(usto) IIII, I(ucio) VITEL(lio) III CO(n)S(ulibus) EXACTA AD ARTIC(uleiana) CVRA AEDIL(ium)  | <i>DarSag</i> 3(2), 1228; <i>ILS</i> 3(1), 965. |
| Musée du Petit Palais (Inv. No: DUT 96)                                     | Campania (Italy)                             | N/A    | AD 47    | TI CLAV CAS IIII<br>L VITEL COS   | <i>ILS</i> 3(1), 965-66.                        |
| La Colección de Pesas y Medidas del Ayuntamiento de Valencia (Inv. no: N/A) | Vicinity of El Saler Beach (Valencia, Spain) | 690 mm | AD 74-75 | IMP(eratori) CAESARI VESPASIANO AVG(usto) PON(tifice) MAX(imo) TRI(bunicia) P(otestati) VI IMP(erator) XIII P(ater) P(atriae) CO(n)S(ule) DES(ignato) EXACTA IN CAPITOLIO | Izquierdo and Ramón 1998.                       |

<sup>15</sup> See Sams 1982 for the discussion on Yassiada steelyards.

<sup>16</sup> For an overview of Roman steelyards, see Franken 1994. See Corti 2019 for steelyards stamped with inscriptions of their producers.

| Museum/Collection                                       | Context                                       | Length | Date   | Inscription   | Reference   |
|---|---|--------|--------|---|---|
| Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli (Inv. no: 74056) | Herculaneum (Naples, Italy)                   | N/A    | AD 77  | IMP(eratore) VESP(asiano)<br>AVG(usto) IIX T(ito)<br>IMP(eratoris) AVG(usti) F(ilio)<br>VI CO(n)S(ulibus) EXACTA<br>I(n) CAPITOLIO                                  | <i>DarSag</i> 3(2),<br>1228; <i>ILS</i> 3(1),<br>965. |
| Museo Archeologico di Sagunto (Inv. no: N/A)            | Maritime archeological find (Valencia, Spain) | 545 mm | AD 112 | IMP(eratore) CAE(sare) NERVA<br>TRAIANO AVG(usto)<br><br>GER(manico) DAC(ico)<br>CO(n)S(ule) VI EX A(cta) IN<br>CAPITOLIO   | Aranegui<br>Gascó 1989.                               |
| Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Inv. no: 30218)            | Vicinity of Tiber (Rome, Italy)               | 204 mm | AD 161 | IMP(eratore) CAES(are)<br>M(arco) AVREL(io)<br>ANTONIN(o)<br><br>IMP(eratore) CAES(are) L(ucio)<br>AVRELIO VERO AVG(usto)<br>CO(n)S(ule) II EX(acta)<br>INCAPITOLIO | Zahn 1913,<br>1-10.                                   |

On Face 1 is found the inscription giving the date of the Pera steelyard. The inscription in the ablative case gives the meaning “during the reign of,” and the titles in the inscription belong to Emperor Commodus. In contrast to the steelyards with the names of the emperors, the inscription on the Pera steelyard does not mention the exact year of inspection. This could be understood by the reference to the *consul designatus* and the *tribunicia potestas*. However, it was not a unique case for weighing equipment because there are bronze weights examined in the temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome without the consular year of the emperor.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, it is a challenge to determine the exact year of the monitoring of the steelyard. For this reason, only a relative chronology can be given. Commodus received the title IMP CAES (*imperator caesar*) before July 17, AD 180 and since died in December 31, AD 192,<sup>18</sup> the inscription can be dated between AD 180-192.

Face 2 refers to the place where the equipment was controlled. The word “*exacta*” is the perfect passive participle of “*exigo*” in the ablative. It has a special meaning “to control” for the verification of weighing equipment in Latin.<sup>19</sup> “*In Capitolio*” indicates the place where the steelyard was inspected, which was the Capitoline Hill in Rome. This location was one of the places where weighing equipment was kept, and *aediles* supervised and carried out the examination of weights.<sup>20</sup> Another location mentioned on the steelyards was Articuleianum, which can be seen in table 3. It was most probably located near the Capitoline Hill and used by the *aediles*.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> One of the locations for weighing equipment was the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum. The weights from the first and second century AD contain control inscriptions indicating that they were inspected in the temple of Castor and Pollux. The weighing equipment were kept and money exchange services were conducted in the temple. There were also accounts referring to senators depositing money during the Imperial period; see *Juv.* 14.259-60; *Cic. Quinct.* 17; Luciani and Lucchelli 2016, 267-68.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion on the chronology of the Roman emperors, see Kienast et al. 2017, 140-42.

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion on “*exigo*,” see Luciani and Lucchelli 2016, 267-68.

<sup>20</sup> Aranegui Gasco 1989; Zahn 1913, 7-8.

<sup>21</sup> Articuleianum had a connection with the gens Articuleius from the Augustan period. For a discussion see Berrendonner 2009, 355.

## A Prototype Sent to the Provinces?

The Roman steelyard in the Pera Museum was controlled by the officials in the Capitoline Hill during the reign of Commodus (AD 180-192). However, it is important to consider that the control by the state also showed that steelyards were a public instrument.<sup>22</sup> Steelyards, which were part of *intrumenta publica* such as weights and equal arm balances, were controlled by local authorities such as *aediles*, *agoranomoi*, and *metronomoi*.<sup>23</sup> There are examples of equal arm balances<sup>24</sup> as well as weights, which mention both the emperor and the official authorities including the *agoranomos*.<sup>25</sup> For this reason, it is necessary to consider the steelyard as an object belonging to the state and showing the standards adjusted by its officials.

If we consider the steelyards with archaeological context, we arrive at certain conclusions. On one hand, most of the examples with the *exacta in Capitolio* inscription have an archaeological context in Italy. On the other hand, there are examples found in a maritime context in Spain.<sup>26</sup> These examples may be prototypes sent by the capital to the provinces for local authorities to duplicate weighing equipment in correct measure. Later accounts from the fourth and fifth centuries AD refer to weights shipped to the provinces from the capital to set out the reference weights.<sup>27</sup> For this reason, the steelyard might have been a “reference” equipment sent to the provinces that may have become a symbol for assuring the quality of equipment across the empire. Since there are very few published examples of Roman steelyards with control inscriptions, this article has aimed to contribute to the understanding of how Roman officials might have handled fraudulent activities in weighing. New discoveries in museums and excavations will provide new evidence for “certified” steelyards in the Roman Imperial period.

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<sup>22</sup> Berrendonner 2009.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion on the officials in the market place in antiquity, see Tekin 2016, 29-34.

<sup>24</sup> See a discussion of the BANNAF equal arm balance pan, see Güler 2022. For a general overview of these stamped pans, see Krier 2008.

<sup>25</sup> For Late Roman lead weights from Pontus and Bithynia with the names of *agoranomoi*, see Dönmez-Öztürk et al. 2008.

<sup>26</sup> Franken 1993. For examples of the steelyards with *exacta in Capitolio*, see table 3.

<sup>27</sup> Berrendonner 2009.

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FIG. 1  
General view of  
the steelyard.



FIG. 2  
Inscription on the  
fulcrum bar of face 1.



FIG. 3  
Inscription on the  
fulcrum bar of face 2.

# Research on the History, Function and Architectural Features of the Harran Saqiya

MEHMET ÖNAL – SEVCAN ÖLÇER\*

## Abstract

The saqiya is a mechanical water lifting / raising device consisting of a wooden apparatus for the extraction and transfer of the water. These devices are spread over a wide geographical area and were pioneering technological inventions for centuries. They have been studied by many scholars in terms of their architectural features, cultural dimensions and artistic qualities. However, in Anatolia, there are no studies on saqiya. Excavations in Harran between 2014-2018 have unearthed illuminating examples of these devices in recent years. Although they may seem less prestigious than many other architectural types, they formed the basis for our research. The archaeological finds and architectural components of the two saqiya apparatuses date from Late Antiquity up to the Middle Ages. In this study, the chronology, function and architectural features of the Harran saqiya from various periods are discussed and compared with similar examples found in Syria, Jordan and Israel. With the data obtained, the relationship of the Harran saqiya with structures such as baths, mosques, castles and palaces in the context of urbanization was examined, and their archaeological, iconographic and cultural dimensions were evaluated.

**Keywords:** Harran, saqiya architecture, Eastern Roman, Umayyad and Ayyubid periods.

## Öz

Sakiya ahşap düzeneklerden oluşan, su çıkarma ve aktarmaya yarayan mekanik bir su kaldırma cihazıdır. Oldukça geniş bir coğrafyaya dağılan ve yüzyıllarca teknolojik buluşlara önayak olan bu cihazlar, pek çok bilim insanı tarafından mimari özellikleri, kültürel boyutları ve sanatsal nitelikleri açısından araştırılmıştır. Anadolu'da ise sakiyalarla ilgili herhangi bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle pek çok mimari anıttan daha az öneme sahip gibi görünen bu yapılar hakkında son yıllarda aydınlatıcı örneklerin açığa çıkarıldığı Harran, araştırmamız için zemin oluşturmuştur. Geçmiş Orta Çağ'dan geç Antik Çağ'a uzanan iki sakiya düzeneğine ait buluntular ve mimari yapı bileşenleri Harran'da 2014-2018 yılları arasındaki kazı çalışmalarıyla ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu çalışmada Harran sakiyalarının kronolojisi, işlevleri ve çeşitli dönemlerdeki mimari özellikleri saptanarak özellikle Suriye, Ürdün ve İsrail'de bulunan benzer örneklerle karşılaştırması yapılmıştır. Elde edilen verilerle Harran sakiyalarının kentleşme bağlamında hamam, cami, kale ve saray gibi yapılarla olan ilişkisi incelenmiş, bunların arkeolojik, ikonografik ve kültürel boyutları değerlendirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Harran, sakiya mimarisi, Doğu Roma, Emevi ve Eyyubi dönemleri.

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## Introduction

Water is one of the most fundamental substances necessary for life. Since the Bronze Age (3200-1100 BC), water cisterns, canals and underground water wells were built to collect rain-water. Ancient civilizations lasting for thousands of years were established in water-rich geographical areas close to seas, rivers, lakes, and various stream sources. Civilizations established in terrestrial regions with high altitudes or far from water sources resorted to various ways to reach water, secure its existence, and consume it prudently. The saqiya invented for this purpose not only ensured the survival of people in places where the water level was low but also increased their quality of life. Thus, the lands cultivated by these civilizations, whose main livelihood was agriculture-based, were able to be irrigated. And the water needs for public areas with hygienic requirements, such as places of worship, bazaars, and houses, were also met. Saqiyas, which spread especially through hot and dry regions and began to disappear with the invention of water engines, are still used in India, Egypt, and some parts of the Middle East today.

Saqiyas are hung over a water source such as a well, cistern or stream. They have two large wooden wheels, one of which is in a horizontal position while the other is in a vertical position; both have interlocking spiked teeth. Water-collecting pots made of earthenware, wood, or leather are tied to each other with a horizontal axis and bound to the main rope of the vertical-position wheel.<sup>1</sup> The rope to which pots are tied is then turned by the movement of the wheel. On the one hand, the pots that enter the water one after another are filled; on the other hand, they turn upside down upon reaching the top and pour the water into a vat. After this rotation, they are emptied and lowered into the water reservoir again (fig. 1). Saqiyas on rivers are powered by the force of the water itself, while those on wells are usually moved by strong beasts of burden such as camels, oxen, or mules.<sup>2</sup>

When the saqiya apparatuses are evaluated together with the surrounding structures, it is understood that they have a standard plan. These apparatuses, apart from wooden wheels, consist of a well, a quadrangular stone mass that serves as a podium (raised platform) for arches or walls arranged in a square around the well top, a square water tank, and sometimes a narrower tank accompanying it.<sup>3</sup> The depth of saqiya wells is 20 m on average, and the diameter of the path the animals walk varies between 5-7 m depending on the required force.<sup>4</sup>

The first tangible data about saqiyas date back to the Hellenistic period. In addition to the mention of saqiyas in many texts from this period,<sup>5</sup> vaulted rooms and aqueducts containing the saqiya system, which seemingly worked until the first century BC, were unearthed at Cosa in the Tuscany region of Italy. It is thought that these saqiyas were feeding a bath built around 150-125 BC and the cistern of the villa next to it.<sup>6</sup> A similar system, thought to bring water to Pompeii's Forum Bath, Stabian Bath, public baths, and toilets, and dated to the second half

<sup>1</sup> Schiøler 1973, 16-26; Glick 1977, 645; Venit 1989, 219; Ayalon 2000, 218; De Miranda 2007, 23-36; Vibert-Guigue 2008, 148; Mitton 2009, 98.

<sup>2</sup> Schiøler 1973, 16-25; Glick 1977, 645; Selin 1997, 282; Sezgin 2003, 23; De Miranda 2004, 105-6, 114; 2006, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Schiøler 1973, 93; Vibert-Guigue 2008, 150.

<sup>4</sup> Schiøler 1973, 79; Glick 1977, 645.

<sup>5</sup> The definition and function of saqiyas are mentioned in the following books: *Peri Alexandreias* by Callixenus, *Pneumatica* by Philon of Byzantium, and *De arch.* by Vitruvius; see Oleson 2000, 234, 270-71; De Miranda 2004, 112.

<sup>6</sup> Oleson 2000, 258-59.



of the first century BC, was also unearthed.<sup>7</sup> In the archaeological excavations made in Tel Ashdod, Yavne-Yam, and Jazeera, the remains of water-lifting devices such as columns and the base of the horizontal shaft, as well as reservoir and irrigation canals, along with water wells from the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, have been found.<sup>8</sup>

In the Islamic world, saqiyas are mentioned in various sources<sup>9</sup> from the ninth to the 13th centuries, and their ruins can be found, especially in the deserts of Syria and Jordan. The ruins of the bath and the villa in Quşayr ‘Amra, which dates to AD 705-711, as well as the saqiya wells of the Late Roman-Byzantine and Islamic cultures in the Abu Mena sanctuary, are very significant examples.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the Ḥammām as-Sarāḥ saqiya,<sup>11</sup> three saqiyas of Qasr at-Tûba in the al-Ghadaf valley,<sup>12</sup> the Kubbet el-Bir saqiya,<sup>13</sup> and the Hallabiya-Zénobia saqiya<sup>14</sup> existed since ancient times in the deserts. The Umayyads developed this saqiya technology in connection with their water culture.<sup>15</sup>

Saqiyas contributed to urban life not only archaeologically, but also sociologically and ecologically. The rituals performed in the baths or that people gathered around the saqiyas to perform their routines of daily life diversify the functions of these structures. For example, a miniature scene in one of the al-Hariri’s Maqamat copies from the 13th century authenticates that saqiyas, like baths, were preferred for gathering, making important decisions, relaxing, or having fun. The flowers and flora in the miniature reveal the significant role of the saqiyas in garden irrigation and landscaping.<sup>16</sup> These structures were also chosen as communication points, and associated with water clocks and astronomy.<sup>17</sup> They were also seen as a source of inspiration for literature and philosophy.<sup>18</sup>

## Harran Saqiyas

The history of Harran, one of the most significant settlements of Mesopotamia, dates back to 6000 BC. It is located amidst the fertile plains irrigated by the Cullab and Deysan Rivers, tributaries of the Belih River. The city came under the rule of the Sumerians, Akkadians, Old Assyrians, Hurrians, Mitannians, Hittites, Neo-Assyrians, Neo-Babylonians, Medes, Greeks, Romans and Byzantines in antiquity. It was first brought under Arab rule in AD 639, and was

<sup>7</sup> Oleson 2000, 258-59.

<sup>8</sup> Baumgarten 1999, 66; Ayalon 1999, 76; 2000, 219.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Balādhurī’s “Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān” (Book of the Conquest of the Countries), al-Khuwārizmī’s work “Mafātīḥ al-‘ulūm” (The Keys to the Sciences), Ibn al-‘Awwām’s “Kitāb al-filāḥa” (The Book of Agriculture), and Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī’s “Al-Jāmi’ bain al-‘ilm wa’l-‘amal al-nāfi’ fi’l-ṣinā‘at al-ḥiyal” (A Compendium on the Theory and Practice of the Mechanical Arts) contain important information about saqiyas. See Schiøler 1973, 83, 168-71; Hill 1974, 182-83; Hill 1977; Glick 1977, 646; El Belāzūrī 1987, 536; Farré Olivé 1998; De Miranda 2006, 78-79, 81; Akyol and Arslan 2019.

<sup>10</sup> For more information see Jaussen and Savignac 1922, 78-95; Schiøler 1973, 92-95, 131-36; Almargo et al. 1975, 45-48.

<sup>11</sup> Bisheh 1989, 225; Vibert-Guigue 2008, 156-57; Arce 2016, 67, fig. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Jaussen and Savignac 1922, 47-48, figs. 5-7.

<sup>13</sup> Vibert-Guigue 2008, 161.

<sup>14</sup> Lauffray 1991, 271.

<sup>15</sup> Vibert-Guigue 2008, 148.

<sup>16</sup> Schiøler 1973, 78-79; De Miranda 2007, 43; Vibert-Guigue 2008, 168.

<sup>17</sup> Vibert-Guigue 2008, 170; Özbay 2012, 66.

<sup>18</sup> Özbay 2012, 67-68, 76-77.

briefly the capital city during the reign of the last Umayyad caliph Marwan II period (AD 744-750). Then it came under the rule of the Abbasids, Hamdanids, Numayrids, Seljuks, Zengids and Ayyubids. It was burned down by the Mongols in 1272 and conquered by the Ottomans in 1516.<sup>19</sup> It is understood from the present-day ruins that Harran lived its brightest period during the time of the Umayyads (AD 750) and Ayyubids (AD 1182).

Cuneiform Akkadian tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period (911-609 BC) are among the most significant archaeological finds for our research on the saqiya of Harran. These tablets, particularly about the Harran region, contain words thought to correspond to a water cabinet type of device, such as “carry,” “plow,” “cupbearer,” “water-lifting,” “irrigation,” “knob” (*karru*), and “wooden wedge” (*sikkatu*).<sup>20</sup> The phrase *lb, ma abi buri* in passage IV R 52 of the tablets translated by C. H. W. Johns is related to the saqiya apparatus. According to Johns’s interpretation, this object was placed near a well or cistern. This water well was probably located in a stream or canal bed, or was a well dug in a wasteland fed through canals and deep enough for dipping buckets.<sup>21</sup> The words *sunnu*, *rubu*, *sudusu* and *summunu* in the texts are thought to be related to different water levers working with ox power whereas the word *maialtu* is thought to relate to oxen and wheels.<sup>22</sup> The occurrence of these words in the text indicates the existence of water cabinets with buckets in Harran since the Neo-Assyrian period and sheds light on the chronology of the saqiya.

Thanks to the archaeological excavations carried out in Harran, new finds that illuminate the historical and cultural past are unearthed every day. These show that the city had a predominant medieval identity as well. As a result of the long-term archaeological work carried out in Harran Höyük, Harran Ulu Cami and its surroundings, and Harran İçkale, important structures exemplifying the architecture of homes, shops, bazaars, mosques, palaces, and baths have been found. The wells, canals, and vaulted structures related to the saqiya allocated water to them and were designed in connection with the surrounding architectural elements. They were encountered for the first time during the excavations carried out in the east of the mosque in 2014. In the same year, a bath, a water well with a podium, toilets, and places for ritual ablution (*al-wudu*), and shops belonging to a bazaar were identified on this site. The second saqiya structure was unearthed in 2018 - very close to the first one - a little further south of the first saqiya structure (figs. 2-3).

Harran’s saqiya were destroyed, repaired, or altered over the centuries due to earthquakes, wars, or other reasons. These structures are located in the city center and were actively used since they were permanently located in the settlement area and later modified with additions and removals at different periods. During the excavations, working in the well and vaulted rooms far below today’s floor level made our fieldwork difficult in terms of transportation and security. The wooden parts of the structures were probably destroyed in fires, but the architectural integrity, stone canals, animal walkways and saqiya pots made of terracotta have survived to the present day.

<sup>19</sup> Özfirat 1994, 15-19; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 16 s.v. “Harran”. Bakkal 2008, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Johns 1901, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Johns 1901, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Johns 1901, 19; Schiøler 1973, 166; De Miranda 2007, 47-48.

## Saqiya Structure no. 1

Structure no. 1 is located on the south side of the Harran Bazaar Bath (figs. 4-5).<sup>23</sup> It was defined as a water well with a podium when it was initially found. Later, a vaulted room, a vaulted passage, and the well's front room were identified as a result of studies carried out in 2015.

Well: The water well in the saqiya structure is in the form of a podium raised 2.75 m above the rooms around it. Situated in an east-west direction, the saqiya has a rectangular plan and measures 3.15 x 1.65 m. The podium part of the well is 4.60 m high and 8.65 m wide. The soil in the well, which is masoned with cut stone blocks and covered with partly preserved plaster, was cleaned to a depth of 5.90 m. And an elevation of +363.95 was reached. The water in the well is estimated to be 6 m below this level. A large iron piece was found on the east wall at +365.82 level, and this piece of iron was at the same level as a second iron piece found on the north wall. In addition, another iron object, nailed to the wall, was found 0.77 m below this piece of iron. There are niches on the well's north and south walls that were designed for garland post. It is noteworthy that the north wall, which is plastered with lime mortar, is designed with zigzag-like patterned embossments.<sup>24</sup>

There are two cut stone blocks placed opposite each other at the well top, and there are hollows on the blocks that are not very deep (fig. 6). It is understood that the wheel shafts were placed in these hollows and the water was drawn to the upper floor by the wheel-bucket system. Above the well in the eastern part, there is a stone water canal with a width of 21 cm and a depth of 11 cm. Here the water from the wheel was emptied. The canal here contributed to the water of the bath with two concrete pipelines connected to the Harran Bazaar Bath. The partially unearthed stone canal on the eastern edge of the podium is connected to the stone canal on the south wall of the warm room by passing over the vault of the hall leading from the podium to the dressing room. Thus, the water was dispersed in various directions through the concrete pipes and also discharged into the bath.

Vaulted Passage: A vaulted passage 2.25 m below the upper level of the well provides access to the water well from the well's front room. This rectangular-planned space is covered with a cradle vault (fig. 7). Its walls and roof were built of smoothly cut stones. It is 2.90 m long, 1.80 m high, and 1.90 m wide. There are ornamented niches on the north and south walls and whose floor is made of compacted hard soil (fig. 8). There are geometric and floral motifs in these niches with mouldings and garlands. The cog rows and floral patterns of the arched niches are quite similar to the ornaments on the arches of Nusaybin's Mor Yakup Church<sup>25</sup> and in the Church of Saint Simeon Stylites.<sup>26</sup> Both date to the Eastern Roman / Byzantine period. Oyster motifs in the arches are seen in the House of Saints (Beth Kadishe) in the Deyrulzafaran (Mor Hananyo) Monastery in Mardin.<sup>27</sup> The niche design here is generally reminiscent of the apse's arches found south of the tomb in Al-Ruşāfa.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The Harran Bazaar Bath (Harran Çarşı Hamamı) resembles a basilica-planned church in its current form and has hot and warm rooms running in a north-south direction. There are dressing rooms on the west and south sides. There is a hot water tank, furnace, cold-water tank and water distribution pool on its east side. As a result of the excavations, the bath structure was understood to have existed during three periods: the Umayyads, Zengids and Ayyubids; see Önal 2016, 4-7; 2019, 325-60.

<sup>24</sup> Önal 2019, 352.

<sup>25</sup> <https://kulturenvanteri.com/tr/yer/mor-yakup-kilisesi-nusaybin-mardin/#16/37.06691/41.215115> (Retrieved on 14.03.2023).

<sup>26</sup> Strube 1993, 208, 247, 251 and pl. 110.

<sup>27</sup> Keser-Kayaalp 2021, 197, fig. 3.3.7.

<sup>28</sup> Musil 1928, 171, fig. 60.

The northern niche is 1.65 m wide, 50 cm deep, and 50 cm high. The southern niche is 1.36 m wide, 32 cm deep, and 52 cm high. The western entrance of this passage was closed by masonry using spoliated stones during the Zengid-Ayyubid periods. The ornaments on the niches in the vaulted passage along with the fact that the ground level is much lower than the dressing room of the Harran Bazaar Bath, as well as a Roman coin found inside, dates the passage back to the Eastern Roman period (fifth-sixth centuries AD).

**Well-Front Room:** It is situated next to the changing room (southern side) of the Harran Bazaar Bath. This structure, which is located between the water well with podium and the street, has the dimensions of 3.50 x 4.80 m. Six steps descend to the floor from an entrance with a width of 95 cm. This room was changed by making new additions in different periods. A fountain pool dates from the Eastern Roman period; however, the pool was removed during the Islamic period when the cold room of the bath was being built. After the earthquake of the 12th century AD, the room was filled with soil up to the level of the third step while the ground level ascended to the floor level of the cold room. The hearth, understood to have been built after the Mongol invasion, was found in the middle of the room. The brick-built vault cover had collapsed on the hearth here.

There is a high arch 3.55 m wide that completely covers the entire northern facade of the room (fig. 9). The south wall was preserved to a height of 3.15 m. The lower part of this wall was made of smoothly cut stones, and the upper part was masoned with bricks and mud mortar. There are six shallow square hollows burrowed side by side on the western wall with similar characteristics. These hollows are thought to be slots left for wooden girders. The west wall of the water well with the podium forms the east wall of the room. There was a cradle-vaulted passage on this 4.20 m high wall masoned with cut stones. Moreover, finding pieces of bricks and lime mortars in the room, as well as the presence of the arch in the north, indicate that the upper cover is a barrel vault. The ground floor, where the water stood, can be accessed from the well-front room. The presence of low brick-masoned walls on the northern side of the room, as in the dressing room, indicates that wooden benches may have been used in this room as well. The well-front room and the well's vaulted passage were later covered with spoliated stones.

The ground level differences, the presence of cradle vaults, the ornaments on the niches, the coins, and the wooden finds from various periods suggest that there are four periods in the structure. Its complex appearance evidences these four periods: Eastern Roman, Umayyad-Abbasid, Ayyubid and post-Mongol invasion. The first period shows a high arch on the north wall. The second period has the arch opening in the north wall closed with cut stones and bricks, leaving only one doorway. The floor of the dressing rooms of the bath was raised, and parallel to this, a mezzanine floor was built by opening wooden plank slots on the west wall of this room. In the third period the interior of the room was filled with soil up to the level of the first step level, and the cradle-vaulted entrance was closed with spoliated stones. During the fourth period a simple hearth was built from bricks on the compacted soil. It is thought that the water well with a podium was built in the earliest Eastern Roman period, and then changed according to the reconstruction plan made in the Islamic period.<sup>29</sup>

**Cradle-vaulted Room:** This room is situated in the podium and adjacent to the northern side of the well. It measures 3.26 x 2.40 m in an east-west direction and is 2 m high (fig. 10).

<sup>29</sup> Carbon 14 analysis of a wood sample taken from the unit in the well-front room dates it to the seventh-eighth centuries AD.

The room floor has hard compacted soil from the Islamic period, and 0.40 m lower than this, the Eastern Roman floor is paved with smoothly cut stones. No mortar or plaster remains were found in the cradle-vaulted room, which was masoned and aligned with neatly cut stones. The original state of the structure, which is hidden inside the podium, resembles an iwan. The 1.75 m wide entrance opening to the west was scaled down to 0.50 x 0.70 m when it was converted into a dressing room. The dressing room was raised 1.70 m from the original floor. On the right and left sides of the entrance, there are two 0.70 m long brick walls, like the ones in the dressing room. Two rows of brick masonry have been preserved. The opening here is too small for an adult person to easily enter this room.

The cradle-vaulted room has small windows facing each other. The window on the south wall measures 0.38 x 0.22 m and is 1.10 m high from the ground. Ventilation and light must have been provided through this window, which opens to the vaulted passage of the water well. Another window, measuring 0.38 x 0.25 m, was placed in a rectangular niche that opens to hall no. 2 of the dressing room. On the east wall, there is a water canal measuring 0.14 x 0.16 m carved vertically into the wall. In the original phase, there must have been concrete pipes inside these canals; however, they have not survived to the present day. In this canal nested stoneware pots were found 0.85 m above the room floor. The water of the canal must have been supplied from the concrete pipeline we detected over the podium.

The cradle-vaulted room, along with the podium well, must be the oldest building in this area dating to the Eastern Roman period. From the ground-level differences and the changes made in the structure, the well and the room inside the podium predate the bath architecture. Because during the Umayyad period, while the dressing room of the Harran Bazaar Bath was constructed, the floor here was raised about 1 m. With this change, the wide entrance at the western side of the room was closed, leaving a narrow entrance from the dressing room floor. Thus, saqiya structure no. 1 was built in the Eastern Roman period together with the vaulted room, the vaulted passage, and the well-front room within the podium, and included in the water needs and cleaning area of the people. The reconstruction plan was made in the Umayyad period.

Spherical-conical pots and their ceramic fragments, two stone canal pieces, and two basalt tub fragments were found in the ashy soil of the cradle-vaulted room. It is not possible to say anything certain about this room, which is quite open to interpretation in light of today's data. Many opinions come to mind regarding its function due to the special location and plan of the room. Its window facing the well and its connection with water reminds us of Jacob's well, located outside Harran's city walls. There is also a room next to Jacob's well thought to be a cool room used by the notables of Harran to alleviate the heat of summer. The fact that many fragrance containers and spherical-conical bottles were found in the room also shows the importance attributed to hygiene and smelling good by the people who used this space. The stoneware pots connected to the concrete pipeline in the eastern side of the room also suggest that a kind of water ritual may have been performed in this place. Considering that purification with water is very important in Sabianism (Mandaeism), it is possible that this place, hidden near the bath, was also used by the Sabians.

## Saqiya Structure no. 2 and Maksem Building

Saqiya no. 2 and the Maksem - a specific building from which water is distributed - are located at the south of the well with podium (figs. 11-12). These structures are separated from each other by a corridor extending to the courtyard with a shadirvan, that is, a water tank with a

fountain. It consists of a well, platform, and water canals. The presence of canals and concrete pipes running in the makem's four different directions suggests that the water was gravity fed.<sup>30</sup> However, vertical quarter-circular niches found on the well's narrow walls indicate the presence of a water cabinet. Therefore, the water was generally conveyed to the canals by gravity, but from time to time by the wheel-bucket system, as in Saqiya structure no. 1. In addition, the flat platform on the well's east is considered suitable for turning the water cabinets with the help of a force (e.g., a donkey).

**Well:** The rectangular well running in a north-south direction measures 3.00 x 1.70 m; its depth is 6.40 m. The upper part of the well was masoned with 4.20 m high cut stone blocks. The lower part, with an oval plan 3 m in diameter, was masoned with brick walls 2.20 m high (fig. 13). The stone row at the top has been partially destroyed. These curved set walls border the east and west sides of the building. On these walls, there are symmetrically built arches 2.20 m in height and width (fig. 14). The interior parts of the arches, whose dimensions are standard, were closed by masoning with bricks later (fig. 15). Lime mortar was used as the binder. On the north and south walls, there are continuous, symmetrically designed quarter-circle niches with a diameter of 35 cm and a height of 4.20 m. These niches were designed for the pot-garland, that is, the water cabinet apparatus. The niche in the south wall is not as deep as the niche in the north wall. The canals directed to the northern niche have survived *in situ* to this day.

**Platform:** A semi-circular platform measuring 8.60 x 8.57 m surrounds the well. There is a saqiya well running in a south-north direction in the middle of the platform. This is 1.30 m higher than the corridor of the shadirvan courtyard (ablution room). The well's north wall is masoned with bricks, and the other walls are masoned with stones. These walls are preserved to a height of 0.45 x 0.70 m. During the excavations, clay was found in places, and the base of the well is made of compacted soil.

**Canals:** There are stone canals on the north, east and west sides of the maksem, and concrete pipeline to the south of it. The stone canals in the north and east provided the water of the courtyard with shadirvan, where also the public toilets are located. The stone canal on the west provided the fountain's water in the sanctuary of Harran's Great Mosque (fig. 16). The concrete pipes to the south of the maksem provided the water for the bazaar and the musk shop. The stone canals in the east are 0.16 m wide and 0.18 m deep. The stone canal in the north measures 0.25 x 0.16 m, while the canal in the west measures 0.10 x 0.9 m. The concrete pipeline, which is 20 m north of the eastern stone canal and running parallel to it, is partially preserved.

Harran's saqiya structures, which draw attention with their designs, were made clear by the saqiya pots found in and around the wells. As a result of our research, we know that the interestingly shaped containers coming from inside and around the saqiya wells are saqiya pots that are tied to the ropes to extract water.<sup>31</sup> Typically, the pear-shaped bodies of saqiya pots expand downward and are attached to a 2-3 cm diameter knob-shaped base. The knob-shaped base of the saqiya pots and the protrusions on the top of them (lip parts) are designed to be attached to the apparatus. However, it is very difficult to date the saqiya pots, whose

<sup>30</sup> The city's water was supplied from the rivers during the Abbasid period too. For this reason, we think that there were maksems in Harran at intervals of about 300 m.

<sup>31</sup> Ölçer 2020, 323-36.

profiles have not changed much from the Roman period to the end of the Middle Ages, without establishing a stratigraphic relationship with the saqiya structures.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, even if the saqiya pots can be dated, they may not be sufficient to illuminate the chronology of the saqiya structures. For instance, most of the saqiya pots dated to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods have a pear- or oval-shaped body and a knob base. These pots are almost identical in form to the pots produced in the early Islamic period or the Middle Ages Islamic period. In order to distinguish them from each other, it is necessary to highlight the profile details and carefully examine the material properties.<sup>33</sup>

Pots are an integral part of saqiya architecture or saqiya apparatuses. They are also found in and around the oval-shaped water well excavated in 1985 at Harran Höyük. The well, for which deepening works were carried out in 1986, measures 2.80 x 2.10 m. Its area is 10.15 m in a north-south direction and 9.20 m in an east-west direction. The top and interior of the building, described as a city square well, are designed in an oval shape by masonry with 24 x 24 cm double brick rows (fig. 17). We detected an entrance to the north of the well, which was deepened up to 20 m. Subsequently, with the continuation of the work, a 6.50 m long wall was found that could not connect with any wall, but was thought to be related to the entrance. The south-facing entrance of the building, that is, the city square, opens into a 3.50 m wide room covered with irregular paving stones.<sup>34</sup> It is thought that the section with a width of approximately 2.80 m and situated on the east of the entrance and the well may be the continuation of a road extending in a north-south direction. The room, whose entrance was found north of the well, and the other surrounding rooms belong to the house complex.<sup>35</sup> With this in mind, studies were terminated at the level of the 12th-13th century Islamic period, and the excavation of other trenches in the area continued.

The destruction of Harran Höyük and the fact that the trenches around the well have been filled with soil over the years make it hard to interpret this area as a saqiya complex. Nevertheless, the oval-shaped water well, the presence of a broad surrounding area on which the animals can go round, and the saqiya pots found inside indicate that a saqiya mechanism was installed on the well. However, the building components related to the saqiya architecture could not be fully revealed in the archaeological works conducted in the past. Apart from this well, the most attention-grabbing thing at Harran Höyük is the saqiya pots found in different and unique forms. Unlike the common pear-bodied and knob-base pots, these pots were manufactured with a conical-spherical body with double holes and an open base. The open base of the pots is designed to be tied slightly oblique to the saqiya by threading a rope or reeving a string through holes on the body and made to evacuate the trapped air when the pots are dipped into the water.<sup>36</sup> These pots, found in a room during the excavations in 1984, were independent of the water well and found together with other kitchen containers. This suggests that, although these were produced for a saqiya, they were later used for a different purpose. Some of the saqiya pots with a knob base or a body hole were also found in the places to the east of Harran Höyük and the Harran Grand Mosque (fig. 18). Therefore, it is understood that the pots were suitable for daily use and served many purposes other than saqiyas.

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<sup>32</sup> Lauffray 1991, 271.

<sup>33</sup> Ölçer 2020, 329.

<sup>34</sup> Yardımcı 1987, 289.

<sup>35</sup> Yardımcı 1987, 289.

<sup>36</sup> Ölçer 2020, 330.

During the restoration works in the Harran Grand Mosque in 2019, a water basin was found adjacent to the eastern wall of the mosque, and several saqiya pots were found *in situ* at the bottom of the basin (fig. 19). It is obvious that the pots found together with metal nails have a connection with the concrete pipe pieces and the water basin. In addition, saqiya pots were found *in situ* in a basin found in the Harran Castle Bath too. The presence of saqiya pots on both basins, but the absence of a saqiya well and structures related to saqiya architecture, suggests that the pots may have been brought here later for a different use. The pots here may have been used later by the students of Darul Qurra - the madrasa department that teaches the methods of reading the Qur'an - in the Grand Mosque or for cleaning in the Harran Castle Bath. However, there must be a saqiya structure that stores and distributes water very close to or above the Harran Castle Bath, as in the Harran Bazaar Bath. The water basin adjacent to the eastern wall of the Ulu Mosque is open to interpretation. Perhaps there was a small saqiya mechanism operated by people over the basin. This structure, which was also unearthed in the Harran Castle Bath, may also be a fountain whose basin panel was destroyed. In addition, there is a saqiya well in the northwest of the shadirvan in the courtyard of the Harran Grand Mosque. The structures here will be clarified in the studies to be carried out in coming years.<sup>37</sup>

## Discussion and Conclusion

In the Middle Ages, the water of moats not only was the most significant line of defense for cities and castles, but it also met the water needs of various structures such as the bath or kitchen located in the city center and the inner part of the castle. This water were brought from the rivers by means of water cabinets and distributed to various places with the help of saqiyas. Therefore, the water brought to the city by digging deep canals from the rivers was transferred to cisterns, wells and pools with water cabinets. The Cullab River runs approximately 100 m east of the eastern city wall of Harran, while the Deysan River flows 300 m west of its western city wall. As far as we can confirm from ancient sources, both the water for the moats surrounding Harran's city wall and the water for civic use were supplied from the Cullab River and distributed to maksems and wells in the city.

Two saqiya structures have been identified in Harran up until today. These structures, probably more in number within Harran and its surroundings, give an idea about the saqiya architecture with their current form. Similarities have been detected between Harran's saqiyas and the preserved or documented saqiya samples found especially in Jordan, Israel and Syria. For instance, the Roman-style bath in Quşayr 'Amra, which is dated to 705-711 AD, has a saqiya connected with its water tank.<sup>38</sup> This is 1.70 m above the ground and located approximately 6 m away from it. The Harran Bazaar Bath and saqiya structure no. 1 next to it is similar to this Roman-style bath and its saqiya, which has survived to this day in Quşayr 'Amra.

In addition, the saqiya structure unearthed with the square cradle-vaulted rooms in Kubbet el-Bir<sup>39</sup> and the vaulted room and the well-front room detected in saqiya structure no. 1 in

<sup>37</sup> We think that there are more than two saqiya mechanisms in Harran. Ibn Shaddad states that Harran was established between the Deysan and Cullab rivers and that the water brought from the Cullab river reached the workshops, the Grand Mosque, the fountains and even inside some houses in the city. In addition, it is explained that the water of the city's wells is salty, so these wells are filled with fresh water in January and remain unmixed with salty water for use by people in the summer; see Rice 1952, 37; Özfirat 2005, 87.

<sup>38</sup> Schiøler 1973, 92-95; 94, fig. 64; 95, fig. 65; Vibert-Guigue 2008, 149, fig. 64; 154, fig. 16 (right).

<sup>39</sup> Vibert-Guigue 2008, 161.



Harran are closely related. The Kubbet el-Bir saqiya structure compares with the Harran example in terms of its vaulted room being in the shape of an iwan, without any entrance, and with a pipeline on its walls. A question posed about this room in Kubbet el-Bir is whether it was converted from a Byzantine bath during the Umayyad period, especially with the addition of a saqiya.<sup>40</sup> For the Harran example, our examinations and resulting data indicate that a bath from the Byzantine period was modified during the Umayyad period and included in the saqiya area.

Moreover, the 3.10 x 1.60 m rectangular and platformed saqiya structure in Hallabiya-Zénobia is very similar to the 3.15 x 1.65 m rectangular platformed water structure found in saqiya structure no. 1 in Harran. In the Hallabiya-Zénobia sample, the water is initially transferred to a small drainage pool in the toilet, then to a large pool in the corridor, and finally to the bath's hot room with a canal going in another direction.<sup>41</sup> In the Harran sample, there are canals leading to the baths, toilets and shops.

Saqiya structure no. 2 of Qasr at-Tûba has common features with saqiya structure no. 2, unearthed in 2018 east of Harran Grand Mosque. The niches on the north and south walls of this saqiya are similar to those found on the east and west walls of saqiya no. 2 in Qasr at-Tûba.<sup>42</sup> As in the example of Harran, one of the niches is narrower than the other. In fact, the depths of the wells, the heights of the walls, and the dimensions of the arch spans are also quite similar. There are canals around the well that distribute the water in various directions.

Saqiya structure no. 2 in Harran is also similar to the four saqiyas detected in the Abu Mena sanctuary belonging to the Late Roman-Byzantine and Islamic cultures, located 75 km west of Alexandria.<sup>43</sup> The excavations made at Abu Mena have unearthed water wells with an average depth of 20 m. Also found are a circular walking platform designed for the beasts of burden, masonry structures suitable for supporting the wheel assembly, and vertical niches carved for the pots on the well walls. These were converted into water cabinets powered by humans after a while without removing the bucket chain that rotated on the pot-garland wheel. This transformation is based on the fact that half of the circular walking platform on which the animals rotated was destroyed, and that a ditch-shaped pit had been dug enough to set a treadwheel near the well top.<sup>44</sup> Saqiya structure no. 2 in Harran was also used by making various modifications over time without changing its function.

Harran saqiyas are very close to the Bazaar Bath. The same is true for the saqiyas in Quşayr 'Amra,<sup>45</sup> Ḥammām as-Sarāḥ<sup>46</sup> and Kubbet el-Bir.<sup>47</sup> The proximity of baths to the water well and the saqiyas may have arisen, of course, out of necessity. However, the use of saqiyas in connection with baths is a tradition dating from Roman times.<sup>48</sup>

According to a coin find, the Hallabiya-Zénobia saqiya sample can be dated back to the Eastern Roman period (sixth-seventh centuries AD). On the other hand, the saqiyas at Qasr

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<sup>40</sup> Vibert-Guigue 2008, 161-62.

<sup>41</sup> Lauffray 1991, 125.

<sup>42</sup> Vibert-Guigue 2008, 150.

<sup>43</sup> Schiøler 1973, 130, fig. 90; 132, fig. 93; Oleson 1984, 181-83.

<sup>44</sup> For more information see Schiøler 1973, 131-36.

<sup>45</sup> Creswell 1969, 391, fig. 450.

<sup>46</sup> Arce 2015.

<sup>47</sup> For Quşayr 'Amra, Ḥammām as-Sarāḥ and Kubbet el-Bir saqiya plans see Vibert-Guigue 2008, 156, fig. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Schiøler 1973, 96.

at-Tûba and Quşayr ‘Amra are dated back to Umayyad period (seventh-eighth centuries AD). It is possible to say that the saqiya unearthed in the Harran East Bazaar were built during the Eastern Roman period (fifth-sixth centuries AD) at the earliest and were used in the Umayyad-Abbasid period with the additions made. Carbon 14 analysis of a burnt piece of wood recovered from the well-front room in saqiya structure no. 1 in Harran indicates the seventh-eighth centuries AD, thus supporting this dating. Saqiya structure no. 2 in Harran was built during the Umayyad period, when the Bazaar Bath, courtyard with shadirvan, and the Harran Grand Mosque were also built and then used until the Ayyubid period.

The saqiya pots found collectively near the basin (fountain) in the Harran Grand Mosque sanctuary and the saqiya pots found in the hot room and basin of the Castle Bath must have remained under the Mongolian wreckage during the Ayyubid period. Even though no structures related to the saqiya well and its architecture have yet been found in the Harran Castle, we think that saqiya apparatuses are inside the castle walls or in some of the tower bastions, as in the Aleppo Castle<sup>49</sup> (AD 1200) and Joseph’s Well<sup>50</sup> in Cairo (AD 1176-1190). As a matter of fact, a water well detected in the middle of the southwestern bastion of the castle during 2021 supports this idea and sheds light on our research.

In conclusion, detecting the saqiyas in some of the Umayyad settlements in the Near East and unearthing these structures for the first time in Harran, one of these settlements, is a significant discovery. Various data obtained regarding the saqiyas in Harran help us answer questions about these interesting mechanisms and contribute to our knowledge about saqiya architecture. The Harran saqiyas reveal not only the Umayyad period but also the importance the city attributed to water distribution in the Middle Ages as well as the urbanization that developed with water. Although the Harran saqiyas, as well as similar examples unearthed before, present various architectural features, they also show that the cogged wheel system remained unchanged for centuries in their geographical area. The saqiyas in Harran were situated within a highly developed urban landscape, unlike the saqiyas that have only a bath nearby or are built alone in the desert. Buildings such as baths, mosques, bazaars and madrasahs were deliberately placed around the saqiyas, which were actively used with urbanization. Thus progress was made in the fields of sanitation, prayer places, shopping, education, culture and art. The artifacts found in the excavations going on for years and the advanced architecture unearthed impressively prove this progress in Harran. In this context, saqiyas enable the development of societies and the greening of their geography. They also contain tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and create new study areas that should be examined with their archaeological and sociological dimensions.

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<sup>49</sup> Schiøler 1973, 90-91.

<sup>50</sup> Creswell 1940, 5; Schiøler 1973, 91.

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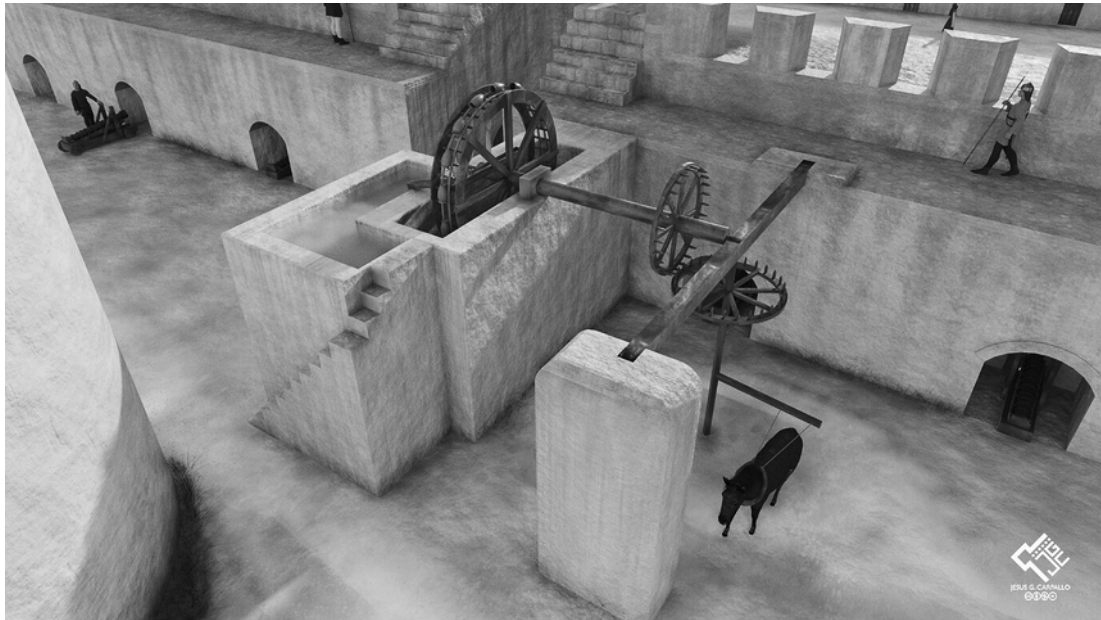


FIG. 1 Virtual reconstruction of the water wheel; Niebla Castle, Spain (<https://www.artstation.com/artwork/ykGWIR>) (Retrieved on 05.03.2023).



FIG. 2 Saqiyas nos. 1 and 2 in Harran East Bazaar.

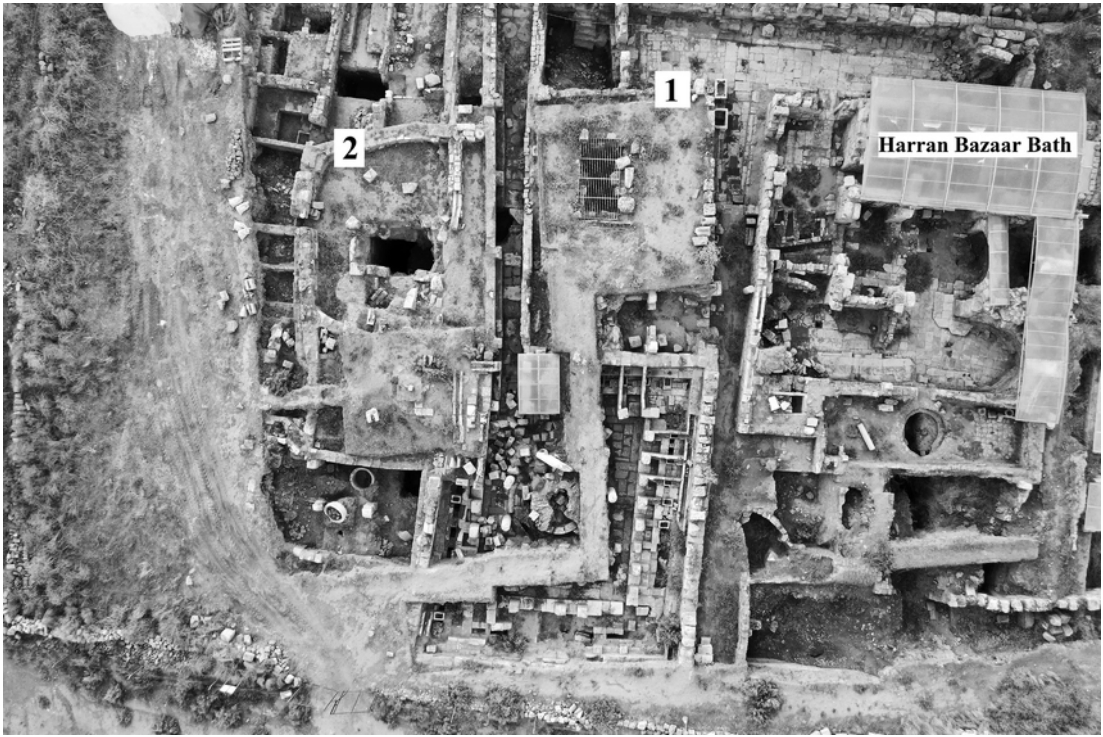
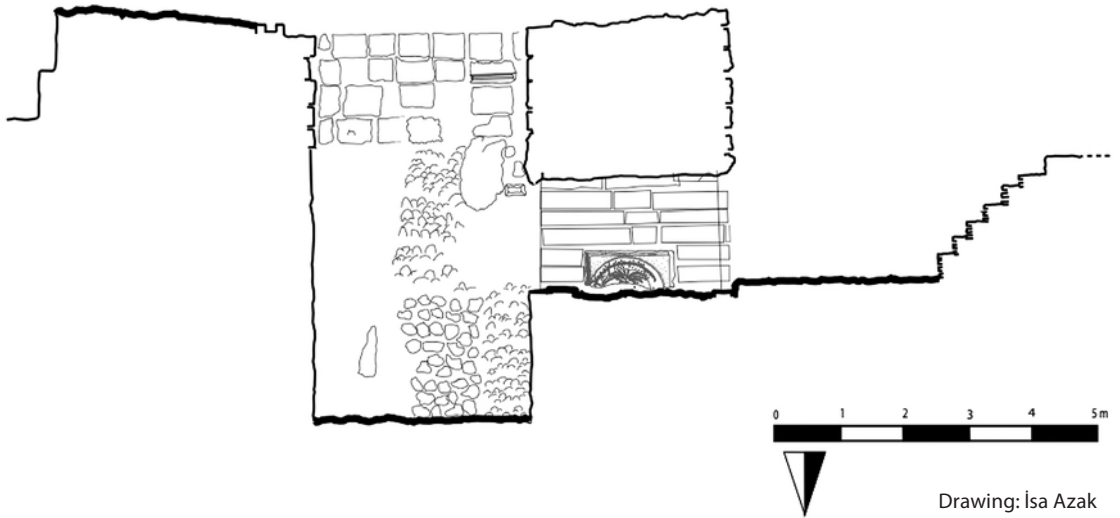


FIG. 3 Western view of the Harran Saqiya and the Bazaar Bath on their north, 2019.



Drawing: İsa Azak

FIG. 4 AA section of Saqiya structure no. 1.

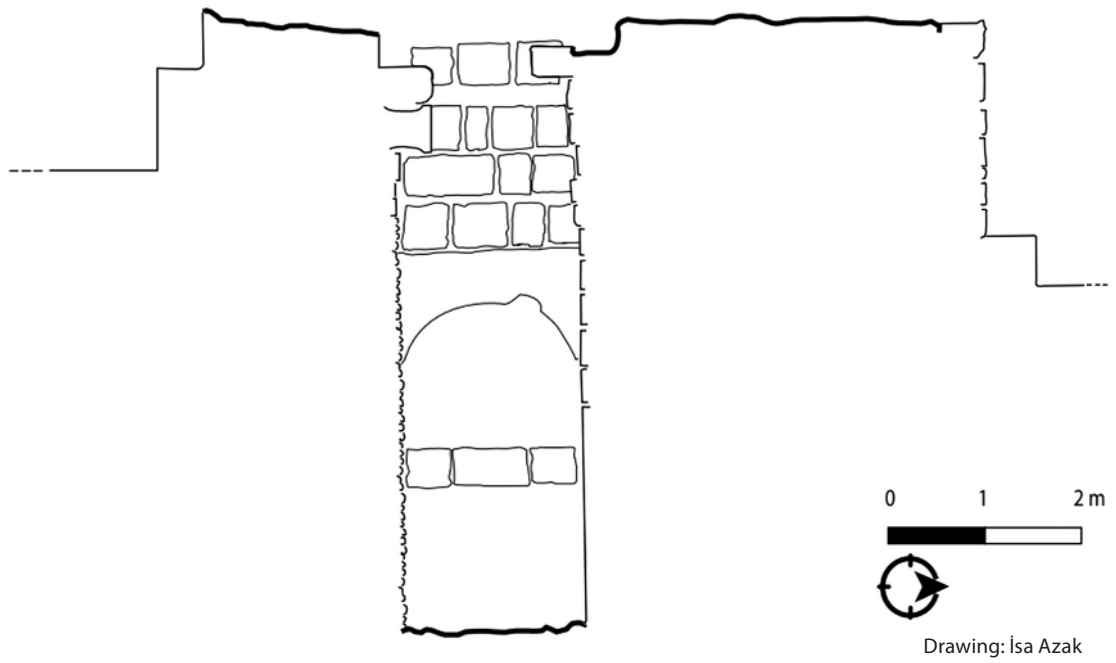


FIG. 5 BB section of Saqiya structure no. 1.



FIG. 6 Eastern view of the water well with podium in Saqiya structure no. 1, 2015.



FIG. 7  
View of the vaulted  
passage and well in  
Saqiya structure no. 1,  
2015.



FIG. 8a-b  
North and south  
decorated niches  
of the vaulted  
passage in Saqiya  
structure no. 1,  
2015.





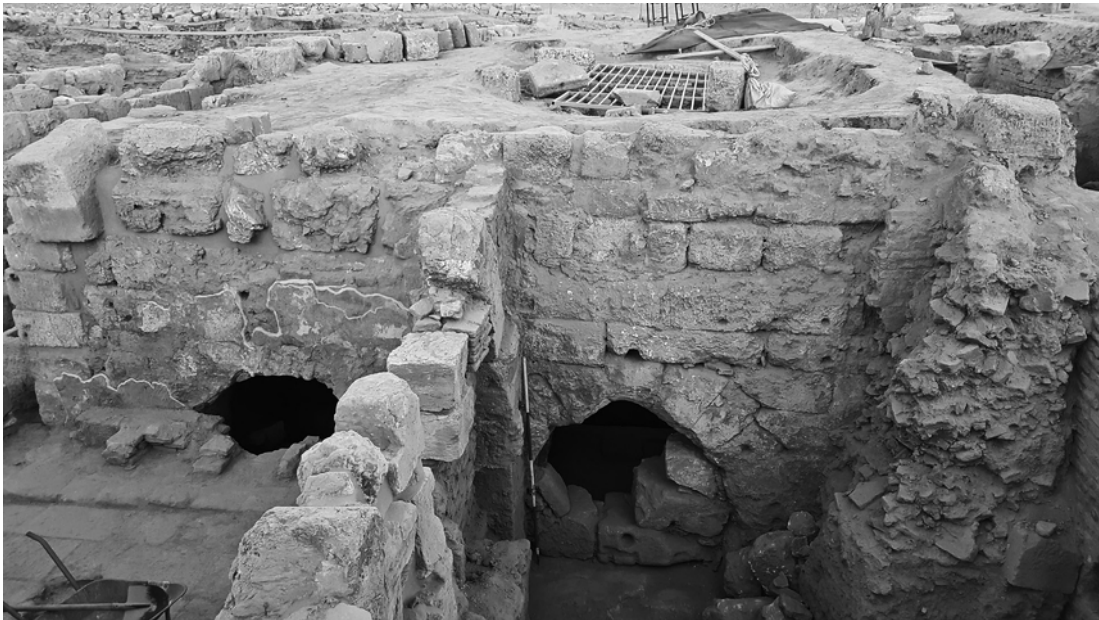


FIG. 9 Northern view of Saqiya structure no. 1, 2018.

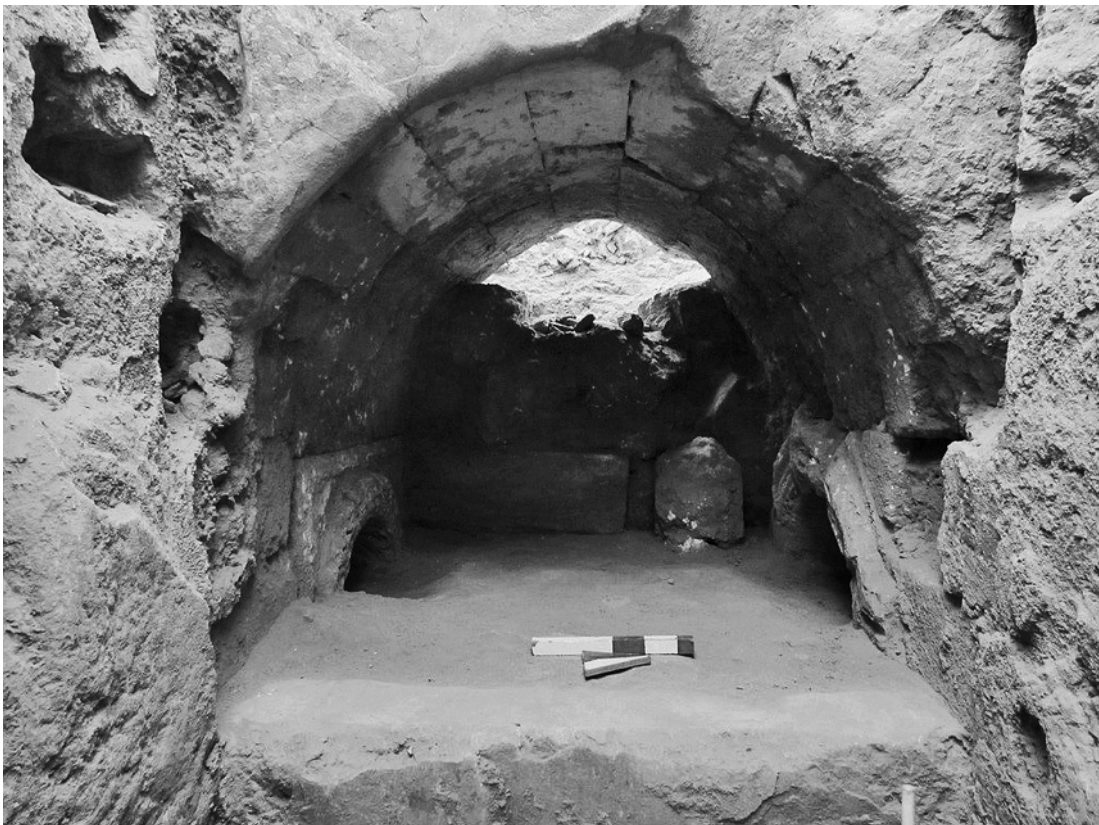


FIG. 10 Eastern view of the cradle-vaulted room in Saqiya structure no. 1, 2015.

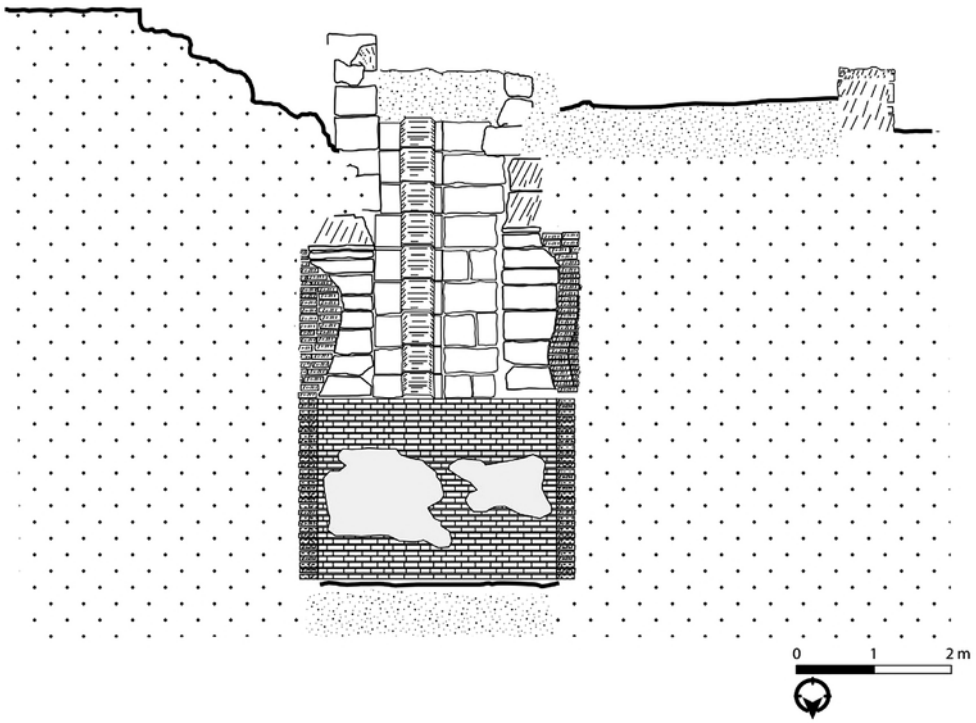


FIG. 11 AA section of Saqiya structure no. 2 and the maksem.

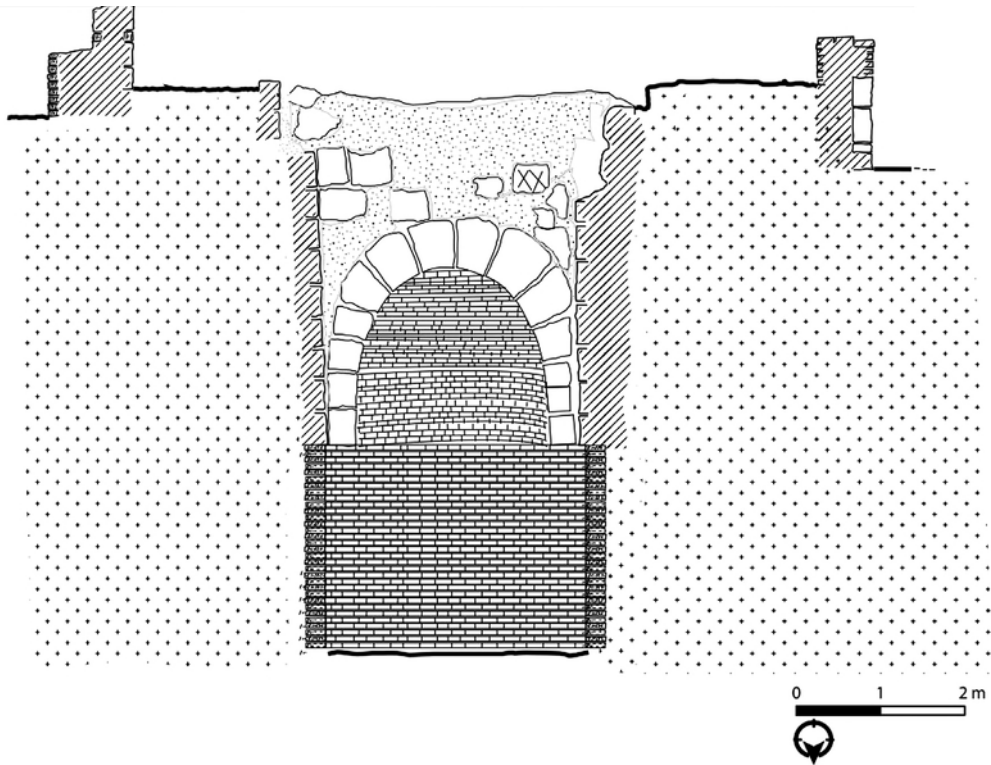


FIG. 12 BB section of Saqiya structure no. 2 and the maksem.



FIG. 13  
Well of Saqiya  
structure no. 2,  
2018.



FIG. 14  
Arches of Saqiya  
structure no. 2,  
2018.

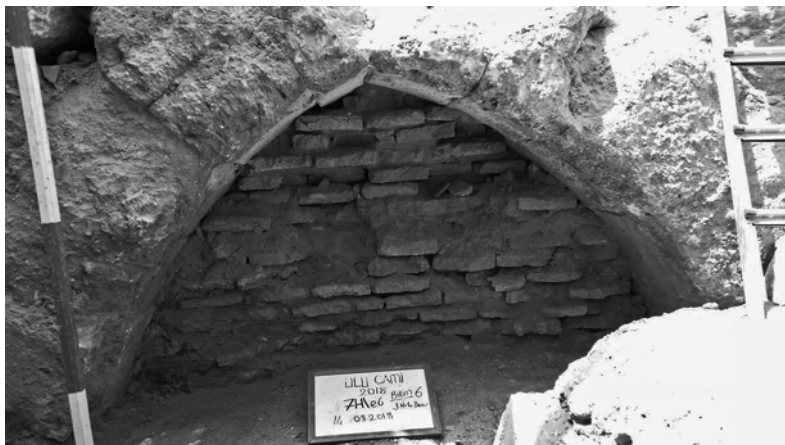


FIG. 15  
Arches covered  
with bricks in  
Saqiya structure  
no. 2, 2018.



FIG. 16 Canals extending to the west of Saqiya structure no. 2, 2020.

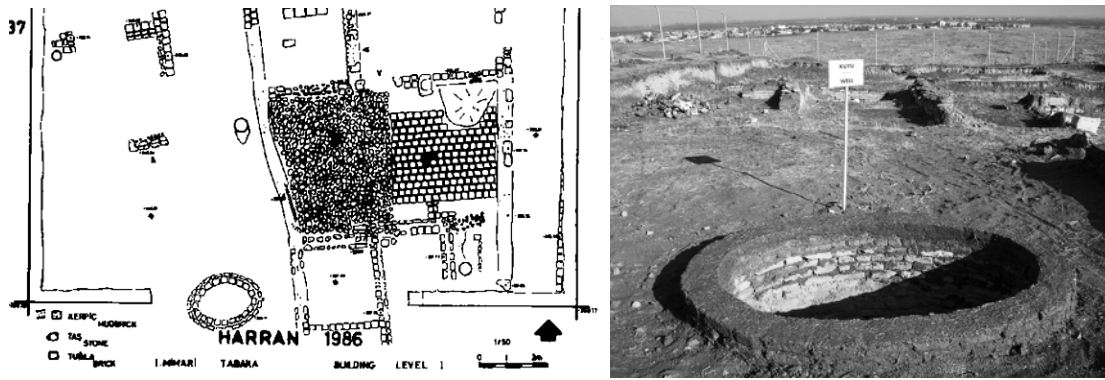


FIG. 17 Oval-shaped water well of the Harran Höyük (Yardımcı 1988, 150).



FIG. 18 Saqiya pots unearthed in the Harran Höyük and East Bazaar.



FIG. 19 Saqiya pots found at the bottom of the water basin adjacent to the east wall of the Harran Grand Mosque, 2019.

# The Discovery in Olympus (Lycia) of One of the Oldest Known Paintings of Christ Pantocrator with a Discussion of its Iconography

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## Abstract

The semicircular exedra in the north of Olympus's Church No. 3, with its cenotaphs and paintings, must have enabled the church to serve as a place of memorial for bishops. Some of the fresco fragments belong to a haloed figure in the lower part. It was understood from the fragmentary dipinto that this person was Aristocritus, the first bishop mentioned in church records two centuries after Hieromartyr Methodius of Olympus. But the main figure found here is Christ. It is thought that the depiction of Christ, which can be reassembled through the fallen pieces, was once located on the lunette of the niche. Christ is depicted in bust-length form with long hair and a beard, holding a Bible, and of the "Christ Pantocrator" type. This artwork, which we dated to the middle of the sixth century with the support of both its features and other finds, is one of the earliest examples of this type. It is therefore an extremely important piece for the history of Byzantine painting. In addition, it is the first Pantocrator example identified so far among the few surviving examples from the pre-Iconoclastic period in Asia Minor.

**Keywords:** Christ Pantocrator, Early Byzantine painting, bishop depictions, cenotaph, Lycia, Olympus

## Öz

Olympos 3 No'lu Kilise'nin kuzeyinde yer alan yarım daire planlı eksedra gerek içerisindeki kenotaph uygulamaları gerekse dekorasyonu ile kilisenin azizlerin ve piskoposların hatırasıyla hizmet eden bir ziyaretgah olmasını sağlamış olmalıdır. Kazılar sırasında bulunan duvar resmi kalıntıları içerisinde özellikle Niş 1'de bulunan duvar resmi parçaları önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Parçalardan bir kısmı alt bölümde bulunan haleli figüre ait olup yazıt parçalarından bu kişinin Olympos'un Methodius'un şehit edilmesinden 120 yıl sonra kayıtlarda ismi geçen ilk piskoposu olan Aristokritos olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Burada bulunan esas önemli figür ise İsa'dır; parçalanıp dökülmüş halde bulunan İsa tasvirinin nişin en üst kesiminde, kemerin altında yer aldığı düşünülmektedir. İsa, yarım daire bir çerçeve içerisinde büst formunda tasvir edilmiş olup uzun saçlı ve sakallı, bir elinde İncil tutar haliyle "Pantokrator İsa" tipindedir. Bu tasvir, duvar resminde bulunan Elçilerin İşleri'nden alıntılanmış yazıtla birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, yalnızca tipolojik olarak değil ikonografik olarak da Pantokrator olarak tanımlanmalıdır. Gerek tasvir özellikleri gerekse diğer buluntuların desteğiyle MS altıncı yüzyıl ortalarına tarihlendirdiğimiz bu tasvir, tipin erken örneklerinden birisidir ve bu sebepten Bizans resim sanatı için son derece önemlidir. Ayrıca, Olympos 3 No'lu Kilise eksedrasının figürlü duvar resimleri, Anadolu'da İkonoklast

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Dönem öncesine ait günümüze ulaşmış az sayıda örnek içerisinde Pantokrator İsa'nın bulunduğu şu ana kadar tespit edilmiş ilk eserdir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Pantokrator İsa, Erken Bizans resim sanatı, piskopos tasvirleri, kenotaph, Likya, Olympos

## Introduction

Among the studies of cities in Lycia, ancient Olympus stands at the forefront, especially in terms of showing the detectability of the sociocultural, economic, and political transformation in the Early Byzantine period through the course of its physical development as a coastal city. What makes this possible is the fact that the city has been abandoned since the early seventh century AD, as evidenced by the archaeological data. This has also enabled the city to reach the present day as it was in the Early Byzantine period. For scientific research this situation provides an abundance of data on early Christian religious architecture and decoration. In addition to the preservation of the main cult spaces, auxiliary chambers and architectural arrangements on liturgical practices, wall paintings with figures, mosaics, and architectural sculptures of the fifth and sixth centuries AD have survived the Iconoclastic period without being fully destroyed. Among the churches in Olympus, Church No. 3 takes the lead in this regard with its architectural-liturgical arrangement and wall paintings with figures.<sup>1</sup>

Church No. 3 dates to the first half of the sixth century and is one of the numerous early basilicas with its architectural features. However, its exedra to the north allows us to easily distinguish the church from similar ones. This site is part of a late antique complex that was already located here before the church, and the original function of the building has not yet been determined. The apsidal part (exedra) of the previous building was preserved and a basilica was constructed by adding new walls on the south and west sides. Therefore this space, which is larger than the apse of the church, was included in the church, decorated with paintings, and took on a new religious function.

In today's Anatolia, Christian wall paintings from the Early Byzantine period, in other words before Iconoclasm, are quite rare. For this reason, the remains of wall paintings found in the excavations of Church No. 3 in Olympus are worth examining and protecting. The semicircular chamber called an exedra, in which a significant part of the aforementioned wall paintings are located, appears both in structural and functional terms as a unique space in Early Byzantine church architecture. Christ Pantocrator, located in Niche 1 of the chamber, is the oldest known example in Anatolia so far, and together with the depiction of a saint and the inscription (*dipinto*) below, it provides important information for the development of Pantocrator iconography.

## Archaeological Context: Discovery of The Painting Fragments and Relative Dating

Church No. 3 is located northwest of sector S7/VI (fig. 1) in Olympus. It was built in the northern part of the Roman building area measuring 43.50 x 37.50 m. Large bossage cut stone blocks were used for the perimeter walls. Bridge Street, which cuts the city on a north-south

<sup>1</sup> The research on the wall paintings in the exedra of Olympus Church No. 3 has been supported by Koç University AKMED (Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations). Project No. KU AKMED 2019/P.1034.



axis, extends to the west of the building area. There are monumental tomb structures to the northwest and southeast, and a building thought to be a late antique bath is found in the east.

Olympus Church No. 3 is a three-aisled basilica with an atrium, large single apse, and auxiliary chambers (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> A semicircular exedra, 7.30 m in diameter, is in the northwest of the nave and opens to the north aisle (fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> The building material and technique of the exedra walls differ from other walls of the church. The northern part of the west wall, which connects to the exedra, is coherent with the exedra walls. The north aisle door in this section, which has a segmental arch built with bricks, is also different from the other arched entrances of the church. This section of the wall and exedra should be remnants of an earlier building upon which the church is built. On the other hand, probably between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century AD, these parts were repaired and integrated into the church during its construction.

In the 2017 excavation season, fragments of wall paintings were encountered when work started in Niche 1 of the exedra.<sup>4</sup> In the 2019 season cleaning and levelling work down to the layer where fragments were encountered was completed (fig. 4). An important find of this season was the portrait discovered behind the western buttress in the southern façade of Niche 5.<sup>5</sup> The furring on the surface was cleaned, and a portrait of a bearded man in a medallion (*imago clipeata*) framed by zigzag bands in yellow and green uncovered (fig. 5). There is no sign of his identity; however, it is thought that the garment around his neck may be a kind of *omophorion* and thus represents a bishop. Also, another wall painting was unearthed in Niche 5, but work continued in the 2020 season.<sup>6</sup> The remains of a painting probably showing a red and white curtain were seen first. Then the top layer with three figures was discovered. It turned out that the layer with the red and white curtain belongs to an earlier phase, with three figures painted on it later (fig. 6). The lower half of the figure on the left and only the feet of the figures in the middle and right have survived. The thin rope sandals on the feet of the middle figure are often seen in depictions of holy men from the early centuries of Christianity such as apostles, protomartyrs, etc.

In the 2020 excavation season, the floor of the chamber was completely unearthed, and the excavation work was completed.<sup>7</sup> Fallen and fractured wall painting fragments were collected from niches during the excavation work. Among these, fragments from Niche 1 especially belong to a significant composition. After cleaning and assembling work done in the laboratory of the excavation house, these fragments yielded two portraits that are the subjects of this paper: Jesus Christ and a saint (figs. 7 and 8). The painting in Niche 1 is partly protected on the wall like the one in Niche 5. There is a thick, light red bordure on the left side and a thin, dark red bordure on the right side that is still on the wall. Only the figure's lower half, below its knees, located between the bordures has survived (fig. 9). His left foot is completely decayed and only understandable thanks to the partly surviving colors. This lower part should belong to the depiction of the aforementioned saint. Another painted layer under the existing surface

<sup>2</sup> For more information about Olympus Church No. 3, see Evcim and Öztaşkın 2019, 136-38; see also Olcay Uçkan et al. 2022.

<sup>3</sup> For details of the excavation work carried out in the exedra, see Olcay Uçkan, et al. 2019, 623; see also Olcay Uçkan and Evcim 2021; Olcay Uçkan et al. 2022, 420-24.

<sup>4</sup> Olcay Uçkan et al. 2019, 623, fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Olcay Uçkan et al. 2022, 420, fig. 5a.

<sup>6</sup> Olcay Uçkan et al. 2022, 421, fig. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For the first report with preliminary results, see Olcay Uçkan and Evcim 2021.

was detected, but it could not be understood whether that layer has figures/motifs or not. That layer is also visible in collected fragments belonging to the upper part of the wall painting.

There are interesting arrangements in Niches 1, 3 and 5. The lower part of the niches was closed with rubble in front, and the inside of the resulting rectangular spaces were filled with rubble stones, chip stones, and pottery sherds. The remaining traces suggest that the covering of these arrangements in Niches 3 and 5 were shaped like sarcophagus lids. Niche 3 is filled with chip stones, whereas Niche 5 is filled with rubblestones (fig. 10). There is no trace of the upper side of the arrangement in Niche 1, and the space between the single-row rubblestone wall built in front of the niche is filled with pottery sherds. Almost all belong to daily use pottery.

Whereas it is not certain when the exedra and its niches were converted, pottery sherds provide important hints, especially those found in Niche 1 (fig. 11). The sherds are mostly thick pieces such as bottoms and handles of coarse wares such as amphora, basin and mortarium (fig. 12). This repertoire of recovered pottery with sixth century AD amphora fragments together with vessels belonging to the end of the fifth century AD, such as basins and table wares with a long term usage, suggest that the sherds were used in Niche 1 in the first half of the sixth century AD<sup>8</sup> That both the architectural sculpture pieces found during the work and the wall paintings mentioned above belong to the first half and middle of the sixth century suggests that the arrangement of the exedra as a part of the church took place at the end of the fifth century AD at the earliest and in the middle of the sixth century AD at the latest.

Unfortunately, not many coins to support these dating suggestions were found. Two of three coins are undefinable. The only identifiable coin is a bronze *minimus* dated to the reign of Justinian I (552-565).

Another group of finds found in the debris layer are moulding and revetment pieces. The mouldings are mostly of the ovolo-type binding mouldings and their material is marble. The revetment pieces include limestone, slate stones, and different types of marble. The most interesting elements of wall revetment are plaster capitals and bases (fig. 13). While the Corinthian-type plaster capitals are limestone, the Attic type B plaster bases are made of marble. Anatolian examples of plaster capitals with helix arrangement on single row acanthus are dated to the third and fourth centuries AD.<sup>9</sup> However, in terms of the details of the leaf shapes, the closest parallel to the plaster capital is in the Konya Archaeology Museum. This capital was produced in the Docimium workshop and dated to the fourth century AD.<sup>10</sup> But in this example, each lobe of the leaf has four ends. Acanthus specimens with different lobes with three and four ends are encountered until the sixth century when Corinthian capitals become differentiated by acanthus leaf shapes.<sup>11</sup>

The exedra appears to have been built in the fourth century AD based on the fact that it belongs to a building before the construction of the church. This also accords with the dating of the pottery sherds used in the walls of this building and the similarity of the masonry technique to third and fourth century AD buildings of Olympus. Architectural sculpture fragments,

<sup>8</sup> For analogues of the basin, see Reynolds 2011, 208-13, figs. 3, 5. For the dating of the amphora form, see Sazanov 1999, 266-67, figs. 3, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Kramer 1994, 90-92.

<sup>10</sup> Mert and Niewöhner 2010, 403, cat. no. 17, fig. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Niewöhner 2021, 26.

opus sectile and opus tessellatum pavements, fresco fragments, small finds and numismatic data found both in the nave and in the exedra suggest that the arrangement of the exedra as a church space took place at the end of the fifth century AD earliest and the middle of the sixth century AD at the latest.

### Architectural Context: Arrangement and Function of the Exedra of Church No. 3

As explained in the previous section, the exedra clearly belongs to an earlier building phase and was connected to the church's northern aisle during its construction with three arches carried by two columns. Remaining traces show that a metal sliding railing was placed in the center opening while the side openings had stone slabs. While there is no conclusive evidence regarding the function of this pre-church structure, its location in the East Necropolis and its confinement within extensive perimeter walls suggests that it may have been a monumental tomb chamber or heroon, among the other monumental tombs of Olympus.<sup>12</sup>

Monumental Roman tombs of the exedra type are found in Lycia, but they consist of sarcophagi on U-shaped platforms. They should not be confused with the term exedra as used in this article.<sup>13</sup> The exedra of Church No. 3, if it were a monumental tomb in the first phase, could have been a semicircular version of the exedra-type Harbor Street Heroon in Cnidus.<sup>14</sup> The façade of this type is either a colonnaded façade or a wide arch, like the tomb (cenotaph?) on the east side of Pompeii's Herculaneum Gate.<sup>15</sup>

It is well known that pagan necropolises were Christianized over time and that some of the mausoleums in these areas were transformed into Christian tombs and martyrions. The Mausoleum of Empress Helena and the adjacent basilica in Rome is one of the oldest of the funerary basilicas and built on the site of an existing necropolis. Excavations revealed that the complex was surrounded by mausoleums with an apsidal ends.<sup>16</sup> In Basilica Nova of Cimitile / Nola, the tomb of St. Felix and other burial chambers were also surrounded by churches from the fourth century onwards as a major pilgrimage center under the impact of the martyr cult.<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly the most well-known examples of the construction of churches with martyrion and/or memorial chapels in old necropolises are to be found around Salona.<sup>18</sup> In particular, the side-by-side apsidal burial chambers of Manastirine raise questions as to whether the exedra of Olympus Church No. 3, which is in a Roman necropolis, could have been a tomb of that type before the church.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the exedra, or the apse of the previous building, was converted in the early sixth century, whether or not it was a former funerary chamber. As mentioned before, three of its five niches (1, 3, and 5) were filled with various materials

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<sup>12</sup> Öncü 2021, 313, fig. 5 (labelled "Building B" on the plan).

<sup>13</sup> For exedra type tombs of Lycia and western Anatolia, see Aktaş 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Doksanaltı and Gider Büyükozer 2019, 113, fig. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Campbell 2015, 189-90.

<sup>16</sup> Guyon 1987, 272-315.

<sup>17</sup> Lehmann 2004, 31-51.

<sup>18</sup> Duval and Marin 2000, 619-64. Ann Marie Yasin pointed out that this may not always be the case and that there may be different reasons and diverse phases through the martyrion churches of Salona against the generalization of the development of the martyr cult on ancient necropolises based on some pioneering examples in Rome. It is particularly noteworthy that she points to the tomb arrangement at Manastirine. This may indicate the importance of the lineage of local clergy and the popularity of burial near preexisting graves, rather than the eschatological influence of the saint's burial; see Yasin 2012a, 110-11.

(figs. 10-11). Niches 3 and 5 had coverings in the shape of sarcophagus lids on top of the fill. Limestone slab fragments with relief crosses in the center found scattered across the exedra were undoubtedly used to cover the front of arrangements encountered in Niches 1, 3, and 5. Especially mortar residue on the front face of Niche 3 shows that a big slab had been placed there. With this slab installation (in addition to making the upper part in the form of a saddle lid), the niches were arranged in a way that imitates *arcosolium* tombs with sarcophagi (fig. 14 and e-section of fig. 15).<sup>19</sup>

Although uncommon, monumental tombs with no burials are known to have been built from the Hellenistic era onwards. This type of tomb is called a cenotaph (*κενοτάφιο*), and the tomb building is called a cenotaphion (*κενοτάφιον*).<sup>20</sup> This custom has continued in Christianity, where it is associated with the worship of martyrs and/or saints. At first, the idea of a cenotaph potentially exists in the tomb of Christ in the Christian world. However, the first monument that comes to mind when talking about the cenotaph in Byzantine architecture is the Church of the Holy Apostles. According to Eusebius, there were representative tombs (*θήκαι*) erected in honor and memory of the apostles around the tomb of the emperor in the building, which was originally Constantine's mausoleum.<sup>21</sup> Although not referred to as cenotaphs, many martyrions or mausoleums built from the Early Christian period onwards are actually this type of tombs built in the place where the person whose name they bear is thought to have lived or died. One important example is the shrine of St. Demetrios in Hagios Demetrios Church in Thessaloniki, which contains neither the mortal remains of the saint nor his relics.<sup>22</sup> In the case of Olympus Church No. 3, the prohibition of *intra muros* and the fact that a church is not allowed to be consecrated with inhumations inside (mentioned in ecclesiastical texts) may also have been factors.<sup>23</sup> The actual burials of the bishops may be around the church, but excavations are continuing inside the church at this time.

There are more examples of Christian cenotaphs, but the comprehensive assessment of the exedra of Church No. 3 is the subject for a different study. While its frescoes, which will be introduced in detail later, have depictions of bishops/saints, it is not certain yet if Olympus Church No. 3 was dedicated to a martyr saint. However, it is clearly understood from the wall paintings and cenotaphs that the exedra of the church was arranged as a memorial. These cenotaphs are the best physical evidence of the memorial chapel function of the exedra.

In the early Byzantine period, the tomb of a saint or a place containing the relics of a saint could be under a church or/and placed by an altar.<sup>24</sup> Yet there is a separate structure related to the main church in major pilgrimage centers.<sup>25</sup> The form of these structures always emphasizes the center of the building. Many examples seen in Lycia have a triconch plan type.<sup>26</sup> However, apsidal memorials such as the exedra of Church No. 3 have rarely survived. But a kind of

<sup>19</sup> Olcay Uçkan and Evcim 2021, 21.

<sup>20</sup> *Κενοτάφιο* in Greek: *κενός* = empty and *τάφος* = tomb. For basic information about cenotaphs, see RE 11.1 s.v. "Κενοτάφιον"; see also Lekatsas 2000, 379-82. For a comprehensive study about cenotaphs, see Ricci 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Cameron and Hall 1999, 176-77; Johnson 2020, 90-93.

<sup>22</sup> For the shrine of St. Demetrios, see Bogdanović 2011. The author's comments that the shrine of Demetrios "localized divine actions on earth" and "acted as a container of sacredness" are notable for the function of the cenotaphs; see Bogdanović 2011, 289.

<sup>23</sup> Violante 1982, 989, 993-94; see also Cantino Wataghin 1999, 157.

<sup>24</sup> Dyggve 1952, 150-52.

<sup>25</sup> Yasin 2009, 159-63; 2012b, 249-50.

<sup>26</sup> Niewöhner 2006, 78, 89-100, figs. 14-23.

mausoleum that consisted of an apse alone was known in the Christian architecture of antiquity and the Early Medieval period. Medieval texts mention these sepulchral apses that were then built inside churches or attached to their exterior walls.<sup>27</sup> However, such spaces were not always built together with the church or later; the opposite is the case in Olympus Church No. 3.

While the exedra of Church No. 3 gives the building a unique appearance, it is not the only example of integrating a previous building with a church built later. In such examples, an existing tomb structure was turned into a side chamber (martyrion, relic chapel or memorial tomb) connected to the church with the construction of a church building adjacent to it.<sup>28</sup> As explained before, the exedra predates Church No. 3. Even though it is placed among the most important Roman tombs of the city,<sup>29</sup> it is not certain if it originally belonged to a burial structure or not. However, considering other known examples, it is possible to say that a similar situation applies to the exedra of Church No. 3. As we will explain in the next section, considering the meaning of the paintings, the exedra may have served as a memorial chapel for the holy persons to mediate the invocations of the worshippers.

### Iconographic Context: The Mural of Christ Pantocrator and Bishop Aristocritus

The painting fragments in Niche 1 belong to the figures and inscriptions around them. The puzzle created by these pieces belonging to the same composition can be solved depending on the legibility of the inscriptions and the defining features of the figures (fig. 15). One depiction is of Christ Pantocrator used on the lunette (tympandum) of the niche.

The other depiction is of an elderly man with a halo (figs. 7, 15-a). This is at a lower level and depicted to the right of Christ (left in view) in full size, but on a smaller scale compared to Christ. The lower part of this figure was found in situ on the wall of the niche. The figure can be identified as a bishop based on his liturgical garment – a white omophorion with cross motifs. Combining some of the fragments of this bishop from this niche, the following inscription was obtained: “...*TOKP(I)TOC EIIIICKOII...*” (...tokritos Episcop...) (fig. 7, next to the bishop). This inscription indicates that he is most probably Bishop Aristocritus, whose name was associated for the first time with Olympus in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*. He attended the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Calchedon (451) as the bishop of Olympus according to council records.<sup>30</sup>

Bishop Aristocritus is looking at the viewer and has greyish hair and a beard. His hair is short, and his long beard has two curls at its end. He has auburn, brown eyes and slightly tanned white skin. Many saints in Byzantine painting have distinctive facial features, especially after the Iconoclastic period. However, in Late Antiquity, when portraits of saints were under

<sup>27</sup> For the apsidal martyrions and memorials, see Grabar, 1972a, 98-102.

<sup>28</sup> For example, St. Luke's Tomb in Ephesus, see Pülz 2010; for the Tomb of Apostle Philip, see D'Andria 2017, 9-12; for Amathonte Saint-Tychon Church, see Procopiou and Xydias 2013, 257-59; for Basilica Nova in Cimitile / Nola, see Lehmann 2004.

<sup>29</sup> With the cult of martyrs, which spread rapidly after the late fourth century, splendid churches began to be built in necropolises; see Dyggve 1952, 151; also Brown 1982, 7-8 and Deichmann 1983, 60; The only reason for this may not be the tomb of a martyr in the old necropolis. Old laws prohibiting *intra-urbem* burial must also have required the Christianization of old necropolises with church buildings. Dyggve's studies were pioneering regarding restrictions on *intra-urbem* burials and its effects on cemetery and town churches, see Dyggve 1952; Dyggve 1953. After Dyggve, Cantino Wataghin has dealt more extensively with the topic. For a comprehensive and instructive study of the phenomenon of urban burials and urban funerary churches in the early Christian period, see Cantino Wataghin 1999. For some implications and effects of burial laws, see also Dagron 1977, 11-19; Achim 2015, 288; Wenn et al. 2017, 205-6.

<sup>30</sup> Darrouzés 1981, 209, 223, 237, 256; see also Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 2:758.

development, there were more standard types of portraits. Some variations were created by the color and style of hair and beard.<sup>31</sup> Elderly bishops are often depicted as the standard type with short grey hair, a prominent hairline, and a long grey beard. Aristocritus is most likely depicted in this stereotypical way.<sup>32</sup> Mosaics of St. Ursus and St. Severus in Sant'Apollinare in Classe, an early Coptic icon of Apa Abraham in Berlin, and the Christ and St. Menas icon in the Louvre are well-known examples.<sup>33</sup> This type depicts the educated or spiritual man, from the wise men of antiquity, especially philosophers, to Christian saints – and even Christ.<sup>34</sup> As mentioned above, it should not be forgotten that individuality is created through differences in the shape of hair and beard. The two curls at the ends of the beard of Aristocritus can be regarded as an example of this. As for his dress, although details are lacking, it is clear that it reflects Early Byzantine episcopal vestments.<sup>35</sup>

The inscription, which we think was on the bishop's left and above his shoulder due to the color of the background, is written with a thick brush in white uncial letters on a light green background (figs. 15b, 16-17). Ten lines can be seen according to our reconstruction from the fragments of the words in the matched parts, although they are largely incomplete. The text is a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles chapter 7:55-56 in the New Testament. It is unclear whether the verses were quoted whole or in part. The relevant section of Acts concerns the martyrdom of St. Stephen:

(7:55) ὙΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΝ̄C ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΤ  
 ΕΝΙCΑC ΕΙC ΤΟ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΕΙΔΕΝ ΔΟΣΑΝ Θ̄Υ ΚΑΙ ῙΝ̄ ΕCΤΩΤΑ ΕΚ  
 ΔΕΞΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ Θ̄Υ (7:56) ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ ἸΔΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΩ ΤΟΥC ΟΥΡΑ  
 ΝΟΥC ΔΙΗΝΟΙΓΜΕΝΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ῩΝ̄ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΕCΤΩ  
 ΤΑ ΕΚ ΔΕΞΙΩ ΤΟΥ Θ̄Υ

Ἐπάρχων δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶδεν δόξαν θεοῦ, καὶ Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν, Ἴδού, θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεωγμένους, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>36</sup> (Byzantine text form)

(Acts, 7:55) *But he, being full of the Holy Spirit, looked intently into heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God; (7:56) and he said, "Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God."*

<sup>31</sup> Maguire 1996, 16-17; see also Kiilerich 2007, 328.

<sup>32</sup> Belting's comments on the early development of portraits of saints are noteworthy and well suited to explain the common type we see in Aristocritus' portrait; see Belting 1994, 80-98.

<sup>33</sup> Belting 1994, 93-97, figs. 43-45, 48; see also Marsengill 2013, 117-18, figs. 26-27. For more examples and detailed information on portraits of bishops in Byzantine painting, see Marsengill 2013, 112-37. The relevant section of Marsengill's book is very useful not only for portrait features and analogy, but also for the iconography of bishop depictions.

<sup>34</sup> Smith 1990; see also Zanker 1995, 307-19; Mathews 1999, 28-45; Marsengill 2020a, 131. One of the most recent studies on this subject deals with the matter in detail; see Jensen 2020.

<sup>35</sup> The bishop wears an *omophorion*, white *pallium* with a red stripe on a brown tunic, and black closed-toe sandals over white stockings. For some examples of the early period, see Miller 2014, 15-24, figs. 2-12; see also Pertegato 2019, chapter 5.7, fig. 5.27-29.

<sup>36</sup> Robinson and Pierpont 2005, 266.

In addition to the style of the figures of the painting, the form of letters on which the inscription is written provides an important piece of evidence for their pre-Iconoclastic origins. The Greek majuscule (or uncial) used in the inscription is mostly of the script type found in manuscripts from the Late Roman to Early Byzantine periods. The rounded letter shapes and the assignment of a broken horizontal stroke to the alpha, as well as the curving to the left of the lower ends of the vertical lines of the letters in Niche 1, are like examples from the fifth and sixth centuries AD.<sup>37</sup>

The inscription on the wall painting in the Tomb of Luke at Ephesus offers a clear analogy.<sup>38</sup> Another similar example for the inscription is found in Church II on Gemiler Ada (Island) in Lycia, which dates to the sixth century.<sup>39</sup> The wall painting in Gemiler Ada Church II is also very important in terms of stylistic and iconographic analogy and is discussed again below. The sixth-century level B (or phase 1) murals in the Holy Apostles Church on the islet of Küçük Tavşan (Saint Apostles Island in Caria) also support our dating based on archaeological stratigraphy, both in terms of typeface and figurative painting stylistic likeness.<sup>40</sup> Another important analogy is the style of the sixth and seventh century paintings of Santa Maria Antiqua and their inscriptions.<sup>41</sup>

Besides dating, this inscription, which is a direct quote from the New Testament, plays a key role in iconographic analysis. It is important to describe the prominent figure of the composition before explaining the contribution of the verses to the iconography. Although 35% - 40% of the fragments of his head and half of the Bible he holds were found during the excavation in Niche 1, the figure's identity, clarified thanks to his cruciform halo, is Jesus Christ (figs. 8, 15-c). From the curved red sections above the halo, it was located on the lunette of the niche, just below the niche's arch. Twice as large as Bishop Aristocritus in the lower section, Christ looks straight ahead with his large brown eyes.<sup>42</sup> His long hair is parted in the middle, partially covering his ears, and lying frizzily over his shoulders. He probably had a sparse beard on the cheeks, bushy under the chin, and not very long.<sup>43</sup> It is noteworthy that under the beard, the neck part is shaded darker, and the perspective between the face and neck is achieved.

It should be noted that the style of Christ' hair contributes to our proposed dating. We do not have many details about the portrait, but it is understood that his hair is symmetrical and lies quite flamboyantly over his shoulders. After Iconoclasm, the hair of Christ was favored in the style seen on the Sinai icon of the sixth century. This may have be related to the fact that

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<sup>37</sup> Cavallo and Maehler 1987, 36 (14b), 46 (19b), 50 (21a); see also Vinogradov 2015, 65, fig. 7.

<sup>38</sup> This is perhaps the earliest (late fifth-early sixth century) wall painting of Christ found in Anatolia; see Zimmermann 2011, 138, fig. 21.

<sup>39</sup> Tsuji 1995, 114-15, figs. 40-41; see also Ruggieri and Zäh 2016, 134, fig. 24.

<sup>40</sup> Ruggieri 1990, 396-402; see also Özyurt Özcan 2016, 318-19; Ruggieri and Zäh 2016, 49-45, figs. 116-20, 126-33. For Ruggieri's analysis of the script and placing it to the mid to late sixth century, see Ruggieri 2005, 172-75. For a more comprehensive study of the painted majuscule samples from Caria, see Ruggieri, 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Nordhagen 1962, 1978, 1982, 2017; Rubery et al. 2021. In these examples from Caria and Rome, the walls are palimpsests. A layer or layers belonging to the Iconoclastic period or later has not yet been identified on the figural wall paintings of the Early Byzantine period at Olympus. The results and finds from the excavations at Olympus indicate that the city was abandoned by the seventh century.

<sup>42</sup> His under-eye is highlighted with shading, and the shadow of the straight-lined eyebrow with a slight curve drops on the eyelid. In this way, the gaze of Christ masterfully acquired impressive depth.

<sup>43</sup> Small fragments that may have belonged to his beard were also found, but only three pieces could be combined.

the style of the work in question resembles Zeus or some other pagan figure.<sup>44</sup> To get away from such a Zeus impression, instead of a wavy and fluffy style spilling over the shoulders, a wider wavy style with long hair gathered to one side at the back is often preferred.<sup>45</sup> Of course, we do not claim that the hairstyle provides certainty in dating, but hairstyles similar to our Christ are more commonly found in pre-Iconoclastic examples. One of the earliest portraits of Christ (fourth century), found in the Leonis Cubiculum in the cemetery of Commodilla, is of this type. Christ in the apse of the Basilica Santa Pudenziana (c. 400) is the most splendid example of the type.<sup>46</sup> Some other examples of depictions of Christ with long hair parted in the center and flamboyantly lying over his shoulders are the following: strigillated sarcophagus from Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura (fourth century), apse mosaic of Santi Cosma e Damiano (526-530), Christ on the cross of Justin II (565-578), transfiguration scene on the apse mosaic of St. Catherine's Monastery (sixth century), and apse mosaic of San Venanzio Chapel (seventh century).<sup>47</sup> A sculptural example is the relief icon of Christ from St. Polyeuktos (sixth century).<sup>48</sup> The mosaics from Ravenna should also be mentioned: Christ enthroned on the southern clerestory wall of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (sixth century), an *imago clipeata* of Christ on the middle of the presbytery arch of San Vitale (sixth century), an *imago clipeata* of Christ on triumphal arch of the Sant'Apollinare in Classe (sixth or seventh century), and the last one, another *imago clipeata* in the center of the cross on the apse dome of Classe (sixth century), are examples that show great similarity.<sup>49</sup>

There are also examples in neighboring regions. One is the bust of Christ in *clipeus* (sixth century) in the Hagiasma of Nicodemus at Salamis-Constantia, Cyprus.<sup>50</sup> Another is the bust of Christ (sixth century) in a *clipeus* again, from Bawit, now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo.<sup>51</sup> Their large number among similar examples requires a brief explanation. From the fourth century onwards, *imago clipeata* portraits began to be used to glorify both Christ and other holy persons (apostles, prophets, saints, martyrs, church fathers, bishops).<sup>52</sup> There are many portraits in the *imago clipeata* style from the fifth and sixth centuries, so this type was common at the time. The origins of the *imago clipeata* lies in the Roman iconography of *apotheosis*, a theme often encountered in a funerary context in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>53</sup> The portrait in Niche 5 (fig. 5, see first section) must be related to the funerary context of the *imago clipeata* concept. On the other hand, the bust of Christ, which is our main subject, can be associated with

<sup>44</sup> From the fourth century onwards, the long-haired and bearded type of Christ began to be seen in apses. In this type, Christ sometimes appears as a philosopher-teacher, sometimes as a legislator, sometimes as a God. For detailed information on this subject, see Spieser 2015, 426-37. Long and lush hair has been a symbol of power and might since ancient times; see L'Orange 1982, 30-33, 50. From the fifth century onwards, busts with long hair parted in the center and a transcendental gaze in expression became popular; see L'Orange 1982, 95-102, figs. 69-72.

<sup>45</sup> The story of a painter whose hand was healed by Gennadius, archbishop of Constantinople, is interesting. After painting a portrait of the Savior as pagans depicted Zeus, with his hair divided on his forehead so that his face was not covered, the painter's hand had become shriveled; see Louth 2003, 153 and also Spieser 2015, 421-22; The ligature IC XC became essential after Iconoclasm to avoid any confusion; see Matthews 1976, 50-51. Nevertheless, there is no trace of this abbreviation in the painting on the exedra of Church No. 3.

<sup>46</sup> For both of them, see Paterson 2022, 88-90, figs. 2.17 and 2.19.

<sup>47</sup> Büchsel 2007, 17-18, 46-48 fig. 2.30-32, tables 5b and 6.

<sup>48</sup> Harrison 1989, 109-10, fig. 136.

<sup>49</sup> Dresken-Weiland 2017, 181, 192, 271, 220-21, 262, 264, 266.

<sup>50</sup> Sacopoulo 1962, 76, figs. 13-14.

<sup>51</sup> Innemée 2015, 245-46, fig. 22.3.

<sup>52</sup> Sotira 2013, 55-131.

<sup>53</sup> Innemée 2015, 246.



*apotheosis* as a bust of Christ in a semicircular frame in the lunette, although it is not in a circle. In other words, the deification of Christ is also emphasized by such a framework.

In the introduction, we mentioned the scarcity of Christian paintings surviving from the Early Byzantine period in Anatolia. These have mostly been identified by researchers during surveys and excavations.<sup>54</sup> Along with the Olympus example, a few depict Christ. Among these, the Christ in a lunette in a vaulted tomb at Karacaören (sixth to early seventh century) and the Christ (sixth century) above the door in Gemiler Ada Church II, also in a frame (as a pseudo-tympanum) in the form of a lunette, are similarly bust-length depictions.<sup>55</sup> Next to the Christ of the Gemiler Ada are the letters epsilon (E) and mu (M), written with an abbreviated stroke which means *Emmanuel*.<sup>56</sup> As mentioned above, the inscriptions of the example in Gemiler Ada Church II are also very similar to our example. In addition, the presence of saint/religious figures on both sides of the door with Christ on the lintel increases the similarity.

The creation of these program types stemmed from the increasing veneration of martyrs and saints from the late fourth century onwards. Often, this led to the removal of revered bones from their original burial sites, and their distribution and reburial beneath the altars of memorial churches in local parishes. These churches were typically named after the saint and expressed this practice through their apse decorations, which depicted the saint(s) in communion with Christ, often as an inductee.<sup>57</sup> The western churches, especially in Rome, preferred the space just below the main altar for the relics, but the eastern churches usually used a separate chapel outside the sanctuary. This explains why we do not see the relationship between the saint and Christ - for example, in the apse mosaic of Sant'Apollinare in Classe - in the apses of eastern churches. However, in the case of Olympus, we see that similar ideas could be adapted to whatever space represented the tomb of the saint.

The depictions of Christ in the Karacaören tomb and Church II are related to the dual nature of Christ and are interpreted as representing the divine side of Christ, while the saints around them mediate prayers through theophany.<sup>58</sup> This point of view, taking into account our suggestion of the function of the exedra of the Church of Olympus No. 3 as a memorial chapel, helps us explain Aristocritus as the mediator/intercessor of invocations,<sup>59</sup> as well as supporting the title of Pantocrator for Christ in the composition in Niche 1.

<sup>54</sup> Examples are concentrated in Lycia, Caria, and Ionia. Tsuji and Asano's surveys and excavations, Zimmermann's studies on Ephesus, Ruggieri and Zäh's numerous examples, and Özyurt Özcan's surveys are the main studies providing an important data collection of Early Byzantine paintings in western Anatolia. See Tsuji 1995; also Asano 2010; Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2010; Zimmermann 2011; Özyurt Özcan 2014, 2016; Ruggieri and Zäh 2016. For previously documented examples from Olympus, see Çorağan 2017.

<sup>55</sup> For Gemiler Ada, see Tsuji 1995, 66-67, fig. 39, color plate IV, a-b-c; see also Ruggieri 2013; Ruggieri and Zäh 2016, 26-27, figs. 23-27. For the tomb on Karacaören Ada, see Tsuji 1995, 90-92, color plate VI, a-b; see also Ruggieri and Zäh 2016, 21-25, fig. 121.

<sup>56</sup> As is well known, *Emmanuel* means "God with us" and is associated with the dual nature of Christ: fully God and fully man. For the title of *Emmanuel* and depictions of *Christ Emmanuel* before Iconoclasm, see Matthews 1976, 60-62.

<sup>57</sup> Belting-Ihm 1992, 113-14. Christa Belting-Ihm divided the depictions of saints associated with the relic cult into six types. According to these, Aristocritus in Olympus Church No. 3 is in the first type: a saint under the hand of God or bust of Christ; see Belting-Ihm 1992, 118-19. Grabar mentions the Heroon of Calydon as an example, stating that the arrangement of the saint's tomb with a depiction may be a continuation of the ancient cult of the hero; see Grabar 1972b, 108-9.

<sup>58</sup> Ruggieri 2013, 140-45.

<sup>59</sup> Marsengill 2013, 119.

With his long hair and beard, his middle-aged appearance, his deep gaze with big eyes towards the viewer, and the Bible held to his chest with his left hand, it is quite possible to say that we are looking at Christ Pantocrator. However, this depiction became widespread in Byzantine art after Iconoclasm. So it should be questioned whether the painting in the exedra of Church No. 3 is a pioneering example from the Early Byzantine period. In addition, it will, of course, be questioned whether this type of Christ, identified with the domes of the post-Iconoclasm churches, can be described with the same title in a subsidiary chamber wall painting. For example, similar depictions of Christ dated between the fifth and eighth centuries in Rome and Ravenna are often not referred to as Pantocrator. Although the famous Sinai icon from the sixth century is defined as the first known example of the type,<sup>60</sup> the earliest surviving examples of depictions of Christ, usually referred to as Pantocrator, are 11th century dome paintings and mosaics.<sup>61</sup> The main dome of the church, which represents the uppermost level of the universe, provides a perfect overlap and easy identification related to the word's meaning "Ruler of All." Inscriptions and monograms also indicate that title. It is possible to use this title for the depictions of Christ in the earlier bust form outside the domes, but only for the examples that can be evaluated within the Pantocrator typology. It is also commonly accepted that depictions of Christ in bust form on the coins of Justinian II (685-695 and 705-711) are antecedents of those Pantocrator images.<sup>62</sup> Despite these, it will not be argued here which of some well-known examples were Pantocrator and which were "Christ in Majesty" or "Christ in Glory." With the New Testament quotation on the wall painting, we have tried to explain why the Christ depiction in Olympus Church No. 3 should be identified as Pantocrator, not only typologically but also in terms of iconography.

The exedra where the depiction is located - considering the naos as the main space - should not be defined as a side, additional or ancillary. Although the church was added to this place, this is the part that gives the structure its function and spiritual value. But there is no real burial or relics there nor in the naos of the church. As we explained in the previous section, it can be considered a memorial with its cenotaph arrangements looking like an arcosolium, and even a martyrion due to the New Testament quote about the martyrdom of the Saint Stephen. In both cases, the function requires treating the space as the primary rather than the secondary space of the complex. In this case, it becomes clear why such a major image as Pantocrator might have been encountered here, rather than in the remains of another part of the church (for example, the apse's semi-dome). In addition to figurative features, the title of Pantocrator supported by the dome and texts in Byzantine churches is provided by the quotation from the Acts on the wall painting in the Olympus example and the position of Bishop Aristocritus in connection with this inscription in the lower section.

<sup>60</sup> For artistic specifications of Christ Pantocrator of St. Catherine's Monastery at Sinai, see Chatzidakis 1967. For a detailed description of the icon, see Weitzmann 1976, 13-15, tables 1-2, 39-41. For a comprehensive analysis of the icon, see Constan 2014, 37-86, figs 1-15.

<sup>61</sup> Matthews 1976, 105-38; see also Carmelo Capizzi 1964, 189-203. Thomas F. Mathews also agrees with this view and even for the Sinai icon comments: "This icon should not be called the Pantocrator, which is a name not employed for images of Christ until the ninth century"; see Mathews 1999, 183-84, 216-17, n. 34 and fig. 143. By contrast, Belting prefers to use the name Pantocrator even for the first depiction of the long-haired and bearded Christ in Leo's Cubicle in the Catacomb of Commodilla; see Belting 1994, 90; Unlike others, Spieser agrees with Mathews that early portraits of Christ represent divinity rather than imperial iconography, but he is close to Belting saying that some early depictions of Christ could be called "Pantocrator"; see Spieser 1998, 65-66.

<sup>62</sup> Grabar 2011, 77-80. On the portraits depicted on the coins in question not being related to the Pantocrator type, see Breckenridge 1959, 48-58, 95.

The quote in Acts 7:55-56 relates to the vision Stephen saw during his stoning to death. It includes both the martyrdom/sainthood theme and the theme of witnessing the existence of God and the prophecy of Christ. At the moment of his death, Stephen saw God in heaven and Jesus standing to his right. Jesus is mentioned by name in 7:55, but in 7:56 Stephen uses the title "Son of Man," not Jesus' name when describing what he saw to those around him. This title is often used by Jesus himself in the Gospels, but only here the once in Acts and the Epistles. The issue of the Son of Man has been the subject of important theological studies. Although its use in Acts is explained in various ways in these studies, it is commonly believed that the title still refers to Jesus.<sup>63</sup>

We will not go into the theological discussions of that artwork as it would be beyond the scope of this study. But given that religious depictions are necessarily related to their inscriptions and complement each other, we believe that the composition in the painting in question can be interpreted in an interesting way. If we match them according to Stephen's vision, we can say that Aristocritus is placed in the position of Son of Man because he stands at Christ's right hand, and Christ is placed in the position of God who appears from heaven.

So, what does such an extraordinary connection between the text and the figures tell us? First, Aristocritus, in the Son of Man position, has no record of martyrdom that can be associated with Stephen's story. Moreover, he did not appear in any document or record as a saint. From the fifth century onwards, churches with mausoleums or any kind of *intra-muros* burial, gained importance not only as places where the remains of martyrs were kept, but also as buildings containing the actual tombs or monuments of bishops. Their spiritual status was strengthened by their relationship with the community and their power, both ecclesiastical and political.<sup>64</sup> Aristocritus was a pioneering bishop, of a type probably common in other cities in the early period, who contributed significantly to the Christianization of Olympus and its environs and who may have been canonized by the Church shortly after his death. Of course, martyrdom or doing miracles is not an absolute condition for sainthood.<sup>65</sup> However, it should be as important for the faithful to witness to the saint's dedication to God, or to remember this through images, as the canonization by the church. Visitors who turned from the nave towards the exedra first saw Aristocritus and Christ together and would realize that he was God's beloved servant and had received authority from him. Those who were able to read the quoted verses must have related Stephen's testimony to what they saw in the image and felt as if they were witnessing the sainthood of Aristocritus. In addition to being the first martyr, St. Stephen must have been chosen for the composition because he was the first figure in a succession: "Archdeacon" Stephen is the first of the seven men chosen by the apostles for "ministry" (Acts 6:5). The bishops also represent the continuity of a ministry that began with him. Especially from the beginning of the fifth century onwards, bishops began to come to the fore not only as religious leaders and scholars, but also as leaders of a powerful organization that regulated the entirety of urban life. These holy men, who received authority from both God and the emperor

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<sup>63</sup> For Stephen's description of Christ as Son of Man in Acts 7:56, see Barrett 1964. For a comprehensive study of the "Son of Man" issue in the light of previous studies, see Casey 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Cantino Wataghin 1999, 159-61; see also Marsengill 2013, 123.

<sup>65</sup> Aristocritus was probably never canonized, but his depiction here and in the hierarchical order must indicate the place of holy men as intermediaries between the people and the divine order. In our opinion, Bishop Aristocritus is an example that supports Marsengill's argument: "... portraits of holy men who may not have attained sainthood in late antique Christian art fulfilled that desire to reach God by presenting these elevated humans as accessible and recognizable intermediaries"; see Marsengill 2020b, 143.

while organizing daily life according to the afterlife, thus had an important place in both the political and divine hierarchy (i.e., the universal Christian hierarchy).<sup>66</sup>

At this point, it should be noted that the quotation from the New Testament in the painting not only alludes to the relationship between the figures and sainthood, but also vertically emphasizes a Christian universal order in terms of its position: God in heaven, man on the earth and the Holy Scriptures, which provide the connection between the two and is the ladder to reach heaven. The bishop is the mediator between the divine and the earthly, transmitting the Word to us, as well as carrying our invocations. In this mural the universal hierarchical order from top to bottom - and reaching out to the viewer - as well as the place of the bishops in the line from bottom to top, which brings the intercession/invocations of the viewer (as a supplicant) to Christ and God, is emphasized.

There are numerous examples in Christian works of art depicting people with Christ, who want to show the sanctity (and sometimes the dominion) of the relationship between Christ and the earthly person briefly described above. The main special case in this description is that the theological viewpoint of Christ's nature is indirectly depicted. The dogma of dyophysitism - that Christ had two natures both fully God and fully human - was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon, which was also attended by Olympus's bishop Aristocritus and whose signature affirmed it.<sup>67</sup> This doctrine is strongly visualized through this composition and supported by the inscription. Many studies have concluded that the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon were directly influential in the formation of the Pantocrator image.<sup>68</sup> The Pantocrator type of Christ unites the human and the divine and especially emphasizes the divine nature of Christ. Many theological and iconographical studies have been done on this title of Christ. Their common point is that the concept of "ruler of all," which dates back to pre-Christian times, was used to reflect the divine side of Christ's dual nature. Returning to the Acts quotation on the wall painting: If Aristocritus is in the position of "the son of man" "standing at the right hand of God", Christ above, at whose right hand Aristocritus stands, has assumed the position of God. Thus, Jesus' title of "Pantocrator" (Almighty) is presented to the viewer through text and image.

## Conclusion

The church buildings of Olympus were strategically placed and utilized in accordance with the division of sacred and secular space during Roman period urbanization. The churches in the north city placed more emphasis on elements of religious representation, liturgy, and cult, while the location and features of churches in the south city were determined by the Christianization of the urban space and the community's needs. This highlights the importance of physical evidence in urban development and transformation, providing a basis for theories on the transition from paganism to Christianity and from Roman to Byzantine. Churches nos. 2, 3, and 4 contain spaces that could be classified as memorial chambers, such as a relic

<sup>66</sup> Marsengill's study on the place and meaning of living and/or non-sainted images of clergy in the light of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite is very illuminating in this regard, as she interprets the issue by evaluating views on the imperial hierarchy and religious hierarchy, see Marsengill 2020b.

<sup>67</sup> Bennett 2015, 274.

<sup>68</sup> The dogma concerning the two natures of Christ was adopted at the Council of Chalcedon. It has been expressed by many researchers that this doctrine, which is very dominant in the orthodox world, appears as Christ Pantocrator in icons. For details and a rich bibliography on the subject, see Conostas 2014, 60-62.

chapel, martyrion, or mausolea. It is typical for churches built on or within pagan shrines to be connected to the relic cult. These types of spaces, which can also be associated with relic or martyr/saint cults, are present in the north city's three churches, where the Roman religious infrastructure of the city was situated.

Although the memorial chapel (exedra) of Church No. 3 is remarkable, memorial or relic chapels of the churches in relation to the pagan cult areas in the northern city are not located in the centers of the buildings. However, in Church No. 3, it is supported by architectural arrangements, ornaments, and paintings so that it is perceived by visitors not as a secondary but as the primary space. This is the reason for the existence and dedication of the church. Thus, while the church enables the believer to meet the holy person/place for intercession, the memorial increases the spiritual value of the church and makes the building a center of attraction.

The positions of the wall paintings may also give clues about the circulation and/or spatial organization of the building. There is also a wall painting with three figures in Niche 5 directly opposite it, but the presence of Christ in Niche 1 suggests that the visit to the site was made from the west, since such a direction of walking would allow the visitor to encounter Christ and Aristocritus first. There is already an entrance to the north nave just west of the exedra. It can be assumed that those who visited this church circulated starting from the north nave door.

The exedra may be said to be a special memorial chapel to the founding bishops of Olympus. At least its most important image is a major bishop of Olympus who is with Christ. Although Methodios of Olympus is the first name that comes to mind when we think of the bishop of Olympus, Aristocritus must have been the first bishop to institutionally structure the episcopal center, if we consider the council records. The depiction of the bishop with Christ shows the legitimacy of the church for the community. And a New Testament quotation about Stephen, the first martyr and archdeacon, in the same picture implies that the ecclesiastical authority has continued from the very beginning through a line of succession, with the authority given by God. The fact that Christ is presented in the composition as Pantocrator, who is both God and man, strengthens these expressions. Although Pantocrator is often thought to be an invented "imperial image," on the other side, there is another implicit meaning that supports the idea that "religious authority comes from God," which has existed since ancient times in human history. In this light, it becomes possible to read the widespread use of Pantocrator after the Iconoclastic period as a harmonization of religious and political authority.

While the mural allows us to make such an interpretation, it is also very valuable as a rare work of art. The portrait of Jesus Christ in Church No. 3 of Olympus is one of the oldest examples of the Christ Pantocrator type theologically, when the archaeological context as well as the function of the building and its iconography are evaluated together. The dating of the building remains, the style of the depictions, and the stylistic features of the inscription indicate that the painting belongs to the mid-sixth century. This wall painting is an important work of art because it shows that the origins of the Christ Pantocrator type were laid in the Early Byzantine period before it appears on the domes of Byzantine churches. Christ is clearly depicted as Pantocrator not only with his well-known appearance, but also with the New Testament quotation that has an important place in the composition. This is also important proof of the relationship between painting and script and the idea that they are complementary in Christian depictions. In addition, this wall painting in the exedra of Church No. 3 is an interesting example of ensuring the integrity between the space and the decoration and the clear declaration of the function.

Another important result of the study is to analyze and introduce one of the rare wall paintings belonging to the pre-Iconoclastic period - in other words the Early Byzantine period - in Anatolia, and thus find a place for itself in academic literature. The importance of this artwork is that it offers valuable information about the pre-Iconoclastic development of Byzantine painting in the homeland of the Byzantine Empire, rather than just its physical value.

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RE 11.1 Κενοτάφιον. A. Hug, s.v. Κενοτάφιον, RE 1921. Vol. 11.1, 171-72.

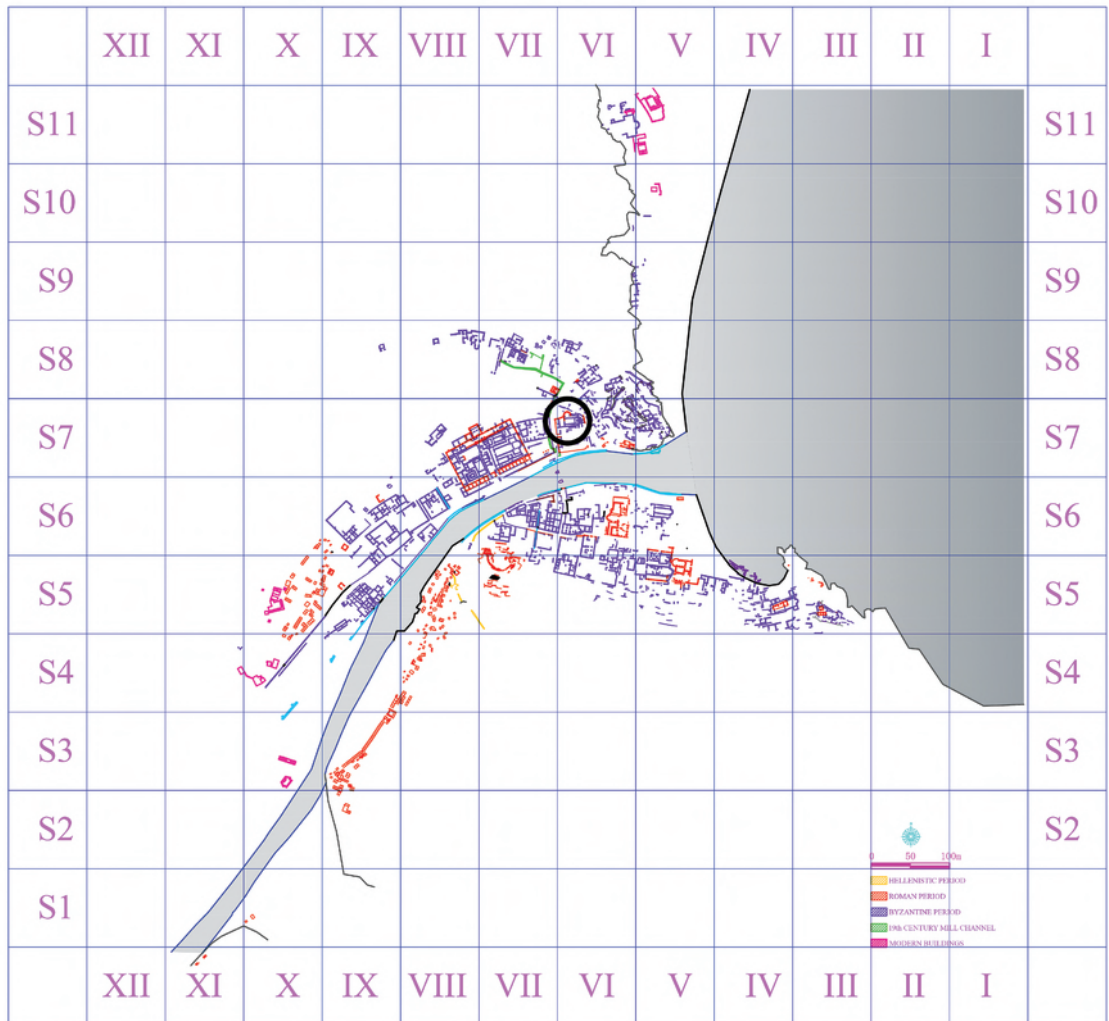


FIG. 1 Olympus city plan and location of Church No. 3 (© Olympus Excavations, editing: S. Evcim).

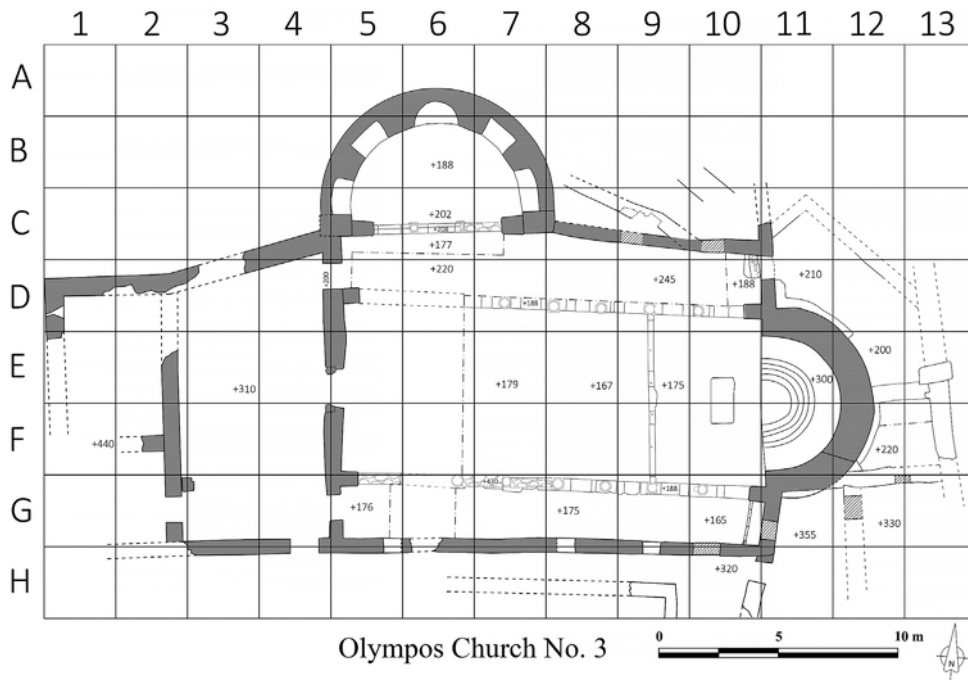


FIG. 2 Plan of Olympus Church No. 3 (© Olympus Excavations, drawing: S. Evcim).

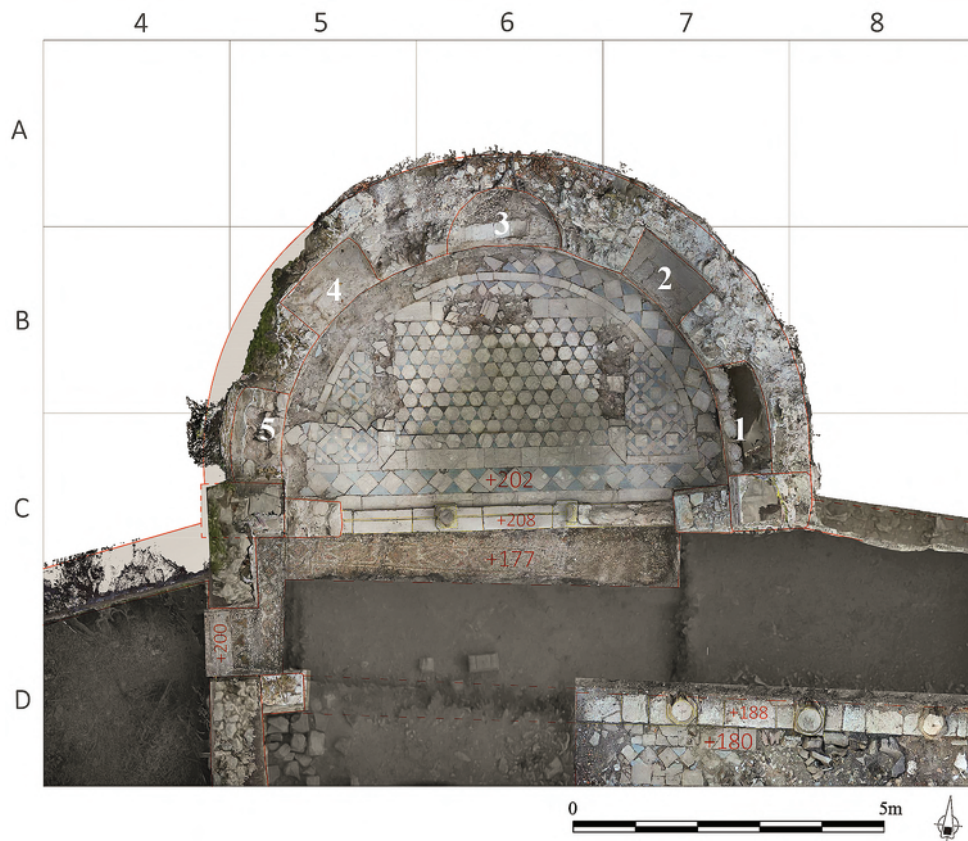


FIG. 3 Photo-plan of exedra of Church No. 3 (© Olympus Excavations, editing: S. Evcim).

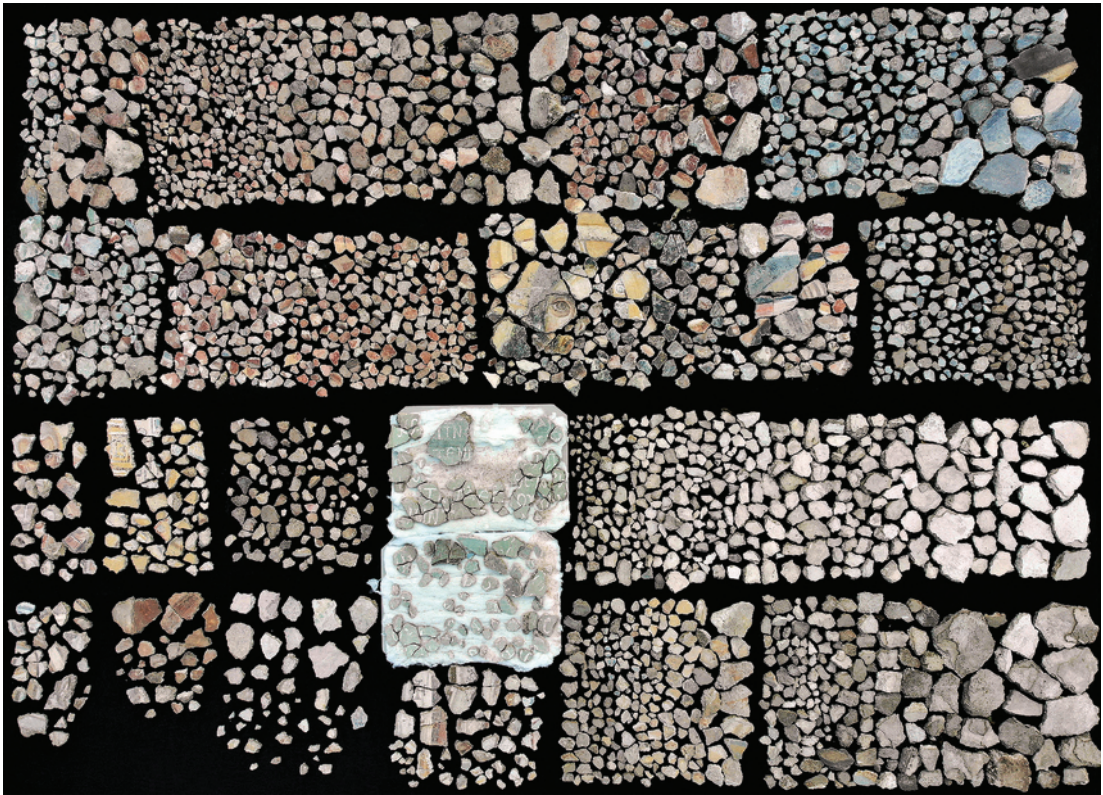


FIG. 4 Wall painting fragments from the exedra (© Olympus Excavations).



FIG. 5 Portrait on the south side of Niche 5 (© Olympus Excavations).



FIG. 6  
Remains of wall painting  
in Niche 5  
(© Olympus Excavations).



FIG. 7  
Fragments of Bishop  
Aristocritus' depiction  
(© Olympus Excavations,  
editing: S. Evcim).



FIG. 8  
Fragments of Christ  
Pantokrator  
(© Olympus Excavations,  
editing: S. Evcim).

FIG. 9  
In situ part of Bishop  
Aristocritus' depiction  
(© Olympus Excavations).







FIG. 10 Niche 5 of exedra and remains of the cenotaph (© Olympus Excavations).



FIG. 11 Pottery sherds filled in the cenotaph of Niche 1 (© Olympus Excavations).

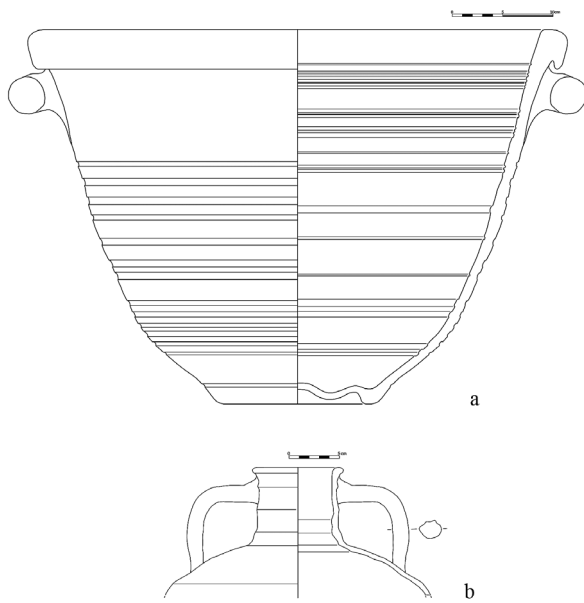


FIG. 12 Amphora and basin found in the  
cenotaph of Niche 1  
(© Olympus Excavations, drawing M. Bursali).



FIG. 13  
Plaster capital and base from the exedra  
(© Olympus Excavations, editing: S. Evcim).



FIG 14. General view of the exedra (© Olympus Excavations).



FIG. 15 Photo restitution of painting in Niche 1 (drawing and editing: S. Evcim).

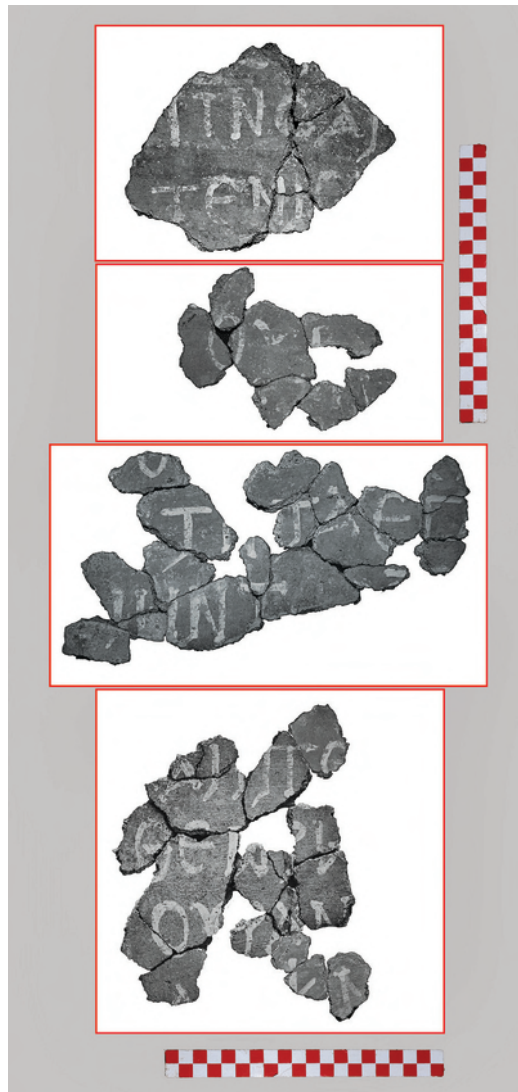
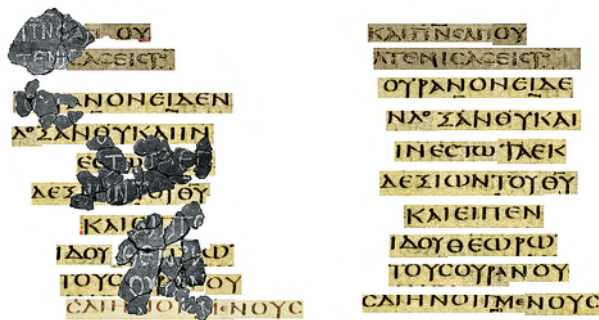


FIG. 16  
Fragments from the  
Acts quotation on the  
painting in Niche 1  
(© Olympus  
Excavations,  
editing: S. Evcim).



Acts 7:55-7:56

7:55 ὙΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΕ ΠΑΡΗΡΗC ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟC ΠΙCΤΕΩC ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟC ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΤΕΝΙCΑC ΕΙC ΤΟ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΕΙΔΕΝ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΕCΤΩΤΑ ΕΚ ΔΕΞΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ

7:56 ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΙΔΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΩ ΤΟΥC ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΗΝΟΙΓΜΕΝΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ // ΕCΤΩΤΑ / ΕΚ ΔΕΞΙΩ // ΤΟΥ ΘΥ

FIG. 17 Crosscheck of Acts quotation with Codex Sinaiticus (editing: S. Evcim).

# The Problem of Piracy in Commercial Relations between the Ottoman State and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (Sicilyateyn) between 1740 and 1804

REYHAN YİRŞEN\*

## Abstract

One of the most striking challenges in the Mediterranean encountered by the states which gained trading rights with the Ottoman State seems to have been the assaults of pirates. The frequent attacks against trading vessels, especially by such pirate groups as *Garp Ocakları* and the pirates of Ülgün, can be traced when documents related to Ottoman maritime activities are examined. This problem of piracy is also evident in commercial relations between the Ottoman State and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies. In this context, some *büküms* [imperial decrees] for protecting Sicilian traders against the pirate assaults were included in the trading agreement between two states in 1740. Moreover, the Kingdom of Two Sicilies took a proactive approach to protect the lives and secure the property of its traders by signing a separate agreement in 1741 with *Trablusgarp Ocağı*. This study aims at revealing the situation of commercial relations under the threat of piracy in the Mediterranean between the parties referred to in light of Ottoman archival documents.

**Keywords:** Mediterranean, Kingdom of Two Sicilies, *Sicilyateyn*, piracy, Ottoman maritime

## Öz

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile ticaret yapmaya hak kazanmış olan devletlerin Akdeniz’de yaşadıkları en önemli sorunlarından birinin korsan saldırıları olduğu görünür. Osmanlı denizciliğine dair kaynaklar incelendiğinde Garp Ocakları ve Ülgün korsanlarının ticari gemilere sıklıkla saldırdıkları izlenmektedir. Söz konusu korsanlık sorunu, Osmanlı Devleti-Sicilyateyn Krallığı arasındaki ticari ilişkilerde de belirgindir. Bu bağlamda iki ülke arasında imzalanan 1740 tarihli ticaret antlaşmasına korsan saldırıları karşısında Sicilyateyn tüccarlarının korunması ve zararlarının tazmin edilmesine dair hükümler konulmuştur. Ayrıca Sicilyateyn Krallığı Trablusgarp Ocağı ile 1741 yılında ayrı bir antlaşma imzalayarak uluslararası sularda tüccarlarının mal ve can güvenliğini korumak için önleyici bir hamlede bulunmuştur. Bu çalışma, Akdeniz’de Osmanlı Devleti ile Sicilyateyn Krallığı arasında korsanlık tehdidi altındaki ticari ilişkilerin durumunu Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri ışığında değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Akdeniz, İki Sicilya Krallığı, *Sicilyateyn*, korsanlık, Osmanlı denizciliği

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This study, based on the Master’s thesis titled “6 Numaralı *Sicilyateyn (Düvel-i Ecnebiye) Defteri*’nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi”, has been further developed from the paper orally presented at the 11th International Symposium for Turkish History of Sea Trade on 29-30 April 2019, and is unpublished.

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## Introduction

This article basically examines the problems in the relations between the Ottoman State and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies<sup>1</sup> that emerged between the years of 1740 and 1804 upon the assaults of pirates or corsairs under Ottoman patronage against Sicilian trading vessels in the Mediterranean. The phenomenon of piracy in the Mediterranean has been much addressed in many modern studies using various approaches. Some of these studies have drawn a framework for the piracy in the Mediterranean related with its formation, organization and political and economic parameters, especially from the 16th century on when it became a decisive factor in the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> This literature has become diversified with other studies and much narrowed in specific content in terms of geographical regions and pirate groups.<sup>3</sup> These researches has mainly discussed the effects on the political and commercial developments in the Mediterranean of pirate groups, which constitutes the basic problem of this study and generally cited as Barbary states. Apart from these researches, especially within the framework of situations such as captivity and slavery led by piracy, the studies that draw intriguing socio-cultural conclusions through such texts as memoirs and similar historical narratives also deserve to be underlined here. In this regard, for instance, the experiences of the women sometimes as participants and sometimes as victims of such situations as captivity and slavery have been evaluated by Tucker with an approach conceptualized as “gendered violence.” Likewise, the studies by Matar and Bracewell evaluate the socio-cultural effects of piracy on some social groups by utilizing the same historical texts as Tucker does.<sup>4</sup>

When it comes to the relations between the Ottoman State and Sicilyateyn as an independent monarchy, a comprehensive monograph is not available. However, it should be noted that there are some studies assessing their bilateral relations from specific aspects. These studies mostly focus on the commercial and diplomatic relations between the two parties.<sup>5</sup> The studies of Bottari and Demiryürek are particularly important in that they deal with the founding texts of the commercial relations between the two states within the framework of official records.

In this article, I will attempt to evaluate the problems that emerged between the two parties around piracy in the Mediterranean based on Ottoman archival documents. In this context, three *Sicilya Defteri* have been investigated, all registered at the Department of Ottoman Archives of Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey (Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [BOA]) in Istanbul. Out of these *defTERS* [registers], 96.1 *Sicilya Abdname Defteri* totals 149 varaqs [pages] and bears 277 *büküms*, 97.2 *Sicilya Defteri* totals 270 varaqs with 475 *büküms*, and 6 *Numaralı Sicilyateyn Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri* comprises 226 varaqs and 1220 *büküms*. The contents of these registers have been examined in terms of pirate activities. In this context among these *defTERS* only 6 *Numaralı Sicilyateyn Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri* contains a great number of *büküms* related with piracy. 97.2 *Sicilya Defteri* contains only one such record, and any *büküm* of this kind is not available in 96.1 *Sicilya Abdname Defteri* at all.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase Kingdom of Two Sicilies is referred to in Ottoman archival documents as *Sicilyateyn*, which means “Two Sicilies” with the suffix *-eyn* making a singular noun plural in Ottoman Turkish. Therefore, I will use the term *Sicilyateyn* instead of Kingdom of Two Sicilies throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Özdemir 2004; Malcolm 2015; Gürkan 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Hess 1978; Panzac 2005; Bostan 2009a; Gürkan 2010; Jamieson 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Tucker 2014; Matar 2007; Bracewell 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Turan 1967; Bottari 2014; Demiryürek 2014; Doğan 2016; Pirolo 2019.

The main purpose of this study is to assess the parameters of commercial relations between the Ottoman State and *Sicilyateyn* under the pressure of piracy in the Mediterranean by seeking answers to such research questions. Where and when were the trading vessels assaulted? Was the ship crew captured? What kinds of goods were transported by the vessels when they were assaulted by the pirates? What kinds of precautions were taken by the governments against piracy? Were they successful in preventing the piracy? If not, why? How did piracy influence the volume of bilateral trade?

The article is composed of five main sections. The first section will draw a general outline related with the phenomenon of piracy in the Mediterranean with which the Ottoman State began to be engaged in the 16th century. The second section focuses on the historical story of the Ottoman State and *Sicilyateyn* relations by bringing forward the earliest contacts for commerce between the two parties. The third section covers the status of *Sicilyateyn* merchants in Ottoman commercial law, especially under the conditions of the treaty in 1740, which is the first agreement between the parties in question. In the fourth section, the data recorded in the *defters* referred to above is given. The last section deals with the attitude of the Ottoman administration against piracy activities in the context of the cases and *büküms* in the *defters*.

This article, basically based on *6 Numaralı Sicilyateyn Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri* which has not been studied yet, is expected to make significant contributions both to the research of maritime history in the Mediterranean in general and of Ottoman-*Sicilyateyn* relations specifically.

## The Phenomenon of Piracy in Ottoman Period

Piracy was surely not a newly emerging phenomenon in Ottoman times. The activities of piracy were frequently observed in the Mediterranean from antiquity onwards.<sup>6</sup> While these activities were formerly encouraged by many states or kingdoms such as the Athenians and Hellenistic kings for efficient instrument against the enemy powers,<sup>7</sup> the Roman Empire identified the situation as the threat to maritime travel and accordingly sought to hinder it as much as possible.<sup>8</sup> Having reappeared with the rise of Arab Muslims in the Mediterranean basin, piracy then gradually turned into a functional instrument utilized by sovereign powers against each other, especially the Islamic and Christian territorial states from the 16th century on.<sup>9</sup> As suggested by Braudel, piracy emerged as a secondary form of war among the great states in the Mediterranean.<sup>10</sup> It seems possible to offer that this pragmatic approach towards the piracy was also continued to a great extent in the following periods.<sup>11</sup>

The successive military achievements, involving the conquests of Algeria and Tunisia and the absolute success at the Battle of Preveza respectively in 1516, 1534 and 1538, set the stage for Ottoman State to become a dominant power in the Mediterranean. This situation was reinforced throughout the western Mediterranean with the conquest of Tripolitania in 1551.<sup>12</sup> The advantages resulting from the seizure of Algeria especially reinforced Ottoman interests in the Mediterranean and thus contributed to political leverage for the Ottomans, even at the regions

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<sup>6</sup> Braudel 1973, 2:866-69.

<sup>7</sup> Arslan and Tüner Önen 2011, 190-91; Sestier 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Özdemir 2004, 78-79; Sestier 2017, 205.

<sup>9</sup> Rebitsch 2019, 168-70; Glete 2001, 2-3; Meray 1963, 113; Özdemir 2004, 81.

<sup>10</sup> Braudel 1973, 2:865.

<sup>11</sup> White 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Panzac 2005, 9-12; Murphey 1999, 191-92.

far from the center. Having emerged as the active elements of piracy in the Mediterranean from the 16th century onwards and generally referred to as *Garp Ocakları* (or Barbary States by the Europeans), these three provinces, namely Algeria, Tunisia and Tripolitania, regularly made trouble for the vessels of foreign states in the Mediterranean.<sup>13</sup> The relations between the Ottoman administration and these corsair groups gradually developed on a ground that proved mutually beneficial for the related parties.<sup>14</sup> Apart from *Garp Ocakları*, the pirates of Ülgün in the region of Albania seems to have been another player in the activities of piracy in the Mediterranean.<sup>15</sup> All these provinces, which harbored great number of pirates, influenced the commercial operations of the traders of England, France and Venice in the Mediterranean during the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>16</sup>

*Garp Ocakları* and the pirates of Ülgün maintained their presence in the Mediterranean as quasi-independent entities nearly for three centuries.<sup>17</sup> Though it seems that they were officially administered by a *beylerbeyi*,<sup>18</sup> who was directly appointed by the Ottoman central government, the pirates were organized under the de facto administration of an authority called a *dayı* who was determined from among them.<sup>19</sup> These pirate groups, especially those deployed in North Africa, became a major international problem. Especially between the 16th-19th centuries their assaults for booty and captive on trading vessels in the Mediterranean proliferated remarkably. This is why the Ottoman administration had to accept the articles related with piracy on the *abdnames*,<sup>20</sup> which were signed with such foreign states as Austria, France, England and Sardinia trading in Ottoman waters.<sup>21</sup> However, the states such as France, England, Venice, Tuscany and Sardinia, all of which traded in the Mediterranean, needed to make agreements with *Garp Ocakları* apart from those signed with Ottoman State since the latter could not impose its political authority over the pirate groups under the current conditions.<sup>22</sup> The remoteness between the center, that is, the Sublime Porte, and the North African provinces where the Barbary corsairs were mostly situated, might be a decisive parameter in this situation.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the multilateral nature of power composition controlling the affairs on the Barbary coast, namely *beylerbeyi*, *dayı* and some corsair syndicates, must have made the situation built by the treaties even more difficult to manage.<sup>24</sup> As noted by McLachlan, besides the factors referred to, the fairly strong religious as well as economic motivation among the corsair groups to commit piracy in the Mediterranean – a remarkably busy sea in the Early Modern Age – both destabilized the political climate of the region and reduced the predictability of the treaties in this sense.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Bostan 2009b, 231; Çetin 1996, 383; Acıpinar 2016, 210.

<sup>14</sup> Gürkan 2010, 133-47.

<sup>15</sup> Öztürk 2018, 4; Malcolm 2015, 149-50.

<sup>16</sup> Bostan 2009b, 231.

<sup>17</sup> Bono 1993, 40-41; Panzac 2005, 1; Öktem and Kurtarcan 2011, 26.

<sup>18</sup> The governor of any province in the Ottoman administrative organization.

<sup>19</sup> Kuzucu 2015, 171.

<sup>20</sup> van den Boogert 2005, 24-30. This is agreement text signed between two parties on any field. The agreements signed by the Ottoman administration are collected in the *abdname defteri*, which is the registers of imperial treaties.

<sup>21</sup> Bulut 2002, 200-6; Arı 2007, 292; Öktem and Kurtarcan 2011, 27; Bostan 2017, 19; Kurtaran 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Yirşen 2018, 585-89; Bostan 1994; Colás 2016, 851; Acıpinar 2019, 211; Oral 2021, 180-81.

<sup>23</sup> Gürkan 2010, 126-28, 156-57.

<sup>24</sup> Colás 2016, 848, 851.

<sup>25</sup> McLachlan 1978, 286.



## The Ottoman State-*Sicilyateyn* Relations

One of the political entities with which the Ottoman administration contacted regarding piracy activities in the Mediterranean was the *Sicilyateyn*. As suggested by Mendola, too little is known of this kingdom.<sup>26</sup> The situation mostly results from the fact that political integrity was not exactly accomplished in the Italian peninsula till the second half of 19th century. Especially the presence and rivalry of such relatively efficient political entities as Venice, Genoa and Tuscany in the peninsula and the complicated network of relations among the Spanish and Austrian dynasties makes the political appearance of the peninsula difficult to observe.<sup>27</sup> Still, it is possible to suggest that modern historians have reached a consensus about the period when the kingdom emerged. Accordingly, the *Sicilyateyn* was founded in 1734 through the merging of Sicily and Naples with the latter as its capital (figs. 1 and 2).<sup>28</sup>

Just after it emerged as an independent monarchy, a series of political initiatives was launched to enhance the economic potential of the kingdom. In this context as a first step, an administrative body, the *Supremo Magistrato del Commercio* (Chief Magistrate of Trade), was established in October of 1739 with broad judicial powers.<sup>29</sup> This aimed at making the institutional organization of the kingdom suitable for trade. This political move was then followed by some treaties and exemptions for commerce which were made with states ranging from those in the Mediterranean basin to other states in various regions.<sup>30</sup> In this regard, apart from those with the Ottoman State and Barbary states, which will be discussed below in detail, commercial agreements were signed with the Kingdom of Sweden, the Kingdom of Denmark, Holland and the Russian Empire.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, as the integrated part of this policy, the kingdom undertook some steps to reorganize and strengthen its merchant navy to ensure sustainable and safe trading within the maritime process.<sup>32</sup> Within this framework, especially the challenging threat of piracy in the Mediterranean, seems to have been a strong parameter for the kingdom to pursue a policy of prioritizing safety.

The kingdom built commercial relationships in the Mediterranean with the Ottoman State. The earliest contacts between the Ottoman State and the *Sicilyateyn* date to the 18th century.<sup>33</sup> Bilateral commercial relations must have been embraced at such a high level that Carlos III, who reigned over the kingdom between 1738 and 1759, commissioned an ambassador named Finocchietti in 1740 to Istanbul to supervise commercial and diplomatic procedures on behalf of the kingdom.<sup>34</sup> Another mission expected from him was to put pressure on the Ottoman administration to persuade the Barbary corsairs to provide a peaceful commercial setting in the Mediterranean.<sup>35</sup>

These first contacts between the Ottoman State and the *Sicilyateyn* seem to have evolved into much more developed relations in a short period. In this context, they signed on 7 April

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<sup>26</sup> Mendola 2020, 12, 100.

<sup>27</sup> Smith 1988, 1-12.

<sup>28</sup> D'amora 2003, 718; Imbruglia 2007, 72; Demiryürek 2014, 56; Pirolo 2019, 177.

<sup>29</sup> Bottari 2014, 149.

<sup>30</sup> Pirolo and Sirago 2017, 49-50, 55-57.

<sup>31</sup> Pirolo and Sirago 2017, 49.

<sup>32</sup> Sirago 2019, 135-37.

<sup>33</sup> Sevinç 2013, 412; Pirolo 2019, 177-78.

<sup>34</sup> Turan 1967, 82.

<sup>35</sup> D'amora 2003, 719.

1740 a treaty of trade and amity consisting of 21 articles with the mediation of *Humbaracı Ahmet Paşa*.<sup>36</sup> The text of the agreement contained the articles regulating the precautions to be taken against the piracy and the liabilities of the parties on the issue.<sup>37</sup> The warm approach of Carlos III, the king of the *Sicilyateyn*, towards the Ottoman government in this period is thought of as a political initiative for developing bilateral commercial relations, preventing pirate assaults in the Mediterranean, and improving interstate cooperation.<sup>38</sup> Besides, another treaty of 17 articles was signed in 1741 between the *Sicilyateyn* and *Garb Ocakları* as an entity under the control of the Ottoman administration. The treaty – which covered many issues such as social, political and juridical – was signed on 3 June 1741 at the end of the negotiations between *Karamanlı Ahmet Paşa*, the *bey* [governor] of Tripolitania, on behalf of *Garb Ocakları* and Cacentovski, the envoy of the *Sicilyateyn*, Carlos III.<sup>39</sup> However, the agreement was violated in 1745 upon a complaint by a *zimmi*<sup>40</sup> who alleged to have been robbed by the *Sicilyateyn* pirates. This incident then prompted *Garb Ocakları* to organize counterassaults against *Sicilyateyn* vessels in such a way that it might have been taken as solid evidence in violation of the agreement conditions.

### The Status of *Sicilyateyn* Merchants in the Ottoman State according to the 1740 Treaty

The treaty in 1740, referred to above, seems to have been the turning point in Ottoman-*Sicilyateyn* relations. That 13 out of its 21 articles involved regulating commercial relations and the status of merchants is significant in revealing the nature of bilateral relations between the parties. A range of privileges was granted to the merchants of the parties within the scope of these 13 articles directly related with commercial procedures. Accordingly, the very first article of the treaty highlights that the same rights and privileges would be also guaranteed citizens of the *Sicilyateyn* as those accorded other European citizens by the Ottoman administration on land and maritime trade.<sup>41</sup> The second article seems to have regulated the ratio of customs duty, that is 3%, which was to be paid by the merchants of the *Sicilyateyn* at Ottoman harbors and customs posts.<sup>42</sup> The procedures regarding the 3% ratio must have been handled by the Ottoman government so cautiously that the firmans sent to the custom officers insistently reminded them to be precise at this point.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, official documents note that some complaints were made about several custom officers who demanded double taxation or disregarded the basic rules and principles established by the central government.<sup>44</sup> The third article entitled the *Sicilyateyn* to open consulates that could represent their citizens who dwelt and

<sup>36</sup> Kurtaran 2017, 221.

<sup>37</sup> Demiryürek 2014, 57-60.

<sup>38</sup> Doğan 2016, 65.

<sup>39</sup> Sevinç 2013, 415; Pirolo 2017, 127-28; Özler 2017, 25-26.

<sup>40</sup> A *zimmi* is a member of any non-Muslim community under Ottoman rule.

<sup>41</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 3; Özler 2017, 35; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:58. *Muâbedât Mecmûası* is the entire corpus of interstate treaties signed by the Ottoman administration. It was published in 1877 by the Ottoman State. This corpus has been published in facsimile in 5 volumes by *Türk Tarih Kurumu* for researchers. This facsimile edition has been useful throughout the study.

<sup>42</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 4; Özler 2017, 36; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:58.

<sup>43</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 11.3.

<sup>44</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d., 06, 13.4, 15.3, 118.4.

traded in Ottoman lands.<sup>45</sup> In this context, the contents of the official documents reveal that some consulates of the *Sicilyateyn* were opened at such Ottoman coastal regions as Izmir, Paleo Patras (Balyabadra), Thessaloniki, Arta, Chios, Mycenae, Durres, Cyprus and Aleppo.<sup>46</sup> The fourth article preserves the legal rights of any person or *reaya* [Ottoman subject] in case of his death while trading in Ottoman lands. Accordingly, the article guaranteed the delivery of his private belongings to his legal representatives or consuls.<sup>47</sup> However, this situation could sometimes constitute the issue of various complaints. This is why some firmans on official documents were issued to solve the problem regarding allegations that the property of a deceased person was seized by some people from these Ottoman subjects.<sup>48</sup> The fifth article details the legal procedures to be followed in case of disputes exceeding 4,000 *akçe*, which concern the merchants of the *Sicilyateyn* or their translators and another person.<sup>49</sup> For instance, a case related to the problem of debits and credits between persons at an event in Ioannina should be tried at Istanbul since it exceeded the maximum amount, 4,000 *akçe*.<sup>50</sup>

The treaty's seventh article appears to have brought a series of rights and privileges to Ottoman merchants. It provided notification that the official appointed as consul to Messina by the Ottoman administration would be in charge of providing safety for the Ottoman merchants there and of supervising whether the same rights and privileges of *Sicilyateyn* citizens were applied to Ottoman citizens. The 11th article ensures that trading vessels of the Ottoman State and the *Sicilyateyn* were supposed to salute each other as a display of their amity by raising flags to the mast in case of an encounter at sea. Besides, the article, in case of an encounter with any trading vessel, gave authority to the warships of both parties to check the documents of trading vessels by two officials from their crew.<sup>51</sup> The 13th article guaranteed that the goods of the people of the *Sicilyateyn* or their merchants trading under their flag would not be seized or assaulted.<sup>52</sup> However, some violations by Ottoman citizens during the following process can be observed in official documents. In this regard, a letter was sent to Istanbul by an envoy of the *Sicilyateyn* on this issue. The letter reported that several merchants of the *Sicilyateyn* were robbed by a group of 40-person bandits at a zone between *Cuma Pazari* [Haravgil] and Kastoria while they were shipping various items to their partners in Istanbul: 13 rolls of *diba*,<sup>53</sup> 33 rolls of *telli batayi*,<sup>54</sup> seven rolls of black *kotuz*,<sup>55</sup> two rolls of red *saye çuka*,<sup>56</sup> and one roll of white *saye çuka*. The bandits also seized 16,300 *guruş* from them. Additionally, they killed one person and severely injured three others. It was also stated in the letter that the bandits were in collaboration with the security staff at the police stations who, supposedly in charge of guarding the local people, were acting indifferently to banditry activities. A firman was issued regarding these developments to the Governor of *Rumeli*. He

<sup>45</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 4; Özler 2017, 36; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:58.

<sup>46</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 5.1, 6.3, 7.3.

<sup>47</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 4; Özler 2017, 36; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:58.

<sup>48</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 52.1.

<sup>49</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 5; Özler 2017, 36-37; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:59.

<sup>50</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 15.1.

<sup>51</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 6; Özler 2017, 38; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:60.

<sup>52</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 6; Özler 2017, 38; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:61.

<sup>53</sup> This is a kind of embroidered and colored silk fabric.

<sup>54</sup> This is a kind of georgette used in the Ottoman period.

<sup>55</sup> This is a kind of fabric made from horsehair.

<sup>56</sup> This is a napless, thin and plain fabric woven from wool.

ordered that the suspects be caught, and the stolen goods be returned to the actual owners. The aforesaid police station should be controlled by those from the local people.<sup>57</sup> The same article strongly underlines the fact that piracy should not be conducted across their waters. The Ottoman government, based on this article, issued a guarantee not to assault vessels and merchants trading with the flag of the *Sicilyateyn*, and to return all the properties seized by the pirates in case of any assault.<sup>58</sup> However, the treaty remained in force for only four years, and the earliest complaints related to piracy were recorded in 1744.<sup>59</sup> The 15th article entitled the merchants of the *Sicilyateyn* to cooperate with their preferred brokers regardless of ethnic identity and religion and guaranteed not to interfere in their commercial operations at all.<sup>60</sup> 17th article from the Ottoman government permitted the pirates of Ülgün in Albania to trade freely with the people of the *Sicilyateyn* on condition that they aided the vessels of the *Sicilyateyn* by regarding them as vessels of a friendly nation. Not only that, any kind of loss by the pirates who broke the rules would be compensated.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, some cases indicating violations can be observed on the *defter* examined within the scope of this study. In this context, the *büküm* enacted by the Ottoman government addressing the governor of *Rumeli* and the *kadı* of Ülgün upon the complaint of 32 merchants robbed by a pirate named İbrahim of Ülgün while they were on a *Sicilyateyn* vessel ordered that all the goods and cash be returned to the actual holders.<sup>62</sup> In the 19th article, the merchants of the *Sicilyateyn* were required to pay a consulate tax at Ottoman harbors for their consuls and ambassadors.<sup>63</sup> The people of the *Sicilyateyn*, according to the 20th article, were guaranteed treatment in matters of trade similar to any other European states with which Ottoman government was in friendly relations. The 21st article stated that vessels could not be prevented from departing the port for a supposed reason. In the case of such an attempt, an immediate intervention would be performed by the related consul.<sup>64</sup>

The treaty includes articles not only on commercial matters, but also those related with preserving the security and interests of states, as the parties of the agreement, and their citizens. In this regard, Ottoman officials could not restrict, without cause, the freedom of the citizens of the *Sicilyateyn*. Another point was that required aid was to be provided by the related experts for the vessels of both parties after having been put in quarantine. Also, the vessels of the parties would not be forced to carry either troops or arsenal. Any vessel of Ottoman, which intended to approach a port of the *Sicilyateyn*, would first enter the *lazaretto* and then be received at the port, if suitable. The vessels of a third party, which the Ottoman and *Sicilyateyn* governments designated as an enemy, would not be allowed to be equipped with arms at each other's ports. Both Ottoman and *Sicilyateyn* vessels would be protected from those entering a port and carrying an enemy flag, according to the parties in question.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>57</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, h. 44.2.

<sup>58</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 6-7; Özler 2017, 38; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:61.

<sup>59</sup> Yirşen 2018, 20.

<sup>60</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 7; Özler 2017, 39; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:62.

<sup>61</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 7; Özler 2017, 39; *Muâbedât Mecmûası* 2008, 2:62.

<sup>62</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 79.3.

<sup>63</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 9.

<sup>64</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 96.1, 9.

<sup>65</sup> Yirşen 2018, 20-21.

## The Problem of Piracy between Ottoman State and *Sicilyateyn*

The *6 Sicilyateyn Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri*, which comprises the main source of this article, is important because it contains relatively more *büküms* on piracy among the *Sicilyateyn defters*. It bears many records and *büküms* of pirate activities in the Mediterranean between the years 1745 and 1804. The contents of these records range from taking hostages, captivity, extortion of goods and money on board, and the seizure of trading vessels to killing and injuring the crew by the pirates. These record the places where the pirate assaults occurred, the names of the pirates, the list of the transported goods, and other similar details. Another point about these records worth noting is that we can trace the effort by the Ottoman State to keep the checks and balances mechanism on the Barbary corsairs and its attitude towards returning the captives and the goods to their homeland or owner. The records in this *defter* leave no doubt that the treaty, which aimed at a commercial relationship without piracy between the Ottoman State and the *Sicilyateyn*, remained in action nearly for four years without any overt violation.

Though any precise date is unavailable, a total of 18 pirate activities were recorded between the earliest assault that can be dated between 25 January and 5 February 1745 and the last one between 27 September and 6 October 1804.<sup>66</sup> The Ottoman government, among those directly related to this kind of activities, sent 16 more *büküms* to the related officials for the pursuing and resolution of the cases.<sup>67</sup> The enacted *büküms* mostly addressed the *kapudan paşa* [imperial admiral] of the time,<sup>68</sup> the *paşa* and *dayı* of Tunisia and Tripolitania,<sup>69</sup> the *kadis* of Alexandria and Ülgün,<sup>70</sup> the *beylerbeyis* of Algeria, Tripoli and Tunisia,<sup>71</sup> the governor of Rumeli,<sup>72</sup> the *kadi* of Durres,<sup>73</sup> the *vizier* of Morea<sup>74</sup> and the *naiıps* [deputy fortress commanders] and the *dizdars* [fortress commanders] of the fortresses on the Bosphorus that are *Anadolu Hisarı* and *Rumeli Hisarı*.<sup>75</sup> The people involved in such activities were generally referred as pirates, but sometimes as *izbandid*.<sup>76</sup>

The earliest complaint about piracy activity in the Mediterranean waters seems to have been made by an Ottoman *zimmi*. A certain Nikola complained that he was assaulted by a buccaneer named Anderya, who pirated across the Mediterranean under the flag of the *Sicilyateyn*, and all his goods were seized by him. The succeeding process of prosecuting Anderya revealed that he was Spanish in origin but was then denationalized by the Spanish government because he often got involved in piracy, so he fled to the Mediterranean. However, the *zimmi* Nikola insisted on suing the *Sicilyateyn* for the harm caused by Anderya. Thus, the envoy of the *Sicilyateyn* applied to the Ottoman State to conduct an extensive investigation on the issue. The Ottoman government nominated six officials to investigate including *kapudan* [captain]

<sup>66</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 23.6, 34.6, 37.3, 52.4, 55.3, 58.3, 67.5, 70.1, 79.3, 88.1, 89.2, 90.3, 91.1, 91.2, 92.1, 97.1, 108.8; BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 97.2, 16.58.

<sup>67</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 34.7, 41.1, 53.1, 54.2, 59.1, 62.5, 66.3, 68.1, 80.2, 88.3, 90.1, 92.4, 94.3, 95.1, 95.3, 99.3.

<sup>68</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 88.3, 89.2.

<sup>69</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 75.1, 77.3, 85.2.

<sup>70</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 52.4, 70.1, 79.3.

<sup>71</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 54.2, 73.1, 74.3, 75.1, 97.1.

<sup>72</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 77.1, 79.3.

<sup>73</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 53.1, 91.2.

<sup>74</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 34.7, 37.3, 59.1, 67.5, 92.1.

<sup>75</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 75.1, 96.3.

<sup>76</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 34.7.

*Kuchuk* Hasan who was then on duty in the Mediterranean, *kapudan Emeksiz* Mehmet, the commander-in-chief of frigates in the Mediterranean, and *kapudan* Derviş of Thessaloniki. It was detected through these investigations that the buccaneer named Anderya was still engaged in piracy with the flag of Istanbul.<sup>77</sup>

The exact names of the places where acts of piracy took place were usually mentioned, but sometimes only Mediterranean is given. Such scenes as the waters before the castles of Moton<sup>78</sup> and Koron<sup>79</sup> at Morea, the vicinity of Patras,<sup>80</sup> a district of Morea, the port of Mesalonge<sup>81</sup> at the town of Angelokastro, the port of the island of Kea,<sup>82</sup> Manyá,<sup>83</sup> the port of Barletta in the *Sicilyateyn*,<sup>84</sup> Crete,<sup>85</sup> the port of the town Uluz in Albania,<sup>86</sup> and the port of Durres<sup>87</sup> come into prominence on the official documents as places where acts of piracy frequently occurred (fig. 3).

Another aspect of the pirate assaults recorded on the official documents is the loss of life and property. These were considered to cause serious damage to commercial activities. The numeric data in the *defter* about violations concerning loss of life in pirate activities has been precisely recorded from the earliest assault to the last one. Accordingly, reports indicate that three people were killed at different events.<sup>88</sup> While some *büküms* provide a clear figure about the injured, others only point to the presence of the injured without referring to any number. However, in some cases the number of injured was provided in conjectural terms such as least or most.<sup>89</sup> Likewise, a great number of ship crews were taken captive in the pirate attacks. In this regard, a pirate named Hacı Usta oğlu Hüseyin held 16 members of crew captive after being employed by a merchant of the *Sicilyateyn*. Another pirate named *Arnavud* Ahmed held 13 sailors.<sup>90</sup> We think that these kind of assaults, which culminated in the loss of life, injury or captivity for either merchants or crews, might have influenced, if at a limited level, both the motivation and logistics of bilateral commerce between the parties.

It seems possible to obtain some projections, based on the amount of money and gold seized, on the loss of property that merchants suffered from assaults by the pirates. In one case Hacı Usta oğlu Hüseyin organized an assault on two vessels of the *Sicilyateyn* with a *şehtiye*<sup>91</sup> and extorted 500 pieces of gold and valuable items from these ships.<sup>92</sup> In another case, two pirates of Tripoli attacked a captain of the *Sicilyateyn* and seized 2,000 *guruş* from

<sup>77</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 23.6.

<sup>78</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 34.6.

<sup>79</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 92.1.

<sup>80</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 59.1.

<sup>81</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 108.8.

<sup>82</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 55.3, 58.3.

<sup>83</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 68.1.

<sup>84</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 70.1.

<sup>85</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 79.3, 90.1.

<sup>86</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 91.1.

<sup>87</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 52.4.

<sup>88</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 37.3, 67.5.

<sup>89</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 37.3.

<sup>90</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 52.4, 88.3.

<sup>91</sup> A sailing vessel with two masts, alike brig.

<sup>92</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 52.4, 53.1, 62.5.

him.<sup>93</sup> A pirate, Ibrahim of Ülgün, extorted the goods of 32 merchants worth of 125,000 *guruş* on a vessel of the *Sicilyateyn*; another *büküm* warned officials that all losses should be compensated as soon as possible.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, in another case Hasan of Ülgün, one of the pirates from Tripolitania, seized the vessel of a captain of the *Sicilyateyn* by extorting his capital of 2,350 *guruş*. The ship was then returned to its holder although the money was not.<sup>95</sup> Another *büküm* deals with a pirate from *Garb Ocakları* who extorted two chests of coral and 3,000 gold coins from a captain of the *Sicilyateyn*.<sup>96</sup> All the assaults referred to above led to a financial loss worth 3,500 gold coins and 129,350 *guruş*. Though the figures on the loss of life and the labor force seem not to have influenced the overall potential for bilateral commercial relations significantly, such losses might have damaged, even if at a limited level, the human resources, financing and capital balance of commerce.

The assaults by the pirates in Ülgün and *Garb Ocakları* were sometimes directed to the capture of commercial vehicles. In this regard, five vessels of the *Sicilyateyn* and two fishing boats were commandeered in four separate attacks by the pirates. The perpetrators of the earliest case were determined to have been from Ülgün, though their identities were not available. They seized two vessels of the *Sicilyateyn* and two fishing boats, and so were the subject of a complaint.<sup>97</sup> The other attacks were organized by pirates named Nuh and Recep from Ülgün, and *Arnavud Ahmed*.<sup>98</sup>

Little data is usually available on the type of goods transported in commerce between the Ottoman State and the *Sicilyateyn*. Only rarely do the *büküms* contain some data on this aspect, and the goods transported vary from grain to fabric. A pirate of Tripoli named *Arnavud Ahmed* reportedly stole 500 sacks of soap from the vessel of a *Sicilyateyn* merchant, Hristo Fanogavira.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, 11 *denk*<sup>100</sup> of silk were being transported on the vessel of a *Sicilyateyn* merchant, Cüzebbe Eskarban, when it was attacked by the pirates.<sup>101</sup> In another case, two vessels of the *Sicilyateyn*, one loaded with salt and the other with wheat, were captured by a pirate of Tripoli who benefited from the fact that they lost their routes. All their cargo was transferred to his own vessel.<sup>102</sup> The vessel of a *Sicilyateyn* merchant, Yorgi Pakomaki, was attacked by a Tunisian pirate, and 9,000 *kile*<sup>103</sup> of wheat were captured by him.<sup>104</sup>

## The Attitude of the Ottoman Administration against Piracy Activities

Pirate attacks seem to have been a challenge to which the Ottoman government paid close attention. It struggled for years to find the criminals and to compensate the damages caused by

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<sup>93</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 55.3.

<sup>94</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 79.3.

<sup>95</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 92.1.

<sup>96</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 97.1.

<sup>97</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 70.1.

<sup>98</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 88.1, 89.2, 90.3.

<sup>99</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 88.1.

<sup>100</sup> A *denk*, a measure unit, is equal to twenty skeins, though changeable in different settings on Ottoman archival documents.

<sup>101</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 89.2.

<sup>102</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 91.2.

<sup>103</sup> A measure of weight the equivalent of which is changeable both to the type of cereal and region in which the measure is used.

<sup>104</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. DVE. d. 97.2, 16.58.

them. In this regard, it enacted many firmans ordering related administrative officials that cases of piracy be investigated in depth and accordingly, the extorted items and goods of value as well as the captives should be returned. The presence of successive *büküms* underscore the determination of the government towards resolving the problem of piracy. The language and style reflecting the sensitivity of the government on such documents is especially noteworthy. When the *büküm* – sent to *Garb Ocakları* after the assault by Hacı Usta oğlu Hüseyin – demanding the return of captives and valuables went unanswered, a harsh warning was given in a subsequent *büküm* from the Sultan: “I will not allow you to approach the waters and ports of the Ottoman cities.”<sup>105</sup> Besides, other *büküms* were sent towards the resolution of this matter at various dates within a five-year period.

At the treaty signed in May of 1764 by the *kapudan-ı derya* Mehmet Paşa, Mahmud Paşa, the deputy of *Garb Ocakları*, and the envoy of the *Sicilyateyn*, it was committed through an article by the Ottoman government that it would not be attacked to the vessels of the friendly states, surely including those of the *Sicilyateyn* in the vicinity of its citadels, ports, piers and anywhere within the 30 mile offshore limit in accordance with maritime law, and that if any assault occurred, all damage would be compensated by *Garb Ocakları*.<sup>106</sup> However, it can be encountered on the documents with many cases which seem to have overtly violated this article. One of them is on the assault in April of 1776 by Ahmet Hoca, a pirate from *Garb Ocakları*, to the vessel of two captains of the *Sicilyateyn*, Banhonkof Galo and Nikola Banhobirimo, which was anchored at a pier in the town of Angilikasrı. Upon the complaint, most probably by the captains, it was ordered that the event be investigated in-depth and the loss of the captains be accordingly compensated on account of that the attack referred was overtly contradictory to the agreement.<sup>107</sup>

The Ottoman administration could issue single firmans towards the resolution of different events occurring separately from each other. Therefore, a firman was enacted concerning the pirate activities of *Arnavud* Ahmed, Nuh and Recep, each being the suspect of different cases. This firman contained the legal procedures about these people in question. Accordingly, it was ordered that the vessels of the *Sicilyateyn* captured by these pirates in Ottoman waters, their crew taken as captives, and any stolen valuables be immediately returned. Another attempt specific to this event is the memorandum signed by the *kapudan-ı derya* Mehmet Paşa, Mahmut Ağa, the deputy of *Garb Ocakları*, and the envoy to the *Sicilyateyn*. The agreement stipulated the return of two of the vessels captured and the release of the captives who were the ship's crew.<sup>108</sup> However, the third vessel, captured along with the other two, 1,000 gold coins of Maghreb, and seven *denk* of silk, would not be returned. This served as compensation for the pirates of the *Sicilyateyn* capturing an Ottoman vessel and killing the Muslims on board. Though no record is available regarding this assault of the *Sicilyateyn* which *Garb Ocakları* claimed, the *Sicilyateyn* seem to have consented to the fact that a vessel, 1,000 gold coins of Maghreb, and seven *denk* of silk were to remain in hands of *Garb Ocakları* in accordance with the trilateral agreement.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>105</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 62.5.

<sup>106</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 94.3.

<sup>107</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 108.8, 95.1, 97.1.

<sup>108</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 90.1, 94.3, 95.1, 95.3.

<sup>109</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 97.1.



Excluding those directly speaking about incidents of piracy, the Ottoman administration issued other 20 *büküms* addressing *Garç Ocakları* and the pirates of Ülgün. These cautioned them not to commit piracy against vessels of the *Sicilyateyn*, which individually indicates how much importance the Ottoman State attached to such commercial affairs. One reports that Karlogatola, a captain of the *Sicilyateyn*, arrived in the Dardanelles with his 30-person crew, and cautions the pirates not to interfere with this vessel.<sup>110</sup> Likewise, another *büküm* remarks that a merchant named Antonyo Filata would sail his vessel from Çeşme to Chios and Izmir to transport aid to Muslim troops. It then ordered the related parties not to interfere with the vessel in case of an encounter.<sup>111</sup>

## Conclusion

The fact that the Ottoman State took control of the Western Mediterranean to a great extent after conquering Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli seems to have brought absolute political supremacy to the region. From the 16th century on, the pirates of *Garç Ocakları* played a disruptive role regarding the maintainability of Ottoman maritime power. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the Ottoman State fell short in keeping *Garç Ocakları* under its control, mostly due to the difficult conditions of the period from the final decades of the 17th century on. The new setting, which the balance between the Ottoman State and *Garç Ocakları* lost against the former's position, led to the proliferation of offenses by *Garç Ocakları* against vessels of foreign states. To these, a series of commercial privileges were entitled, and therefore led to some disruptions in maritime commerce. Thus, the European states had to sign another agreement with the representatives of *Garç Ocakları*, apart from the one made with the Ottoman State, to avoid such assaults and to realize a smooth commercial experience. One of these states is the *Sicilyateyn*. However, the records of complaints on the *abdname defterleri* overtly document that the parties did not adhere steadfastly to the agreed conditions in most cases.

In conclusion, the documents *izn-i sefîne*<sup>112</sup> issued from the year 1745 to 1804 concerning commercial relations between two states continued at a high volume. One of the important aspects of this process worth highlighting is that, despite 18 recorded cases of piracy, this did not affect bilateral relations in significant way. Besides, the Ottoman administration took initiatives in order to resolve these troubles in a way pointing to its loyalty to the agreements in force. Likewise, Ottoman officials frequently controlled the related bodies by enacting *firman*s at various times to prevent the pirates from making assaults against the vessels of the *Sicilyateyn* in the Mediterranean. However, another conclusion at this point is that the Ottoman government, at least from the 17th century on, had difficulty in imposing its authority upon the pirates of *Garç Ocakları*.

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<sup>110</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 75.1.

<sup>111</sup> BOA., A. DVNS. HADR. d. 06, 105.1.

<sup>112</sup> The documents of permission given to the vessels to pass through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont in Ottoman period.

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FIG. 1 Map of the Sicilyateyn (Kingdom of Two Sicilies) <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/76917/kingdom-of-naples-or-the-two-sicilies-mitchell> (accessed 11 April 2023).



FIG. 2 Coat of arms of the Sicilyateyn (Kingdom of Two Sicilies) BOA. MHD. 103.

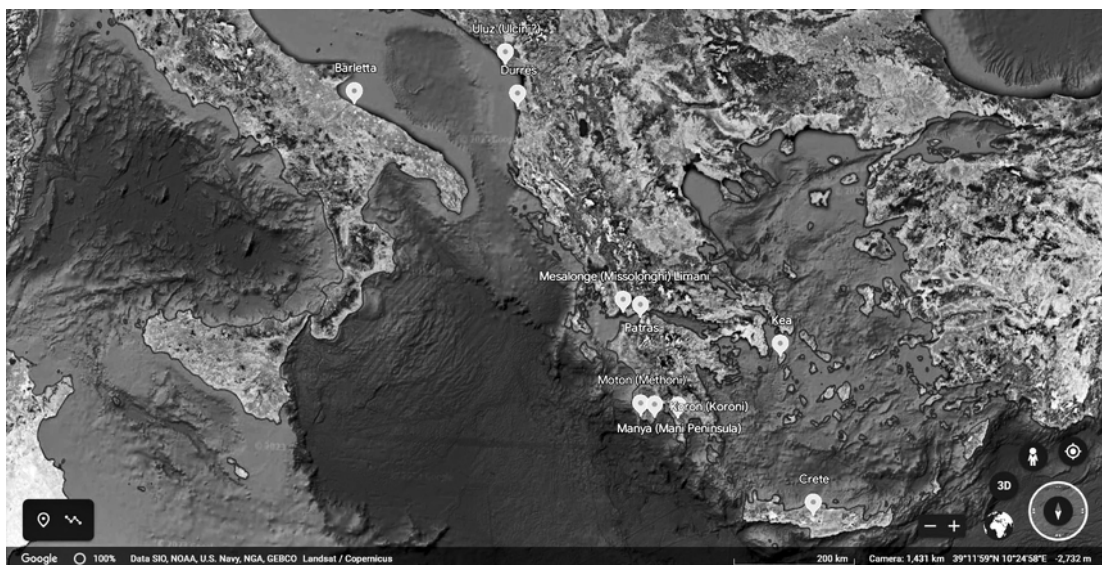


FIG. 3 Google Earth image showing the distribution of pirate activity.

# Antalya Junior High School as the First Example Reflecting the Ottoman Modern Educational Approach in Antalya

AHMET KISA\*

## Abstract

This study focuses on the Antalya Junior High School as the first example in Antalya reflecting the modernization process that started in education in the Ottoman Empire. This school, which opened in March 1866 and provided education until November 5, 1898, when it was transformed into a high school, was first opened in a building built in the style of the old primary schools on Hükümet Street. Then, in 1880, it moved to the second floor of the two-story school building built in the Tuzcular Neighborhood in the area called Ambarlı. It continued its educational activities there until the date it was converted into a high school (*idâdi*). Providing 32 years of education, Antalya Junior High School played a pivotal role in education in the city. The teachers and students of the school along with, the difficulties encountered in education are discussed in the light of archival sources. This study has revealed that the school formed the basis of Antalya High School with its building and teaching staff. It had an important place in the history of education in Antalya as it was a pioneer in the development of modern education. Although studies on Antalya High School have been included in the research conducted so far, the Antalya Junior High School has not yet been discussed. Our study notes that, the Antalya Junior High School, had an important role in the opening of the Antalya High School. The gap in this field is

## Öz

Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı Devleti'nde eğitimde başlayan modernleşme sürecinin Antalya'ya yansımalarının ilk örneği olarak Antalya Rüştîye Mektebi ele alındı. Mart 1866 tarihinde açılan ve idâdiye (liseye) dönüştürüldüğü 5 Kasım 1898 tarihine kadar eğitim veren bu okul, önce Hükümet Caddesi'nde, eski sıbyân mektepleri tarzında inşa edilmiş bir binada açıldı. Ardından 1880 yılında Tuzcular Mahallesi'nde Ambarlı olarak adlandırılan mevkide iki katlı olarak inşa edilen okul binasının ikinci katına taşındı ve eğitim faaliyetlerini idadiye dönüştürüldüğü tarihe kadar burada sürdürdü. 32 yıl eğitim veren Antalya Rüştîye Mektebi'nin Antalya'da eğitimde üstlenmiş olduğu rol, okulun öğrencileri, okulda görev yapan öğretmenler, eğitim-öğretimde karşılaşılan güçlükler, arşiv kaynakları ışığında ele alındı. Çalışmada söz konusu okulun gerek binası gerekse öğretmen kadrosuyla Antalya Lisesi'nin temelini oluşturduğu, modern eğitimin gelişmesinde öncü olması dolayısıyla Antalya eğitim tarihinde önemli bir yere sahip olduğu ortaya konuldu. Şimdiye kadar yapılan araştırmalarda Antalya İdâdisi ile ilgili çalışmalara yer verilmiş olmasına rağmen Antalya Rüştîye Mektebi ele alınmamıştır. Çalışmamızda, İdâdi'nin açılmasında önemli bir yere sahip Antalya Rüştîye Mektebi ele alınarak bu alandaki boşluk doldurulmuş, Antalya'da ortaöğretim kurumlarının tarihi gelişiminde bütünlük sağlanmıştır.

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now filled, and a historical trajectory has been provided for the development of secondary education institutions in Antalya.

**Keywords:** Antalya, Ottoman period, education, Antalya Junior High School

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Antalya, Osmanlı Dönemi, eğitim, Antalya Rüştiye Mektebi

## Introduction

Until the emergence of the modern state, administrative, military, judicial, and financial affairs were carried out by senators, cities, churches, and other private individuals or institutions instead of the state.<sup>1</sup> While the main duties of the state before modernization were defense, maintaining public order, and dispensing justice, the emergence of the modern state brought, activities aimed at meeting compulsory and common needs among the duties of the state.<sup>2</sup> In this context, education became a service area under state control and public investment in parallel with nationalization in the 19th century.<sup>3</sup>

As in the emergence of the modern state, in the Ottoman Empire until the mid-19th century, activities such as education, public works, and health, today called public services, were not directly carried out by the central government but by non-governmental organizations such as foundations under the supervision of the central government. Modernization in basic education in the Ottoman Empire began in the 19th century as a result of global developments and efforts to influence society.<sup>4</sup> Junior high schools played a pioneering role in the spread of modern education in Istanbul and in the provinces. The Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adli (School for Learning, 1838) and Mekteb-i Ulûm-ı Edebiye (School of Literary Sciences, 1839), were opened to train both civil servants for government offices and students for higher schools. However, they failed to meet the need for secondary education at the desired level so in 1847 an old primary school (Quran school) in Davut Pasha, Istanbul, was converted into a junior high school. Students were admitted to the school through examinations, and courses such as Arabic, Persian, calculus, and geography were added to the curriculum in addition to religious subjects. Upon the positive results obtained from the sample school, junior high schools became widespread first in Istanbul and then in the provinces from 1855 onwards.<sup>5</sup>

The years between 1838-1869 can be considered the early period in the historical development of junior high schools. In this period, the administrative and financial aspects of the schools and the professional competence of the teachers were not fully ensured. So the reform movements were limited to individual and singular reform efforts, far from being all-encompassing.<sup>6</sup> During this period, however, important efforts were made in terms both of the organization and the functioning of education. First, the Ministry of Education was opened in 1857 under the name Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti (the Ministry of Public Education), and then the Regulation of Public Education of 1869 was issued on September 1, 1869.<sup>7</sup> With the opening

<sup>1</sup> Melton 2001, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Öztürk 2010, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Alkan 2019, 313.

<sup>4</sup> Khuluq 2005, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Bilim 1984, 45-46.

<sup>6</sup> Somel 2015, 77.

<sup>7</sup> Gündüz 2015, 69-72.



of the Ministry, the aim was to bring modern education under state supervision, and the 1869 Regulation explained how the functioning would be regulated. The 1869 Regulation adopted the French system and adjusted to the needs of the empire.<sup>8</sup> The 1869 Regulation determined where the junior high schools would be opened, how their expenses would be covered, the salaries of the teachers and officials to be employed in the schools, the curriculum of the schools, and the vacation times.<sup>9</sup> One of the basic building blocks of having a common central political unity was to ensure that education was under state control. This process started with the 1869 Education Regulations and was implemented more comprehensively during the reign of Abdülhamit II.<sup>10</sup>

After the 1869 Maarif Regulation, junior high schools became widespread throughout the Ottoman Empire. Between 1848-1869, 138 junior high schools were opened; this number increased to 287 between 1869-1876 and then to 600 during the reign of Abdülhamit II.<sup>11</sup> The Abdülhamit II period has an important place in the modernization process of basic education. The main goal in the Abdülhamit II period was to instill in school children a sense of common identity and to raise generations that were compatible with the modern world and had assimilated the value system of the center. So these Ottoman educational policies, focused on citizenship-building and instilling loyalty.<sup>12</sup> The main motivation behind the reform process initiated by the state in this period was to increase the number of public schools in the face of the proliferation of non-Muslim and missionary schools and to guarantee the political future by ensuring strict state control in education.<sup>13</sup> As a result of the states loss of its former power, foreign influence, and the proliferation of missionary schools on the one hand, and the states efforts to ensure uniformity among the Muslim population through institutions such as the tribal schools on the other, it increased the desire for learning and schooling rates among Muslims and non-Muslims.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the centers main goal in the late Ottoman Empire was to create a reliable original population that was raised with the right ideology. The way to do this was primarily through education. This was the main motivation behind the modernization activities widely initiated in education during the reign of Abdülhamit II.<sup>15</sup>

The state was interested in increasing schooling, modernizing education, and providing education in line with the new understanding, i.e., *usûl-i cedîd*<sup>16</sup> (new method). However, the inability to provide the most basic level of education in neighborhood schools (Quran schools) had a significant impact on education in the junior high schools, and closing this gap forced the junior high schools to perform the function of primary schools.<sup>17</sup> In 1913, the *Tedrisat-ı İbtidâiye Kanun-ı Muvakkatı* (Temporary Law on Primary Education) was enacted

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<sup>8</sup> Evered 2012, 198.

<sup>9</sup> Regulations were also made about junior high school for girls in the regulation. See Kayaoğlu 2001, 427-31.

<sup>10</sup> Fortna 2002, 198.

<sup>11</sup> Bilim 1984, 51; Kodaman 1991, 164.

<sup>12</sup> Evered 2012, 197.

<sup>13</sup> Deringil 2007, 141-45.

<sup>14</sup> Karal Akgün, 2014, 111; Deringil 2007, 134.

<sup>15</sup> Deringil 2019, 99.

<sup>16</sup> *Usûl-i Cedîd/Cedîde* means innovation in teaching aids and materials, and teachers abandoning traditional teaching methods and applying new and effective teaching methods; see Akyüz 2020, 207.

<sup>17</sup> Somel 2015, 75. For an important study on educational methods and the general structure of neighborhood schools, see Birinci 2017, 23-40.

in consideration of this situation.<sup>18</sup> With this law, junior high schools were considered to be complementary to *ibtidâî* (primitive) schools; thus, *ibtidâî* (primitive) schools and junior high schools were merged, and these schools providing basic education were called Mekâtib-i İbtidâîye-i Umûmiye.<sup>19</sup>

## Modern Education in Antalya

The first educational institution that opened in Antalya during the modernization of education was the junior high school in 1866. It was followed by the First İbtidâî School (Hamidiye İbtidâî School) in 1883, and then the Second İbtidâî School (Mecidiye İbtidâî School) in 1890.<sup>20</sup> At the end of the century in 1899, Meşrutiyet İbtidâî Mektebi joined these schools. Apart from these, there were also the Greek Junior High School, the Greek İnâs (Girls) Junior High School (1884)<sup>21</sup> and the Greek İbtidâî School (1894) in Antalya.<sup>22</sup>

Modern education in Antalya was taken a step further in 1898 when the junior high school was transformed into an *idâdî* school. In the 20th century, schools providing education with new methods (*usul-i cedîd/cedîde*) became more widespread in the city. In 1901 Feridiye school while in 1911 Reşadiye and İttihat ve Terakki İbtidâî schools were opened.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the İnâs İbtidâî School opened in 1884 for the education of girls;<sup>24</sup> the İnâs Junior High School started education in 1907.<sup>25</sup> Dârümuallimîn-i İbtidâîye School was opened in 1903 to meet the need for teachers in schools by offering modern education. The school, which provided two years of education and whose graduates were employed in *ibtidâî* schools, was closed in 1913. It was then reopened in 1915 as a boarding school in the Italian Girls' School and operated until 1923. The schools educational span during this period was four years.<sup>26</sup>

The modernization that began in education yielded positive results in Antalya. In fact, in 1906 there were six schools in the center of Antalya that provided education according to *usul-i cedîd*. These schools had 732 students, 550 boys and 182 girls. The number of schools providing education in *usul-i atik* was seven. A total of 370 students, 190 boys and 180 girls, were studying in these schools.<sup>27</sup> This situation clearly shows that the efforts initiated to modernize education in Antalya yielded results in a short time, and significant progress was made.

In a study conducted by taking into account the examination records of the year 1913, we learned that around 2,000 students received education in modern educational institutions in the

<sup>18</sup> For more information on the content of this law, see Uyanık, Kaya, and Elçiçeği 2021, 172-79.

<sup>19</sup> Sakaoğlu 1991, 138-39.

<sup>20</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 60/106.

<sup>21</sup> The Greek İnâs Junior High School, now Dumlupınar Primary School, was rebuilt in 1905. On the construction of the building, its architectural features, and its current state, see Yirşen 2021, 400.

<sup>22</sup> KVS 1332 (1914), 731-32.

<sup>23</sup> On *ibtidâî* schools in Antalya, see Deniz 2015, 52-59; Aydın 2022, 58-70.

<sup>24</sup> KVS 1302 (1885), 182.

<sup>25</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 198/37; BOA., MF. İBT. 199/2; BOA., MF. MKT. 1033/54. İnâs Junior High School was incorporated into *idâdî* in early 1916. See BOA., DH. UMVM. 68/54. For more information on girls' education in Antalya, see also Kısa 2022; Özçelik Kanat 2022, 103-15.

<sup>26</sup> For more information on Dârümuallimîn-i İbtidâîye, see Güçlü 2018, 285-91; Kısa 2020, 483-84.

<sup>27</sup> Beden 2008, 183; KVS 1322 (1906), 150.

center of Antalya. The educational rate according to the population was 5.1%.<sup>28</sup> In the districts of Antalya, 4,994 students were studying in 8 junior high schools and 94 primitive schools. There were only 20 students from non-Muslim background in these schools.<sup>29</sup> This situation shows that, although it was hoped that non-Muslims would study in public schools, the desired result was not achieved. As a matter of fact, the increase in the number of schools opened by non-Muslim communities and the increasing Islamic quality in primitive and junior high school curricula were effective in the emergence of such a result.<sup>30</sup> However, there are two main reasons why the modernization process in education did not yield better results in Antalya. The first of these is that the income of the now extinct Waqfs (*evkâf-ı münderise*), which had lost their former function, was limited and far from meeting the needs of the schools.<sup>31</sup> The other is that Antalya could not benefit from the commercial prosperity that developed in the 19th century in the Eastern Mediterranean due to the inability to modernize its ports and facilities.<sup>32</sup>

### Antalya Junior High School (*Rüşdiyye*)

Antalya Junior High School was opened on Hükümet Street in March 1866, at an early stage of the period when such schools were becoming widespread in the provinces. Built-in the style of the old Quran schools, the building consisted of a ward, a room five-six meters wide, and a doorway five meters long and three meters wide for students to put their shoes on. All classes were taught in one classroom, and there was no place for students to eat, rest or pray.<sup>33</sup>

It is understood that Antalya Junior High School was first opened as a half junior high school (*nısfu rüşdiyye*). This practice was done to overcome financial difficulties and, meant that the school was first opened under the supervision of a *muîn* (assistant) and a *bev-vâb* (porter). From the third year onwards, when the lessons became more complex, the school was transformed into a full junior high school with the appointment of a head teacher (schoolmaster) from the center.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, Antalya Junior High School was first opened as a half junior high school and started education under the supervision of Mehmet Efendi, the secondary teacher. Mehmet Efendi was a former teacher at Istanbul Yenipazar İbtidâîsi (primary school) and was assigned to Antalya Junior High School with a salary of 400 guruh (piasters). Karahisarlı Oğlu Hasan Ağa was appointed as *bev-vâb* (porter) with a salary of 100 guruh (March 6, 1866).<sup>35</sup> Shortly after the school opened, the number of students reached 60.

<sup>28</sup> According to 1913 data, 5,585 students were studying in modern educational institutions, including high schools, junior high schools, primitive schools, *dârümuallimîn-i ibtidâîye* and schools opened by non-Muslims, in Antalya and its districts. According to 1914 data, the population of Antalya was 249,686, which means that the ratio of modern education to the population in Antalya was 2.2%. See Kısa 2023, 303-4. Regarding the population data of Antalya for the year 1914, see *Tableaux indiquant le nombre de divers éléments de la population dans l'Empire Ottoman au 1er Mars 1330 (14 Mars 1914)*, 11. In the study he conducted for the year 1915, Mehmet Ak gave the total population of Antalya as 241,718 with its districts, see Ak 2014, 342.

<sup>29</sup> Kısa 2023, 303-4.

<sup>30</sup> Somel 2015, 296.

<sup>31</sup> Kısa 2023, 308.

<sup>32</sup> Dayar 2022, 281.

<sup>33</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 361/18; BOA., MF. İBT. 60/106.

<sup>34</sup> Somel 2015, 99.

<sup>35</sup> BOA., İ. MVL. 550/24704. After Hasan Ağa, Hurşid Ağa was appointed as *bev-vâb* at the school, and upon his death in 1876, Mehmet Ağa was appointed in his place on June 13, 1876. See BOA., MF. MKT. 37/100.

This necessitated the appointment of an instructor, and Şahabettin Efendi, a graduate of the *Dâruľmuallimîn* (Teachers Seminary for Rüşdiyye School), was appointed as the first instructor with a salary of 750 gurush, as was the case in similar *rüşdiyas* (April 2, 1866).<sup>36</sup> This shows that Antalya Junior High School was promoted to full junior high school status in a short period. On the other hand, no *rikâ* (calligraphy) teacher was employed when the school opened. Since it was necessary to have an independent *rikâ* teacher in the *rüştiyas*, Süleyman Efendi was appointed as a *rikâ* teacher on September 30, 1868, with a monthly salary of 83 gurush.<sup>37</sup> In addition, to meet the book needs of the school, necessary correspondence was made with Istanbul, and the books and pamphlets in the Maarif Library were sent to Antalya. In this context, 40 *Medbâl-i Kavâid*,<sup>38</sup> 25 *Dürr-î Yekta*, 40 *Risale-i Hesab*, 40 *Talim-i Fârisî*, 20 *Maksud*, 20 *Emsile* (contains Arabic verb conjugations), 20 *Avâmil*, 30 *Bina*, 30 *Gülistan*, 30 *Kavâid-i Fârisi* (Persian grammar and writing), and 1 map of Africa were obtained from the said library (November 9, 1872).<sup>39</sup>

Feyzullah Efendi was appointed to this position after the instructor Mehmet Efendi, and upon his resignation, Süleyman Efendi was appointed as the instructor in his place on October 23, 1879.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, the *rika* teacher Hacı Süleyman Efendi died in 1882, and Salih Efendi was appointed as the *rika* teacher on December 28, 1882.<sup>41</sup>

The 1880s played an important role in the order and organization of Antalya Junior High School and the increase in student achievements. The building where the Antalya Junior High School was opened was not suitable for education, so the school was moved to the upper floor of the two-story building built for *ibtidâi* students in 1880 in the neighborhood called Ambarlı in the Tuzcular Neighborhood.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the school finally had better physical conditions for better education and then a good teacher when Ömer Efendi was appointed to the school on September 13, 1883. Ömer Efendi served as the first teacher at Babadağ Junior High School between July 6, 1872, and December 5, 1876; as the first teacher at Haifa Junior High School between December 6, 1876, and May 17, 1880; as the first teacher at Akka Junior High School between May 18, 1880, and August 1883, and then he was appointed to Antalya Junior High School. An experienced and well-educated teacher, Ömer Efendi served at the school as the first teacher until October 1890.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> BOA., İ. MVL. 570/25622; BOA., A. MKT. MHM. 379/55.

<sup>37</sup> BOA., A. MKT. MHM. 422/62.

<sup>38</sup> This is a grammar book prepared for junior high school.

<sup>39</sup> On December 3, 1874, 20 *Avâmil*, 35 *Emsile*, 20 *Maksud*, 20 *Dürr-î Yekta*, 20 *Dürr-î Yekta*, 25 *Vezaif-i Etfal*, 20 *Kavâid-i Fârisî*, 20 *Risale-i Süliis*, 25 *Talim-ül Hendese*, 20 *Medbâl-i Kavâid*, 20 *Risale-i Hesab*, 20 *Talim-i Fârisî*, 25 *Bina*, 30 *Gülistan*, and 20 *İzbar* were sent for the school. See BOA., MF. MKT. 22/7. On February 10, 1875, 20 *Dürr-î Yekta* and 30 *Gülistan* treatises were also sent. See BOA., MF. MKT. 25/40. Ebubekir Hâzım Tepeyran (1864-1947), an important statesman, was an important personality educated at Antalya Junior High School. In his memoir, Tepeyran writes that he stayed in Antalya for three years, even though he was the second in his second-grade class, and that his father, who was a civil servant, left Antalya after his appointment to Niğde. He graduated from Antalya Junior High School at the top of his class at the age of 15. In this case, he must have started his first class at the Antalya Junior High School in 1876. He states that when he started school, there were 45 students in the first class. Tepeyran's memoirs provide remarkable information about the educational system and schools of the period. See İlkan 1998, 14-15; Hayber 1988, 3-4.

<sup>40</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 12/150.

<sup>41</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 79/35.

<sup>42</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 361/18; BOA., MF. İBT. 60/106.

<sup>43</sup> Ömer Efendi died in 1890. Considering his eighteen years of service, his three sons and his wife were granted a pension of 30 gurush each, totaling 120 gurush. See BOA., ŞD. 906/80.

Student achievements increased as long as Ömer Efendi was in charge. As a matter of fact, in 1884, it was understood that the students were quite intelligent and successful in the examinations conducted on the courses following the schools program. Considering this situation, it was decided that the students were at a level where they could study French and that a teacher should be employed at the school for French lessons with a monthly salary of 200 guruh.<sup>44</sup> Although this did not happen immediately, Pandalaki Efendi<sup>45</sup> was appointed on July 2, 1887 as the French instructor at the school.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, the Educational Commission stated that Ömer Efendi had merit, that he had been doing his job successfully since his arrival in Antalya, and that he had managed the school well by being interested in the education and training of the students. The commission, asked the Ministry of Education to increase the teachers salary and to reward him (promotion of his *ruûs*). In the application made to the Ministry of Education for this purpose, it noted that Antalya Junior High School had nearly 150 students. It then requested, that Ömer Efendi be paid a salary of 450 guruh, and that the same salary should also be given to the teachers of the district junior high school schools with 30-40 students. Finally, the teachers should be rewarded with a salary increase by providing a provision from the salaries of the teachers of the abolished (vacant) districts to ensure at least some justice (February 5, 1889).<sup>47</sup> However, despite the fervent requests from the neighborhood, the Ministry of Education would not make any improvement in Ömer Efendis salary, stating that the current financial situation did not allow for an increase (March 26, 1889).<sup>48</sup> In fact, when Omer Efendi died in October 1890, his salary was 472 guruh.<sup>49</sup>

After Ömer Efendi, Abdülgafur Efendi was appointed as the first teacher at Antalya Junior High School, a position he held until 1898, when the school was transformed into a high school. In addition to Abdülgafur Efendi, Feyzullah Efendi served as the second teacher, Salih Efendi as the *rika* teacher, Kosma Efendi as the French teacher, and Hafız Hasan Efendi as the *bevâb* (porter) (1894).<sup>50</sup> At this time, the schools students, their ages, and the schools attendance and absenteeism in March-April-May 1894 were as shown in the table below.

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<sup>44</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 17/134; BOA., MF. MKT. 85/37.

<sup>45</sup> It is stated in the Konya Vilayet Salnames that the French teacher of the school at this time was Nikola Efendi. This suggests that Pandalaki Efendi was Nikola Pandalaki. See table 4.

<sup>46</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 94/44.

<sup>47</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 22/14; BOA., MF. İBT. 23/10; BOA., MF. İBT. 19/58; BOA., MF. İBT. 19/81; BOA., MF. MKT. 120/32.

<sup>48</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 107/80.

<sup>49</sup> BOA., ŞD. 906/80. In the same period, Elmalı Junior High School Schoolmaster Halil Efendi received a salary of 400 guruh. See Durgun 2018, 173. İbradı Junior High School Schoolmaster Mehmet Emin Efendi received a salary of 480 guruh. See Kısa 2023, 267. These data show that junior high school head teachers in Antalya received an average salary of 400-500 guruh. According to the 1869 Education Regulations, the salary of schoolmasters should be 800 guruh, but it is understood that only half of this amount can be given to teachers. Considering that the salaries of secondary and calligraphy teachers were even lower, teacher salaries in purchasing power throughout the Empire remained very modest. See Somel 2015, 207.

<sup>50</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 37/96.

TABLE 1 Antalya Junior High School, 1894 March-April-May months attendance and absence table.<sup>51</sup>

| Fourth Class Students |   |            |         |          |            |         |             |            |         |          |     |
|-----------------------|---|------------|---------|----------|------------|---------|-------------|------------|---------|----------|-----|
| Row Number            | Names   | March      |         | Thoughts | April      |         | Thoughts    | May        |         | Thoughts | Age |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |          | Attendance | Absence |             | Attendance | Absence |          |     |
| 1                     | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Mehmet Efendi           | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 16  |
| 2                     | Mehmet Efendi's Son, İbrahim Efendi           | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |             | 24         | 3       | Illness  | 16  |
| 3                     | Şaban Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                  | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 4                     | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Hüseyin Ağa             | 18         | 3       | Illness  | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 5                     | Ali Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                    | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 16  |
| 6                     | Zülfikar Efendi, Son of Mustafa Ağa           | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 7                     | Tevfik Efendi, Son of Ali Hafız               | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 8                     | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Ali Rıza Efendi         | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 9                     | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Fettah Ağa               | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 10                    | İbrahim Efendi, Son of Abdi Ağa               | 19         | 2       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 26         | 1       |          | 15  |
| 11                    | Murat Efendi, Son of Hüseyin Ağa              | 18         | 3       |          | 22         | 2       |             | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 12                    | Emin Efendi's Son, Bahri Efendi               | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 13                    | Şeyh Ali Efendi, Son of Mehmet Hafız          | 19         | 2       |          | 22         | 2       |             | 27         | -       |          | 16  |
| 14                    | Mustafa Efendi, Son of Süleyman Ağa           | 20         | 1       |          | 19         | 5       | Illness     | 23         | 4       | Illness  | 16  |
| 15                    | Ahmet Efendi's Son, Halit Efendi              | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 26         | 1       |          | 14  |
| 16                    | Hacı Fettah Efendi's Son, Rafik Efendi        | 19         | 2       |          | 7          | 17      | In Izmir    | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 17                    | Hacı Sait Efendi's Son, Hakkı Efendi          | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| Third Class Students  |   |            |         |          |            |         |             |            |         |          |     |
| Row Number            | Names   | March      |         | Thoughts | April      |         | Thoughts    | May        |         | Thoughts | Age |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |          | Attendance | Absence |             | Attendance | Absence |          |     |
| 1                     | Kazım Efendi, Son of Hacı Hasan Ağa           | 19         | 2       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 2                     | Yusuf Efendi, Son of Hüseyin Ağa              | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 3                     | Resmi Efendi, Son of Yahya Ağa                | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 4                     | Arif Efendi's Son Hamdi Efendi                | 19         | 2       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 5                     | Yusuf Efendi, Son of Ahmet Usta               | 19         | 2       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |          | 13  |
| 6                     | Mehmet Corporal's Son, Yusuf Efendi           | 19         | 2       |          | 19         | 5       | Illness     | 17         | 10      | Illness  | 14  |
| 7                     | Ahmet Yaver Efendi's Son, Nafi Efendi         | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 13  |
| 8                     | Sabri Efendi's Son, Niyazi Efendi             | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |          | 11  |
| 9                     | Hüseyin Efendi's Son, Salih Efendi            | 19         | 2       |          | 13         | 11      | Illness     | 10         | 17      | Illness  | 15  |
| 10                    | Ahmet Efendi's Son, Ali Efendi                | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |             | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 11                    | Hüseyin Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa            | 18         | 3       |          | 13         | 11      | In Istanbul | 27         | -       |          | 14  |
| 12                    | Azmi Efendi's Son, Fahri Efendi <sup>52</sup> | -          | -       |          | -          | -       |             | 16         | -       |          | 16  |

<sup>51</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 37/96.<sup>52</sup> He came from İdâdi School of Bolu.

| Second Class Students |   |            |         |          |            |         |          |            |         |          |     |
|-----------------------|---|------------|---------|----------|------------|---------|----------|------------|---------|----------|-----|
| Row Number            | Names   | March      |         | Thoughts | April      |         | Thoughts | May        |         | Thoughts | Age |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |          | Attendance | Absence |          | Attendance | Absence |          |     |
| 1                     | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Şaban Efendi                | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |          | 22         | 5       | Illness  | 12  |
| 2                     | Hasan Efendi's Son, Ali Behçet Efendi             | 19         | 2       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 3                     | Süleyman Efendi's Son, Hasan Efendi               | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 13  |
| 4                     | Necip Efendi's Son, Abidin Efendi                 | 18         | 3       |          | 24         | -       |          | 26         | 1       |          | 12  |
| 5                     | Ali Efendi, Son of Halil Usta                     | 21         | -       |          | 22         | 2       |          | 26         | 1       |          | 13  |
| 6                     | Halil Efendi's Son, Süleyman Efendi <sup>53</sup> | 21         | -       |          | -          | -       |          | -          | -       |          | 12  |
| 7                     | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Mustafa Sergeant             | 21         | -       |          | 22         | 2       |          | 26         | 1       |          | 12  |
| 8                     | Penayiri Efendi, Son of Tailor Nikola             | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |          | 27         | -       |          | 15  |
| 9                     | Mehmet Efendi's Son Mehmet Efendi                 | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 10                    | Hasan Efendi, Son of Hacı Abdullah Ağa            | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |          | 25         | 2       | Illness  | 12  |
| 11                    | Abdülkadir Efendi, Son of Ahmet Ağa               | 20         | 1       |          | 18         | 6       | Illness  | 24         | 3       | Illness  | 12  |
| 12                    | Neşet Efendi's Son, Edhem Efendi                  | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |          | 27         | -       |          | 11  |
| 13                    | Şeyh Mehmet Efendi's Son, Mustafa Ef.             | 20         | 1       |          | 22         | 2       | Illness  | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 14                    | Mehmet Efendi's Son, Cemil Efendi <sup>54</sup>   | 21         | -       |          | -          | -       |          | -          | -       |          | 12  |
| 15                    | İbrahim Efendi's Son, Mustafa Efendi              | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 26         | 1       |          | 13  |
| 16                    | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Damat Mehmet.               | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 17                    | Hacı Hüseyin Efendi's Son, Tevfik Efendi          | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 18                    | Hasan Efendi, Son of Hacı Ali Ağa                 | 20         | 1       |          | 19         | 5       |          | 24         | 3       | Illness  | 12  |
| 19                    | Raşit Efendi's Son, Talat Efendi                  | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 20                    | Ahmet Efendi's Son, Osman Efendi                  | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 21                    | Emin Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa                   | 19         | 2       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 22                    | Âşur Efendi, Son of İbrahim Sergeant              | 19         | 2       |          | 17         | 7       | Illness  | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 23                    | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Mehmet Efendi               | 21         | -       |          | 19         | 5       | Illness  | 22         | 5       | Illness  | 13  |
| 24                    | Mahmut Efendi's Son, Ahmet Efendi                 | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 25                    | Mehmet Efendi's Son, Arif Efendi                  | 13         | 8       | Absence  | 19         | 8       | Illness  | 24         | 3       |          | 12  |
| 26                    | Veli Efendi's Son, Hakkı Efendi                   | 17         | 4       |          | -          | 24      | Illness  | -          | 27      | Illness  | 13  |
| 27                    | Ali Efendi, Son of Hasan Usta                     | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 13  |
| 28                    | Halil Efendi's Son, Ahmet Emiri Efendi            | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 12  |
| 29                    | Hasan Efendi, Son of Hacı Hasan Ağa               | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |          | 27         | -       |          | 13  |

<sup>53</sup> He went to Edirne School.

<sup>54</sup> He went to Edirne School.

| First Class Students |   |            |         |          |            |         |                |            |                 |                     |     |
|----------------------|---|------------|---------|----------|------------|---------|----------------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----|
| Row Number           | Names   | March      |         | Thoughts | April      |         | Thoughts       | May        |                 | Thoughts            | Age |
|                      |   | Attendance | Absence |          | Attendance | Absence |                | Attendance | Absence         |                     |     |
| 1                    | İbrahim Bey, Son of Mirliva Hasan Paşa.       | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 2                    | Hacı Mehmet Efendi's Son, Said Efendi         | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |                | 21         | 6 <sup>55</sup> |                     | 11  |
| 3                    | Mehmet Ali Efendi's Son, Süleyman Ef.         | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 13  |
| 4                    | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Abdülğani Efendi        | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 5                    | İbrahim Efendi, Son of Hacı Recep Ağa         | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 11  |
| 6                    | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                 | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 25         | 1               | Permitted           | 14  |
| 7                    | Hacı Ali Efendi's Son, Halil Efendi           | 21         | -       |          | 17         | 7       | In the village | 27         | -               |                     | 16  |
| 8                    | Hüsnü Efendi, Son of Mazlum Usta              | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 9                    | Mehmet Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa             | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 26         | 1               |                     | 11  |
| 10                   | Hasan Efendi's Son, Selahattin Efendi         | 21         | -       |          | 22         | 2       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 13  |
| 11                   | Hüsamettin Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa         | 21         | -       |          | 18         | 6       | In the village | 27         | -               |                     | 14  |
| 12                   | Faik Efendi's Son, Hayri Efendi               | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 13                   | Hüseyin Efendi, Son of Hacı Abdullah          | 21         | -       |          | 23         | 1       |                | 25         | 2               | Illness             | 14  |
| 14                   | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Muhsin Usta             | 19         | 2       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 15                   | Hüseyin Efendi, Son of Ahmet Ağa              | 20         | 1       |          | 24         | -       |                | 24         | 3               | In the village      | 13  |
| 16                   | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Abdullah Ağa            | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 14  |
| 17                   | Süleyman Efendi, Son of Salih Ağa             | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 13  |
| 18                   | Osman Efendi, Son of Hasan Usta               | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 26         | 1               |                     | 12  |
| 19                   | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Hacı Abdullah Ağa        | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 25         | 2               | Illness             | 13  |
| 20                   | Esat Efendi, Son of Arif Efendi               | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 21                   | Hacı Fettah Efendi's Son, Raşit Efendi        | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 12  |
| 22                   | Salih Efendi, Son of Hacı Salih Ağa           | 21         | -       |          | 7          | 17      | Illness        | 22         | 5               | Illness             | 11  |
| 23                   | Emin Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                   | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 14  |
| 24                   | Mustafa Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa             | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 26         | 1               |                     | 13  |
| 25                   | Mustafa Efendi, Son of Osman Ağa              | 20         | 1       |          | 23         | 1       |                | 26         | 1               |                     | 13  |
| 26                   | Osman Efendi, Son of Hacı Mehmet Ağa          | 21         | -       |          | 17         | 7       | Illness        | 25         | 2               | Illness             | 14  |
| 27                   | Cemali Efendi, <sup>56</sup> Son of Osman Ağa | 19         | 2       |          | 18         | 6       | Illness        | 16         | 11              |                     | 15  |
| 28                   | Süleyman Efendi, Son of Hacı Ali Ağa          | 19         | 2       |          | 20         | 4       | Illness        | -          | 27              | Leave <sup>57</sup> | 12  |
| 29                   | Şevki Efendi, Son of İbrahim Sergeant         | 21         | -       |          | 24         | -       |                | 25         | 2               | Illness             | 14  |
| 30                   | Arif Efendi's Son, Kemal Bey                  | 13         | 8       | Illness  | 24         | -       |                | 27         | -               |                     | 11  |
| 31                   | Tahir Efendi, Son of Salih Ağa                | 3          | 18      | Illness  | 7          | 17      | Illness        | 25         | 2               | Illness             | 16  |

<sup>55</sup> From his father's illness.

<sup>56</sup> He went to another province in May.

<sup>57</sup> Dropped out of school.



As can be seen from the table, the school had 89 students; however, since three students left the school, 86 students remained in the school (June 27, 1894). The school was attended by students whose ages were between 11 and 16.

At this time, French was also being taught at the school. At first, Nikola Pandalaki Efendi taught this course (see table 4). However, the more regular teaching of French began with the appointment of Kosma Efendi as a French teacher to the school on June 4, 1893.<sup>58</sup> Kosma Efendi,<sup>59</sup> a Greek national of the Ottoman Empire, was born on July 10, 1871, in the town of Sille in the Sudirhem District of Konya. His father, Istradi Efendi, was from the central district of Konya and engaged in agriculture in the village of Ladik in the Saideli (Kadınhanı) District of Konya. Kosma Efendi first started his education in Sille at the Primary School of Rum Sıbyân (Primary School of Rum), then continued his education at the junior high school section of the school. After graduating from there, he completed his education at Konya İdâdisi. He then took private French lessons from Madame Caroline. At the age of 18, he started working at the Accounting Office in Antalya. While continuing in this position, he was successful in an examination and was appointed as a French teacher at the Antalya Junior High School, teaching two hours of French per week (June 4, 1893).<sup>60</sup> Kosma Efendi received a monthly salary of five Mecidiye<sup>61</sup> for his teaching duties, and his salary was paid from the revenues of the primary schools. Kosma Efendi worked as both a civil servant and a teacher, as well as examining foreign documents arriving by sea at the Customs Office and translating foreign books, pamphlets and commercial correspondence. As a reward for these efforts, he was transferred to the Nafia Commission Office (Commission Office of Public Works) on March 3, 1894. Thereupon, he resigned from his teaching position on March 12, 1894.<sup>62</sup>

Although French was included among the subjects to be taught in high schools, no allocation was made by the Ministry of Education for the teachers salary. Considering Antalyas location on the coast and the taxes levied on foreign merchants, it was considered beneficial to teach French to the students of the school. For this reason, a French course was introduced at the junior high school, the salary of which was covered by local resources.<sup>63</sup> However, with the construction of the Dinar railroad, Antalyas trade and therefore its education revenues declined.<sup>64</sup> Again, the accidental burning of some of the revenues of 1893 made it impossible to

<sup>58</sup> Kuzma Efendis name is used in different ways in the sources such as Kuzmayadis, Kosti, Kuzma, Kozmas Ekseryadis. Since he stated that his name was Kosma in his translated state sheet, we prefer to use the name Kosma in our study. See *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 14.

<sup>59</sup> There is also information about Kosma Efendis physical characteristics in the Devlet-i Osmaniye Tezkiresi (Ottoman Population Card). Accordingly, Kosma Efendi was of medium height, with hazel eyes and a black mustache. See *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 7.

<sup>60</sup> Kosma Efendi stated that he could speak and write Turkish, French, and Greek, that he was familiar with English and Armenian, and that he did not have any written works. See *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 14.

<sup>61</sup> *Mecidiye*. This is the general name of the gold and silver coins issued to commemorate the sixth anniversary of Ottoman Sultan Abdülmeccit's accession to the throne. Five Mecidiye corresponded to 100 gurush. For more information, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 28 s.v. "Mecidiye". Kosma Efendis salary was later increased to 10 Mecidiye (200 gurush) per month. *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 26.

<sup>62</sup> *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 14.

<sup>63</sup> In the 19th century after the Greek Revolution, the disappearance of the threat of war and piracy in the Mediterranean led to a golden age in the Eastern Mediterranean, and modern ports were built in coastal cities. Due to the lack of modernization of ports and facilities, Antalya could not benefit from the increasing commercial prosperity at the desired level. See Dayar 2022, 280-81. This situation caused the revenues from maritime trade to be limited for educational expenditures and created great difficulty for constructing modern schools and meeting the expenses from local resources.

<sup>64</sup> The extension of the Izmir-Aydın railway to Dinar negatively affected Antalya trade and revenues. Antalya, although one of Anatolias gateways to the sea during the periods of traditional transportation, lost its advantages to Izmir and Istanbul with the development of the railroads, thus leading to a decrease in revenues. On the Izmir-Aydın railway being brought to Dinar and its subsequent extensions, see Karaca 2021, 27.

pay the French teacher with local resources. Therefore, financial problems played an important role in Kosma Efendis resignation as a French teacher on March 12, 1894. However, the application of the Antalya Educational Commissions to the Ministry of Education stated that *idâdis* had been opened in towns much smaller and less important than Antalya. And large amounts of resources were transferred to these towns from the Ministry of Education. Therefore, because Antalya did not even have an *idâdi*, the request that the city be given an allocation for the French course at the junior high school yielded results (November 4, 1894).<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, 200 gurush per month for the French teacher were allocated from the provincial section of the finance budget for Antalya Junior High School and added to the 1897 budget.<sup>66</sup>

After the allocation problem was solved, Kosma Efendi participated in the exam for being a French teacher. He was successful in the examination held at the Directorate of Education in Konya and resumed his position on September 24, 1896, with a monthly salary of 200 gurush. Kosma Efendi continued to work as a civil servant and received a salary of 250 gurush, while also working as a French teacher. Kosma Efendi translated Greek, English, and French books and pamphlets into Turkish on an honorary basis, and also translated some articles from French into Turkish and Turkish into French for the education of the students of the Antalya Junior High School.<sup>67</sup>

In 1895, the attendance and absenteeism of the schools students in September-October-November were as shown in the table below.

TABLE 2 Antalya Junior High School, 1895 September-October-November months attendance and absence table.<sup>68</sup>

| Fourth Class Students |  |            |         |                       |            |         |          |            |         |                         |
|-----------------------|--|------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|---------|----------|------------|---------|-------------------------|
| Row Number            | Names                                  | Sep.       |         | Thoughts              | Oct.       |         | Thoughts | Nov.       |         | Thoughts                |
|                       |  | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |          | Attendance | Absence |                         |
| 1                     | Şaban Efendi, Son of Mustafa Ağa       | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |          | 26         | -       |                         |
| 2                     | Hasan Efendi's Son, Ali Behçet Efendi  | -          | 25      | In Elmalı             | 27         | -       |          | 22         | 4       | At his parent's service |
| 3                     | Hasan Efendi, Son of Süleyman Sergeant | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |          | 26         | -       |                         |
| 4                     | Tevfik Efendi, Son of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture | 27         | -       |          | 22         | 4       | His mother is ill       |
| 5                     | Şeyh Mehmet Efendi's Son, Mustafa Ef.  | 25         | -       |                       | 26         | 1       |          | 22         | 4       | Illness                 |
| 6                     | Ali Efendi, Son of Halil Ağa           | 25         | -       |                       | 26         | 1       |          | 26         | -       |                         |
| 7                     | Mehmet Efendi's Son, Şükrü Efendi      | -          | 25      | In Kaş                | 22         | 5       |          | 26         | -       |                         |
| 8                     | Necib Efendi's Son, Aydın Efendi       | -          | 25      | In the village        | 22         | 5       |          | 25         | 1       |                         |

<sup>65</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 26.

<sup>66</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 29.

<sup>67</sup> The fact that there was no record of Kosma Efendis appointment as a French teacher caused problems in the payment of his salary, so he did not receive his salary for a long time. For the correspondence between the local administration and the Ministry of Education, see BOA., MF. MKT. 358/7; BOA., MF. MKT. 373/33; BOA., MF. MKT. 244/17, lef 2.

<sup>68</sup> BOA., TS. MA. e. 1373/45.

| Fourth Class Students |   |            |         |                              |            |         |                         |            |         |                         |
|-----------------------|---|------------|---------|------------------------------|------------|---------|-------------------------|------------|---------|-------------------------|
| Row Number            | Names   | Sep.       |         | Thoughts                     | Oct.       |         | Thoughts                | Nov.       |         | Thoughts                |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |                              | Attendance | Absence |                         | Attendance | Absence |                         |
| 9                     | Mustafa Efendi, Son, of İbrahim Ağa           | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture        | 4          | 23      | In the summer pasture   | 23         | 3       | At his parent's service |
| 10                    | Penayiri Efendi, Son of Tailor Nikola         | 23         | 2       | Religious days <sup>69</sup> | 26         | 1       |                         | 25         | 1       |                         |
| 11                    | Emin Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa               | 25         | -       |                              | 23         | 4       | At his father's service | 24         | 2       |                         |
| 12                    | Hüseyin Efendi, Son of Hacı Hasan Ağa         | 25         | -       |                              | 26         | 1       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 13                    | Aşur Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa               | 25         | -       |                              | 25         | 2       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 14                    | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa               | 13         | 12      | In Iskenderiye               | 24         | 3       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 15                    | Fahri Efendi, Son of Mustafa Ağa              | 24         | 1       |                              | 25         | 2       |                         | 25         | 1       |                         |
| 16                    | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Damat Mehmet            | 9          | 16      | Absence                      | 22         | 5       |                         | 9          | 17      | Absence                 |
| Third Class Students  |   |            |         |                              |            |         |                         |            |         |                         |
| Row Number            | Names   | Sep.       |         | Thoughts                     | Oct.       |         | Thoughts                | Nov.       |         | Thoughts                |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |                              | Attendance | Absence |                         | Attendance | Absence |                         |
| 1                     | İbrahim Bey, Son of Mirliva Hasan Paşa        | 25         | -       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 2                     | Andülgani Efendi, Son of Mustafa Ağa          | 25         | -       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 24         | 2       | Illness                 |
| 3                     | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                 | 7          | 18      | In the summer pasture        | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 4                     | İbrahim Efendi, Son of Hacı Recep Ağa         | -          | 26      | In the summer pasture        | 22         | 5       | At his parent's service | 26         | -       |                         |
| 5                     | Hüsni Efendi, <sup>70</sup> Son of Mazlum Ağa | 25         | -       |                              | -          | -       |                         | -          | -       |                         |
| 6                     | Mehmet Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa             | 25         | -       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 7                     | Süleyman Efendi, Son of Salih Ağa             | 15         | 10      | In the village               | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 8                     | Osman Efendi, Son of Hasan Ağa                | 25         | -       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 9                     | Faik Efendi's Son Sabri Efendi                | 25         | -       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 25         | 1       |                         |
| 10                    | Abdülfettah Efendi's Son, Raşit Efendi        | 25         | -       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 11                    | Emin Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                   | 17         | 8       | In the summer pasture        | 27         | -       |                         | 26         | -       |                         |
| 12                    | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Hasan Ağa               | 24         | 1       |                              | 27         | -       |                         | 25         | 1       |                         |
| 13                    | Tahir Efendi, Son of Salih Ağa                | -          | 25      | In the village               | 21         | 6       | In the village          | 26         | -       |                         |
| 14                    | Arif Efendi's Son Esat Efendi                 | 25         | -       |                              | 15         | 12      | Eye disease             | 12         | 14      | Eye disease             |

<sup>69</sup> "Yevm-i mahsuslarımdan."

<sup>70</sup> They moved to Rhodes.

| Third Class Students  |  |            |         |                               |            |         |                       |            |         |                       |
|-----------------------|--|------------|---------|-------------------------------|------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|---------|-----------------------|
| Row Number            | Names  | Sep.       |         | Thoughts                      | Oct.       |         | Thoughts              | Nov.       |         | Thoughts              |
|                       |  | Attendance | Absence |                               | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |                       |
| 15                    | Şevki Efendi, Son of İbrahim Sergeant            | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture         | 9          | 18      | In the summer pasture | 26         | -       |                       |
| 16                    | Hacı Mehmet Efendi's Son Halil Efendi            | 25         | -       |                               | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                       |
| 17                    | Mehmet Efendi's Son Arif Efendi                  | 16         | 9       |                               | 17         | 10      | Absence               | 21         | 5       |                       |
| 18                    | Hacı Salih Efendi, Son of Hacı Salih Ağa         | 21         | 4       |                               | 27         | -       |                       | 25         | 1       |                       |
| 19                    | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Hacı Abdullah Ağa           | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture         | 25         | 2       |                       | 24         | 2       |                       |
| 20                    | Mehmet Efendi's Son Mustafa Efendi               | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture         | 10         | 17      | In the summer pasture | 22         | 4       |                       |
| 21                    | Ahmet Emiri Efendi, Son of Halil Ağa             | 15         | 10      | Destitute child <sup>71</sup> | 24         | 3       |                       | 22         | 4       |                       |
| 22                    | Salih Efendi's Son, Mustafa Efendi <sup>72</sup> | -          | -       |                               | -          | -       |                       | 8          | -       |                       |
| 23                    | Mehmet Ali Efendi's Son, Süleyman Ef.            | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture         | -          | 27      | In the summer pasture | -          | 26      | In the summer pasture |
| 24                    | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Abdullah Ağa               | -          | 25      |                               | -          | 27      |                       | -          | 26      | Dropped out of school |
| 25                    | Hüsameddin Efendi, Son of İbrahim Ağa            | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture         | 10         | 17      | In the summer pasture | 26         | -       |                       |
| Second Class Students |  |            |         |                               |            |         |                       |            |         |                       |
| Row Number            | Names  | Sep.       |         | Thoughts                      | Oct.       |         | Thoughts              | Nov.       |         | Thoughts              |
|                       |  | Attendance | Absence |                               | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |                       |
| 1                     | İbrahim Efendi, Son of Bayram Sergeant           | 25         | -       |                               | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       | Illness               |
| 2                     | Yusuf Efendi, Son of Hacı İbrahim Ağa            | 21         | 4       | At his parent's service       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                       |
| 3                     | Ali Efendi, Son of Hacı Mehmet Ağa               | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture         | 16         | 11      | In the summer pasture | -          | 26      | In the village        |
| 4                     | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Hafız Hasan Ef.            | 25         | -       |                               | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                       |
| 5                     | Osman Efendi, Son of Hacı Mustafa Ağa            | 16         | 9       | In the summer pasture         | 27         | -       |                       | 25         | 1       |                       |
| 6                     | Fehmi Efendi, Son of Osman Ağa                   | 2          | 23      | In the summer pasture         | 13         | 15      | Illness               | 4          | 22      | Illness               |

<sup>71</sup> "Bî-kes (kimsesiz) bulunduğundan."

<sup>72</sup> He came from Isparta Rüşdiyye School.

| Second Class Students |   |            |         |                       |            |         |                       |            |         |                         |
|-----------------------|---|------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|---------|-----------------------|------------|---------|-------------------------|
| Row Number            | Names   | Sep.       |         | Thoughts              | Oct.       |         | Thoughts              | Nov.       |         | Thoughts                |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |                         |
| 7                     | Rüştü Efendi's Son, Ali Efendi                    | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 8                     | Hayri Efendi's Son, Şükrü Efendi                  | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 9                     | Namık Efendi, Son of Hasan Bey                    | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture | 25         | 2       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 10                    | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Emin Efendi                 | 18         | 7       | In the summer pasture | 27         | -       |                       | 23         | 3       | Permitted               |
| 11                    | Mustafa Efendi's Son, Hasan Efendi                | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 12                    | Azimet Efendi, Son of Mustafa Sergeant            | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 17         | 9       | Illness                 |
| 13                    | Hafız Ali Efendi's Son, Ahmet Efendi              | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 22         | 4       | Illness                 |
| 14                    | İsmail Efendi's Son, Sıddık Efendi                | 1          | 13      | Illness               | 16         | 1       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 15                    | Hasan Efendi, Son of Hacı Mansur Ağa              | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 16                    | Hüseyin Efendi, Son of Veli Ağa                   | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 17                    | İsmail Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa                  | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 18                    | İsmail Efendi, Son of Osman Sergeant              | 6          | 19      | In the summer pasture | 26         | 1       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 19                    | Hasan Efendi's Son, Hilmi Efendi                  | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture | 22         | 5       |                       | 22         | 4       | At his parent's service |
| 20                    | Mahmut Efendi, Son of Bilal Ağa                   | 9          | 19      | In the summer pasture | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 21                    | Salih Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                      | -          | 25      | In Alaiye             | -          | 27      | In Alaiye             | 24         | 2       |                         |
| 22                    | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Süleyman Ağa                 | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture | -          | 27      | In the summer pasture | 26         | -       |                         |
| 23                    | Halil Efendi, Son of Hacı Hasan Ağa               | -          | 25      | In the summer pasture | 16         | 11      | In the summer pasture | 24         | 2       |                         |
| 24                    | Halil Efendi, Son of Ali Bey                      | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 3          | 23      | In the village          |
| 25                    | Arif Efendi's Son, Kemal Efendi                   | 25         | -       |                       | 25         | 2       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 26                    | Musa Efendi, Son of Yusuf Ağa                     | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 27                    | İbrahim Efendi, <sup>73</sup> Son of Ali Sergeant | -          | -       |                       | -          | -       |                       | -          | -       |                         |
| First Class Students  |   |            |         |                       |            |         |                       |            |         |                         |
| Row Number            | Names   | Sep.       |         | Thoughts              | Oct.       |         | Thoughts              | Nov.       |         | Thoughts                |
|                       |   | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |                       | Attendance | Absence |                         |
| 1                     | Hasan Efendi's Son, Lütfi Efendi                  | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |
| 2                     | Edhem Efendi, Son of Hacı Mehmet Ağa              | 24         | 1       |                       | -          | 27      | In Izmir              | 8          | 18      | In Izmir                |
| 3                     | Nuri Efendi, Son of Hacı Ahmet Ağa                | 25         | -       |                       | 27         | -       |                       | 26         | -       |                         |

<sup>73</sup> They moved to Izmir.

| First Class Students |   |            |         |             |            |         |             |            |         |                   |
|----------------------|---|------------|---------|-------------|------------|---------|-------------|------------|---------|-------------------|
| Row Number           | Names   | Sep.       |         | Thoughts    | Oct.       |         | Thoughts    | Nov.       |         | Thoughts          |
|                      |   | Attendance | Absence |             | Attendance | Absence |             | Attendance | Absence |                   |
| 4                    | Tevfik Efendi, Son of İsmail Sergeant           | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 5                    | Ali Şükrü Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa             | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 6                    | Yahya Efendi, Son of Süleyman Ağa               | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 7                    | Edhem Efendi's Son Abidin Efendi                | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 8                    | Hasan Efendi's Son, Osman Efendi                | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 9                    | Mehmet Efendi's Son, Salih Efendi               | 24         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 10                   | Abdülvahhab, Son of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa            | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 11                   | Hami Efendi, Son of Hakkı Bey                   | 24         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 12                   | Mehmet Efendi, Son Of Derviş Ömer               | 24         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 13                   | Ali Efendi, Son of Selami Ağa                   | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 14                   | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                   | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 20         | 6       | Being circumcised |
| 15                   | Latif Efendi, Son of Mustafa Ağa                | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 16                   | Salih Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa                 | 20         | 5       | Illness     | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 17                   | Mehmet Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa                | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 18                   | Muhittin Efendi's Son, Rüştü Efendi             | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 19                   | Ali Efendi, Son of Mehmet Ağa                   | 24         | 1       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 20                   | Ahmet Efendi, Son of Ali Ağa                    | 23         | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 21                   | Muharrem Efendi, Son of Ali Sergeant            | 22         | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 22                   | Abdi Efendi, Son of Mehmet Sergeant             | 22         | -       | New sign up | 25         | 2       | Illness     | 26         | -       |                   |
| 23                   | Nizamettin Efendi's Son, Hilmi Efendi           | 25         | -       |             | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 24                   | Ali Efendi, Son of Captain Mehmet               | 19         | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 25                   | Hasan Efendi's Son Enis Efendi                  | 18         | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 26                   | Hüseyin Efendi, Son of Hacı Mehmet Ağa          | 13         | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 26         | -       |                   |
| 27                   | Halil Efendi, Son of Bayram Ağa                 | 13         | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 2          | 24      | Illness           |
| 28                   | Şeyh Ali Efendi's Son, Mehmet Efendi            | 7          | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 25         | 1       |                   |
| 29                   | Hasan Efendi's Son, Ömer Efendi                 | 6          | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 25         | 1       |                   |
| 30                   | Raşit Efendi's Son, Adil Efendi                 | 6          | -       | New sign up | 27         | -       |             | 24         | 2       |                   |
| 31                   | Ahmet Efendi's Son, Hüseyin Efendi              | -          | -       |             | 27         | -       | New sign up | 16         | -       |                   |
| 32                   | Fehmi Efendi, Son of Hafız Ali                  | -          | -       |             | 27         | -       | New sign up | 26         | -       |                   |
| 33                   | Hacı Hasib Efendi's Son, Mehmet Efendi          | -          | -       |             | 27         | -       | New sign up | 26         | -       |                   |
| 34                   | Hüseyin Efendi's Son, Necib Efendi              | -          | -       |             | 27         | -       | New sign up | 25         | 1       |                   |
| 35                   | Fezullah Efendi's Son, Hafız Murat Ef.          | 10         | 3       | Illness     | -          | 27      | New sign up | -          | 26      | Illness           |
| 36                   | Mustafa Efendi, <sup>74</sup> Son of İsmail Ağa | -          | -       |             | -          | -       |             | 8          | -       |                   |

As can be seen from the table, the school had a total of 104 students; 36 in the first grade, 27 in the second grade, 25 in the third grade, and 16 in the fourth grade. However, the number of students was constantly changing due to new enrollments and dropouts. For example, in September, 1 student left the school, 31 students enrolled, and the number of students was 95. In October, 1 student dropped out, 4 students enrolled, and it became 98. In November, 1 student dropped out, 3 students enrolled, and the number reached 100. On the other hand, the

<sup>74</sup> He came from the Süleymaniye Madrasa in Rhodes.

number of students decreases as they move to the upper grades. The students who were in the second grade in table 1 are fourth-grade students in table 2, and 13 students are not enrolled in the school. Again, the students who were in the first grade in Table 1 are third-grade students in table 2, so it is understood that 6 students did not attend school. On the other hand, attendance and absence records were kept in detail. If students were absent, the reason for this was explained in the thoughts section.

Evaluating the educational situation of the school in the attendance-absenteeism table, Abdülğafur Efendi stated that great efforts were made to provide education and training at a certain level. However, he stated that many people were nomadic so, they stayed in the plateau areas for long periods. The lethargy caused by the water and air of Antalya along with, the high number of diseases caused some students to be absent from education. Abdülğafur Efendi also stated that the school lacked a teacher so while two classes of the four-class school were being taught, the other classes had to hold discussions. Better education could have been provided if a separate teacher was employed for these discussions (December 27, 1895).<sup>75</sup>

At that time, Feyzullah Efendi was the schools second teacher, Kosma Efendi was the French teacher, and Salih Efendi was the *rika* teacher. Salih Efendi arrived from the plateau in mid-October and could not attend classes until then. Therefore, his lifestyle affected the quality of education, not only for the students but also for the teachers. At this time, Mehmet Efendi was working as a *bevvâb* at the school. The courses taught in some classes at the school and the teachers who taught them are as shown in the table below.

TABLE 3 Weekly curriculum of Antalya Junior High School (March-April-May 1895).<sup>76</sup>

| Abdülğafur Efendi                                     |  | Fourth Class | Feyzullah Efendi           |  | Fourth Class | Third Class |
|---|--|--------------|----------------------------|--|--------------|-------------|
| Lessons   |  |              | Lessons                    |  |              |             |
| Religious Sciences<br>( <i>Ulum-ı Diniye</i> )        | Islam ( <i>Nimet-ül İslam</i> )          | 2            | <i>Kelam</i>               | The Quran and its recitation                   | 3            | 3           |
|   | Texts ( <i>Dürr-i Yekta</i> )            | 2            | Religious                  | <i>Dürr-i Yekta</i>                            |              | 2           |
| Arabic  | <i>İzbar</i>                             | 4            | Sciences                   | <i>İlmihal</i> (Catechism)                     | 2            |             |
|   |  |              | Arabic                     | <i>Maksud/Avamil</i>                           |              | 3           |
| Persian   | <i>Gülistan</i> (Literary Persian texts) | 2            | Persian                    | <i>Emsile/Bina</i>                             | 3            |             |
|   | <i>Müntebabatı Gülistan</i>              | 2            |                            | <i>Nasibat'ül-Hükema ve Kavaid</i>             |              | 2           |
| <i>Hesab</i>  | <i>Tenasib-e Dair Mesail</i>             | 2            | <i>Kavaid</i>              | <i>Talim-ül Farisî</i>                         | 2            |             |
|   | <i>A'şârîm</i> (Decimal number)          | 3            |                            | <i>Kavaid-i Osmani</i> (Vocabulary of Turkish) |              | 3           |
| Islamic History                                       | <i>Osmanî</i>                            | 2            | <i>Hesab</i>               | <i>A'mâl-i Erbââ</i> (Four transaction)        | 2            |             |
|   | (Until the Ottoman)                      | 2            | <i>Kısas-ı Enbiya</i>      |  | 2            |             |
| Geography   | <i>Mücmel Coğrafya</i>                   | 4            | Calligraphy ( <i>Haî</i> ) | <i>Hatt-ı Sülûs</i>                            | 1            | 1           |
| Geometry ( <i>Hendese</i> )                           | <i>Zübdetü'l-bendese</i>                 | 2            |                            |  |              |             |
| <i>Kavâid</i>   | Ottoman grammar and writing              | 2            |                            |  |              |             |
| Quran and its recitation ( <i>Kuran-ı K. Tecvid</i> ) |  | 2            |                            |  |              |             |

<sup>75</sup> BOA., TS. MA. e. 1373/45.

<sup>76</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 45/71.

In addition to these courses, Salih Efendi taught *rika* for one hour a week to fourth-grade students, while Kosma Efendi taught French for two hours a week to first and second-grade students. In March-April-May 1895, the school had 84 students. After nine students left the school, the number dropped to 75.<sup>77</sup> When the weekly curriculum of the school is examined, unlike the Tanzimat period during the reign of Abdülhamit II, the excess of religion and morality lessons and lesson hours in every level of school was also in question in Antalya Secondary School. The beginning of political activities and opposition to the sultan in the schools opened during the reign of Abdülhamit II led to the stronger implementation of the religious visibility and social disciplinary policies in education after 1890. The effects of this policy were also seen in Antalya Junior High School.<sup>78</sup>

In 1897, Antalya Junior High School was moved to the building where it first opened, namely Hükümet Street. This building was already being used by the Second İbtidâî School. As mentioned above, the two-story school building in Ambarlı in the Tuzcular Neighborhood in Kaleiçi had a junior high school on the upper floor and the Hamidiye İbtidâî Mektebi (First İbtidâî Mektebi) on the lower floor. The First İbtidâî School had 260 students and the Second İbtidâî School had 200 students, with the number of students in the ibtidâî schools increasing day by day. However, the buildings were insufficient, so education could not be provided at the desired level. The high number of students in the schools created problems in terms of hygiene, thus negatively affecting student health. In response, the Education Commission decided to move Antalya Junior High School and its 100 students to its old building, while Second İbtidâî School, located in the building of Kadim Junior High School, was moved to Ambarlı. With the new arrangement, First and Second İbtidâî Schools were to be on the upper and lower floors of the school building in Ambarlı, respectively. In this way, the teachers working in the two schools would be able to reach their jobs more easily, and education could be provided more regularly by helping each other. However, this request by the Education Commission was not accepted by Abdülgafur Efendi, the headmaster of Antalya Junior High School. In his justification, Abdülgafur Efendi argued that the building of Kâdim Junior High School was in the style of the old *sibyân* school, in which all classes were taught in one classroom. So it was not possible for the French teacher and its 4 teachers to teach in one dormitory. Therefore, he would not comply with the decision taken unless notified by the Ministry of Education. In the end, Abdülgafur Efendi was deemed right, and the relocation of Antalya Junior High School to its old building was abandoned.<sup>79</sup>

Meanwhile, the Antalya Education Commission had been asking to open a high school in Antalya for a long time. A committee headed by the *mutasarrıf* applied to the Governorate of Konya on February 26, 1898. It reported that Antalya, which was an important town due to its location on the coast, was suitable for the opening of a high school in terms of both population and education revenues. Since the current Antalya Junior High School building was strong and large, it was requested that the Antalya Junior High School be converted into an *idâdi* (high school). If an *idâdi* was opened in Antalya, education would improve one more level, and students who wanted to study and did not have the opportunity to go to Konya İdâdi would be provided with an education. However, financial problems posed an important

<sup>77</sup> BOA., MF. İBT. 45/71.

<sup>78</sup> Alkan 2000, 8; Somel 2015, 229.

<sup>79</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 361/18; BOA., MF. İBT. 60/106.



obstacle in the conduct of educational affairs. The fact that the local administration undertook the costs of the conversion of Antalya Junior High School into an *idâdi* was effective in accelerating the process. As a matter of fact, a budget of 37,140 gurush was needed for the opening of the *İdâdi*. When 12,640 gurush, the allocation for junior high school, was subtracted from this amount, the money required for the opening of the school was 24,500 gurush. Considering the inadequacy of the central education budget, the Antalya Education Commission undertook to cover the necessary allocation from the salaries and expenses section of its education revenues for the time being. This was on the condition that the necessary allocation for the school would be added to the budget later. After the budget problem was resolved in this way, the Ministry of Education authorized the conversion of Antalya Junior High School into an *idâdi* in July 1898. The necessary officers and teachers were appointed for the school. However, due to the teachers inability to immediately return to their duties, the school was suspended during the summer months of 1898, during which time the school building was repaired to become an *idâdi*.<sup>80</sup> After the necessary preparations were completed, Antalya *İdâdi* was officially opened on November 5, 1898, in Antalya Junior High School in Ambarlı in the Tuzcular neighborhood of Kaleiçi.<sup>81</sup>

After Antalya Junior High School was transformed into an *idâdi*, the teachers working at the school were not left unemployed. Except for Abdülğafur Efendi, the headmaster of Antalya Junior High School, all were employed at the *İdâdi*. Abdülğafur Efendi was not given any assignment because his salary was too high and the community, officials, and students were dissatisfied with him.<sup>82</sup> However, as we have explained above, the main reason for not assigning him a task was that he had opposed the decision of the Education Commission to move Antalya Junior High School in Ambarlı to its old building on Government Street in 1897. Abdülğafur Efendi fought against the Education Commission to protect the rights of the school he headed, and he was successful in this struggle. While he should have been rewarded, he was left out in the cold, and this led to the end of his career in Antalya.<sup>83</sup>

The teachers and officials working at Antalya Junior High School during the period of its operation are shown in the table below.

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<sup>80</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 399/19.

<sup>81</sup> Ferit Pasha from Avlonya, the Governor of Konya at the time, played an important role in the rapid transformation of Antalya Junior High School into an *idâdi* school. During his term as Governor of Konya (March 1898-November 1902), Ferit Pasha made important efforts to spread modern education throughout the province. In this context, he made inspection trips and asked local administrators to work harder on education. Ferit Pasha attached great importance to schooling, so shared what he had done and what needed to be done regarding education with the Ministry of Education in the form of a report. On this subject, see Kırmızı 2014, 118-27; Durgun 2022, 138-40.

<sup>82</sup> BOA., MF. MKT. 445/7; BOA., MF. MKT. 408/20.

<sup>83</sup> Abdülğafur Efendi was later appointed to Alaiye Junior High School on December 6, 1898, with his salary. See BOA., MF. MKT. 435/6.

TABLE 4 Teachers working of Antalya Junior High School.<sup>84</sup>

| Year | Schoolmaster<br>(Muallim-i Evvel) | Secondary<br>Teacher<br>(Muallim-i Sâni) | Calligraphy<br>(Rikâ) Teacher | French<br>Teacher   | Porter<br>(Bevvâb)        | Total<br>Students <sup>85</sup> |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1866 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Mehmet Efendi                            | -                             | -                   | Hasan Ağa                 | 60                              |
| 1867 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Mehmet Efendi                            | -                             | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1868 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Mehmet Efendi                            | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1869 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Mehmet Efendi                            | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1870 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Mehmet Efendi                            | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1871 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1872 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1873 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | 42                              |
| 1874 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1875 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | Hurşit Ağa                | -                               |
| 1876 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1877 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | İbrahim Ağa               | -                               |
| 1878 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | -                         | -                               |
| 1879 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | 130                             |
| 1880 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1881 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1882 | Şehabettin Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Süleyman Efendi               | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1883 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | 67                              |
| 1884 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | 129                             |
| 1885 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | 129                             |
| 1886 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | 129                             |
| 1887 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola<br>Pandalaki | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1888 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1889 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | 140                             |
| 1890 | Ömer Vasfi Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1891 | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Nikola Efendi       | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1892 | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | -                   | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |
| 1893 | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Kosma<br>Efendi     | -                         | -                               |
| 1894 | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Kosma<br>Efendi     | Hafız Hasan               | 86                              |
| 1895 | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Kosma<br>Efendi     | Hafız Hasan <sup>86</sup> | 80                              |
| 1896 | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Kosma<br>Efendi     | Mehmet Ağa                | -                               |

<sup>84</sup> Sources used in the preparation of the table: Alkan 2000, 42, 67; *BOA.*, İ. MVL. 550/24704; *BOA.*, İ. MVL. 570/25622; *BOA.*, A. MKT. MHM. 422/62; *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 79/35; *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 94/44; *BOA.*, ŞD. 906/80; *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 244/17; *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 402/46; *BOA.*, MF. İBT. 45/71; *BOA.*, MF. İBT. 37/96; *BOA.*, MF. İBT. 44/76; *KVS* 1285 (1868), 87; *KVS* 1286 (1869), 78; *KVS* 1287 (1870), 90; *KVS* 1288 (1871), 80; *KVS* 1289 (1872), 73; *KVS* 1294 (1877), 96; *KVS* 1296 (1879), 152; *KVS* 1299 (1882), 157; *KVS* 1301 (1883-1884), 56; *KVS* 1302 (1885), 182; *KVS* 1303 (1886), 316; *KVS* 1304 (1887), 236-37; *KVS* 1306 (1889), 245; *KVS* 1310 (1892), 177; *KVS* 1314 (1896), 174.

<sup>85</sup> Student numbers change throughout the year so an average number is given for this.

<sup>86</sup> As of April 23, 1895, Mehmet Ağa was appointed as a porter (*bevvâb*) to the school instead of Hasan Efendi. See *BOA.*, MF. İBT. 45/71.

| Year               | Schoolmaster<br>(Muallim-i Evvel) | Secondary<br>Teacher<br>(Muallim-i Sâni) | Calligraphy<br>(Rikâ) Teacher | French<br>Teacher | Porter<br>(Bevvâb) | Total<br>Students |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1897               | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi                         | Salih Efendi                  | Kosma<br>Efendi   | Mehmet Ağa         | 100               |
| 1898 <sup>87</sup> | Abdülğafur Efendi                 | Feyzullah Efendi <sup>88</sup>           | Salih Efendi <sup>89</sup>    | Kosma<br>Efendi   | Mehmet Ağa         | 100               |

When the table is analyzed, we see that the school, had an average of 100 students with a certain stability in terms of teachers. And these teachers appointed to the school, remained in their positions for a long time.

Thus, Antalya Junior High School, which opened in 1866, was transformed into an *idâdi* on November 5, 1898.<sup>90</sup> For 32 years, the school occupied an important place in the educational and intellectual life of Antalya. It was the first example of the educational modernization process in Antalya, which started in the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, the school had an important place in the history of education in Antalya.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

The development of education in a country requires good educational programs, a strong economy capable of implementing these programs, and a qualified educational staff. The modernization efforts that started in education in the Ottoman Empire could not meet the basic requirements needed to provide good education. The financial power of the state was insufficient, and there were no trained teachers to provide modern education. However, Ottoman statesmen, who understood the necessity of modern education, decide to modernize education by making legal arrangements, despite all its shortcomings. The result was an education program that had legal regulations but encountered major problems in its implementation. Therefore, the program was implemented as much as possible, yet not as it should have been.

The problems encountered in the general practices of Ottoman modern education were also in question in Antalya. In the 19th century, the most important result of the efforts to modernize education in Antalya was the opening of junior high school in 1866. In 1898, this institution provided education until it was transformed into an *idâdi* school, thus has an important place in the history of education in Antalya. The foundations of modern education at all levels were laid in junior high school. Our study observed that Antalya Junior High School provided more regular education, especially from the beginning of the 1880s. Moving the school to a new building and increasing the number and quality of teachers was important in the achievement of this result. Therefore, that Antalya Junior High School had better facilities and staff, in

<sup>87</sup> On February 1, 1898, Istanos Primary School teacher was appointed to Antalya Junior High School as the third teacher. See *BOA.*, MF. MKT. 402/46.

<sup>88</sup> Feyzullah Efendi continued his duty as an Arabic teacher at the school converted into Antalya High School. See *KVS* 1317 (1899), 187.

<sup>89</sup> Salih Efendi continued his duty as a calligraphy (*rikâ*) teacher at the school converted into Antalya High School. See *KVS* 1317 (1899), 187.

<sup>90</sup> For a study of Antalya High School, see Güçlü 2017; Aydemir 2020, 5-7.

<sup>91</sup> Halil İbrahim (Özkaya), Hasan Tahsin (Sürenkök), and Mustafa (Ebrîşimoğlu) Beyler, who served as Antalya deputies in the parliament during the Republican Era, were graduates of Antalya Junior High School. About their lives, see Çoker 1995, 3:113-17; Candeger 2018, 196-201.

terms of both the school building and the number of teachers and students compared to other modern schools in Antalya reflect positively on its educational success.

In this study where in the modernization in education in Antalya has been examined with a special focus on Antalya Junior High School, the following conclusions were reached. The shortcomings of the modernization process initiated by the Ottoman Empire in education negatively affected the education in Antalya Junior High School. The desired level of education was realized with the maximum use of financial means by the local authorities. At this point, the geographical opportunities of Antalya were utilized, and some of the revenues obtained from the port were used for education. While French was not taught in many junior high schools in the Ottoman Empire, Antalya Junior High School had a high level of student achievement so a French teacher was employed from the city's education fund. In the 19th century the school was the most important institution of modern education in Antalya and formed the basis of Antalya İdâdi. Therefore, a study on Antalya İdâdi using archival sources has an important place in documenting all aspects of modern secondary education in Antalya. From this perspective, this study shares the preliminary findings of the modernization of secondary education in Antalya during the Ottoman period.

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68/54

*BOA.*, MF. İBT. (Maarif Nezareti Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiyye Kalemi)

12/150 17/134 1/96

60/106 22/14 23/10

19/58 19/81 37/96

45/71 198/37 199/2

44/76

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550/24704 570/25622

*BOA.*, MF. MKT. (Maarif Nezareti Mektûbi Kalemi/Secretary of Ministry of Education)

361/18 37/100 22/7

25/40 79/35 361/18

85/37 94/44 120/32

107/80 244/17 358/7

373/33 361/18 399/19

445/7 408/20 435/6

402/46 1033/54

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906/80

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1373/45.

KVS (Konya Vilayet Salnamesi/Yearbook of the vilayet Konya)

1285 (1868) 1302 (1885)

1286 (1869) 1303 (1886)

1287 (1870) 1304 (1887)

1288 (1871) 1306 (1889)

1289 (1872) 1310 (1892)

1294 (1877) 1314 (1896)

1296 (1879) 1317 (1899)

1299 (1882) 1322 (1906)

1301 (1884) 1332 (1914)

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## Three Periods of Antalya in the 19th Century

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### Abstract

This article covers three periods of Antalya in the 19th century. The first of these periods, dated between 1814 and 1840, witnessed the regression caused by the revolt initiated by the Tekelioğlu family, one of the prominent actors of the “age of ayans” in the region, and efforts of the Sublime Porte to prevent this process of regression. In the second period, roughly dated between 1840 and 1890, the city benefited from the rapid growth of foreign trade in the Ottoman geographical sphere. After the 1890s, the city’s history was determined by economic stagnation and inter-communal conflicts, the effects of which became more pronounced afterwards. Based on this periodization, this article attempts to evaluate the history of Antalya in the 19th century from the perspective of the Ottoman Empire’s centralization and modernization efforts, and to determine Antalya’s status among the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Keywords:** Antalya, modernization, Eastern Mediterranean, port cities

### Öz

Bu makalede 19. yüzyıl Antalya’sının üç dönemi ele alınmıştır. 1814 ilâ 1840 arasına tarihlenen bu dönemlerden ilki, “ayanlar çağı”nın Doğu Akdeniz’deki önemli aktörlerinden olan Tekelioğlu Ailesi’nin başlattığı isyanın (1812-1814) bölgede yol açtığı gerilemeye ve başkentin gerileme sürecinin önüne geçme çabalarına sahne olmuştur. Ana hatlarıyla, 1840’lar ilâ 1890’lar arasına tarihlenen ikinci dönemde kent, Osmanlı coğrafyasındaki dış ticaretin hızla büyümesinin sonuçlarından faydalanmıştır. 1890’lardan sonra ise kentin tarihini ekonomik durgunluk ve bu dönemden itibaren etkileri daha fazla hissedilen cemaatler arası çekişmeler belirlemiştir. Bu dönemleştirmeden hareketle bu makale, 19. yüzyılda Antalya’nın tarihini, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun merkezileşme ve modernleşme çabaları açısından değerlendirme ve Antalya’nın Doğu Akdeniz liman kentleri arasındaki statüsünü tespit etme girişimidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Antalya, modernleşme, Doğu Akdeniz, liman kentleri

### Introduction

In the 19th century, the port city of Antalya experienced the effects of three major “transformative forces.”<sup>1</sup> The first of these was state-supported administrative and economic reforms aimed at increasing the empire’s influence in the region. Due to the great ayan (local notable) revolt at the beginning of the century, the city faced a series of interventions by the central state from the reign of Mahmud II onwards. During this process, the Sublime Porte dismantled the

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<sup>1</sup> I am using the concept of “transformative forces” inspired by Erol’s work; see Erol 2016.

influence of the dominant actors of the “age of ayans” in the city and encouraged the emergence of new actors to consolidate its power in the region.

The centralization process entered a new phase with the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839. One of the major political and social consequences of the Tanzimat in Antalya was the permanent transformation which it wrought upon the rule in the city. The most important instrument of this transformation was the establishment of the system of councils (*meclisler*). The system, which was initiated under the name of muhassilship councils (*mubasillık meclisleri*) in 1840, became widespread after the enactment of the Provincial Reform Law (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*) in 1864. This law provided for the election of local representatives to administrative councils, municipal councils and court systems to enable members of the local community to represent their communal interests.<sup>2</sup> Thus, “the era of reform”<sup>3</sup> contributed to the crystallization and consolidation of the urban leadership of new actors by the establishment of councils in the city.

In the 19th century, Antalya was also affected by the consequences of the incorporation of port cities into global capitalism. The city’s foreign trade volume increased particularly between 1840 and 1890, and the expansion of economic opportunities led to the arrival of many immigrants to Antalya. These immigrants not only changed the city’s demographic structure, but also became the most important actors in the city’s administrative and economic life by participating in the Tanzimat councils. However, Antalya was never fully incorporated into global capitalism during the 19th century and was adversely affected by Izmir’s transformation into the Ottoman Empire’s leading export port in the last quarter of the century. This development caused Antalya’s small or medium-scale commercial activities to be limited to nearby coastal traffic or neighboring towns.

And finally, starting from the end of the century, Antalya was impacted by inter-communal conflicts. In fact, the city had managed to stay away from the devastating consequences of inter-communal conflicts for a long time. The most important reason for this was the relatively “homogeneous” cultural makeup of the city’s population and the partially balanced distribution of wealth between Muslims and non-Muslims. This feature of Antalya caused the increasing influence of the capital on the city since the reign of Mahmud II to continue during the Tanzimat period. Also for this reason, Antalya became a city where the ideal of “the union of components” (*ittibâd-ı anâsır*) of the Tanzimat was implemented and where the state-society relations were more balanced. However, this balance was disrupted due to inter-communal conflicts triggered by the economic crisis at the end of the century and a series of external developments.

To put it briefly, Antalya was affected by three major transformative forces –state-sponsored administrative and economic reforms, economic incorporation into global capitalism, and the inter-communal conflict– that impacted the empire’s port cities during 19th century. However, due to historical, geographical and demographic reasons, it experienced this process within its own conditions, unlike other port cities of the empire.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Rogan 2002, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ma’oz 1968, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Cem Emrence emphasizes that a mere geographical location was not enough to ensure free admission to a historical trajectory. In other words, simply being located in a particular region or area did not automatically guarantee a particular historical experience or outcome; see Emrence 2011, 8.

This article aims to examine the 19th century in Antalya in terms of its political, economic, and social aspects, and to establish a dialogue between Antalya's history and modern literature on Ottoman port cities. Two things have been instrumental in determining such a purpose. The first reason is that studies on Antalya have not determined the city's position among port cities, nor have they thoroughly discussed the transformative forces that have affected it. Additionally, it cannot be said that the studies on the Ottoman period of Antalya, with a few exceptions,<sup>5</sup> approached the city's 19th century with a comprehensive and comparative perspective. Most of the existing studies are either limited to compiling statistical data<sup>6</sup> or consider historical events as unique to Antalya.<sup>7</sup> Lastly, it is not possible to say that in these studies, the sources to be introduced in the next section are used together and compared with each other.

When viewed from the perspective of the literature of port cities, it is necessary to emphasize the following point. Over the past few decades, modern studies have extensively discussed the effects of incorporation into global capitalism on Ottoman port cities.<sup>8</sup> Despite theoretical differences, the most notable feature of such studies on port cities is that it generally focuses on cities that have benefited from the blessings of the process of incorporation. Conversely, as a result of the great transformation that took place in the 19th century, a new hierarchy was formed among port cities. While international trade cities with modern ports and railways were at the top of this hierarchy, some cities were pushed to a subordinate position.<sup>9</sup> The new hierarchy among Eastern Mediterranean port cities caused Damietta to fall behind Alexandria,<sup>10</sup> Acre to fall behind Haifa,<sup>11</sup> and Sidon to fall behind Beirut.<sup>12</sup> A similar hierarchy was also established between Izmir and Antalya during this period, and therefore Antalya was pushed to a subordinate position among the Eastern Mediterranean port cities.

For all these reasons, the aim of this article is to place the history of Antalya within a broader framework of Eastern Mediterranean port cities with a comprehensive understanding, as well as to look at the history of 19th century Eastern Mediterranean port cities through the window of a city that was pushed into a subordinate position during this period. My purpose is to concentrate on the political, economic and social dimensions of Antalya's development in the 19th century, and then to write a history of the city, taking into account the transformative forces impacting the development of the city. Methodologically, the article attempts to strike a balance between general grand theory and microhistory. At this point, my approach diverges from systemic narratives that explain the historical processes only in terms of general variables. Similarly, historical studies that do not include comparisons and only emphasize local details do not overlap with the approach of this article.

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<sup>5</sup> For a few studies that are exceptions, see Dinç 2016; Dayar 2020b, 2022b; Ozil 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Ak 2014; Doğan 2014; Dinç 2017a, 2017b.

<sup>7</sup> Dayar 2018b.

<sup>8</sup> Keyder et al. 1993; Hanssen et al. 2002; Kolluoğlu and Toksöz 2010; Emrence 2011; Erol 2016.

<sup>9</sup> The attention has been drawn to this issue in a study related to the port cities of South and Southeast Asia; see McPherson 2002, 85.

<sup>10</sup> Crecelius 2010, 173.

<sup>11</sup> Seikaly 2002, 97.

<sup>12</sup> Arnaud 2008, 954.

## The Sources

It is undoubtedly difficult to cover Antalya's 19th century in all its aspects in a single article. The only reason for this difficulty is not the broad scope of the period under consideration. To provide a comprehensive overview, it is necessary to refer to different sources that also determine its content and manner, such as court registers (*şer'iyye sicilleri*), Ottoman state archives (*Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*), consular reports, travel accounts, newspapers from Istanbul and Athens and memoirs. The content of different types of sources reveals the effects of transformative forces and internal dynamics on the city. For example, with the exception of court registers, documents dating back to the early 19th century were predominantly produced by the central bureaucracy. This is due to the extension of direct Ottoman rule in the provinces, and this development led primarily to a depiction of this period as one of instability in the early years of the century, from the perspective of the capital. This situation, which arises from the sources influencing the content,<sup>13</sup> is the reason for the significant difference between the first and subsequent parts of the article.

The enormous increase in the number of documents produced in the provinces from the Tanzimat period onwards also affected Antalya. Among these documents, especially the minutes (*mazbata*) sent from the Antalya administrative council to Konya (center of the province) or to the capital city, are noteworthy. These minutes not only diversify the sources, but also indicate that the administrative council, which was a Tanzimat institution, was actively used. This situation in Antalya can be considered a reflection of the process that Jens Hanssen defined as the "internalization of the workings of the Tanzimat"<sup>14</sup> and can be interpreted as the success of the Tanzimat.

As for the consular reports, which are important sources for the article, they need to be divided into two categories. For there are remarkable differences in content between the consular reports dating back to the middle of the 19th century and those from the end of that century. Those who wrote the early reports were merchants who had been involved in commerce and were parties to local conflicts; therefore, their reports do not contain "objective" or, more accurately, statistical information. On the other hand, the vice-consuls who wrote the aforementioned reports provided "inside" information on local disputes since they were parties of the local relations networks. The consular reports from the end of the century contain detailed statistical data and therefore facilitate the identification of changes in the city's economic life and their effects on the local community.

According to the literature on Ottoman port cities, the intensified commercial activities that occurred in the 19th century brought greater benefits to non-Muslims than to Muslims. The main source of such claims is foreign travelers who usually had relations with the non-Muslim population and gained local knowledge through them. Similar claims are also made in the travel accounts used as sources in this article. However, local sources such as court registers are extremely useful in demonstrating that at least for Antalya, this claim is not entirely accurate and that Muslim merchants also benefited from the blessings of intensified commercial activities during this period.

The memoirs written by the Greeks in Antalya, among the sources used in the article, contain important information about the nature of inter-communal relations in Antalya in the 19th

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion on the content-determining effect of sources in urban historiography, see Eldem et al. 1999, 8-9.

<sup>14</sup> Hanssen 2002, 68-69.

century. However, these sources, written in the second half of the 20th century by the Ottoman Greeks born Antalya, who were citizens of the Greek state at that time, should be approached with caution. For example, Greek memoirs distort history by tracing the roots of Greek nationalism in Antalya back to the early 19th century.<sup>15</sup> Similar cautious attitude should be taken when using oral history studies compiled at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies,<sup>16</sup> which romanticize inter-communal relations during the Ottoman period and, in fact, are consciously directed towards such idealization.<sup>17</sup> Both forms of idealization are objectionable in terms of historiography because using sources comparatively supports a more “objective” approach on a micro historical scale and provides a research agenda where general theories can be tested.

## A Brief History

Antalya was founded by King Attalos II Philadelphos of Pergamum in the mid-second century BC. It was situated on a plateau that was a natural threshold of the city and on the shore of an eponymous bay where the Mediterranean Sea meets a vast plain. The choice of its founding location was probably due to its easy access to the sea, as well as the existence of a small inlet which later became a sheltered harbor. In fact, this was the only place on this part of the coast where one could easily reach the sea since high and steep cliffs were found on the west, south, and southeast.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the port city established by Attalos II became one of the most important port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean and one of the five major cities of the Pamphylia region during antiquity.

The importance of the city in the commercial life of the Eastern Mediterranean continued even after the Seljuk conquest, which dates to the early 13th century. Under Seljuks rule, Antalya was a crucial transit center for the export of Anatolian products and the import of merchandise from Egypt, Syria and Europe. Antalya, along with the area where the main routes leading to Bursa lay, remained under the control of the Hamid dynasty until the Ottoman invasion of the area in 1381 and 1390. The reason for the centuries-long struggle between the Ottomans and Karamanids for control of the region was its economic significance.<sup>19</sup>

Antalya came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the late 14th century and continued to be an important Mediterranean port during this period as well. However, after the conquest of Egypt in 1516-1517, the volume of goods going directly to Istanbul via the sea increased, and the Antalya-Bursa road lost its former importance. Therefore, by the 17th century, Antalya had become an insignificant local port.<sup>20</sup>

Antalya’s commercial life again became active in the late 18th century. By the end of the century, the port had become an important departure point for grain exported to the Aegean islands and Europe from the interior regions of Anatolia. During this period, the Tekelioğlu family, whose most important source of wealth was overseas grain trade, emerged as a notable

<sup>15</sup> For example, Pehlivanidis describes the Danieloğlu family as patriots (*πατριωτες*). He claims that Danieloğlu Hacı Strat Aga (*Χατζη Στρατ Αγα*) and his cousin Hacı Evren Aga (*Χατζη Εβρεν Αγα*) supported the Peloponnese Revolution and as a result, they were exiled to Kastamonu by the Sublime Porte. However, this claim is definitely not consistent; because contemporary sources indicate that the main reason for the exile was the family’s involvement in gold smuggling. See Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:131-34; to compare, see *BOA.*, HAT. 501/24565.

<sup>16</sup> Pehlivanidis includes oral history interviews with Greeks from Antalya in his book; see Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:346-47.

<sup>17</sup> Especially for this issue, one should refer to the following study: Papailias 2005, 102-5.

<sup>18</sup> Varkıvaç 2008, 135.

<sup>19</sup> İnalçık 1960, 143.

<sup>20</sup> İnalçık 1989, 128.

provincial power in the region and managed to dominate the city for 40 years. The first person who made the Tekelioğlu family an important provincial power in and around Antalya was Hacı Osman. However, the family reached its zenith under the rule of Hacı Mehmet, Hacı Osman's son. Hacı Mehmet was interested in the overseas grain trade and acquired his fortune largely through his commercial relationships. As a token of his wealth, he had many palaces and commercial facilities built both inside the walls of Kaleiçi as well as outside the old city's walls.<sup>21</sup>

After Hacı Mehmet's death, the administration of the city passed on to his son İbrahim. However, the Sublime Porte did not accept his rule and declared that Antalya would be governed by a *mutasellim* (deputy governor) appointed from Istanbul. İbrahim revolted against this decision from the capital. He took refuge in the Antalya Castle, relying on his local support. As a result, the city was besieged, and after a two-year-long siege, it came back under the control of the Ottoman Empire on June 13, 1814.<sup>22</sup>

The re-conquest of the city in 1814 opened the door to the 19th century in Antalya, wherein different actors and conditions were influential in the city's development. From this date on, local political, economic and social conditions, along with three major transformative forces, determined the city's development through the end of the century. I will next discuss the 19th century in Antalya under three headings and try to evaluate the city's peculiarities.

### Antalya (1814-1840): Strengthening of the Central Authority After the Ayan Revolt

The history of this port city in the 19th century was shaped by the unique circumstances of three distinct periods. The first of these began on June 13, 1814, after the suppression of the great revolt incited by the Tekelioğlu family, the dynasty that had been the absolute ruler of Antalya from the late 18th century until 1812.<sup>23</sup> The revolt lasted between 1812 and 1814 and resulted in a loss of population,<sup>24</sup> the destruction of agricultural lands, and severed the connection between the port and its hinterland. Given these circumstances, as daily life rapidly regressed towards minimal subsistence conditions,<sup>25</sup> commercial activities in the port were restricted to allowing only the most essential goods for several years.<sup>26</sup>

The primary aim of the Sublime Porte in the post-revolt period was to ensure the safety of the city, where the memories about the Tekelioğulları were still alive and therefore open to the threat of a new revolt.<sup>27</sup> As a first step to eliminating such a threat, all members of the rebel family were exiled to Thessaloniki.<sup>28</sup> Later the city walls, which had been destroyed during the revolt, were repaired.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Dayar 2020b, 2022b.

<sup>22</sup> Dayar 2022b.

<sup>23</sup> Dayar 2022b.

<sup>24</sup> BOA., C. DH. 76/3780.

<sup>25</sup> BOA., HAT. 535/26320.

<sup>26</sup> The customs records of the Antalya Port between June 1814 and June 1815 are listed in the following source: AŞS., 1/94, 95, 96.

<sup>27</sup> On December 21, 1815, when the balance of power was restored within the sanjak, *Mutasarrıf* Vahid Pasha expressed the Sublime Porte's concern for a potential new revolt with these words: "the presence of Tugayoğulları, one of Tekelioğlu's supporters, as the ayan in Manavgat, is the reason that could spark a new revolt in Karahisar-Teke." (*Tekelioğlu a'vânından Tugayoğullarının Manavgat'ta ayan bulunması Karahisar-Teke'nin yeni baştan ibtilalini muceb baletten olmağla*.) See BOA., C. ZB. 26/1270.

<sup>28</sup> Dayar 2022b.

<sup>29</sup> Dayar 2020a.

Another aim of the Sublime Porte in the region was to regain the authority lost in the previous century. For this purpose Teke Sanjak, whose center was in Antalya, was annexed to Hamid Sanjak, and its administration was handed over to *mutasarrıf*s (governor of an administrative district) with the rank of vizier to be appointed from Istanbul. In addition, it was decided that the *iltizam* (tax-farming), usually given to Tekelioğulları in the past, would be entrusted to the newly appointed *mutasarrıf*s.<sup>30</sup>

The effects of economic and demographic regression,<sup>31</sup> which continued for several years, also triggered attempts to provide minimum living conditions in the sanjak. Some of these initiatives included the resettlement of the population, which had left the city and its countryside during the period of revolt, back to the region.<sup>32</sup> Also, a road project connecting Isparta and Antalya was put forward to strengthen the relationship between the most important port of the region and its hinterland.<sup>33</sup> The land and property endowed by the Tekelioğulları, including numerous gardens in the eastern part of the city, were transferred to the Hamidiye Foundation in 1815.<sup>34</sup> In addition, it was decided that tax-farming of 12 of the 38 *çiftlik*s (large estates) belonging to the family would be given to *mutasarrıf*s, and the rest sold to their suitors.<sup>35</sup> The fact that these fertile *çiftlik*s were left at the tenure of the *mutasarrıf*s<sup>36</sup> showed that the Sublime Porte wanted to maintain central control over the production process, while at the same time aiming to increase it.

However, the Sublime Porte's attempts did not succeed in the short term. It took several years for the rebel family's assets to be listed; the improvements of the city walls, especially the building of a modern fortification system (redoubt) remained unfinished, and modernization attempts did not go beyond partial improvements.<sup>37</sup> The road project to strengthen the connection between Antalya and its hinterland was never realized.

The challenges faced in achieving primary objectives during this period indicate that the Ottoman Empire's influence on the region was limited, despite its efforts. The most important reason for this situation was the short tenure of the *mutasarrıf*s and the change of place (*becayış*) that prevented a stable administration. Between 1814 and 1823, a new *mutasarrıf* was appointed to the city almost every two years, some of whom were dismissed before completing their first year in office.<sup>38</sup> The Greek Revolution in the Peloponnese in 1821 further perpetuated the political and administrative instability in the region. After the years of revolution,

<sup>30</sup> The practice of allocating tax-farming to *valis* (provincial governors) and *mutasarrıf*s was not unique to Antalya during this period. See *BOA.*, C. DH. 155/7750.

<sup>31</sup> Upon examining the customs summary records in *AŞS.*, 2, Suraiya Faroqhi observed a significant decline in the number of ships arriving and departing from the port between 1818-1819. She attributed this situation to the changing global context. However, it is important to note that this decline was actually a natural result of the Tekelioğlu revolt. See Faroqhi 1981, 1464. For the custom summary records, see *AŞS.*, 2/2a; *AŞS.*, 2/2b; *AŞS.*, 2/5b; *AŞS.*, 2/9b; *AŞS.*, 2/33b; *AŞS.*, 2/103.

<sup>32</sup> For the edict issued on this matter, see *BOA.*, C. DH. 40/1979.

<sup>33</sup> Babacan 2012, 495.

<sup>34</sup> *BOA.*, D. HMH. d. 21786.

<sup>35</sup> *BOA.*, C. DH. 121/6010. These 12 *çiftlik*s were tendered to *Mutasarrıf*Vahid Pasha in 1816 and to Mahmud Pasha two years later for their management. See *BOA.*, C. ML. 137/5846; *TS. MA. E.* 1268-3.

<sup>36</sup> *BOA.*, C. ML. 496/20149.

<sup>37</sup> In 1835 there was a plan to construct eight bastions outside Kaleiçi. However, the plan was abandoned a year later due to its high cost. See *AŞS.*, 6/66, 68; *BOA.*, HAT. 1330/51889-A; *BOA.*, D. BŞM. BNE. d. 16431, p. 8-10.

<sup>38</sup> The following served as Teke and Hamid *mutasarrıf*s: between 1814 and 1816 Vahid Pasha, Derviş Pasha between 1816-1817, Hafız Ali Pasha between 1817-1818, Rauf Pasha between 1819-1821, Yusuf Pasha between 1821-22, and Mustafa Pasha in 1823. See *BOA.*, C. ML. 457/18541.

the *mutasarrıfs* had either never come to Antalya or stayed in the city for a short time, thus were the cause of many complaints.<sup>39</sup>

As a result, this process created a short-term period where the *mutasellims* regained their effectiveness in administering the region, similar to the “age of ayans” when the Tekelioğulları were the dominant actors. But as the power of the local aristocracy was broken in the revolt at the turn of the century, the Sublime Porte had to appoint non-local *mutasellims* to the city. Although the name of Karaosmanoğulları was especially prominent among these *mutasellims* in the 1820s,<sup>40</sup> the family soon faced strong social opposition.<sup>41</sup> In 1827 Karaosmanoğlu Ahmet Ağa was expelled from Antalya by the inhabitants of the city.<sup>42</sup>

An edict dated 1830 mentions that Teke Sanjak was not well managed by the vizier *mutasarrıfs* and non-local *mutasellims* in the past years. As per the aforementioned edict, the mismanagement had led the people of the sanjak to impoverishment, causing them to abandon agriculture and trade, and eventually to fall into a state of misery (*perîşâniyete yüz tutmuş*).<sup>43</sup> These events made it necessary for the Sublime Porte to support local intermediaries who would stand by the central authority in the city. In this process the İdriszades from Elmalı, who were among the few families that supported the capital during the years of revolt, gained prominence. Some of the *çiftlik*s previously belonging to the Tekelioğulları were sold to them.<sup>44</sup> However, while attempting to establish its authority in the region, the Sublime Porte faced difficulty in finding a powerful family that had neither formed alliances with the Tekelioğulları in the past nor supported the revolt. For this reason, after a while Ebubekirzade Hacı Mehmed Ağa, who had previously served as the *kethüda* (butler)<sup>45</sup> for the Tekelioğulları, was appointed as the *ayan* of the city.<sup>46</sup> In addition, the Danieloğulları (Zaneler / Ζάνελλερ),<sup>47</sup> who were the Tekelioğulları’s “moneylenders and confidants” (*sarraı ve sırdaşı*), were appointed as the *kocabaş* (heads of the local Greek community).<sup>48</sup> To put it succinctly, during the early stages of the centralization process, there existed an indirect state dominance that required the cooperation of local intermediaries in Antalya.

<sup>39</sup> For the allegations regarding the collection of undue money from the people, see *BOA.*, HAT. 1443/59325; *AŞS.*, 3-11; *AŞS.*, 3/13; *AŞS.*, 3/14; *AŞS.*, 3/212.

<sup>40</sup> The interest of the Karaosmanoğlu family in Antalya was not a recent development. They had previously supported Ahmet, who had rebelled against Tekelioğlu Hacı Mehmed and had also participated in the suppression of the 1812-1814 revolt. Between 1822-1827, after the capture of the city, several members of the Karaosmanoğulları served as administrators in Antalya. Karaosmanoğlu Eyüp Ağa in 1822-1823, Karaosmanoğlu Selim Ağa in 1824, and Karaosmanoğlu Ahmet Ağa in 1825 served as *mutasellims* in the city. See *BOA.*, HAT. 1224/47831; *BOA.*, HAT. 1350/52756; *BOA.*, HAT. 1224/47830; *AŞS.*, 3/7; *AŞS.*, 3/10; *AŞS.*, 3/35; *AŞS.*, 3/97.

<sup>41</sup> For example, it was demanded that Karaosmanoğlu Eyüp Ağa be dismissed on the grounds that he was not a good administrator and was bullying (*büsn-i idâreye muvafık olmadığı ve zulmü sebebiyle*). See *BOA.*, HAT. 666/32413.

<sup>42</sup> *AŞS.*, 3/105; *BOA.*, HAT. 735/34902.

<sup>43</sup> *AŞS.*, 3/213.

<sup>44</sup> *BOA.*, C. ML. 496/20149.

<sup>45</sup> *BOA.*, D. BSM. d. 6947/8, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3190, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> While “Zanel” may not be a name in itself, it was a name used by the Turks to refer the local Greek family name “Daniel”; see Chatzipetrou 1969, 51. For the role by Danieloğulları in the commercial relations between Egypt and Antalya, see Ritter 1859, 653.

<sup>48</sup> Until the Second Constitutional Period, the family had significant influence in many local institutions, particularly in the councils. In recognition of his contributions to government affairs, Danieloğlu Kiryak (Κυριακ) was awarded the fifth-degree Mecidiye Order in late 1900. See *BOA.*, DH. MKT. 2440/117.



At the beginning of 1833, Antalya was occupied by the Egyptian army during the Anatolian campaign of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha. The primary motive for Mehmed Ali Pasha's interest in the region was the abundant timber resources that were possessed by Antalya and its surrounding area. Even in the early years of the 19th century, Mehmet Ali Pasha had commercial relations with Antalya and had imported timber from the city. Because of this, a few years before the Anatolian campaign, he had requested to be given Kastellorizo to be close to these timber sources.<sup>49</sup> However, the occupation of Antalya ended after the temporary reconciliation between Mahmud II and Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, and the Egyptian dominance in the city remained limited to a few months (January 11, 1833 to May 14, 1833).

After coming under Ottoman rule again, the unfavorable conditions in the city began to improve. The first factor that contributed to the improved conditions was the influx of Muslim immigrants who arrived in the city from the Peloponnese following the Greek Revolution. There was also an Arab migration triggered by the Egyptian occupation. The Peloponnesian Muslim farmers, who mostly settled in the suburbs, compensated somewhat for the population loss caused by the ayan revolt at the beginning of the century. Therefore, they partially satisfied the city's need for a productive population.<sup>50</sup> Besides, the Peloponnesian immigrants showed their main influence on the city as reformers in its local political life starting in the second half of the century. On the other hand, the arrival of Arab immigrants to Antalya, which was not limited to a single period, was triggered by the commercial activity between Egypt and Antalya, as will be discussed later.

Another trigger for the change was the reforms implemented by Mahmud II in the provinces from the early 1830s. The aim of these reforms was to increase the authority of the capital in the region while also providing administrative and political stability to the city. Steps taken to achieve this goal included conducting the first census in 1831, forming a new guard group by removing the guards responsible for the security of the castle and the public order of the city for centuries,<sup>51</sup> recruiting soldiers from the region for the *Teke Redif Taburu* (Teke Military Reserve Battalion) in 1834,<sup>52</sup> and commissioning mukhtars in 1836.<sup>53</sup>

The other purpose of the reforms during the period of Mahmud II was the "public improvements of the country," as emphasized by Mehmed Said Efendi, Antalya's *mutasellim* between 1830-1832. Mehmed Said explicitly stated that the previous *mutasellims* did not have such a duty, but that the development of the country and the growth of trade were then among the duties of the *mutasellims*. As a matter of fact, Mehmed Said's distribution of agricultural tools to the people of the sanjak in order to improve agriculture<sup>54</sup> and his attempt to include wild trees in the production process by grafting were directly related to this purpose.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, activities such as the *yed-i vahid* (monopoly)<sup>56</sup> method applied under the supervision of Muhassil Osman Pasha (1833-1837)<sup>57</sup> and the construction of roads outside the city by Muhassil Necip

<sup>49</sup> Dayar 2019, 111.

<sup>50</sup> Dayar 2018a.

<sup>51</sup> BOA., D. PYM. d. 35918, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> BOA., HAT. 332/19116.

<sup>53</sup> BOA., HAT. 491/24053.

<sup>54</sup> BOA., HAT. 659/32163

<sup>55</sup> BOA., C. İKTS. 37/1806; BOA., C. İKTS. 32/1560.

<sup>56</sup> *Yed-i vahid* refers to the state's monopolistic and proactive involvement in the trading sector with the aim of generating revenue for the treasury.

<sup>57</sup> Between 1834-1835, Muhassil Osman Pasha provided capital to nearly 60 Muslim and non-Muslim merchants selected within the sanjak, granting them a monopoly on the trade of certain products; see Güran 2014, 354.

Pasha in 1838 aimed at the development of the country and the promotion of its commercial life.<sup>58</sup> By the end of the 1830s, these attempts produced their first results. After the suppression of the Tekelioğlu revolt, the production in the *çiftlik*s that joined the Hamidiye Foundations increased.<sup>59</sup> In conclusion, as a result of all these efforts, the British traveler John Carne, who visited Antalya around this time, could say that the city had good administration.<sup>60</sup> In the 1840s Spratt and Forbes described Antalya as the largest and most important city on the south coast of Anatolia.<sup>61</sup>

### Antalya (1840-1890): Commercial Developments and Population Growth

Despite all the progress made, the main reason that changed the poor conditions and accelerated Antalya's development after the proclamation of the Tanzimat was the increased volume of foreign trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>62</sup> At the beginning of this period dating between 1840 and 1890, the commercial life of the city was largely determined by Egypt's demand for timber. Starting from the mid-1830s, Egyptian ships frequently visited Antalya to purchase this commodity.<sup>63</sup> By 1842 most of Alexandria's annual timber requirements were being supplied from Finike, a sub-district (*nabiyé*) of Antalya and its surrounding areas.<sup>64</sup> Albert Graf von Pourtalès visited the city in mid-October 1843, and likened it to an Arab city due to the intense commercial relations between Egypt and Antalya.<sup>65</sup> During the winter of 1847, a Scottish traveler in Antalya witnessed a surge of commercial activity in the harbor, despite the seasonal conditions, and mentioned a business agreement signed between Antalya and Egypt regarding the timber trade.<sup>66</sup> The opportunities provided by the timber trade increased the influence of the Danieloğlu family in the city,<sup>67</sup> who had played an important role in the commercial relations between Egypt and Antalya since the 1840s.<sup>68</sup> In the second half of the century, the beneficiaries of these opportunities were Arab immigrant merchants such as Lülüs (*Lû-Lû*)<sup>69</sup> and Bileydis.

The other major products exported from Antalya during this period were grain and flour milled in the mills surrounding the city. The most important actor in this trade in the city was the local Greeks, just as they were at the beginning of the century.<sup>70</sup> However, the grain trade had become an important source of income since the 1840s due to the strong demand from the European markets. This occurrence caused the appointment of a deputy vice-consul to Antalya by the British consulate in Izmir in 1842.<sup>71</sup> While the grain crisis in

<sup>58</sup> Spratt and Forbes 1847, 1:221-22.

<sup>59</sup> In 1838 numerous peasants were working on these *çiftlik*s. For more information on the state of the *çiftlik*s in İstanos (Korkuteli) during that time, see *BOA.*, EV. d. 10835.

<sup>60</sup> Carne et al. 1836-1838, 3:9.

<sup>61</sup> Spratt and Forbes 1847, 1:211.

<sup>62</sup> Pamuk 2018, 26.

<sup>63</sup> *BOA.*, C. NF. 43/2131.

<sup>64</sup> Spratt and Forbes 1847, 1:172.

<sup>65</sup> Ritter 1859, 655.

<sup>66</sup> Anonymous 1847, 745. During this time, the Sublime Porte had granted Mehmed Ali Pasha permission to purchase timber from Antalya. See *BOA.*, İ. MTZ. (05) 12/336; *BOA.*, İ. MTZ. (05) 11/3.

<sup>67</sup> Danieloğlu Evren and Strat were appointed as the *batab emini* (timber supplier) by the capital in the mid-1830s; see *AŞS.*, 5/105.

<sup>68</sup> Ritter 1859, 653.

<sup>69</sup> For the biography of Ömer Lütü Efendi Lülü, see Dayar, 2016.

<sup>70</sup> Beaufort 1817, 124-26; Cockerell 1903, 174.

<sup>71</sup> *FO.*, 78-490, p. 458.

1846<sup>72</sup> and the drought in the early 1850s, along with the conditions caused by the Crimean War increased the demand for grain,<sup>73</sup> the opportunities created by the crisis mainly benefited the vice-consuls and some merchants.

In brief, the main products exported during the second half of the 19th century were grain, flour and timber, although there were other traded goods such as coal and animal products. During this whole period, these three products were among the main sources of wealth, and the demographic result of the developments in commercial life was the population increase experienced after the 1830s. First of all, the Arab immigration that took place after the short-term Egyptian domination in the beginning of 1833 was mainly triggered by the commercial relations between Egypt and Antalya.<sup>74</sup> Due to this commercial activity, the inns in the port and bazaar of the city were frequently visited by non-Muslim merchants from inner Anatolia or the Mediterranean islands and Europe.<sup>75</sup> Since the second half of the 19th century, the commercial activity contributed to an increased Greek population in the city.<sup>76</sup>

TABLE 1. Population of Antalya with data compiled from these sources: *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3190; *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3203; *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3206; *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3233; Dinç 2017, 461; *KVS.*, Def'a 10/1294, 154; Cuinet 1892, 860; Alishan 1899, 359.

| Muslim |        | Greek |       | Total |        |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 1831   | 5,758  | 1831  | 2,186 | 1831  | 7,944  |
| 1840   | -      | 1840  | 2,524 | 1840  | -      |
| 1845   | 7,282  | 1845  | 2,802 | 1845  | 10,084 |
| 1864   | -      | 1869  | -     | 1864  | 14,184 |
| 1877   | -      | 1877  | -     | 1877  | 15,736 |
| 1890   | 15,664 | 1890  | 8,967 | 1890  | 24,631 |
| 1897   | 18,000 | 1897  | 7,000 | 1897  | 25,000 |

The increase in commercial activity also resulted in the settlement of many immigrant Jews from Mediterranean islands in Antalya, particularly from Rhodes.<sup>77</sup> The most influential non-Muslim community after the local Greek population was the Jews who numbered nearly 300 in 1890.<sup>78</sup> The only community not affected by the population increase was the Armenians who were exiled from Iran and had settled in Antalya at the beginning of the 18th century. Their small community, who had settled around the Persian inn (*Acembane*)<sup>79</sup> upon arriving in the city, never became a significant component of the population. As a matter of fact, by the end of the 19th century, there were only about 40 Armenians living in Antalya.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Amidst the crisis, the British Vice-Consul managed to earn a profit of 50,000 francs by dispatching several ships loaded with wheat and rye to Europe; see Tchihatcheff 1850, 843.

<sup>73</sup> Dayar 2018b, 366.

<sup>74</sup> Dayar 2019, 112.

<sup>75</sup> In 1845 thirty Greek and Armenian merchants who had arrived in Antalya for business were residing in İki Kapılı Han. The registers detailing the list of merchants who visited the city during this period are as follows: *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3230; *BOA.*, NFS. d. 3231.

<sup>76</sup> Iatridou 1911, 110-11.

<sup>77</sup> During the late 19th century the Jewish community, which was experiencing population growth, attempted to establish a cemetery within the city. See *BOA.*, ŞD. 2617/36 and *BOA.*, BEO. 273/20465.

<sup>78</sup> Cuinet 1892, 860.

<sup>79</sup> For the estates of Armenians who died in Acemhane, see *AŞS.*, 11/269; *AŞS.*, 11/271; *AŞS.*, 93/85.

<sup>80</sup> Cuinet 1892, 860.

The effect of demographic growth in the second half of the 19th century on the macro level was the inability of the traditional residential area in Kaleiçi to supply the housing needs. This settlement area of approximately 30 hectares<sup>81</sup> was home to 3,866 inhabitants in 1831, but 15 years later it accommodated 4,963 persons. Continued population pressure in the Greek neighborhoods, which constituted almost half of Kaleiçi, led to the establishment of new neighborhoods outside the city walls in the years following. Thus, the city expanded for the first time towards the gardens southeast of Kaleiçi during the Turkish-Islamic period. The Muslim population, which increased from 7,282 to 15,664 between 1845 and 1890, also expanded the borders of their neighborhoods outside the walls, and this increase led to expansion in the north and east.<sup>82</sup>

During the period of commercial progress, the political life of the city was shaped by these demographic and economic developments. At the beginning of the Tanzimat period, Antalya was the scene of conflicts between the immigrant Arab merchants who came to the city after the short-term Egyptian occupation and the local families, many of whom had been allies of the Tekelioğulları in the past. These conflicts took their final form with the grain riot in the autumn of 1853. The riot came at a time of severe food shortages, and was reportedly sparked by rumors of grain hoarding by immigrant merchants. During the riot Greek and Muslim inhabitants looted the grain warehouses of immigrant merchants as a result of the instigation by the local aristocracy.<sup>83</sup>

Another target of the 1853 riot was the British and Greek vice-consuls, whose power in the city had increased as a result of the growing importance of the grain trade since the 1840s.<sup>84</sup> The real reason behind this opposition was their growing role as an important actor in the commercial life and their expansion of influence to the interior. Especially after the 1850s, the vice-consuls succeeded in expanding their influence by offering protection to certain Muslim and non-Muslim merchants,<sup>85</sup> assisting poor peasants, or employing them.<sup>86</sup>

The influence of the vice-consuls reached its peak during the tenure of F. Gadaleta, the British vice consul appointed to Antalya in late 1857.<sup>87</sup> Gadelata immediately took some merchants under his protection upon his arrival. By operating in towns in and around Antalya, such as Burdur and Isparta, he succeeded in being at the center of a wider communication network than any other foreign state representative before him. However, Gadelata's activities soon encountered strong opposition; and as a result of these increasingly violent reactions, he was dismissed from his post.<sup>88</sup>

Opposition to the vice-consuls served to relieve tensions between native families and immigrant merchants. This relief was to such an extent that by the 1860s local conflicts seemed

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<sup>81</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1:332.

<sup>82</sup> Dayar 2020b.

<sup>83</sup> Dayar 2018b.

<sup>84</sup> The Greek Vice Consul, who was engaged in the grain trade, took office in 1849; see Chatzipetrou 1969, 38.

<sup>85</sup> Dayar 2018b.

<sup>86</sup> For instance, in 1855, when famine and harsh conditions prevailed, British Vice-Consul Mr. Purdie distributed wheat to the villagers of Antalya and provided a loan of 4,250 pounds to most of his sharecropper farmers; see Kurmuş 1974, 149, 256.

<sup>87</sup> *BOA*, A.) DVN. DVE. 23/50.

<sup>88</sup> For the complaints about the Vice-Consul and the investigation of the inspector who came to the city in the autumn of 1859, see *FO*, 78-1554 and Samaha 2002.

to have generally ended. Undoubtedly, the discontent caused by the vice-consuls was not the only thing that alleviated the strife. The Ottoman unity policy (*ittibâd-ı anâsır*), based on the legal equality of the imperial subjects of the Tanzimat along with many other events such as marriage ties or commercial partnerships between immigrant and native Muslim families, had eroded the differences between the communities.

These developments led to the formation of a wealthy merchant class that could be an alternative to the old powerful families and at the same time could adopt the Tanzimat policies. Immigrant Arabs almost always took part in the provincial councils and various commissions that were institutionalized after the proclamation of the Tanzimat.<sup>89</sup> In the last quarter of the century, all of the mayors of the city were among the Arab merchants.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, Westernized Peloponnesian immigrants, such as the Moravi family, wholeheartedly supported the Tanzimat reforms. At the end of the 19th century, they were among the opponents of the regime, which began to have an increasingly authoritarian character.<sup>91</sup> The effects of this community, mainly composed of immigrant merchants, on the political and administrative life of the city continued until the years of the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918).

The contribution of the local Greek community to the formation of an urban community believing in Ottoman unity during the Tanzimat period should not be underestimated. These Greeks, although an important component of the urban population, did not act as a monolithic community even during the period of local conflicts. For instance, the religious leader of the community, who was also a merchant, was a partner of the Arab immigrants. The Danieloğlu family played an important role in the timber trade between Egypt and Antalya and had close relations with immigrant traders. On the other hand, some local Greeks participated in the grain riot of 1853 and took part in the looting of the warehouses of immigrant Arab merchants along with the Muslim community. In addition, the vast majority of local Greeks had acted together with Muslim merchants in their opposition to foreign state representatives, including the Greek Vice-Consul.<sup>92</sup>

There are multiple reasons for these close relationships which are not limited to just one case. First of all, the local Greeks spoke the same language with the Muslim natives, “lived almost like” Turks, and shared a common culture. A contemporary source wrote:

“And so it is, that of all the Greeks of Adalia, not one can converse in the language of their fathers. Separated from their countrymen, they have become almost a distinct race; and, losing that language of which they have no practice, have learnt to use as their own the vernacular of the land in which they are immigrants of such antique standing. They talk Turkish-live almost like Turks; and by their religion only are distinguished from their neighbours.”<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> For the biographies of Hacı Ömer Ağa, Arap Süleyman and Ömer Lütfi Lülü, one of the city’s leading Arab merchants, see Dayar 2016, 2019.

<sup>90</sup> Mehmed Said Efendi was the mayor of Antalya between 1880 and 1888. For his mayoral term, see *KVS. Def’a* 14/1298, 131 and *KVS. Def’a* 21/1305, 181. Ömer Lütfi Efendi Lülü was elected mayor for two terms, the first between 1888-1897 and the other between 1905-1908. For his mayoral term, see *KVS. Def’a* 22/1306, 183; *KVS. Def’a* 27/1314, 172; *KVS. Def’a* 29/1322, 147 and Dayar 2017c, 51.

<sup>91</sup> Dayar 2018a.

<sup>92</sup> Dayar 2018b.

<sup>93</sup> Anonymous 1847, 751.

The common customs and traditions of the local Greeks and Muslims were always despised by the Christian missionaries who visited Antalya during the 19th century<sup>94</sup> or by the educated Greeks who came to the city from Athens and the islands.<sup>95</sup> At the end of the 19th century, French geographer Vital Cuinet wrote that the local Greeks of Antalya, whose customs and traditions caused them to resemble Muslims, did not respect their co-religionists in Greece, the archipelago and Russia until twenty years ago, and even referred to them as “stranger dogs” (*chiens d'étrangers*).<sup>96</sup>

The relations of the local Greeks with the producers in the Turkish villages were also good, and their course was determined by common interests.<sup>97</sup> Except for the city and a few small town centers, Greek merchants were in need of Muslim-Turkish producers since they did not have much of a population in the province. The producers were also in need of Greek merchants who bought their products and exported them to the islands.<sup>98</sup>

Another point to be underlined here is that the population balance in the 19th century created a situation of equilibrium in which the two communities could not establish absolute dominance over each other. Therefore, during the Tanzimat period, Muslims and Greeks were represented almost equally on the administrative and municipal councils and courts that were institutionalized in this period (see table 2). Thus, these councils turned into boards where Muslim and non-Muslim Antalyans discussed civic matters and negotiated with the central government. In short, although religion constituted the most important difference between Muslims and local Greeks in the 19th century,<sup>99</sup> it was often not possible to distinguish between these two communities culturally. As a result of these shared characteristics, even during the political conflicts that ensued after the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the local Greek population did not act as homogenous community.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> The Catholic Priest Joseph Wolff wrote in 1831: “In those places which have not been visited by Roman Catholic missioneries, great barbarity exists, this may be said of the whole of the provinces of Pisidia and Pamphylia: they are ignorant of their religion and ignorant of their history”; see Wolff 1837, 8-9.

<sup>95</sup> French Vice-Consul Leonidas Leatry claimed that the Greeks of Antalya did not know any language other than Turkish and wrote Turkish with a Greek alphabet. He also stated that they were very backward in terms of their customs and traditions: “Les chrétiens qui sont d’origine hellène ne parlent guère que le turc, qu’ils écrivent en se servant des caractères grecs leurs mœurs et coutumes sont très arriérées”; see Alishan 1899, 359.

<sup>96</sup> According to Vital Cuinet, who visited Antalya in the late 1880s, this hostility had recently subsided in part; see Cuinet 1892, 810. Katherine Poseidon offers an explanation for the distinctive character of Antalya within the framework of the local Greek community, stating: “Furthermore, its (Antalya) geographical isolation and relationships with other cities and regions meant that the Orthodox there negotiated changing dynamics mostly on their own terms without direct influence from the Greek state”; see Poseidon 2013, 6-8.

<sup>97</sup> Poseidon 2013, 20.

<sup>98</sup> Chatzipetrou 1969, 37. In 1850 Dimitri Danieloğlu and his friends journeyed to the eastern part of Antalya, where they were met with great respect from the Turkish villagers they encountered. This suggests that the relationship between the two communities was also cordial in rural areas; see Ozil 2010.

<sup>99</sup> The customs and traditions of the local Greeks, which are very similar to the Muslims, are summarized in Chatzipetrou 1969, 74-98; Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:23.

<sup>100</sup> Dayar 2017c.

TABLE 2. Muslim and non-Muslim members represented in the administrative and municipal councils, as well as the commercial tribunal. The table only includes members; officials such as clerks, doctors, and translators are not shown. The heads of municipal council and the commercial tribunal are shown in parentheses. (Sources: Compiled from all published issues of *KVS.*)

|           | Elected Members of the Administrative Council |             | Members of the Municipal Council |             | Members of the Commercial Tribunal |             |
|-----------|---|-------------|----------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
|           | Muslims                                       | Non-Muslims | Muslims                          | Non-Muslims | Muslims                            | Non-Muslims |
| 1868-1869 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1869-1870 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1870-1871 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1871-1872 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1872-1873 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1873-1874 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1874-1875 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1875-1876 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1876-1877 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1877-1878 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 4           | (1) 4                              | 3           |
| 1878      | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 2           | (1) 4                              | 1           |
| 1878-1879 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 2           |
| 1880-1881 | 2   | 2           | (1) 2                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 2           |
| 1881-1882 | 2   | 2           | (1) 2                            | 3           | 3                                  | 2           |
| 1882-1883 | 2   | 2           | (1) 2                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 2           |
| 1883-1884 | 2   | 2           | (1) 2                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 2           |
| 1884-1885 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 2           | (1) 3                              | 4           |
| 1885-1886 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 2           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1886-1887 | 2   | 2           | (1) 1                            | 2           | (1) 3                              | 3           |
| 1887-1888 | 3   | 1           | (1) 1                            | 2           | 3                                  | (1) 3       |
| 1888-1889 | 3   | 1           | (1) 3                            | 2           | -                                  | -           |
| 1889-1890 | 2   | 2           | (1) 3                            | 3           | -                                  | -           |
| 1891-1892 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 4           | -                                  | -           |
| 1892-1893 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 4           | (1) 2                              | 3           |
| 1894-1895 | 3   | 1           | (1) 2                            | 4           | (1) 2                              | 1           |
| 1896-1897 | 3   | 1           | (1) 3                            | 3           | 1                                  | (1) 2       |
| 1899-1900 | 2   | 2           | (1) 2                            | 2           | 2                                  | (1) -       |
| 1904-1905 | 2   | 2           | (1) 4                            | 3           | (1) 3                              | 2           |

All these factors created favorable conditions for the formation of a wealthy merchant class, which had strong relations with the city. It defined itself as “*Antalyalı*” (from Antalya) and had a common sensitivity to the primary challenges of the city. This class, including the local Greeks, sincerely supported the urban infrastructure reforms of the Tanzimat and played a very important role in the transformation of Antalya. The merchants conveyed their demands, such as the modernization of the urban infrastructure<sup>101</sup> or the opening of modern educational institutions,<sup>102</sup> to Konya and the capital through the Antalya Administrative Council or the Municipal Council in which they were active. The merchants, who also took initiatives to improve the commercial potential and competition conditions of the city, demanded that Antalya

<sup>101</sup> For the minutes of the Antalya Administrative Council dated July 23, 1864, which state that a commission will be established for the repair of sidewalks, see *BOA.*, MVL. 691/39.

<sup>102</sup> For the minutes of the Antalya Administrative Council dated December 15, 1864, regarding the demand for the construction of the Rüşdiye School, see *BOA.*, İ. MVL. 532/23879.

be connected to the Aydın Province in 1869. The reason for this was the commercial relations of Antalya with Izmir; however, this attempt was not successful because of the opposition of the city's artisans.<sup>103</sup> The merchants of Antalya, who thought that civic development depended on the construction of a modern port, also attempted to renovate the port facilities and the pier in 1868. Even a tax was levied for this.<sup>104</sup> The continuation of similar efforts in the years following shows the continuity of the responsibility undertaken by Muslim and Christian merchants for the development of the city.<sup>105</sup> As all these examples show, a new wealthy class, formed in Antalya in the middle of the 19th century, had adopted the Tanzimat policies in general and was able to integrate its personal interests with the common good of the city.

During this period when the influence of the merchants increased, Antalya witnessed the emergence of a European consumer culture and a different daily lifestyle, although not as much as other port cities that developed in the 19th century.<sup>106</sup> For example, from the 1850s onwards, the inheritance records of wealthy Muslim women began to include imported consumer goods such as English dresses, English plates, Frankish dresses, Frankish robes, and Frankish cloth.<sup>107</sup> These indicate the emergence of a European consumer culture in Antalya. In addition, since the 1860s, the number of places where Muslims and non-Muslims socialized together had increased. Even taverns and casinos, which numbered among them, spread to a wider area, including Muslim neighborhoods.<sup>108</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, the number of taverns in the city was 13.<sup>109</sup> The existence of 20 coffeehouses was recorded in 1894,<sup>110</sup> a number that increased to 52 in 1904<sup>111</sup> and 98 in 1914.<sup>112</sup> Towards the end of the 19th century, some of these coffeehouses had turned into places where the urban middle class and citizens got their information. Here Istanbul newspapers, including those in Karamanlidika, a Turkish language written with Greek characters, and magazines were read.<sup>113</sup> In the same period, European fashion became widespread in the city. Local Greek youth, educated in modern dance schools in Izmir, Istanbul and Athens, learned to perform European dances.<sup>114</sup>

### Antalya (1890-1914): Economic Recession and Inter-Community Conflicts

The conditions that gave rise to the urban community that embraced the Tanzimat policies were the economic prosperity of the 1840s to the 1890s, the population balance between the communities, and the fact that nationalism had not yet separated the peoples into homogeneous communities. However, starting from the late 1880s, economic prosperity suffered as

<sup>103</sup> *Ceride-i Havadis*, 15 Receb 1286 (October 21, 1869); 26 Ramazan 1286 (December 30, 1869).

<sup>104</sup> For an example of the Antalya Administrative Council's minutes dated 1868 on the modernization of the port, see *BOA.*, A.) MKT. MHM. 423/29.

<sup>105</sup> For the samples of the minutes sent by the Antalya Administrative Council to the Konya Province on various dates regarding the modernization of the port, see *BOA.*, ŞD. 570/17, p. 4 (August 29, 1881) and *BOA.*, ŞD. 1736/12, p. 2 (October 27, 1898).

<sup>106</sup> For a study that deals with the subject in this context, see Fuhrmann 2020.

<sup>107</sup> Examples dating to the 1850s were compiled from the following sources: *AŞS.*, 6/158; *AŞS.*, 10/10; *AŞS.*, 11/83, 84, 108.

<sup>108</sup> For the reactions to the taverns opened in Muslim neighborhoods, see *BOA.*, HR. MKT. 373/19.

<sup>109</sup> *KVS. Def'a* 30/1332, 649.

<sup>110</sup> *KVS. Def'a* 26/1312, 115.

<sup>111</sup> *KVS. Def'a* 29/1322, 150.

<sup>112</sup> *KVS. Def'a* 30/1332, 649.

<sup>113</sup> Dayar 2017b, 199.

<sup>114</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:26.



a result of commercial stagnation and even decline. Moreover, at the beginning of the 20th century, each community in the city became increasingly exposed to the effects of nationalism.

The commercial stagnation that characterized the third period of Antalya was partly related to the great depression of the world economy, whose results had been felt since the 1870s.<sup>115</sup> But the main reason for the stagnation was the Izmir-Aydın railway reaching Dinar in the early 1890s.<sup>116</sup> With the completion of this railway, a large interior region previously part of Antalya's hinterland became linked to Izmir, which had become the empire's largest exporting port by the end of the 19th century. As a result, the grain that had previously been exported through the port of Antalya to the islands and Egypt was redirected to Izmir. This caused a decline in the dominant role that grain exports had played in Antalya's economy.

Timber exports, on the other hand, declined as the central government increased its control over forests, and a series of bans was implemented. These prohibitions not only negatively affected the merchants, but also caused a great crisis that resulted in the unemployment of thousands of villagers who made their living from forestry work.<sup>117</sup> By the early 20th century, another factor that negatively affected timber exports was the competition among merchants.<sup>118</sup>

TABLE 3. The annual import and export data for the city reveals the commercial stagnation that took place towards the end of the 19th century, as well as the subsequent decline. (1890 figures from Cuinet 1892, 858; other figures were compiled from various issues of the *RCL*).

|      | Import (kuruş) | Export (kuruş) |
|------|----------------|----------------|
| 1890 | 37,160,000     | 104,000,000    |
| 1892 | 18,542,400     | 29,083,600     |
| 1893 | 16,752,160     | 21,947,260     |
| 1894 | 13,221,300     | 13,267,550     |
| 1896 | 10,046,655     | 23,389,392     |
| 1898 | 12,524,690     | 26,469,455     |
| 1899 | 13,146,621     | 14,676,891     |
| 1900 | 10,939,698     | 18,296,484     |
| 1902 | 14,579,334     | 26,128,747     |

The negative effects of the city's loss of its hinterland to Izmir were mainly seen in imports. In 1892 annual sugar imports fell from 12,000-15,000 bags to 4,000-5,000 bags; similarly, coffee imports fell from 5,000-6,000 bags to 3,000 bags. A similar decline was experienced in oil imports which fell from 30,000 to 10,000 barrels per year as the oil was purchased only for domestic consumption beginning in the 1890s.<sup>119</sup>

In the last decade of the century, the place of exports in the foreign trade volume continued to be more important than imports. Despite the decline in grain and timber exports, the main reason for this situation was the flour shipped to ports in Egypt, Cyprus and Syria but

<sup>115</sup> Pamuk 2018, 26-36.

<sup>116</sup> *BOA.*, Y. MTV. 183/163.

<sup>117</sup> *RCL*, no. 71, 28 Février 1893, 21 and *BOA.*, İ. HUS. 9/58.

<sup>118</sup> *RCL*, no. 184, 31 Juillet 1902, 55.

<sup>119</sup> *RCL*, no. 68, 30 Novembre 1892, 31.

most importantly to those in the Aegean islands.<sup>120</sup> Towards the end of the 1880s, the modernization of traditional mills and the initiation of six factories with the capacity of producing 2,400 bushels of flour per day increased the importance of flour in Antalya's exports.<sup>121</sup>

However, the continued stagnation in commercial life in the city was inevitable, since it did not have a modern port and had limited road access to the inner regions. This situation made the city's economy more vulnerable to the effects of calamities such as drought<sup>122</sup> or epidemics.<sup>123</sup> By the end of the century, the market conditions had caused a major cash crisis and inflation.<sup>124</sup> Imports were limited to the most basic needs of the city,<sup>125</sup> and droughts experienced in the same period as the current cash crisis had worsened the misery. In June 1899 most of the mills in the city were closed, and a very rare event then occurred in Antalya's commercial history: flour had to be imported from Izmir and Thessaloniki.<sup>126</sup>

Although efforts were made to improve silkworm breeding and the supply of manufactured goods to prevent stagnation in economic life and to increase exports, the expected benefit from the production of cocoons and silk could not be achieved due to the lack of education of the producers as well as other reasons.<sup>127</sup> Under these conditions, the merchants of Antalya had only two options to break the hegemony of Izmir over Antalya's hinterland and to remove the effects of the recession period. The first of these was the construction of a modern port, which has always been on the agenda since the 1860s. The attempt by merchants in this regard in the early 1890s was inconclusive, although its necessity was accepted by the Ministry of Public Works, and a comprehensive plan was prepared. The repair, initiated by the merchants in 1898 and whose construction expenses were to be covered by a tax requested by them, was not as extensive as the previous project. After the repair was concluded in November 1901, the dock was partially enlarged. However, even with this attempt, the existing port was not modernized or equipped with new facilities.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, by the end of the 19th century, the construction of a modern port was no longer a priority for many of the merchants, due to the railway connection established between Izmir and Dinar. Given these circumstances, the merchants of Antalya had no other option but to seek out a new hinterland for the city.

The most suitable region to become the new hinterland for urban merchants was the plain where Beyşehir, Seydişehir and Bozkır were located. This vast and fertile land had a large population and preferred to supply its basic needs from Antalya instead of Konya, where prices were higher. Also Antalya had a port where the agricultural and animal products of the region could be exported.<sup>129</sup> The most important condition for connecting the new hinterland to

<sup>120</sup> *RCL*, no. 112, 31 Juillet 1896, 99; *RCL*, no. 118, 31 Janvier 1897, 68.

<sup>121</sup> *RCL*, no. 99, 30 Juin 1895, 160.

<sup>122</sup> For instance, after 1897 the demand for grain from Europe helped revive commercial life. Nevertheless, this revival was short-lived as it was soon replaced by stagnation due to the drought that hit the region towards the end of the 19th century. See *RCL*, no. 118, 31 Janvier 1897, 68; *RCL*, no. 147, 30 Juin 1899, 1187.

<sup>123</sup> The quarantine measures imposed due to outbreaks of plague and cholera often disrupted the city's trading ties with Egypt, which further destabilized the local economy. See *RCL*, no. 96, 7 Février 1895, 60; *RCL*, no. 147, 30 Juin 1899, 1188; *RCL*, no. 154, 31 Janvier 1900, 64.

<sup>124</sup> *RCL*, no. 76, 31 Juillet 1893, 22.

<sup>125</sup> *RCL*, no. 99, 30 Juin 1895, 162; *RCL*, no. 166, 31 Janvier 1901, 60.

<sup>126</sup> *RCL*, no. 147, 30 Juin 1899, 1187.

<sup>127</sup> *RCL*, no. 154, 31 Janvier 1900, 64; *RCL*, no. 161, 31 Août 1900, 262; *RCL*, no. 171, 31 Juin 1901, 994; *RCL*, no. 182, 31 Mai 1902, 1061; *RCL*, no. 184, 31 Juillet 1902, 55, 56.

<sup>128</sup> Dayar 2022a.

<sup>129</sup> *RCL*, no. 112, 31 Juillet 1896, 100.

Antalya was the modernization of the historical Kesikbeli Road, which provided transportation between Antalya and Konya. The slow progress of the work started in 1894 led to a renewed demand for the road the following year.<sup>130</sup> But for several years almost no progress was made. Therefore, in January 1901 the French Vice-Consul reported that the work begun in 1894 had not yet yielded any results and that this road was Antalya's last hope.<sup>131</sup>

All these efforts are the latest examples of joint attempts by Muslim and Christian merchants to create new opportunities for their city. For by the end of the century, commercial stagnation and the end of the period of prosperity were not the only problems faced by the merchants. From this period onwards, the city was much more exposed to the influence of nationalism that separated communities into monolithic entities.

The nationalist politics that divided the urban community that had adopted the Tanzimat policies were fed from more than one source. First of all, the political atmosphere of the period of Abdülhamid II created favorable conditions for Turkish nationalism to flourish. Similarly, in the city the influence of educational institutions and night schools supported by Athens, as well as associations such as the Philanthropic Brotherhood (*Φιλοθρησκευος Αδελφοτης*) and Michael the Attaleiates (*Μικαηλ ο Ατταλειαιτης*), which fostered learning the Greek language among the Turkophone Greek population, had been growing since the end of the century.<sup>132</sup>

On the other hand, the Turkish-Greek War in 1897 exacerbated the stagnation in commercial life.<sup>133</sup> It also deepened the division between the two communities, since it caused many losses among the Muslims of Antalya who were sent to the front line.<sup>134</sup> In no other period in the 19th century had the urban Muslim population suffered such significant losses in the empire's war against a Christian state. The mass immigration from Crete that took place following the war, on the other hand, caused conflicts between the immigrants and the local Greeks, and perpetuated the negative effects of the war.<sup>135</sup>

It is possible to observe the effects of the split between the two communities in the events that developed after the Kaleiçi Fire in 1895. In this great fire (*bârik-i kebir*), about five hundred houses belonging to the Greeks were burned. However, after the fire no aid was given to the Greeks, except for 6,000 drachmas sent by the Association of Asia Minor (*Μικρασιατών Σύλλογος*) in Athens.<sup>136</sup> On June 9, 1899, a telegram was sent to the capital by the heads of the community stating that, while houses were being built for the immigrants coming from Crete, the abandonment of loyal subjects (*tebaa-i sâdika*) on the streets led them to great despair.<sup>137</sup>

Another development that increased social segregation and paved the way for inter-communal conflicts was the aggravation of the economic recession, which negatively affected the urban merchants. Indeed, except for a few exceptional years, between 1890 and 1912 the city's foreign trade gradually declined. The most important indicator of this is the great decrease

<sup>130</sup> BOA., DH. MKT. 390/12.

<sup>131</sup> RCL, no. 166, 31 Janvier 1901, 60.

<sup>132</sup> Chatzipetrou 1969, 41-42 and Kechriotis 2010, 47.

<sup>133</sup> RCL, no. 124, 31 Juillet 1897, 52.

<sup>134</sup> For the names of some of Antalya's residents who died in Thessaly, see AŞS., 54/348; AŞS., 54/349; AŞS., 54/369; AŞS., 54/392; AŞS., 57/147. The records of some soldiers who died at the front among the inhabitants of the villages and sub-districts of the city are mentioned below: AŞS., 50/558; AŞS., 50/559; AŞS., 50/560; AŞS., 54/381.

<sup>135</sup> Dayar 2017a, 66. Erol discusses external factors, such as migrations and wars, that affected the spread of nationalism in the context of Foça. For comparison, see Erol 2016, 6.

<sup>136</sup> Anonýmou 1907, 254.

<sup>137</sup> BOA., YPRK. AZJ. 38/97.

in the number of ships arriving at the port. While 645 ships, including 470 sailboats and 175 steamboats, arrived at the port in 1889, this number declined every year. In 1912 it decreased to 325 ships, of which 226 were sailboats and 99 were steamboats (see table 4).<sup>138</sup> The economic recession negatively affected many Muslim merchants who dominated political life in the 19th century and were mainly engaged in the timber and grain trade. Muslim merchants, who were an important component of the Tanzimat-era urban bourgeoisie, began to lose their influence, with the increased influence of a new nationalist Muslim middle class, many of which came from artisan families.<sup>139</sup>

TABLE 4. Maritime and commercial movement in Antalya between 1892-1912. (The first seven rows are taken from the relevant numbers of *RCL*; the next rows are taken from the table in Korkmaz 2022).

|      | Sailer | Steamship | Total Navigation           |
|------|--------|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1892 | 404    | 232       | 636 ships and 138,889 tons |
| 1893 | 361    | 192       | 553 ships and 123,199 tons |
| 1894 | 354    | 170       | 524 ships and 109,775 tons |
| 1896 | 375    | 184       | 659 ships and 116,711 tons |
| 1899 | 326    | 140       | 466 ships and 91,750 tons  |
| 1900 | 345    | 112       | 457 ships and 75,155 tons  |
| 1902 | 442    | 120       | 562 ships and 72,732 tons  |
| 1903 | 414    | 112       | 526 ships and 67,049 tons  |
| 1904 | 432    | 121       | 553 ships and 78,237 tons  |
| 1905 | 283    | 126       | 409 ships and 66,866 tons  |
| 1906 | 246    | 119       | 365 ships and 52,260 tons  |
| 1907 | 235    | 125       | 360 ships and 59,202 tons  |
| 1908 | 212    | 116       | 328 ships and 51,299 tons  |
| 1909 | 235    | 114       | 349 ships and 52,539 tons  |
| 1910 | 128    | 128       | 256 ships and 74,124 tons  |
| 1911 | 210    | 93        | 303 ships and 56,740 tons  |
| 1912 | 226    | 99        | 325 ships and 49,079 tons  |

The conditions that emerged after all these developments caused the nationalist divisions to evolve into inter-communal conflicts at the beginning of the 20th century. On January 28, 1902, Blanc, the French Consul of Izmir, wrote in his report that Muslim women were forbidden to shop in Christian stores, and Christians were forbidden to enter Muslim houses. In the announcement made by the bellmen, men who violated the ban would be imprisoned, and the women would be subject to financial sanctions.<sup>140</sup> The national economic policy implemented after 1908 to strengthen the new Muslim middle class, the 1910 boycotts in which Muslims targeted non-Muslims in the city,<sup>141</sup> the deportation of wealthy Greeks in May 1915,<sup>142</sup> and the forced departure of Greeks from the city in October 1922 were all natural consequences of this

<sup>138</sup> For the detailed table, see Korkmaz 2022, 354. To detect the decline in the foreign trade of the city, it is necessary to use the total navigation figures due to the increase in prices and inflation in order to obtain more accurate results.

<sup>139</sup> Dayar 2018c, 71-72, 89.

<sup>140</sup> Kechriotis 2010, 50.

<sup>141</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:368 and Dayar 2017a, 66.

<sup>142</sup> Dayar 2017a, 68.

period.<sup>143</sup> As a result, when the first quarter of the 20th century came to a close, Antalya –the Mediterranean city where the Tanzimat’s “unity policy” was put into practice for a period of time – had become a settlement entirely devoid of non-Muslim residents.

## Conclusion

The increase in the volume of foreign trade in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century made the port cities of the Ottoman Empire a center of attraction for the people living in the interior regions. During this period, port cities became differentiated from interior cities, and their populations increased dramatically as a result of the incessant influx of immigrants. However, this event did not affect all port cities equally. The cities that benefited the most from commercial mobility were those that had a modern port and were connected to their hinterlands by railroads. Cities identified with the “golden age” of the Eastern Mediterranean were the ones that had the necessary infrastructure and transportation facilities. Among these were Beirut whose population increased from around 6,000 in 1820 to over 100,000 at the end of the 19th century,<sup>144</sup> Thessaloniki which had a population of about 15,000 on the eve of the Tanzimat period but had a population of 157,889 in 1913,<sup>145</sup> or Alexandria whose population increased from around 13,000 in 1821 to 320,000 in 1897.<sup>146</sup> Even though Antalya did not have a modern port nor a road network connected with the hinterland, it was relatively a developed city between 1840 and 1890. Nevertheless, it did not benefit from the growth of foreign trade steadily, so its population did not exceed 25,000 throughout this period.

Since Antalya could not benefit consistently from the transformation of port cities in the 19th century, European trade companies did not invest in the city, and service sectors such as banking and insurance did not develop either. So in 1894 the French Consul wrote that there were only two insurance companies in the city –German Norddeutsch and Greek Phoenix–with which no one was satisfied.<sup>147</sup> In this period, industry and textiles remained at a primitive level, and the city was unable to go beyond being a production center mainly for domestic consumption.<sup>148</sup> It is not possible to talk about a developed industry or mechanized agricultural sector in the city, except for the mills that can be considered as light industrial facilities and the leather factory,<sup>149</sup> built in 1882 by the timber merchant, Mustafa Nafiz Efendi, who brought craftsmen and workers from Europe.

In summary, Antalya was unable to fully capitalize on the economic boom of the Eastern Mediterranean during its “golden age.” However, this situation led the way for the formation of an relatively integrated society of Antalya in the 19th century, when in other places religious, ethnic and cultural differences gained an exclusionary status like never before.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, in the 19th century, while cities in the Eastern Mediterranean became the scene of many bloody ethnic conflicts,<sup>151</sup> this was not the case with Antalya. This most important feature

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<sup>143</sup> Dayar 2017d.

<sup>144</sup> Fawaz 1983, 31.

<sup>145</sup> Anastassiadou 1998, 55, 90.

<sup>146</sup> Ilbert 2006, 24-25.

<sup>147</sup> *RCL*, no. 91, 31 Octobre 1894, 32.

<sup>148</sup> *KVS*. Def'a 30/1332, 488.

<sup>149</sup> *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 5 Cemazeyilevvel 1299 (March 25, 1882).

<sup>150</sup> Zandi-Sayek 2012, 7.

<sup>151</sup> Mansel 2011, 3, 39, 99.

distinguished Antalya's society from that in other major port cities such as the "plural society" of Izmir<sup>152</sup> or the "cosmopolitanism" of Alexandria.<sup>153</sup> However, this situation was not the result of partnerships, which Nicholas Doumanis considers to be an intrinsic feature of daily life.<sup>154</sup> Rather it was the result of the delicate population balance that emerged in the 19th century and the relatively equal influence of Muslims and local Greeks on the commercial life of the city. The chronic stagnation in commercial life and the increasing influence of nationalism on the communities in the city beginning at the end of the century revealed the fragility of this unity, which had been integrated around a common urban identity.

Another point shown by Antalya is that the transformation of the city, especially until the 1890s, did not take place apart from the imperial center. Eastern Mediterranean port cities in the 19th century were often characterized as places where the influence of the state was weak. It is even claimed that this was what gave these cities their unique character.<sup>155</sup> However, the example of Antalya does not fully support this claim. The centralization policies of the Sultan were decisive for the development of the city during the reign of Mahmud II. Despite its merchants being influential in the transformation of the city and almost all of the public investments during the Tanzimat period, they were almost always supported in their endeavors by the reformist administrators. In fact, this situation shows that the state's cooperation with local actors did not adversely affect the centralization process.<sup>156</sup> The idea of assigning more responsibility to the local community within the framework of the Tanzimat's ideal of "Ottomanism" achieved success in Antalya.

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<sup>152</sup> Zandi-Sayek 2012, 7.

<sup>153</sup> Ilbert 2006, 28.

<sup>154</sup> Doumanis 2013, 91.

<sup>155</sup> Keyder 2010, 21.

<sup>156</sup> In her comparison of the provinces of Edirne and Ankara during the Tanzimat period, Köksal-Özyaşar highlights the importance of involving local actors in the administration to ensure effective state control; see Köksal-Özyaşar 2022, 37-38.

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